

all, the behavior of bureaucrats. The latter, while receptive to directives from above, did not always implement or fully apply them at the local level. Often their decisions were based upon local exigencies, which usually meant that they were sympathetic to the wishes of colonists or the demands of economic development.

Although the book is a welcome addition to the expanding literature on German Namibia, it does possess some weaknesses. For instance, not all of Zimmerer's conclusions are original or surprising, particularly those concerning racial policies and the heterogeneous nature of the administration. Moreover, his assertion about the continuity in "native" policy from Leutwein through 1914 is tenuous at best. Admittedly there were antecedents, but that is not the same as arguing that continuity existed. Finally, by focusing almost exclusively on the bureaucracy, Zimmerer provides only a partial view of the relationship between Africans and Europeans. He does talk about the European settlers, but not to the extent of providing sufficient information as to their total impact on "native" policy.

Regardless of these reservations, Zimmerer, by using previously unused documents in Namibia, has provided us with an up-to-date, detailed treatment of the German colonial bureaucracy that furthers our understanding of German colonialism and the nature of the Wilhelmine civil service. No longer can the colonial administration be viewed as a homogeneous structure, but rather as one that was complex and reflective of the very nature of German rule in Namibia.

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Bahru Zewde. *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: The Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*. Athens: Ohio University Press/Oxford: James Currey, 2002. xii + 228 pp. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. \$49.95. Cloth.

Between the end of the nineteenth century, when Ethiopia affirmed its independent statehood in the face of European imperialism, and the outbreak of World War II, when Italy colonized it, a good number of Ethiopians received secular education in various fields and in different parts of the world. Through their education and exposure to industrial societies they became painfully aware of the technical backwardness of their own society. Like their counterparts in other preindustrial countries, some of the new intellectuals passionately sought a new understanding of the domestic and external forces that facilitated or hindered Ethiopia's entry into the modern age. As advocates of "modernization," they wrote extensively, thoughtfully, and often incisively in the hope that they would persuade a reactionary and xenophobic traditional polity that political independence without social, economic, and technological progress was no guarantor of free-

dom and state viability in a dynamic and fast-changing world. Their impact was apparently quite limited, and the creative and vibrant intellectual life they set in motion was cut short when, in a state of frenzy, the fascist government decimated the intelligentsia in 1937. *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia* is the fascinating story of the lives, ideas, and legacies of these extraordinary men of purpose and vitality. By drawing on a vast range of documentary sources and direct interviews, Bahru Zwede has written a slender but substantial book with admirable concision, clarity, and even-handedness.

Bahru divides the “pioneers” into first and second generations mainly on the basis of their formative periods. The first group was educated at home and abroad during the reign of Emperor Menilek II (1889–1913). A few of them owed their schooling to foreign guardians or benefactors following their fortuitous migration to such far-flung places as Austria and India; others were sponsored by the emperor and his cousin, Ras Makonnen. The majority, however, were self-taught, often with the help of Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Nearly all the notable “reformist intellectuals,” including Warqenah Eshate, Gabru Dasta, Gabra-Heywat Baykedan, Afawarq Gabra-Iyyasus, Takla-Hawaryat Takla-Maryam, Heruy Walda-Sellasse, Atsme-Giorgis Gabra-Masih, Gabra-Egziabher Gila-Maryam, and Deressa Amante, belonged to this generation. The members of the second generation, educated abroad (mostly in France) through state and/or royal patronage in the 1920s and 1930s, were of lesser stature; they wrote precious little and their reformist vision was much less visible. This group occupies just about half the space allotted to the first in the book and does not seem to be worthy of even that much attention. Overall, though, the narrative of the pioneers’ lives, with all their vicissitudes, is compelling. The individual portraits, which vary from one to seven pages, are full of evocative detail and illuminating anecdotes.

The intellectual stalwarts of the early twentieth century were writers of great merit, although it is not certain that they were all reformist. Still, the author’s judgment that “the intellectuals as a group had an output that puts subsequent generations to shame” (188) is probably accurate. They wrote with erudition, foresight, and eloquence on nearly all aspects of Ethiopian society, ranging from ethnography and historiography to slavery and political economy, and they called for reforms in the social, economic, cultural, educational, and administrative spheres. For example, Gabra-Heywat’s and Afawarq’s depressing portrayals of the peasantry and the militia’s predatory activities in the countryside could not have been more vivid and captivating. Takla-Hawaryat’s anecdotal remarks on a variety of issues were revealing and stimulating, just as Atsma-Giorgia’s perspective on the history of the Oromo was refreshingly innovative. In chapters 5 and 6, perhaps the best parts of the book, Bahru has provided a thoughtful synthesis of the themes covered in the wide-ranging works of the pioneers. The analysis is embellished with sharp and appropriate quotations, the translations of which are impeccable and as elegant as the Amharic originals.

The coverage, however, is uneven and at times too sketchy. For example, seventeen pages are devoted to “history and historiography” but only less than half of that to “political economy,” certainly a more critical issue from the standpoint of “modernization,” which takes up one extended chapter. In his remarkably insightful commentary on uneven development, Gabra-Heywat preceded the *dependentistas* of Latin America by nearly half a century—that in itself ought to have merited greater consideration. The author frequently alludes to the reformists’ fascination with Japan but does not reveal whether any of them entertained or suggested the idea that Ethiopia needed something similar to the Meiji Revolution, which was at the heart of Japan’s spectacular development. One would have liked to know a little more about Afawarq, whose character, like his legacy, was full of contrasts and ambiguities and who is treated by the author, understandably, with a mixture of admiration and disdain. One nagging question especially needs an answer: Did Afawarq embrace Italian colonialism out of sheer opportunism to advance personal ambition or with a genuine, if mistaken, belief that it would transform his country more speedily by destroying the feudal order he abhorred and condemned? More than anyone else, this enigmatic character helps expose some of the social paradoxes and ambiguities of the time. It might be mentioned, in this connection, that a brief historical introduction would have been helpful to the nonspecialist reader seeking a deeper understanding of the manifold issues discussed in this section.

In the end, it becomes obvious that the pioneers were a disaffected and disillusioned lot, but that does not diminish their valuable contribution. Their individual and collective endeavors were thwarted by the machinations of powerful men, institutions, and a tradition-bound, preliterate society. In their zeal to initiate new ways of thinking and acting, they endured humiliation and persecution. Some were maligned as apostates or heretics, and a few were imprisoned, allegedly for transgressing societal mores. And how many of them were bullied and hounded by the Empress Taytu? Even the indomitable Gabra-Heywat was forced into exile, while Gabra-Egziabher Gila turned to drinking out of despondence. The self-willed and spirited Takla-Hawaryat, who drafted the Constitution of 1931, shared the fate of his peers: After he prevailed over his more conservative rivals and opponents, the Emperor Hayla-Sellasse I sidelined or relegated him and his colleagues to subordinate positions, preferring obedient and loyal men like Heruy (who at least had twenty books to his credit). Only three or four attained ministerial posts with some influence on national policies in an increasingly autocratic monarchical regime. Embittered but undeterred by the political and cultural impediments, the pioneers continued to spread their ideas through books and articles in the *Berhanena Salam* newspaper (whose total circulation was less than three thousand) until the Italian intrusion and their subsequent liquidation in 1937, the year that brought an abrupt end to the exciting literary boom. *Pioneers of Change* is a fine trib-

ute to these visionary men who, though different from each other in terms of social background, temperament, education, region, and ethnicity, shared a boundless and animated commitment to a gradual transformation of their country and society, only to be frustrated by shortsighted politicians. By refusing to accept reform, the holders of power made revolution inevitable, a subject that the author hopes to take up as his next scholarly project. We will await it with anticipation.

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Trevor Clark, ed. *Was It Only Yesterday? The Last Generation of Nigeria's "Turawa."* Bristol: British Empire Commonwealth Museum Press, 2002. xi + 352 pp. Photographs. Maps. Appendixes. Bibliography. £25:00. Cloth. £15:00. Paper.

This is a remarkable book. Yet it may discomfit many Americans, for it makes clear why the “boy scout” approach to imperialism may in the end be more successful than the bluntly commercial variety. Indeed it is possible that the subtleties of Indirect Rule, as demonstrated so brilliantly in *Turawa* (“White Men”) may yet gain appreciative consideration in Washington as options are pondered in these increasingly difficult days of post-Saddam occupation in Iraq.

Aside from compiling a masterly portrait from an enormous variety of highly individual, brightly colored creations on the *Turawa* canvas, Trevor Clark has edited a book with several strengths. First, from his selection of topics and arrangement of contributions, the reader gains a panoramic yet detailed “feel” for the country of the north, a land of astonishing variety, great power, and appeal. I was particularly captivated by descriptions of the well-forested and watered Cameroonian border territories: their wild, remote, mountainous terrain and their fiercely independent animist peoples, many of whom have managed to hold out over the centuries against the sword of Islam and dominance of the Fulani. To the consternation of the “politically correct,” these same peoples voted *against* independence in the U.N.-monitored 1959 plebiscite.

Turawa's second major contribution is the picture it conveys of the north–south politics of colonial Nigeria, and more specifically, of Ahmadu Bello, the *Sardauna* of Sokoto, leader of the north's approximately 30 million people during the turbulent, politically intense 1950s and early '60s, who figures in nearly every section. What comes through is the extent to which Bello was a fiery autocrat of almost lethal force, with the result that successive governors had to handle all administrative matters—which perforce were almost always highly political—very carefully. Supported by most of the Muslim north and many fiercely loyal British officials, the *Sardauna* wanted nothing to do with the south, with democracy, or with Nigerian