

declaration of the British Central African Protectorate in 1891. Scott was ultimately successful in opposing Cecil Rhodes' imposition of company rule, but as many of his clan died from disease, they were replaced by a new generation of missionaries who rejected his vision. By 1897, Scott was embroiled in a bruising series of clashes with the CSM over his alleged financial mismanagement, 'high churchism' and autocracy. Although he was ultimately vindicated, the formal inquiry brought into stark focus the three distinct political lineages that now fractured Blantyre's white community. Alongside Scott's dwindling clan of visionaries were white liberal paternalists led by Alexander Hetherwick, Scott's eventual successor, who struggled to think beyond racialized differences and ascribed the Chimang'anja language to a distinct group of people. Robert Hynde, a former CSM teacher, in turn, became editor of the *Central African Planter*, disseminating white supremacist ideas within and beyond the missionary community. After 1901, services at the Blantyre church were segregated between white and black.

Englund is damning about the CSM's subsequent failings – its focus on white settlers, its conservative 'anti-Africanism' in the 1950s, its complicity with Hastings Banda's dictatorship. But for all his opposition to Rhodes, Englund sidesteps how Scott was an ardent exponent of commercial capitalism and waged labour. Many struggled to understand his ideas. The lack of acknowledgement that Scott gave to his Malawian assistants in published works blemishes Englund's narrative of mutual recognition. Desperate to make a financial success of his new Kenya posting from 1901, Scott bought up swathes of land, and insisted on arduous physical labour as a path to self-improvement. In 1907, the year of his death, crops rotted, finances collapsed and there was only a single convert.

Englund sets out his intervention as a philosophical one. Scott's universalist ideas about epistemic justice ('mutual recognition between different knowers') are contrasted with recent scholarship emphasizing epistemic freedom and distinctive African cultures (p. 16). Scott's understanding of mutuality, nevertheless, also recognized significant differences of power, and in recovering the fleeting development of a dissenting whiteness among a small clan of missionaries, *Visions for Racial Equality* makes an important contribution to new 'unreasonable' histories of race in Africa. Envisaging the Blantyre congregation as a living African church, Scott insisted on preaching to all in Chimang'anja, championed *mlandu* as a universal concept, and maintained that '[m]utual respect is the lesson we so much need to learn at this time'. Lessons were not learned. Instead, Scott's vision sank into tragic oblivion.

Henry Dee

University of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK

Email: henry.dee@glasgow.ac.uk

doi: [10.1017/S0001972023000815](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972023000815)

Lesley Nicole Braun, *Congo's Dancers: Women and Work in Kinshasa*. Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press (hb US\$79.95 – 978 0 299 34030 8). 2023, 201 pp.

Braun claims a space for dancers whose role, place and contribution to popular culture and music scholarship have not received adequate attention in African cultural studies.

She does so through an innovative blend of ethnography and interviews with a wide spectrum of people across professions, positions and privileges. *Congo's Dancers* explores the compelling yet complex life of a *danseuse* as a visible cultural participant and producer as she navigates the panoptic control and governmentality of the colonial and postcolonial state, religion and society while adhering 'to various modes of respectability, which hinges on limiting one's exposure' (p. 4). The author shows how Congolese *danseuses* appropriate and adapt three interlocking cultural practices of survival and spontaneity within socio-economic circumstances of precarity while aspiring to upward social mobility and economic independence. These practices comprise the indigenous system of sponsorship that draws on the paternalistic idea of care and protection; discipline and containment; and, finally, the conscious culling and curating of contact to navigate the labyrinth of life in Kinshasa.

Chapter 1 historicizes the genealogy of the negative perception of dance and *danseuses* in Congo. Braun opines that the contemporary stereotype of women lacking respectability markers in Kinshasa is rooted in the coloniality of Eurocentric conceptions of gender. She argues that European Victorian notions of gender roles and social organization stigmatized women who lived outside the normative construction of womanhood and family – specifically, single women who had limited formal education, were from low-income families, or worked in jobs considered inappropriate (such as dancers and barmaids). Additionally, women who were not bound to men in any of the 'established forms of nuclear family arrangement of daughter, wife, mother, and roles that upheld in the European context' were derided and marked with moral laxity (p. 32). The postcolonial government under Mobutu Sese Seko attempted to redeem 'coopted, instrumentalized, and commercialized' popular dance and *danseuses* as part of cultural nationalism and for political gain. Yet Mobutu's and his patrons' indecencies with *danseuses* – both rumoured and confirmed – further reinforced the image of dance as morally corrupt (p. 167). This chapter enriches our understanding of sartorial nationalism and dance as an extension of cultural nativity and as a tool for politically inept leaders to appear moral and Afrocentric.

Chapter 2 explores the overlapping ways in which space shapes perception, performance, expectation and socialization in dance. Although dancing happens in different places where people socialize, including concerts, clubs, churches and wakes – blurring the binary between private/public and sacred/secular – purpose and gaze produce varied interpretations. Importantly, the author shows how the mirror is an inseparable aesthetic feature of nightclubs, yet the politics of pleasure and dancing in view of the mirror is complicated in Kinshasa. According to Braun, the mirror is where dancers learn to manage and perform their femininity while remaining cautious of conflicting messages about sensuality, morality and pleasure; thus, the mirror 'offers a different spectacle that introduces another kind of control and containment' (p. 62). Chapter 3 links dance as a form of cultural expressivity to the global economy of culture, migration, mobility and African identity. Braun also explores the gendered nature of dance and popular music. Dancing and popular music in Kinshasa are undergirded by phallic patrimonialism and double standards that mean that female artists and dancers require men as *encadrement* (management) to attain success and visibility. Despite this reality, as Braun contends, there are outliers. In rare instances, such dancers, acting as band leaders, are able to perform masculinities to survive precarity and, through

gendered self-presentation, such as using masculine attire and pronouns, to evade binary categorization.

Chapter 4 reveals how visual cultures linked the image of Mami Wata, a water spirit and deified figure in most of West Africa, to immorality, seduction, temptation, sorcery, ill-gotten fame and malevolence. Popular imagination, which linked rumours about Mami Wata with the *danseuse*, complicated the life of dancers specifically and women more broadly in Kinshasa. Chapter 5 shows how other lines of work outside dancing that also require visibility for women, such as journalism, politics and business, are caught within similar webs of stereotypes, stigmatization and anxieties.

Overall, *Congo's Dancers* will be of interest to scholars from a range of fields, including cultural studies, sociology, anthropology, gender and women's studies. The weaving together of different indigenous languages makes it a rich resource for language and cultural studies. Also, the analysis of postcolonial patriarchal Kinshasa as it relates to global capitalism, which makes women susceptible to transactional sex for economic independence, makes the book a useful text for classes that transcend cultural and expressive studies to examine history, politics and development. Finally, this book extends the research on how we think of the boom and doom of visibility for those expected to live behind the veil, heard but not seen.

Rosemary Oyinlola Popoola

University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA

Emails: rpopoola@wisc.edu/popoolarosemary@gmail.com

doi: [10.1017/S0001972023000827](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972023000827)

Ohiniko M. Toffa, *Christliche Moral und koloniale Herrschaft in Togo: Die Missionskonzeption Franz Michael Zahns (1862–1900)*. Bielefeld: transcript (pb €50 – 978 3 8376 6537 6). 2023, 346 pp.

A lot has been written about the relation between Christian missions and colonialism in Africa. The distinctive feature of this German-language book by Ohiniko M. Toffa is that it offers a fresh perspective on this relationship from an epistemic and ethical angle. The central focus is the writings of Franz Michael Zahn, who directed the *Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft* (NMG) from 1862 to 1900. Active since 1847 among the Ewe in the area that is today southern Togo and south-east Ghana, the NMG had to navigate the German colonial presence after 1884. Toffa, who received a BA in German Studies from the University of Lomé and a PhD in cultural studies from Bremen University – his thesis is the basis of this book – offers a detailed linguistic analysis of Zahn's mission concept. The aim is to understand what colonialism meant not merely in a political sense, but also in a deeper, less easy-to-grasp epistemological and moral sense, one that enveloped a great deal of Ewe Christian converts and still lingers on as 'colonial traumata' in current Ewe society.

The first chapter lays out the central research questions and hypotheses, which seek to grasp Zahn's mission concept and the NMG's aim of implementing a new