

In the first instance, attention is paid to the case of Lennox Njokweni, a clerk at Inyati Boys' Industrial and Agricultural Institution. An 'urbane man' who was on speaking terms with the local NC, and who wore a hat as a sign of 'his distinction' (p. 55), Njokweni had his hat knocked off by the assistant NC, Tapson, for a perceived display of impudence. Tapping into debates regarding the role of white women in the colonial enterprise, Shutt moves to examine the position of a colonial wife, Rose Comberbach. Shutt details how Comberbach became a vocal critic of the policy of cattle culling, undermining white patriarchal prerogatives and 'racial etiquette' by speaking on behalf of the African population (p. 72).

Continuing with white women, Chapter 3, 'Etiquette and integration', examines how white women were perceived as 'conduits of good manners' (p. 78), who played a central role in promoting 'the lessons of racial etiquette' (p. 91). As Shutt argues, instilling 'proper' manners into one's African servants was seen as part and parcel of being a 'good Rhodesian' (p. 98). While Chapter 4, 'Courtesy and rudeness', does note that the relative political 'liberalism' of the Federation years saw a slight relaxation of the rules of etiquette, on the whole, the regulation of manners continued. Interestingly, Shutt notes that, during this period, the African press was 'chock-full of stories about ill-mannered whites bullying courteous and deferential Africans' (p. 119). In Chapter 5, 'Violence and hospitality', Shutt notes the increasing irrelevance of white attempts to promote an 'image of friendly race relations' (p. 138) in the context of the growing tide of African nationalism. In concluding, Shutt argues for a greater appraisal of 'white ideals about courtesy and rudeness' (p. 177), demonstrating that 'in the end as at the beginning, manners mattered' (p. 179).

Persuasively argued and lucidly written, *Manners* is an important contribution to the existing literature. In particular, Shutt deserves praise for her judicious treatment of African nationalism, as she does not 'read' proto-nationalism where there is scant evidence of it. In summation, this book is likely to have a wide appeal not only to scholars and students of Zimbabwe, but to a broader range of social historians who are interested in understanding the complex ways in which power was exercised in the name of European colonialism.

Kate Law  
University of Chichester  
[K.Law@chi.ac.uk](mailto:K.Law@chi.ac.uk)  
doi:10.1017/S0001972016000796

Kate Skinner, *The Fruits of Freedom in British Togoland: literacy, politics and nationalism, 1914–2014*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (hb £60 – 978 1 107 07463 7). 2015, 298 pp.

One of the more intriguing by-products of the celebrations marking fifty years of independence has been the reappraisal of African nationalism(s). A number of historians have begun the process of reconstructing the range of political alternatives that were on offer in the 1950s and early 1960s, and restoring some of the lost causes to their rightful place in history. Although Kate Skinner does not explicitly engage with this emerging literature, she has written a book that is very much part of a new wave that is breathing new life into old debates.

There was a time when the historiography of trans-Volta was rather undeveloped, but there has been a steady stream of studies over the past two decades – and with much more in the pipeline – that have transformed the academic landscape. Now, the problem is almost one of finding something original

to research. Kate Skinner tackles a topic on which a considerable amount has been written, but she has managed to produce a manuscript that really does present new material and set up a counterpoint to what has gone before. Her larger agenda is to make the case for Togoland unificationism as a movement that sank deep societal roots and had a longevity that much of the preceding literature – the work of this reviewer included – has tended to downplay. At the time of writing, the demand for recognition of the special case of former British Togoland is being revived in the Volta Region of Ghana. Clearly, Skinner is onto something important here. More specifically, she inserts herself between the historiographical cracks, offering a deeper explanation for much of what has been addressed tangentially by previous writers. Her originality resides in the deployment of a range of hitherto unused sources – pamphlets, songs, personal histories and the contents of people's personal trunks – to recover the perspectives of those who have been marginalized in received accounts of Ghanaian and Togolese independence.

The book makes three especially important contributions. The first is to explain why and how schoolteachers provided the backbone of the unification leadership. Skinner reconstructs the history of teachers attached to the Christian (mainly Presbyterian) missions. She shows how a sense of personal frustration over career progression was coupled with a feeling that the Trust Territory had been disadvantaged in relation to the southern Gold Coast. In relating this sense of grievance to the trajectories of particular individuals who became prominent in the movement, Skinner joins a number of historical dots in a way that makes much better sense of the larger picture. Her reconstruction of the way in which the adult education movement – initially an importation of a British model – brought teachers and ordinary Togolandese together into a running dialogue is a major new contribution to knowledge. Secondly, Skinner provides a much more satisfactory account of how the unification movement went about its business. Historians have tended to rely heavily on the paper trail left by petitions to the United Nations, whereas Skinner alerts us to the role of song, pamphlets and cultural performance in political mobilization. The political discourse surrounding *Ablode*, or 'freedom', is rendered much more comprehensible within this particular framing. Thirdly, Skinner has performed an invaluable exercise in reconstructing the stories of those who went into exile in Togo after 1957. She takes issue with this reviewer's assertion that exiles or refugees largely dropped out of active politics, and demonstrates that they maintained the dream of unification for a long time thereafter. The case she builds is convincing, albeit more so for the Olympio period than for the tenure of Gnassingbe Eyadéma.

In general, when previous authors have weighed up the strengths and weaknesses of the Togoland unification movement, they have seen the glass as being half empty. Skinner prefers to see it as being half full. Of course, this means that one's vantage counts for everything. In writing a history that approaches politics from the perspective of ordinary people inhabiting the towns and villages of southern Togoland, Skinner has offered a different angle and much new evidence. We can continue to argue about what is in the glass, but we can at least agree that the contents are vital for an understanding of the politics of this region of West Africa. The book, which is richly detailed and elegantly argued, represents a major contribution to the historiography.

Paul Nugent

University of Edinburgh and IAS Princeton

[pnugent@staffmail.ed.ac.uk](mailto:pnugent@staffmail.ed.ac.uk)

doi:10.1017/S0001972016000802