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SOURCES OF HISTORY

SOURCES OF HISTORY USED IN RECOVERING ZIMBABWE'S PRE-COLONIAL HISTORY

There are three major sources used by historians in the reconstruction of pre-colonial history of Zimbabwe. These are oral tradition, written records and archaeology. The other sources include linguistics, anthropology, botany, rock paintings and ethnography.

[1] ORAL TRADITION

It is the information which is passed from generation to generation by the word of mouth. It is the oldest way and perhaps the most popular in recording African history. Oral tradition is sometimes called unwritten history. Oral tradition can be in form of praise poems and songs telling the heroic deeds of an ancestor, a clan or a whole community of people. Songs and poems are fairly reliable sources of oral tradition hence it is useful although it can be distorted, forgotten or exaggerated. Oral traditions are verbal testimonies which may refer to king lists, succession, migrations of people, wars and so on. This source of history is fundamental in the reconstruction of prehistory of Zimbabwe and assist historians with information they would not otherwise be able to acquire. Oral tradition was used during the pre-colonial era because most Africans were not able to write and written records hardly existed. Oral tradition is the only source which can bring one very close to pre-colonial Zimbabwean history. It is the backbone of all other sources. Other sources depend on oral tradition. Oral tradition becomes the starting point without which makes the reconstruction of the past very difficult. Archaeology and written records come in as complementary sources. Archaeology and written records provide a deeper analysis of the Zimbabwean past.

Usefulness of Oral Tradition in recovering Zimbabwe's pre-colonial history

- Oral tradition has been extremely useful in providing information about the foundation of the Great Zimbabwe state. Shona traditions speak of the ancestors of the Shona as the builders of stone walls at Great Zimbabwe and many other sites around and outside present day Zimbabwe. It corrects the myths spread by Euro-centrists of the 19th and 20th Centuries who attributed its construction to foreigners like Arabs and Phoenicians. The Shona claims made through oral tradition were subsequently verified by archaeological findings.
- Oral tradition has also been useful in providing historical information on the Mutapa state, for instance, it provides information about the origins of the Mutapa state. According to oral tradition the state was founded by Nyatsimba Mutota who had migrated from Great Zimbabwe with his followers to the Dande region. It is also known from oral tradition that Mutapa was an offshoot of Great Zimbabwe state which collapsed due to shortage of salt and other resources.
- The names of some of the Mutapa rulers are known to the present generations through oral traditions, for example, Mutota and his successor Nyanhewe Matope.
- Oral tradition also provides information about the Rozvi state, for instance, the origins of the Rozvi state is known through oral tradition. More so, the names of early Rozvi rulers like Changamire Dombo are well known through oral tradition. Hence oral tradition has

an advantage over archaeology because archaeology cannot provide names of people and places.

- The 19th C history of the Ndebele and Shona has been transmitted through oral traditions and these have been useful in providing an African perspective and countering some of the distortions of the 19th C European writers. Good examples of such distortions include European claims that the Ndebele-Shona relations were hostile. It has also been claimed that the Shona were helpless victims of perennial Ndebele raids. It was also stated that the Ndebele economy was entirely based on raiding. Oral tradition from both groups counteracted such claims and asserted that the relations were for the most part based on peaceful co-existence, trade and cultural exchange. Wars and raids did occur but even then they were not as endemic and destructive as the European writers have suggested.
- Oral tradition gives detailed information on people's social and political organisation which cannot be easily done by archaeology and linguistics.
- Oral tradition is very helpful by mentioning names of people, places and genealogies which archaeology cannot do.
- Oral tradition helps to fill the gaps in written records and archaeology. J Vansina postulated that oral tradition provides clothing, colour and flesh on the bones of the past. He further argues that oral tradition provides key to the explanation that will be missing in written records and archaeology. Oral tradition explains most if not all the questions raised in archaeology's findings allowing one to develop a mental framework of what happened in the past. These two sources rely on oral tradition for names, events and places. For instance, the name Changamire can only be fully understood after traditions on who he was and his role in society. This implies that oral tradition is always needed to furnish modern methods. Thus to go deep into issues of history, to make it live and bring out a clear picture of the past, oral tradition is needed. Brooks and others argue that oral evidence has illuminated [shed light on] many areas of life that were previously poorly documented. Thus without oral tradition, one would know very little about the prehistory of Zimbabwe. Hence oral tradition is irreplaceable as a source of recovering Zimbabwe's pre-history.

Disadvantages / Limitations / Weaknesses of Oral Tradition

- Oral tradition has a problem of memory lapses [the fallibility of memory]. People tend to lose memory hence oral tradition is subject to distortion. J Vansina propounded that oral traditions are not reliable because there is a danger of omission of pertinent information thus creating some historical gaps. D N Beach gives a common situation where some informants think they saw things happening when they were young when in fact they were told them by their parents during infancy. Informants tend to create new stories in gaps they had forgotten. Oral tradition therefore depends on the efficiency of one's memory. Hence the reliability of oral tradition is hampered by the tendency to forget.
- Oral tradition has a problem of manipulation to suit the present situation. J Vansina argues that "most traditions" if not all accounts, present a history that reflects consciousness of the present. As a result many informants had produced new ideas and infused them to suit their existent situation. Twaddle [1974] states that most traditions are concerned with "refurbishing their traditional heritage to meet current political needs. Oral tradition has been attacked by post modernists. Post modernism is a school of thought that became popular from the 1980s. Its central argument is that all accounts are formulated to

suit present or modern concerns and interests. Traditions are oral since they are not recorded and they can easily be shifted.

- Oral tradition has a problem of chronology. It does not follow a sequence. Oral societies had no calendars and most traditions are not precisely dated. According to Henige [1971], “Perhaps the weakest aspect of oral tradition is its inability to establish and maintain an accurate assessment of the length of the past it purports to relate”. In most cases, catastrophic events like drought, plagues, for example, plague of locusts usually mark the beginning of oral history. The Bantu usually start their history with the time of exodus and expansion. Oral tradition thus failed to provide specific dates and specific years because of reference to natural historical events like years of droughts, locusts, floods, migrations or wars. Oral tradition is therefore concerned with major events in the development of a people rather than minor ones that may have occurred on the way, thus creating some historical gaps. Oral tradition sometimes shortens or prolongs the duration of events.
- Oral tradition has a short life span. This is where it is outweighed by other sources like written records and archaeology which last for a long time. Spear argued that oral tradition cannot live more than 500 years. Time depth is critical as oral tradition in Zimbabwe does not go beyond 400 years [4 centuries].
- Oral tradition proved incapable of providing adequate information about the pre-colonial states. For instance, there is no accurate information about the names of the rulers of Great Zimbabwe who have simply been referred to as mambo in many accounts. That is a dynastic title which unfortunately does not shed any light on the individual identities of the rulers. One name that is well known in the history of Great Zimbabwe is that of Nyatsimba Mutota who deserted it with his followers in order to find salt and other resources in the Dande region. This helped to bring about the demise of Great Zimbabwe and the rise of Mutapa state.

2] ARCHAEOLOGY

It is another source of unwritten history. No foreign writers had visited the interior of Zimbabwe and also people during the pre-colonial era had no knowledge of writing. Hence unwritten history had been relied on. Archaeology is the scientific study of material remains like tools, pottery, religious artifacts used by people of long ago and bones.

Usefulness of Archaeology in recovering Zimbabwe’s pre-colonial history

- Archaeology is very helpful in the reconstruction of Zimbabwe’s pre-history, for instance, it has been extremely important in generating knowledge about the Stone Age period. By digging up sites and examining remains of animals, rocks and other remains, archaeologists have helped to reconstruct Zimbabwe’s Stone Age pre-colonial past that was characterised by the use of simple stone and wooden tools for hunting small animals and digging up edible roots.
- The transition from Late Stone age to Early Iron age is also known through archaeology. The discovery of ancient iron workings through archaeological excavations helped to shed light on the pre-colonial transition from Late Stone age to Early Iron age. Iron tools have been discovered and these include axes, spears and hoes which have enabled the Iron Age to be distinguished as an era which was marked by the advent of agriculture rather than hunting and gathering of the Stone Agers. Remains of iron at Iron Age sites like Gokomere, Ziwa and Mabveni discovered by archaeologists suggest the importance of

mining and remains of pottery suggest settled communities and that these communities cultivated grains and beans. Archaeologists also discovered sea shells at Kadzi and Mabveni. This suggests some indirect connection with the Indian Ocean trade during the first half of the first millennium AD. This is further supported by the location of sites which seem to favour fertile streams.

- The history of large settlements like Great Zimbabwe is also known through archaeology. It played an important role in solving the controversy on the builders of Great Zimbabwe. It supports the claims made by oral tradition that Great Zimbabwe was built by the Shona. It is also known through archaeology that Great Zimbabwe participated in external trade. For instance, the 1903 findings at Great Zimbabwe of Persian bowls, Chinese stone wares, Near Eastern glasses, iron spoon, copper rings, copper box, glass beads, iron lamp holder, copper chains and so on, suggest the presence of long distance trade at Great Zimbabwe.

Limitations / weaknesses of Archaeology in recovering Zimbabwe's pre-colonial History

- Archaeology has reduced the study of Zimbabwe's pre-colonial history to the study of bones, waste products, rocks and other remains.
- It failed to supply names of people, places and details about the language spoken by the societies. For example, there are no names for any of the Stone Age communities, the Great Zimbabwe people and language that have been recovered through archaeological research. It does not give names of rulers unless there are inscriptions on an artifact. For Phillipson [1985], this was one of its chief weaknesses. It thus relied on oral tradition for names of people and places.
- It cannot account for population structure, the number of people according to sex [gender] as well as ethnicity of a given social group.
- Its contribution is weighed down by the fact that it neglects the political and other cultural aspects. For instance, it does not give information on the hierarchy of dynasties. These may however, be obtained from oral tradition.

3] WRITTEN RECORDS

They cover most of period after people were able to read and write. The earliest written sources referring to the Zimbabwe plateau [the area between Zambezi and Limpopo] came from Arab visitors [traders]. The Portuguese who came later to trade with the Shona and those who visited the Mozambican coast recorded at second hand the circumstances of the interior. The Portuguese gathered information from earliest Swahili / Arab traders who had initially ventured or others who had encountered the communities of the Zimbabwe plateau personally, for instance, the most important sailing manual of Ibn Madjid written sometime between 1475 and 1489.

*However, this source is vague [not clear], repetitive and confusing. It does not specifically mention Great Zimbabwe or Mutapa state but perhaps the land of Butua further west and Eastern regions of the plateau.

Reference to Great Zimbabwe is found in Portuguese sources of the second half of the 16th C but these are clearly second hand accounts that were narrated to them by Swahili / Arab traders who roamed the Zimbabwean plateau. An example is the description of Great Zimbabwe by Joao de Barros.

When the Portuguese arrived on the Zimbabwean plateau in the early 16th C, they described some of the royal capitals they saw in the Mutapa state, for example, the account of Diego de Alencastre. It is from these accounts that one learnt that state capitals were called Dzimbadzamabwe [Houses of Stones].

Following the journeys of Antonio Fernandes into the Mutapa state in the early 16th C, Portuguese sources carry vivid accounts of the royal courts as well as the gold trade dominated by the Swahili.

*However, the sources are limited in that they still rely heavily on information supplied elsewhere or by Arab [Muslim] traders. This suggests that the Portuguese recordings are not reliable with regards to Zimbabwe's prehistory. Besides that, Portuguese were not established in the interior until the 1630s and 1640s. This is why the written sources are largely silent between 1520 and 1570. They only made sporadic reference to events in the Mutapa state.

With the murder of Goncalo da Silveira in 1561 there was reference to the Mutapa state, leading to the campaigns of 1570-75.

From the late 15th C onwards Portuguese accounts have been a major source of Mutapa history furnishing names of Mutapa rulers, details about trade with the Swahili-Arabs and the Portuguese themselves. Names such as Mavura Mhande, Nyanhewe Matope, Gatsi Rusere and Nyahuma are well known from the Portuguese accounts. Portuguese accounts also supply information on the Mutapa's political organisation consisting of officials such as the Captain of the gates, stewards, chamberlain and the chief priests.

Portuguese records are also useful in recovering the political, social and economic history of the Rozvi.

The 19th C accounts by missionaries, hunters and traders have also been very important in shedding light on the Ndebele and Shona on the eve of colonial rule. They shed light on Ndebele raiding activities on the Shona possibly with exaggerations as to their impact.

The letters of missionaries such as Charles Helm, Robert Moffat and J S Moffat give accurate dates concerning the establishment of mission stations as well as their activities and futile attempts to Christianise the Ndebele. It is known with certainty that Inyati and Hope Fountain missions were founded in 1859 and 1870 respectively. It is also known that missionaries engaged in various tasks like treating diseases, like Mzilikazi's gout, mending wagons, writing books in vernacular languages [Ndebele and Shona] and so on. It is also known from them how the likes of J S Moffat and Charles Helm abused Lobengula's trust by secretly advocating the destruction of the Ndebele kingdom and misled him into signing the Moffat treaty and the Rudd concession in 1888. These two treaties paved way for the colonisation of Zimbabwe which commenced officially on 12 September 1890.

4] LINGUISTICS/LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

It is an auxiliary discipline and is the study of languages and their developments. Uniformity of a language over a certain area or region may suggest contacts, relationships, common origins and similar experiences, for example, Bantu. Variations in language within the same group of people may suggest a break in contacts, for example, Mfecane groups. The borrowing of words from other languages may suggest conquest, absorption or influence from other groups.

This source is important in recovering the history of Zimbabwe and Southern Africa. Studies of language can help to trace the movement and intermingling of people and can provide with a means of grouping or classifying people.

5] ANTHROPOLOGY

It is also an auxiliary discipline. It is the study of society of men, how they are organised, socially [for example, religion], politically [for example, forms of government] and economically and also the times along which people develops. In doing so, historians investigate the past and suggest the stage by which the society has progressed. Historians can learn from studies of culture to construct history.

6] BOTANY

It is the scientific study of plants and other geographical features [fauna and flora]. Historians can through it understand the environment which people developed.

7] ROCK PAINTINGS

They can tell what things really looked like in the past. The San and the Khoikhoi did rock paintings which show their life style. For instance they could draw the animals they hunted and methods they used. However, not all pictures show how things really looked like. One picture can be interpreted in different ways by different people.

THE SAN HUNTER-GATHERERS

The San were the first known inhabitants of central and southern Africa. They were a Stone Age people. Their tools were made from stones, wood and bones.

Myths about the San

The first Europeans who came to Southern Africa and the early colonial historians spread myths about the way of life of the San. They wrote that the San were totally ignorant of economic issues. They said the San had no sense of possession or ownership and that they were lazy and spent little time doing productive work. However, this was not correct.

Economic system of the San

Contrary to the distorted picture given by Euro-centrists, the San had developed a highly efficient economy and technology that was suited to their environment. They had detailed knowledge of the land and existing natural resources. They knew how to use these resources efficiently.

a] The San were excellent **hunters**. Hunting was a collaborative exercise and the meat was always shared among the group. Thus a successful hunt meant feasting for everybody back at the camp. They were hunters who knew the ways of the animals they hunted. They hunted wild animals like hares, rock rabbits, rats, tortoise and reptiles like lizards, particularly in the dry season when plant food was scarce. One of their hunting methods was the use of pit traps covered with wood and grass. The pits were dug near large rivers where game came to drink water. The other method of hunting was the use of poisoned arrows. Poison was extracted from roots, barks and berries or from poisonous snakes, spiders or scorpions. The poison was neuro toxic and does not contaminate the whole animal. The meat they hunted was cooked fresh or smoked and dried for later use. Only small quantities of meat were to be preserved in this way because it had to be carried when the group moved on to the next place.

b] The San **gathered** wild fruits, edible bulbs, nuts, insects like locusts, flying ants, caterpillars, honey and so on. It was the task of women and children to collect vegetable food. The regular source of daily food for a small San community was that collected by women. Gathering has less social significance but it provided about 80% of the food.

C] **Fishing** was also done by the San. Fish became an important part of their diet. They caught fish using basket traps made from reeds. Their rock paintings showed these traps and small boats or rafts they used when catching fish. Sharpened bones found at some campsites are believed to have been used as hooks to catch fish and these hooks were much like hooks used today.

d] They **made baskets** which they used for catching fish and for other purposes.

e] **Leather work** was done. They made blankets and skin cloaks from animal skins. These were to keep them warm especially in temperate climates. They also made net bags from leather.

f] **Spinning** was also done. Plant fibres were spun into a kind of twine for making traps.

g] **Wood work** was done. They used wood for making pegs, bows and arrows and digging sticks.

Political Organisation of the San

They practiced consensual democracy. This was because they had no chiefs or a centralised political system. Hence they solved disputes communally. This implies that there was no sign of social ranking. No one monopolised decisions. Even movement to different campsites organised by the group. There were only leaders of groups but decisions were communally discussed.

Social Organisation of the San

They practiced division of labour. Women gathered while men hunted and caught fish. The San shared food equally. This implies that they were in the communal stage. The San were nomadic in consistent search of lucrative hunting grounds and plant foods. Nomadism was a result of their desire to live within an environment that could furnish them with everything. They did not have permanent shelters. They lived in caves and also built temporary shelters made from bust materials like tree branches, reeds or grass. They had small families and lived and moved in small groups of about 5-35 people. Thus they kept the population at levels that the environment could support. D N Beach says the San practiced some form of natural family planning. Hence they were provident [prudent]. The San extracted medicine to cure a wide range of diseases. Poison was extracted from roots, leaves and bark. The San women were experts at harvesting and preparing medical plants. The San could easily split up further if resources became scarce. Fragmentation also occurred when a group became too big to be supported by the environment. This barred the formation of states and social conflicts also became rare. They used ostrich egg shells to carry and store water. Their society was egalitarian [classless]. This was the stage of early communalism. People were thus more or less equal. This therefore means that there was no visible exploitation. The San buried the dead. They also believed that upon death the soul went back to the great God's house. The San painted on rocks and cave walls. Some of these paintings were showing their lifestyle and beliefs, for example, animals they could not kill. They made paint of many colours which had lasted for thousands of years. They also painted pictures of themselves. The San had a unique click language. The San could preserve their food, for instance, meat was smoked and dried for later use. They also dried fruits and vegetables. The San had a sense of beauty. According to P. Garlake, rock paintings show that they wore a few clothes but also did put on many jewels for beauty purposes. They also plaited their hair. The San were intensely religious people. They believed in the supremacy of one powerful God to whom they prayed for success in hunting. However, they also recognise the presence of lesser gods along with their wives and children. They believed that any mountain, valley, spring, plain, lowland or rivers was inhabited by a spirit of some kind.

THE KHOIKHOI / THE KHOI HERDERS

The Khoikhoi were the other early inhabitants of Southern Africa. They were Stone Age hunter gatherers just like the San, but added pastoralism to their way of life. They were called 'Hottentots' by the early Europeans, meaning 'Stammerers'. They adopted the name Khoikhoi, which means 'men of men', for they considered their way of life superior to that of the San.

Origins of the Khoikhoi

The exact origin of the Khoikhoi is debatable. The old theory says that the Khoikhoi had migrated from East Africa with their livestock and settled in Southern Africa. In the contrary, recent historical evidence has shown that this is not true. It is being argued that the Khoikhoi were among the original inhabitants of the area. It is also argued that some of the San people adapted to changes in their environment and began to raise domestic animals, probably about 2000 years ago.

Economic System of the Khoikhoi

Pastoralism was the major economic activity of the Khoikhoi. They kept long horned cattle, fat tailed sheep and goats. Animals were kept for meat and milk. Cattle in particular became an important symbol of wealth and prestige in the community. The whole way of life of the Khoikhoi was organised around their livestock hence the name Khoi herders. They moved from place to place during different seasons looking for pastures and water for their animals [transhumance system]. When hunting was not successful, their fat tailed sheep and goats provided a ready supply of meat. Cattle were only killed on special occasions. **Crop cultivation** was also done. As time went on, around the third century AD, some Khoisan people began to grow crops. They cultivated a grain called Pennisetum and a variety of other plants. Hunting and gathering were done. Like the San, both sexes of the Khoikhoi were involved in the community's economic activities. Men **hunted** wild animals for meat and to get skin for clothing. Thus they still depended on hunting for much of their meat. Women gathered roots, berries, wild fruits and so on. They did **pottery**. They made pots in great numbers to store and carry milk. There was a small handle near the neck of the pot so that it could be hung from a tree or carried over the shoulder on a stick. Pots were also used for storing the fat from the tails of their sheep. The Khoikhoi's industry and technology were more developed than those of the San. They still used wooden digging stick, bags and other tools used by the San but they introduced new technology, for example, **smelting** and **smithing** of iron and copper and carving of shallow dishes. Trade was also done. They **traded** with traders from the Near East, who often came to the South Eastern coast of Africa. They traded with salt extracted from salty mineral springs through evaporation in soapstone dishes.

Social Organisation of the Khoikhoi

Young people were initiated into adulthood at about 18 years. Marriage was to take place after this ritual had been performed. The groom paid lobola in form of an ox for the wedding feast. The improvement in diet led to a slight increase in the size of the people from the very small stature of the San. In addition to the loin cloth of the San, the Khoikhoi wore leather cloaks or karosses, fur caps on their heads and sandals on their feet. They smeared their bodies with ointment made from red iron-stone and fat and they used sweet smelling herbs to overcome the smell of perspiration on the body. They moved from one camp to another in search of pasture and water for their livestock. The Khoikhoi camps were larger and more settled than those of the San because they had a ready food supply close at hand. A Khoikhoi village consisted of from 5-35 or more dome shaped huts and they did not live in caves because of their large numbers. The huts were arranged in a circle and domestic animals were kraaled overnight within the village circle. Men became more important than women. They controlled the cattle and sheep, so they had control over the main supply of surplus food. They lived and moved in fairly large groups of about 200 people. There was division of labour. Men hunted and were cattle herders while women milked

cows and goats, gathered and made pots. They believed in the Supreme Being or God. Other religious systems were similar to the San beliefs, for example, that there were spirits in natural forces, especially in water and rain. Political system of the Khoikhoi Unlike the San, the Khoikhoi had a more organised system of authority. Khoikhoi society was organised in extended family clans. Several clans formed a chiefdom which was headed by a chief. Chieftainship was hereditary. Thus the office of the chief passed from father to son. The word of the chief was the law. People usually chose a counsellor to assist the chief in his duties. With the growth of cattle keeping some clans became richer than others. Disputes arose and were settled by the chief. Similarities between the San and the Khoikhoi. Both hunted wild animals. Both gathered wild fruits and berries. Both were nomadic. Both caught fish. Both wore clothes from animal skins. Both used wooden digging sticks.

Differences between the San and the Khoikhoi

- ✓ The San lived in small groups [5-35] while the Khoikhoi lived in large groups [about 200 people].
- ✓ Technology of the Khoikhoi had improved as compared to that of the San.
- ✓ Disputes among the San were settled communally while among the Khoikhoi they were settled by chiefs.
- ✓ There was no visible exploitation among the San yet visible exploitation was there among the Khoikhoi. The poor began to work for the rich.
- ✓ The Khoikhoi domesticated animals yet the San did not.
- ✓ The San lived in caves but the Khoikhoi lived in dome shaped huts and did not live in caves because of their large numbers.
- ✓ The Khoikhoi made pots to store and carry water yet the San used ostrich egg shells and tortoise shells.
- ✓ The Khoikhoi grew crops yet the San did not.
- ✓ The Khoikhoi did external trade yet the San did not.
- ✓ The Khoikhoi had a centralised political system yet the San did not. They were ruled by chiefs.

THE TRANSITION [CHANGES] FROM LATE STONE AGE TO EARLY IRON AGE

The Early Iron Age in Zimbabwe succeeded the Late Stone Age. The Early Iron Age was associated with some innovations never known to the earlier hunter-gatherers. It is for this reason that some historians have described the transitional period from the Late Stone Age to Early Iron Age as having been revolutionary. The innovations ushered in a revolution which changed the manner in which goods and services were produced. Of particular interest was the introduction of iron although there were other changes like organised agriculture and permanent settlements. It is imperative for one to note that the new iron users did not completely break away from all what the stone technologists did. Some old elements continued but were improved.

Economic changes during the Early Iron Age

a] Hunting and gathering continued during the Early Iron Age but they were improved by the use of iron tools and implements which were more effective than old stone and wooden tools used during the Stone Age period. They began to hunt using iron tipped spears and arrow heads though hunting was no longer important as they mainly concentrated on crop cultivation and animal rearing. With the use of iron tools, more meat was made available to a wide range of people and that improved the health of the people. Logically that gave the ordinary men an opportunity to live longer than before.

*On a negative note, improved hunting resulted in indiscriminate killing of animals.

b] Although Crop production began towards the end of the Late Stone Age, it was during the Early Iron Age that it became organised, productive and widespread. These iron technologists grew a variety of crops and vegetables like millet, melons, roots, sorghum, pumpkins, beans and peas. The use of iron tools like hoes and axes revolutionised agriculture, increased production, improved diet and lessened dependence on hunting and gathering. These iron tools that were more reliable, sharper and stronger meant that the people were now able to clear large pieces of land for agriculture and also for settlements. Ashes were used as fertilisers and lasted for 3-4 years. According to B Davidson, the iron technologists became horticulturalists and began to settle into hamlets and villages were located near rivers so as to take advantage of irrigation. This boosted production of food and consequently agriculture became people's primary means of survival.

*However, production of surplus food due to the use of iron tools led to exploitation of men by men as those who did not have enough could work for the haves. More so, iron tools enabled people to work on larger pieces of land hence destroying more vegetation.

c] The Late Stone agers only domesticated dogs but the Early Iron agers began to keep animals like cattle, goats and sheep. These improved the diet tremendously as domestication of animals meant the availability of meat, fat and milk. Cattle were the most important because they were the backbone of their economy. Cattle were also important because they were used as a status symbol in a society. The number of cattle one owned determined one's social standing. Those with many cattle were considered rich and they used them to marry many wives and this enabled them to get labour to work in fields. Cattle were also eaten in times of famine and some were traded with neighbours for grain. Cattle rearing just like crop production brought food security.

*On a negative note, the society was being stratified according to the amount of wealth acquired. Thus classes emerged based on cattle ownership. Social stratification was also evidenced by the fact that the rich [those with many cattle] employed labour from the poor [varanda] as herd boys.

d] Mining was a revolutionary innovation. One cannot talk of the Iron Age without talking about mining. Mining was a very important economic activity and basis of tool making. The Early Iron Agers started to mine iron, copper and gold which was traded with the Swahili and Arab traders on the Indian Ocean coast. According to J.D Fage, iron technology led to mining with the use of strong iron tools like picks and reached very considerable depths over 100 feet until stopped by water and insufficient ventilation. These Early Iron agers practiced 3 types of mining namely, shaft, alluvial and open cast mining. Mining brought the creation of a special class of blacksmiths, hence social stratification based on profession. Mining was a seasonal activity and was done outside the rain season.

e] Trade was not a revolutionary innovation because trade was already there during the Late Stone age. But it became quite pronounced and more organised during the Early Iron age. Both internal and external trade became visible and more organised than it was during the Late Stone age. Towards the end of the Early Iron age the Zimbabwean iron users traded with foreigners coming from especially Persia [Iran], Arabia and there is evidence that they might have had access to the Indian and Chinese markets. J D Fage argued that it is highly probable that immense quantities of gold were exported. Elkins argued that Muslims traded quality iron with these people for Indian made Damascus swords. Evidence also indicated that they must have traded gold and copper for products like Chinese porcelain and beads. External trade also took the form of regional trade. According to J.D Fage, archaeological findings found at Ingombe Ilede seem to prove that there was a flourishing trade between Zimbabwe's Early Iron users and their Zambian counterparts. Trade both local and foreign had profound impact on people's lives as it enabled them to acquire wealth. Internally, they exchanged their surplus goods, for example, surplus grain could be exchanged for iron tools or livestock and specialist people like blacksmiths utilised this trade to earn a living.

*However, trade also brought social stratification. It led to the formation of classes because some became richer than others.

Social changes during the Early Iron Age

Economic changes brought about important social changes.

a] The Early Iron agers began to build permanent settlements. They built permanent houses made from pole and dagga with grass thatch. These huts were small and clustered together into villages. K. Shillington propounded that one of the major changes was that families could now no longer have to move from one settlement to another according to season. The appearance of permanent homes was a revolutionary innovation. They could however move when soils they cultivate got exhausted. The permanence of villages was explained by the fact that the bulky yields of grains they harvested could not be carried easily from one place to another. This was contrary to the Stone Age people who tended to be mobile because they depended on their environment for food and livelihood.

*However, on a negative note, forests were destroyed in the process of clearing land for settlements and in the process of searching for poles they used to build their huts.

b] There was an increase of population during the Early Iron age. This was largely due to better food security [from domestic animals, crops they grew, animals they hunted and food they gathered]. Population increase was also due to polygamy. This growth of population led to clan formation.

c] There was specialisation in areas such as mining, blacksmithing, weaving, basketry, fishing and farming. This led to an improvement in the standard of living of people as they were offered a lot of options with regard to survival skills.

d] Division of labour was not a revolutionary innovation. But during the Early Iron Age, exploitation of women and children became more apparent. Women and children were given the most difficult [arduous] task of crop cultivation due to division of labour. Thus women became weaker and subordinate workers of the society.

e] The introduction of polygamy was a revolutionary innovation and became popular with the Iron Age people. According to Davenport, this innovation was absent during the Stone Age period. The Stone Agers had small families. It was seen as an important source of labour especially by the new farmers. Polygamy enabled people to cultivate large pieces of land thus boosting food production and ensuring food security. They used iron tools, agricultural produce and animals they kept for paying lobola. Bride price appeared for the first time. Because people paid lobola, children belonged to the husband who paid the price.

Political changes

a] The introduction of chiefs was a revolutionary innovation. It was unheard of during the Late Stone age where people had been practising consensual democracy. These chiefs settled disputes and made laws. People paid tribute to the chiefs. There is also a lot of evidence that chieftainship was hereditary. Oftenly, these chiefs could fight to control resources, that is, land and animals. This forced these chiefs to mobilise armies which were not permanent.

b] Iron technology led to the introduction of warfare. They manufactured iron weapons like spears and arrows. Wars emanated from succession disputes and control over trade. Iron Age sites in Zimbabwe

1] Mabveni

Is found along Tokwe River in Chivi. This site is dated around 180 AD. It preceded the Gokomere culture / tradition and the Bambata culture which was found south of the Limpopo but it was dated later than the settlement at Mabveni. At Mabveni pole and dagga structures were raised. Decorated pottery, iron beads and sea shells were found [archaeological evidence]. Sea shells suggest some indirect connection with the coastal area, for example, the Mozambican coast.

2] Gokomere

Within the Gokomere village there is a farm which is dated 320 AD. It has a kind of pottery similar to that of Mabveni. There is evidence of continuous settlement within the same complex. Some cattle bones were discovered suggesting that they were cattle herders. Gokomere culture was replaced by the Gumanye culture.

3] Sinoia tradition

Was dated around 650 AD. That tradition is found around the Hurungwe area, in Mashonaland west. Pottery found there is closely related to that one found across Zambezi River.

4] Ziwa

It is found in Inyanga, in the Eastern part of Zimbabwe. It is dated around 400 AD.

Who were the Early Iron Agers? / Origins of the Early Iron Age People

The origin of the Early Iron Age people in Zimbabwe is a centre of controversy among scholars. There is no general consensus among historians as to who were these iron technologists. Some say iron technologists were local people. They say iron technology was not a result of migrations. Others say they were definitely not Late Stone Age people.

a] Migrationist theory / Migrationists

These theorists believed that the knowledge of iron was brought about by a new group of people [the Bantu]. These theorists included D N Beach, Mudenge S I G, Mukanya, T N Huffman, Soper and Phillipson. They argue that the sudden appearance of new economic rapid features suggest that these were immigrants bringing in their technology from elsewhere where technology was already well developed. According to archaeology and linguistic evidence these people could have been Bantu. Their cultural and economic features that are, herding, crop cultivation and pottery making correspond more or less with the cultural features of Bantu speaking people elsewhere.

T.N Huffman, Soper and Phillipson argue that a wave of fast moving invaders who were as fast as Mfecane invaders and using dangerous weapons made from iron were responsible for the introduction of iron technology in Zimbabwe and these were Bantu. According to this theory, their movement was massive and was championed by iron technologists from North and East Africa. They occupied large areas of Central and Southern Africa during the Early Iron Age Period. These groups arrived in the area that is the Leopard's Kopje, whose site was in Bulawayo and who later spread from Matabeleland to Mapungubwe. It is argued that when these people came, they introduced iron technology. This theory implies that iron technology in Zimbabwe was a borrowed phenomenon. Sudanic crops like sorghum and millet were grown on Early Iron Age villages in Zimbabwe.

Fagan postulated that from the first, Iron Age houses resembled those of the Bantu peoples, with hardened floors, walls of mud, sticks and thatched roof, supported by a central pole. Thus there is little doubt that the local people [Late Stone agers] were colonised and iron technology was introduced by these aliens.

J Davidson went in line with Fagan and argued that a major change came to the region with the influx of the migrating Bantu who were fleeing drought conditions and famine in the Sahelian region and they brought with them how to smelt iron and work it into iron implements such as axes, hoes and how to make pots.

Why did these people move into Central and Southern Africa?

There was depletion of resources in their areas of origin. This came as a result of ecological factors like drought and famine. They lost their hunting and gathering grounds. So they had to

look for better forests. There was population pressure in their areas of origin. This resulted in an increase in social stress leading to splitting of these communities hence the movement. Stability in food production as a result of introduction of crop production and through the use of granaries for storage also saw a general increase in population. Large numbers therefore meant more conflicts over resources hence movement of some groups. The desire for pasture lands also made people to move. They were keeping goats, sheep and cattle. This subsequently created pressure hence moved to new pasturelands for their animals. The introduction of iron technology gave them an advantage in the making of fighting weapons like spears and arrows. So they were able to conquer weaker hunter-gatherer communities. The Bantu were also looking for fruits, wild game, fertile soils and so on.

b] Diffusionists / Anti-migration theory

This theory was put forward by P. Garlake. He argues that the Early Iron age and the Late Stone age does not represent any population movement at all. The changes can be economically explained in terms of local development between the Late Stone age and the Early Iron age. This implies that the Iron Age changes were innovations from the Stone Age people. Thus there was a gradual development of the same communities from simple to more advanced modes of production and subsistence. The change in ceramics was probably a reflection of a shift from specialist production by men to household production by women. Diffusionists argue that the changes occurred naturally and they were a result of experimentation and interaction. Iron technology was accepted by the already existent farmers because of the advantages iron tools had over bone, wood and stone tools.

The technological aspect was not a result of migrations but it was an indication of continuous development in the same area over time. P. Garlake argues that the supposed differences especially in pottery between the Late Stone age and Early Iron age do not exist [superficial differences] or that these differences were very minor ones. Garlake postulated that the changes are attributed to a change in social organisation from matrilineal to patrilineal system.

Garlake continues to argue that if the movement did take place, it did not occur only in a straight North-South direction. There could have been movements also in many directions even from South-North.

The mass migration theory has been discounted on the bases that in cases which have been studied the migrant group does not represent more than 10 % of the host population. This was not big enough to introduce drastic changes within the host communities. This implies that iron technology in Zimbabwe was an innovation by local people. It was a local phenomenon introduced by the Stone Age people. In this case, one can argue that little migration has taken place in Southern Africa or there was no migration at all. The Migrationists are therefore blamed for being racists.

THE TRANSITION FROM EARLY IRON AGE TO LATE IRON AGE

It comes around the 11th C AD and according to archaeology there were noticeable changes around that period which were more pronounced in Zimbabwe. It is therefore argued that 1000 AD represented a sharp cultural break from the preceding period [Early Iron Age Period].

Economic changes during the Late Iron Age

People began to concentrate more on crop cultivation. It became more organised and wide spread. They began to rear animals on a large scale. There was a clear association of wealth, cattle and social status. The Late Iron agers mastered the art or technique of storing grain for a long time through construction of granaries. The Late Iron Agers raided weaker states for grain, cattle, goats and sheep. Raiding was an economic as well as a political activity. Hunting and gathering continued but were now less important.

Social changes during the Late Iron Age

The Late Iron agers began to build more permanent settlements. There was also a change in terms of settlement patterns as there was more preference for water sites, valleys and hill tops. They also preferred good farming lands and defensive sites. There was also an increase in the size of settled villages. There appeared stone buildings during the Late Iron age period. Initially the walls seem to have been built to enclose cattle but in time they played a much more important role as they became symbols of status [the ruling class lived in enclosures yet poor people lived outside enclosures]. They began to worship God [Mwari]. They worshipped God through spirit mediums and ancestral spirits.

Political changes during the Late Iron Age

There was emergence of states during this period. For instance, states like Mapungubwe, Great Zimbabwe and Mutapa were formed during this period. This was a revolutionary innovation because it was not there during the Early Iron Age period. There was emergence of kings during the Late Iron Age period. These kings were heads of states, controlled trade, led religious ceremonies, appointed chiefs, tried cases and levied fines for misbehaving. The kings began to collect tribute from their subjects as a sign of loyalty. They were assisted by lesser chiefs, court officials and members of the royal family to collect tribute. Wars were arising out of disputes over succession and control of trade.

Later Iron Age sites

a] Leopard's Kopje tradition

It was well expressed in South West of the Zimbabwe plateau and in Northern Transvaal. It is dated around 940 AD. By 1020 AD this tradition had covered most of the Limpopo Valley.

b] Gumanye culture tradition

It is dated around 940 AD. It is well expressed and found South of the Zimbabwe plateau along Mtirikwi, Tokwe and Lundi Rivers. It gave birth to Great Zimbabwe Culture.

c] Harare tradition

It was dated between 1150 and 1180 AD. It covered most of the central plateau of Zimbabwe. It flourished around Hanyani and Umfuli River.

d] Msengezi tradition

It was dated around 1210 AD. It was found in the North and North West of the plateau.

THE RISE, DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE OF EARLY STATES OF THE ZIMBABWE CULTURE [1050-1450]

-In the period before 1250 AD, a number of early states arose on the Zimbabwe plateau. The Zimbabwe plateau is the area between Zambezi and Limpopo. These states included Toutswe, Leopard's Kopje, Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe. The most common factor leading to state formation was cattle accumulation but one has to take into consideration the role of trade which speeded up the process which had already begun.

TOUTSWE STATE

-It was one of early states to emerge in the South Western Zimbabwe and Eastern Botswana. Reasons for the rise of Toutswe state. Cattle accumulation was the best explanation for its rise and development. Toutswe people kept large herds of cattle which provided the basic diet for the growing population, for example, meat, milk and fat. Due to the fact that the Toutswe people controlled large herds of cattle, men began to marry many wives.

*M Hall argued that although it is certainly true that the rulers of Toutswe controlled large herds of cattle, it is difficult to see how this form of economic activity alone could have been able to facilitate the state to have a centralised political authority. Crop production is also attributed to the rise and development of Toutswe state. This was believed to have been the principal source of subsistence.

*However, it should be noted that environmental conditions were of little significance. This is because rainfall was erratic hence agricultural activities were less important. Trade is also attributed to the rise of this state. Archaeological remains found at the site which include glass beads and cowry shells imported from the Indian Ocean provide evidence for early trade networks.

*However, there were no indications of the importance of trade. This was because there were no gold deposit found and ivory was little.

LEOPARD'S KOPJE STATE

-It was found on the Zimbabwe-Botswana border.

Reasons for the rise of the Leopard's Kopje state

Cattle accumulation is mainly attributed to the rise of Leopard's Kopje state. It is often argued that the Leopard's Kopje state was occupied by immigrants from either Angola or Botswana who were pastoralists. Evidence of large numbers of cattle bones found in the area all point to the importance of cattle keeping. Cattle provided the basic diet for the growing population, for example, milk, meat and fat. Some cattle bones were also seen in graves and this suggests a religious importance of cattle in the state. It is also often argued that cattle offered the earliest means exchange and by which wealth could be accumulated. This suggests that there could have emerged a powerful and rich clan which began to have power over others, especially those with fewer cattle. Trade also played a role in the emergence of the Leopard's Kopje state. This was because of the availability of gold and ivory in the South West [Matabeleland]. Thus the Leopard's Kopje people generated more wealth from gold and ivory. These products dictated an

export oriented commercial enterprise. This created a rich class of people, who could use their wealth to manipulate the social will of others.

*However, it should be noted that the importance of trade is questionable in that there were less remains of traded goods. However, although this was the case, these arguments must not lead one to dismiss completely the influence of trade as a hypothesis to state formation though it is highly marginal. Crop production is also believed to have led to the rise and development of the Leopard's Kopje state. It supplemented food and reliable diet.

*However, the importance of agriculture is also questionable as the climatic conditions were not favourable to crop production.

It can be argued that these factors [trade and crop production] led to increased social stratification. Initial concentration and centralisation of power at Leopard's Kopje state was offered by cattle accumulation.

MAPUNGUBWE STATE

It was found in the mid Limpopo Valley where modern countries of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana meet. Much of its history has been drawn from archaeological findings. Archaeology thus played a critical role in helping to unearth the life of Mapungubwe. The name was taken from the hill which was on the southern side of the Limpopo River. There are some mixed thoughts on how the state rose. Some believed it rose from Toutswe culture further inland while others argued that it was the development of the Bambadyanalo culture. However, scholars agreed that Mapungubwe state rose to prominence between 1100 and 1300 AD. Reasons for the rise of Mapungubwe state

Trade is attributed to the rise of Mapungubwe state. T N Huffman went on to justify the trade hypothesis that Mapungubwe state rose to prominence because the Limpopo basin was the first area in the interior of South Africa to be integrated into the Indian Ocean trade network. Archaeologists found numerous gold ornaments which show that at one point there was trade going on within the state. Clay rings / spiral whirls used as weights for spinning have been found. This shows that trade was the main economic activity within the state. The presence of cotton at the site is strong evidence of long distance trade.

*M Hall argued that the suggestion that trade in itself is a causal factor is not completely satisfactory.

Cattle accumulation was of paramount importance in explaining the rise of Mapungubwe state at a hill site. This is because of the dry conditions and the settlement on the hill which suggest the need to protect their herds of cattle from raids. At Mapungubwe there was a dense population of cattle and horses hence it was a large wealthy society based on herding and mixed farming. Cattle enclosures and figurines demonstrate the importance of pastoralism. Bones of cattle found on the plain and the hill top was an indication that cattle were a pillar of their economy and were also used for consumption. Cattle provided the basic diet for the growing population. By and large, it is well evident that cattle accumulation played a pivotal role in as far as state formation was concerned in the Zimbabwe plateau and its neighbours before 1250.

Crop production is also attributed to the rise of this state. This was because the site was surrounded by a valley which contained agricultural terraces. Remains of sorghum and cow peas confirm rich agricultural activities.

The decline of Mapungubwe state

Sometime in the 12th and 13th C Mapungubwe was abandoned and never reoccupied

Reasons for the decline of Mapungubwe

Overgrazing and over use of agricultural land is attributed to the demise of Mapungubwe. Overgrazing by cattle destroyed pastures and overuse of agricultural land led to crop failure. They had lived there for more than 300 years with large herds of cattle and human population.

There was a **drought** probably in the last half of the 13th C and large herds of cattle grazed the remaining grass. N Parsons argued that drought in the Eastern Kalahari and Limpopo valley led to the drying up of small rivers. People and cattle died because of famine. Some people moved northwards for better water, grazing pastures and farmlands.

Loss of control of trade led to its decline. The decline of Mapungubwe coincided with the development of trade with new states in the northern area [for example, Great Zimbabwe]. Traders no longer came to the Limpopo; they were now using the Sabi River into central Zimbabwe. The rulers of this state became weak as soon as they lost control of trade routes and small chiefs could have found a strong state north of the Limpopo.

The **emergence of new states** led to the decline of Mapungubwe. For example, there was emergence of Great Zimbabwe which took control of trade. Many people moved to join the new strong state of the Gumanye culture [Great Zimbabwe].

THE GREAT ZIMBABWE STATE

Origins of Great Zimbabwe State / Controversies on the origins of Great Zimbabwe

-The origins of Great Zimbabwe state is a centre of controversy among historians. The controversy is centred on the builders, architecture and dating.

1] THE BUILDING CONTROVERSY [CONSTRUCTION]

a] The Non-African Theory [Euro-centric school]

Those who advocate a foreign origin are mostly white archaeologists like Richard Hall and people like Cecil John Rhodes, James Theodore Bent, Ian Douglas Smith, A H Keane, Carl Mauch, H Clarkson and Flether. They argued that Great Zimbabwe ruins had an exotic origin. This theory attributes the construction of Great Zimbabwe to foreigners like Phoenicians, Greeks, Arabs and Jews. Euro-centrists like Joao de Barros gave credit to non-Africans like Jews and Phoenicians as builders of Great Zimbabwe. These Euro-centrists base their argument on the complexity of the stone structures and the existence of foreign goods. Richard Hall, a white archaeologist, who was hired to investigate the Great Zimbabwe site, concluded in 1902 that Great Zimbabwe was built by more civilised races than Africans. Cecil John Rhodes in a bid to misrepresent the origins of Great Zimbabwe established the Ancient Ruins Company and financed men such as James Theodore Bent who concluded in 1892 that items found within the Great Zimbabwe complex proved that the civilisation was not built by local Africans. In the same vein, Ian Douglas Smith continued the colonial falsification of Great Zimbabwe origins by developing a fake history and a policy of making sure that official guide books for tourists would show images of Africans bowing down to foreign innovators who allegedly built Great Zimbabwe. R N Hall, Clarkson and Flether say the buildings were of Arab origins. A H Keane argued that there was a Jewish influence in the construction of Great Zimbabwe. This theory which is based on racial affiliations asserts that Africans lacked in technological ability to build architectural structures like Great Zimbabwe. The Eurocentrists said the same about any other impressive human achievements in Africa.

Critique of the Non-African theory

This theory does not hold much water. Historians supporting the foreign origin of Great Zimbabwe have been guided by biases prevalent in colonial day. There are no traces of artifacts to support this view. Thus to argue that Great Zimbabwe was built by foreigners is a misrepresentation of history. This theory was also challenged on the basis that if Europeans or other foreigners like Egyptians, Arabs or Jews constructed Great Zimbabwe walls, why is it that there was no any literature left behind on walls, stone slates or on papyrus since these were literate societies. This Eurocentric myth was fuelled by Rhodes's idea that the Shona had no history before the coming of Europeans. This was calculated into inducing the notion that history in Africa began with Europeans. The idea that Africans lacked in technological ability is repugnant and is a clear testimony of white racist bigotry. The Euro-centrists were not in a position to credit Africans for any other impressive thing in Africa. This is why some historians argue that historical evidence on the origins of Great Zimbabwe has been deliberately distorted.

b] The African Theory

This school of thought supports an African origin of Great Zimbabwe. The chief proponents of this theory include Summers, D N Beach, P Garlake, K Mufuka, Robinson, Huffman, G C Thompson and Randall Macleaver as well as S Mutsvairo, A Hodza and A S Chigwedere. Afro-centric theorists like James E Mullan give credit to locals, for example, the Lemba who were multi-skilled particularly the Tavakare clan who were masons and it is believed that they were designers and builders of stone structures. Afro-centrists argue that artifacts found at Great Zimbabwe are local and similar to those of contemporary Shona [Karanga] and so many Madzimbabwe found throughout Zimbabwe. This theory advances the local origins of Great Zimbabwe walls pointing that stone walling began at Mapungubwe. A number of archaeologists both whites and blacks have shown with tangible evidence that Great Zimbabwe is of local origin. The earliest serious archaeological research at Great Zimbabwe indicated that Great Zimbabwe was a creation of indigenous Shona speaking people and neither were they Swahilis nor Arabs. Such archaeologists included David Randall Macleaver [1905] and Getrude Caton Thompson [1927]. Macleaver in 1905 suggested that Great Zimbabwe was unquestionably African in every detail and has relatively recent date. Getrude Caton Thompson after a detailed excavation and examination of the oral tradition of the modern Shona speaking people showed conclusively that Great Zimbabwe was of African origin. Subsequent work at Great Zimbabwe by Summers, Robinson and Whitly in the late 1950s and more recently by Huffman, Garlake and Thorp, have established this fact much more firmly. Journals of the Arab traveler Ibn Said [1214-1286] revealed that the builders of Great Zimbabwe were the Shona. K Mufuka and P Garlake also affirm the Shona origins. Ceramics found at Great Zimbabwe are local and similar to the work of recent Shona people. Few foreign ceramics found at Great Zimbabwe can be attributed to long distance trade. People who built Great Zimbabwe were cattle herders, crop growers, iron smelters and designers of pottery as well as builders in stone work; hence this may lead to independent development theory.

2] THE DATING CONTROVERSY [TIME SENSE]

Apart from the building controversy, there is also controversy concerning time or dating of Great Zimbabwe. Radio-carbon datings for the stone walls are 1100, 1300, 1340 and 1350 AD. Archaeology reveals that the few upper class huts of rulers were basically a middle 13th C construction. Other historians have given the dates 1280, 1340, 1400 and 1440 AD.

*However, whatever disagreements the Great Zimbabwe thrived between 1200 and 1500 AD.

3] ARCHITECTURAL CONTROVERSY [PURPOSE OF THE STONE WALLS]

The architectural controversy is centred on what purpose the [stone walls] conical tower and great enclosure serve. P Garlake argued that Great Zimbabwe was simply a symbol of rulers' status, prestige, honour and privacy. Others thought it was a symbol of power of the people at the centre and an emblem of prestige. Thus Great Zimbabwe rose as a prestigious settlement. K Mufuka argues that the conical tower suggest that they wanted to be closer to Mwari. It had an altar for religious ceremonies. Mufuka further argues that the upright stone walls were associated with religious beliefs of the Shona. This implies that walls were built as a religious centre or shrine. This is evidenced by the findings of the Hungwe soapstone birds. The existence of other objects like bowls has been described as symbolising the importance of religion. Mukanya argues that the

conical tower was an expression of fertility and success. Others argued that Great Zimbabwe was built as a defensive structure.

*However, the structure of the walls and the enclosures do not show defensive characteristics. Beach [1980], Garlake and Mufuka dismissed the argument that Great Zimbabwe was built for defensive purposes. They argue that Great Zimbabwe had no permanent enemies that threatened it to the extent of building those complex walls. What is clear is that Great Zimbabwe was a very powerful and wealthy kingdom. Some historians claimed that Great Zimbabwe was built as a centre of trade.

REASONS FOR THE RISE OF GREAT ZIMBABWE

There is no a single factor that is completely satisfactory in explaining the rise of Great Zimbabwe state. As a result, a myriad of factors have been put forward in trying to explain the rise if this state.

1] Cattle accumulation /Cattle hypothesis

The chief protagonist of this theory is P Garlake. This theory argues that cattle accumulation played a pivotal role in as far as the rise and development of Great Zimbabwe was concerned. The state was located in an area with good soils which produced good pasture lands. This enabled the people of Great Zimbabwe keep large herds of cattle. The cattle bones excavated at Great Zimbabwe show a lot of dependence on meat diet. The cattle were taken to different grazing areas during different times through the transhumance system. In summer cattle were grazed on fresh grasses on the Highveld and were moved to the low veld when the high veld deteriorated. D Birmingham says, “The management of transhumance cattle economy more than gold mining led to differences of wealth and emergence of kings”. The ownership of cattle led to control of wealth, increased reproduction and an increase of labour supply. Thus cattle became a symbol of differences between the rulers and the ruled. More so, since the area lies in a non-gold producing area, one can say that the wealth and power of the people of Great Zimbabwe must have developed from a cattle raising economy.

2] The trade hypothesis

Trade is also attributed to the rise of Great Zimbabwe. T N Huffman argues that intercontinental trade played an important role in state formation and sustenance in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. This is because there is a correlation between the decline of Great Zimbabwe state and the decline in gold exports and so this may have meant that long distance trade was important in this particular state. Major trading items were gold and ivory. There is evidence that there was an increased demand for gold and ivory at the beginning of the 11th C and this coincided with the rise of Great Zimbabwe. This implies that Great Zimbabwe rose at a time when gold and ivory trade was gathering strength. More so, it must be noted that Great Zimbabwe was strategically positioned, that is, Great Zimbabwe than any other state in the region lay closer to and direct link with the Indian Ocean trading network. More so, Great Zimbabwe lay closer to the gold fields of present day Matabeleland. The 1903 findings by archaeologists of Persian bowls, Chinese dishes, Near Eastern glasses of the 13th and 14th C, an iron spoon, an iron lamp holder, copper chains, copper rings, a copper box, glass beads, candles, wires, soapstone dishes, vessels, anklets, mirrors and spirits were traded from China, India, Middle East and Near East. Increased trade in gold and ivory led to increased wealth among the ruling class. The possession of foreign goods became a symbol of status. Those with foreign goods gained loyalty

from those without. However, it is also believed that trade helped to consolidate centralisation which had already been achieved under cattle accumulation.

3] Military theory

This theory argues that Great Zimbabwe rose as a military centre. The military strength of the Gumanye people was an ideal advantage for the development of the state. The state had a large population which enabled it to fight off rivals and create for itself a strong kingdom based at Great Zimbabwe. This implies that the rise of Great Zimbabwe is attributed to its military prowess. The Leopard's Kopje people paid tribute in form of gold and ivory to the Gumanye culture people at Great Zimbabwe and the state used this army to enforce payment of tribute.

*However, a closer look at the architecture of Great Zimbabwe does not support the military theory as the structures do not show any military function. More so, its successor states like Mutapa and Rozvi do not have military stone wall architecture. Rather, defensive walls are built by the weak. Garlake argues that there is nothing to suggest that military power helped in stimulating changes in the state. Weapons were simply minor and were probably used for hunting animals other than warfare.

4] The role of religion

This theory was propounded by P Garlake. It argued that Great Zimbabwe rose as a religious centre or shrine [a Hungwe shrine]. Religion is said to have been the first step towards bringing cohesion, organisation and stratification of the Great Zimbabwe society. Objects like soapstone birds, stone monolith and the conical tower have been described as symbolising religion. Great Zimbabwe has been a cultural centre of great religious importance possibly the spiritual headquarters of the Shona ancestors.

*D N Beach argues that there is no conclusive evidence to support the fact that religion was indeed responsible for the rise of Great Zimbabwe. This implies that religion could not have been a major factor in the state formation and sustenance in pre-colonial Zimbabwe.

5] Mining theory

This theory was postulated by M Hall and Summers. They postulated a correlation of Great Zimbabwe site with early gold mining. According to this theory, there was some evidence at the site that gold was refined and made into jewellery. Studies also revealed that there was evidence of iron working at Great Zimbabwe.

*However, it is difficult to support this theory fully. This is because Great Zimbabwe itself was located in a poor gold belt. The closest gold mine was found five miles away from Great Zimbabwe. There were also no vital deposits of minerals nearby. It is therefore, possible that these raw materials, that is, gold and iron could have come from outside Great Zimbabwe complex. Copper and iron are said to have come from as far as Hurungwe and gold must have come from the surrounding areas outside the 20km radius and also from areas as far as Mapela and Mapungubwe. This implies that mining on its own is not a possible reason to explain the state's economic basis. Mining could only have played a minimum role as it also turned out to have been a seasonal activity.

6] The decline of Mapungubwe state

The decline of Mapungubwe state led to the rise of Great Zimbabwe. P Curtin point out that the fall of Mapungubwe's external trade could have led to the shifting of the focus of trade further north to the Great Zimbabwe state. Pwiti concurs that the direct fall of Mapungubwe's external trade led to the rise of Great Zimbabwe. This implies that there was no competition with local people. Great Zimbabwe was further aided by trade monopolisation and control of the area.

7] The role of crop cultivation

This factor complemented cattle accumulation. Crop production supplemented food and reliable diet. This helped to promote population growth which would help to strengthen the military might of the state. More so, the kingdom was located in an area endowed with suitable soils for crop cultivation. The climate of this region also promoted crop production as rains were fairly adequate in most seasons.

8] Peace and stability

The rise of Great Zimbabwe state is also attributed to peace and stability throughout the region. Trade prosperity should have been aided by peace and stability throughout the region, that is, from the gold mines to the Indian Ocean trading coast.

Socio-Religious organisation of Great Zimbabwe

The society was patriarchal [male headed]. The paying of bride price by men made it a patriarchal society. A married woman joined the men's family and adopted the family's name. This made women inferior to men. Women looked after homes, prepared food and worked in fields. There were social classes within the society of this state. These social classes included farmers, traders, pastoralists, blacksmiths, miners and herbalists. This led to exploitation of man by man. The poor worked for the rich. There was also stratification in terms of hierarchy. The people of Great Zimbabwe practiced polygamy. Polygamy was source of labour and soldiers. Since they paid lobola in form of cattle, those with many cattle married many wives. In their religious life they believed in the existing mighty God [Mwari]. The carvings of animals and birds found at Great Zimbabwe might be of religious significance especially the Zimbabwe bird [shiri yamwari]. They believed in life after death and the existence of the spirit of the dead. They also believed that the spirit of the dead protected and guarded the living. The spirit medium [svikiro] was the go between the dead and the living. They held religious ceremonies, for instance, rain making ceremonies. This ceremony was done when they wanted to ask for rains from God. They also held biras where beer was brewed and cattle and other livestock were slaughtered [sacrificed] to thank or to appease the very high and the ancestral spirits. Elders and religious leaders led at religious ceremonies. The king led at state ceremonies. This implies that he presided over all ceremonies of national importance. Political organisation of Great Zimbabwe The king was the supreme authority at Great Zimbabwe. He was at the top of the political ladder. He was helped to rule by a council of elders called Dare in Shona. The great enclosure [imba huru] was the official residence of the king and royal family. The imba huru demonstrated a high level of administration, achievements of bringing together stone masons and other workers on a grand scale. All subjects paid tribute to the king as a sign of loyalty. The king was helped to collect tribute by chiefs, court officials and members of the royal family. The items collected as tribute were distributed to the people in times of drought. Tribute helped to prevent chiefs from becoming too powerful and to enhance the wealth of the king. The king appointed officials such as religious leaders, tribute

collectors and chiefs. The king made laws in the state and was assisted by members of the ruling class. The king levied fines on his subjects who broke the law. The king controlled long distance trade and obtained tribute from all foreign traders. The king kept a large army which was there to protect the state from intruders, to maintain law and order in the state, to punish rebellious chiefs, to collect tribute, to herd the king's cattle and to conquer neighbouring states. The army was also used to raid weaker states for grain, cattle, goats and sheep.

The Economic organisation of Great Zimbabwe

Livestock production was of great importance to the people of Great Zimbabwe. They kept animals like goats, sheep and cattle. These animals were kept for meat and milk which enhanced the people's diet. The state was located in an area with good soils which produced good pasturelands. This enabled the people of this state to keep large herds of cattle. Archaeologists excavated many cattle bones at Great Zimbabwe indicating that cattle rearing was a major economic activity. Mashingaidze argues that a large cattle kraal was discovered meaning that pastoralism was the backbone of their economy. Cattle were also a symbol of status and were used for paying lobola. Many cattle bones were discovered in the great enclosure suggesting that they were probably used for sacrificial ceremonies. It must also be noted that the people of Great Zimbabwe practiced the transhumance system whereby in summer cattle were grazed on fresh grasses on the high veld and were moved to the low veld when the high veld deteriorated.

Crop production was a very important economic activity of the people of Great Zimbabwe. Crop production supplemented food and reliable diet. This helped to promote population growth which would help to strengthen the military might of the state. More so, the kingdom was located in an area endowed with soils suitable for cultivation. The climate of this region promoted crop cultivation as rains were fairly adequate in most seasons. Archaeologists discovered remains of grains and iron hoe heads which helped to prove that crop cultivation was practiced. Remains of millet, grains and beans were discovered purporting that the people of Great Zimbabwe grew crops like millet, sorghum, beans, cow peas and pumpkins. They used iron hoes and axes which made crop cultivation easier. Men cleared land for fields while women and children did most of the cultivation and weeding. **Trade** was another economic activity of the people of Great Zimbabwe. They did both internal and external trade. Internally, they traded amongst themselves. For instance, people could exchange hoes for grain or iron tools for baskets. Externally they traded with foreigners both regionally and internationally. Regionally, they traded with the Tonga. Internationally, they traded with Persians, Arabs, Swahili, Chinese and Indians. Major trading items were gold and ivory. They also used animal skins, iron, copper, grain, livestock and baskets to trade with foreigners. The 1903 findings by archaeologist of Persian bowls, Chinese stoneware, Near Eastern glasses of the 13th and 14th C, an iron spoon, an iron lamp holder, glass beads, mirrors, copper chains and many other remains were traded from China, India, Middle East and Near East. More so, it must be noted that Great Zimbabwe state was strategically positioned, that is, Great Zimbabwe than any other state in the region lay closer to and had direct link with the Indian Ocean trading network. In addition, Great Zimbabwe lay closer to the gold fields of present day Matabeleland. Increased trade led to increased wealth. **Hunting** was also done by the people of Great Zimbabwe. There were archaeological findings at the site of spearheads, arrows and remains of wild animal bones showing that hunting was done as an economic activity. Hunting was mainly done by men and it supplemented food supplies. They hunted animals like kudu for meat and elephants for ivory which they used for trade. Leopards and lions were mainly hunted for their precious skins which formed part of the royal property and regalia. **Mining** was another economic activity of the people of Great Zimbabwe. They mined

minerals like gold, copper and iron. There is some evidence at the site that gold was refined and made into jewellery. Studies also revealed that there was evidence of iron working at Great Zimbabwe. It must be noted that mining was a seasonal activity done off the rain season when people had less work to do in the fields. **Payment of tribute** was another branch of the economy of Great Zimbabwe. Subjects paid tribute to the king in form of grain, cattle, goats, iron tools, precious skins and whatever one could produce. These items paid as tribute were distributed to the people by the king in times of crisis like drought. **Fishing** was another economic activity of the people of Great Zimbabwe. They caught fish to supplement their diet. They used iron fishing hooks and basket traps to catch fish. **Pottery** was also done by the people of Great Zimbabwe. They made different types of pots for fetching and storing water and milk.

THE DECLINE AND ABANDONMENT OF GREAT ZIMBABWE

Reasons for the decline and abandonment of Great Zimbabwe;

There is divergence of explanation regarding the decline of Great Zimbabwe both as a town and as a centre of a powerful state. A number of possible reasons have been put forward and there are both external and internal factors.

External reasons for its decline

Loss of control of long distance trade led to the decline of Great Zimbabwe. By the mid-15th C, Great Zimbabwe had lost the ability to manipulate trade and commercial transactions between the plateau and the coastal traders. The gold and ivory trade to the Sofala coast shifted north from Sabi Valley to Zambezi as it had previously shifted from Limpopo to Sabi which led to the decline of Mapungubwe state. This implies that the Swahili and Arabs were now coming through the Zambezi rather than the Sabi River. T N Huffman argues that there was a correlation between the decline of Great Zimbabwe and the decline in gold exports and this meant that trade had been important in this particular state. Evidence shows that no gold was exported from Great Zimbabwe from the end of the 15th C onwards. **The rise of new states** led to the decline of Great Zimbabwe. Great Zimbabwe was challenged by the rise of new states, that is, Mutapa state in the north and Torwa state in the west. The rulers of Great Zimbabwe ceased to accrue wealth necessary to maintain their status. As fewer and fewer commodities moved through their hands, they were no longer able to channel benefits to their clients. Where necessary, their clients sought benefits elsewhere. The rise of Mutapa diverted and disrupted long standing markets on the East coast from Save routes [which favoured Great Zimbabwe] to the north. The area to the north [Mutapa state] was attractive as it was rich in resources like salt, ivory and pastures. The rise of these polities [states] challenged the authority of Great Zimbabwe. Thus Great Zimbabwe was overshadowed by new states and by 1500 AD, the site of Great Zimbabwe had been abandoned and people thus moved in two directions [north and west].

Internal reasons for the decline of Great Zimbabwe

Succession disputes led to the decline of Great Zimbabwe. These disputes caused dispersion from Great Zimbabwe. Nyatsimba Mutota, for example, was defeated and forced to move to the north where he built a new state quite similar to Great Zimbabwe in stone works. Its capital was Chitakochangonya. When Mutota left Great Zimbabwe he migrated with a large number of people and this led to the disintegration of Great Zimbabwe. Thus power struggles played a role in the demise of Great Zimbabwe. **Civil wars** also fuelled the disintegration of Great Zimbabwe. The civil wars resulted from political instability in the state which came as a result of a large

population which naturally created conflicts within the subject people in the state. More so, competition from the branches of the ruling class and quarrels over grazing, hunting and farming lands created civil wars. The rulers failed to sustain unity which resulted in civil wars. It should be noted that in response to these factors, some people [abandoned Great Zimbabwe] moved northwards to the Mutapa state which was attractive as it was rich in resources like salt, ivory and pastures.

*However, a civil war is a practical possibility but remains poorly documented and or completely unremembered in oral tradition.

A **shangwa** which came in form of a drought and other natural disasters must have put a final nail to an overstretched state. The drought occurred in successions at a time when the population had reached a critical level. This drought destroyed the state's ability to support its inhabitants. The only alternative was to disperse. It is generally believed that people moved in two directions, that is, to the north [Mutapa] and to the west [Torwa] at Khami. **Environmental stress** led to the demise of Great Zimbabwe. It is argued that the state grew too big to be supported by its environment [overpopulation]. There were shortages of food stuffs, grazing lands, fire woods, game and salt. Thus the local environment could no longer sustain the growing population. There was general depletion of natural resources, for example, over stocking led to over grazing and over cultivation led to soil infertility. Given something like 3 centuries of continuous occupation, it would be inevitable that environmental resources would be exploited to an extent where the carrying capacity would fall below a critical level. Ecological upheaval also caused considerable stress to the people of the trading town [Great Zimbabwe] and to the Indian Ocean coast and their immediate periphery. **Shortage of salt** is also attributed to the fall of Great Zimbabwe. The Shona tradition attributed the decline of Great Zimbabwe to severe shortage of salt. According to oral tradition, Mutota, heir to the throne moved to the north in search of salt rich areas. Salt might have been an important item for trade. However salt alone could not have led to the abandonment of the city. It has been suggested that salt shortage mentioned by oral tradition may indicate several shortages in food supplies, pastures, fuel and salt as well as other resources in the area not only at Great Zimbabwe but in the city's neighbours as well. It is important to note that the general reduction of natural resources in the area must have been a gradual process which reached dangerous levels towards the middle of the 15th C.

*Others have argued that this theory is mythical. There is basically no supporting evidence for the view that Great Zimbabwe was abandoned as a result of shortage of salt although salt was traded with communities from as far as Eastern Botswana and may not have directly involved Great Zimbabwe.

MUTAPA STATE

Origins of Mutapa State

Mutapa state was one of the Late Iron Age states. The origin of Mutapa state is debatable. Its origins is derived from oral tradition, archaeology and written records. It was founded around 1400 AD under the leadership of Nyatsimba Mutota. According to oral tradition, Mutapa state was the direct successor of Great Zimbabwe. This implies that Mutapa was an offshoot of Great Zimbabwe. It is suggested that Mutota, the first king of Mutapa left Great Zimbabwe in search of salt, after a succession dispute. Mutota was also searching for gold, ivory, pastures, fertile soils and hunting grounds. He went to the Zambezi valley where he defeated some weak communities who were already settled there. These included the Tonga, Tavara and Korekore. As a result of his conquests, Mutota was given the praise name 'Mwenemutapa', meaning lord of the conquered lands. Tradition also had it that because of the fertile soils and abundance of wild animals as well as more salt in the north, Mutota did not return to Great Zimbabwe and founded his own state, which came to be known as Mutapa. It was named after Mutota's praise name. He established his capital at Chitako hills [Chitakochangonya] near Mount Fura. The other tradition states that after years of continuous settlement, the area around Great Zimbabwe and Guruuswa became exhausted and it was becoming increasingly unable to feed and support growing human and animal population. Hence this led to the movement of some people to the north. Documents written by Portuguese suggest that the Mutapa state existed before the collapse of Great Zimbabwe and the states were inter-related. This implies that Mutapa was not an offshoot of Great Zimbabwe.

Some authorities argue that Mutota originated from Guruuswa and was the son of a Karanga ruler there. After the death of his father, he left the Guruuswa area under a relative called Torwa [Togwa]. Mutota went and settled in the north east in the Dande area [modern Mount Darwin area]. He conquered the ethnic Tavara and Tonga people whose possessions he put under his authority [kutapa] and they nicknamed him 'Munhumutapa'. Archaeologists however, argue that the direct successor of Great Zimbabwe state was the Torwa state whose capital was at Khami near Bulawayo. This was evidenced by the type of ruins and artifacts similar to those of Great Zimbabwe state. However, there is no evidence to support when the Torwa state existed.

Expansion of Mutapa State

Mutapa state grew into a large and powerful state in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Through military campaigns, Mutota subdued a number of groups on the Zambezi valley where he was nicknamed 'Munhumutapa', meaning 'Master pillager'. These groups conquered by Mutota included the Tonga, Tavara and Korekore tribes of the Dande area of the Zambezi valley. Mutapa meant he controlled conquered lands. He used a large army to establish a large state. Nyatsimba Mutota died in 1450 before completing his expansionist policy. Nyanhewe Matope, his son inherited the throne and continued the expansionist policy. Matope was also known as Ndebedza Mutavara. He expanded the kingdom eastwards by conquering independent kingdoms of Barwe, Manyika, Sofala, Uteve, Madanda, Chidima, Sena, Guruuswa [Butua], Mbire and so on. Matope exercised powers of paramount chief over North-East Mashonaland and much of present day Mozambique. Conquered tribes like Uteve, Madanda [Sedanda] and Chikanga paid tribute to Mutapa king. Matope was still desired to control trade routes, ivory, gold and tribute just like his father. Matope and Mutota created a very vast empire and had to appoint vassal chiefs

to control provinces. Mutapa state had access to more resources like gold, game, ivory, fertile soils and pastures as the state became too big. This was supported by S I G Mudenge who says the state spread even as far as Mozambique. At its peak, in the East, Mutapa state was bounded by the Indian Ocean, in the West, by the Kalahari Desert, in the North, by the Zambezi River and in the South, by the Limpopo River.

Reasons for the rise of Mutapa State

The reasons for the rise of Mutapa state were social, political and economic;

Economically, the rise of Mutapa state was due to successful agriculture in the Dande region. This is because the area had red fertile soils and the rainfall was adequate. Pastoral farming [livestock production] is also attributed to the rise of Mutapa state. There was a pastoral economy whereby cattle were raised. Availability of minerals in the north, for example, gold led to the rise of Mutapa state. The gold from Mutapa state received international fame. This increased trade. The state developed through trade. The state was accessible to international trade through the east coast. Evidence from Portuguese records shows that trade was vital, that is, trade with Arabs and Swahili. They also later on traded with the Portuguese. Large gold reserves were found in the Mutapa state and this promoted trade.

Socially, religion also helped both in the rise and expansion of Mutapa state. Mutota and Matope were regarded as supernatural beings who could communicate with God. They were feared and respected.

Politically, the availability of a strong army led to the rise of Mutapa state. The state had a strong force which was known as Dare reHondo [Council of war]. The soldiers were treated by n'angas before war so that they would be brave. The army helped to expand the state through conquests. For instance, they used the army to conquer the Tonga, Tavara and Korekore leading to the expansion of the state. During the 15th C the state grew and incorporated many chiefdoms under the rule of Matope. Able wise rule by Mutota and Matope led to the rise and expansion of the state. Both embarked on a deliberate expansionist policy. Their decentralised system of government was effective. The lesser chiefs of the provinces were relatives of the kings and were loyal to them. This minimised chances of rebellions.

Socio-religious organisation of Mutapa

The people of Mutapa state lived according to their lineages. The ruling class lived in luxurious homes. They wore long robes of imported cloth, copper and gold bangles to show their high status. Mutapa had similar customs as those of Great Zimbabwe, for example, language and culture. There was sexual division of labour. Women were entitled to carry out all domestic duties whereas men assumed masculine duties like blacksmithing, mining and so on. There was specialisation which led to emergence of social classes [social stratification] which perpetuated exploitation. Ownership of cattle was a status symbol. They practiced polygamy which was a source of soldiers and labour. They practiced cattle loaning system [kuronzera]. They celebrated the birth of a new child and the coming of a new daughter in law. In times of drought and other disasters they assisted one another. Incest and bestiality were taboos. They practiced 'Zunde raMbambo'. Barros wrote that the Mutapas' captains and their men worked in the king's fields. They paid lobola to their in laws in form of cattle. They practiced the nhimbe system. Issues like prostitution, theft and witchcraft were not allowed. They believed in the existence of a high God [Mwari] whom they communicated with through ancestors and spirit mediums. They did not

worship God directly. They believed in family, regional and national spirit mediums. They practiced religious ceremonies such as rain making ceremonies and biras where there was music, dancing and feasting. The king was chosen by the spirit mediums and therefore they believed in divine kingship. They believed that some spirits lived in large pools, thick forests and mountains.

Political organisation of Mutapa

The political system of Mutapa is also similar to that of Great Zimbabwe and even that of Rozvi state. The king was the head of state and was at the helm of political and economic power. Kingship was hereditary. The centre of the government was the Mwenemutapa and his court. This court was run by a team of officials responsible for the various departments. The court officials included the chancellor, court chamberlain [officer in charge of the king's palace], the military commander, head doorkeeper and chief cook. The Queen mother, king's sister and the nine principal wives of the king were also important figures in the administration of the state. The king was appointed by spirit mediums that he consulted in times of crisis. According to A J Wills, the Mutapa derived most of his political authority from his religious and priestly function as sole communicator with the ancestral spirits who interceded with Mwari for rains and disasters facing the nation. The king's life was symbolised by a royal fire, burning at his capital throughout his reign. Chiefs were forced to collect that fire on yearly basis as a sign of loyalty. So fire symbolised life and unity. Rebels were easily identified by not collecting the royal fire. There was also a system of provincial administration where vassal chiefs were in charge of provinces. Vassal chiefs were mainly close relatives of kings and trusted loyalists. The most famous of the vassal chiefs were Changa and Togwa [Torwa] who controlled the two southern provinces of Guruuswa and Mbire. Subjects paid tribute to the king to show loyalty. Vassal chiefs collected and surrendered tribute to the king. Payment of tribute helped to prevent chiefs from becoming too powerful and to enhance the wealth of the king. Items collected as tribute were distributed to the people in times of drought. The king was the chief distributor of land. His power depended on his ability to control and allocate land which he held. All foreign traders had to abide by rules of the state and had to pay tax as well as gifts. The power of the king rested in the army. He used the army to maintain law and order, protect the state from intruders and to collect tribute. The army was also used to expand the state and to herd the king's cattle. The king appointed chiefs, army commander and other government officials. The king was the judicial leader, religious leader, commander in chief of the army and controller of long distance trade.

Military organisation of Mutapa

The king was the commander in chief of the army. The king was assisted by an appointed commander, Nengomasha who was the second most powerful official in the state. There was a council of war [Dare reHondo]. This council ratified war decisions and conscripted soldiers as well as training them. The king had a very large army which assembled when need arose. However, the king maintained a small regular force of 200 to 500 soldiers to guard the state and maintained peace and order at the king's court. Drums were beaten and parapanda was sounded to assemble Mutapa soldiers. N'angas [spiritual healers] were consulted by the army before it went to war. According to oral tradition the Mutapa used magic to instill discipline and confidence in the army. The army collected tribute, protected the state from enemies, conquered neighbouring states, raided other states, punished rebellious chiefs, maintained law and order and herded the king's cattle.

Economic organisation of Mutapa

Trade was one of the economic activities of Mutapa state. They did both internal and long distance trade. Internally, they traded amongst themselves [barter trade], for example, they could exchange iron tools for grain or baskets for precious skins. Externally, they traded with Arabs, Swahili and Portuguese which enabled them to sustain their economy. They exchanged ivory, gold, iron tools and various wares from activities such as basketry, pottery, wood and stone carving. They imported products like ceramics [pots], jewellery, knives, cloth, cowry shells, guns, glass and spirits. They employed vashambadzi who were Portuguese salesmen. These were not honest as they sometimes took some of the goods they traded with Mutapa or exchanged more than they were supposed to. Trade goods obtained from foreigners were also used in further developing and building up a strong political power base. Most historians agree that trade was the major economic activity. Although trade played a significant role in Mutapa economy, it alone is not satisfactory in explaining the survival of Mutapa. **Crop cultivation** was another pillar of the Mutapa economy. They grew crops like finger millet, drought resistant bulrush millet and varieties of sorghum. They also cultivated rapoko, cotton, beans, water melons and later on maize. Maize were however, not popular during these days since they were believed to have been introduced by the Portuguese. Most historians agree that most crop cultivation was from September to December because these were the rain months. The generally favourable climatic conditions ensured successful harvests and resulted in the accumulation of surplus grain. The Mutapa people are believed to have practiced crop rotation and this improved their yields. This implies that there was successful agriculture. It should be noted that agriculture and pastoralism were therefore the backbones of the Shona economy. Agriculture not only enabled the subject peoples to produce for themselves but for the state in order to pay tribute to their rulers. **Animal rearing** was another pillar of the Mutapa economy. Animal rearing was promoted by the fact that pastures were abundant in the Dande area. They reared animals like cattle, goats and sheep. They were kept for meat, milk and fat. Cattle were very important in the Shona culture. They were used for paying lobola, for trade, for tribute, for traditional ceremonies and for other purposes. The Mutapa people practiced the transhumance system, that is, cattle were grazed on the Zambezi valley in winter when tsetse flies were dominant in the high veld. **Mining** was also done in Mutapa state. They mined minerals like iron, gold, copper, silver, tin and lead. Gold was mainly used for exporting while other minerals like iron and copper were largely used for making tools. Mining improved the power of the state since it brought things like guns through trade. Gold is believed to have attracted many traders because it was panned along the Zambezi River where many foreigners made their voyages. Copper was also used for making jewellery, for instance, copper bangles. Mining was however, a seasonal activity done off the rain season when people did not have much work. **Hunting** was one of the economic activities of Mutapa. They hunted animals like hares and kudus for meat, elephants and rhinoceros for ivory and leopards and cheetahs for their precious skins. Hunting thus augmented meat supplies and ivory as well as skins for trade. Thus these economic activities complemented each other. Hunting was done by men. It is also believed that hunting was done for leisure as people mainly concentrated on crop cultivation and livestock production. **Tribute payment** was also an economic activity of Mutapa. The subjects of the king paid tribute to the king in form of cattle, goats, sheep, grain, iron tools, minerals, salt, precious skins, baskets, pots and whatever one could produce. They also could provide labour for agriculture [zunde] and mining as a show of loyalty. They also gave him regular presents and gifts as well as products of hunting such as tusks [ivory] of every elephant they killed. Items such as grain collected as tribute were redistributed to the people in times of crisis like drought.

Foreigners like Arabs, Swahili and later Portuguese traders also paid tribute in form of luxurious goods like cloth. These foreigners paid tribute in form of curva for them to be allowed to trade and also for protection whilst they were in the state. Tribute was also of political importance because they could identify loyal and disloyal subjects. Failure to pay tribute was viewed as a sign of disloyalty. **Fishing** was done by the people of Mutapa. They caught fish to supplement their diet. They caught fish using iron fishing hooks and basket traps. **Raiding** was another economic activity of Mutapa. They raided other states for grain, cattle, goats, sheep, women, boys and girls. **Blacksmithing** was also done by the people of Mutapa. They smelted iron to make different types of tools and weapons like hoes, axes, knives, picks, spears, arrows and mattocks. **Gathering** was also done at Mutapa state. They gathered wild fruits, roots, berries, mushroom, honey, insects and termites. This was very important as it helped in supplementing their food. **Pottery** was another economic activity of the people of Mutapa. They made different types of pots. **Basketry** was done. They wove different types of baskets like the winnowing basket.

THE PORTUGUESE IN MUTAPA STATE

Reasons for Portuguese penetration into the Mutapa state;

They wanted to develop contacts with the Mutapa state especially in trading of gold and ivory. They wanted to take control of trade from the Arabs and Swahili. They wanted to fulfill the ambitions of the king of Portugal who was imperialistic. The Portuguese had the financial and military backing of their government. They penetrated Mutapa for humanitarian reasons. They believed that Africa was a 'dark continent' which was very backward and which needed to be enlightened. As such, they wanted to spread Christianity, civilisation and to prepare Africa for Portuguese domination. They wanted to control land in the Zambezi valley for agricultural purposes. They wanted to establish farms [prazos]. They wanted to monopolise and control gold production of the region [Zimbabwe]. They wanted to avenge the death of Goncalo da Silveira. They wanted to establish trading posts or feiras. They wanted to control trade routes into the interior. They wanted to search for the 'Legendary Prester John'.

How the Portuguese got in touch with the Mutapa

This started off when Vasco da Gama opened up the sea route from Europe to Asia via Cape Town [Cape of Good Hope] to the East African coast. This was basically on commercial initiatives and the spirit of adventure around the world. The Portuguese arrived at Sofala in 1506 and took over the port of Sofala from Arabs and Swahilis. The Portuguese had already found Arab-Swahili traders at the East African coast who had already traded with the Mutapa people. The Portuguese were able to use them as middlemen. The Portuguese had partial control over trade and the Indian Ocean trade. To consolidate their attained position, the Portuguese built some camps at Sofala and the Mozambican inland. They also instructed their commanders to exploit gold and ivory in the Zimbabwe plateau. Thus conflicts with Arabs and Swahili traders were inevitable. More reports about the interior were made by Antonio Fernandes. This fuelled up their ambition to monopolise and control gold production of the region [Zimbabwe]. Between 1550 and 1630 Portuguese made several attempts to control the Mutapa state which they were dealing with directly. They established a number of trading posts [feiras] in the interior, for example, Dambarare, Masapa, Masekesa, Zvengombe, Bukutu, Zumbo, Rimuka, Chitomborwizi, Luanze, Tete, Sena, Chicoba and Angoche. The feiras were complete trading posts with churches. These feiras were headed by officers called Captain of the gates [Capitor mor]. He was elected for life by Portuguese traders and confirmed by the Mutapa. This implies that there was

an agreement between the two [Portuguese and the local people]. The duties of the Captain of the gates were [1] to control individual or wayward traders' activities [2] to handle requests or complaints from Portuguese traders to the Mutapa and vice versa [3] settled all disputes within the community [4] presided over cases involving Portuguese and Africans [5] ensured that the presents which were due to the king were given to the king [annual presents from Portuguese to show loyalty]. This was done during the initial Portuguese settlement in the interior [Zimbabwe plateau].

Portuguese interference in Mutapa

Initially relations with the Mutapa were of tributary nature, with the Portuguese paying tribute called *curva* as a sign of loyalty. This was in form of cloth, beads and ceramics. On the other hand the Mutapa facilitated trade in gold and ivory and granted freedom of passage. The local people could cease to trade goods only after receiving orders from Mutapa king. Their goods could only be confiscated in situations where locals could have been given orders by Mutapa, for instance, in 1610; Gatsi Rusere ordered forcibly the confiscation of traders' merchants because the Portuguese had delayed paying what was due to him. The Portuguese decided to gain direct entry into the interior. They started by conquering the Manyika and Uteve. They were now using military force of their way into the interior. They used the pretext of the death of Goncalo da Silveira [1561] to directly interfere in Mutapa politics. They argued that he was killed at the instigation of Moslems and Mutapa traditionalists and they came in to revenge.

Puppet Mutapas

The Portuguese sponsored puppet Mutapas. The Mutapas of the 17th and 18th C were puppets or vassals of the Portuguese. Between 1550 and 1607, there were several rebellions within the state and this created political instability and the Portuguese found this an opportune moment to interfere in Mutapa politics. The period from 1607 to 1620s saw a lot of political confusion or turmoil in the state. Gatsi Rusere sought and solicited the support of the Portuguese by signing a treaty of military assistance with the Portuguese. In the treaty, Gatsi Rusere agreed to give all his gold, copper, tin, lead and iron to the Portuguese. He was also forced to give his child and his heir to the Portuguese who turned to bring him up as a Christian so that he would be loyal to Portuguese when he had come to Mutapa. This son was sent to Goa, India where he became a Catholic Priest and he never returned to Africa. However, the people of Mutapa refused to reveal where the mines were and this soured relations. In 1624, Gatsi Rusere died and his death was followed by a civil war between his sons. Rusere was succeeded by his son Nyambo Kapararidze in 1627. He was however challenged immediately by Mavura Mhande. According to D N Beach, Kapararidze was indeed the rightful successor. He after taking over introduced several reforms. Old councilors of his father were replaced by new, young and energetic advisors. These advisors advised him to kill all Portuguese in the state. They realised that they would take away their independence. According to S I G Mudenge, Kapararidze proceeded and killed Portuguese officials like Bairos because he had not paid his *curva* in time. He went on to declare a 'mupeto' against all Portuguese in the Empire. This was seizure of their items. This naturally created direct confrontation with the Portuguese. The Portuguese mobilised their resources towards removing Kapararidze from the throne hence their sponsorship of Mavura into power. In 1629, Mavura Mhande sought and got the support of the Portuguese to overthrow Nyambo Kapararidze. Kapararidze was killed in 1629 by the Portuguese who installed Mavura. Following his installation, Mavura was asked to sign a treaty of vassalage with the

Portuguese [1629]. The state was nearly destroyed by Mavura's agreement with the Portuguese, which was a very damaging treaty. By this treaty Mavura agreed that he had received his throne in the name of the king of Portugal whose sovereignty he now acknowledged. Mutapa was made a vassal of the king of Portugal. Mavura also agreed to cede all his silver and gold mines to the Portuguese. He agreed to allow complete freedom of passage throughout his empire to all Portuguese traders. Mavura agreed to allow Dominican missionaries to preach in the empire freely. Mavura was to stop the curva system and instead he was to pay tribute to the Portuguese. He was also to show great respect to the Captain of the gates who was to stay at the king's palace and not at Masapa where he was headquartered. The king was to consult the Captain of the gates in matters of war and peace. The Vice Roy [leader of the Portuguese] was happy with this treaty and sent Mavura some gifts in form of clothes, a chair with a high back, a Portuguese sword, a cap and a hat. The king was initiated in a Portuguese taste. The significance of the treaty was that between 1629 and 1633 the Portuguese manipulated Shona dynastic division to effectively gain control of the Mutapa state. They adopted the divide and rule tactic. The treaty marked the first European attempt to colonise African territories in this region. There followed a marked increase in Portuguese traders and adventurers' activities. Mavura and his wife were subsequently baptised into the Roman Catholic Church and their names were changed to Domingos and Luiza respectively. The Portuguese fought the Shona, took away their cattle [the backbone of their economy] and often enslaved them [domestic slavery] and Mavura took no action. The Portuguese armies spread throughout the country and interfered with local politics. The Portuguese suddenly became controllers on land and they created chaos and anarchy, individualism and the Portuguese adventurers established prazos. Their influence reached as far as Butua [Torwa in the west]

The Prazo System

The Portuguese introduced the prazo system in Mutapa. Prazos were very large farms owned largely by Portuguese traders in Mutapa state. This was in the Zambezi valley especially in the Western part of Zambezi River from Tete. In terms of location Prazos were found on both sides of Zambezi River. The Shona derived their name 'purazi' from prazo. The period after 1629 saw many Portuguese individuals and adventurers acquiring land called Prazos da Coroa [crown land estate]. These were owned by private individuals, government officials, traders and religious leaders. The prazo system comprised of the prazero [owner], the peasants [colono] and the achikunda [prazero's army]. The prazero used African chiefs and their subjects as labourers and the chiefs were given power voluntarily to recruit labourers. The production relations of the prazo system resemble those of the feudal system where there were landlords and tenants. This implies that the prazo system was similar to the feudal system in Europe. The prazo had an army [chikunda]. The people who were found in this army were local Shona. The chiefs were to pay tribute to the prazero in form of agricultural products, locally woven cloth, cattle, ivory, gold dust and tobacco. The prazero became the defacto chief. He even adopted African practices like religion and marrying many wives. He therefore tried to legitimise his position by creating a false acceptance picture. The prazero served largely as middlemen in long distance trade with the Indian Ocean. Many exports from prazeros were ivory, gold and slaves. The internal organisation of the prazos did not have a purely African picture. According to Isaacman, if anything there was a deAfricanisation due to the introduction of the prazo system. The prazeros were very powerful and were responsible for deciding on all judicial cases, all disputes and they virtually became chiefs themselves. The prazero received tribute in form of ivory and the choicest part of other animals which died in his lands were brought to him. Initially it were the Portuguese

who paid tribute [curva] to the king but later on this was reversed. The prazeros were largely sustained by slave labour and within this slave labour were hierarchies [1] Chuanga were eyes and ears of the prazero who were appointed due to their loyalty. They collected taxes and ivory from traditional rulers. They were responsible for state security. [2] Next were chikundas who were responsible for enforcement of law and order. They dealt with any act of rebellion. The smallest farm had about 30 and the largest had about thousands. [3] Below achikunda were Muavi [peasants]. They were obtained through various ways which included selling children to the Portuguese and Arab traders. Some were pawned during the time of famine. Some were acquired through enslaving criminals and war criminals. The state land was given to prazeros for 3 generations and reviewed after 3 generations. The Portuguese government empowered the prazo holders to grab more land. The impact of this was the general reduction of Mutapa territory and depopulation because most of the Mutapa people were used as slaves in their in their acquired farms and some were married to them. Africans were used as cheap labour and this increased dependence syndrome on Portuguese. This implies that more Africans were absorbed resulting in cultural diffusion. This greatly affected the social life of Africans. The estate holders [prazeros] spoke African languages more than Portuguese. They believed in witchcraft and performed functions of African chiefs. This suggests that the Portuguese were gradually assimilated into local African culture possibly by virtue of their numbers. The Portuguese introduced new crops like maize, groundnuts, cow peas, melons, sweet potatoes and paw paws.

*Some Africans who lived in the Portuguese prazos were sold to the East African slave trade.

Prazeros lived luxurious lives and co-habited with African women resulting in the coloured population [mulattos]. The prazeros controlled trade through the use of professional traders known a vashambadzi. There were instances and cases of many deaths and casualties in the Portuguese farms where African labour was used. The Portuguese surrounded themselves with advisors, including religious leaders who helped them in such ceremonies as rain making.

Effects of Portuguese in Mutapa state

The effects of the Portuguese in Mutapa were both positive [constructive] and negative [destructive];

Constructive /Positive effects

The Portuguese brought new and improved farming methods, which in turn improved food production, for instance, the introduction of prazos and crop rotation. The Portuguese introduced new crops such as maize, potatoes and fruits like bananas. This helped to improve the diet of the people of Mutapa. The Portuguese also led to the advent of guns which could improve national defense system. Guns were later used for defense purposes against invading forces. The Mutapa got foreign goods from Portuguese through trade. These included beads and clothes as well as guns. Modern civilisation was introduced, for example, clothing. There was an improvement in communication, for example, roads were constructed. The spread of Christianity by the Portuguese reduced barbarism and paganism. New mining methods were introduced.

Destructive / Negative effects

The Portuguese interfered in Mutapa political affairs. This was seen in taking sides in succession disputes leading to the advent of puppet kings like Mavura and Gatsi Rusere. There were unfair trade practices like the credit system where Africans could get Portuguese products

even if they did not have the gold and ivory at that time. They would pay the gold and ivory by a given date. Failure to pay resulted in confiscation of cattle or enslavement of Africans. All this happened while the king enjoyed the benefits of bribery. Thus the Portuguese caused untold suffering and chaos in Mutapa state. There was unfair and unbalanced exchange system. Africans were getting worthless product such as spirits, beads and cloth in exchange for gold and ivory. Trade with Portuguese led to depletion of natural resources like gold and ivory which eventually led to the demise of Mutapa state. A vast amount of gold and ivory was taken away. As more and more Portuguese came into Mutapa state and grabbed more prazos, they began forcing the Africans to work for them on these plantations. The Portuguese formed private armies and became wild and lawless. There was spreading of diseases to Africans by the Portuguese. African women were raped by Portuguese and this caused chaos in the state. As a result children of mixed races were born whom they called mulattos. The mulattos were also due to intermarriage between Portuguese men and African women. African culture was destroyed and there was loss of tribal identity. African chiefs and kings lost their powers to the prazeros and were forced to supply slave labour and were also forced to pay tribute. Christianity brought division among Africans. Some were converted into Christians whilst others refused and remained with their religion. As such these two groups with different religions could not co-exist. Africans lost their land to the Portuguese due to the introduction of the prazo system. Portuguese brought social ills such as prostitution which were unheard of before they came. Africans lost control of trade to the Portuguese. Captain of the gates had been appointed in 1514 to regulate trade between the Mutapa and the Portuguese. By 1629, the Captain of the gates was more powerful than the Mutapa king. This weakened the state significantly. Political developments in Mutapa state during the 16th and 17th C that led to the gradual disintegration of the state and why the state nearly collapsed in the 17th C. These were usually political events that took place between 1500 and 1695. It is learnt from Portuguese sources that Mutapa state was the most powerful polity in Southern Zambezia, controlling the gold and ivory trade to the coast. The Mutapa rulers consolidated their power bases and influence in the northern Zimbabwe plateau and adjacent Dande and lower Zambezi valley areas. However, by 1520s, dominance was being challenged by Uteve and Barwe, who also wanted a state in the coast interior trade. Dominance of Mutapa was also being contested by Madanda/ Manyika.

From the middle of the 16th C, more Portuguese settled in the interior. The Mutapa people were prepared to accept them as long as they did not interfere with their politics. In 1561 Father Goncalo da Silveira, a Portuguese missionary baptised the Mutapa king [Negomo Mapunzagutu] and his royal family but this resulted in a disaster probably under the influence of Arabs and Shona traditionalists. In 1561 Negomo Mapunzagutu probably acted on the advice of spirit mediums and officials who accused Silveira of planning aggression against the state and killed him. The religious leaders were angered by the Portuguese activities. The death of Goncalo was thus a plot by Muslims and some fractions of disgruntled Mutapa people as a result of the influence of Arabs. Goncalo's death soured Portuguese-Mutapa relations. The incident provided the Portuguese with an excuse of invading the Mutapa state. The Portuguese responded to this disaster by dispatching a military expedition from Lisbon [capital of Portugal] led by Francisco Barreto with about 1000 men in 1569. The expedition was aimed at gaining control of the gold mines, to see that they were properly exploited, to expel Swahili-Arab traders and secure safe access to Portuguese missionaries.

*However, the army [failed] never reached the state because the majority of Portuguese died due to diseases like malaria and hunger and resistance of the Tonga people on the lower Zambezi who

caused the expedition to retreat to the coast of Sofala. More so, the [Portuguese had no knowledge of the geographical terrain of Mutapa. This failure shows that though heavily armed they did not make impressive military demonstrations and they did not exert permanent control over the Shona people.

After the death of Barreto, Vasco Homen decided to invade Manyika to try and control mines. In 1575 Homen and only 200 survivors left Manyika. The Portuguese then demanded compensation which they successfully got before the death of Negomo in 1589. Although they learnt a lesson from Homen's invasion, they were presented with an opportunity in form of civil wars and succession disputes which they turned to their advantage. Hofmer at last reached Vumba area but found little gold. In spite of their dramatic failure, the Portuguese traders and settlers continued to visit the state. In the interior the Portuguese presence consisted of private individuals pursuing their own interests first and foremost and acting in the interests of the Portuguese government was a secondary issue. However, the Portuguese king and his advisors conceived the idea of planting a colony of Portuguese settlers. In 1677 another military expedition of settlers was dispatched from Portugal but little is known of its fate or destiny, except that it had no significant results. The problem was that European settlement at the Zambezi River was reduced always by mortality during that time. Most of them were absconded soldiers, orphan girls, prostitutes and Indian immigrants.

*It should be noted that Mutapa state survived these campaigns as well as the revolt by the Tonga [1572] and the Zimba menace in the lower Zambezi in the 1580s. However, these wars resulted in increased Portuguese interest in the Mutapa state. From 1590 to the 1620s, there was emergence of Gatsi Rusere as ruling Mutapa [puppet ruler]. There was increased Portuguese interference in the internal affairs of the state. This resulted in civil wars in which the Portuguese either sided with the ruling authorities or the rebels. With the death of Gatsi Rusere in the 1620s, there was emergence of another puppet ruler in the state, that is, Mavura Mhande. Puppet rulers in the state lasted into the 1660s. This was made worse by increased Portuguese interference in the state, mainly to benefit from gold mines. This interference was backed up by the prazo system which was emerging in the lower Zambezi. This resulted in political instability in the state which also experienced depopulation.

The state had clearly lost its political power and economic might to the Portuguese who were actually running its affairs. This situation was however reversed by Mutapa Mukombwe, who in the middle of the 17th C, tried to restore order and restrict the activities of the Portuguese. In the 1670s, Mutapa Mukombwe reacting against the exploitation and consequent decline of the state embarked on the liberation struggle dedicated to overthrow the Portuguese in the state. It was in 1693 with Rozvi cooperation that Mukombwe finally achieved his goal. They expelled the Portuguese from Mutapa. This saved the state from collapse. After various unsuccessful attempts, it was only in the 19th C that the Portuguese were able to re-establish their power to a significant level in the Mozambican part of the area. The fall of the Torwa dynasty based at Khami in the 1650s and the rise to power of the Rozvi under Changamire posed yet more challenges to Mutapa state.

The reasons for the decline of Mutapa state

There is no general consensus among historians as to what exactly led to the demise of Mutapa state. The decline of this state was a long process and not an event. As a result, a plethora of

factors have been put forward in trying to explain the fall of Mutapa. These factors were both internal and external.

Internal factors for its decline

Weak and inexperienced leadership [incompetent leadership] led to its decline. These included kings like Mavura, Rusere, Nyahuma and Chioko. It were the weak political successors to Mutota and Matope who provoked revolts by vassal, for example, powerful vassal chiefs like Changa and Togwa rebelled against the young and inexperienced Nyahuma and took control of the areas under them. Nyahuma was Matope's son who ruled in the 1480s. The state had become too vast for the young, inexperienced and incompetent leadership. Their weaknesses were also, manipulated by the Portuguese to their advantage. Thus as a result of incompetent leadership, vassal states like Madanda and Uteve broke away leading to the disintegration of the state. Their weaknesses also rendered the royal fire useless.

There were rebellions from vassal chiefs, for example, Changa of Guruuswa and Togwa of Mbire. This laid the basis of what was to become the Rozvi Empire. They rebelled because they felt independent enough to start their own kingdoms. Thus a large part of Mutapa state had fallen away as a result of internal factors.

The empire had become too big to be ruled by one ruler. The Mutapa ruled a vast area and this resulted in inefficient administration due to lack of communication and failure to control the whole area hence promoting civil wars.

Succession disputes weakened the state. The inheritance system used did not always work. This is because sometimes there occurred succession disputes between potential candidates, for instance, Mavura versus Kapararidze. The Portuguese took advantage of these problems to weaken the state further. Some rulers began to ally themselves with Portuguese, for example, Mavura and Rusere collaborated with Portuguese in order to gain power.

Civil wars largely caused by succession disputes led to the decline of Mutapa. Civil wars broke out usually over the issue of who was to become the ruler. These civil wars weakened the state and made it vulnerable to colonisation by the Portuguese. The Portuguese took advantage of splits within the state to colonise it. They used the divide and rule tactic to control the state.

Social catalysts like droughts caused the state to decline. There were serious droughts in the period 1823-1830 when the entire Zambezi valley seemed to be on the verge of starvation. These droughts led to food insecurity. The king failed to feed the army which weakened the defense system and resulted in lack of loyalty to the king. Droughts also led to outward migrations of people leading to the disintegration of the state. Droughts also resulted in disunity in the state. Many cattle and other animals died due to these droughts. These droughts led to the collapse of Mutapa's agricultural economy

*However, it must be noted that the state had survived droughts before, for Instance, in the 1560s and 1670s. Depletion of natural resources like gold and ivory which were important items for trade led to the demise of this state. This was usually facilitated by the unfair trade practices.

Secession by Manyika, Teve [Uteve] and Danda provinces left the authority of the Mutapa confined to Dande, Chidima and Zambezi valley. One can therefore argue that Mutapa had lost a large part of its territory during the 15th C. The Portuguese only arrived in the empire in the 16th C. The Mutapa state they came into contact with was very much a reduced and weak state. The

Portuguese therefore were only responsible for the fall of the remnant Mutapa state. A large part of Mutapa had fallen away as a result of internal factors. Thus the Portuguese arrival in the 16th C took place at a time of general decline of the Mutapa state.

External reasons

The Portuguese interference in Mutapa politics led to its decline. They meddled in Mutapa politics by putting puppet Mutapas on thrones, for instance, Gatsi Rusere and Mavura Mhande. Thus it was now a foreign state within a state because these puppets were to rule according to the demands and orders of the Portuguese thereby ignoring the wishes of their people. This in turn outraged the people and spirit mediums and civil wars broke out and these further facilitated the Portuguese colonisation of the state. The growth of Portuguese control further undermined the authority of the Mutapas.

The prazo system led to the decline of Mutapa. As more and more Portuguese came into the Mutapa state and obtained prazos, they began forcing more Africans to work in their plantations. It was that same labour which was supposed to be used to buttress [harness] the Shona economy hence leading to the demise of the state. More so, the Mutapa people also lost their land to the Portuguese hence weakening their economy.

The Portuguese trading activities led to the decline of the state. The credit system, for instance, led to enslavement of Africans after failing to pay the gold and ivory on the agreed date. Some Africans had their cattle confiscated for failing to pay the gold and ivory on the agreed date. More to that, trade between Africans and the Portuguese was not fair. Africans were given worthless commodities like spirits, beads and cloth in exchange for precious gold and ivory. The people of Mutapa were given goods which were not vital for state development. Portuguese trading activities also led to depletion of natural resources like minerals especially gold and elephants [ivory].

Christianity which was introduced by the Portuguese in Mutapa state brought divisions among Africans.

The Maravi [Zimba] invasions also led to the decline of Mutapa. They were apparently Bantu speaking invaders, who dwelt in the Zambezi region and managed to expand their influence to a large part of Makualand by about 1590. There is however, no direct documentary evidence providing information on their motivation for invading northern Zambezia.

There were **attacks from the Rozvi** which was more organised and powerful than Mutapa. The Changamire campaigns led to the demise of Mutapa and its relegation in the Zambezi. Others think that Changamire had precipitated the fall of Mutapa but one must realise that the process of its downfall was already set in by Portuguese influence in the state. In 1693 Changamire Dombo attacked and defeated Mukombwe. This was facilitated by the fact that the Mutapa troops were inefficient as compared to the Rozvi.

The **Nguni incursions** in the 1830s caused destruction and chaos in Mutapa state. The Mutapas like Kadaya and Dzeka were attacked by the Ngoni. In addition, the Ngoni under Nxaba and the Maseko-Ngoni invaded the state from the east. The Vanyai were too weak to defend Mutapa state. Soshangane also succeeded in carving for himself a large state at the expense of what used to be Mutapa's Manyika province. Other Nguni leaders took with them livestock and some Mutapa subjects on their way to the north. The Mutapa were also invaded by the Ndebele under Mzilikazi in 1840. This greatly weakened the state.

The **colonisation of Mutapa** by the British in 1890 led to its final downfall.

THE ROZVI STATE

Origins of the Rozvi State

The origin of the Rozvi State is debatable. This controversy endured to this day. Thus as a result a number of theories have been put forward in trying to explain the origin of this state.

One theory argues for an early date of the origin of the Rozvi state. The chief protagonists of this theory included Ngwabi Bhebhe, who argues that the origin of the name Changamire can be dated back to the 1480s in the history of the Mutapa. According to this theory, this was when Mutapa Nyahuma, Matope's son who was young and inexperienced ruled Mutapa state. During his rule, the powerful vassal chiefs of the Mutapa, that is, Changa and Togwa rebelled against the weak Nyahuma and took control of the areas under them. Changa later turned against Togwa and became paramount chief. He then became the founder of the Changamire dynasty and hence of the Rozvi state. Changa is believed to have revolted against the Mutapa Nyahuma when Mutapa state was at its decline. With his powerful army, Changa was able to subdue the Torwa people. It were the Torwa people who nicknamed Changa's people, the Rozvi, meaning destroyers. He established his capital at Danangombe [Dhlohdhlo] in Matabeleland. The capital was then transferred to different areas by different leaders, for example, Naletale, Manyanga and so on. It is imperative to note that the Changamire did not destroy the Torwa state and its culture but took it over and in fact amalgamated with it.

The other theory argues for a later date. The proponents of this theory included scholars like D.N Beach and S IG Mudenge. According to this theory, the true founders of the Changamire dynasty and state arose out of the violence and confusion of the Portuguese attempt to conquer Mutapa and Torwa states in the middle of the 17th C. As during Mfecane period of the 19th C, those who could command a strong army were able to get stronger, as more and more people attached themselves to a growing force for safety's sake. According to Mudenge, in all Portuguese records he examined, the term Rozvi is used only in connection with the descendants of Dombo and his followers. According to Portuguese records, Changamire Dombo founded his empire between 1684 and 1695 and lasted until the arrival of Mfecane groups. However, there is no evidence from Portuguese sources that the Rozvi as a nation bearing the name 'Rozvi' existed before the advent of Dombo. Changamire Dombo, founder of Rozvi state, was a cattle herder under Mutapa Mukombwe. He was rewarded by the Mutapa and was given cattle which formed basis of his power. Dombo then attracted a large following and left Mutapa state with an army of about 300 soldiers. He moved south west and attacked the Torwa and subdued them.

There is also **another theory which argues that the Rozvi state was a continuation of the Torwa state.** This implies that the Torwa and Rozvi were the same people and what only changed was the name. The proponents of this theory had a simpler explanation on the origin of the Rozvi state. According to this theory, there was no invasion or conquest which occurred. In other words, the Torwa state developed and changed its name to Rozvi. Changamire Dombo therefore was a descendant of a Torwa Changamire who rose to power because of cattlewealth. Oral

tradition confirms that Dombo had magical powers. He could therefore have used these powers to get the throne.

Reasons for the rise of Rozvi state

The Rozvi controlled long distance trade along the Zambezi valley. Successful agriculture also led to its rise. The military prowess of the Rozvi led to its rise. The Rozvi were skillful fighters who were able to defeat and incorporate several Shona groups. They also defeated the Portuguese who agreed to come under them. Wealth in form of cattle made the Rozvi the dominant state in the area. Religion also played a role of unifying people. The Ndau, Zezuru and Karanga people voluntarily joined the Rozvi state for protection against the Portuguese. Intermarriages made the Rozvi to extend their rule to non Rozvi people. Weaknesses of Mutapas also led to the rise of the Rozvi state. Civil wars in Mutapa state led to the rise of the Torwa state.

Political organisation of the Rozvi

At the apex of the political hierarchy was the Changamire or Mambo or King. Kingship was hereditary. The Mambo had to belong to the Moyondizvo totem. To avoid the dangers of succession disputes, the Rozvi were able to create an institutional device. The mambo was the commander in chief of the army. The king was in charge of religion. The Tumbare was the chief representative of the army and was the military commander. He was a very powerful man in the state. According to Rozvi traditions, when a mambo died and no successor was immediately appointed, the Tumbare was to take over as a regent until a mambo was elected. The house of the Tumbare used to provide the highest general of all Rozvi armies and was the chief tribute collector. More so, in case of a younger mambo, Tumbare also acted as regent until the younger mambo is grown enough to rule. The king was the chief distributor of land. The mambo was the chief judge, who made all the final decisions in court cases. The king's power rested in the powerful army. The mambo was assisted in the day to day administration of the state by councilors [Dare reMagota]. The Dare consisted of representatives of the priests, provincial governors, leading imperial houses, military leaders and so on. The council acted as advisors to the mambo. The priest who was equally powerful was responsible for installing the king. The priest could warn or reprimand a mambo who misbehaved. Provinces fell under administration of provincial chiefs. Some of the posts of provincial chief were hereditary. Mambo was consulted and represented during the installation of these chiefs. Traditional chiefs also presided over the installation of these chiefs. In certain special circumstances, the mambo could also install his own candidates. All vassal chiefs paid tribute [annually] to the mambo in form of gold, ivory, cloth, beads, food stuffs, hoes, cattle and animals to show loyalty to the mambo. Chiefs who failed to pay tribute were labeled rebels and were seriously punished. Tumbare's army was responsible for collecting tribute and punishing all rebels. Senior wives of the Changamire also played an important advisory role to the king. There existed a standing army. This made the punishment of rebels quick and easy.

Military organisation of the Rozvi

The changamire had a standing army of up to 3000 soldiers. The changamire was the commander in chief of the army. He was deputised by a Tumbare. The king kept a small bodyguard for his own personal defense. These soldiers were permanently armed and were called Ngwanangwana [wide awake]. The bulk of the army was composed of young men and unmarried cadres. This army was well equipped with bows, arrows, assegais, shields, battle axes and so on. The army

underwent specialised military training. This training involved military exercise and archery [technique of shooting effectively]. The army was very strong, efficient and well-disciplined and this enabled it to conquer neighbours and rule them for almost 150 years [1680-1850]. Because of its effectiveness [prowess] in battle, the Portuguese ended up accusing this army of using supernatural powers against enemies. According to Portuguese accounts, the Rozvi could send their enemies to sleep during battles. Their association with supernatural powers clearly gave their armies a vast psychological advantage over their potential opponents. This strong army provided them with an important diplomatic and political leverage over their enemies. In the 19th C this army also possessed guns they acquired from Portuguese trade. The guns could have been important only as a symbol of power and prestige rather than their use. This is largely because they were very few. During battles the army used more or less Tshaka's fighting techniques. While others were advancing towards the enemy, others would be taking care of the wounded, replenishing food stuffs and making certain that those in front won't retreat. The army was used to conquer other territories and extend Rozvi Empire. The army raided neighbouring states for cattle and grain. The army also defended the state from intruders or foreign attacks. The army also collected tribute and punished those who failed to pay tribute.

Social organisation of the Rozvi

The social organisation of the Rozvi was similar to that of other Shona states such as Great Zimbabwe, Mutapa and Torwa. The society comprised of the ruling class and subject people. At the capital Mambo lived in a special hut called Chitoramano. His people lived in villages below. The settlement arrangement was a replica of Great Zimbabwe. The capital had up to 2000 people. This population was lower than that of Great Zimbabwe at its peak. Ownership of cattle was regarded as a symbol of status. This ownership of cattle was definitely not uniform. There were those with plenty of cattle and those with few. Those with more cattle occupied a high status in society. They practiced loaning of cattle. Those with many cattle often loan to those without [kuronzera]. This system helped to cement social, political and economic bonds of the people. They paid bride price [lobola] in form of cattle to their in laws. Those with many cattle were in a position to marry many wives. Thus polygamy was accepted in this state. The society was patriarchal [male dominated]. It is therefore clear that the Rozvi society was one of unequals. There was social stratification in the Rozvi state. The rulers overall controlled the way of life of their subjects and they were the dominant group in the state. There was also stratification based on specialisation, for example, blacksmiths, weavers, potters and so on. They practiced the nhimbe system. Incest and bestiality were taboos. They celebrated the birth of a new child and the coming of a new daughter in law. They believed in the high God [Mwari]. Mwari was believed to speak in the thunder and manifest himself in lightning. Mwari also expressed himself through phenomena like earthquakes. The high God was approached through the spirits of the dead. In northern, eastern, central and most of western Mashonaland, an elaborate system of spirit mediums existed. These mediums were believed to be the men and women possessed by the spirits of the dead kings or dead chiefs. The mambo was believed to have been a very religious person with a divine origin. It was believed that the mambo was a descendant from Mwari. Because he was connected to God, his opinions could not be questioned. This was because disobeying him could be seen as disobeying God. The Rozvi believed in the power and guidance of the ancestral spirits who were praised, consulted and appeased on a regular basis and especially during times of crisis like drought, famine and wars. They believed in family, regional and national spirit mediums. They believed that some spirits lived in thick forests, pools and mountains. There was widespread belief in witchcraft.

Economic Organisation of the Rozvi

Crop production was one of the major economic activities of the people of the Rozvi state, just like those of Great Zimbabwe, Torwa and Mutapa. This was supported by T O Ranger who argues that the Shona were everywhere cultivators. D N Beach argues that the Rozvi, like everybody else in the Shona world, depended on cultivation of crops. They grew crops like rapoko, millet and later on maize. Most of the plateau under their control was a veld with good rainfall which was suitable for basic crop cultivation. They were able to plant the right crops for the right soils on the right time. More often they planted drought resistant crops. They also planted new crops like sugar cane, rice and yarins.

Livestock production was another pillar of the Rozvi economy. They herded large herds of cattle. According to D N Beach, the south-western plateau was always a major breeding centre and the Changamire dynasty having started as cattle herders in the north-east, built up some large herds during the 18th C. The uses of cattle included payment of bride price [lobola], providing security against drought and famine and the payment of tribute. Cattle also provided manure, meat and milk and were an important form of wealth. Portuguese documents also stressed the importance of cattle in the Rozvi state. The Rozvi just like the people of Great Zimbabwe practiced the transhumance system. S Mudenge agrees with Beach that pastoralism appears to have been the real economic basis of the Rozvi Empire. The Rozvi also kept sheep and goats for meat and milk.

Mining was another branch of the Rozvi economy. The main mineral mined was gold for trade and jewellery making. But over and above gold they also mined iron, copper and lead. Iron was used for making hoes, assegais and axes. The Njanja people of Hwedza were the main specialists in making iron tools. Copper was used for making bangles and the Duma people were responsible for bangle manufacture. Regions with less iron, for example, the middle south specialised in salt production. Gold was largely mined for export. The presence of gold in the region was largely exaggerated by the Portuguese. However, it must be noted that mining was not an all year round activity but was largely undertaken between August and October, the off planting season. Great control was exercised over the exploitation of minerals especially gold. Gold mines were made state property [they were monopolised].

Trade was done by the people of Rozvi state. Internally they traded among themselves. They also did external trade with the Portuguese. In return for grain, precious animal skins, gold and ivory, local people got machira [cloth], beads, guns, sea shells and candles. Since most of these were luxury goods, they may not have been very important to the generality of the people. The mambo is said to have exercised a strict monopoly of all external trade. This stemmed from Portuguese records of 1750 in which the Changamire was said to forbid his subjects to trade in gold. State interference was meant to ensure that the Portuguese did not have an undue advantage over the local people. Trade took place at places called feiras [trading posts]. The main posts established in the interior were Dambarare, Rimuka, Chitomborwizi, Luanze, Masekesa, Tete, Sena, Zumbo and Sofala. The feiras became the focal points for all Portuguese commercial intercourse [trade]. The feiras were important posts which also accommodated churches, soldiers and so on. Feiras were under Captain of the gates [Capitor mor], an appointee responsible for day to day activities. His duties included taxation, price control, arbitration between Africans and Portuguese traders and running of licenses and enforcement of law and order. Trade was very important because in 1722, 1743 and 1781, the Rozvi sent powerful armies to protect trading station at Zumbo against their attack from its enemies.

Fishing was also done by the people of Rozvi state. Fishing supplemented their diet.

Raiding was another economic activity of the Rozvi. They raided weaker neighbours for livestock, grain and women.

Tribute payment was another economic activity of the Rozvi. The state levied tribute on all its subjects and on the Portuguese. The subjects paid tribute annually in form of cattle, grain, goats, sheep, precious skins, gold and ivory. The Portuguese paid in form of beads and cloth. Tribute was paid to show allegiance to the king. It was also believed that items collected as tribute were redistributed to the people in times of crisis like drought.

Hunting was done by the Rozvi. Thus they did not abandon hunting of wild animals. Like the Mutapa people, they used iron weapons like spears and arrows to hunt both large and small animals. They also used nets to trap animals. Trenches were also dug to trap large animals like elephants. It must be noted that elephant tusks were a royal monopoly as these were important in trade with the Portuguese. Hunting was a masculine activity and was done as a sport.

Gathering also continued. They gathered wild fruits, roots, vegetables, mushroom and so on. Gathering was largely done by women. This practice supplemented their diet though much of the food was obtained from crop cultivation and animal rearing.

Basketry was done by the Rozvi. They made different types of baskets such as the winnowing baskets.

Pottery was also done. Women made different types of pots for cooking, carrying and storing water.

Blacksmithing was done by the Rozvi. They made tools such as hoes, axes, spears and arrows. The Njanja people of Hwedza were the main specialists in tools manufacture.

Reasons for the decline of Rozvi state

Internal factors

The size of the state led to its decline. The Rozvi Empire became too big and difficult to be controlled by one ruler. The Changamires lost a firm grip on the subject people. Some people stopped paying tribute to mambos and this weakened the resource base of the kingdom. Some tributary states like Mangwe in the south and Manyika in the east declared independence. The Kalanga also took advantage of the weaknesses of the kingdom and rebelled. There were also some migrations from the Rozvi state to the south of the Limpopo. This led the disintegration of the Rozvi kingdom.

Depopulation within the Rozvi state led to its decline. This was due to the assimilation of some Shona elements into the Ngoni groups and some by the Ndebele. It should be noted that some Shona joined the Ndebele without being forced [voluntarily]. The massive killing of the Rozvi people by the various Nguni groups also facilitated depopulation. Depopulation greatly weakened the Rozvi state in that it had no young able bodied men who would work in the fields. More so, the absorption of Shona young men was bitter pill to swallow for the Rozvi because it had no young men to recruit into the army and this made the state vulnerable to attacks by invaders.

Successive droughts and starvation hit the state in the 19th C. Since the state depended on crop production and animal rearing, these droughts seriously affected the economy of the state.

Starvation was facilitated by the Ngoni under Zwangendaba who burnt Rozvi crops [scorched earth policy]. According to Mazikana and Johnstone, the Ngoni groups succeeded in disrupting the Rozvi state's economy before continuing north. It should be noted that these prolonged droughts and starvation led to population movements which the Changamire could not control. These droughts were also followed by secessionist wars within the kingdom to control the limited food supplies and avoid paying tribute.

Civil wars which broke out within the Rozvi state led to its decline. H H K Bhila argues that the years between 1795 and 1850s were marked by serious civil wars in the Rozvi Empire and its tributary states. It is highly probable that these civil wars resulted from the death of the Rozvi emperor, Rupandamanhanga. These civil wars created factions within the Rozvi dynasty and this made it vulnerable to invasions by various Nguni groups and was easily defeated. These civil wars also triggered the demise of the Rozvi state in that the Rozvi economy was rundown, particularly long distance trade because the Portuguese trading posts were disrupted.

External reasons

Nguni incursions led to the decline of Rozvi state. A series of invading groups from the south burst into the Rozvi territory with great destructive effects. The Nguni incursions can be seen in the bands of Nguni groups which passed through the state as they were escaping the disturbances in Nguniland [Mfecane]. There were at least six groups which included Ngwana- Maseko, Zwangendaba's Ngoni, Nyamazana's Ngoni, Nxaba's group and the Ndebele under Mzilikazi. Each of these groups weakened the Rozvi state, although the Ndebele under Mzilikazi are said to have inflicted the final and decisive blow.

The invasion of the Rozvi state by Soshangane and his Gaza-Nguni in 1830s led to the decline of the Rozvi state. He and his Gaza-Nguni set out to create an empire east of the Save River and between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers, an area occupied by thousands of Shona speakers. He sent raiding parties from Chirinda and subdued the local Ndaus and Chopi ethnic groups. He established the Gaza state and continued to plunder as far as Nyanga. The Shangani raids were also made on Portuguese trading posts of Sofala, Tete and Sena and the Portuguese were forced to pay tribute to Soshangane. These events shook the patterns of Shona history in the area. Many Ndaus were conscripted into the Gaza armies. The long established trading system between the Portuguese and Shona paramountcy was shaken and prosperity of both parties to trade declined.

The invasion of the Rozvi by Nxaba and his Ngoni in 1830s led to the demise of Rozvi state.

They stayed in the Rozvi territory for some time, raiding the Shona for cattle and wives. Their effects were felt in Manyika, Tete and Sofala. They moved north over the Zambezi where Nxaba was eventually killed in battle with the Kololo.

The invasion of the Rozvi state by Zwangendaba and his Ngoni led to its demise. They caused much suffering on the Rozvi state and brought about its downfall. The Ngoni destroyed Rozvi villages and killed thousands of people. According to T O Ranger, archaeologists have found vivid evidence of their violence and many human skeletons were discovered in the great elliptical building. Some Shona people were forced to join them. According to Ransford and Steyn, a few Rozvi centres were passed by this Ngoni group. This did not completely result in the downfall of Rozvi. One must note that although this was the case, the Ngoni invasion weakened the state and made it vulnerable to the following attacks especially by the Ndebele under

Mzilikazi. The Ngoni defeated the Rozvi armies in the battle at Thabazikamambo [Dombo raMbambo] and in 1834 sacked their centres at Khami and Dhlodhlo. The Rozvi began to disperse as Rozvi ruler ship was overthrown. Unlike the Shangani, the Ngoni made a direct impact on Rozvi. The Ngoni crossed Zambezi to the area west of Lake Malawi in 1835.

The Ngoni under Nyamazana, Zwangendaba's female relative also plundered the state in 1830s. D N Beach regarded the Rozvi attack by Nyamazana as the most dramatic blow that fell after Zwangendaba's departure. By the time the female warrior arrived, the strength of the Rozvi had been shaken through fighting many hordes. Nyamazana defeated the Rozvi easily and succeeded in disrupting the state to the extent of killing its Changamire, Chirisamhuru II, the son of Gomoremvura at Manyanga around 1836. One tradition says he was skinned alive. Another tradition says his heart was cut out to prove that Mambos were not double hearted. Birmingham and Martin described the disruption by Nyamazana as cataclysmically suddenness. However, D N Beach argues that the acid test of mfecane's impact shows that it had very little effect indeed. Beach's view is not viable or satisfactory because archaeologists have found vivid evidence of bones of human beings who were killed by these Mfecane groups. Compared to the Gaza-Nguni, the Ngoni seemed to have made a more direct impact on the Rozvi. A general Rozvi dispersal then occurred.

The Ndebele under Mzilikazi invaded the Rozvi state in 1840. It was only with the arrival of the Ndebele that the Rozvi was finally conquered and taken over. The Ndebele came at a time when the Rozvi had not recovered from Ngoni attacks thus the Rozvi were swiftly defeated and were not able to offer any effective resistance. The Ndebele settled in Western Zimbabwe. They easily subdued the scattered and leaderless Rozvi. They established their state in the area forcing some of their neighbours to pay tribute. Thus the impact of the Ndebele on the Rozvi was more cultural than military. The Ndebele caused much destruction among Shona communities as a result of their frequent rates of raids for food, cattle and women. Like other Nguni groups the Ndebele assimilated Shona young men and women into their state system and were known as Lozwi. Other Shona people survived in small groups to the north-east where they bitterly remembered their days of prosperity. Others fled eastwards to take up residence among the Shona of western and central Mashonaland. Some Shona tried to resist and settled in the east under changamire Tohwechipi but was finally captured by the Ndebele. The Ndebele wiped out the last Rozvi ruler bringing about its demise.

Loss of control of long distance trade provided the basis for the demise of Rozvi state. This long distance trade between the Rozvi and the Portuguese was badly shaken though not totally destroyed. Prosperity to both parties to trade declined. T O Ranger argues that the chief cause of decline of this trade was that Portuguese trading towns of Sofala, Tete and Sena were raided by Mfecane groups. Decline in gold production and weaknesses of the Portuguese in suppressing opposition in the kingdom also facilitated the decline in gold trade. As a result of the decline in gold trade, many traders fled from the kingdom.

THE NDEBELE STATE

The Ndebele state originated from Nguniland and was born out of Mfecane. The founder of this state was Mzilikazi, the son of Nompethu, who was Zwide's daughter. His father was called Matshobane, chief of the Khumalo clan which was under Zwide's Ndwandwe.

Political organisation of the Ndebele

The king was the head of state. The Ndebele title for king was Inkosi. The state was highly centralised. The king was the commander in chief of the army. He was the religious leader who presided over all important religious ceremonies like inxwala. The king had power over life and death of his subjects. The king alone could sign treaties. The distribution of land was the king's prerogative, that is, he was the chief distributor of land. It should be noted that land was not a private property of the king though they had powers over its distribution and use. The king was the judicial leader and he could use his judicial powers to liquidate opponents in the state. According to J R D Cobbing, the king eliminated enemies where necessary. All chiefs were to show allegiance at inxwala ceremony [first fruit ceremony]. Its attendance was compulsory. Failure to attend inxwala ceremony was tantamount to a rebellion.

The king was assisted to rule the state by two advisory councils, the Umphakathi [inner council] and Izikulu. The Umphakathi consisted of the original Khumalo chiefs, that is, those who had left Zululand and knew Zulu military tactics. These chiefs made important decisions, although the final decision came from the king on matters of national interest. Unanimity was always the aim. The Umphakathi represented the people in the king's deliberations and he ruled as a king in council in major matters like those involving war and allocation of land. The Izikulu was a body which seems to have been made up of chiefs especially those who had been incorporated into the Ndebele state.

The kingdom [Ilizwe] was divided into chieftaincies under the great chiefs [Induna Ezinkulu] and these were divided into four provinces under an Induna Inkulu. Each province was further divided into regiments [Izigava] which were led by Indunas. The posts of Indunas were not hereditary but they were appointees. They were given responsibility of distributing captives [abathunjiweyo] and state cattle [Inkomo zebutho].

Social organisation of the Ndebele

The Ndebele had a unique social system. It was organised on a caste basis thus the society was divided into three distinct social groups [classes] namely, Zansi, Enhla and Hole. The Zansi comprised of the original Khumalo from Nguniland. This constituted the superior class and occupied most important positions. They formed the aristocratic class and constituted about 15% of the total population. The Enhla was the second most important group in the state. It comprised of those assimilated into the nation during the journey into Zimbabwe, that is, the Sotho and Tswana. They occupied important military positions and constituted about 25% of the total population. The Hole were the least important in the Ndebele state. They were also known as Lozwi. They consisted of the Kalanga and Shona people, that is, those conquered and captured in Zimbabwe. They consisted about 60% of the total population. Some of them were drafted into regiments where they were taught Ndebele military skills and Ndebele language. However, those Hole who proved themselves in battle also occupied important military positions in the state. Due to intermarriage, most of these lost their identity. These included the

Moyos, Sibandas, Ncube and the like. The Ndebele practiced the inxwala ceremony. It was a call to everyone in the state to express thanks for good crops and to renew their loyalty to the amadlozi, especially the royal amadlozi. The ritual involved symbols of rain, female fertility, tribal potency as well as symbols for the fertility of the land and cattle. Black cattle which were said to contain the royal amadlozi were paraded. The amabutho were all assembled. This provided a show of force which served as a deterrent to rebellions. Only after the Inkosi [king] himself had ceremonially eaten the first fruits of harvest could the nation harvest and eat their crops. The Inkosi was identified with the nation's fertility and well-being. All Izinduna and tributary chiefs were required to demonstrate their veneration of the amadlozi and their loyalty to the king. Failure to attend the inxwala ceremony was seen as refusal to renew loyalty to amadlozi and the king and invited retribution. The Ndebele adopted the Shona Mhondoro rain making ceremony. They recognised the ritual authority and rain making powers of the tributary chiefs and mediums in their area as long as they remained loyal. They even paid tribute to the mediums of the great Shona spirits like Nyamusva, Wanewawa, Chaminuka and the like. The recognition of indigenous religion helped to bring about unity for the Ndebele had assimilated many indigenous people. Ndebele was made the official language. They worshipped God [Unkulunkulu] through ancestral spirits.

Economic organisation of the Ndebele

The Ndebele economy had suffered a number of distortions. Many Euro-centric historians misunderstood or deliberately distorted the basis of the Ndebele economy. The myth was also spread by missionaries, traders and hunters. They argue that the Ndebele were nomads and their survival was solely dependent on raiding. They also argue that the Ndebele never engaged in trade. They depicted the Ndebele as a lazy ethnic group which entirely depended on raiding.

*However, this colonial myth had been thrown out of the window by the new thinking. Thus on the contrary, the Ndebele economy was diverse and included crop cultivation, trade, tribute, raiding, mining, hunting, gathering, pottery, basketry and blacksmithing.

Raiding was one of the various components of the Ndebele economic system. Raiding seemsto have been intense during the early days of Ndebele settlement in south-western Zimbabwe. They raided the Shona subject people for cattle, women, grain and manpower during their early days in western Zimbabwe. Raiding was necessitated by the desire to build a powerful and secure state. It was also meant to ensure political subservience by locally incorporated people, that is, the Shona, Kalanga and Venda. Thus raiding was not only an economic system but a political one as well. Recurrent drought also forced them to raid. Raiding was also a punitive measure inflicted upon stubborn chiefs. Raiding was also done to replenish Ndebele cattle destroyed by the lung sickness epidemic of the 1870s. After settling down and establishing themselves, the Ndebele became involved in other economic activities like mining, crop cultivation, trade and blacksmithing.

Crop cultivation was the main economic activity of the Ndebele. They grew a variety of crops like sorghum, millet, rapoko, maize, beans, pumpkins, melons, potatoes, peas and groundnuts. Some historians believed that crop production was not very popular among the Ndebele because of the climatic conditions in Matabeleland. This implies that it was mainly done by the absorbed Shona people. Both men and women were involved in crop production. Men cleared and fenced fields while women cultivated fields. Each settlement had a special king's field which was

harvested first and the produce given to the king, for his distribution to the poor and disadvantaged in society as well as to be eaten by visitors.

Livestock production was the most important economic activity owing to the fact that the Ndebele initially were not settled in Matabeleland. Cattle amongst the Ndebele were very important just like as they were in other Nguni groups. They also kept goats and sheep. They acquired some of the cattle during their migration, while more were obtained from the Rozvi and other Shona through tribute. They practiced the transhumance system with cattle being protected by both regiments and herders. There were two types of cattle, the national herd [Inkomo Zebutho] and privately owned cattle [Inkomo Zamatanga]. The national herd was theoretically controlled by the king and larger percent of them came through raiding. They were distributed to the Izigava [regiments] by the Inkosi. They were often passed to regiments as reward for doing a national service. They were distributed to the needy, loyal and successful. They were also slaughtered at national ceremonies like inxwala. The king's children often inherited some of these. Privately owned cattle were owned by individual subjects. The chiefs and successful warriors tended to own the largest herds. Individuals distinguished their cattle through distinct ear marks [izimpawu or rupawu]. Individuals did what they want with their cattle like paying fines, lobola, buying guns and so on. Cattle were very important because during the 1896-7 uprising the loss of private cattle was one of the major Ndebele grievances.

Trade was also done by the Ndebele. Trade started soon after the Ndebele settlement on the Zimbabwe plateau. They traded among themselves and with the Karanga and Venda to obtain grain and other food stuffs. They also engaged in long distance trade with the Portuguese and later with the British. They obtained foreign goods like guns, ammunition, clothes and beads. Shona middlemen were often used in the trading transaction with the Portuguese. Trade in gold and ivory and the issuing of hunting licenses were the royal monopoly done by none other than the king. Hence the Euro-centric conception that the Ndebele never engaged in trade is a distortion of history.

All subjects paid **tribute** to the Ndebele overlords. They paid in form of cattle, grain and sheep. Failure to pay tribute was punishable. Those who paid timeously were generally left alone. Subjects also showed allegiance by herding the king's cattle. They also supplied wives and young recruits to the king. This on its own is a clear indication that the Ndebele economy was diverse and was not only based on raiding as Eurocentrists say.

Hunting and gathering were also done by the Ndebele. Hunting was very popular among the Ndebele. They hunted large animals like buffaloes and even small species such as hares. Like other pre-colonial states, the Ndebele supplemented their food by gathering. They gathered wild fruits, mushroom and insects. This implies that the colonial myth that the Ndebele economy was solely based on raiding has been ruled out.

Mining was also done by the Ndebele. The Ndebele occasionally carried out some mining activities to a limited extent. Mining was done mostly in winter, after harvest when people did not have much work in the fields. The gold they mined was traded with the Portuguese. They also mined iron which was mainly used for making tools. Hence the Ndebele did not solely depend on raiding.

The Ndebele also did **craftwork**. They were involved in a variety of craftwork like basketry, weaving of cotton into cloth, pottery, wood and stone carving. They also did blacksmithing. One must note that the Ndebele depended on the Shona for iron tools and weapons because they were

specialists in that field. Some Shona were absorbed into the Ndebele society specifically to produce iron tools for them, for instance, the Njanja iron workers.

The Ndebele-Shona relations: Myth versus Reality

Two schools of thought emerged in trying to explain the Ndebele-Shona relations. These are the Euro-centric school and the Afro-centric school.

The **Euro-centric approach** was postulated mainly by missionaries. The Euro-centrists argue that the Ndebele-Shona relations were hostile [far from cordial] because the Ndebele conducted horrific raids upon the Shona and the Shona later had to be grateful to the whites for saving them from extinction.

**However, this was a myth as the Shona just viewed the whites merely as traders just like the Portuguese and nothing else.*

Euro-centrists also argue that the Ndebele were always at war against the Shona right from the beginning.

**However, this was a misconception* because in the early stages of Ndebele settlement, that is, between 1840 and 1870, the Ndebele were preoccupied with their own security such that they could not always fight the Shona. Adventurers like F C Selous and some colonial agents all depicted the Ndebele as warlike to glorify their lives and justify their colonisation of Zimbabwe claiming to help the Shona who were viewed as weak, vulnerable and inexperienced in war apart from soliciting for funds to propel their work.

Euro-centrists argue that after establishing themselves in western Zimbabwe the Ndebele raided every part of the country up until 1890s. They also argued that the relationship between the Ndebele and the Shona was that of a master [Ndebele] and servant [Shona].

**However, this was a misconception.* The reality is that the Ndebele had exercised influence over a small area that is Matabeleland. More so, it should be noted that not all Shona were raided by the Ndebele. Those Shona who lived furthest from the Ndebele, for example, in places like Harare and Manicaland were hardly raided. Only those Shona in places like Masvingo did experience occasional Ndebele raids. Assimilated Shona were no longer raided. Those Shona on the periphery of the Ndebele state were left on condition that they respected the call by the Ndebele king to provide labour. The Ndebele did raid the Shona but far less widely and often has been supposed. Some areas in the east did not experience raids from the Ndebele but rather from the Gaza-Nguni under Soshangane.

Eurocentrists painted the Ndebele as blood thirsty raiders and the Shona as vulnerable and helpless victims.

**However, this was a misrepresentation of historical facts.* The truth is that the Ndebele did raid the Shona and other peoples in certain places at certain times, but not out of sheer blood lust or even because it was essential to their economic system as has been suggested incorrectly by Euro-centrists. Rather, the Ndebele raids were made for a variety of reasons. The major targets of Ndebele raids were those chiefs who refused to pay tribute, for example, rogue chiefs like Chivi and Nemaikonde [Lomagundi] who were raided in 1891 for refusing to pay annual tribute. Thus Shona chiefs freely paying tribute were spared. Raiding was thus a punitive measure inflicted upon stubborn chiefs. In the early days of their settlement the Ndebele raids were conducted for cattle, women [beautiful] and to establish their hegemony through controlling

payment of tribute in the areas. They wanted to ensure political subservience of locally incorporated groups. The Ndebele were also a minority group that was trying to dominate a majority group, the Shona, so they needed to enlarge their military base to maintain domination. Thus it is not correct to say that there were no raids at all. Some historians argue that in the 1860s the Ndebele herd of cattle was affected by a lung sickness epidemic which vastly depleted their stock. In order to replenish their cattle, raids had to be undertaken. It is also believed that both Mzilikazi and Lobengula discouraged haphazard raiding because it affected the kingdom by creating more rivals. Thus the Euro-centric view that the Ndebele raided on their rulers' orders is a distortion of history. The Ndebele were aware of the superior number of the Lozi, Tswana and Shona with their greater access to the Portuguese guns, so they had to be treated carefully. Raiding was intense during the early days of Ndebele settlement as they wanted to establish a powerful and secure state. Another reason for raiding was that raiding was a practice common to many African societies of that time, of small communities banding together to raid others for women and livestock for their own immediate profit. The Shona were not backward in this respect and raided the Ndebele as well as each other. Thus the Shona also conducted counter raids. This shows that raiding was not mono directive. The Shona were not just weak and helpless as Euro-centrists say.

*Contrary to the Euro-centric conception that the Ndebele-Shona relations were far from cordial, the Ndebele were perfectly acceptable to the Shona. There was peaceful co-existence as was typified [exemplified] by military co-existence. Both the Ndebele and the Shona fought against imperialist presence [the British] in 1896-7 Chimurenga. Thus the Ndebele-Shona relations have not been well presented.

*The Euro-centric conception that the Ndebele-Shona relations were hostile [far from cordial] has been ruled out because there was trade between the Ndebele and the Shona. The Ndebele exchanged goods like cattle for grain, iron tools and the like with the Shona especially those of Mwenezi to Munyati regions. Hence the relations between the two were cordial as trade would thrive in basically peaceful and friendly relations.

*There was peaceful co-existence between the Ndebele and the Shona. This was because both Mzilikazi and Lobengula entrusted [loaned] some Shona groups with their cattle. These Shona groups were accorded the right to milk the cattle and even slaughter them for meat. This explains why Gomora's Shona people in Masvingo had Ndebele cattle which they used to pay fine after cutting European telegraph wire. Thus the Euro-centric view that the Ndebele-Shona relations were always hostile has been thrown into the historical dust bin.

*The Ndebele-Shona relations were cordial. This is because the Ndebele gave some Shona specialist groups high respect, for instance, the Njanja iron workers of Mufure area who produced iron tools for them. Thus the Ndebele depended on the Shona for iron tools. The Ndebele also depended on the Shona for medicine [muti or mushonga], especially those from Mberengwa.

THE MISSIONARIES ACTIVITIES IN ZIMBABWE

[1850-1900]

Aims of missionaries in Zimbabwe

- ✓ They wanted to spread Christianity to Africans. The African continent was considered to be lacking in religion. The missionaries therefore believed that they had a spiritual duty to convert the Africans.
- ✓ They wanted to open up Africa to commerce by the introduction of legitimate commerce. Legitimate trade is the trade in raw materials. They thought that European commerce was a weapon against both slave trade and the traditional African society, both of which would need to be destroyed if missionary work was to have a hope of real success.
- ✓ They wanted to spread European culture throughout much of Africa. They assumed the superiority of European culture and Christianity would unavoidably go hand in glove in a civilising mission.
- ✓ They wanted to make Africans literary [to educate Africans], that is, through teaching them to read, write and to do arithmetic. This would enable them to follow and carry out basic instructions and to be able to read the bible.
- ✓ They wanted to spread western civilisation. It was believed that Africa was a 'dark continent'. So they wanted to enlighten Africans.
- ✓ They wanted to pave way for European colonisation. This meant that they wanted to prepare Africans for European imperialism. However, this is debatable.
- ✓ They wanted to introduce medical technology in Africa.
- ✓ They wanted to end slave trade.
- ✓ They wanted to replace 'barbaric African customs' [vices], for instance, killing of twins [infanticide], human sacrifices, raiding, polygamy, witchcraft, ancestral worship and even the names of people.
- ✓ They wanted to develop an indigenous middle class to maintain church staff.
- ✓ They wanted to introduce new agricultural methods, for example, to turn subsistence farming into commercial farming.
- ✓ They wanted to introduce new crops in the area.
- ✓ They wanted to introduce new skills such as carpentry and needle work.
- ✓ They wanted to promote equality of mankind.
- ✓ They wanted to open up mission stations, mission schools, mission hospitals and clinics.
- ✓ They wanted to treat the sick people and inoculate livestock.

Missionary activities in Matabeleland

The Ndebele first made contact with missionaries during their journey from Nguniland. This was in 1829 at Umhlahlandela. Mzilikazi had on three occasions came into contact with Robert Moffat, a missionary of the London Missionary Society [LMS]. Mzilikazi who had a lot of interest befriended Robert Moffat who was stationed at Kuruman in Botswana. Mzilikazi hoped that through this friendship, he could get firearms. After the Ndebele settled in Zimbabwe, Robert Moffat paid them visits in 1854 and 1857. These visits made Mzilikazi to agree to Robert Moffat's request that the London Missionary Society settle and work in Matabeleland. In 1859

Robert Moffat left Kuruman for Matabeleland with some missionaries. This expedition included John Smith Moffat [his son], Daniel Carnegie and Thomas Morgan Thomas, Charles Helm, William Sykes and their wives. Thus the missionaries of London Missionary Society became permanently established in Matabeleland.

The missionaries were made use of by the Ndebele in various ways. For instance, they were used to mend guns, to inoculate cattle and give medical treatment to men, to write letters and to interpret. The Ndebele however, had no intention of allowing the missionaries to achieve influence. Both Mzilikazi and Lobengula saw clearly that their teaching would undermine the basis of the Ndebele state which mainly depended upon raiding and the caste system. So these two kings restricted missionary activities. The missionaries' attacks on raiding were inexcusable. It was believed that these teachings could eventually undermine and destroy the Ndebele socio-political and economic organisation. The two kings did not feel the need for literacy since the administration of the state was efficient without it. The Ndebele were thus different from Lewanika of the Lozi who wanted literacy to improve the elaborate bureaucracy and who wanted to develop trade. Lobengula was not happy when missionaries attacked polygamy which was widely practiced in Matabeleland. Lobengula did not admire the teaching of the missionaries which advocate "putting everything on Christ that he would bear our sins for us". For Lobengula, such a doctrine was suitable only for white men, since he had noticed that "whenever they did anything wrong they always wanted to throw the blame on the others". So missionaries were kept in a sort of quarantine for thirty years. They made zero converts and anyone who showed signs of becoming friendly to them was removed and sent to another area.

In 1859 Robert Moffat was allowed by Mzilikazi to open up a mission station at Inyati which is a few kilometers north of present day Bulawayo. From the beginning both Mzilikazi and Lobengula imposed some royal censorship on the activities of missionaries. The two kings were particularly uncomfortable with the teachings of missionaries especially with those aspects that stressed on equality of all men and that there was only one king who was God. Both kings did not welcome concession to Christianity because it would threaten kingship [for the king was in charge of traditional religion]. Mzilikazi accepted the missionaries [Abafundisi] as trading agency with South Africa and as a source of technical skills, for example, repairing guns. The ordinary Ndebele saw no need to accept the new religion and abandoning their old one as this was believed to anger the Amadlozi. Few people who showed interest were put to death, for example [Mangeba], Mzilikazi's trusted Induna and a member of the Umphakathi in May 1862. He had become so devoted to Christianity to the extent that he denounced some Ndebele religious customs and values. That outraged Mzilikazi who went on to kill him.

In 1870 John Smith Moffat was allowed to open another mission station at Hope Fountain. Lobengula accepted the opening of Hope Fountain with the hope that the missionary would persuade Transvaal not to invade his kingdom and to prevent the missionaries from supporting the Zwangendava group. The Ndebele were annoyed particularly by missionaries who violated some Ndebele customs and values at will, for example, Thomas Morgan Thomas refused to honour a Ndebele religious holiday [motontiso] that was to be observed for a week. He decided to work in his garden although word had been sent to him not to do so. Missionaries at Inyati gave refuge to a Ndebele girl who had run away from home for having openly disrespected some Ndebele customs that she described as pagan. To prevent the missionaries from contaminating the society further, the imposition of royal sanctions [censorship] to deny the missionaries freedom of movement was found to be quite necessary. For instance, Mzilikazi allowed missionaries to

preach only to the people whom he occasionally gathered at his capital to listen to the sermons in his presence. The presence of an anti-missionary faction at the court also limited the degree of success of missionary work. This faction, without any proof, associated the spread of cattle lung sickness to the presence of missionaries in the country.

However, in spite of all these hardships, the London Missionary Society succeeded in engaging themselves in some commendable activities. When the cattle lung sickness broke out, the missionaries imported vaccines and inoculated the sick cattle. That saved many cattle that could have succumbed to the disease. The London Missionary Society also tried their best to promote health of the Ndebele people and their livestock. A number of people including King Lobengula, who was suffering from gout, were treated of their different ailments. Other missionaries repaired guns and wagons. On many occasions, Lobengula used some missionaries like Charles Helm as interpreters. Missionaries were also called upon to read and write the king's letters. They however, took advantage of this privilege to cheat Lobengula and to advance Rhodes' colonial interests. The missionaries failed to make converts. It was only when Thomas Morgan Thomas opened the independent station at Shiloh Fountain in 1876 that six Ndebele were converted up to 1893. This was because he offered them material rewards. The failure of missionaries made them frustrated and angered missionaries like J S Moffat and C Helm who concluded that the Ndebele political system had to be overthrown for Christianity to progress. This explains why both assisted the BSAC in its colonisation of Zimbabwe. This failure led to the deterioration of Ndebele-missionary relations from magnanimous hospitality and friendship to deep suspicion, misunderstanding and outright hatred. Missionaries like Thomas and Helm began to believe that success was only possible if King Lobengula was overthrown and replaced by an administration that was favourable to the spread of the gospel. These missionaries therefore played a significant role to cheat Lobengula to accept treaties that brought about the colonisation of Zimbabwe. They also wrote negative reports about the Ndebele. Their aim was to effect regime change in Matabeleland. To make sure that this happened, they became very active agents of Cecil John Rhodes.

Missionary activities in Mashonaland

As for the Shona, missionaries found it difficult to reach them. Lobengula claimed control over all of Mashonaland hence all missionaries who wanted to work there had to pass via Lobengula's court to get clearance. Lobengula refused permission for mission stations to be set up in Mashonaland. In 1887, Coillard, who later exercised such an influence over Lewanika, tried to set up a mission station in western Mashonaland at the kraal of chief Mashayamombe. He was however, removed by a force of Ndebele Amabutho and taken before Lobengula who warned him not to repeat the attempt. An Anglican priest from South Africa, W Greenstock in 1876, tried to convert the Shona people. Greenstock had not obtained royal clearance from Lobengula to work in Mashonaland and was forced to abandon his work.

In 1888, another Anglican, George Knight Bruce, tried to convert the Shona people in northern Mashonaland. Knight Bruce who at that time was the bishop of Bloemfontein obtained clearance from Lobengula. His major aim was to continue with the work that another Anglican priest, Greenstock, had started. On arrival in Mashonaland Knight Bruce visited many Shona chiefs. He preached the gospel and traded with them. It should be noted that Knight Bruce only made some impact during his second visit after the country was colonised. The missionaries due to their failure were therefore praying for a change that would create a grand opportunity for Christianity. Conquest of the Ndebele was now considered as a prerequisite for missionary work.

A clear example of this change of attitude was seen in the activities of J S Moffat, C Helm and David Carnegie. J S Moffat and C Helm helped in the signing of the Moffat Treaty and the Rudd Concession in 1888. Carnegie was also instrumental in encouraging the destruction of the Ndebele state in the 1893-4 war of dispossession. Father Prestage also gave his blessing to the destruction of the Ndebele state.

Reasons for failure of missionary activities in the Ndebele state

The Ndebele were unwilling to accept Christianity because the Ndebele society was self-sufficient. The Ndebele had a strong religion and a centralised political system. The suspicion the Ndebele had about intentions of foreigners, especially whites. Cultural arrogance of the Ndebele. The Ndebele valued their culture and were generally a closed society. Christianity despised their customs, beliefs and practices such as polygamy, raiding, infanticide and the caste system. Some missionaries were inexperienced and were tactless in dealing with the Ndebele. They did not know the structure of the Ndebele society. Ndebele militarism led to failure of missionaries. The conservative nature of Ndebele society led to the failure of missionaries.

Problems experienced by missionaries in Zimbabwe [1850-1900]

Many missionaries died of diseases, especially malaria and yellow fever. It was not easy for the sick to access medicines or to develop immunity. This attack by diseases dealt a serious blow to the progress of missionary work. Mission stations were established in places where transport was difficult to access. Missionaries had to travel long distances usually on foot and risked such hazards as attacks from wild animals and from local people. It was not easy to make converts because communication was difficult. This was due to differences in language. Missionaries did not understand local languages and so failed to put across their message. There was also the problem of poor communication with the mother country. There was also literacy problem. There was opposition from traditional leaders. Their teaching was disliked by African rulers because it undermined traditional authority. In the case of the LMS, Lobengula ordered his people to leave Christian teachings alone. There is evidence that after 20 years of preaching at Inyati, only one convert was made, a leper who later died. It must be noted that Roman Catholic Church met less resistance because it tended to accept some cultural practices and included them in the day to day worship.

The Africans had their own religion which they were not able to easily give up. They believed in the same God worshipped by the missionaries, but communicated with their God in a different way. Africans worshipped God through spirit mediums and ancestral spirits. The missionaries had a problem of manpower shortage. They were distrusted as they preached against customs such as infanticide [killing of twins], polygamy, raiding and the caste system. Association with colonisers created problems. They had a problem of lack of supplies of European goods, food, medicines, tools and clothes. Oftenly they depended on explorers and other white fortune seekers who passed by to get medicine and other goods. As for food it were the local people who mostly came to their rescue, supplying meat, maize meal, vegetable and milk. The lack of supplies was due to the fact that their stations cut them off the outside world. Some local people were hostile towards missionaries. There was the problem of killing of converts or exiling them. For instance, Mangeba was killed by Mzilikazi. Warfare and raiding created fear among the missionaries. They feared for their lives as they lacked security. There was also the problem of lack of roads. They faced the problem of delays in the granting of permission to operate and were chased away.

They faced the problem of pressure from political leaders to be involved in colonialism. Some missionaries were killed by local people, for example, Bernard Mizeki was killed.

Solutions / Methods used by missionaries to solve these problems

- They used sign language and interpreters from South Africa.
- They built clinics for curing tropical diseases.
- They set up mission schools to educate Africans.
- They taught native children to read and write. Learning native languages aided communication
- They assisted in colonialism so that their work to spread Christianity was made easy.
- They created roads.
- They grew their own crops for food.
- They used catechists and evangelists [African].
-

Failures of missionaries in solving problems

- ✚ Very few people were converted to Christianity.
- ✚ Not many roads were created.
- ✚ There was shortage of drugs.
- ✚ Africans were still attached to their traditional religion and culture.
- ✚ The Ndebele still cherished the caste and raiding systems.
- ✚ Some missionaries were chased out of the country, for example, Coillard.
- ✚

Effects / Impact of missionary activities in Zimbabwe

Missionary activities among the Ndebele and the Shona had both negative and positive effects.

Benefits / Positive effects of missionary activities in Zimbabwe

Treatment of the sick people caused happiness to the local people. Most missionaries had medical knowhow because they had to survive in an environment that was disease prone. They therefore brought with them medical kits. J.S Moffat, for instance, used his kit to treat Lobengula who was suffering from gout. Inoculation of cattle by missionaries was another benefit. When there was a cattle disease around 1860 missionaries were able to source vaccines mainly from South Africa which they used to inoculate Ndebele cattle. This saved many Ndebele cattle which could have died. Hence the presence of missionaries in Zimbabwe was a blessing to the Ndebele.

Missionaries promoted trade in Matabeleland by either bringing the goods for trade themselves or bringing traders. However, not many of them did so. Archaeologists dug out foreign goods like beads, clothes and so on, obtained through trade with ivory. Examples of traders brought by Robert Moffat [in Matabeleland] in 1854 included S Edwards and a hunter called Jan Viljoen. These benefits were however limited in nature.

Missionaries improved agriculture in Zimbabwe. They brought in new farming equipment. They had to produce their own food. They were forced to farm and during the process of farming; they introduced new [modern] farming equipment like ploughs, cultivators and sickles they brought from South Africa. Later on they introduced the planter. Missionaries also brought new crops like vegetables and foreign fruits. This improved the diet of the local people.

There was an improvement in infrastructure. This was through the building of schools, mission stations, churches, hospitals and clinics.

The missionaries reduced social ills like infanticide. In the Shona tradition twins had to be killed at birth [infanticide] because they were considered a bad omen for the living.

They introduced various trades and skills in Zimbabwe. These included building, carpentry and needle work. This helped in creating employment and made rural economies viable and self-sustaining. People therefore started self-help projects.

Non-benefits / Negative effects / Destructive effects of missionary activities in Zimbabwe

The missionary activities in Zimbabwe led to divisions among the local people. The converted were given foreign goods so as to attract more. Those converted were also forced to attack their own culture. This sector looked down upon those who were not converted. The traditionalists [those not converted], that is, the king and ordinary, like wise looked down upon the few who were converted like Mangeba, Mzilikazi's most trusted Induna. The converted were labeled as outcasts. Thus the society was sectorised into two. Thus missionaries created divisions in an otherwise very united state.

Missionaries attacked African traditional customs. It was very normal for all missionaries to attack African customs, values and norms as barbaric. This was expressed in many different ways, for example, any convert was to take a European name. They also attacked traditional customs like Motontiso. Thomas Morgan Thomas, for instance, influenced the converts not to honour it. The Africans were asked to adopt white values because they were seen as superior, civilised and were more human than African ones.

The missionaries left missionary work to be employed by concession companies. This was the case with the LMS whose members were in the pay role of the British South Africa Company [BSAC]. Missionaries thus became accomplices who assisted in the subjugation of the Africans. They worked against the local people as interpreters and witnesses and misinformed African rulers about the realities of colonisation. C D Helm and J S Moffat brought the real curse to the Ndebele. J S Moffat, for example, took advantage of the traditional family friendship between the Moffats and the Khumalos to mislead Lobengula to accept signing the Moffat treaty [February 1888] which excluded concession seekers, hunters and traders from other European nations. This treaty literally bound Lobengula to the British. It was this treaty that Rhodes was to build to sign the Rudd concession [October 1888] using C Helm, whose terms were expressed in a language that amounted to sheer cheating of Lobengula into giving away not only his mineral rights but his country to Rhodes.

The missionaries wrote negative reports about Zimbabwe. Thomas Morgan Thomas, for instance, wrote a number of articles to the International Press portraying the Ndebele and the monarchy as blood thirsty and also as objects that retarded the spreading of civilisation and the gospel into the area between Zambezi and Limpopo. It was such demonisation of the Ndebele which Rhodes used to justify himself for taking over the Ndebele state.

Role played by missionaries, hunters, traders and concession seekers in the colonisation of Zimbabwe

Missionaries, hunters, traders and concession seekers played a fundamental role in promoting the colonisation of the Ndebele and the Shona. They came to Matabeleland and Mashonaland between 1850 and 1900.

[a] Robert Moffat paved way for the colonisation of Zimbabwe when he negotiated with Mzilikazi and opened a mission station at Inyati in 1859. J S Moffat, Robert Moffat's son was in charge of the new station. In 1870, Charles Helm was in charge of the new station at Hope Fountain. These mission stations accommodated those whites who came into the interior. The missionaries sent reports to Europeans in Europe and South Africa about the riches in Zimbabwe. The missionaries published economic prospects to their mother countries thereby generating interest in colonial conquest. Later on missionaries were used by colonialists as agents of imperialism, for example, as paid agents of imperialism Charles Helm and J S Moffat were involved in the negotiations and signing of the Moffat treaty which placed Matabeleland under the British sphere of influence and the Rudd concession which led to the colonisation of Zimbabwe. They were used as communication links between the ruler and the concession seekers. They used psychological pressure on Lobengula to sign the Rudd concession by constantly telling him how terrible the other negotiating groups were, for example, the Boers who signed the Gobbler treaty with him in 1887. The missionaries published pagan practices by Africans which needed the attention of European governments. Missionaries invited their government to destroy the Ndebele state after failing to get converts. The missionaries invited their government to end slavery.

**All this justifies the phrase, "The flag followed the bible".*

[b] A number of European hunters came to Zimbabwe. They hunted game, especially elephants for ivory. These hunters included Martinus Swartz, Henry Hartley, John Lee, Jan Viljoen, Piet Jacobs and Frederick Courtney Selous. They were mainly interested in ivory, a commodity that was in high demand in Europe. Hunters such as Selous came into the area to hunt as far as Mt Darwin. They spied on the territory and sent back reports on how wild game was abundant in the Ndebele and Shona areas. Eventually, F C Selous acted as a paid agent of imperialism by guiding Rhodes' pioneer column into Mashonaland.

[c] Traders such as George Westbeech, interested in gold also journeyed into the interior as far as Lewanika's territory north of the Zambezi River. Some of the traders were Sam Edwards, Joseph McCabe, George Philips and Karl Mauch who was also a geologist. These traders spread rumours about the abundance of gold and ivory in the area. This stimulated the interest of people like Rhodes in the Ndebele and Shona territories.

[d] From the information disseminated by missionaries, hunters and traders, concession seekers came to Lobengula's capital in large numbers. These included the likes of Piet Grobblers, Sir Sidney Shippard, Edward Lippert, Mount, John Swinburne, Thomas Baines and Charles Rudd. All these Europeans entered the country from South Africa using what came to be called the 'missionary road to the north'. Their presence at the king's capital created confusion. Eventually feeling threatened, Lobengula bowed down to missionary pressure and signed the Rudd Concession which led to the colonisation of Zimbabwe.

*It should be noted that it were the missionaries, traders, hunters, travelers as well as concession seekers who popularised the interior. Without them, Zimbabwe could have been hardly known. Most of these were degradadoes [social misfits at home] and this is why most of their accounts were not fully authentic [they were not trained].

PFUMBI T.G

THE COLONISATION OF ZIMBABWE BY THE BRITISH [1890]

Zimbabwe was colonised in 1890 by the British. Reasons for the colonisation of Zimbabwe;

Economic reasons

- ❖ ***The belief that Zimbabwe was the second rand*** led to the colonisation of Zimbabwe. The British believed that Zimbabwe was built on a hill full of gold. Gold was discovered in 1886 in the Transvaal and rumours of more gold north of the Limpopo stimulated European interest in Zimbabwe. Rhodes therefore directed his efforts to the fulfillment of the rumour that there was a bigger rand in area across the Limpopo occupied by the Ndebele. Rhodes thought that the gold belt stretched from Transvaal into Zimbabwe and so wanted to control it. Hunters, missionaries and traders had also spread the rumour that there was a second rand in Matabeleland. I Mandaza argued that Southern Rhodesia was colonised by the British because of the belief held vigorously towards the end of the 19th C that it was a second rand, with enormous reserves of gold and other precious metals. According to N Bhebhe, in 1868, an elephant hunter, Henry Hartley and Carl Mauch, a geologist, reported the presence of gold between the Ngwato and Ndebele areas as well as in Mashonaland. Hence the occupation of Zimbabwe was inevitable.

*However, the belief of the existence of enormous gold reserves in Mashonaland was misinformed.

- ❖ ***The need for raw materials*** by the British led to the occupation of Zimbabwe. These raw materials included minerals, ivory and timber. They were needed for British industrialisation.
- ❖ ***The need for investment*** led to the colonisation of Zimbabwe. The British wanted to invest their surplus capital which they had acquired through industrialisation. They did not want to leave their money idle.
- ❖ ***The need for markets*** for British goods which were mass produced led to the occupation of Zimbabwe. In Britain, there was overproduction and under consumption of goods.
- ❖ ***Rhodes' desire to seize Ndebele cattle*** led to the occupation of Zimbabwe. He envied the large herds of cattle and pastures in Zimbabwe. Hence its colonisation was a matter of time.
- ❖ ***The need for fertile land*** led to the colonisation of Zimbabwe. The British wanted rich fertile lands north of the Limpopo for agricultural purposes.

Social reasons

- ❖ ***The need to civilise Africans*** led to the occupation of Zimbabwe. Rhodes believed in British superiority and thought that it was the British responsibility to civilise the so called 'Dark continent'.
- ❖ ***Rhodes' belief in racial superiority of Britain*** led to the colonisation of Zimbabwe. He was racist of some form. For him, the more the British acquired the better for the entire world and human race. Rhodes thus had a colonising mission, both physical and psychological racial colonisation.

- ❖ *The need to spread Christianity* led to the occupation of Zimbabwe. They wanted Africans to avoid ancestral worship hence European culture.
- ❖ *The need to educate Africans* also led to the occupation of Zimbabwe.
- ❖ *Good climatic conditions* led to the colonisation of Zimbabwe.

Political reasons

- ❖ *Rhodes' Cape to Cairo dream* made the British to occupy Zimbabwe. Rhodes was an avowed imperialist and a dreamer. His ambitions were to set up a chain of British territories from Cape [South Africa] to Cairo [Egypt] linked by a railway line. Zimbabwe lies along this belt and was not an exception. Rhodes had a special mission in life to paint the map of Africa 'red'. This meant acquiring many colonies in Africa for Britain.
- ❖ Zimbabwe was colonised by the British for *prestige reasons*. In Europe a nation with many colonies was regarded as powerful.
- ❖ *The rise of Rhodes in South Africa both as an economic and political force in the 1880s* made the occupation of Zimbabwe inevitable.
- ❖ *The Berlin Conference of 1884-5* led to the occupation of Zimbabwe. The doctrine of effective occupation at Berlin suggests that a country would freely occupy its colony effectively and no country would fly over others' sphere of influence. This conference came up with the decision that any European power interested in any African areas [territories] should take steps to establish effective occupation [doctrine of effective occupation]. This gave Rhodes the go ahead to occupy Zimbabwe. It should be noted that prior to the Berlin conference there was little or no rush by European nationals to carve portions of land in Africa. However, after the Berlin Conference the entire African continent except Ethiopia and Liberia had been sliced into spheres of colonies by European powers. To this trend of events, Zimbabwe was no exception. Thus the doctrine of effective occupation made the occupation of Zimbabwe inevitable.
- ❖ *Rhodes' desire to encircle the Transvaal* led to the colonisation of Zimbabwe. The Boers or Transvaalers wanted to expand northwards [occupying Zimbabwe] as this was their own outlet. This was because the British had occupied Botswana [Bechuanaland] and the Portuguese had occupied Portuguese East Africa [Mozambique]. The British and Boers were competing for control of the Ndebele. This was shown by the signing of the Grobller treaty by Boers in 1887 and the Moffat treaty by the British in 1888. Hence Rhodes' determination to encircle the Transvaal made the occupation of Zimbabwe by the British inevitable.
- ❖ *Rhodes' desire to prevent other countries from occupying Zimbabwe* led to the colonisation of Zimbabwe. Apart from the Boers, there were other Europeans who were also interested in occupying Zimbabwe. For instance, the Germans wanted to expand eastwards as they had occupied Namibia [German South West Africa] and the Portuguese who wanted to join Portuguese East Africa [Mozambique] and Portuguese West Africa [Angola]. This would frustrate the formation of Rhodes' Cape to Cairo British belt of colonies. Hence the occupation of Zimbabwe was inevitable as the Boers, Portuguese and Germans posed threats to Rhodes' dream of creating a Cape to Cairo British belt.

Treaties signed by Lobengula and the whites which led to the occupation of Zimbabwe

1] THE GROBBLER TREATY [1887]

The discovery of gold in 1885 in Witwatersrand intensified the desire for entry into the interior. The Boers signed the Grobblers treaty on 30 July 1887 with Lobengula. The signatories of this treaty were Lobengula and Piet Grobblers on behalf of the Transvaal Republic. The Boers thought that Lobengula was the ruler of all territories north of the Limpopo. By this treaty the Boers wanted to lay the foundation for further expansion northwards. There was also need by the Boers to prevent those interested in Zimbabwe, especially the British.

Terms of the Grobblers treaty

- They agreed that there would be peace and amity [friendship] between the Transvaal Republic and the Ndebele.
- Only Boer citizens with passports would be allowed into the Ndebele kingdom.
- Lobengula promised to grant any assistance whenever called upon to do so by the Transvaal government.
- The Boers also were to have a permanent representative [a consul] who was to be stationed in Bulawayo, to administer justice to Boers who might violate Lobengula's law.
- Lobengula was to catch and extradite all criminals from the South African Boer Republic.

*Piet Grobblers remained in Matabeleland [Bulawayo] as an ambassador for Transvaal. The idea was to counteract the British interests. Later on Piet Grobblers decided to go to Transvaal to collect his goods and stay permanently. On his way he was accidentally killed in Ngwato territory after a supposed skirmish with Khama's men. The Boers assumed that he was killed on the instigation of the British. When Sir Sidney Shippard heard the news of the Grobblers treaty, he wrote to Lobengula telling him of Afrikaner invasion and Lobengula became unsettled. It were these circumstances that forced Rhodes to send his emissary, J S Moffat to negotiate a treaty with Lobengula.

The Boers believed that Lobengula had accepted Boer protection. They published in newspapers in South Africa that the Ndebele had fallen under their sphere of influence. The idea was to prevent other concession seekers from entering into negotiations with the Ndebele. Lobengula on the other hand repudiated the Grobblers treaty. He denied having understood the treaty. He even said Grobblers only explained to him that the treaty was a renewal of an old friendship treaty signed between his father Mzilikazi and the Transvaalers. He attacked Grobblers for having told one thing and written another on paper. According to S Samkange, to prove that this treaty was inaccurate, Lobengula asked the document to be read to Nungu, one of his Indunas, in the presence of J S Moffat. Nungu answered, "Yes I hear these words for the first time now. I never heard them before".

2] MOFFAT TREATY [FEBRUARY 1888]

The Grobblers treaty caused Rhodes to panic and signed the Moffat treaty. Thus news of the Grobblers treaty made Rhodes to act immediately. To counter the Grobblers treaty, Rhodes sent J S Moffat to persuade Lobengula to cancel the Grobblers treaty and sign the Moffat treaty in February 1888. J S Moffat of the London Missionary Society was a man Lobengula trusted and respected as they knew each other very well. This treaty was meant to ward off Boers. The crafting of the

treaty was deliberately made to include Mashonaland as Lobengula's territory. The treaty even started by saying 'Lobengula the king of Amandebele and Mashona'.

Terms of the Moffat Treaty

- They agreed that there would be everlasting peace and amity between the British Queen and the Ndebele people.
- The Ndebele were to desist from entering into any other treaty with any foreign state without the consent of the British. This implies that the treaty limited Lobengula's decision making power in foreign policy. Lobengula was thus no longer an independent / sovereign ruler who would enter into any other treaties on his own. He had to consult the British first. The Ndebele did not understand the treaty in this way. When Lobengula heard from the Boers and others the implications of this treaty, he protested that he wouldn't have given himself to any one person in the way the treaty is claiming. The treaty was thus a clear case of taking advantage of the Ndebele inability to read.
- Lobengula was to repudiate [cancel] the Grobller treaty.
- Lobengula agreed to use all his powers to prevent any rapture of the treaty.

*The signing of the Moffat treaty was witnessed by Charles Helm who said he had fully explained the contents of the treaty to Lobengula. C Helm was again well known to Lobengula hence diplomacy on the part of Rhodes. By this treaty the British wanted to prevent other countries from colonising Zimbabwe. On the other hand, it was diplomatic resistance by Lobengula as he wanted to use the British in protection against the Boers or other whites who were in his country.

*Lobengula also interpreted this treaty as a renewal of the treaty between Robert Moffat and Mzilikazi in 1836.

*This treaty ensured that the Ndebele kingdom became a British sphere of influence. Since the treaty said Lobengula represented both Matabeleland and Mashonaland, it meant that the entire Zimbabwe plateau was now under the influence of the British. The inclusion of both the Shona and the Ndebele was deliberate because they realised that they do not have the need to negotiate with the Shona [diplomacy by the whites].

*It apparently turned out that there were no Ndebele witnesses to this treaty. Only C Helm was present as a witness. Helm was working under Rhodes and was paid.

*The Moffat treaty was supposed to be a treaty of friendship between Lobengula and the British but in fact, it became the first step in the collapse and subjugation of the Ndebele and Shona people by the British.

3] THE RUDD CONCESSION [OCTOBER 1888]

After signing the Moffat treaty, the British wasted no time and signed the Rudd concession, in which Lobengula became a victim of calculated deception. This concession was meant to secure the British position. Rhodes was not satisfied with the Moffat treaty, which he felt was not decisive. He wanted something more binding hence signed the Rudd concession. Rhodes sent three people to sign the Rudd concession. These were Charles Rudd, Francis Thompson and Rochfort Maguire. The choice of these men was well calculated by Rhodes. Charles Rudd, the leader of the delegation was Rhodes' friend since their days of Oxford University. He was an MP in South Africa and was a reputable businessmen who would ensure that the business aspect

of the concession were sound. Rochfort Maguire was a lawyer. His expertise in legal language was going to be useful in tricking Lobengula. His expertise was needed in drawing and drafting the agreement. He was an Oxford University fellow student of Rhodes. Francis ‘Matabele’ Thompson was a linguist. He was nicknamed ‘Matabele’ because he was fluent in Nguni [local] languages like Zulu, Ndebele as well as Tswana. The Ndebele therefore, could understand him. He also had perfect knowledge of native customs. This was because he had worked in South Africa in Kimberly mines for some time. Lobengula did not want to meet this delegation. They however, stubbornly forced their way to the capital. Lobengula was not happy with this but he however gave them good reception. Rudd and his delegation faced stiff competition from other rival concession seekers at the capital, especially E D Maund who represented a company called the Exploiting and Exploration Company. Rudd and his team however had an advantage over other groups because they received the support of Charles Helm, a London missionary, who was in good books with Lobengula. The treaty was finally signed on 30 October 1888. Though not willing to sign the treaty, Lobengula was persuaded to do so by Lotshe, one of his trusted Indunas, who had been bribed by Thompson. According to S Samkange Lotshe was promised 300 gold sovereigns if he convinced Lobengula to sign the treaty. Lobengula was also influenced by white men like C Helm and J S Moffat, whom Lobengula trusted. C Helm did not inform Lobengula about the true mission of Rudd and his team. The document had two versions, the written and the verbal agreements.

Written terms / written agreements

The written terms were advantageous to concession seekers [the British].

- ✓ Lobengula gave Rhodes exclusive mining rights in Mashonaland, Matabeleland and the adjoining territories. This meant that others were excluded.
- ✓ Lobengula gave Rhodes the permission to do all things that he may deem necessary to win and procure the same.
- ✓ Lobengula gave Rhodes the power to hold, collect and enjoy profits and revenue, if any, derived from the same metals and minerals.
- ✓ Lobengula was to be given 100 pounds per month.
- ✓ Lobengula was to be given 1000 rifles and 100000 rounds of ammunition.
- ✓ A gunboat was to be stationed on the Zambezi valley or he was to be given 500 pounds. The gunboat was for defense against possible raids from Lewanika. However, it is also believed that the gunboat was meant to guard against Portuguese invasion.

Verbal terms / agreements

These were advantageous to the Ndebele [Lobengula]. It is believed that these were not included but only surfaced when Lobengula was complaining about the treaty.

- All whites who were to come into the country would be under Lobengula’s jurisdiction and were to abide by the laws of the country.
- Any white miners engaged in mining in the country could have to fight and defend the country under Ndebele command if requested.
- Rhodes could not introduce any white employees or machines before payment of the first installment.
- Not more than ten men would come into the country and dig only one hole.
- The miners were not to dig anywhere near towns.

- The whites were to surrender their weapons on arrival into Zimbabwe to Lobengula.
- Rhodes would advertise the concession in South African newspapers.
- Whites were not to stay permanently.

*To Lobengula, the signing of the treaty was a diplomatic victory of some sort. By allowing a few white men to come and dig one hole, who would be under his jurisdiction, he would in turn get guns, money and friendship to the British.

*The question to be asked is, if the document had been fully explained to Lobengula by Reverend Charles Helm, then why Lobengula and his Indunas expressed ignorance on what it contained. It is therefore clear that Helm lied and later he had to be paid by Rhodes to interpret the document in favour of Rudd. He told one thing to Lobengula and interpreted a different thing to his white colleagues. Lobengula had a disadvantage of inability to read hence he could not understand the document.

*The Rudd concession was a monopolistic agreement which could be used to apply for a royal charter. According to D Chanaiwa, “Rhodes wanted not merely local rights, shared with every casual adventurer, but the sole command of the mineral resources of the whole country”. Reasons to show that Lobengula was cheated in the signing of the Rudd Concession

Use of acquaintances by Rhodes is enough testimony that Lobengula was cheated. In the signing of the Rudd concession, Rhodes involved missionaries like John Smith Moffat and Charles Helm who were well known to Lobengula. Lobengula trusted these missionaries not knowing that they were used as agents of imperialism by Rhodes and wanted to see the destruction of the Ndebele state. They pretended not to be taking sides.

Indiscriminate use of bribes shows that Lobengula was a victim of calculated deception. Rhodes bribed Charles Helm to persuade Lobengula to sign the Rudd concession. Francis Thompson bribed Lotshe, one of Lobengula’s most trusted Indunas. He promised him 300 gold sovereigns if he persuaded Lobengula to sign the concession which he did. This explains why Lobengula after signing the Rudd concession even killed Lotshe.

The repudiation of the Rudd concession by Lobengula is a clear indication that he was deceived. When some concession seekers told Lobengula that he had sold the country, Lobengula soon sent his Indunas [Umshete and Babeyane] to the British Queen to inform her that he had not given anybody the right to do anything in his country. The Queen replied that, “A king gives a stranger an ox, not his whole herd of cattle”. This implies that Lobengula had given too much and had already sold the country. Thus Lobengula’s actions after signing the treaty show that he was cheated. D Chanaiwa argues that, according to the international law, the Rudd concession was a fraud. This was because Lobengula later queried.

The sneaking of Francis Thompson during the night shows that Lobengula was cheated. The Rudd team quickly rode off after signing the treaty leaving Thompson behind who sneaked during the night. If the treaty was genuine, Thompson should not have left the kingdom in that way.

-The actual personalities involved in the negotiations showed that Lobengula was cheated. This is because the Rudd team was made up of intellectual giants who had ventured into various works of life, battle hardened men and were economic heavyweights who could trick anyone.

-The specialised legal language of the Rudd concession shows that Lobengula was cheated. It was signed using legal language which Lobengula could not understand. Lobengula did not even understand the English language which was used.

Cecil John Rhodes' actions after signing the treaty show that Lobengula was cheated. For example, after receiving the Rudd concession, Rhodes quickly went to Britain to seek permission to occupy Zimbabwe. He obtained the royal charter in October 1889. Rhodes also delayed Lobengula's emissaries or envoys [Umshete and Babeyane] to the Queen.

The police drill had a psychological impact on Lobengula's decision in signing of this treaty. Reasons to show that Lobengula signed the Rudd concession willingly.

Lobengula signed the Rudd concession on his will. He wanted to buy time and play the whites against each other by signing treaties. This explains why treaties were in succession, that is, Grobblers treaty [1887], Moffat treaty [February 1888] and Rudd concession [October 1888]. It was only after his diplomacy failed that Lobengula claimed he had not signed any treaty and that he was cheated. For D Chanaiwa, Lobengula's diplomatic resistance apparently worked until 1888. From 1870 to 1888, Lobengula like Cetshwayo of the Zulu consistently pursued a well formulated diplomatic strategy to protect the vital interests of the Ndebele nation.

Lobengula signed treaties without a clear understanding of their future implications. Thus it was his illiteracy which contributed much to the occupation of Zimbabwe. He unknowingly gave the British the authority to do all things they deem necessary to win and procure the same. This meant that Rhodes could bring in machinery, recruit labour, levy taxes and could even force locals to work in the mines. Literally, Rhodes had permission to do anything he believed was necessary in his search for minerals.

Lobengula's desire to be protected by the British drove him into signing the Rudd concession. Lobengula wanted to be protected from his enemies like Lewanika of Barotseland and Khama of Bechuanaland. Thus it was fear of his neighbours which forced him to sign this treaty. It should be noted that the fear of Boers also forced him to sign the Rudd concession. The Boers had already signed a treaty with him in 1887 [Grobblers treaty].

The military clause had a magnetic effect on Lobengula. According to the Rudd concession, any white miners engaged in mining in the country could have to fight and defend the country under Ndebele command if requested. More so, Lobengula was promised a gun boat which was to be placed on the Zambezi River for defense against possible raids from Lewanika. All this was advantageous to Lobengula hence he signed the concession.

Lobengula signed the Rudd concession when he was sick. All agreements signed by sick people are not viable. Lobengula's metaphorical story of a chameleon and a fly shows that he was not cheated.

Lobengula was not cheated but he possibly changed his mind as a result of influence from other parties like the Germans, Boers and Portuguese.

4] LIPPERT CONCESSION [1890]

It was signed between Lobengula and Edward Lippert. To reverse the Rudd Concession, Lobengula granted Edward Lippert; a German businessman [based in South Africa] a concession to mine in Zimbabwe for a period of 100 years. However, Rhodes bought the Lippert Concession and made his position more powerful and stronger.

The post Rudd concession period

Lobengula protested through an article in the Bechuanaland news. According to S Samkange [Origins of Rhodesia p87] and A Davidson [p89], in the article he said there was a misunderstanding about the agreement “and all action in respect of the said concession is hereby suspended pending an investigation to be made by me in my country”.

-Lobengula demanded the immediate return of the document from Francis Thompson. Rudd

had taken the document to South Africa for a charter and left Thompson in the capital. Thompson told Lobengula that he had not it. Thompson wrote to Jameson, “Our enemies may bowl us out if I don’t go at once to the headquarters”. For A J Wills, Thompson told Jameson that the Rudd Concession was gigantic and it was like giving a man the whole of Australia.

Lobengula decided to send a delegation to London for the following reasons; [1] to find out whether there was a Queen. [2] To find out whether she was as majesty as her officials were saying. [3] To find out whether Rhodes was her real representative. [4] To ask for her advice on how to deal with a swum of whites as “he is much troubled by whites who came into his country and ask to dig gold” [A Davidson p146]. Lobengula sent experienced and well respected Indunas, Umshete and Babeyane. Umshete was approximately 65 years old and was the finest orator among the Ndebele. Babeyane was approximately 75 years and had an excellent memory. The two left Matabeleland in February 1889 went through Bechuanaland into Mafeking [the border between Botswana and South Africa], then into Pretoria and from Pretoria to Joburg. E D Maund had told Lobengula that a lot of money was needed, about 600 pounds. Lobengula however, fully sponsored the delegation right into London.

The two were provided with new suits and bordered the train for the first time. They depended on their guide, E D Maund. They suffered discomfort in their new suits. According to A Davidson [p148], Babeyane spent the first half hour of the train journey with his head thrust out of the window [peeping through the window].

The envoys got to the Cape and Rhodes tried to convince both E D Maund and the two Indunas, but the Indunas insisted they had a specific message to the Queen and allowed them to proceed to London. Two days when they got to London on 2 March 1889, they were given good reception and were told to feel at home. They spent a month there. The British government tried to impress them that when they return they would talk of the might Britain.

They were taken to the Ballet at Alhambra, where dances took place. They were also taken to London zoos. Several dinners were held in their honour and a number of high ranking government officials. They were taken to Wisdow castle [museum] where they saw Cetshwayo’s spear [the Zulu had been defeated in 1887, so they took one of the regalia]. This was part of intimidating them. They were taken to view Naval and ground manoeuvres of British forces and were shown the latest weapon and how destructive it was. They were surprised and astounded by quite a number of things they saw in London, for example, endless rows of houses and numberless multitudes of people. They were also given an opportunity to speak to each other on the telephone. According to A Davidson [p 151], “they were astounded that such a small machine could learn their language so quickly”.

Just before they left London, on 26 March 1889, Lord Knutford, on behalf of the Queen had given them a vague reply for their mission. The reply from the Queen was [1] the Queen had given no English men the permission to mine gold in Matabeleland. [2] That Lobengula could not grant

hasty concessions of land; he had to consider all applicants carefully. [3] Lobengula should not give too much for, “A king gives a stranger an ox, not his whole herd, otherwise what would other strangers arriving have to eat” [S Samkange p128]. [4] He promised Lobengula that he would be sending representatives.

The Indunas were fairly satisfied with the reply and their good reception. For S Samkange, before they left they asked for an English wife for their king so as to seal the friendship.

-While they were on their way back they were taken on a large route that their mission remained futile [deception]. The charter was given time. Lobengula did not know that they were delayed for that reason.

The Royal Charter [29 October 1889]

After receiving the Rudd concession, Rhodes quickly went to Britain to seek permission to occupy Zimbabwe. He obtained the Royal Charter in October 1889. Thus armed with the Rudd Concession, Rhodes had to have the political protection of the British government. Rhodes thus sought and got this protection through the Royal Charter.

The charter granted the BSAC jurisdiction over the region of Southern Africa lying immediately to the north of Bechuanaland [Botswana] and the north-west of the South African Republic [Transvaal] and west of Portuguese East Africa [Mozambique]. This was virtually the whole of Zimbabwe.

The document declared that the Rudd Concession had effectively made the territories of Lobengula British territories under the administration of the BSAC. This virtually restricted Boer and Portuguese expansion into the area. Some German hunters advised Lobengula on what was meant by the document and he tried in vain to repudiate it.

This charter formed the basis of British occupation of Zimbabwe. Throughout the British Empire, charters were used to annex territories and promote British commercial activities.

During negotiations for the charter, Rhodes had strengthened his position by forming the British South Africa Company [in April 1889]. This company was an amalgamation of his old company, De Beers with other rival companies that included Maund's Exploiting and Exploration Company. He had managed to use his vast financial resources to persuade his rivals to join him. The BSAC was therefore, granted the charter on the strength of its financial resources and on the credibility of its shareholders.

Rights granted to the BSAC

- It was granted full benefits of concessions and agreements made [Rudd concession].
- It was given the right to organise administrative machinery for that region. This included the police, authority to grant lands and issue further mining concessions.
- It was given the authority to observe peace and order within that region.
- It was to abolish slave trade where it existed.
- It was given the right to regulate liquor distribution and prevent the sale of any spirits and other intoxicating liquor to any natives [A Davidson p176]. Africans were not allowed to drink European beer, liquor and so on.

- They were not to interfere with religions of local people. The BSAC was indirectly given authority to crush the military power of Lobengula and put in a mechanism for the exploitation of the country's resources.

The Pioneer Column [1890]

Armed with the charter, Rhodes proceeded to assemble an army of occupation called the pioneer column. The recruitment began soon after the granting of the charter. Macloutsie was the assembling point. While assembled at Macloutsie, each pioneer was given military training in preparation for the march. Technically on 6 June 1890, the British High Commissioner at the Cape gave his authority that the march could start. They wanted to have a peaceful occupation of Mashonaland. The official march started in July 1890. Frederick Courtney Selous guided the pioneers because of his knowledge of the country as a hunter. Lieutenant Colonel Pennefather who was deputised by Captain Willoughby led the whole group.

-The column was made up of 3 groups. The first group, called the pioneer corps, was made up of about 200 individuals with varied skills. In this group were prospectors, settler farmers, miners, doctors, carpenters, lawyers, engineers, printers, traders, builders and even cricketers. This was the core group which was to form the nucleus of the new white community in Zimbabwe. Major Frank Johnson commanded it. This group consisted of volunteers chosen from thousands of applicants from all over Europe and South Africa.

The pioneer corps were supported by a strong group of 500 police. This group was promised 3000 hectares and 15 gold claims each. Their duty was to accompany and protect the pioneer corps during the march to Mashonaland and after establishing the new settlement. A strong force of 200 Ndwandwe warriors led by Khama's brother supported the two groups. Their role was to help in the clearing of the road, herding cattle and taking care of wagons and horses. When they were at the border, Lobengula sent his intelligence and they told him that a large impi [army] of whites was coming. According to A Davidson, Lobengula sent his protest, "why if you say I have given you the whole country do you come in like thieves to steal it, if it is really yours, you do not need to steal it". While protesting, he felt diplomacy would still work. He also immediately sent Umshete to meet the British High Commissioner and gave him the Ndebele protest. Lobengula had also refused to accept the first consignment [payment] from the Rudd concession [1000 rifles]. This protest was sort of sabotage.

Lobengula sent yet another protest, "why were so many warriors camped at Macloutsie. Had the king committed any fault, or had any whiteman been killed, or had the whiteman lost anything that they are looking for" [A Davidson p195 and S Samkange p201 and A J Wills p141]. Jameson's reply was they had orders to march to Mashonaland and using the road the king had approved. Four weeks later, while the pioneers were already on their march, another protest was sent and this time the answer came from Pennefather and the answer was less tactful. "I cannot stop or return, I have orders to go to Mashonaland and must obey them, if king wishes to kill or attack us, I cannot help it. You gave this road and I am avoiding your kraals and people" [A J Wills p141]. The march started from Macloutsie and then to Fort Tuli, then they moved into Banyailand crossing a number of small rivers and more precisely Lundi River on 1 August 1890.

On 14 August, having crossed Tokwe River, they arrived at Fort Victoria [Masvingo] and declared it their second major settlement. Up to this time they had never met attack from the Ndebele but only threats. Fort Victoria was named after the British Queen Victoria. They used

flash lights to scare away enemies and wild animals. From Fort Victoria, they moved about 100 km north to Fort Charter [Enkledon or Chivhu] and they established a new settlement. The settlement was named to glorify their charter. They were now much further away from the Ndebele. Its prospects of attacks were less. On 11 September 1890 they crossed Hunyani River and on 12 September they established Fort Salisbury [Harare]. It was named after the British Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury. On that day [12 September 1890], at 10 AM, they raised the Union Jack and declared the area to have fallen under the British.

Salisbury became the main centre and the capital of the new settlement. As Chaminuka had predicted, the kneeless whites had taken over this country without a fight. The Shona looked at these people as trading partners just like the Portuguese. In Matabeleland, Lobengula's young warriors, the Amajaha, were agitated and greatly irritated. They wanted a military confrontation with the invading whites but the king Lobengula] who was still anxious for peace restrained them.

Problems faced by pioneers along the way

- They experienced problems like diseases, heat, especially the Southern part, snakes, tsetse flies and so on.
- In the low veld, their movement was restricted by thick Mopani trees and the process of cutting down trees to create roads for wagons and horses.
- Their horses were attacked by lions.
- There was a constant fear of surprise attacks by the Ndebele but made precautions to prevent these attacks.
- They traversed through rocky land and crossed difficult rivers with heavy wagons.
- A number of pioneers died along the way. According to A Davidson [p193], this was disheartening and demoralising. In the books that were published at that time, the journey was completed without loss of a single.

THE ANGLO-NDEBELE WAR / THE WAR OF DISPOSSESSION 18903 - 1894

It was a war between the Ndebele and the British. The period 1890 to 1893 was a period of tension between the two administrations, that is, the Ndebele and the whites [BSAC]. Each of the two did not recognise the other.

Causes of the Anglo-Ndebele War

1] *The settlers' resolution that there would be no peace in the area unless the Ndebele were crushed caused the war.* The settlers heard about the 'dangerous and blood thirsty' Ndebele warriors while still in South Africa. They could therefore, not foresee a situation where they could co-exist with such a tribe. They would perpetually feel insecure as long as the Ndebele state remained intact. It was this fear which made them to avoid passing through Matabeleland when they entered as the pioneer column. Leander Starr Jameson even once said, "Come what may, the Ndebele must be smashed and the country pacified". Hence war was inevitable as whites feared to co-exist with a powerful and potentially dangerous Ndebele state.

2] *Failure to find the second rand in Mashonaland* resulted in the whites anticipating that the second rand was in Matabeleland. Since their arrival in Mashonaland, the settlers were disillusioned [disappointed] because of the failure to find gold in large quantities. They realised that Mashonaland was not the Eldorado they had thought of. According to I Mandaza, the BSAC realised that the view that Mashonaland was the second rand was misinformed. This is in line with J D Ommer Cooper who argued that far less gold was found in Mashonaland than Rhodes

expected and there was a danger that the company would go bankrupt and the settlement would collapse. Rhodes thus turned his attention to the lands occupied by Lobengula and the Ndebele [Matabeleland] because it was rumoured that a ridge of gold bearing rocks ran through Lobengula's capital [Bulawayo] and this could rescue the company. One must realise that although the Rudd concession gave Rhodes the mandate to do some prospects in Matabeleland, this could not be done in the presence of the Ndebele and the gallant king, Lobengula. This gold could only be accessed after Lobengula's power was crushed. The BSAC thus envisaged a short and successful war that would either maintain or boost BSAC share.

3] *The desire by the whites to control large Ndebele herds and grazing land caused the 1893 war.* The white settlers admired the large herds of cattle controlled by the Ndebele. Rhodes really knew that the Ndebele economy was based on cattle and that the only way to control the herds was through war. The rich grazing lands also gave the impetus to drift towards a war of dispossession. What remained for Leander Starr Jameson was an excuse to attack the Ndebele. This explains why he created conflicts to justify war between the Ndebele and whites.

4] *The boundary question also caused the 1893 war.* The settlers negotiated the setting up of a boundary between them and the Ndebele but the significance of such a boundary was little or not understood at all by the Ndebele who kept on violating it. For Jameson, Mashonaland was not a part of Matabeleland. Jameson decided that Shashe and Munyati Rivers were the new boundaries which the two factions would not be allowed to cross to serve for peace missions. This implies that Jameson restricted Lobengula's rule to Matabeleland. The argument by Jameson was that raids by the Ndebele upon the Shona disrupted their economic activities, that is, mining and

agriculture as labour needs could not be met. Lobengula never acknowledged the discussion of Mashonaland and Matabeleland. He claimed that the whole country was his. To make matters worse, the boundary kept on shifting towards Lobengula's capital. The Ndebele society was among other things based on raiding and they were used to this way of life since the days of Tshaka. The establishment of the boundary meant the end of raids; the end of raids meant the change of the Ndebele society. The end of raids also meant the end of Lobengula's power and authority. The whites had come for economic exploitation which would only succeed in a state of peace and stability. Lobengula had no intention of giving out any part of sovereignty and wanted no reforming in his kingdom. Therefore raids continued as usual in order to reassert his power. This created tension between Lobengula and the whites.

5] *The murder of Lobengula's peace emissaries made war unavoidable.* On 16 October 1893 Lobengula sent three of his senior Indunas to the British High Commissioner at the Cape to ask about the military built up that was going on. These were Muntusa, Inguba and Ingubungubu. He asked a local trader, Dawson to accompany them. When they got to Tati, Dawson went on a drinking spree with his friends and left the Indunas on their way. They were arrested by the BSAP officials for being spies. As they tried to flee, two of them were shot dead [Muntusa and Inguba]. Ingubungubu never went back home [A Davidson p227 and S Samkange p253]. This murder outraged Lobengula who ordered his warriors to prepare for war and abandoned his policy of peace with the whites.

6] *The dispute over ownership of the Shona between the Ndebele* and the whites caused the 1893-4 war. The settlers regarded the Shona as their source of cheap labour while the Ndebele regarded Mashonaland as their traditional raiding ground. The whites even argued that the Shona were grateful for the protection that the BSAC was providing, that is, from raids by the Ndebele. The Ndebele regarded the Shona as their subjects who had traditionally paid tribute to them. There was labour insecurity to the BSAC due to the Ndebele raids. Their growing mining and farming operations depended on the labour that could only be guaranteed by the stability of the Shona. This stability was shattered by Ndebele raids, for example, on Nemakonde, Chivi and Bere. Hence war was a necessity on the part of the whites.

7] *Rhodes' desire to facilitate the construction of a railway line cutting across Matabeleland* caused the war. Matabeleland was a stumbling block to the Cape to Cairo dream. It fell on the route of British expansion drive to the north. The Ndebele were fiercely opposed to this and could not give up their land easily. The BSAC regarded the existence of the Ndebele state as an obstacle to an effective communication link between their headquarters in Salisbury and the Cape. Plans were afoot for a railway line linking Salisbury to Mafeking. It was not likely that Lobengula would consent to the railway passing through his territory. The Ndebele had never reconciled themselves to the fact of the British colonisation of Mashonaland. The colonisation had been achieved through the duplicity of Rhodes' agents who had misinterpreted the clauses of the Rudd concession to Lobengula. The British monarchy granted a charter to Rhodes enabling colonisation despite Lobengula's fervent protests and attempts to revoke the Rudd concession. Hence the railway line linking Matabeleland and Mafeking would be constructed only when the Ndebele were defeated.

8] *The defeat of the Ndebele would herald the total colonisation of Zimbabwe.* The BSAC had a long term desire to destroy the Ndebele state. The royal charter had given Rhodes the go ahead to occupy the whole of Zimbabwe. However, it was impossible to occupy the whole country in the

presence of Lobengula who was determined to maintain political independence. Hence a war was necessary on the part of the whites as they were determined to gain full control of Zimbabwe.

9] The killing of Shona chiefs by Lobengula for refusing to pay tribute caused the 1893 war.

In 1891 in the north west of Salisbury, chief Lomagundi [Nemakonde] was killed together with his family after stopping to pay annual tribute to Lobengula [insubordination]. An army was sent to punish the chief and his army and survivors were captured. Shortly afterwards, chief Chivi near Fort Victoria was similarly killed by Lobengula's impi again in 1891 after failing to pay annual tribute. The behavior of these chiefs was based on the thinking that Europeans were more powerful than the Ndebele. These chiefs took advantage of European colonial presence to renege on their annual tribute to Lobengula. The Europeans were prepared to help the Shona albeit for their own self reasons. The Ndebele however could not let such provocations go unpunished. At the same time the killing of these chiefs was unacceptable to the settlers as this destroyed their mining and agricultural activities. When Jameson complained, he was told that these were matters between the king and his subjects and were of no concern to whites. Lobengula said theirs was to get involved in their economic activities and nothing else. This created a tense situation between the Ndebele and the whites.

10] The Victoria Incidents [1893]

a] The Gomora incident [June 1893]

The cutting of 500 yards of telegraph wire which belonged to the whites by some Shona people led by chief Gomora [Gomala] caused the 1893 war. The telegraph wire was stolen between Fort Tuli and Fort Victoria. The BSAC ordered them to pay fine in form of cattle. Gomora however, paid using Lobengula's cattle. Gomora reported to Lobengula that the whites had stolen his cattle. Lobengula was extremely irritated, he protested and the cattle were returned. He punished Gomora so as to demonstrate his authority. Jameson returned the cattle because he wanted to avert war. The problem was temporarily solved but this incident increased tension between Lobengula and the whites.

b] The Bere incident [June 1893]

The stealing of Lobengula's cattle by chief Bere of Mashava, 15 miles from Fort Victoria caused the Anglo-Ndebele war. Lobengula sent an impi of 2000 soldiers led by Manyau and Umgandani [senior Indunas] to punish Bere and his people. Lobengula wanted to teach the Shona a lesson. However, it should be noted that the punitive exercise disrupted the whites' economic activities [mining and farming] and this did not go down well with the BSAC which regarded Victoria and Mashonaland as part of their jurisdiction and the Shona as their subjects. The Shona had gone to seek refuge in white areas, that is, in Victoria. The whites wanted to put this disruption of their activities to an end in order to resume their activities. Eventually, this Anglo-Ndebele conflict culminated into a war as Lobengula's Amajaha failed to respect the directions given to them by Jameson, that is, to vacate [leave] Victoria within one and half hours. Within one and half hours, the Ndebele were supposed to have crossed the boundary, Shashe River. The BSAC used this as an excuse to invade Matabeleland. The whites attacked the Ndebele resulting in the killing of some leaders like Umgandani which forced the Ndebele to take up arms against the whites. Thus one must note that the Bere incident was the immediate cause of the 1893 war of dispossession.

Who was to blame for the outbreak of the Anglo Ndebele war?

Both the British and the Ndebele were to blame for the outbreak of the 1893 war. However, the British were largely the guilty party.

Why Lobengula was to blame

He should not have agreed to the fixing of a boundary between Matabeleland and Mashonaland without understanding its implications. He should have restrained his impis and instruct them not to disrupt settler activities. However, his untiring efforts to peaceful co-existence with the settlers to the last minute were commendable.

Why the British were to blame

The British should shoulder much of the blame as they were largely instrumental in bringing war. In the wake of the Bere saga, the British deliberately attacked the Ndebele regiments clearly retreating from Victoria in compliance with their demands. They tended to take matters into their own hands. The resultant killing of some Ndebele warriors including leaders like Umgandani was a provocative act on the part of the whites but even then Lobengula still exercised restraint. The fact that the British had come to the conclusion that peace would not prevail in Zimbabwe unless the Ndebele were defeated made the war inevitable. While Lobengula emphasised his commitment to peace, the BSAC stepped up its provocations by arresting and murdering Lobengula's peace envoys to the Cape. These envoys were Inguba and Muntusa. They were intercepted at Tati by BSAP officials. The secret Victoria agreement where the British South Africa Company promised land and mineral grants in Matabeleland to white settlers in return for participation in an anti-Ndebele war also reveals the culpability of the British. According to Needham and others, white settlers were each promised 2649 hectares of land, 20 gold claims and a share of Lobengula's cattle. Consequently as many as 800 settlers enlisted for service and it remained for the BSAC to provoke war.

Course of the Anglo-Ndebele War

The Company forces were divided into many groups. One at Salisbury under Major Forbes, another at Fort Victoria under Captain Allan Wilson and a third one at Tuli under Captain Pennefather, an experienced soldier who had taken part in the Zulu wars in South Africa. Captain Raaf and Goold Adams were also part of this group. The columns converged in Bulawayo from these three places with the aim of crushing the Ndebele and capturing king Lobengula. Thus 300 BASC soldiers moved to Matabeleland from Salisbury, the same number, 300 also moved from Tuli and another 300 moved from Victoria. Another consignment of about 400 soldiers from Charter started moving into Matabeleland. The Charter forces joined with those from Victoria at Munyati River on 16 October 1893. They were supported by about 2000 Ngwato soldiers who were to serve as auxiliary forces. On 23 October 1893, the BSAC forces met the enemy for the first time at Shangani River. This is where the first major battle was fought. The company made laager defenses for the night. The Ndebele Amabutho attacked under cover of darkness but they were repulsed. A second attack was made at dawn and a third shortly afterwards but the column held firm. Few casualties were suffered by the whites. The Ndebele lost about 500 soldiers out of their 5000-6000 forces and called off the attack.

The next battle was fought at Mbembesi River on 1 November 1893. The columns' progress was challenged at Mbembesi, when they were about 20 miles from Bulawayo. Between 5000 and

7000 Ndebele warriors were involved. Within 2 hours the Ndebele were forced to retreat. According to S Samkange, not below a thousand of their fighters were killed. All the Ndebele who were captured were killed in cold blood. However, under the international war laws, this was not allowed. On 4 November 1893, company forces entered Bulawayo and learnt that Lobengula fled to the north without a fight after setting his capital on fire. Only two Englishmen who had remained in the capital were found there unharmed. Jameson sent envoys for Lobengula to surrender and promised him protection. He sent Major Forbes to follow up Lobengula together with 2000 soldiers. They moved in the Shangani direction. On the way they burnt down several villages and kraals. When they got to Shangani River, they discovered that Lobengula had just left. Although Allan Wilson was sent to further pursue Lobengula, just after crossing Shangani River, Allan Wilson and his company were ambushed by Lobengula and were butchered [killed].

According to A Davidson, Lobengula is said to have died of small pox. Others say he took his own life. Lobengula's Indunas at home surrendered one by one. After the death of Allan Wilson and Lobengula, the company started to establish itself in Bulawayo. They decided to dismantle the Ndebele monarch when they took Lobengula's 3 sons to South Africa, in the Cape. One of them was later given the name Peter Lobengula and was taken to London where he worked in some mines at Lancashire and died in November 1913 [A Davidson p 233]. With the Ndebele crushed and Lobengula out of picture, Rhodes came to Bulawayo and built his own house where Lobengula's hut had existed. Next to the Indaba tree, where Lobengula had received his guests, he built the government house.

Why the Ndebele were defeated

****Strengths of the whites***

- The whites had superior weapons than those of the Ndebele. They used maxim guns. Hence it was a spear-gun war.
- The whites were more mobile than the Ndebele. They fought on horse backs while the Ndebele moved on foot.
- The whites got support from the Shona and Tswana fighters. Some Shona joined the war on the side of whites, for example, those from Chivi and Gutu.
- The whites were totally determined to crush the Ndebele.
- The white soldiers used the vast resources of the BSAC and those of the imperial government.
- The British government provided reinforcements from South Africa. This imperial force provided most of the heavy artillery such as the four maxim guns and two seven pounder guns. The company force had only one Maxim gun.

****Weaknesses of the Ndebele***

- The Ndebele were crippled right from the start of the war because the 6000 strong best regiment did not take part in the war as it had contracted small pox in Barotseland. However, it is doubtful whether its involvement could have saved the Ndebele from defeat considering the superiority of white weapons.
- The Ndebele used old military tactics that were no longer suitable in the new military era of the machine gun. At both Shangani and Mbembesi River battles, the Ndebele advanced

as a whole group, making it easier for the BSAC forces to mow them down with machine gun fire from defensive laagers.

- The news of Lobengula's flight demoralised Ndebele warriors.
- There was outbreak of small pox which killed the Ndebele king.
- Like in many other parts of Africa, lack of unity among the local people contributed to the defeat of the Ndebele. The Africans failed to realise that the whites were a more formidable enemy. They needed to bury their differences and provide a united stand against the invaders. Some of them took this as an opportunity to settle old scores by allying with the whites against the Ndebele. The Tswana, for instance, who had suffered long periods of Ndebele raids brought 130 men, most of them mounted and armed with rifles to fight on the side of the whites. Some of the Shona co-operated with the whites as they had suffered from Ndebele raids. They were also interested in the loot in the event of Ndebele defeat. Nyenyezi, a family member of Lobengula's brother, Umhlaba, was the chief guide of the BSAC forces that advanced on Matabeleland from Salisbury and Fort Victoria.

Results of the Anglo-Ndebele war

- The Ndebele were defeated. This defeat and the death of Lobengula in January 1894 left the people without a king.
- The Ndebele fertile land was taken and they were driven into the dry Gwai and Shangani reserves, bringing in more food shortages.
- There was imposition of taxation in 1894. After the Ndebele were defeated, the whites imposed a number of taxes such as hut tax, land tax and so on.
- There was imposition of forced labour to promote white man's economic exploitation of the country.
- The defeat of the Ndebele marked the completion of BSAC occupation of Zimbabwe.
- In 1894, the British government issued the Matabele Order-in Council by which BSAC rule in Matabeleland was recognised.
- Numerous deaths were incurred.
- Mashonaland and Matabeleland were merged into Southern Rhodesia. This name was given in honour of Cecil John Rhodes, the man behind the BSAC colonisation of the country.
- Lobengula's cattle were taken.
- Lobengula's capital was taken.

THE FIRST CHIMURENGA / NDEBELE-SHONA UPRISINGS / UMOVUKELA [1896-7]

The 1896 war was not a rebellion because the Shona and Ndebele had not accepted white rule as legitimate. D N Beach argued that the suggestion of colonial historians which used the word rebellion is misleading because Africans had not accepted colonial rule as being legitimate. He further argued that the word rebellion is obnoxious and unnecessary. Beach prefers to call these uprisings 'resistance' for no full scale war was fought. The resistance was not pre-planned but was carried out in separate outbreaks.

Historians like D N Beach also argue that there were various Zvimurenga rather than a Chimurenga. There were separate uprisings. The Ndebele and Shona rose at different times. In Matabeleland it began in March 1896 and in Mashonaland it started in June. Rasmussen and Rubert argued that the Ndebele and Shona peoples and their allies waged essentially separate revolts, but rose for much the same reasons and at roughly the same time. Their grievances against the BSAC and settlers were land encroachment, cattle seizures, forced recruitment, inept and bullying police and administrators, abuse of women and the like.

Causes of the First Chimurenga

There is no a monocausal theory that can adequately explain the complex totality out which the risings occurred. There is however, little doubt that the economic grievances [reasons] were at the centre of the 1896 risings. The political, social and religious factors also played a complementary role.

Causes of the First Chimurenga in Matabeleland / Ndebele grievances

**Economic grievances / economic causes*

Loss of land by the Ndebele was the major cause on the war in Matabeleland. The Ndebele lost most of their rich arable and pasturelands to the whites. After the defeat of the Ndebele in the

1893 war, most of the land which belonged to the Ndebele was given to settler soldiers as reward for fighting and winning the war. Each settler soldier was entitled a 6000 acre farm. The whites created reserves specifically Gwai and Shangani where the Ndebele were forced to live [1894]. These reserves were dry, remote and tsetse fly infested. Thus there was little production which would take place in such an environment. The Ndebele viewed them as cemeteries and not homes. Most Ndebele who resisted moving into reserves remained on farms taken by the BSAC and were considered either as squatters or had to pay rent. Being a squatter meant that they had to provide labour. Thus the whole way of life of the Ndebele was thrown into jeopardy by the manner in which the question of land was dealt with. According to T O Ranger, "One cause of dissatisfaction and unrest, explained chief, is that after we have lived many years in a spot, we are told that the Whiteman has purchased it and we have to go".

*However, it should be noted that some chiefs [Indunas] who had lost their traditional land did not get involved in the war hence land is important when viewed along other factors.

Loss of cattle was also a major grievance of the Ndebele. Soon after the defeat of the Ndebele in the 1893-4 war, the whites confiscated Ndebele cattle, notwithstanding the fact that cattle were the backbone of the Ndebele economy. They took both state and individual cattle. This was because they could not distinguish state from individual cattle. The Ndebele lost 80% of their

cattle. According to T O Ranger, before the 1893-4 war, the Ndebele had 250000 cattle but after the war, they were left with only 40930 cattle. Ranger further argued that these cattle left were not equally distributed among the Ndebele as the commission tended to favour the Indunas who were loyal to them. This meant that the commission proved equally unable to protect rights of Africans. War thus was imminent as the Ndebele resented loss of cattle which was the backbone of their economy and symbol of status.

Institutionalisation [introduction] of forced labour [chibharo] was another cause of this war in Matabeleland. The settlers who needed labour to work in mines and farms embarked on recruitment of forced labourers within the Ndebele state itself. The creation of reserves was meant to create a constant supply of labour. The institutionalisation of taxation in 1894 was also meant to force Africans to work for the whites as taxes were paid in form of money. The creation of reserves and introduction of taxes did not meet settlers' labour requirements hence the settlers and the company resorted to coercion [force]. According to D N Beach, the crux of the 1896 war was the labour issue and the use of the hippopotamus whip [sjambok]. A Davidson argues that the sjambok became the epitome of Whiteman's administration. The standard punishment was 25 lashes. T O Ranger argued that it was the custom of the whites to beat their employees towards pay day so that they forfeit their wages. Forced labour was either by chiefs [Indunas] or by police instructed to do so by the company's native department. This implies that chiefs were only the mouthpiece and not originators of these policies. It should be noted that the Native Commission recruited people to work disregarding the Ndebele caste system. The 3 castes were treated alike and were equal in the eyes of the whites. The Ndebele interpreted this to mean that they were reduced to the level of the Hle. To the Ndebele, this was uncultural and therefore unacceptable hence war was inevitable as the Ndebele began to organise themselves for another confrontation with the whites.

The introduction of taxation also caused the war in Matabeleland. After the 1893 war of dispossession, the Ndebele were to pay a number of taxes which included hut tax, dog tax and dip tax. These were to be paid in cash. These taxes were raised not so much to raise revenue but to force Africans to work in farms and mines. Payment of tax was an indication that Africans had lost their independence. The British South Africa Police did the collecting of tax brutally. Those who failed to pay tax had their cattle and sheep seized [taken]. According to D N Beach, forced labour and cattle raiding [in the name of taxation] were the most unpleasant pressures of colonial rule, severe enough to lead many into the First Chimurenga. Taxes became a burden to the Africans, making them more determined to get rid of them hence the war was unavoidable.

****Social grievances / social causes***

Abuse of Ndebele women caused the 1896 war in Matabeleland. The Ndebele women and children were abused by the BSAC Police as they were held hostages to force their husbands to report to work after desertion at work. More so, both the married and unmarried women were raped by both BSAC Police and settlers. This forced the Ndebele to rise and stop the evil practice.

Religious contradiction led to the 1896 war in Matabeleland. There was undermining of African Traditional Religion and the propping of Christianity by the whites. African Traditional Religion was regarded as a pagan religion of backward people yet Africans were using their religion to interpret their problems. This was however, a bitter pill to swallow for the Ndebele who respected and valued their culture. Hence war was inevitable.

Natural disasters made the war inevitable. A serious drought occurred in 1895-6. Towards the end of this season, the area was also hit by a severe cattle disease [rinderpest], which is a highly contagious disease. To prevent the spread of the disease to white farms, company administrators shot thousands of Ndebele cattle that included even healthy ones. Worse still, the people were not allowed to eat the meat of those cattle shot as those cattle were burnt. The killing and burning of cattle was seen as a deliberate move by the whites to starve them. There was also an outbreak of locusts which devoured their crops. The religious leaders like Mlugulu, Mkwati and Siginyamatshe interpreted these misfortunes as being caused by white persons who failed to placate and respect the spirits. Hence war was unavoidable as religious leaders encouraged people to drive out whites if natural disasters were to end.

***Political grievances / political causes**

The Ndebele were denied from choosing a new king after the death of Lobengula. According to T O Ranger, in Matabeleland, in an attempt to transform the whole structure of the Ndebele society, the monarch was abolished. Lobengula was dead and his sons were sent to South Africa to be educated at Rhodes wards. The regimental towns were broken up and none of the Ndebele Indunas were recognised as authorities for the purpose of administration. Members of the Zansi caste were compelled to work side by side with the Hole. Hence war was inevitable as the Ndebele wanted to resuscitate their monarch.

Loss of independence by the Ndebele after the 1896 war caused the Ndebele uprising. According to D Chanaiwa, resentment against alien rule engendered a growing attitude of resistance towards whites. Proud chiefs and Indunas found themselves treated with arrogant contempt. This was further compounded by the nature of company administration. There was lawlessness [brigandage] and there was also no system of courts. The traditional leaders lost the respect they used to enjoy in society and British laws took precedence over Ndebele laws. Hence war was inevitable as the Ndebele disliked their subservient position.

Settler brutality caused the 1896 war in Matabeleland. Although magistrates had been appointed in various districts to administer justice, there was little justice. Africans were ill-treated, especially in mines and farms. Settler administration was associated with the use of corporal punishment and the Ndebele resented this abuse of authority. Hence the Ndebele had no choice except to take up arms against the whites.

The Jameson raid fiasco/failure was the immediate cause of the war in Matabeleland. Leander Starr Jameson and his platoon [soldiers] had gone to Transvaal to raid the Kruger government. They wanted to overthrow Paul Kruger and his government. Unfortunately, Jameson and his platoon were defeated and captured by the Transvaalers. The defeat of Jameson destroyed the myth that the British were unconquerable [invincible]. Africans were offered an opportunity to rise against the whites. It was the absence of BSAC Police which gave Africans a lot of courage to rise against the settlers. There was not enough police in Zimbabwe. The Ndebele warriors began to attack white farmers and traders in Matabeleland marking the beginning of the First Chimurenga.

Causes of Chimurenga in Mashonaland / Grievances among the Shona

***Economic causes**

Loss of land to the whites by the Shona caused the 1896 war. Soon after the occupation of Zimbabwe in 1890, white mercenaries were rewarded with large tracks of land as earlier

promised. The settlers went about claiming and pegging land that previously belonged to traditional chiefs. Chief Mashayamombe and his people, for example, were punished by a white farmer for having trespassed on his farm. This loss of land and rich pastures became a common and very serious grievance of the Shona.

*However, it should be noted that the land issue should not be exaggerated because it was not until 1908 when the whites had failed to obtain enough gold they wanted, that they turned to land or farming. According to D N Beach, many people especially in Mashonaland still possessed their land and many who had not lost land joined the struggle and many who had lost land did not join the war. D N Beach again argues that war ended in late 1897 not so much because of the fighting but because it was vital for the people to start the 1897-8 summer cropping. This was an indication that many people were still in possession of land. Hence the land issue becomes important if it is connected with other factors.

The loss of cattle to the whites by the Shona caused the Chimurenga in Mashonaland. Thus seizure of cattle from both the Ndebele and the Shona was one of the major features of the BSAC rule. The Shona largely lost their cattle to the whites through taxation since they used cattle to pay tax so as to avoid selling their labour in mines and farms with harsh working conditions. According to P Mason, the question of cattle was a matter for which any Bantu people lay very near at care of self-respect without which a man or a people break into degradation or desperate violence.

The introduction of forced labour by the whites caused the 1896-7 Chimurenga in Mashonaland. The Shona just like the Ndebele were forced to work in settler farms and mines. Workers would work for the whole month and be given a blanket. Workers were also subjected to heavy punishments for simple offences. Beach argued that the crux of the 1896 rising was the labour issue and the use of the hippopotamus whip. Ranger argued that it was the custom of the whites to beat their employees towards pay day so that they forfeit their wages. A Davidson argued that the sjambok became the epitome of Whiteman's administration. The standard punishment was 25 lashes. Schmidt argued that Africans were forced to work and had their hands tied together with ropes as Mashonganyika had said. Thus people were mishandled and were treated like animals. The whites disregarded the fundamental principles underpinning human dignity. As a form of resistance those paramount chiefs tasked to recruit labourers would send very few people yet when some saw labour recruiters, they would run away while others left the country for South African mines. After a number of workers ran away from work, settlers took wives and children as hostages and they would be released when the husbands brought themselves up. Historians are in agreement that forced labour and ill-treatment in mines and farms were severe enough to force many people into the Chimurenga.

Introduction of taxation by the whites also forced the Shona to take up arms against them. These taxes included hut tax, dog tax, dip tax and poll tax. Ranger argued that the final straw came with the demand for payment of hut tax in 1894. African messenger boys were employed to collect these taxes and were known to use brutal methods. A number of chiefs who resisted payment of taxes instructed their own people to drive away or kill tax collectors. A case in point is one which occurred in 1894 in Lomagundi [Nemakonde] where two tax collectors were killed. Kunzvi Nyandoro, a chief, even used fire arms acquired from Portuguese traders to resist tax collectors. It should be noted that taxation was an indirect way of recruiting labour because taxes were paid in form of money. Collection of taxes was accompanied by brutalities, seizure of cattle, burning of villages, flogging [beating] of chiefs and the like. Payment of taxes was an indication

that Africans had lost their independence. For Africans, to pay tax would mean they had accepted white rule. D N Beach argues that forced labour and cattle raiding [in the name of taxation] were the most unpleasant pressures of colonial rule severe enough to lead many into the first Chimurenga.

Loss of trade with the Portuguese caused the 1896-7 war in Mashonaland. The coming of the BSAC led to the banning of Shona lucrative trade with the Portuguese. Guns, beads, cloth and many goods were acquired from the Portuguese. The goods coming from South Africa through the BSAC were more expensive than those they acquired from the Portuguese. The banning of Shona-Portuguese trade was a serious grievance among the Shona, especially people from Makoni and Mangwende. T O Ranger argued that this trade was replaced by an exploitative one with the BSAC which left no room for Africans to bargain [negotiate]. Hence the disruption of Shona-Portuguese trade which had existed for centuries was a thorn in the flesh of the Shona hence war with the whites was inevitable.

****Social causes***

Abuse of Shona women and children made the Shona to rise against the whites in 1896. Shona women were raped by both BSAC Police and the British settlers. They were also held hostages to force their husbands to report to work after desertion from work. This forced the Shona to take up arms against the British so as to stop the evil practice.

Religious contradiction made the Shona to fight against the whites in 1896-7. Shona traditional practices and African Traditional Religion were undermined by the whites and there was concerted effort to replace them with Christianity. African Traditional Religion was regarded as pagan religion of backward people yet Africans were using it to interpret their problems. This outraged the Shona religious leaders who felt their authority was threatened. Hence war with the whites was a necessity for the Shona so as to defend their religion and traditional practices.

Natural disasters [catastrophes] made the 1896-7 Chimurenga in Mashonaland unavoidable. There was a drought in 1895-6 which was accompanied by a plague of locusts and a cattle disease called rinderpest. To prevent the spread of rinderpest to European areas, the Europeans killed all affected cattle and burnt them and did not allow Africans to eat them. The Shona however, thought that this was a deliberate move meant to starve them. Just like in Matabeleland, religious leaders like Nehanda and Kaguvi gave these disasters a religious interpretation. The disasters were regarded as calamities which had befallen the state due to the presence of the whites. People were however urged to drive out the whites from Zimbabwe so that the catastrophes would come to an end. This implies that for the religious leaders, unless the whites were driven out, life was not going to return to normal in the country. The religious leaders also promised them victory.¹⁵

****Political causes***

Loss of independence by the Shona forced them to take up arms against the whites. This loss of independence was indicated by the payment of tax to the whites in their own country. The flogging of Shona chiefs also showed loss of independence. The Shona chiefs were also used to recruit labourers. Thus Shona chiefs became mere mouthpiece to implement policies and decisions of the whites and were no longer sole originators of policies. More so, loss of independence was shown by the fact that British laws took precedence over Shona laws. Shona

chiefs had lost their powers and instead the BSAC appointed Native Commissioners who gave laws. Thus war was a necessity as the Shona wanted to regain their independence.

The need for self-determination forced many Shona into the Chimurenga. D Chanaiwa argued that resentment against alien rule engendered a growing attitude of resistance towards whites. The Shona initially thought the 1890 settlers were just temporary coming largely for trade, just like the Portuguese. Chief Mashayamombe only learnt from one white, Mr Brown that they had come to settle for permanent. The company administration [1890-6] was not guided by any clear native policy. On the other hand the BSAC argued that they were protecting the Shona from the Ndebele. The Shona only considered Jameson as just another chief of the whites. However, the Shona were opposed to settler interference in their daily lives. Some were used as police and they disliked their subservient position. Hence the need for self-determination made the war more likely.

Brutal administration in Mashonaland caused the 1896 war. Individual settlers tended make their own forms of justice on the locals. According to R Blake, there was no system of courts. In areas of disputes between locals and settlers, they were known to have used brutal methods against the Shona which included the use of sjambok. The recruited African police who largely came outside the areas that they operated grew so powerful that they even challenged African chiefs. These policemen together with settlers often abused their authority by demanding favours from amongst the community and often abused women. This was rampant in Mangwende and Makoni areas. They often flogged chiefs in the presence of their subjects. Hence war was a necessity in an attempt to end this brutal administration.

Course of Chimurenga in Matabeleland

The Ndebele uprising began on 20 March 1896 in the Umzingwane area. This uprising took the whites by surprise. The Ndebele took advantage of the Jameson raid fiasco. Jameson and many of the BSAC Police had gone to South Africa to raid the Kruger government but unfortunately Jameson and his platoon were defeated and captured by the Boers. There was not enough police to protect the whites in Zimbabwe. Hence the Ndebele began to attack white farmers and traders in Matabeleland. When war started, Matabeleland was riddled with factions hence the coordination of the war was affected by this. One faction was led by Mlugulu who wanted one of Lobengula's sons Umfezela to become the centre of the uprising. The other faction was led by Mpotshwana supported by the Amajaha and his faction wanted Lobengula's son, Nyamanda to become the centre of the uprising. The Ndebele killed a Native policeman and a miner, Thomas Maddocks and then, thick and fast, murder after murder [P Mason p197].

During the last week of March 1896, 122 whitemen, 5 women and 3 children were murdered, nearly all in isolated homesteads or camps. The Ndebele targeted small white communities like farmers, traders and so on. The whites responded by setting up laager defenses. The white survivors were brought to these fortified camps in Bulawayo and Gwelo. The whites were strong enough to defend themselves and to send out a patrol of 20 to 30 troops to a farm or a mine from which no news had come in, they were not strong enough for offensive operations. There was great shortage of horses and not enough rifles for the few hundred men capable of bearing arms. The British government reinforced 1000 soldiers to Southern Rhodesia. The whites were able to attack Ndebele Amabutho one by one. The Ndebele withdrew to Matopo Hills where they were able to defend themselves. The settler patrols destroyed villages and burnt crops and grain stores of the Ndebele to force them to surrender but the Ndebele forces were safe in Hills.

The Indaba [Rhodes' negotiation with the Ndebele]

-Rhodes negotiated with the Ndebele for peace. According to P Mason, peace could be made with the Ndebele. With the Shona it was difficult, because they were not a single people; each chief was to be dealt with separately. During the negotiations with the Ndebele senior Indunas, Rhodes used bribery to get the Indunas to negotiate for peace. He promised the Indunas jobs in the BSAC, pensions and that the Indunas were to retain their regional powers. The Ndebele Indunas made peace with Rhodes in October 1896 at Matopos and the war came to an end in Matabeleland.

Why Rhodes negotiated with the Ndebele

- The Ndebele were brave and were known to be good fighters and were warlike, so to continue fighting the Ndebele would take a long time.
- The fighting was costly to the BSAC in terms of money.
- The mines and farms were not working during the uprising and the BSAC was losing its profits.
- The British government was unwilling to bear the cost of sending troops to crush the uprising.
- There were growing demands in the British Parliament to withdraw the BSAC charter to rule the territory and this drove Rhodes to make talks with the Ndebele.
- The guerilla tactics used by the Ndebele were difficult to deal with.
- The white settlers were losing both in terms of manpower and material resources.

Course of Chimurenga in Mashonaland

Chimurenga in Mashonaland began in June 1896. It began with the killing of whites in Mashayamombe area. Two Indian traders were killed by Mashayamombe's people who also killed the Native Commissioner for Chegutu. The Shona joined the Ndebele in the war because they hated colonial rule so much. The Shona uprising took the whites by surprise. By the end of June 1896, over 100 whites had been killed. The Shona targeted small white communities such as traders, miners, farmers and prospectors. The whites responded by setting up laager defences in places like Gweru, Bulawayo, Mutare, Harare and Charter [Chivhu]. By 17 June, chief Nyamweda's people were also in the war killing two white traders near Harare. The Shona used guerilla warfare tactics. The Shona fighters blocked roads using trees. Some Shona chiefs fought on the side of the whites. Other chiefs did not join the war. Chiefs in Chikomba, Buhera, extreme eastern Zimbabwe and northern Zimbabwe stayed out of the war. The Shona hid in caves and the whites used dynamites to attack the Shona in caves. The spread of Chimurenga to other areas was done through spirit mediums and fire signals. Nehanda and Kaguvi were important spirit mediums who encouraged the Shona to fight especially in Mazoe and Chishawasha areas. Settlers mounted patrols to rescue survivors and ferrying them to laagers in Harare, Mutare and Charter. The whites were assisted by reinforcements sent from South Africa. British imperial forces brought from South Africa under Alderson attacked and defeated Makoni's Gwindingwi fortress and Mangwende's Maopo fortress.

The whites adopted the scorched earth policy, destroying Shona grain stores, homes, water sources and burning crops to starve the Shona into submission. The whites attacked and defeated Shona chiefs separately. Nehanda, the leading spirit medium active in Mazoe-Chishawasha area

was captured and executed in April 1897. She had ordered the killing of Pullard, the Native Commissioner for Mazoe. Shona resistance collapsed following the capture of their leaders like Mashayamombe in July 1897 and Kaguvi, an inspirational medium of the Harare area in October 1897. Thus the capture and subsequent execution of Nehanda, Kaguvi and other leaders brought the war to an end. It is said that Maondera continued to 1893.

Why the Ndebele were defeated by the whites in the 1896 uprising

****Weaknesses of the Ndebele***

- The Ndebele had inferior weapons like spears.
- The Ndebele had poor strategies.
- The Ndebele had poor communication.
- The Ndebele had poor transport.
- There were divisions and disagreements within the Ndebele ranks and the Ndebele lacked a central rallying point to coordinate the war effort since the destruction of the state in 1894.
- Not all Ndebele took part in the war.
- The spirit mediums seem to have made the wrong assumption that the whites would evacuate the country hence they left the main route through Mangwe open and this was used by whites for reinforcement.
- The Ndebele were not supported by other subjects such as the Kalanga.
- The Shona joined the war later in June.

****Strengths of the whites***

- The whites had superior weapons like maxim guns.
- The whites used laagers which were difficult for the Ndebele to penetrate.
- The whites were more mobile. They could fight on horse backs.
- The whites got external support from South Africa and Britain.
- The whites used a lot of brutality that frightened the Ndebele, for example, dynamites.
-

Why the Shona were defeated by the whites in the 1896 Chimurenga

****Weaknesses of the Shona***

- ✓ There was lack of coordination among the Shona. The Shona did not have a single leader to coordinate all the Shona.
- ✓ The Shona had poor organisation than the BSAC.
- ✓ There was lack of unity among the Shona.
- ✓ Some Shona groups were against the uprising. This explains why some Shona chiefs remained neutral, for example, Mutasa. Other Shona chiefs fought on the side of the whites.
- ✓ There was no common military strategy on the part of the Shona.
- ✓ The Shona had inferior weapons such as spears, shields, clubs, bows and arrows.
- ✓ The Shona had inferior training as they were not regular soldiers.
- ✓ The spirit mediums misled people telling them that bullets won't work against them.
- ✓ The capture and execution of inspirational leaders like Mashayamombe, Makoni, Kaguvi and Nehanda by the British led to their defeat.

****Strengths of the whites***

- The whites were better organised.
- The whites had better transport.
- The whites received assistance from outside [Britain and South Africa].
- The whites were only concentrating on the Shona as the Ndebele surrendered early.
- The scorched earth policy adopted by the whites starved some Shona into submission.
- Use of explosives and dynamites by the whites to attack the Shona in caves led to their defeat.
- The whites used torture and cruel interrogation methods which forced the Shona to reveal the whereabouts of leaders and their strongholds.

Results of the First Chimurenga

The results were different in the short term and similar in the long run.

- ✚ There was recognition of Ndebele chiefs and undermining of Shona ones.
- ✚ Colonial administrators tried to improve Matabeleland and Mashonaland so as to make colonisation acceptable.
- ✚ The Ndebele were given food and seeds for starting the 1897 planting and the Shona were given nothing.
- ✚ Ndebele chiefs became paid officials [divide and rule tactic].
- ✚ There was violation of human rights, induced starvation and rape cases during the rising.
- ✚ There was death of prominent figures like Makoni, Mashayamombe, Nehanda and Kaguvi.
- ✚ There was acceptance of Christianity after the rising.

THE NDEBELE AND SHONA RESISTANCE TO EUROPEAN PENETRATION FROM 1870 TO 1896

Various strategies were employed by the Ndebele and Shona in response to the encroachment of Europeans onto the Zimbabwean plateau. However, it should be noted that these strategies completely failed in the long term because the European penetration continued to grow until colonisation was finally achieved in 1894.

Strategies used by Lobengula to resist European encroachment

a] Lobengula granted a limited number of mining concessions to Europeans during the 1870s. For instance, Karl Mauch and Henry Hartley were granted a concession to mine gold at Tati area in 1870 [Tati Concession]. Tati was a disputed area between the Ndebele and the Ngwato. Thomas Baines was also granted a mineral concession in 1871. These mining concessions were meant to ward off a flood of concession seekers roaming in Lobengula's kingdom. However, this did not deter [prevent] more Europeans from coming to Lobengula's kingdom.

b] Lobengula also granted hunting concessions to European hunters like Frederick Courtney Selous. They were given permission to hunt animals including big game like elephants for ivory. They were even given permission to construct a road linking Mashonaland and Matabeleland in order to facilitate the transportation and movement of the hunters and goods.

c] Lobengula granted trading concessions to European traders like George Westbeeck, Leask, Tainton and Philips. Lobengula evidently hoped to control the influx of Europeans by granting concessions to these few Europeans. This strategy clearly backfired as these Europeans went to sell their concessions to the powerful Cecil John Rhodes who consolidated them with his own Rudd Concession as a basis for requesting a Royal Charter from the British Queen to enable him to colonise Lobengula's kingdom on behalf of Britain.

d] Lobengula granted land concessions to various groups of Europeans. Powerful individuals like Edward Lippert received land grants [Lippert Concession]. Lobengula's plan in granting the land concession was to make it difficult or impossible for Rhodes to operate his mineral concession without coming into conflict with Edward Lippert. It was clearly a desperate attempt to cancel out the Rudd Concession. However, it ultimately failed because Lippert conspired to sell his concession to Rhodes whose hand was strengthened by the addition of a land concession to the mineral concession already in his possession [Rudd Concession].

e] Lobengula continued Mzilikazi's policy of accommodating and cooperating with missionaries like Charles Helm and John Moffat. He gave them the permission to open a second mission station in Zimbabwe at Hope Fountain in 1870. Lobengula also took the missionaries' advice to deal exclusively with Rhodes' agents. That proved disastrous as it led to the signing of the Rudd Concession in 1888.

f] Lobengula signed protection treaties with the whites. A good example of such a treaty was the Grobller Treaty which he signed with the Transvaal government in 1887. Lobengula signed this treaty in the hope that this would act as a deterrent to other European countries and prevent them from seeking concessions or to control his kingdom. Instead of stopping the influx of Europeans, Lobengula's strategy only succeeded in bringing in the British who sought to outdo the Transvaal. They eventually persuaded Lobengula to repudiate the Grobller Treaty and sign the Moffat Treaty and the Rudd Concession in 1888, which eventually led to the occupation of Zimbabwe.

g] Having realised the disastrous implications of the Rudd Concession, Lobengula decided on a diplomatic offensive that involved writing letters and sending emissaries to the British Queen. However, Lobengula's diplomatic initiative failed to prevent the Queen from granting Cecil John Rhodes the Royal Charter to colonise Lobengula's kingdom.

h] More so, to avoid an imminent invasion from the whites, Lobengula made use of pacifying tactics by restraining his troops from provoking a war with the whites. Some historians contend that many of Lobengula's subjects wanted to drive out the whites forcefully from their land but Lobengula knew how powerful the whites were in terms of weaponry and therefore pacified his people. Lobengula's diplomatic strategy of restraining his restless army from attacking the so called Pioneer Column only succeeded in postponing but not preventing the Anglo-Ndebele conflict which eventually erupted in 1893.

i] Lobengula embarked on peaceful co-existence with the whites. Having tried and failed in everything else, Lobengula decided to live in peace side by side with the nascent British state in Mashonaland. It was however an uneasy peace and the three years from the British occupation of Mashonaland [1890] were filled with tension and deliberate provocation of the Ndebele by the whites. It was only a matter of time and Lobengula's strategy was shattered by a quarrel over the Shona which led to the Anglo-Ndebele war of 1893-4.

j] Lobengula used the strategy of playing off the Europeans against each other. This strategy was tried by various African rulers with mixed results. It ultimately proved a failure for Lobengula as the Europeans he tried to set against each other often co-operated against him instead. Edward Lippert who had been granted a land concession in the vain hope of getting him into a conflict with Rhodes decided to sell it to the latter [Rhodes]. The traders and prospectors also sold out to Rhodes and consequently strengthened rather than weakening him. By playing one group of whites against another and postponing decisions, Lobengula hoped that concession seekers would get tired and loose hope but this was in vain.

k] The Ndebele also used warfare to resist European encroachment. For instance they fought the Anglo-Ndebele war against the British in 1893. This was their first direct military resistance to European encroachment. This Ndebele military resistance shocked the European settler community. However, this again failed as the Ndebele were defeated leading to the occupation of the whole of Zimbabwe.

Strategies used by the Shona to resist European encroachment

a] The Shona peacefully co-existed with the whites. They thought the British were coming as traders just like the Portuguese. The Shona believed white settlement was temporary like what the Portuguese did.

b] Some Shona collaborated with the whites. They welcomed the whites partly as allies against the Ndebele.

c] Some Shona paramountcy played one white interest off against another. Chief Makoni, for example, signed a treaty with the BSAC in 1890 and immediately afterwards signed another one with Portuguese because the BSAC had gone on to make an alliance with his rival, Mutasa.

d] After failure of diplomacy both the Ndebele and the Shona resisted by force in 1896 war [Chimurenga / Umvukela]. This failed as they were defeated leading to establishment of colonial administration which forced Africans into forced labour, taxation and so on

EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM OF ZIMBABWE

Positive effects

**Political effects*

- ❖ Colonialism brought about peace and stability in Zimbabwe. It brought tribal wars to an end, for instance, the skirmishes [conflicts] between the Ndebele and the Shona came to a halt as soon as the British ventured into the interior.
- ❖ Colonialism brought with it new judicial system and civil service. It should be noted that this judicial system and civil service have endured to this day in exactly the same manner it was implanted.
- ❖ There was establishment of political boundaries in Zimbabwe. This united the warring tribal groups and created nationhood which the Ndebele and the Shona did not have. They did not have even the potential to create a nation. Before the advent of the British, Zimbabwe had no clearly marked boundaries. It should be noted that these boundaries endured to this day.

**Economic effects*

- ❖ There was an improvement in communication networks. The colonial administrators did put huge sums of money in constructing railway lines, roads, bridges and telegraphs. There was also introduction of radios and televisions. Bulawayo and Beira, for instance, were linked by a railway line. It should be noted that in Zimbabwe, no railway line has been constructed after independence. All railway lines in Zimbabwe today are legacies of colonialism. According to J C Caldwell, the provision of communication and infrastructure is something which Africa should acknowledge. This made every part of the country [and Africa in general] accessible.
- ❖ There was introduction of cash crop farming. Several Zimbabweans were used to subsistence farming. However, with the advent of imperialism they were introduced to commercial agriculture, that is, the growing of cotton, groundnuts, coffee, tobacco, tea and so on, for sale and money obtained was used in industrialisation of Zimbabwe.
- ❖ Industries were launched in Zimbabwe. This created employment. These employment opportunities given to the Shona and Ndebele earned them money and the life of Africans was uplifted and they created a new class of Africans. Being a wage earner enabled Africans to acquire wealth.

**Social effects*

- ❖ Colonial rule greatly accelerated the growth of urbanisation or big towns. This implies that urbanisation was not unknown in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Urbanisation during the colonial rule had high levels than previously. Big towns like Salisbury and Bulawayo grew faster during this period. In these cities, modern social facilities particularly health and education were offered to the residents hence they began to enjoy high standards of living.
- ❖ There was introduction of western education. This gave rise to African educated elite, most of whom dominated the civil service soon after independence. This was very positive also as these educated Africans led the struggle for independence and were to become rulers soon after independence. Western education trained Africans along modern lines of politics though not direct. Such a class of educated people came to constitute the ruling party in the newly independent Zimbabwe.

- ❖ There was introduction of a new common language for communication [Lingua Franca] that is English. This facilitated communication between numerous linguistic groups in Zimbabwe like the Ndebele and Shona. It should be noted that this prevented tribalism. This foreign language, English has remained the official language up to today and it became a media in schools. Negative effects

****Political effects***

- ❖ Indigenous rulers lost their powers. Chiefs for instance, were flogged for failure to obtain labour recruits. This implies that local rulers were deprived of their powers and were therefore made only the mouthpiece and not formulators of policies. Chiefs even lost their powers to distribute land and try cases and without these powers it became apparent that they lost their respect, dignity and political status.
- ❖ The creation of boundaries was done without regard to tribal affiliations [connections]. These boundaries did not correspond with pre-colonial boundaries. As such, the boundaries cut across pre-colonial ethnic groups. For instance, the border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique separated the Ndau, Manyika and the Shona. The Tonga were cut across by the Zimbabwe- Zambia border. The Shangani were cut across by the border between Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique. Through creation of boundaries, some ethnic groups were scattered in two or more different states. In many cases, these boundaries disregarded the plight of unity of many people or ethnic groups. Thus these boundaries created more problems than they intended to solve.
- ❖ Zimbabwe was made a land locked country. It has no access to the sea. Hence it found it difficult to import or export resources.
- ❖ Theorists argue that infrastructure built by colonialists was not at all developmental. Walter Rodney [1990] argues that some roads and railway lines facilitated suppression of anti-colonial movements. Ake [1981] says colonisers set up infrastructure in order to exploit Africans. W. Rodney [1972] argues that roads and railways were not built for Africans to visit their friends or to facilitate African internal trade but to extract African wealth, as a result, all roads and railways led to the sea and where exports were available, for instance, the railway line linking Bulawayo and Beira was built to siphon wealth. Rodney argues that whatever benefits infrastructure brought to Africa were purely incidental or were purely by accident and not by design. This was evidenced by the fact that areas with little resources had few or no communication networks at all.
- ❖ Colonialism discouraged the establishment of manufacturing industries in Zimbabwe. The export of goods [raw materials] to Europe discouraged the growth of local industries. Hence African technology was not given the chance to improve.
- ❖ Colonialism impoverished Zimbabweans. This was largely due to colonial policies like taxation, forced labour, seizure of land and seizure of cattle. Zimbabweans, for instance, lost their traditional land and were forced to live in reserves like Gwai and Shangani which were poorly watered, tsetse fly infested, unproductive and inhabitable.
- ❖ Colonialism led to the banning of Shona lucrative trade with the Portuguese where they acquired guns, beads and cloth. This was replaced by exploitative trade with the BSAC where Africans were not given room to bargain. The goods coming from South Africa through the BSAC were expensive than those acquired from the Portuguese. This disruption of trade with the Portuguese which had flourished for centuries was a thorn in the flesh of the Shona.

**Social effects*

- ❖ It brought about racial discrimination. Africans were not accepted as equals to the whites and more often they were subjected to serious racial, social and political inequalities. There were separate health, recreational and educational facilities and regarded Africans as inferior. In towns Africans were to live in shanties [overcrowded areas].
- ❖ Health facilities were meant primarily for whites. W Rodney [1972 p227] argues that the building of few hospitals for Africans was an economic investment for colonial benefit because “more could be gained out of the African worker who maintained basic health”. Thus a company or plantation would have a hospital specifically for its own workers, completely ignoring those in surrounding areas. It was only after independence that these hospitals were used ordinarily.
- ❖ Lingua Franca prevented the development of vernacular languages into national languages.
- ❖ Colonial education was not meant to benefit Africans, but to serve the following purposes [1] to train a few Africans who were to become effective colonial functionaries. [2] To make Africans accommodate Europeans and colonialism. [3] As a tool to dilute African culture. They wanted educated Africans to see anything African as barbaric. [4] To teach Africans European languages to enhance communication at work. Colonial administrators put in place a limited education programme for a few Africans. This is because if they educated all Africans, they would end up competing with Europeans. The curriculum [direction of the system] was formulated to meet colonial needs and Africans were trained for semi-skilled jobs. According to W Rodney [1972 p264], “Colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment”. They wanted to create humble and cheap labour.

COLONIAL RULE IN ZIMBABWE [1890-1979]

The pillars of the colonial economy were mining and agriculture. These two were the main employers of labour and capital throughout the colonial period. The manufacturing sector only became important towards the end of World War Two. The occupation of Zimbabwe by the BSAC was premised on the fact that the country had plenty of minerals especially gold [second rand]. Initially returns from mining were generally low. Gold was not found in abundance as anticipated. However, the early years of colonial occupation saw settlers investing quite heavily in mining as they foresaw long term returns. The main minerals exploited during this period were gold, copper and iron. In 1903 the settlers commenced the coal mining at Hwange [Wankie]. This was followed by the opening of chrome mine at Selukwe in 1906. In 1908 the Shabani asbestos mine was opened. In 1914, another asbestos mine was opened at Mashaba. Other minerals later mined were lead and zinc

THE LABOUR QUESTION IN ZIMBABWE [1890-TO POST WORLD WAR TWO ERA]

Labour recruitment was meant to supply labour to the new mines and farms. Once established, the mining and agricultural sectors required labour. The labour was to be obtained from Africans [the Ndebele and the Shona]. Africans were however unwilling to work for the whites. As a result new settlers had to find ways of recruiting labour. They initially had two options [1] to import cheap labour from neighbouring countries like Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa [Mozambique], where peasants had not developed the growing cash crop economy. [2] To force the Shona and Ndebele to work for them. Pieces of legislation below were enacted to force Africans to work.

[1] Labour Bureau of Southern Rhodesia [1899]

This was enacted in 1899 by the BSAC. It was an instrument to recruit labour to use in settler mines and farms at a particularly difficult time. The main recruitment method used was 'chibharo' [forced labour]. Through chibharo there was extensive use of physical force by the

Labour Bureau in mobilising labour from the villages. According to Makambe [p294-5], whole villages were attacked and houses burnt to force chiefs to co-operate. African chiefs themselves were co-opted in labour recruitment, an act of forced collaboration [they had no option]. According to Phimister and Van Onslen, with its brutal police boys, the organisation organised chibharo raids in which victims were rounded up and lined up in a prison like perfection. Peasants were simply rounded up by Native Commissioners with the assistance of chiefs and sent to the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau. Those who resisted were often flogged. The recruitment board took advantage of economic forces like drought [an ideal time to recruit, that is, people do not have food]. This was the case in 1903, 1912 and 1918.

*The Ndebele and Shona areas largely remained poor recruitment grounds because they never really wanted to work for whites, for example, out of the 8429 workers engaged by the board in 1900, 2160 has deserted in March 1901 [Van Onslen p78]. The board also faced the problem of seasonal supply of labour from the Shona and Ndebele. During the rainy season they would abandon jobs while the whites wanted permanent labour. Attempts to recruit labour from outside, for example, from Somalia, Abyssinia, India and so on, failed because foreigners were difficult to control and wanted higher wages. The period 1907 to 1912 was a period of strive for chibharo. In the recruitment of labour the BSAC gave full support to employers almost giving them powers to act independent in recruiting labour.

[2] The 1901 Master and Servant Ordinance

This was another piece of legislation which came into effect. This operated throughout the colonial period. The Act stipulated the number of working days per contract period and it allowed employers to engage labourers for more than the calendar month. This meant a month could be extended to 42 days without pay. At some mines labourers were forced to accept six months contracts in the presence of compound police boys. At other mines, managers simply refused to sign off workers who had completed their contracts hence they could not leave the mine for another mine through the pass law. The Master and Servant Ordinance was designed to regulate the mobility of the black labour force and stabilise employment under contract.

[3] The 1902 Pass Law

The BSAC introduced the Pass Law meant specifically to control labour desertions. This meant that deserters who would go to other employers would need a pass. It was meant to reduce random movement of black labour.

[4] The 1911 African Labour Regulations Act

This was another piece of legislation which specifically covers employees in agriculture and mining and it blocked employees from switching employment for higher wages [to control labour movement]. This Act was a result of the establishment of more farms and mines which resulted in increased competition for labour. The stealing of employees was forbidden. According to this Act it was an offence to poach labour especially agricultural labourers who were in short supply. This Act also authorised compound inspectors to search and arrest illegal compound dwellers.

[5] The Labour Bureau

After 1912 became more focused and aggressive in recruitment of labourers especially for unpopular mines like Bonsor Mine in Shurugwi, which was said to be bewitched. Africans had avoided this mine which they thought was bewitched.

[6] The 1943 Compulsory Native Labour Act

This was enacted in 1943.

[7] The 1960 Industrial Conciliation Act

-This was another piece of legislation whose main thrust was to control deserters, especially foreign deserters. The biggest challenge in labour during the entire period was competition with better paying South African mines. There was a north to south migration by migrant labourers [especially from Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique and so on and they used Zimbabwe as a launching peg and then desert to South Africa].

[8] The Compound System

To ensure a constant supply of labour at cheap or no cost, in farms and mines, the colonial regime introduced the compound system which was well known for its pervasiveness and brutality. The system was employed in medium sized mines and farms, that is, those employing between 300 and 750 black labourers. Raftopoulous and Phimister argue that the compounds were closely monitored to ensure continuous labour supplies. The inner square compounds were used to house

either short term workers or lowest paid workers who would have been prone to desertion. The huts of single workers surrounding the inner compound housed the workers less likely to desert.

Conditions of work in mines

African mine workers had poor accommodation. I Phimister argued that much of the development work of that speculative period was undertaken by contracts that were soon afterwards considered to show little regard for the comfort to their native employers. Housing merely consisted of temporary shelter created by labourers themselves. In large mines like Selukwe where regular production of gold was commenced, 'Rand Type Barrack Compounds' whose only ventilation was the compound door were erected in 1910. Persistent cost minimisation at the expense of the African mine housing and diet in turn led directly to a high death and sickness rate for much of the period from 1898 to 1953. Two major diseases, pneumonia and scurvy were linked to conditions in mines.

African mine workers were exposed to chills because of the mining industry's unwillingness to invest in decent accommodation before 1911. This was aggravated by the Southern Rhodesian winter. Thus pneumonia became a perennial problem. Many of these factors remained as constant features of mine compound life and as late as 1948, 1000 African workers contracted the disease [pneumonia].

In 1906, 1163 people died of mining related diseases. In 1910, 1682, in 1916, 911, in 1920, 599, in 1926, 598, in 1930, 687, in 1936, 794, in 1940, 328, in 1946, 529, in 1950, 513 people died of mining related diseases. The black labourers were overcrowded at compounds. The black labourers had poor diet. Van Onslen argued that a combination of inadequate diet and hard work was a feature of the Rhodesia mining industry. This on its own is an indication that the mining industry in Zimbabwe was a bandit industry which rewarded workers with brutal exploitation and immiseration. In 1898-99, most of the gold producing mines in Selukwe were the unhealthiest places for natives to work. More than 10% of the workers sent there to work died. Thus H L Gann's comparison of the position of the mine workers in Southern Rhodesia with that of domestic servants in England can be accepted. It was precisely because of inadequate food stuffs and low wages. Further evidence to demonstrate the poor conditions of mining in Zimbabwe is that migrant workers from Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa [Mozambique] would pass through Southern Rhodesia to go and work in South African mines. South African mines paid better off because of competition among Rand Mines. In addition, some Zimbabweans would even prefer to go and work for South Africa and not Zimbabwe, their own country. There were poor health facilities. At Wankie, the African mine hospital was acknowledged to be too small and otherwise unsuitable for the daily rate of sickness but the management had postponed building a new hospital in favour of constructing coke ovens.

Reactions of Africans to their working and living conditions during the entire period

After the subjugation of the Ndebele and Shona in the 1896 rising, the Africans passively accepted the status quo. However, they showed their dislike of settler repression through hidden resistance and then through an attempt to organise associations along European lines hoping that these would secure reform and allow Africans to be accommodated within the colonial structure. The Africans resisted using the following methods.

[1] Confronting their plight in shadows [Hidden resistance]

This was passive [hidden] resistance because they had not developed consciousness that they could form trade unions. Raftopoulous and Phimister argued that the working conditions of most blacks during the colonial period forced them to confront their plight in shadows. These includes

[a] The Africans resorted to desertion.

This was when a worker abandoned his work and employment without notice. Desertion was a reflex reaction to forced labour and workers were known to desert places of lower wages. Desertion was a protest against capitalist exploitation. These desertions were systematically organised especially on mines and farms paying low wages, for example, Bonsor mine in Selukwe. Some of those who deserted would go to South Africa where salaries were better. Passes were deliberately lost or destroyed as a way of desertion and in certain cases passes were often forged to allow them to go and work in South Africa. Desertion was punishable by a fine or imprisonment under the Master and Servant Act of 1901. Desertion led ultimately to low productivity and low profit margins.

[b] Workers in farms and mines expressed their frustration and protest against bad working conditions through deliberately breaking machines [vandalising machines]. Workers saw machines as instruments of exploitation. The repairs of machines in the farms, mines and factories took a long and therefore reduce profit margins. Machine breaking also gave the Africans time to rest during the period when machines were being repaired.

[c] Absenteeism was another form of worker protest against working conditions in mines and factories in colonial Zimbabwe. The working conditions included low wages, long working hours and brutalisation of the worker by the capitalists, unhealthy work places, lack of safety, diseases such as pneumonia and scurvy, injury at work without compensation and lack of old age security benefits. However, absenteeism at work was punishable by instant dismissal, loss of wages, demotions and imprisonment. It must be noted that absenteeism was costly to the whites in production terms.

[d] Go-slows was another method used by workers in resisting exploitation in farms and mines.

Workers sometimes worked slowly especially where strikes were considered dangerous. This was when workers deliberately reduced the rate at which they worked with the hope of reducing production and the profit margin.

[e] Workers also embarked on strikes. For instance, there was the 1912 Wankie strike, the 1927 Shamva strike, the 1945 strike by railway workers and the 1948 general strike. Strikes were however illegal under the Master and Servant Act of 1901 and Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934. Employers did not recognise their African worker movement. Strikes were however ruthlessly suppressed. Those involved could lose their jobs.

[f] Frailing [faking] illness was another method used by Africans in resisting exploitation by the whites at work places. Some Africans pretended to be sick yet they were not.

[g] Deliberate wastefulness was also done by Africans. They deliberately wasted resources at work. This affected production on the part of the whites. [h] Those in farms embarked on abuse of livestock.

[i] Self inflicting injuries was another method used by Africans in resisting exploitation at work places. This gave the Africans time to rest.

[j] The Africans also stole property of the whites as a way of resisting. For instance, they stole ventilation pipes.

[k] They also communicated information on trees. This information would be indicating names of mines with better conditions and those without better conditions. Bewitched mines were boycotted, for example, Bonsor mine in Shurugwi.

[l] They used sit-ins as a way of resisting exploitation.

[m] Africans also forged signatures as a way of resisting exploitation in farms and mines.

*These actions did not succeed in securing a better deal for the Africans to some extent but at least reduced profit for the settlers.

[2] Informal meetings and gatherings

Informal gatherings were also held as a way of expressing their resentment of colonial rule. These became more developed during and after World War Two. It was at these meetings that they discussed a number of pertinent issues like the cost of living, death from influenza, for example, in 1917 and wages as well as the treatment they got from employers. The most important of these informal gatherings came through the Royal Mandebele Patriotic Society of 1915. Among other patriotic issues discussed by this society was it also condemned the evils of prostitution and venereal diseases in compounds.

[3] Burial and Dance Societies

The Africans formed Burial and Dance Societies. The major concern of these was the welfare of bereaved families. They pulled resources together to enable the bereaved to buy coffins for dead colleagues and bury them nicely. They also pulled their resources together to provide transport and to buy food stuffs at a funeral. The most notable of these was the Beni Burial Society [a dancing society] and it originated from Tanzania and emphasised issues of hierarchy, uniform and drills. It was led by Nyasas and conducted drills after working and even used dummy guns [a threat to employers because their dance has a military flare against the state]. Many other burial and dance societies were formed and became concerned with issues of sickness, destitution, death [food and condolences [chema]] but these were not provided by the employers. They even helped members with money for treatment. These financial facilities were extended to members who wanted legal representation against employers. The state and employers were worried about this and called for close monitoring of these societies.

[4] Formation of independent African Churches

The formation of these churches [especially Watch Tower] posed a serious threat to the state and employer. They preached the gospel of change which was derived from the teachings of Jehovah's Witness founded by Pastor Charles Russell. In compounds the Nyasas especially the Tonga were responsible for spreading and organising watch tower religious activities. According to Phimister and Raftopoulos, they preached general Christian virtues like sobriety, fidelity, honest, trust, love and so on but also challenged the settler regime and some of the preachers even prophesied that some time whites would be "our servants as they have had good times in this world". Their messages had been a lot of appeal to black miners and peasants for they were targeted against white oppression like pass laws and so on. The preachers argued that laws like the Pass Laws were man-made and not from Jesus Christ. Membership of this church rose considerably in mines. In Zvimba area, Matthew Chigaga Zvimba broke from the Methodist

church in 1915 and formed the Shirichena church. He declared all 1896-7 Zvimba casualties [those who died during the Chimurenga] saints and martyrs. In 1920s, Samuel Mutendi came back from South Africa and formed ZCC [again an Ethiopian church]. Later on in 1930s, Johane Marange formed his African Apostolic Church. Through these independent African churches, Africans were searching for self-assertion, human dignity and the African personality [Ubuntu or Africaness]. In 1920s in Hwange, preachers promised an end to taxation and a preacher called Zimtoka [from Nyasaland] told his audience that tax was a Whiteman's tool of exploiting Africans and that 'Adam died without having heard to pay tax' [Phimister and Raftopoulous p30]. He condemned immoral behavior among the people but somehow condoned adultery on grounds of shortage of women at Wankie [ratio was 1: 7]. He says, "a Christian man and a Christian woman, whether she be a wife of another or not, may have sexual intercourse as often as they like provided they first pray to God" [Phimister and Raftopoulous p18]. He says David's mistake was not taking Uriah's wife but in killing Uriah. Preachers like him prophesied an imminent end of white rule. Zimtoka and Nyambo were deported out of Wankie mine. The weaknesses of their preaching were that they failed to address women's issues except where they related to the needs of men. Thus they were male chauvinists. Women were abused and often taken as second class citizens. Their teaching does not lead to any direct industrial action but only aroused sentiments. Their ideology never really became a worker ideology for churches failed to produce any mutual aid scheme for its audience.

THE LAND QUESTION IN ZIMBABWE [1890 TO POST WORLD WAR TWO ERA]

Due to the initial slow progress in the mining sector, the settlers were forced to turn to agriculture. Investment in agriculture meant that the settlers would now be in a position to increase self-sufficiency, reduce importation costs and attract more white settlers. They needed more of them to strengthen or bolster the new administration. The introduction of new farmers would strengthen the position of settlers and entrench their rule in the country. Investment in agriculture also became important in meeting the mine obligations [supply of food stuffs to mines]. Agriculture also became the biggest earner of foreign currency exchange. The methods employed by the settlers to take land from the Africans created tension between Africans and settlers. The land issue became a central and controversial issue throughout the colonial period. Once land had been taken away from Africans, the settlers went on to launch land tenure [ownership] systems that continued to disadvantage Africans throughout the colonial period. Whites took away prime land from Africans and turned it into private land [an average of 3000 acres] and became full time owners of that land. These whites were generally strategically situated closer to railway lines. Most of the land given to the early white settlers especially from 1908 onwards, was given free of charge and where it was sold, it was remarkably at low price to attract more settlers. In 1912, a land bank [Agribank] was created to assist farmers with soft loans to purchase farms, livestock and agricultural equipment. Ranching was introduced on a large scale especially in Matabeleland.

Why Shona agriculture was initially successful up until 1908

- ✓ Most Shona people still possessed their prime land on the high veld and also had easy access to European markets and railway lines.
- ✓ The opening up of many small mines in Mashonaland [Shamva, Selukwe and so on] increased the demand for food and beer for mine workers. The Shona took advantage of

these lucrative markets. These peasants thus responded well to favourable market opportunities available. Like in South Africa as said by Collin Bundy, the peasantry in colonial Zimbabwe experienced an early period of prosperity which was only deliberately and increasingly undermined from about 1908 after settler agriculture received attention from the state.

- ✓ Peasant agriculture contributed more to settler colonial economy because colonialism created a market for their agricultural produce. The first group of white settlers was not of farmers but fortune seekers. They did not want to settle down to farm waiting the whole year before reaping the fruits of their labour and to be worried about weather. On the contrary, African production had the potential to increase further. The whites survived on Africans' wealth. According to I. Phimister, various forms of rent, fees and labour services were demanded from indigenous people who preferred to sell livestock and grain to meet these demands. Initially prices paid for the grain and livestock were reasonable.
- ✓ During the 1890s settlers were obsessed with the idea of the second rand, so they were not interested in farming; neither did they have the skill. More so, the settlers were ignorant of the local conditions and a few of them had agricultural background and experience on the practical sense.
- ✓ There was a general increase in number of cattle owned by the Shona from 43926 in 1901 to 197837 in 1908. The increase in stock trade tended to boost their incomes.
- ✓ There was limited competition with whites as white commercial farming was still on a small scale [by 1905]. During the early period of white settlement in Zimbabwe white landowners were not in a position to exploit much of the larger areas of land they had acquired for themselves, as their main aim was to open the second rand. Cereals and other necessities were supplied by local Shona people. This period was considered a period of some agricultural revolution in Mashonaland [1905]. The Shona went on to grow their own crops like beans, monkey nuts, maize and so on. Some Shona people near Salisbury even went on to employ other Shona people as labourers and were paying them up to 10 shillings per month. All this success was received without support from the Native Commissioner. Most of the agricultural production remained in African hands largely the Shona and this is why peasant agriculture contributed more to settler colonial economy up to 1908.
- ✓ The other reason why peasant agriculture contributed much was that rates imposed by the whites to the peasants were very low to the extent that peasants still afforded to pay and had to remain in their communities growing crops. Schmidt noted that after the occupation of Mashonaland, when a tax of 10 shillings was imposed in 1894 in an attempt to force young men into the wage labour market, many African households extended the average under cultivation and sold their surplus crops to Europeans as an alternative of acquiring cash.
- ✓ Peasant agriculture extended because of the desire for freedom. The system of trade that had existed amongst blacks had been disrupted by colonialists. Africans grew more crops in order to retain their freedom and to establish new trade patterns. As long as they grew enough food for themselves, they were spared from the humiliation of working for Whiteman. Because of this men became more involved in clearing land and using new and foreign tools including the plough. The traditional crops like rapoko and millet were replaced by market crops like maize.
- ✓ Peasant agricultural production increased because wages paid to the people who worked for the settlers were remarkably very low and people were treated inhumanly such that

people had opted to remain in their communities growing crops. A Hartley, Native Commissioner quoted by Prew observed this in 1895, '10 shillings a month is a ridiculously low wage for a native...'. So peasants were unwilling to work for it. This forced peasants to increase their agricultural production rather than to surrender their labour to the settler mines and farms.

- ✓ Peasant agriculture contributed much to the settler colonial economy because they had knowledge of local conditions. Schmidt argues that obsessed by the prospects of mineral wealth, most of the early Europeans had little desire to grow their own food, as they found it cheaper to buy their supplies from African producers who were in any way more knowledgeable of local conditions and suitable agricultural practices.

*However, it must be noted that white mines like Bonsor mine in Selukwe became broke. Companies were forced to close and the whites began to think of turning to farming and a number of measures were introduced after 1908 to ruin peasant agricultural production. In fact, the Native department decided to instead deliberately support white activities against those of Africans. A land commission instituted in 1908 even recommended that Africans in Mashonaland had excessive land and that land had to be reduced by half. In order to boost white farming, T O Ranger argues that the whites involved themselves in a deliberate and painful adoption of a number of strategies designed to maximise the potentials of settler agricultural production. After 1908 people were eventually reduced to poor peasants through the manipulation of land.

The colonial land tenure system [land policies to 1923]

The 1898 Rhodesian Order in Council was introduced. It was the first legislative instrument used to establish land policy in Zimbabwe. It introduced land segregation through the creation of reserves [later called tribal trust lands]. These were lands set aside for use by indigenous people only. They were controlled by tribal trust chiefs and allocated to married individuals only. The reserves were dry, tsetse fly infested and badly watered. Little production would take place in these reserves. The reserves were extended throughout the country including Mashonaland. The idea was to keep production in reserves low by giving them unproductive land and that would encourage African migration to European farms and mines. African poverty thus became the surest way of guaranteeing cheap labour supply to European enterprises. Reserves became convenient centres for the supply of cheap labour to white farms. Demarcation of reserves was left to Native Commissioners who were given full responsibility of administering these reserves. They made sure that boundaries would not encroach into good white land [Tshuma L. The Native Commissioners became powerful in economic and legal powers. They administered reserves through local headmen and chiefs who became state appointed and answerable to the state.

In 1908 the Private Location Ordinance was enacted. Many African peasants suddenly found themselves reduced to squatters in white owned farms. Squatters were forced to enter into contracts and forced to become temporary wage earners in these farms. These contracts often involved whole families. They were also forced to pay grazing and dipping fees for the few cattle they owned. Once their contract term expired, they immediately became illegal occupiers and they were brutally evicted and their huts were burnt. This ordinance ensured that land is sold to white farmers [private farms]. All Africans residing in newly acquired farms were to pay

rent or to face eviction. The amount of rentals varied from 2 to 3 pounds per month. The Ndebele in particular bitterly resented paying rentals. Rentals in Bulawayo were expensive, that is, 3 pounds per month. In Mashonaland rentals were introduced in 1904. The charging of rentals which was called 'Kaffir farming' became the lucrative business for many white farmers as they made more money from this.

Measures introduced by the government since 1914 to cripple African agriculture and boost settler agriculture

[a] Consolidation of white farming [1914]

Prior to 1908 there was a general increase in peasant agricultural production. By 1908 there was a general success by white commercial farmers. Over 5 and half acres were sold to white settlers during the period. There was a gradual increase in number of white farms throughout Southern Rhodesia. From 1912 onwards, most of the food requirements of the new settlements were largely met by commercial agriculture. By 1924, up to 78% of white cultivated land was under maize and tobacco. In Matabeleland cattle ranching became the main important economic activity. Between 1909 and 1913 up to 33000 herds of cattle were imported as an attempt to improve the quality of herd they had [hard Mashona type]. By 1914 their cattle increased to 341878. They even bought high quality cattle from as far as Texas in USA. At the same time, the number of African cattle also rose from 195837 in 1908 around 400000 in 1914 [R Palmer p94].

[b] Land Commission of 1914

It was appointed by the BSAC government to further look into the land tenure system. It was also referred to as the Native Reserves Commission. Its recommendation was that Africans in Southern Rhodesia were far better off in terms of land ownership than Africans in other Southern African states. It recommended that the land should be further reduced in size hence more land was taken away from Africans. This commission reduced the sizes of reserves by 1000000 acres at a time when the African population was increasing rapidly. In 1915 according to the Native Reserves Commission, 405376 Africans were living in reserves. At the same time Africans living outside reserves were made to move around a lot at the will of their landlords.

[c] The 1923 Southern Rhodesian Order in Council

The effect of this was to make Southern Rhodesia a British Crown Colony with self-government [autonomy]. Britain had many other crown colonies throughout the world, for example, in India, New Zealand and so on. Settlers continued to attack the rights of Africans to acquire land. They started the introduction of separate development of blacks and whites.

[d] The 1925 Morris Carter Commission

The major recommendation of this commission was that the government should reduce points of contact between whites and blacks through adopting a policy of land segregation. That same proposal also championed separate areas for blacks and whites in urban areas [residential areas], shop location, schools and hospitals. The recommendations of the Carter Commission were effectively implemented in the 1930 Land Apportionment Act. The Morris Carter Commission divided the whole country into agro-zones based on rainfall patterns – from region 1 to the lowest region 5. Africans were relocated to regions 4 and 5.

[e] The 1930 Land Apportionment Act

It was enacted as a result of the settler demands and it specified white and African land as well as unoccupied land. In 1920, the white settlers who numbered about 50 000 were allocated 49149174 acres of prime land [51% of the total land], while blacks who numbered about 1000000 were allocated 21 127040 acres [29% of the total land] plus an additional 7464566 acres of the worst land in regions 4 and 5. The rest of the land, about 19 000000 acres were game parks and state land. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 confirmed and legalised the displacement of Africans that had been going on earlier. Reserves became reserved for exclusive use by Africans. Between 1930 and 1977 this act was amended up to 60 times, to further entrench white control on land. By the 1930 Land Apportionment Act, Africans were completely stopped from acquiring land in areas completely considered to be European. The argument for implementing the 1930 Land Apportionment Act was that the whites feared being swallowed by the black majority if there was no legalised discrimination. So it was meant to separate the 'civilised from the uncivilised'. It introduced racial division of land in the country and enactment of the Land Apportionment Act itself became a symbol of white domination in the country. It aimed at reducing areas of contact between whites and blacks. So Africans were dispossessed of more fertile land. This Act reserved some land for forests yet blacks did not have enough land. Of all the land, 7, 8% became African purchase land which was meant to accommodate a few rich black people [reminiscent of Kulaks of Russian revolution]. The African purchase land ranged from 41 to 243 hectares and was administered by the Native Board. Africans who purchased this land did not have titles for it. If one wanted to mortgage [sell] the land he would have to get approval of the board. By this act, all urban areas were demarcated as falling on European areas and only working Africans were to reside in these areas. Between 1931 and 1941, 50000 Africans were moved into reserves due to the Land Apportionment Act. Between 1945 and 1959, a further 85000 were removed from white farms and between 1964 and 1977, another 88000 were sent into reserves. The LAA was defended on the grounds that this would attract white immigrants. It was argued that the LAA would encourage scientific cultivation of the soil which was necessary just like preservation of land from soil erosion. The interest of white race was placed above those of the black majority. The black majority was left with insufficient land both for farming and settlement. What was being protected was white agriculture and in this case segregation was central. Europeans feared competition from blacks. Thus land was divided between blacks and whites for security reasons. The act largely denied Africans access to land and other means of production. Land assigned to Africans was a bit far away from markets and lines of communication while white farms were adjacent to markets.

Through the LAA the Rhodesian government undermined African agriculture by creating a white farming community heavily subsidised by the government and growing similar crops with Africans. Afigbo argued that aided by cheap labour, loans and scientific assistance, commercial farming by whites of maize and tobacco became profitable. The whites had advantages of cheap land, nearness to main roads, railways, markets, loans to buy machinery and were paid much higher prices for their crops and livestock than African farmers. Stoneman argues that markets were far away from reserves and prices were deliberately kept low for African cattle and agricultural produce. Stoneman also argues that colonialism and capitalism had taken form of a proletarianisation of the peasantry which had created a labour supply for the capitalist sector by destroying the viability of peasant agricultural production. The LAA was meant to end debates on land question between blacks and whites. It was meant to protect white minority group. This act restricted Africans from buying land everywhere, that is, to ease the danger of serious economic threat from the new class of African farmers. The LAA suppressed African rights.

Effects of the Land Apportionment Act

[i] The policy of segregation had serious repercussions on African farming. Peasant agriculture clearly declined after the creation of reserves and further declined after the passing of LAA. This was due to the adverse ecological conditions and to the shortage of space for both cultivation and grazing which resulted in overcrowding and overstocking. All these contributed to diminishing agricultural returns to an African population to whom land was traditionally the most important asset. The LAA was therefore a source of hardships and suffering. Before the LAA Africans produced more yields in grain and they kept more sheep, goats and cattle.

[ii] Destocking was encouraged by settler government, thus disturbing the traditional life of cattle keeping. Cattle rearing was very important in as far as every Bantu tribe was concerned. Their cattle grades were low because of poor grazing lands. Thus cattle owned by the Africans weighed so little in comparison to those owned by whites.

[iii] There was overstocking and overpopulation in reserves. This created serious problems in soil conservation. Overstocking and overpopulation resulted in serious soil erosion hence reducing agricultural productivity in all African reserves. The social and economic status of Africans was thus reduced [marginalization of Africans].

[iv] Africans were driven into the wage economy. This disturbed their social life, that is, family disintegration.

[v] There was underdevelopment of African areas because most people were turned into migrant labourers. Thus there was exploitation of human resources [labour]. Thus the dependence syndrome also developed among the African population.

[f] The 1935 Maize Control Act

This act protects white farmers from black competition in maize production. There were two grades of maize; A grade was for whites and B grade for blacks. A grade fetched a higher price while B grade fetched a lower price. Thus there was discrimination at the market. The whites also paid less for maize they bought from the Africans.

[g] The 1934 Cattle Levy Act

According to this act, whites paid less at the market for cattle bought from blacks. The government paid more to whites for their cattle. This system impoverished the blacks who were being affected by this fraudulent commercial arrangement.

[h] The 1951 Native Land Husbandry Act

Africans were accused of inefficiency in management of natural resources especially land. They used sledges. So the act was meant to enforce good management through promoting conservative methods. Africans were therefore forced to supply labour for digging contour ridges in rural areas. The Native Commissioner was given power to control stock [number of cattle, goats and sheep] an individual could have. The commissioner could stipulate a safe maximum number of cattle in his area and excess cattle were destocked [sold forcibly at low prices]. Africans were forced to possess grazing permits as a way of controlling stock. Villages were forced to introduce crop rotation in their farming [to control soil erosion and increase agricultural production]. The measures introduced were greatly opposed by Africans especially because of the nature of imposition. Traditional chiefs refused to cooperate especially on contour ridges and destocking.

The subsequent effect of forced destocking was it forced many people to go to urban areas [rural-urban migration]. African farming remained low as Africans were not given enough capital. The general opposition to these policies was to capitalise into the modern African Nationalism in 1950s and 1960s.

[i] The 1969 Land Tenure Act

This replaced the 1930 LAA but it further divided land into three categories. European land was 45 000 000 acres, that is, 46, 6% of the total land and African land was 45 000 000 acres, that is, 46, 6%. The remainder, 6 500 000, that is, 6, 7% became national land.

[j] The 1977 Land Tenure Act

With the mounting of the armed struggle in 1970s, the government was once again forced to come up with the 1977 Land Tenure Act. This was a revision of the 1969 Land Tenure Act, which officially removed racial division of land.

THE FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND [THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION] [1953-1963]

In 1953 Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were joined to form a federal state. A federation is a union of states. A myriad of reasons led to the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Reasons for the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Economic reasons

- The federation would enable the Central African region to prosper and develop faster than was possible in the 3 territories as separate entities. Southern Rhodesia would provide agricultural products and minerals. Northern Rhodesia would provide copper and Nyasaland would provide labour. The settlers in the 3 territories wanted to share profits of agriculture, gold and copper.
- The federation would attract foreign investors and promote industrialisation. This would make Central Africa less dependent on South Africa. Thus this would help to form a strong British colony which would be able to compete with South Africa.
- The federation would cut the administration costs. It was going to be less expensive for the white administration to administer one huge colony. Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were all colonies of Britain.
- The settler motive for creating the federation was to create a large and more diversified national economy. Such a bigger economic unit like the federation would attract the capital needed to develop projects like railway development and a big hydro-electric power scheme since the copper belt was now finding it difficult to supply the power needs of the 3 territories.
- The federation would provide a big market for goods produced in the federation.
- Planning on an overall scale would be far more effective, enabling maximum use of raw materials, power, labour and skills.
- There was a desire to enhance cooperation in capital infrastructure development.

Political reasons

- The federation was meant to foster settler domination and supremacy over Africans. Settlers in Northern Rhodesia believed their position would be strengthened by the many settlers in Southern Rhodesia. From a political point of view, the whites saw a federation as a way of perpetrating their supremacy by denying the political advancement of Africans in the two northern territories whose constitutional position was different from that of Southern Rhodesia.
- The federation was established because of the need to preserve white rule in Central Africa as they feared that Africans might revolt against the whites in Central Africa. Africans had already started forming trade unions and political parties. So a federation would help the British to control those Africans and monitor their movements. Thus this federation would protect whites in the 3 territories from nationalist calls for independence. It would check the rise of African nationalism. They wanted to suppress nationalistic feelings. The federation was going to make it much easier to control the blacks under one administration as compared to what was happening prior.

- The federation would enable the Africans and the Europeans to work in a partnership in which the Europeans would be senior partners [riders]. The blacks would be horses in a partnership. Africans according to Wellensky “can never hope to dominate the partnership”.
- Many settlers feared being politically overwhelmed by larger African majorities north of the Zambezi. The federation was seen as a more promising vehicle to attain autonomous dominion status.
- The federation would check the spread of Apartheid from South Africa and the rise of African nationalism. The English speaking white minorities of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland having noted out the possibility of joining Afrikaner dominated South Africa wanted the federation to contain African nationalism in Southern Rhodesia and prevent impending independence of the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which they perceived in terms of creeping communism and nationalism.
- The whites wanted to prevent the absorption of Southern Rhodesia by the union of South Africa.
- The federation would make a strong British colony able to compete with South Africa.
- The whites wanted to create a formidable British military stronghold in Central Africa.
- They wanted to check and contain Afrikaner nationalism.

Social reasons

- The federation was going to make Africans much more inferior in the eyes of the whites.
- The federation was meant to racially undermine the blacks.
- They wanted to improve cooperation among whites in Central Africa [in the three territories].
- The federation would improve the availability of electricity.
- They wanted to create a bastion of British culture in Central Africa.
- The federation would encourage settlement and increase white population in the federation.
- They wanted to improve social services like education and health. Thus the three territories would benefit from common facilities.

Achievements of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

- There was a rapid industrial growth during the Federal decade [1953-63] especially in Salisbury. Thus there was employment creation largely in Salisbury.
- There were improvements in transport, for example, a railway line was constructed which linked Bulawayo with Maputo [Laurenco Marques].
- There were improvements in the education system during the federal period. For instance, the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was established in Salisbury in 1957, in Mount Pleasant. The university greatly benefited Southern Rhodesia intellectually, infrastructurally and economically. However, Zambian and Malawian students were also afforded a chance to learn at the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Africans in these three territories were able to acquire higher qualifications. On the dissolution of the federation, Southern Rhodesia inherited these facilities and others including the federal army equipment. More so, there was construction of secondary schools for Africans, for example, Fletcher High School in Gwelo. Mlezu agricultural College was also built in Southern Rhodesia. Teachers colleges like Gwelo Teachers College and Mutare Teachers College were also built during the federal period.

- There was construction of dams and lakes in the federation. For instance Lake Kyle [Mtirikwi] was built in 1960. Hippo Valley and Triangle estates were irrigated using water from Lake Kyle. The federation also built the world's famous Kariba dam for hydro-electricity in 1959. It should be noted that Kariba was the biggest man-made lake in the world. Thus the biggest of the federal scheme was the plan to harness Zambezi River at Kariba Gorge by constructing a dam which would supply hydro-electric power for the copper belt and the industrial region of Southern Rhodesia. The construction of Kariba dam also stimulated the fishing industry. It also made possible irrigation projects, for example, Sabi irrigation and a number of sugar estates developed.
- Hydro-electric power plants were incepted for example, at Kariba and Kafue. However, thatone at Kafue generated less power. Zambia and Zimbabwe shared electricity from Kariba.
- There was development of agriculture during the federal decade. For instance, irrigation schemes were built in Kafue, Chirundu, Hippo Valley Estate, Triangle Sugar Plantation and Mlanje Tea Estate. There was increased output, for example, tobacco, tea, coffee and sugar cane. There was also development of research stations for agriculture as well as forestry.
- Hwange Thermal Power station was built in Salisbury to boost power supply.
- Health facilities were also improved. A number of large well equipped hospitals were built in big centres like Salisbury, Bulawayo, Kitwe and Blantyre. For instance, Harare hospital was built in Salisbury.
- Foreign investment was attracted resulting in the growth of Salisbury as the capital city of the federation and the construction of Hydro-electric power station at Kariba.
- In the early years of federation, the economy was booming. The Gross Domestic Product [GDP] rose from 350, 6 million pounds in 1954 to 448 million pounds in 1956. African workers in towns felt some benefit from the boom in improved wages and working conditions. It is therefore generally recognised that the period of federation was one of increased economic prosperity, but some authorities disagree on the contribution the federation itself made to this state of affairs. More so, exports increased [by 74%] through Beira, South Africa and Tanzania.
- There was increased production in mining gold, copper and asbestos.
- There was increased industrial output especially in Southern Rhodesia. Iron and steel as well as food processing industries were built in cities like Bulawayo, Salisbury and Lusaka. It must be noted that new industries were opened and old ones were expanded.
- There was employment creation for both Africans and whites in industry, agriculture and forestry.

Reasons for the collapse of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1963

- There was unequal development [development disparity] in the three territories with Southern Rhodesia being the Bambazonke. For example, the University of Zimbabwe, Kariba dam, the capital city [Salisbury] were all in Southern Rhodesia. More so, parliamentary seats were more in Southern Rhodesia. Thus the constitution of the federation was biased towards Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia had many industries than in the other two territories. In addition, the headquarters of the railways were in Southern Rhodesia. Hence Southern Rhodesia was monopolising everything. The two Northern territories [Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland] began to complain that

development was only taking place in Southern Rhodesia with resources derived from the North.

- Opposition from African nationalists led to the collapse of the federation. These African Nationalists included Kamuzu Banda and Hary Nkumbula. Hary Nkumbula of the ANC in Zambia once declared, “We know that our brothers in the south are slaves”. The segregatory laws led to the upsurge of African nationalism. To aggravate matters, the demand for dominion status by settlers worsened opposition in the three territories. Africans in the two northern territories agitated for political independence. From the outset nationalists in the two northern territories were opposed to the federation. They saw federation as a barrier against the aspiration for advancement towards self-determination. The federation was widely seen by blacks in the northern territories as a device to prolong rule by whites, who were relatively much more numerous in Southern Rhodesia.
- Mistiming on those who formed it led to its collapse. This was because the tide of nationalism was already sweeping across Africa. Hastings Kamuzu Banda [of Malawi], Kenneth Kaunda [of
- Zambia] and other nationalists blasted the federation before it even started.
- Failure of the policy of partnership [horse and rider] led to the collapse of the federation. Africans were greatly concerned by Huggins’ explanations and likening of it to that of the horse [Africans] and rider [whites].
- Britain’s change of policy and granting colonies independence to her colonies led to the collapse of the federation. Faced with growing opposition, the British government changed its policy and granted colonies independence. Britain no longer had the will and interest to rule in Central Africa. As a result she granted independence to the two northern territories. It accepted that the two northern territories could secede. Malawi was given the right to secede following Macmillan’s speech on the wind of change in Cape Town. Zambia also followed Malawi in pulling out and in 1963 the federation came to an end. This was because it became difficult to continue the federation with one state still under colonial rule.
- The federation collapsed because not all settlers wanted the federation, for example, Colonel Steward was opposed to it.
- Trade unionists and workers’ organisations in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland opposed the federation. Trade unionists staged strikes, demonstrations and petitions to show their dislike for the federation.