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**Book Reviews**


Readers of *Zambezia* will welcome the appearance of a not dissimilar journal for Malawi. It contains articles on Malawi history (notably Professor Pachai on the early relationship between state and churches and Dr. Chanock on colonial agriculture in the 1920s), and on various aspects of the law and its administration in Malawi today.

The journal is not, however, restricted to Malawi and there are interesting articles on Zambia (Lusaka Market Vendors and on the long history of copper mining) and industrialisation in Africa during the colonial period. In all, an auspicious first issue; we wish the journal well.

R.S.R.


Despite recent trends in African historiography which rightly have emphasized the history of the indigenous peoples of the continent, much interest remains in the earliest European missionary endeavours. In part, this may stem from the aura many of these hardy Christians now enjoy, even among the Africans whose forefathers they came to convert; but it is also due to growing historical investigations into the interactions between them and the indigenous peoples among whom they laboured. Certainly both of these contemporary concerns apply to the first Universities Mission to Central Africa which came to the Shiré highlands over a century ago. The tragic story of sacrifice and death is widely known today. And so too is the physical violence which the missionaries turned to in an effort to suppress the slave trade they so deeply abhorred. Thus the recent publication of this journal of the senior priest of the mission, is a welcome addition to the literature.

Procter was easily the least colourful of the Magomero missionaries, and this is confirmed in his journal. Seldom are there flashes of anger, joy, or any emotion. Nor has he much to add to the numerous and often vitriolic discussions concerning the other, more dynamic men associated with the U.M.C.A. efforts. Yet his observations on the land and people around him are of great value, despite a measure of ethnocentrism which however he shared with all his contemporaries, even David Livingstone. Among the members of the U.M.C.A. mission and Livingstone's Zambezi Expedition, Procter alone provides an adequate picture of African life, including glimpses of some of the key African figures involved with these enterprises. In particular, his discussion of the history of Chibisa, the upstart chief on the Shiré who was made famous by Livingstone's praise, is unique; what is more, it contains details which make a substantial contribution to the understanding of African history in the region.
Likewise, Procter provides some new and valuable insights into the operations of the U.M.C.A. mission as well. This is particularly true concerning the frequent military activities undertaken by the missionaries against the Yao, whom they saw as invading slave-raisers, disrupting the local Manganga and Lomwe populations. Throughout the journal his own quiet opposition to these actions clearly emerges, including his critical analysis of the factors which brought about the mission’s martial activities. Such criticism allows historians a better perspective on this aspect of the work of the U.M.C.A. in the Shire Highlands, and lends support to the numerous attacks made in Britain at the time against their use of forceful means.

Unfortunately, this and other important contributions which Procter’s journal might make are buried in nearly five hundred pages of text with little to guide the reader. The editors have provided only a brief introduction to Procter and the U.M.C.A. mission. Instead of attempting a more complete analysis, they inconveniently asked the reader to turn for further enlightenment to Owen Chadwick’s *Mackenzie’s Grave* (London, 1969). This is unfortunate because Chadwick does little to illuminate Procter’s role within the small missionary band, despite having had access to the manuscript of his journal. This might have been redeemed had the journal been carefully annotated, as the senior editor, Professor Bennett, ably has done for several other works (From Zanzibar to Ujiji; the Journal of Arthur W. Dodgshun; with George Brooks, New England Merchants in Africa; and Stanley’s Dispatches to the New York Herald). This volume, however, possesses not a single annotation. Such glaring deficiencies may be the result of hasty preparation, but they probably reflect the relative lack of familiarity with the history of the Shire Highlands and with Central Africa in general.

This not only makes the journal less readily understandable to the general reader; it also presents pitfalls for the scholar. For example, at no point do the editors tell us that portions of Procter’s original journals were lost, one section in his flight from a near ambush at Manasomba’s village on the Ruo River, another when fire destroyed the hut in which he was living at Chibisa’s. In each case, Procter managed to reconstruct the missing segments, though he confessed that they might be ‘only partially restored’. These passages are often quite detailed and contain much valuable material, including the bulk of the history of Chibisa. But to what extent are they Procter’s observations and not those of his colleagues whose diaries he appears, even at other times, to have consulted freely? If these are his own reconstructions, how accurately can they reflect what actually happened, having been recalled, in each case, not only after the passage of time but also falling closely on the heels of somewhat cataclysmic events? Not only do the editors fail to consider such points, they appear to be ignorant of them.

Fortunately, we can thank the editors and the African Studies Center at Boston University for at least bringing Proctor’s own words to a wider audience. In this way his journal of the first U.M.C.A. mission, as well as his valuable and relatively dispassionate observations on the Africa he knew, will be a useful aid to a wide range of scholars interested in Central Africa.
ernmental system, but the overturning of an established system founded pre-eminently on occupational economic roles, and the beginning of an attempt to create another in its place based on the role of European as against African". (p. 370). He is thus questioning an interpretation of Rhodesian history on racial lines by showing the 'intense inter-group competition' in European society.

Murray's intention is to delineate the governmental system in the context of the wider political and administrative system of the society, and to analyse the stability of this system. The first ten chapters are devoted to various aspects of the Rhodesian governmental system in the pre-Federal period. The formal structure of government, the Civil Service, Agriculture, Mining, Commerce and Industry, European Labour, Electoral Politics, and African Affairs are discussed in considerable detail, to show the system of power relationships through which basic decisions are taken for the society. Having analysed these relationships, and shown the growth of the intrinsic power and administrative captivity of the government through its alliance with representative organisations, Murray devotes his last, relatively short chapter to showing that this system had become unstable because the government had come to rely on the co-operation of major representative organisations which by 1953 had lost the support of a considerable proportion of the sectors they were presumed to represent; this weakness, it is argued, contributed to a large extent to the success of the Rhodesian Front party in the 1962 elections. There is no comparative analysis of the system during the Federal period, however, or for the post 1963 period, although we have Murray's assurance that there was no change during the Federal period which could upset his analysis. He gives only a brief description of the policy of the Rhodesian Front, to show that it relied on 'political organisation' as opposed to the old system of operating through economic organisations, that it in fact moved against the 'vested interests' and brought the advisory and administrative committees surrounding the government 'to heel'. The placing of politically sound men in charge of the Public Services Board, the participation of the Rhodesian Front in municipal politics, an attempt to take over the Rhodesia National Farmers Union, which failed but left the Union to break up into commodity associations, are illustrative of this overthrow of the previous governmental system. It is a pity that this analysis was not taken further than 1964, since it could be argued that the R.N.F.U. has regained its former strength and has considerable influence with the government, whilst the Rhodesian Front has withdrawn from municipal politics. It would thus appear to be a reversal of the situation in 1962-3 and an indication of a return, to some extent, to the original system. Although there is still a greater emphasis on politics, and political organisation, it is just possible that this 'overthrow' of the earlier system was a temporary measure in order to place the new government (replacing one that had been established for nearly thirty years) in a position to assert its authority initially before reverting to a system of co-operation with major economic groups.

As a refutation of the racial interpretation of Rhodesian history, Murray has not been completely successful. Certainly he has shown in meticulous detail, that there was hostility and confrontation at times between the different European sectors, but it does not follow that these were permanent cleavages or that the different sectors might not co-operate in the face of an increasing African challenge to their position in the country. In Interest Groups in South African Politics (Salisbury, University College of Rhodesia, Monographs in Political Science No. 1, 1968, p. 7) P. B. Harris has warned against the view that the study of pressure-groups necessarily produces 'a picture of Hobbesian conflict, group against group, all involved in a vicious competition for power'. Yet it is just such a picture that Murray has produced, giving the impression that the European sectors were too involved with their own interests to have any more general concern with the racial situation in the country. However, even in the limited aspects of Rhodesia's history that Murray has chosen to describe, he cannot help but indicate that there was an early awareness, and successful suppression of African competition.

In the 1920s hostile feelings towards Africans were expressed in the formation of vigilance societies, with Huggins himself chairing the first meeting of the Segregation Society in 1929 (p. 290). Since this is not an historical study as such, however, there is no mention of the constant opposition to the African franchise from as early as 1898. The fear of African ad-
Vancement is shown in the opposition to African education, particularly when academic but also to industrial training as indicated by the outcry in 1920 over the government Industrial Training Schools. Almost all legislation passed in the country expresses the attitude of settlers and the policy of governments in aiding white sectors of the economy and restricting the competitive activities of the African population, which however was not in a position before 1948 to assert and express its opposition to such policies.

The basic flaw in Murray's argument, then, is the assumption that racial competition is excluded by virtue of the fact that each of the European sectors is often preoccupied with other interests, conflicts or policies. In his introduction, Murray points out that organisations operate on several levels, not only the governmental: for example, workers are not only occupied in relations with managements over conditions of service, but also with Trade Union matters and party politics. He neglects, in this analysis, their wider role as part of the white Rhodesian society. Similarly, no miner, farmer or shopkeeper is merely that; he has broader interests in the fact that he is a member of a minority white group in a predominantly African country. Although such considerations might not have been to the fore at all times, they certainly underlie many of the policies and actions of the European community, becoming particularly crucial after the late 1950s.

In seeking to explain the dynamics and development of the governmental system of Southern Rhodesia, Murray has concentrated to a large extent on structure, organisation and policy, with only occasional reference to the more general situation that might explain certain developments. Although, for example, the depression of the 1930s is cited as a partial or 'indirect' explanation for trends towards greater governmental control during that period, there is a tendency in the individual chapters to ascribe such developments to more 'direct' influences such as political pressure, or the internal policy of government departments, with little reference to the local or international economic situation in agriculture or commerce.

There is also a tendency in Murray's argument to interpret certain policies and actions of the sectors in an unnecessarily cynical manner. The Farmers Union is described as having taken up causes, not on behalf of its fellow farmers or in its own interests as farmers, but 'as a means of maintaining their support for themselves'. Similarly, it is said, the Rhodesia Chamber of Mines (a 'front organisation for the British South Africa Company'), 'took concerted action to break the [Mine Workers] Union: they encouraged the Amalgamated Engineering Union as a rival union, they victimized the industrial union's members . . . By 1923, the Mine Workers Union was almost broken. With this achieved, the employers turned their attention to the Amalgamated Engineering Union and managed to repeat their success' (p. 124): this achieved, they promptly 'manoeuvred' their way into the successful Responsible Government party after the failure of the Union cause which they had supported in 1922, in order to break the Labour alliance with the Responsible Government party. H. U. Moffat is given as an example of this manoeuvre, despite the fact that he had been associated with the Responsible Government movement from 1912. This alliance with the settler government perhaps explains that government's 'gerrymandering' of constituencies in 1923, to prevent the election of any Labour candidates — an accusation which is difficult to accept since the High Commissioner had been responsible for the relevant proclamation, and there had been no settler government at the time the Demarcation Committee sat. Commercial employers are described as having exploited the sectional interests of their shop assistants to bring about the failure of the Commercial Employees Association. Even missionaries are described in these terms. The actions of Cripps and White in championing African interests are interpreted as follows: 'By acting in this way . . . they aimed to build up their political power on a new basis. Instead of founding their position on what was acceptable within European society they relied on an African power base. As yet the power of the Africans remained latent, but by organizing and articulating African political demands, their aim was to found their own position on African power', (p. 294).

There are also less emotive assertions to which objection can be taken, and which have been found to be incorrect, such as the statement that the Public Services Association 'acted as an ally of the Responsible Government Association' (p. 29). The reference quoted for this
is not only inaccurate, but since the Civil Service was not permitted to participate actively in politics, it was impossible for the Association to have been an ‘ally’ of the R.G.A., although their sympathies lay in that direction. It is also stated that the Rhodesian Agricultural Union was ‘created by the Company Government’ (p. 62), but the reference cited for this proves this not to have been the case; it was in fact formed on the initiative and invitation of the Mashonaland Farmers Association.

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Generally, however, this is an interesting study of the role of economic and other organisations within the governmental system, and the conclusion that it was the instability of this system that to a considerable extent caused the success of the Rhodesian Front is certainly thought-provoking. It is a pity that further space was not given to the periods immediately before and after the 1962 defeat of the ‘old establishment’ in support of this theory.

E. LEE

This is only the second major contribution by a geographer towards an understanding of Rhodesia as a distinctive part of the world. Much has happened to the country since Dervent Whittlesey’s comprehensive and semi-methodological article was published in 1956 (‘Southern Rhodesia: an African Compage’, Aannals of the Association of American Geographers, 46, 1-97). Professor Kay has been able to draw on more recent statistics and surveys, Rhodesia is better mapped and the University has been actively engaged in research on the country. Ironically, the author was not able to draw upon the results of geographical research that he is now encouraging since he became head of the new department of geography. In a sense this book was written too soon, but in another way it has high-lighted the areas where geographical research might most profitably be undertaken. The author has summarised and distilled the geographical information of the late 1960s in an extremely systematic and clear account.

The major theme of the book is the ways in which the country’s resources have been developed and used. In adopting a traditional, ecological approach to the whole of Rhodesia, the preoccupation with political issues and the racial struggle for power are seen as interferences with the normal processes of development. Coming so soon after the author’s A Social Geography of Zambia (1967), it is not surprising to see Rhodesia treated as another African, inter-tropical, landlocked state with, in this case, a distinctive resource pattern and population structure. As in so many regional accounts, little attention is paid to the broader regional context of the study area except for

the treatment of migrant labour and settlement by pioneers and more recent immigrants. Throughout the emphasis is on the country as a whole rather than its parts, so that there is no place for an all-purpose regional subdivision.

This is not to say that regional differentiation is not made but that it is achieved in different ways depending on the topic under discussion. Thus, apart from the regional classes, European and African rural areas which are each allocated a chapter, distinctive provinces do not emerge as an aspect of Rhodesian geography. Some (including the author perhaps) would argue that they do not exist or that other contrasts overshadow them. Even if they seem not to exist in the minds of Europeans, do they have reality in the Africans’ perception of Rhodesia? Different African peoples whose distribution is shown in Fig. 6 have developed cultural landscapes which are, if only subtly, distinct. No final answer to problems of this order will be found without more research of the kind now being done by the University’s geography department.

The first chapter sets the scene and introduces the main theme of man and resources and from the outset we are treated to the ingenious diagrams and clear black and white maps which characterize the book. A feature of the second chapter is the carefully documented discussion of changing views of Africans in Rhodesia, followed by an account of race relations and contemporary, political situation as it affects Rhodesia’s international relations. The principal topics in the third chapter are the settlement and development of the country by European settlers, land apportionment and labour
relations from an historical point of view. Unfortunately, the next chapter, which is devoted to population, was written before the full results of the 1969 census became available, so that there is no opportunity to develop the theme of population change except to a limited extent with reference to Europeans and for the period 1951 to 1961. An interesting section devoted to the relation between African population density and land quality, could well provide a starting point for a study of response to population pressure. Although this book provides by far the most detailed geography of Rhodesia yet written, its great asset for students of Central Africa lies in its exposure of problems awaiting research.

African areas and European farming areas receive roughly equal treatment in the next two chapters. The last two chapters discuss the bases for the modern economy and current economic problems. Professor Kay has been indefatigable in his search for relevant information and has scanned many official and public documents for statistics. He does not, however, hide behind the facts, but draws conclusions from them, suggesting solutions to Rhodesia's basic problems. These include making additional land available from the European area for quasi-subistence farming by Africans and a willingness to transmit the values of European civilization 'as rapidly and widely as possible'.

There are three appendices. The first gives the text of the Rudd and Lippert concessions. The second lists the European populations of towns in 1961 and for eleven of them for 1969 also. It is to be hoped that a new edition will enable these data to be revised in the light of census results since published. The third gives a break-down of locally manufactured products in 1965 and the gross output of manufacturing industry by categories. Two short indexes are also provided.

The double-column format of the text takes a little time to become accustomed to, partly because lines are so short. The wider format of the pages allows much better illustration both by line block maps and diagrams (which are excellent) and photographs. A non-Rhodesian will be able to obtain a much better impression of the country from the many large-scale maps and air photographs.

Notwithstanding this, Rhodesia fails to emerge as a living, real place with distinctive geographical personality. It is almost as if the author has deliberately chosen to make it differ from 'Rhodesia in the news' in order to make the study more objective. In this respect A Social Geography of Zambia, presents a more realistic image of that country, because it was the product of long and varied field experience. This reviewer eagerly awaits Professor Kay's second book on Rhodesia; and, at least, we should be able to hope for an extensive revision based on his wide-ranging fieldwork over the last six years.

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C. BOARD


The Native Affairs Department Annual has been produced over the last fifty years to provide Europeans with a broader knowledge of African life principally as an aid to harmonious administration but also as an exercise in improving understanding between the races. The first five numbers, now reprinted, contain articles, mainly by administrators and missionaries, on a variety of topics including the development of African areas, segregation, the treatment of servants, African education, the administration of justice among Africans, remote and recent history and numerous aspects of traditional African culture. This volume provides a fascinating scrap-book of glimpses, incomplete and sometimes confused, of the new African environment seen through the eyes and thoughts of early settlers. Nevertheless, one can hardly recommend the volume at the advertised price except as a handsome addition to a specialist library.

University of Rhodesia

M. F. C. BOURDILLON

Bearing a title similar to that of J. P. Holleman's pioneer survey of the 1961 Mangwende local government crisis, Sr. Mary Aquina's work examines the interaction between chiefs, councils, government and people in nine pseudonymous Karanga communities. Her extensive fieldwork, conducted between 1962 and 1968, coincided with the seminal post-Mangwende period when the development of local responsibility in Rhodesian African areas was accelerated by the linked means of councils and community development, a process expected to reach its peak by the mid-1970s.

This book is divided into three main sections, preceded by a brief and occasionally inaccurate historical introduction. Although the reserves had been gazetted for the sole occupation of Africans three years beforehand, it is untrue to say that the 1923 Constitution 'had already made provision for racially segregated areas' (p. 12); for, however little exercised, the right of Africans to purchase land in what was regarded as the 'white' area was not extinguished until the Land Apportionment Act was promulgated in 1931. Also, there is no direct documentary evidence in the Native Affairs files that are open to support the author's contention that, subsequent to the 1937 Native Councils Act, Native Commissioners 'imposed' councils on tribal communities (p. 18). The majority of Native Boards consulted in 1938 either refused to apply for higher status or elected to leave the matter over for further consideration; like many of his colleagues, the N.C. Marandellas took pains to assure his Board that it was not the Government's wish to force councils on the people.

The first section of Sr. Mary's book expands on the theme of chiefs' relations with government, and through the medium of several interesting case-studies, illustrates the variety of responses — some viable, others leading to the eventual disintegration of the chief's position — made by traditional leaders to government officials. The author ably handles her material and convincingly fits it into her theoretical model (p. 77). Above all, she demonstrates the complexity of this key relationship in local politics and indicates that the choice of behaviour pattern transcends the familiar options of overt opposition, as in the classic case of Munhuwepayi Mangwende, and complete co-operation with the government.

This is followed by a detailed study of a succession dispute in one community that lasted over two decades and at various stages involved government at all levels, neighbouring chiefs, some adjacent white farmers and the local M.P. The author is to be commended for her clear presentation and succinct analyses of the various steps in the dispute. Unlike many social anthropologists, she does not bury the reader under a welter of technicalities and she takes the trouble to identify each of the participants whenever mentioned in the text by genealogical title as well as by his fictitious name. One minor criticism: since the reader must constantly refer to the skeleton genealogy (on p. 111) while following the history of this dispute, it is unfortunate that the table was not printed on a 'pull-out' page at the end of the book to obviate frequent turning-back.

Sr. Mary's concluding topic, a study of the implementation of community development in her selected communities, draws together the book's principal themes and attempts a final synthesis. On one level, it is a severe indictment of the methods government and some chiefs have employed to introduce community development ideas; the author adduces considerable evidence derived from African informants of indirect pressure upon communities to accept this concept. Her treatment of this controversial subject raises a variety of questions, not the least of which is whether the government's use of chiefs, its recent decision to pay only 95 per cent of African primary teachers' salaries and offers of various financial inducements to Purchase Area farmers to form councils, while terminating funding from the African Development Fund 'S Vote' (p. 183), may be reconciled with community development as a purely voluntary concept designed to meet the community's 'felt needs'.

On another level, this concluding survey raises a further question, one that has been the subject of some controversy for the past two decades in Africa as a whole: the desirability of maintaining and even fostering the chief as an active participant in local politics. An earlier generation of commentators, dealing with West African local government, outlined the arguments for and against their inclusion.
It was maintained on the one hand that traditional leaders had a steadying effect and moreover assisted in making councils acceptable to those whose values were still rooted in the past. On the other, it was pointed out that they might lose prestige if out-voted by younger elected members. Sr. Mary's account, like Holleman's, shows that Rhodesia has aligned itself with the first school of thought. Her work amply illustrates the growing tendency of the 1960s to involve traditional leaders more closely with local development programmes, paralleling their increasing participation in national affairs.

At the local level, district administration has given rise to a plethora of representative institutions in tribal trust lands, of which the most significant are councils, community boards and the chief's traditional councils (dare). The author's attention is focussed on the first of these, and its relations with the third; apart from citing R. G. S. Simmonds's article on the work of community boards in Mangwende, she says very little about the second. Her book gives the impression that traditional elements have, with official backing, gained control of several councils. Passmore's Community Development Survey (1968) however indicates that Victoria Province is atypical of Rhodesia as a whole in that an unusually high proportion of community boards there are of the dare type, i.e., more than 50 per cent of their membership also belongs to the traditional council. While a direct comparison with Sr. Mary's book is not possible since they are writing about different institutions, it may be advanced that the composition of councils in Victoria is also atypical. The 'Shoko' case-study (pp. 191-200) describes what seems to be an extreme state of affairs, the overt subordination of council to the local dare.

The recent amendment to the African Councils Act (No. 57 of 1971, sect. 17(2)), giving the vice-president (the chief) authority 'to direct a council to defer its deliberations on any matter for consultation between the council himself and other such bodies or persons as he may indicate'¹⁰ would suggest that in many areas councils had freed themselves from the traditionalists, though at the expense of widening the gap between progressives and conservatives to the point where government felt obliged to intervene and amend the Act. Such an interpretation would certainly go far to validate Sr. Mary's central thesis that Government's support of chiefs merely 'hardens the radical opposition between those who look back to the past and those who look forward to the future' (p. 236).

REFERENCES

All the documentary sources cited are in the National Archives, Salisbury.

4. See generally NATIVE AFFAIRS, Native Boards, 1931-1939, S 1542/N2; in particular, see IBID., N.C. Marandellas to C.N.C., 2. viii. 1938.
5. HOLLEMAN, Chief, Council and Commissioner, chapters 3-6.
9. PASSMORE, G. C. 1968 The Community Development Survey, 1968. Salisbury, University College of Rhodesia, Department of Political Science (mimeo), paras. 126-46, especially 129, Table XI.
10. See also the Minister's comments on this amendment, RHODESIA 1971 Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly, 88, c.644, 7 September.

University of Rhodesia

M. C. STEELE