

Distinguishing Kynoch's book from both the comparative and country-specific literature is the impressive range of sources he uses. He draws from archived violence monitoring reports, records of commissions of inquiry, and Truth and Reconciliation Commission amnesty applications, along with interviews with national politicians and actors directly involved in the violence associated with the ANC, the IFP, and the security services.

Interviews with members of the Internal Stability Division that policed the East Rand townships are particularly noteworthy and may provide the biggest controversy in Kynoch's findings. Typically, the security services have been described as either engaging in direct violence against township residents or indirectly sponsoring violence through shadowy "third force" activities. Kynoch argues this view underplays "the diversity of security force engagement" (p. 85), and the multiple, often contradictory roles they played in township violence. An officer at a township police station, a member of the Security Branch, and a soldier in the South African Defense Force may have acted at against cross-purposes from one another—purposes complicated even further by the racial or ethnic background of a given agent (pp. 85–86).

The evidence of diverse engagements by the security services is largely persuasive, as it is drawn from interviews with actors on all sides of the conflict (esp. Chapter 4). The conclusions Kynoch draws about the security services, though, may raise some questions for readers. Specifically, he places their engagement within the broader framework of a state whose role in guaranteeing the "rule of law was abrogated when different security forces became players in the violence" (p. 119). While he is careful to note that even when not directly involved in fomenting violence, "the state's negligence guaranteed its persistence" (p. 119), some readers may ask if it was ever possible for any agents of the state's security forces—even well-intentioned ones—to be the neutral agents that the ideal of the rule of law demands when South African law was never neutral in the first place.

Yet it is one of the great strengths of Kynoch's book to show how virtually everything was in flux in the Reef's townships during this period, including who were victims and perpetrators, what violence was used for, and whether violence was political, criminal, or both. Troublingly for South Africa's future, though, Kynoch also shows that this murkiness lives on as the post-apartheid state continues to use violence against its own citizens (pp. 200–202).

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Faith, Power, and Family: Christianity and Social Change in French Cameroon. By Charlotte Walker-Said. Woodbridge, UK: James Currey, 2018. Pp. 336. \$70.00 cloth.

This monograph by Charlotte Walker-Said explores how Africans, who lived in the tropical forest zone of southern Cameroon between the First and the Second World Wars, coopted Catholic missionary societies to develop a social order that existed beyond the

control of French colonial authorities and chiefs. Over the course of nine chapters, Walker-Said argues that the expansion of Christianity and its idea of “monogamous, enduring, freely chosen” marriage throughout southern Cameroon transformed relations between families, elders, and lineages during a period of a great social upheaval (p. 8).

Walker-Said’s monograph demonstrates that marriage and family were important sites of colonial contestation. Following the establishment of French rule, African chiefs, who advanced the agenda of the French colonial administration, acquired great authority over women and their children. Because chiefs regularly refused to pay wages or share their harvests with the men that they impressed into forced labor on behalf of the colonial government, the majority of men did not have enough money or resources to afford bridewealth, which upset the formation of families in southern Cameroon. This problem was exacerbated by the expansion of cash-crop agriculture and the growth of regional and international markets for local goods in the 1920s and 1930s. During this period, fathers frequently sought to advance their business interests by using their daughter’s bridewealth as a source of investment capital. This practice transformed bridewealth into an act of “manipulation and extortion” wherein fathers demanded not only “goats, hogs, bulls, tools, alcohol, tobacco, palm wine, clothes, utensils, and luxury items” from suitors, but also as much as three-thousand francs for their daughters (pp. 249, 254–55).

Within this coercive environment, Christianity promised to provide male converts with a remedy to their destitution and spouselessness. Christian catechists not only denounced the authoritarian actions of powerful chiefs, but they also preached “the right of the African man to a wife” (p. 5). Poor men who wanted to check the power and abuses of elite chiefs were drawn to the “intriguing messages” of catechists (p. 92), which promised to empower them. The introduction of companionate marriage and conjugal love into southern Cameroon, however, did more than provide a solution for men who could not afford bridewealth. These ideas also served as catalysts for the development of new expressions of masculine power. The Christian conception of marriage provided men with moral authority over women, whom they had saved from commodification and the tyranny of polygamy. In short, while Christianity created new expectations about marriage, it simultaneously reinforced the “masculine-centered order” of southern Cameroon (p. 150).

Walker-Said’s monograph makes a handful of historiographical contributions. This book not only undermines the argument that Christian marriage was solely a social and an economic choice by highlighting the role of personal faith and piety, but it also shows how Africans exercised agency and leadership within mainline mission churches years before ecclesiastical control was formally transferred to Africans during the era of decolonization.¹ This monograph even adds to the literature on religious conversion. Unlike other historians who tend to emphasize either endurance or rupture in religious

¹ See, for instance, Kristin Mann, *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status, and Social Change Among the Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

change, Walker-Said contends that there were instances of both continuity and discontinuity with the pre-Christian lives of Cameroonian adherents.²

Walker-Said's monograph is primarily an archives-based project. Between 2007 and 2009, Walker-Said conducted extensive archival research in Cameroon at both the Archives Nationales du Cameroun in Yaoundé and the Archives de l'Hotel de Ville de Douala. She also did archival research in France between 2010 and 2012 at the Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer, the Archives de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit, the Archives de la Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris and the Archives Militaires. Walker-Said relies heavily on the journals and correspondence of Catholic missionaries who worked between the Sanaga River and the southern border of French Cameroon. The documents of the French colonial government, the records of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, the only American mission active in southern Cameroon, and missionary periodicals, such as *The Drum Call*, *Kaso*, *Mefoe*, and *Le Cameroun Catholique*, can also be found in the footnotes.

Walker-Said occasionally utilizes oral data. She cites interviews with around twelve individuals in her footnotes, including the bishop emeritus of Bafia and a Jesuit who is pursuing his doctorate at Boston University's School of Theology. Information about her interviews, however, cannot be found in the bibliography, and the monograph lacks a statement about Walker-Said's oral history methodology.

While the focus of this book is on marriage and family, the environmental dimension of Christian missions in French Cameroon presents a missed opportunity for Walker-Said. While the agricultural projects of Christian villages are only referred to briefly (e.g., pp. 65, 96, 175, 222), these repeated references prompt us to ask in what ways the expansion of Christianity in French Cameroon influenced how indigenous peoples related to the natural world, and how Christian theology mediated the agricultural practices of Cameroonians, especially during the era of the cash crop boom.

Faith, Power, and Family makes a splendid contribution to the historiography on French Cameroon, African Christianity, relations between church and state, masculinity, and marriage in colonial Africa.

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² On discontinuity in religious conversion, see for instance, Jason Bruner, *Living Salvation in the East African Revival* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2017). On continuity in religious conversion, see Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1961).