Book Reviews

GELFAND, M. 1971 *Diet and Tradition in an African Culture.* Edinburgh, Livingstone, ix, 248 pp. 55s.

Professor Gelfand is well known for his researches into Shona medical and religious beliefs and practices. In the present study he focuses his attention on Shona diet, but does not neglect the influence on the problems of food consumption of the agricultural system, land tenure, customary practices and beliefs, and even political organisation. Most of the material for the study was gathered in seven Shona tribal trust areas of Rhodesia: Murewa, Chikwaka, Chinamhora, Wedza, Chihota, Kandeya and Nyajena. He also interviewed some of his Shona patients at Harare Hospital in Salisbury.

The book falls into two parts: first a description of the Shona village structure, family life, feeding and the education of children, and the various rules and customs concerning the choice of food and its preparation. Ritual ceremonies and the many types of traditional food including meat, vegetables, grain, fruit, insects and beer are described, as well as the main clinical disorders of nutrition encountered among the Shona. There is also a useful glossary of Shona plant names, animals, birds and insects at the end of the book. Professor Gelfand finds much that is good in traditional Shona dietary habits. He is particularly impressed by the Shona's readiness to eat nearly all parts of an animal such as the heart, liver, intestines and lungs, and by the wide range of animals, fish and insects consumed. He argues that those in the medical profession who condemn the African's nutritional habits as unenlightened and due to ignorance and superstition, do so either because of a misunderstanding on their part or because of the unfortunate attitude which stems from the prevalent belief that Western culture is superior in every respect to that of the African. The African's 'basic difficulty is mostly in procuring enough of the good elements he would like to have; if he could obtain them regularly there would be no reason for primary malnutrition.'

The second part dealing with differences in dietary habits between urban and rural Shona is less successful mainly because of the research methods used. This section is based on a study of the origins of some Shona patients with nutritional diseases and kwashiorkor who were admitted to the wards of Harare Hospital during 1967 and 1968. The survey showed that most of the patients with nutritional diseases and kwashiorkor came from the rural areas. This led Professor Gelfand to look into the quality of food eaten by rural and urban Shona. Questions were asked concerning the type of protein consumed, the frequency with which beer was drunk and also how often both rural and urban Shona consumed fruit. On the basis of the survey Professor Gelfand concluded that the diet of the Shona in rural areas is on the whole much inferior to that of their fellows in town. He believes that this is probably due to such factors as economic status and the easier facilities for obtaining food throughout the year in town. This may be so, but this part of the study has three main defects.

First, the number of patients interviewed is small. Forty-one patients with nutritional diseases and 30 with kwashiorkor were included in the first stage of the survey. In the examination of the quality of food eaten by rural and urban Shona, 150 men and women were interviewed; 50 from the urban area, 50 from Shona tribal trust areas and 50 from European farming districts.

Secondly, the random sampling procedure was not used in selecting the informants. The people interviewed were patients attending Harare Hospital only, and do not perfectly represent either all diseased persons or all the urban and rural Shona. One may ask, for example, to what extent the small number of urban patients with nutritional diseases and kwashiorkor who went to Harare Hospital for treatment was due to the availability of other medical agencies in the town such as government and municipal clinics and private physicians.

Thirdly, the interview technique used in determining the quality of food and dietary habits of urban and rural patients has its limitations. Interviewees may suffer from faulty memory and inability to articulate, or may consciously avoid facts which they consider embarrassing. What is needed as a counterweight to the use of questionnaires is participant observation over a fairly long period of time.

In spite of these defects, however, Professor Gelfand must be congratulated on this richly documented study which will be of practical value not only to medical practitioners but also to administrators, missionaries, historians, sociologists and educationalists; indeed anyone who is interested in African society will find the work useful.

University of Rhodesia

G. L. CHAVUNDUKA

WATTS, H. L., *ed.* 1970 *Focus on Cities*. Durban, University for Social Research, 497 pp. no price indicated.

This work is the printed account of the proceedings of a conference organised by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Natal in Durban, and held there in July 1968. It is almost impossible to review such a work, so great is the range of subjects: the pattern of urbanization, the history of individual towns, urban sociology, health, community services, politics, architecture and planning. All that a reviewer can do is to indicate the overall nature of the contents.

Most of the papers concentrate on South Africa but there are interesting case studies of Falkirk, Scotland, and Dallas, U.S.A., and equally interesting general surveys by Professors J. Spengler of Duke University and K. Davies of the University of California; Rhodesia is only poorly represented with short descriptive surveys of the history of Salisbury and of the social services of its municipal townships for Africans.

The considerable amount of factual material on South African cities will no doubt be useful to a wide range of students in history, politics, sociology and geography; but the overall effect is rather disappointing. Much of the work is survey-orientated to an extent that would have horrified C. Wright Mills and is concerned with the marginalia of urban life rather than basic questions. It is like the nineteenth century survey work on urban poverty which concentrates on descriptive detail rather than analyses of the system that made people poor. Planning details of Soweto or job aspirations of Africans can hardly be meaningfully discussed except in a context that includes the turning circle of a Saracen armoured-car or European job reservation.

Similarly much of the work on urbanisation seems superficial in that it takes little account, to put it no more strongly, of the rural modes of behaviour which are, supposedly, being changed. Even this supposition, however, may be a perspective that is sociologically of relitavely little value. Surveys of urban Africans' drinking or sexual habits might be more insightful if they were concerned not with divergence from those of distant rural relatives, but with their close approximation to European urban ones. For it is what Professor Blacking calls the 'tribalization' of Europeans in Southern African that is sociologically interesting. Urbanization (if such a term is meaningful) of the poor is on a world-wide scale; decadence of the rich and powerful is less common. And these are the questions that urban sociologists in Southern Africa should be asking; otherwise, as social anthropology was once the philosophy of imperialism, so sociology will become one of the techniques of its successors.

R.S.R.

HOLLEMAN, J. F. 1969 *Chief, Council and Commissioner: Some Problems of Government in Rhodesia.* London, Oxford University Press for the Afrika-Studiecentrum, XIX, 391 pp. 46s.

The academic world of Rhodesia has for many years been eagerly awaiting this work of Professor Holleman, which is based on his experience as a member of the Mangwende Reserve Commission of Inquiry, and as draftsman of the Majority Report published in 1961. This Majority Report has been out of print for several years, and only the Minority Report of one member of the Commission is still available through the Government Printer. Holleman's book, therefore, has become a necessity for students of African political tribal life in Rhodesia, as little of academic value has so far been published on this topic, although some works are now in press or preparation.

As Holleman states in his Foreword, his original intention was to recast the Report in book form at the suggestion of Professor Mitchell, at the University College of Rhodesia. Since then delay in publication has had the advantage that it enabled Holleman to bring his material forward to a later date, though by now more events have occurred which again date the material presented.

Chief, Council and Commissioner deals with the deposition of a leading Rhodesian chief which caused much more publicity than that of any other of the numerous African tribal leaders who have been deposed by Rhodesian governments since 1890.

The work is divided into three parts. The first part, which gives the background to the case history, is not so much valuable for the summary of early Rhodesian history, which has appeared in many publications, but for its description of the origin of the Native Affairs Department and the role of Native Commissioners in the lives of Rhodesian Africans.

In these Introductory chapters Holleman lays the foundation for the concluding chapters, 'The Rediscovery of the Chiefs', which shows how a complete change of government policy towards African chiefs occurred in Rhodesia; during the early years of the European administration of Southern Rhodesia chiefs were deliberately replaced by Native Commissioners, whereas more recently chiefs have been incorporated into the civil service bureaucracy.

Holleman quotes and writes about the early years: 'The African "was accustomed to look to a chief" and he required a form of "personal government". Therefore, Milner argued, the Africans should be accustomed to look to the local Native Commissioner "as the supreme authority in all matters in which they are concerned" ' (p 16). These early Native Commissioners' powers were wide since they were the only civil servants responsible for the African population; and the African population, in the early years of this century, accounted for most of the residents of this new country because very few settlers had by then arrived. Moreover, Native Commissioners were the only official channels of communication between the indigenous population and the white settler community or, as Holleman puts it later on in the book, 'the outside world', for the African areas have remained until today 'to a large extent "closed" territory' (p. 169).

As a consequence of this key position of Native Commissioners, the Native Affairs Department soon became 'a government within a government' (p. 18). This is an important observation because the monolithic structure of this department, which later formed the backbone of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, provided the basis on which an eventual system of apartheid may be built. By analogy to South Africa, this body of civil servants may be seen as the future 'Bantu administrators' of Rhodesia; and the current government emphasis on covering all African areas with councils — 105 councils have been established out of a potential of about 225 — shows the form which the future administration of Rhodesia may take.

In the early days of European administration, just as today, Native Commissioners were prepared for their future work through an intensive service training, not through academic education (p. 26). Holleman's evaluation of the character type formed by this type of training is full of insight, and a recent study of District Commissioners shows that this early tradition has been preserved among these civil servants. Holleman's later analysis of a particular Native Commissioner, involved in the deposition of chief Mangwende, confirms the impression given in this earlier account.

The second chapter of the introductory part deals with legislation deeply affecting African life: the African Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and the African Councils Act of 1957. These Acts are seen against the development of African

agriculture and local administration so that the changes in government thinking are clearly revealed. Holleman's section on African agriculture is valuable for the data on income from agriculture of progressive and tradition-orientated peasants in the tribal areas (pp. 58-60). The low incomes indicate the extent to which Africans may be able to finance local services. The discussion of the Councils Act is directly related to the later issue of community development and the position of chiefs on local councils. Today chiefs are *ex officio* presidents of all African councils. This, however, is a situation which came about by overcoming opposition not only from the African people but also from those civil servants most concerned in the issue. In 1957, Holleman states, 33 per cent of all Native Commissioners were against a fusion of the traditional tribal authority with a modern form of democratic government and 24 per cent of all Native Commissioners outright objected to councils (p. 73). Holleman re-examines this issue at the end of the book.

In the second part of the book, Holleman goes into very great detail to document every aspect of the drama which culminated in the deposition of chief Mangwende in 1959. Again, he starts with filling in the background, this time of the tribal traditional system. He also illustrates the complexity of modern tribal administration through a variety of associations which participate in the running of rural African communities; the Kraal-heads' Association (p. 110) is one of these new bodies.

Holleman's description of the characters of the two antagonists, chief Mangwende and the Native Commissioner, and the evaluation of these men by the people and by each other, is of high quality. The author shows how their conflict was bound to accelerate and finally to end in the defeat of the tribal leader, in spite of the integrity of both men, because of the different frames of reference within which they operated. A patriarchal tribal ruler was bound by an ethical code different from that of a modern bureaucrat.

This second part, however, gives more than a historical account of a case history. Students of African nationalism will find factors explained which incline or disincline African chiefs towards a modern political movement. A careful reading of the Chief Native Commissioner's Reports throughout the 1950s and early 1960s shows how the Native Affairs Department strove to win the support of the chiefs by increasing their powers whenever African nationalism seemed to gain greater influence among rural Africans. Gradually many chiefs, who at first had supported the new movement, firmly rallied behind the government because of the security and advantages derived from such a position. By the 1960s it was taken for granted that African chiefs sided with the European administration. Holleman writes that 'Rhodesia's self-declared independence (11.11.65) was brought about not least because of the loyal support of the tribal authorities' (p. 357).

Holleman shows that chief Mangwende did not follow this general trend of shifting attitudes among Rhodesian chiefs. Mangwende started off as a firm supporter of government because he believed in the authority flowing from the Crown. This he showed by his enthusiastic participation in the war effort. He also co-operated whenever his assistance was asked for by civil servants, and any new government policy was implemented smoothly in his chiefdom. It was only when chief Mangwende saw that the Native Commissioner effectively weakened his standing among his own people that this attitude towards European authority changed. Holleman writes: 'It is therefore not surprising that Mangwende, in the early fifties, strongly resisted the overtures of the African National Congress in his area. Nor is it surprising that, in later years, when his powers were increasingly being challenged by the Administration and he saw the whole structure of his authority being jeopardized by his irreconcilable struggle with the local commissioner, his resistance to Congress weakened until he found himself in alliance with it' (p. 163). Later, chief Mangwende was said to have become a firm nationalist and at the time of writing this review he is no longer allowed to live with his own people in the tribal area but resides on mission land.

Holleman analyses the chief's shift of allegiance as follows: 'as the conflict evolved it tended to shift from a local to a national plane . . . He had chosen to oppose Government in order to assert his tribal leadership. As a result he had lost his chieftainship and had been removed from his people and the local scene. Almost unavoidably he thereupon aligned himself with militant African nationalism, a force and leadership unlike his own, but likewise opposed to white government. He thereby exchanged, in a sense, his specific tribal identity for a closer association with and loyalty to a

broader and supra-tribal front of black opposition to white political supremacy. In contrast, his successor . . . chose to align himself with the white authority upon which he so utterly depended. But in so doing he, too, lost in a sense his tribal identity' (p. 235).

This analysis also points to the dilemma of every African chief; is he, as G. K. Garbett put it (*Race*, 1966-7, **8**, 113) a 'Government Officer or Tribal Leader?' The removal of any chief, whether by death or deposition, calls for competition among candidates for office. When Mangwende became chief in 1937 his greatest rival had been his half brother Enoch. Enoch fretted under his failure to gain the chieftainship and is said to have attempted the chief's assassination in 1940. When, therefore, government appointed Enoch as successor, this was, in Holleman's words, 'playing power-politics with a vengeance' (p. 224). Yet the new chief's earlier career deprived him of popular support and made him utterly dependent on the administration. Holleman writes that whenever he asked him for an opinion, Enoch replied that he first wanted to consult the District Commissioner, thus indicating his lack of self-confidence and authority. The new chief of Mangwende, therefore, drew his support not from his people but from the administration, and the administration supported him loyally. In 1962 he became a founder member of the Chiefs' Council, and when he died in 1967 he received a great obituary in the Rhodesian press where he was referred to as 'one of the most respected of African tribal leaders' (*The Rhodesia Herald*, 21. vii. 1967). The different fate of his deposed predecessor shows that the power basis of Rhodesian chiefs has changed: chiefs no longer need the support of their people, they need government support.

Chief, Council and Commissioner is, as its title indicates, not only a book about the relationship between traditional and bureaucratic authority, but it is also a book about a council; more important still, it is the story of a council whose investigation contributed towards the evolution of separate development in Rhodesia. Holleman writes in retrospect about the Mangwende Reserve Commission of Inquiry: 'The commission could not foresee at the time that, with these remarks, it had provided the Administration with one of the most useful slogans with which, not long afterwards, the new approach to "community development" was launched' (pp. 212-13).

The third part of the book takes up this policy of community development. Holleman re-examines the structure of the Native Affairs Department in the early 1960s, and shows how deficiencies in the administration, caused by an over centralisation of functions in the hands of Native Commissioners, led to apathy among the African people and an unwillingness to contribute to the advancement of their tribal areas. At the same time that the Mangwende Commission reported its findings to the Legislative Assembly, the Robinson and Patterson Reports were also tabled. These two Commissions made the same recommendation as the Mangwende Commission, and at so unanimous a finding government decided to decentralise the administration of African areas. The Native Affairs Department was submerged into the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Native Commissioners became known as District Commissioners. Various services rendered to Africans, such as agricultural extension advice, came under their respective ministries. But then an irony of fate occurred: the new policy of community development required the coordination of all services, just decentralised, so that within a few years all were reunited under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and centralisation once more characterised the tribal areas of Rhodesia.

Not only the structure of the administration, but still more government policies, affected the existence and vitality of African councils. To understand these problems in their larger perspective it is necessary to go further back in the history of Rhodesia's councils than the time of community development. In 1937 African Native Boards were replaced by councils; and in 1944 these councils were given limited powers of taxation and of passing by-laws. They were entitled to supervise primary education; and today the provision of primary education is thought to be the chief concern of African councils. The changes can best be illustrated by analysing the role of councils in African education, especially since the school issue was the focal point which gave rise to the conflict between chief and Native Commissioner and which led to the deposition of the chief and the dissolution of the Mangwende council.

In the 1950s and until 1962 the Rhodesian government was concerned about high standards in African education. During these years almost all rural schools were run by Christian missionaries who charged low school fees for the upkeep

and extension of these schools while the government paid the teachers' salaries. In urban areas government controlled most schools, and at these no school fees were charged. Many Africans desired the abolition of school fees in rural districts; and in some areas which had a council, like the area of chief Mangwende, people pressed for permission to open their own schools. Such permission, however, was only reluctantly given; in most cases it was refused because both the government and missionaries feared that in African controlled schools standards would fall. Thus, although councils were by law recognised as public bodies which could run schools, educationalists tried to restrict this right.

In 1962 the new government decided to make community development the cornerstone of its administration, and so official policy towards African primary schools and councils changed. Fees were now charged in all schools. From 1962 until the mid-1960s, government encouraged Africans to form local councils and promised that if they did so they could take over responsibility for local schools. The Mangwende case, which had flared up over the school issue, influenced government officials in their belief that this offer would lead to a rapid adoption of community development. By this time, however, Africans were no longer interested in running their own schools. They knew that they would not only have to pay school fees but that, if the missionaries relinquished the schools, they would have to raise more money than they had done in the past. Moreover, they were highly critical of the new policy of community development.

In the late 1960s and in the early 1970s a further development occurred, a development which took place after Holleman had published his book. Missionaries were forbidden to make any extension to their primary schools, and to open any new schools. When this pressure did not lead to a speedy adoption of community development, government announced that from the end of 1970 onward it would only pay 95 per cent of the teachers' salaries, and that this government contribution towards African primary education would in stages be further reduced first to 90 per cent. If the missions were unable to make up the deficit of the teachers' salaries, they had to hand over the schools. The majority of missionaries declared that they were financially unable to pay an increasing share of their teachers' salaries, and prepared to hand over African primary education to those ready to take on responsibility for it. But few councils took over any significant number of schools; the parents still objected to council schools and so government declared itself ready to sponsor schools for a limited period until councils could be formed. In government sponsored schools parents have to collect money to pay the five per cent of the teachers' salaries and children whose parents refuse, or are unable, to pay, may not attend school except in cases of special concession. If no councils are formed within a period of five years, the schools will be closed. (African Education Amendment Act, No. 38, 1970). The fear expressed by missionaries and African parents and teachers that educational standards in African schools will fall under this policy, was declared unfounded by government officials.

This brief survey of the Africans' attitude towards running their own schools shows a complete reversal from the one current in the Mangwende chiefdom during the period studied by Holleman. This difference is entirely due to changed government policies. It would be interesting to know whether, if the deposed chief Mangwende were still the head of his people, he would now actively support community development. His people seem to do so for the Mangwende council, which was closed after the clash between the chief and the commissioner, was re-established in 1970 (Rhodesia Government Notice, No. 408 of 1970).

Holleman's book *Chief, Council and Commissioner* is a lucid exposition of a most complex and controversial situation in Rhodesian rural life, tribal history, and internal political relations between Europeans and Africans. It is written with great objectivity and deserves the careful study of every serious student of tribal politics in Rhodesia.

University of Rhodesia

SISTER MARY AQUINA O.P.

KINLOCH, G. C. 1970 *Flame or Lily: Rhodesian Values as Defined by the Press.* Durban, Alpha Graphic, 134 pp. no price stated.

This work sets forth for the reader the exciting prospect of a description and analysis of the attitudes and culture of Rhodesia's Europeans through the combined tools of sociology and history. New contributions to our substantive knowledge of Rhodesian attitudes and culture are certainly needed; new methodological endeavours and interdisciplinary approaches are always welcomed. Unfortunately the gap between the author's intentions and what he actually accomplishes is disappointing, even depressing.

The sociological technique used involves the application of what he calls a content analysis approach to the leaders appearing in Rhodesia's three main newspapers: *The Rhodesia Herald, The Bulawayo Chronicle* and *The Umtali Post.* It appears that his historical technique involves the use of a sample of these leaders starting from their respective inceptions, in the 1890s, up to the end of 1968.

One might expect that a sociologist who analyses a sample of 2 639 editorials and who claims that 'newspapers, as part of the mass media, play a crucial role in any society — they mould as well as reflect that society's culture' (p. 2) would try to present some empirical evidence for determining the amount of influence and the representativeness of newspapers. However, no data are supplied on newspaper circulation, patterns of readership (what kind of people read the newspapers), or the reading habits of the public (what parts of the newspaper are read by what types of people), all important factors which delimit the significance of newspaper leaders and thus indicate what limits of generalization could be made. Supplying such data is particularly crucial in light of data from communication studies in the U.S.A. on reading habits which indicate that editorials are perhaps one of the least read sections of the newspaper, rating far behind the sections on sport, humour, gardening and the home. Furthermore, crucial questions such as the independence of the press in Rhodesia and the ideological compatibility between the government and the press are neither raised nor discussed.

The fundamental problem of Dr. Kinloch's study is methodological. The nature of the published product is that of a grouping together of a number of clippings under typical headings. Headings are generalized as 'government', 'economy', or 'labour' in place of analytic concepts and classifications are useless, since they tell us nothing about Rhodesian culture or attitudes. The result is both trivial and dismaying, for the study is neither sociological nor historical; it is no more than a compilation of quotations with simplistic commentaries appended.

It seems, indeed, that a real content analysis was never attempted in the course of the research. For there are neither general nor operational definitions of such basic concepts as culture, attitudes, authoritarianism, puritanism and fair play, despite the necessity of such definitions for conducting content analysis research. Of course, if there are no indices for these concepts, there cannot be any statistical evidence presented for how operative the phenomena described by the concepts are. Take for example the statement: 'emphasis on fair-play is also evident in 1968' (p. 31). What does 'fair-play' mean and how is it related to terms and themes in the leaders? How much 'emphasis' is there on it and how 'evident' is it in 1968? And, how evident is it in 1968 as compared to say 1895, 1923 and 1963? The last question indicates why the study is neither sociological nor historical.

Given these methodological failures it is perhaps unrealistic to expect the author to link his research to any theoretical framework or to related empirical research. But when voluminous empirical and theoretical studies on culture, attitudes and communications exist, it is certainly not asking too much of a sociologist to make use of this extensive literature.

This work also suffers from Dr. Kinloch's apparent value bias towards political stability, which overlooks that conflct of attitudes inherent in the rise of African nationalism, the break-up of Federation, and the divisive legislation of the Rhodesian Front. What historical evidence is there, one wonders, to corroborate the author's belief in the operational effectiveness of 'the values of fair-play and constitutional flexibility in order to adjust to the rising values of the country's non-whites' (p.18). What indeed is the explanation in the author's use of the term 'minority' to describe the non-white 95 per cent of Rhodesia's population?

The overall effect, whether intentional or not, of this sort of approach is to offer the European Rhodesian a vague but bland sense of re-

assurance; but this is very different from the proclaimed purpose to 'provide sociological insight into a scene already over-charged with emotional stereotypes, as well as stimulating a closer relationship between sociology and history' (p. xvi). In fact, this work contributes little to either discipline.

University of Rhodesia

K. MAGUIRE

HARRIS, P. B. 1970 *Studies in African Politics*. London, Hutchinson, 181 pp. 13s.

Political change in Africa during the twentieth century has often been as rapid as it has been varied. Keeping abreast of developments is therefore a difficult task for any scholar or author. By his *Studies in African Politics* Professor Harris has demonstrated his scholarship and his skill as an author. The field he has tackled is an enormous one, ranging from pocket histories of the processes of decolonisation to a study of democracy in independent Africa, from detailed analyses of East and Central African attempts at closer union, politics in South Africa and Rhodesia to the luxury of 'pointers to the future'; and all this in little more than 150 pages. The product is a work of value to students and scholars for the knowledge it demonstrates and the insight it contains.

A brief introductory chapter considers 'The Process of Decolonisation in Africa'. Despite its brevity, this contains much interesting comment. For example, Professor Harris explains the withdrawal of the major European powers from Africa as not a retreat but 'a process of political disengagement' (p. 9). Thus he warns 'colonialism does not end merely because we have very obvious external signs removed. Decolonisation has simply meant that the ex-colony now takes its own sovereign decisions . . . In fact it may be wrong to see a simple dichotomy between pre-colonial and post-colonial phases in recent African politics' (p. 30). A reminder to search for continuity as much as change in African history must always be valuable.

Yet it is because of the complexity of the African situation, the unique features of every exercise in decolonisation, and the need for extreme caution in generalisation, that the reader may be unhappy about another of Professor Harris' comments: 'The French appear to have been generally the most successful decolonisers . . . the Belgians had least success and the British have had mixed fortunes' (p. 31). The basis for this judgement is not explained, whether that of bloodshed spared or goodwill preserved, of economic interest maintained or institutions continued, or a score of other factors that merit consideration. Perhaps Professor Harris' rating may even run counter to his own 'theme' that 'Africa's problems can best be understood . . . in African terms without reference to norms and concepts derived from other sources' (p. 7).

Similarly a more detailed analytical study of the internal Congo crisis would be more useful than the comment of one observer that 'when externally imposed authority, the only element of order and cohesion in the vast expanse of a territory as large as Western Europe, was abruptly withdrawn, the endemic centrifugal forces of tribalism, regionalism, and conflicting political ambitions asserted themselves. Chaos and violence followed' (p. 26). So too Professor Harris leaves the reader to assess for himself the comment: 'One of the most remarkable conferences of recent times was the so-called Round Table Conference of January and February 1960' (p. 27). With the difficulties of the Paris Peace Talks only recent history this reader is fascinated by the possible shape of the table, but on the other hand does not find remarkable the removal from prison of a future prime minister to attend a constitutional conference.

By his analysis of democracy in Africa, Professor Harris has again a valuable contribution to make, especially with regard to the study of politics. For example, he comments: 'African politics is oligarchical, i.e., political power tends to be concentrated in the hands of a few persons' (p. 37). And, according to Professor Harris, 'the notion opposite to democracy is not dictatorship but oligarchy' (p. 37). Moreover African politics is party politics for 'the party is the supreme, political organisation in modern Africa and the legislative body appears in many cases to be no more than an unnecessary intermediary' (p. 37).

Yet when Professor Harris introduces 'tribe' to his analysis the picture becomes at once confused. For example, the suggestion that 'the

simplest way to consider the single-party state would be to regard party, tribe and state as three circles which overlap exactly' (p. 50) certainly would require the reader to overlook at least the Malawi experience where Chewa, Tumbuka, Yao, Ngoni, Mang'anja and Tonga are contained within a single party and one state. So too, while the concept of 'in' tribes and 'out' tribes may be a valuable one, it is excessive generalisation to suggest that everywhere 'those tribes which may be regarded as "out" are "cut off from power and perquisites down to the village level" ' (p. 44).

When he discusses the pre-colonial African situation Professor Harris shows a curious weakness. For example, he equates the Central African *nganga* with a witchdoctor (p. 53) which can only serve to confuse the reader on account of the multiplicity of interpretations that the words 'witchcraft' and 'witchdoctor' bear. So too it may be misleading to assess from the standpoint of 'post-independence Africa' the statement of Ndabaningi Sithole that 'it is bad history and bad civics to say that Africa never had democracy until the coming of the white man to Africa' and that Africans are not fighting for 'the things of the white man' but for 'the things which the white man stole away from them' (p. 56). Certainly it is widely accepted that many African societies had forms of traditional government that included representation in council and at court, wide consultation of opinion and decision based upon popular consensus. This would apply especially to the regions of southern Africa of which Sithole has experience. Moreover Professor Harris' quotation of Sithole's opinions do not derive from K. A. Busia, *Africa in Search of Democracy* (1967), p. 140, as his footnote suggests it does.

Once he engages himself in his studies of South African and Rhodesian politics Professor Harris demonstrates his close knowledge and his perspicacity. Recent South African foreign policy is accounted for in that 'South Africa stood in the same relationship to the rest of Africa as did the United States to Latin America' (p. 66). Professor Harris shows valuable insight into the *verkrampte-verligte* split within the National Party in South Africa, and his studies of the United and Progressive parties are extremely useful.

On Rhodesian politics Professor Harris shows a similar insight but much has been omitted that might qualify the impression obtained by the reader. For example, although it is true that the Bledisloe Commission of 1938 'advocated an amalgamation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland' (p. 92) as feasible and possibly beneficial, it also doubted 'the practical wisdom' of uniting the three territories as long as the African populations could 'prejudice the prospect of cooperation in ordered development' by their suspicions towards amalgamation. In 1948 Sir Godfrey Huggins was no longer pressing for 'amalgamation' (p. 92) but already for its successor scheme of federation, suggested by the British Colonial Office in 1945. It may also be misleading to refer to 'any objections which the British Government might have had' after the September 1951 Victoria Falls Conference (p. 92) when both the Colonial Secretary James Griffiths and the Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Patrick Gordon-Walker, had declared that they were 'in no doubt that African opinion was overwhelmingly hostile to the federal scheme.' and the main object of the Conference had been to sound African opinion. So too the British 'checks' on Southern Rhodesia's internal government after 1923 did not include a check on 'African advancement' (p. 94) but rather one on legislation considered discriminatory against African interests.

Rhodesia, Professor Harris considers, provides a case of 'White African Nationalism', just another 'variant of black nationalism (white African nationalism) and consequently Mr. Ian Smith may be represented as an African nationalist' (p. 127). However attractive this approach may be, it ignores decades of Rhodesian history and political development. Since 1923 Rhodesia has had not only responsible government, it has also had minority rule. On the basis of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 these minority rulers built a whole apparatus of discrimination, in industrial conciliation, grain marketing, personal registration. To overlook this is to miss the essence of the Rhodesian situation and the irreconcilability of the division of power. To ignore the question of race is to commit the same error as the British Government in 1923, which considered the transfer of responsibility to the colonies as a means of forestalling rebellion on the American model and which saw no complications arising from minority rule, by an oligarchy that had control of skills and wealth and the group-interest that race and privilege may produce.

Questions arise from the 'Studies' of Professor Harris, which are themselves tribute to his author-

ship. This is a work that should be read closely by students of history and political science and by all interested in modern African affairs. The Hutchinson University Library must be congratulated on its superb presentation. The only irritant this reader found was the custom of collecting all footnotes at the end of each chapter.

University of Rhodesia

A. J. DACHS

WIDSTRAND, C. G. *ed.* 1970 *Co-operatives and Rural Development in East Africa.* New York, Africana Publishing Corporation for the Scandinavian Institute of African Affairs, 271 pp. no price stated.

The publication comprises papers read at a seminar on 'Co-operatives and Rural Development' together with an introduction by the editor and some observations on the seminar, by Nyanjom. The seminar, organised by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, was held at the University of Uppsala in 1970 and the papers were contributed by officials and research workers either currently or previously engaged in research on co-operative problems in East Africa. This was important in ensuring intimate knowledge of the subject and in dictating the particularistic approach of the study which yields insights of wider validity than more ambitious attempts to achieve universality.

The paper by Migot-Adholla effectively disposes of the popular myth that the communal structure in traditional society (or that modified by colonialism) is conducive to the development of modern co-operative organisation. The 'ideology of traditionalism' is also shown to have little value other than as a rallying point for co-operative interest with subsequent success or failure of co-operative ventures being dependent on specific economic and environmental factors. The same viewpoint is advanced by Cliffe in his evaluation of the prospects for village producer co-operatives in relation to the 'traditional *ujamaa* system'. It is contended that even in areas where a significant degree of economic and social differentiation has not been created by exposure to capitalist influence the success of the *Ujamaa Vijijini* policy will be closely related to economic advantage governed in turn by the appropriateness of the new form of production organisation in any given situation. The argument concerning the value of traditional organisation is taken a further stage by Hydén who delineates the positive barriers created by the socio-political environment in East Africa to the introduction of a European-type organisation.

Both here and in other papers attention is drawn to the unfortunate consequences of the imposition of co-operative marketing organisation in all three territories, though in Kenya it would appear that the ideological committment is being abandoned. This raises the question of the extent to which governments can overcome environmental obstacles through the popular remedy of a combination of legislative control and co-operative education, the former being necessary as an imposition from above to combat inefficiency and corruption while the latter should in time provide the essential element of membership participation; or is the collective will and philosophy of co-operation dependent on the evolution of the 'right' economic and social conditions? The drastic control measures introduced in Tanzania and, to a lesser extent, Kenya, are shown to have resulted in a marked increase in overhead costs and, more significantly for the future, in a drastic loss of co-operative spirit and leadership. The two papers by Okereke and Kasfir on Uganda also indicate that the solution adopted by that country of granting monopoly processing powers to co-operatives is proving costly to the supposed beneficiaries, the ordinary peasants.

The closely related problems of economic efficiency and democratic control are further discussed in papers by McAuslan, Westergaard, Apthorpe and Widstrand. The deficiencies in the legal framework pinpointed by McAuslan could be remedied by government but other weaknesses of co-operative organisation call for more far-reaching changes in governmental attitudes and policies. It is appropriate that the two concluding papers should be devoted to problems of evaluation for as Apthorpe points out, 'Any internationally and historically complex social organisation with spiritual as well as practical ramifications that have become ends in themselves tends, frankly, to defy "evaluation" as in "project evaluation" . . .'.

In Rhodesia the African co-operative movement is of much later origin and has not developed to anything like the same extent as in East Africa. It would appear that a policy of imposition applied in the past and the movement suffered also from a badly-administered credit policy, but the danger now is that the official attitude may become too negative. The experience of co-operative development in East Africa applies more readily to the current ideological committment of government to the establishment of African local councils in the rural areas. There is little doubt that in this sphere also a policy of imposition will be self-defeating; the creation of weak, incompetent and corrupt local councils will entail greater supervision and control by central government and thus create a barrier to the emergence of real community development.

University of Rhodesia

H. DUNLOP

RANGER, T. O. 1970 *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia*, 1898-1930. London, Heinemann, 252 pp. 40s.

Professor Ranger's long-awaited survey of African politics in Southern Rhodesia, spanning what he has rightly termed 'these vital middle years' (p. vii), comprises the first volume of what promises to be an indispensible series. This work succeeds in presenting a coherent picture, depicting the essential continuity of the African response to white rule from the 1896-7 risings up to the peak of political activity preceding the 1931 depression, an outline that in the general is hard to fault. Ranger's achievement is estimable in view of the difficulties with which he has had to contend; for example, a dearth of available oral and written documentation, and an enforced separation from his Rhodesian sources over the past seven years.

The book suffers from a number of minor faults, some of which arise perhaps from the latter circumstance. Several of the extended quotations have minor inaccuracies, and one or two are unintentionally misleading. Sometimes, the author edits his documents without ellipsis, and in one case has re-organised the order of sentences (in the transcript of Gula Kumalo's interview with the Superintendent of Natives, Bulawayo, p. 189). Ranger has 'tidied up' much of the punctuation, grammar and spelling in letters and other communications emanating from Africans, to clarify the sense of their statements. But certain other practices are more deserving of criticism, in particular the author's habit of giving multiple references in footnotes, and the occasional inaccuracy arising from an incorrect date. For instance, the 'July 1927' meeting of the Southern Rhodesia Native Welfare Association (p. 179) could not have discussed the Land Apportionment and Native Council Bills as these were not gazetted for another two years; in fact, this proposed legislation was criticised at the meeting sponsored by the Rhodesia Bantu Voters' Association in July 1929, referred to further on in the text (p. 182).

Ranger's account suffers from a certain lack of perspective, induced by his subject-matter. It unwittingly gives the impression that, to misquote A. J. Hanna, Rhodesian whites comprised an undifferentiated mass of reaction.[1] The intricate network of African response and European counter-response so ably traced in his work on the Rebellions,[2] finds no counterpart here. The author endeavours to prove by implication (p. 163), that the Government as a whole was hostile to any African association (with the exception of the Rhodesian Native Association), and quotes the views of Sir Charles Coghlan on certain R.B.V.A. representations; but he has overlooked the more favourable attitude of the Chief Superintendent, C.I.D., who commented on this body: 'Its representatives appear earnestly desirous of advancing the interests of their race and aiding in the good government of Southern Rhodesia.'[3]

Official policy is thus presented as a purely negative function, a stonewall of indifference when it was not actually taking steps to repress African movements. But was the Government as inflexible and unresponsive as this? Apart from one brief reference (p. 182), the author has ignored one important reaction to African pressure; the Native Boards informally established in the Reserves as a channel for the voicing of grievances.[4] Also, one would like to know more about the relations between the proponents of participation politics and the Government, espe-

cially during the later twenties. The single officially-recognized association, the R.N.A., has received rather cursory treatment, and the groups of 'progressive' African farmers in the Chinamora, Chiota and Soswe Reserves fostered by the Native Department, are not mentioned at all.

Neither has Ranger noted the progressive trend of official policy under Coghlan's successor, H. U. Moffat, grandson of the missionary, one-time member of the Anti-slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, and one of the most neglected of Rhodesia's political leaders. Essentially reasonable and fair-minded, Moffat was ever ready to investigate grievances; Ranger cites (p. 154) the I.C.U. complaint that Native Commissioners made Africans take off their boots before entering Government offices, but he does not mention that Moffat stopped this 'out of date' practice.[5] Despite the 'hard line' maintained by the Native Department under H. Jackson and C. L. Carbutt, and Moffat's frequent reluctance to disregard the advice of his permanent officials, the Premier's statements sometimes had a definite 'progressive' tone. In his reply to Kadalie's somewhat provocative letter of December 1927, Moffat appears willing to have countenanced African trade-unionism along orthodox lines; despite other limitations evident in the context, this was a notable concession for the times.[6]

Ranger (p. 186), has served the Premier most unjustly in his summation of Moffat's opinion of what one gathers to be *all* African associations: '"I do not think they can do any real good. I do not think they really know what it is they want or how they are going to get it."' A glance at this minute,[7] however, will indicate that Ranger has misrepresented Moffat's judgement, which applied exclusively to the Matabele Home Society, a body that was already earning official disapprobation in 1930 because of its suspected links with the activities of Albert and Rhodes Lobengula.

Turning to the sources available on African movements, it has already been remarked that Ranger has had to contend with a shortage of documentary materials. The position in this respect is not likely to improve much in the future, as most district records do not appear to have been preserved, Native Commissioners' annual reports are not particularly informative, and the Chief Native Commissioner's files contain only material which his subordinates considered important enough to be referred to headquarters. Only a handful of Police files are extant, though newspaper sources, largely ignored by Ranger, may provide further data.

The author has written at undue length about some of the more colourful outlets for African self-expression, such as the Independent Churches and Watch Tower. It has been argued that the assumption that few Africans entered these churches for spiritual reasons 'is not easy to accept.'[8] Rather, their syncretist attributes, so well illustrated in the account of the Lomagundi Watch Tower communities quoted by Ranger (pp. 206-9) indicate a desire to find a satisfying synthesis of the old and the new, and an expectation that divine intervention would rectify African grievances without the need for human agency. John Chilembwe's rising is an obvious exception to this generalisation, so far as Central Africa as a whole is concerned: an event that cast a shadow over official policy towards chiliastic movements in that area for the next two decades, and may tempt one to place a greater degree of emphasis on their political aspects than is necessarily warranted.

In contrast, the activities of African associations and other secular bodies were much more directly political and in such a survey deserve the fullest consideration. It is to be regretted that Ranger has not devoted more space to the political, economic and social problems of the burgeoning urban centres, problems which gave rise to the nationalist movement of the 1950s. The breakdown of tribal authority, prostitution, the standard of accommodation and wages, police raiding of locations, pass and tax laws, and the lack of amenities all contributed to the growing ferment in the towns, of which the I.C.U. was but one symptom. The Shamva strike of 1927, an event of central importance in the inter-war history of African urbanisation, and analogous to the 1935 Copperbelt disturbances, is given only one page in Ranger's book, whereas the less historically important Church of the White Bird, restricted to the Zwimba Reserve, is allocated over five. The author attributes the Shamva strike to the agency of the Watch Tower movement, although the file on the subject[9] discloses little evidence of this; indeed, a nascent trade-unionism at the Shamva Mine stretching back to a store boycott in 1920, and stimulated by ideas several Nyasas had brought back from the Rand, seems to have been directly responsible for the incident. Only one of the 28 strike-leaders (not

22, as Ranger states, p. 147) was a self-declared Watch Tower adherent.[10]

In an entire chapter on the African evidence given to the Morris Carter Commission, Ranger disputes 'the established interpretation . . . that the important thing was African acceptance of the principle of segregation' (p. 115) — a view ironically cultivated later by the R.B.V.A. itself. While proving his point, he has detracted from the overall weight of the statements of the majority, who undoubtedly favoured the principle. Their existence is admitted, but the author does not investigate the reasons put forward. Thus in citing the evidence of Rusiki, Ranger omits the witness' opposition to the continuance of the *status quo*: '. . . it will only lead to friction, because sometimes the cattle which belong to the natives stray, and that will cause trouble with the white farmers.'[11] This constant harassment, resulting from European farmers impounding African cattle, was reiterated by witness after witness, and was mentioned in the Morris Carter report.[12] A further argument in favour of segregation was adduced by another witness Ranger cites, John Ngono, who pointed out that it would facilitate the creation of Native Councils.[13]

Notwithstanding these comparatively minor criticisms, this book presents the authentic voice of the articulate African at a time when, with the exception of the I.C.U., 'the mass of the population in Southern Rhodesia were politically inert, passive, and virtually powerless.'[14] An illiterate peasantry can leave no personal written records of their aspirations and discontent. We learn of these only indirectly in the grievances, many of them economic, put forward at district meetings of chiefs and headmen with their Native Commissioner, or even more indirectly in the protests of the politically-conscious 'intelligentsia'. The limitations of Ranger's work as a history of Rhodesian Africans are apparent in the title chosen; the next stage is thus clearly indicated — a detailed series of regional historical studies, founded upon the compilation of oral documentation.

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4. OFFICE OF THE C.N.C., Native Movements, 1923-1933 [hereafter cited as S 138/22], C.N.C. to Sec., Premier, 21.i.1931; and reply, 28.i.1931.
5. S 138/22, Sec., Premier, to C.N.C., 31.x.1929.
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9. BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA POLICE, Sundry Papers. Shamva Mine Strike, 1927 December [sic] 12 [hereafter cited as S 715/2].
10. S 715/2, sub-file giving particulars of 28 Africans deported from Southern Rhodesia.
11. LAND COMMISSION, 1925, Evidence: Oral, vol. 3 [hereafter cited as ZAH/1/1/3], p. 962.
12. SOUTHERN RHODESIA 1926 *Report of the Land Commission, 1925*, Salisbury, Government Printer, CSR 3, para. 51.
13. ZAH 1/1/3, p. 862.
14. GRAY, J. R. 1960 *The Two Nations. Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland*. London, Oxford University Press, p. 167.

University of Rhodesia M. C. STEELE

SOLODOVNIKOV, V. G. 1971 *Ten Years of the Africa Institute: Scientific Achievements and Tasks of Soviet African Studies.* Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Center for Afro-Asian Research, Studies on Developing Countries No. 55, 52, X pp.

This pamphlet gives useful information on the development of Africanology (sic) both in Russia and Hungary.

When Russia became interested in political developments in Africa in the 1950s, the study of things African was not co-ordinated and indeed not greatly developed, although there was some tradition of research into history, ethnography and linguistics. In 1959 the Academy of Sciences created the Africa Institute as a centre for African research; seven years later a Scientific Council for African Problems was established to collect, assess and publicize information on all research in the Social Sciences on African affairs. It is on the reports of this body that this survey of the first ten years of the Africa Institute is in fact largely based.

It is not easy in an anniversary survey of this sort to sift what is of academic value from the propaganda; and the points that follow have been selected simply as ones of possible interest to social scientists in Central and Southern Africa.

Particular attention is given to the problems of South Africa where apartheid and partnership are simply equated as racist theories (p. 18); and it is interesting to speculate on the well established provision in Russia of instruction in Zulu (p. 22).

There have been several publications in history and ethnography, notably for our purposes *Drevnie i srednevekovye istochniki po etnografii i istorii narodov Afriki yuzhnee Sakary* (Ancient and Medieval Sources for the Ethnography and History of Africa South of the Sahara, 2 volumes published so far, in 1960 and 1965). Inevitably even greater emphasis has been placed on political and economic development, and the most interesting of these works on political economy are Y. N. Cherkasov's *Ekonomicheskie problemy Yuzhnoi Rodesii* (Economic Problems of Southern Rhodesia, Moscow, 1966) and *Yuzhnoafrikanskii blok Kolonizatorov* (The South African Colonial Bloc, 1968).

The rest of the pamphlet is given over to reviews of recent work on Africa, the most interesting of which is the translation into English of the *History of Black Africa* by the Hungarian historian, Endre Sik (Budapest Akademia Publishing House, Vol I, 7th edition; Vol. II, 6th edition, 1970).

The real value of this section however is that it lists in full the publications of the Center for Afro-Asian Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, most of which are in English editions and are available from Blackwell's. The ones on African Literature Nos. 24 (1968) and 43 (1971), look to be the most useful by virtue of their wide bibliographical coverage; but most specialists will find something that takes their eye; for linguists, No. 5 (1969): a critique of Greenberg's classification of African languages; for educationalists and ethnographers Nos. 3 (1969) and 14 (1967): surveys of their problems in Africa; even the Rhodesian Ministry of Commerce and Industry may be interested in (Marxist) advice (No. 38, 1970) on methods of achieving import substitution.

R.S.R.

PEADEN, W. R. 1970 *Missionary Attitudes to Shona Culture 1890-1923.* Salisbury, Central Africa Historical Association, Local Series, No. 27, 41 pp. $1,20.

Nobody as yet, has given a clearer and more detailed picture of the clash between Christian culture and Shona traditional culture than the Revd. Peaden in his booklet. He uses material from various early documents to show that the attitudes of the early missionaries were, in the main, a hindrance to evangelization. These attitudes stemmed from the fact that the early missionaries were slaves of their own culture. As a result, they made little attempt to understand the Shona thought-world. Therefore, they remained alien, at heart, from the people they were to evangelize.

Their basic premise was that all Shona cultural elements were indissolubly bound up with superstition and error, and had, therefore, to be scrapped. Thus Christianity was presented to the Shona in a European cultural context instead of

in terms of existing Shona preconceptions and beliefs. But sudden and complete changes in a people's way of life are unknown, except perhaps, during a military revolution, and consequently the missionaries failed dismally: 'The natural result of attempting to suppress by force deep-rooted customs held dear by the people was to drive the practice underground' (p. 21). The Shona converts finding it impossible to abandon their traditional religion, for instance, practised it behind the scenes.

Peaden shows that there were in fact a number of practices that were irreconcilable with Christianity such as the *kuzvarira* system, polygyny, divination and possession. The missionaries, however, thought all Shona culture anti-Christian. They, therefore sought to bring about the necessary changes through education. Schools and hospitals provided the means for this. Against this background, one sees the logic of the Shona resistance and resilience to Christianity described in this book.

Peaden is not alone in this. Hastings, writing on 'The African Church: from Past to Present' observes in the same tone, 'Christian doctrine can hardly be got across to Africans who have not received any appreciable amount of Western education . . . if the missionary has not first understood something of their own thought world . . . The only way to avoid this is by a deep understanding of existing African preconceptions and beliefs and by the explanation of Christianity in terms related to them, while at the same time making clear the absolute newness of Christian faith and life.'[1]

I disagree with Peaden when he says, 'The Shona had no tradition of the Western practice of courtship as a preliminary to marriage'. The practice of courtship among the Shona is as old as the hills, and is well documented by J. F. Holleman in *Shona Customary Law*.

In conclusion one might pose two unanswered questions: What should have been done in the early days of early mission? What should be done now?

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1. HASTINGS, A. 1967 *Church & Mission in Modern Africa*. London, Burns & Oates, pp. 59-60.

Gwelo REVD. J. C. KUMBIRAI

MAXWELL-MASON, W. D. *and* BEETON, D. R. *eds.* 1970 *Poetry at the Grahamstown Conference: UNISA English Studies*, **8** (iii), 56 pp.

> 'No age or condition is without its heroes. the least incapable general in a nation is its Caesar, the least imbecile statesman its Solon, the least confused thinker its Socrates, the least commonplace poet its Shakespeare' (G. B. Shaw, 'Maxims for Revolutionaries: The Revolutionist's Handbook', *Man and Superman*).

The poems chosen by the English Academy of Southern Africa to be read at its conference in July 1969 have now been published but without any critical comment from the editors:

> Our purpose has been simply to provide a record of what was read. We have not seen it as our task to delete from, or in any way comment on, the work that has reached us. The people represented have all been acknowledged as writers of sincerity and standing by the fact of their invitation to Grahamstown (foreword).

As Professor Beeton has for some years been President of the Literary Committee of the English Academy of Southern Africa, the explanation has a certain circularity, but is accurate enough. Certainly the seven poets sincerely believed they were writing poetry and that they achieved it. Equally it would have been hard to find better poets than those included, a fact which bodes ill for 'The Progress of Poesy' in South Africa.

The main general impression is the striking, and almost complete, abandonment of rhyme and metre: Free Verse is everywhere but most of the poets seem to have forgotten T. S. Eliot's dictum that no verse is free for the man who wants to do a good job. Most of the poets represented seem little concerned with the cadences of their lines or their appeal either to the sense or the eye. Chopped up prose, as we so often have here, is neither verse nor good prose.

One also notices a constant striving after metaphorical expression. It is an endemic fault in much of the latest poetry arising possibly from a fear of paucity in the poets' thought or an attempt to give that thought a profundity both specious

and unnecessary. On contemplating whale-skeletons Mr. Adams (p. 25) gives a fine example of this language that uneasily combines the concrete and the abstract:

> their empty bodies' inexhaustible braille
> yielding to the mind's fingers
> the architecture of silence,
> the blue-print of timelessness and weight.

The mixture of metaphor (braille; architecture) is symptomatic and whilst 'blue-print of weight' works quite well a 'blue-print of timelessness' is hard to conceive. The justification for the elaborate use of metaphor is hard to find and a perusal of the entire poem, 'The Leviathans' fails to show any correlation between its use here and the other, unrelated, metaphors used elsewhere. At its worst this habit leads to a sort of hermetic impressionism that appears with little meaning from the writer's private inner world. Ann Welsh (p. 13) writes:

> Light smarts in armouries
> Of glassed-in-cities;
> Grit-laden red of smooth sunsets
> Backs up globe orange swelled
> From batteries of windows to ring in night
> With high explicit brilliance.

The confusion here of both thought and image is obvious: an attempted violence of language, but no clear image or idea.

Finally there is the application of a criterion which should perhaps be used only with the very best poetry. There is little attempt to realize the greater world of experience that exists outside the narrow one of the poem itself. Fragments of experience exist in isolation, threadbare in a rather pathetic meaninglessness. A particular example is a competent poem by Mr. Livingstone, 'Under Capricorn' (p. 8). The poet driving through a misty landscape encounters some goats and their herdsman. In the mist they assume a demoniacal aspect and this is well conveyed by the poet. The experience, however, is given no meaning, it remains merely a rather vivid hallucination, interesting in its oddity but possessing no general truth.

On the matter of individual poets a little remains to be said. Professor Butler is represented (pp. 1-3) by a single poem marked by the modern vice of writing poetry about writing poetry, but displaying an accomplished ear and a clarity rare in this pamphlet. Mr. Livingstone as already indicated, achieves one limited success (pp. 5-9), but his poems are vitiated by an uncertainty of how seriously he is to take himself especially where sex is concerned. Ann Welsh (pp. 11-16) and Mr. Adams (pp. 23-30) stand as common victims of the impressionism mentioned earlier, from which little emerges but a vague haze of words.

Mr. Macnamara on the other hand sins boldly and takes no refuge in obscurity, writing in a lucid chopped-up prose. He attempts the large statement and to relate single experiences to a greater whole but his work is sadly lacking in evocative power. His poem 'Glass Dragon' (p. 20) may be taken as typical of his published work both in this pamphlet and elsewhere. The poet encounters a glass-blower and requests him to fashion a dragon. Watching him the poet reflects on the evil qualities dragons have symbolized in various mythologies, then the glassblower intimates that the dragon need not be bought unless desired. The conclusion of the poem is illustrative of its intention and quality:

> On the other hand
> the *sacri draconies* in the temple of Bona Dea at
> Rome were kindly serpents;
> a dragon guarded the golden apples for the nymphean Hesperides;
> Norsemen carved protective dragon-heads on prows of ships;
> in China, the dragon was an emblem and figured prominently
> in art.
> Experts have said
> all these good-bad legends indicate a common root
> in far antiquity.
> I take the dragon.

The list of pleasant attributes of the dragon could have been lifted verbatim from a mythological dictionary and are expressed with no sensuous force. The gesture at the end whereby the poet accepts the Janus-nature of the dragon and thereby, presumably, 'makes an affirmation of Life' is facile and unrealized.

The poems of Mr. Clouts are readable but make no lasting impression. Ruth Miller, the last poet represented (pp. 43-50), is, in the writer's opinion, by far the best. It is poetry in a minor key at its best (when she attempts the major key her experiences appear inflated and over-dramatized as in 'Mantis'), with an honest craftsmanship and statements of genuine importance. Some of her lines are memorable; in her poem 'Spider', quoted by Professor Beeton in an obituary memoir of her printed poems at the end

of the pamphlet (pp. 51-3) she contemplates the activity of the spider, confident and unthinking, and contrasts it with her own self-conscious activity of writing:

> But when the poor cold corpse of words
> Is laid upon its candled bier,
> I, vindicate, will shed the tear
> That falls like wax, and creep unheard
> To weave in silence, grave and bowed,
> The pure necessity — a shroud.

In its humility this is moving but Ruth Miller was seldom able to maintain such excellence throughout an entire poem. It is tantalizing to ponder how well she might have written had she lived in an atmosphere more stimulating and critically astringent than South Africa can provide.

On the whole the work included is poor stuff; a sad thing to note when the very existence of the publication indicates a desire for poetry. The poets represented do not possess even the Alexandrian virtues of the productions emanating from the academic writers of Britain and the United States. Their work has grown in an atmosphere not conducive to good criticism, an atmosphere inimical to talent in that it allows complacency with what is already achieved and does not encourage perfection of the work. South African English Poetry has a long road to hoe before it can aspire to claim the attention of a serious public.

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