THEORIZING DISCOURSES OF ZIMBABWE, 1860-1900: A FOUCAULDIAN ANALYSIS OF COLONIAL NARRATIVES.

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to understand colonial narratives of Zimbabwe 1860-1900 as a locus of transgression and opposition. I investigate the range and complexity of discourses within the imperial project open to both European male and female writers, their shifts over time or within one or more texts. Narratives of the explorer, missionary, hunter and soldier are examined as a literary genre in which attempts were made to re-imagine the Western self through an encounter with Africans. I consider how positions from which the European in the colonies could speak and write were reformulated. This study will employ Foucauldian discourse theory in an analysis of the British 'civilizing mission' in Central Southern Africa.

The Introduction examines existing historical and theoretical approaches in this field and argues for a particular use of Foucualt's insights and vocabulary. Chapter One is concerned with the way European explorers constituted notions of 'civilized nations' in Europe and 'primitive tribes' in Africa. I then question how this process of division and exclusion was reinforced by the mythography of an El Dorado in the African interior. In Chapter Two I consider how Colonial Man was constituted in different ways by Victorian discourses of adventure, travel and conquest. I also attempt to account for the effects that followed the activation, within colonial culture, of structures of exclusion and division based on race or class. Chapter Three focuses on the economic dimension of a dissident LMS missionary and

the sustained resistance to Western philanthropy among the Ndebele. I also examine the later Mashonaland mission where the missionary-administrator became instrumental in the division and control of Africans. In the final chapter I consider discursive formations which sought to constrain African resistance during the 1896-7 Chimurenga and the institutionalization of a settler order in the post-Chimurenga era.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

THE PRIMARY MATERIAL

While nineteenth-century travel narratives about Colonial Zimbabwe provide primary material for both history and literature of the period of high colonialism and beyond, they have received relatively little critical attention. I argue that these texts constitute a colonial archive of Zimbabwe which includes: classifications of species, geographic surveys, missionary records, anthropological tabulations of primitive behaviours and customs, travelogues and campaign diaries. I wish to examine how travellers and settlers sought to impose what they perceived as Western order upon an African wilderness, and further to explore the implications of a 'civilizing mission' in Central Southern Africa.[1] Two moments may usefully divide the narratives of this period: first, an initial cartographic phase of observation, which includes the explorer, the hunter and the missionary. Secondly, after the Berlin Conference of 1884, a phase of penetration described the invasion, early domination and African resistance up to 1900. The division does not emerge from any clear historically or politically defined boundary, and tendencies of both moments are present in both phases of what was clearly a continuous process of imperial expansion.

This study argues that different modes of knowledge about Africa,

'progress', and civilisation were encoded in narratives of the mission, exploration, the chase and military science. I shall focus on particular narratives to trace the emergence of a science of observation and an art of surveillance in the nineteenth-century British vision of Zimbabwe. In order for metropolitan readers to imagine the Central African interior, they required a map of its rivers, mountains and its transport routes. Descriptions of the human origins, development, customs and beliefs of its people provided this readership with a vision of 'savage life'. These narrators' ambivalent accounts of their encounters with African 'strangers' provided curious Victorians with a mental picture of a future colonised and disciplinary African society. This study asks to what extent discourses of the 1860-1890s were a catalyst for the confinement of the African population which also served to convert them into a docile labour force. In *Discipline and Punishment* (1975), Michel Foucault concluded that, between 1750 and 1840 in Europe, the aim of a carceral society was the production of subjects who internalize power, thereby becoming regimented, isolated and self-policing:

> [t]he primary objective of carceral action [is] coercive individualization, by the termination of any relation that is not supervised by authority or arranged according to hierarchy .... The carceral system ... permitted the emergence of a new form of 'law': a mixture of legality and nature, prescription and constitution, the norm .... A society [where] the universal reign of the normative is based on [the explorer-judge, the

human scientist-judge, the missionary-judge and the speculator-judge];
and each individual, wherever he may find himself, subjects to it his
body, his gestures, his behaviour, his aptitudes, his achievements. The
carceral network in its compact or disseminated forms, with its systems
of insertion, distribution, surveillance, observation, has been the greatest
support in modern society, of the normalizing power. The carceral
texture of society assures both the real capture of the body and its
perpetual observation.... a new modality of power: a certain policy of
the body, a certain way of rendering the group of men docile and useful.
(1975: 304-5)

why is this a model? one, isolated quote from all F's texts

I enquire whether this model - formulated on a reading of European history -
extends to colonial histories of Zimbabwe.

Narratives of the explorer, missionary, hunter, prospector and soldier are
examined as literary genres. I focus on attempts that were made to re-imagine
the Western self through an encounter with African society. Consideration is
given to the reformulation of positions from which the European in the colonies
could speak and write, as well as to processes through which identities are
constructed. Consequently, this study seeks to understand colonial narratives
of Zimbabwe 1860-1900 as instances of transgression and opposition rather
than as homogenous units of the master-narrative of empire. It seeks to
investigate the range and complexity of discourses open to both European male
and female writers within the imperial project, and their shifts over time or

within one or more texts.

The Introduction sets out the primary material, existing histories of this field, theoretical histories of Southern Africa and studies sensitive to the literary-historical intersections in this period. I then describe my motivation for using theory; the relevance of Michel Foucault's, and, to a lesser extent Mikhail Baktin's writings to this study; and provide an outline of my method. I argue for a particular use of critical theory in order to achieve a more complex understanding of power in colonial Zimbabwe. This includes an examination of conditions of possibility in the emergence of a system of differences within the explorer narrative, which was utilized to justify colonial penetration.

Chapter One is concerned with the way Europeans constituted notions of a 'civilized' Europe and a 'primitive', but mineral-rich, Africa and how this transformation enabled new technologies of colonisation. I examine Carl Mauch's narrative of a nascent German empire in E. E. Burke ed. *The Journals of Carl Mauch* (1969), and Thomas Baines's expansionist vision of British hegemony in J. P. R. Wallis ed. *The Northern Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines* (1946).[2] This section is related to the broader 1870s Imperial meta-cartographic project for the advancement of Western knowledge in new disciplines such as map-making, ethnographic studies of African society, natural history and amateur geological surveys of the trans-Limpopo region.

Chapter Two examines how nineteenth-century discourses delimited the scope of what could possibly appear as 'real' and how they provided access to 'reality'. I consider how Colonial Man was constituted by Victorian regimes of sport/adventure, travel, and conquest. I also attempt to account for effects that followed the activation or deactivation, within Western culture, of structures of exclusion and division based on race or class. In particular I refer to texts in which the male subject was formulated in divergent and conflicting ways: F. C. Selous's *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (1881), Robert Baden-Powell's *The Matabele Campaign* (1897), Marie Lippert's *The Matabele Travel Letters of Marie Lippert* (1891), and Olive Schreiner's *Trooper Peter Halkett of Mashonaland* (1897).[3]

Chapter Three examines the competing discourses of philanthropy as they emerged from the Matabele mission of the London Missionary Society, and those of the early Mashonaland mission.[4] The former focuses on the dissident Welsh missionary, T. M. Thomas, whose *Eleven Years in Central and Southern Africa* (1873) was one of the first missionary records to appear from Matabeleland. The economic dimension of Thomas's mission and the sustained resistance to Western philanthropy among the Ndebele is my initial concern. Secondly, I provide a reading of Bishop Knight-Bruce's *Memories of Mashonaland* (1894), which foregrounds the division of the recently occupied Mashonaland into districts where the subject populations were affiliated to

particular mission outstations. Here the role of the missionary-administrator will be examined, particularly the methods by which techniques for the control and administration of dispossessed Africans were introduced.

Chapter Four attempts to analyse the transition from discursive colonial formations which sought to control African bodies and behaviours during the 1896-7 Chimurenga (Popular Ndebele and Shona Risings) to those institutional and discursive measures subsequently designed by imperial officials and missionaries to condition African minds in the post-Chimurenga period of British rule. I also wish to argue that colonial narratives of the 1896-7 Chimurenga in Zimbabwe, such as Bertram Mitford's colonial romance *John Ames, Native Commissioner: A Romance of the Matabele Rising* (1900), the campaign journals of Elsa Godwin-Green *Raiders and Rebels* (1898), D. Tyrie-Laing's *The Matabele Rebellion: 1896. With the Belingwe Field Force* (1896) and F. W. Sykes's *With Plumer in Matabeleland: an account of the operations of the Matabeleland Relief Force during the rebellion of 1896* (1897) contributed in certain ways to the formation of popular and official imperial knowledges about Southern and Central Africa in the late nineteenth century.[5] It was through this knowledge, which they differentiated and made coherent by discursive rules and institutional conventions, that the lives of Europeans and Africans were partly shaped. In the process they contributed to the broader process of the development of European Capitalism and expansionism.

A SURVEY OF EXISTING ATTEMPTS TO DISCUSS THIS MATERIAL

Generally, British imperial and colonial historians of the 1920s through to the 1950s such as R. J. Evans and Robert Ensor saw the period 1870 to 1914 as the climax of Western, or more specifically of British civilization.[6] Consequently, these imperial chronicles accorded British Generals, Chartered Company Directors, Missionaries and Governors heroic stature. They regarded colonization as a primarily humanitarian impulse which sought to 'bring light to a dark continent'. Livingstone, Speke and other explorers were great Victorians:

> ... who withdrew the veil from most of the Dark Continent's immemorial secrets, had disclosed not only mighty rivers, vast forests, and immense unorganized territories capable of supporting far more people than they contained, but the appalling horrors of the slave trade, human sacrifices, and cannibalism. (Ensor, 1936: 187)

As bearers of Western civilization both missionaries and capitalists were often regarded as heroes at the metropolis. Since 1940, various anthologies of exploration, such as Margery Perham, and J. Simmons *African Discovery: an Anthology of Exploration* (1942), traced the practice of colonisation back to the ancient Greeks. These largely commemorative travel records were recommended to readerships as exhilarating reading, as annals of European

adventure and endurance in Africa.[7] Earlier, colonial memoirs, biographical and autobiographical works of the initial decades of colonial occupation in the interior relied extensively on nostalgic reminiscences of travellers and settlers.[8]

While historians such as A. J. Wills (1964), R. Hallet (1964), A. J. Hanna (1960) and R. I. Rotberg (1970) continued to find signs of 'advancement', and 'progress' in the colonial machine, postwar historiographies began to show divisions.[9]

MATERIALIST AND REVISIONIST HISTORIANS

Historians of what can broadly be considered the socialist left such as Basil Davidson (1989), began a revisionist campaign to assess the damage wrought by capitalism on African society. This school engaged in an anti-imperial project that attempted to counter the colonialist and neo-colonialist bias that characterised earlier historiographies.[10] From this stage onwards, studies began to focus on more culture-specific historiographies, on localised African social orders in specific regions and search for spoken, written and archeological evidence to support their findings. They begin from the premise that colonization was primarily a phenomenon of late capitalism. Usually, they focus on its destructive impact on an African peasantry, who were dispossessed of traditional lands, reduced to the status of labourers and excluded from

government. For these historians, the ways in which Africans resisted colonialism and suffered exploitation as workers since 1900 were essential to an understanding of Zimbabwean history.

From the mid-1970s materialist and new revisionist studies such as Charles Van Onselen *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933* (1976) and Robin Palmer *Land and Racial Domination* (1977) employ a wider definition of politics than colonial historians when they regard Africans as central to colonial economic and political developments. J. M. Mackenzie (1970, 1974) describes how Africans became labourers and were prevented from competing with settler farmers in nineteenth-century Zimbabwe. Similarly, Colin Bundy (1979) and Stanley Trapido (1980) describe how Africans in Southern Africa were driven into the vortex of industrialisation during high colonialism. They examine the rise of the African peasantry in the twentieth century. Class formation between Africans and Europeans and the political effects of economic exploitation are of fundamental concern to their studies. In his analysis of settler mining and African labour in the 1920s and 1930s Van Onselen attributes the failure of mining companies between 1890 and 1900 to the lack of a stabilised labour force, shortages of skilled labour and machinery, inadequate fuel supplies and the absence of a cheap rail linkage with the South rather than to the inconsistency of ore deposits or the fluctuation in bullion market values   (1976: 14).

Challenges to Ranger (1968) were based on more regionalised and specific studies such as Julian Cobbing's (1976) research into the formerly untapped oral record of a collective Ndebele memory.[11] Cobbing dismisses the conception of a powerful and essentially warrior culture that was dependent upon Shona agriculture, technology and religious ideas. Instead, Cobbing argues that the Ndebele were productive agriculturists and traders, who had complex religious ideas and an essentially 'civilian' political structure. His research on Ndebele raiding and influence on tributaries challenges earlier colonial and revisionist historians. Ranger's view of the role played by both the Shona spirit mediums and the Mwari cult among the Ndebele in the 1896-7 risings is also contested by Richard Werbner (1976) who argues that the cult had its own internal politics and economics of tribute and redistribution, which overlapped with secular politics. Werbner finds that, according to nineteenth-century African spiritual perception, this interlocking grid of relations is also linked to the level of agricultural production.[12] David Beach (1986) researched African oral resources and took issue with Ranger's views on successive great Shona 'Empires'. Instead he argues that the crucial units of Shona political history were always the smaller localized communities under their chiefs. During phases of settlement these smaller polities multiplied and increased chiefly power.[13] In *War and Politics in Zimbabwe* (1986) he argues that the risings should be regarded as the working out of potentialities of combination and division established by the political, military and economic experiences of

the chiefdoms in the immediately preceding decades. Beach identifies many

misconceptions in existence until the early 1970s such as: the nature and

extent of the Ndebele state; how the Ndebele themselves participated in the

myth-making process; relations between the Shona and Ndebele; how

missionaries, traders and travellers spread myths about both societies for

various reasons. To address this imbalance, Beach uses spoken and archival

evidence to examine the Ndebele conquest of the Changamire state and its

subsequent extension of control over the Rozvi territory in the mid-nineteenth-

century. He explores Ndebele-Shona relations, the politics of collaboration

among the Southern Shona 1896-7, and the movements of Kaguvi during the

Chimurenga in Mashayamombe, the Mapfuri valley, and the Central Shona

rising of 1896-7. Led by Cobbing and Beach, this historiographical trend

persisted to investigate levels of participation to determine whether chiefs and

their people resisted or 'collaborated' with the whites. By contrast, Ian

Phimister (1988), focuses on the machinations of European settler financiers,

and African resistance to an exploitative economic system.

SOCIAL HISTORY

Recent socio-historical studies within American and British academies examine

the dynamics of social change in colonial Zimbabwe such as John Iliffe (1990).

Others, which explore ways in which Africans challenged exploitative

mechanisms placed upon them, include: Richard Grove (1989) Michael O. West (1990), Elizabeth Schmidt (1990), Diana Jeater (1993) and Carol Summers (1994).[14] Summers attempts to understand the dynamics of social change by focusing on the separatist policies and institutions colonizers developed, such as 'Native Policy', 'Native Education' and 'Native Development'. Her study looks at social discourse or "what was said about a society and how that society defined itself" (1994: 8). By defining social praxis as the ways in which ideas and policy change, she seeks "clues to the nonverbal statements of a social debate that was not confined within the European community" (1994: 9). By contextualising discourse and regarding it as internally divided rather than timeless hegemony, Summers looks at the way this rhetorical system changed over time, and how it responded to both pressures from its context and internal contradictions. By providing a reading of the colonial narratives of Moffat, Selous and Carnegie, Summers illustrates their differing points of view, their contradictions and inaccuracies, as if an objective and quantifiable late nineteenth-century African 'reality' could be extracted from the journals and reports of missionaries and adventurers. This leads Summers to conclude that during the period before occupation the European presence was marginal and European solidarity was minimal. She also maintains that ideology played no practical role in the business of trading, hunting, negotiation, or evangelization. Thus each European observer "manuoevered within an African world as necessary, and then wrote home

about it in a fashion designed to secure the maximum possible benefit for himself" (1994: 19). However, she subsequently notes that a situation of "interpretive anarchy" evolved between 1890-1896 when new views of the region began to surface (1994: 20). Without access to documented history, colonial adventurers interpreted the local past and the local people without constraint. For Summers this resulted in actors simply translating their interests directly into impressions, observations, and descriptions of the conditions under which they sought profits. Summers regards narratives as unproblematic representations of colonization in the nineteenth century.

By contrast, Schmidt provides a socioeconomic survey of colonial exploitation, labour practices and ways in which African women challenged male control over their mobility, sexuality, productive and reproductive capacities in the 1920s and 1930s. She observes how both the European missionaries and the colonial state initially encouraged a degree of female 'emancipation' by legislating against child marriages, setting bride wealth and prohibiting the marriage of women without their consent. For Schmidt these measures are seen to undermine African social, economic and political institutions while serving the interests of European mining and agricultural capital by providing large supplies of African labour. After the 1896-7 Ndebele and Shona risings Schmidt finds that the Native Department concentrated on the generation of tax revenue, and the recruitment of labour by methods that

avoided confrontation. She describes how African customs were respected and how the 1898 Order in Council urged the appropriation of those aspects of native law that European administrators found compatible with 'natural justice' or 'morality'. Apart from Dane Kennedy (1987) and Paul Moseley's (1983) studies of colonial society in Kenya and Zimbabwe, the settler polities have been examined by Richard Hodder-Williams (1983), John Pape (1990) and David Metzler (1988). Other studies of settler and African social orders which provide a useful regional and political context for my analysis of nineteenth-century narratives include David Caute (1983), Barnes and Win (1992) and Peter Godwin (1996).

AFRICAN NATIONALIST HISTORIOGRAPHY.

Within colonial Zimbabwe, the 1950s witnessed the emergence of early voices of African liberation in Bernard Chidzero's Shona novel *Nzvengamutsvairo* (1957), Herbert Chitepo's Shona epic *Soko Risina Musoro* (1958), and Solomon Mutswairo's *Feso* (1956).[15] The Zimbabwean nationalist writers of the 1960s and 1970s, such as Nathan Shamuyarira *Crisis in Rhodesia* (1965), Stanlake Samkange *Origins of Rhodesia* (1971) and Lawrence Vambe *An Ill-fated People* (1972), traced the history of the African people under the uncompromising and harsh colonial order.[16] African historians in exile and from within Zimbabwe such as Terence Ranger (1968) continued to challenge the legitimacy of

settler/colonial Rhodesian Front government. In *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia* (1968) Terence Ranger is concerned with a specifically nationalistic project, I have therefore placed his work under the African Nationalist Hostorigraphy section of this survey.[17] Ranger relies on the official inquiries, press reports, reminiscences of white participants and later secondary studies housed in the Zimbabwe National Archives for his sources prior to 1970.[18] He described the failure of a brutal and uncoordinated forced labour policy of 1890 in Mashonaland (1968: 61-2) and 1893 in Matabeleland (1968:101-3), where chiefs were expected to deliver labourers to BSA Company officials each month for minimal wages. After the defeat of the Shona in 1897, Ranger suggests, this led to the development of a new 'Native' administration under the British Deputy Commissioner Sir Richard Martin which was more systematic in its control of black lives. Narratives of the Ndebele rising in 1896, such as R. Baden-Powell's *The Matabele Campaign* (1897), sustain this notion. By 1978, although Ranger acknowledged that historians within Zimbabwe had made major advances in the understanding of the pre-colonial past and of African experience in the twentieth century, he did not see the need to revise his original thesis concerning the 1896-7 Chimurenga.

Lawrence Vambe traces the violence faced by the VaShawasha people at Mashonganyika's village, Chishawasha (1972). This attempt to record the unwritten heritage of the Vashawasha, is indicative of disjunctions and

confusion within a black narrative about the colonial presence. It outlines the brutality of eighty years of racism. Stanlake Samkange was another prominent African Nationalist in exile during this period. From within North American academia, he tried to take "a second look at the story of the origin of Rhodesia based on the sources generally used and available to those who have, until now, had a monopoly of interpreting our history" (1971: viii). From a Proto-Zimbabwean and African Nationalist position, he placed the violence, deception, manipulation and exploitation of Africans by Europeans on record for an international readership.

Samkange refutes colonial historians on the subject of the Ndebele encounter with Europeans, tracing the friendly relations between Mzilikazi and Robert Moffat since the 1830s. He then examines the complications that followed the series of treaties which culminated in the Rudd Concession, the granting of a Royal Charter to Rhodes's British South Africa Company and the actual invasion in 1890. His analysis concludes with Jameson's invasion of Ndebele territory in 1893. At the start Samkange reflected on the distortion of African history by missionaries, such as those at Waddilove in the 1930s, who asserted that African history:

> ... only began with the arrival of the white man; that before [this] there was nothing but chaos, starvation and interminable war; that the white

man came to Africa solely to Christianize, civilize and save [Africans] from being exterminated by disease, superstition and witchcraft which all stemmed from [the African's] abysmal ignorance. (1971: vii)

It is difficult to quantify the extent to which Ranger's exaggeration of a prophetic Ndebele and Shona response to the crisis in 1896 affected these writers. In the late 1970s and 1980s African historians and writers began to re-define the history of African society in Zimbabwe. This renaissance led to an emphasis on regional studies such as those on Ndebele structures on Shona paramountcies, which were based on more recent research, excavations, and the oral tradition. This resulted in a an Afro-centric perspective of society under pre-colonial and colonial conditions. Other contributors to this African reading of history were Richard Mtetwa (1976), whose area-based study relies on indigenous oral resources and knowledges, and Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu's (1974) eulogization of the nineteenth-century Chimurenga. In the Post-Independence era Zimbabwean scholars have examined the effects of colonialism on African social orders. J. A. C. Mutambirwa (1980) examines the 1898-1923 phase of settler control as an act of destruction and violence directed at African society. E. P. Makambe (1990) questions patron/client relationships between African individuals and the BSA Company in 1902-1905. C. J. Zvobgo (1986) focuses on the dynamics of interaction between Protestant evangelism and African culture 1893-1934. J. G. Mutimbara (1981) looks at the destructive effects on

African society of British colonial land policies from 1890-1965, and Dickson A.

Mungazi (1986) applies Memmi's theoretical insights to the conflict between

the colonizer and the colonized in Zimbabwe.[19]

In the wider context of post-colonial Africa, Ali Mazrui (1972) and Ngugi

wa Thiong'o (1981) studied the effects of colonisation on the African psyche.[20]

The latter argues that colonial discourse established a settler/pioneer cultural

identity while it attempted "to downgrade and displace African culture" (1981:

16). From a Marxist perspective, Ngugi examines the cultural impact of an

exploitative economic process of colonialism primarily in the twentieth century.

Subsequently he dismisses the possibility of the operation of dialogic, anti-

hegemonic rupture within discourses of the 'master-narrative' of Empire. Also,

he denies the possibility of contradictions or fragmentation within the narrative

of Western hegemony (1991). V. Y. Mudimbe (1988, 1992) examines the way

in which African discourses have been silenced or converted by conquering

Western discourses. He traces the process by which popular local knowledges

in Africa became submerged in Western scientific disciplines where levels of

interpretation and orders of historicity are discernable. More recently Mudimbe

describes Africa as a paradigm of difference invented in the West and traceable

to Greco-Roman civilization (1994). He further explores the 'idea of Africa',

synthesizing various levels of interpretation and their origins within the western

tradition. Chabani Manganyi (1983) describes the ethno-psychiatric effects of

colonisation in Southern Africa.

STUDIES IN ADJACENT AREAS

This section looks at the way certain historians have used Foucault in their analyses of nineteenth-century Tswana and colonial culture; in the emergence of power, class and race relations in the Eastern Cape and in the role of English in the making of a colonial order in South Africa.

Jean and John Comaroff focus on events in colonial Southern Africa as historical anthropologists in *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (1991).[21] They trace the process by which Non-conformist Christian missionaries sought to change the hearts and minds, the signs and practices, of the Southern Tswana between 1820-1920. They set out to perform an anthropological survey of the colonial encounter. Their primary objective is to chart the way to revolutionary consciousness by revealing the structures and processes by which Europeans came to dominate Africans. The authors suggest anthropology or historical ethnography of missions in Africa is in its infancy, given the wider context of a perceived neglect in the study of colonialism. This is due to negative perceptions of the evangelist's contribution to the modern African predicament, and consequently they are judged mostly about their political role. They

identify a radical shift in Southern African historiography by Trapido, Bundy, and Phimister, which led to a concern with political economy, capitalist expansion, state formation, and proletarianization. This line of social history demonstrates how evangelists participated in reorganizing relations of production in rural communities, in abetting the penetration of capital and fostering the rise of peasant agriculture. Historians of the social left also accuse missionaries of encouraging the emergence of classes, the rise of black elites, and providing tractable industrial labour. The limitation of this approach for the Comaroffs is attributable to its preoccupation with political economy at the expense of culture, symbolism, and ideology. Instead the Comaroffs ascribe the impact Protestant evangelists had, as harbingers of industrial capitalism, to the fact that their civilizing mission was simultaneously symbolic and practical, theological and temporal.

The Comaroffs set out to understand a particular historical process where missionaries among the Southern Tswana attempted to make history, induct them into an order of activities and values, to impart form to an Africa seen as formless, to reduce the chaos of 'savage life' to the rational structures and techniques of their own civilization. To achieve this the Comaroffs employ Gramsci's image of culture as a totality which includes practices, symbols, and meanings from which hegemonic forms were cast and resisted. Thus it is in the historically situated field of material and symbolic signifiers that the

dialectics of domination, resistance and consensus are played out. African

culture is the space of signifying practice, the semantic ground on which human

beings seek to construct and represent themselves and others, as well as their

society and history. Consequently for the Comaroffs, hegemony refers to that

order of signs and practices, relations and distinctions, images and

epistemologies drawn from a historically situated cultural field. These are then

taken for granted as the natural and received shape of the world and everything

that inhabits it. Its power lies in what it silences, what it prevents people from

thinking and saying, what it puts beyond the limits of the rational and the

credible. Alternately, ideology is an articulated system of meanings, values,

and beliefs that can be abstracted as the 'worldview' of any social grouping.

For the Comaroffs, this worldview derives its internal ordering from explicit

manifestos and everyday practices, self-conscious texts and spontaneous

images, popular styles and political platforms. In the missionary field it provides

an organizing scheme for collective symbolic production.

The Comaroffs rely on their study of texts produced by the missionaries

to a considerable extent. They conflate this exegesis with the consciousness of

the colonized. What is lacking in their study is an engagement with other

colonial sites and narratives. The particular problem posed by the Comaroff's

case study of the Southern Tswana Tsidi-Barolong is that it attempts to read

one mode of African resistance to the apartheid state in the 1980s 'backwards'

into the nineteenth-century colonial state. Also they do not adequately consider the problem of their own status as Western anthropologists engaged in interpreting African cultural responses. Consequently their research is primarily an excavation of a largely effaced African record.

Clifton Crais (1992), traces the archaeology of colonial practice, its structures of power and the discourse of dominance.[22] He argues that, between 1770 and 1850, there was a revolution in the way that power, class and race relations emerged in the Eastern Cape. Crais's method is to foreground language, systems of representation and ways in which knowledge was produced in daily social practice. He emphasizes the importance of colonial discourse in the determination of colonial policy. He examines the process by which social boundaries were constructed and suggests that structures of thought in the later nineteenth-century Eastern Cape were transferred to subsequent models of legislation, imperial policy and agricultural practice in colonial Central and Eastern Africa. Crais sees that the development of agrarian capitalism and the struggle for land and labour induced a fundamental change in the European perception of Africans. Examining the way power was exercised in the colonial state, he found that it "became preoccupied with institutions aimed at transforming the very inner character of the individual...[and] power became progressively 'interiorized'" (1992: 127). Here Crais does not consider problems that may occur while importing Western

theory into African history that Talal Asad (1984), Edward. W. Said (1983: 241-242) and Aijaz Ahmad (1992) have outlined, and to which I refer in the final section of this Introduction.

Operating from within a U S tradition of writing on South African history as the rise of Racial Capitalism, Crais places greater emphasis on the cultural as opposed to the economic sector.[23] Without showing the connections between the language and changing structures of power and exploitation, he concludes that racist discourse facilitated imperial expansion. His analysis of the construction of colonial identity is more convincing than his comments on black identity. Crais is preoccupied with the Anglophone farming community, and this leads him to underrate the extent to which other settlers contributed to the political economy of the Eastern Cape. His narrativisation of Eastern Cape history underplays the significant contribution of the British urban population. Furthermore he underestimates the impact of liberals and missionaries such as Andries Stockenström, John Fairbairn, William Porter and John Philip.

Crais covers a moment in the history of the Eastern Cape 1770-1850 and attempts to construct an alternative narrative to various other histories by both liberals like Monica Wilson, Marxists like Martin Legassik, and Jeffrey B. Peires.[24] Crais reads African resistance through the official colonial record. In his undigested deployment of Foucault, Crais underestimates the impact of

violent coercion on the establishment of the colonial order in the Eastern Cape.

He insists that the conquered populations internalised Western notions of

discipline. Particularly in the case of liberals and missionaries, Crais misreads

the pattern of British settlement, viewing it as a primarily pastoral order that

dominated the urbanised traders and artisans in their reconstruction of the

dispossessed territory. Crais's reductive analysis emphasizes the impact of

colonial discourse to the detriment of other factors in the formation of colonial

policy. He also sees colonial policy as monolithic instead of a fractured and

haphazard irruption of contingent measures. He implies that the Eastern Cape

'Frontier' dictated colonial strategy, rather than the Western Cape metropole.

Leon De Kock argues for the employment of the diverse approaches

provided by literary theory, history and anthropology to examine the role of

English in the making of a colonial order in South Africa (1992, 1994).[25] He

investigates language as a site of orthodoxy for the cultural ordering of what is

taken to be history. For him the primary source of colonial orthodoxy in English

is the missionary enterprise whose literature contains a powerful essentialising

or generalising tendency. In his *Civilizing Barbarians. Missionary Narrative and*

African Textual Response in Nineteenth-Century South Africa (1996), De Kock

examines colonialism as a discursive formation which attempted to inculcate a

largely Protestant, Western modernity in Africans. This relationship can be

described as a pastoral paternalism in the sense that it engendered African

dependence on their colonial masters. His study refers to the narrativised construction of identity, legitimation, orality and literacy, the establishment of vernacular orthography and the encoding of English as a controlling register in a context of coercive military and cultural violence. De Kock employs critical terminology normally reserved for fiction in attempting to understand the history of racial interaction in the nineteenth-century. He seeks to trace the emergence of African nationalism within the African subversion of the imposed religious and political order in the Eastern Cape. However, his study is largely confined to that of the civilising mission at Lovedale.

De Kock sees a need to read the larger textual manifestations of social history as a cultural construct. He describes his analysis of colonising, civilising discourses and the contesting African voice as postcolonial, anticolonial and revisionist. To understand the colonial order he employs postcolonial literary theory which questions ways in which the West objectifies and domesticates its Others and their world-views from the locus of Occidental humanism. Firstly, De Kock comments on theories that have problematised the notion of subjectivity. He suggests neither Western observers nor the Africans they observed could be conceptualised outside the colonial culture or the relations engendered by the colonial encounter. Secondly, he cautions against binarism and argues for a "diverse, individual experience of Christianity and the special role of conversion in the reconstruction of identity during traumatic, and

transitional, historical epochs ... which emphasise the role of African agency in the colonial process" (1996: 15).

In his discussion of missionary discourse, he examines how coercive narratives of identity, imposed at Lovedale, distorted the experience of the colonial missionary encounter in the Eastern Cape. He considers ways in which 'new Africans' from Lovedale subverted the terms by which they were institutionally colonised and how missionaries resorted to self-delusion when negotiating discrepancies between their African experiences and their philanthropic records. De Kock argues that the institution at Lovedale was an edifice which sought to impose a discursive order on the differentiated and refracted responses of African individuals trapped within its grasp. He argues that educators were "agents in the construction of a literary basis for self-apprehension by those regarded as Other" (1996: 19). The operation of imperial violence is seen as central to the decision by certain Africans to enter the mission schoolyard. For De Kock, the ways in which colonial subjectivity was negotiated and the appropriations of colonial discourse are central to this phase of the process. De Kock relies on a narrow field in his exclusive Eastern Cape focus. This leads to his conclusion that Lovedale, the Presbyterian educational model, and a limited selection of African official and public literal utterances represent the entire range of African responses at a time when Africans were increasingly subject to the demographic effects of the mineral

and industrial developments at emerging metropolitan centres.

Briefly, in response to these readings of colonial narratives, I do not assume the sort of continuity suggested by the Comaroffs (1991), Crais (1992) and De Kock (1996) and develop a more sceptical reading of the colonial voice by focusing on the unofficial and fractured narratives of late nineteenth-century colonial Zimbabwe. I wish to suggest that these texts were determined by fictional, socio-economic, and cultural factors. They came to constitute an imperial mythology and a fictional series rather than any type of accurate historical record. As the 1896-7 Chimurenga (Risings) were to show, the texts I examine contained very little understanding of Africa and Africans. I wish to explore the ways in which this discourse invents or imagines reality. Issues of importance in my study are these fractures in the imperial countenance and the ways in which it expressed anxiety, doubt and confusion about the colonial project. These fictional dimensions of discourse in colonial Zimbabwe have been relatively ignored by scholars and the official record of occupation has been examined mostly by anthropologists and historians who attempted to reconstruct the nineteenth-century African experience in the postcolonial era. My study seeks to explore the discursive impact of narratives of observation, penetration and surveillance in Zimbabwe between 1860-1900 on readerships at the colonial and imperial metropole.

LITERARY HISTORIES

Steven Gray completes a more introverted and localised historical survey of colonial literary forms in *Southern African Literature: An Introduction* (1979).[26] He argues that 1795-1895 was a period of ambivalence where writers were committed to engaging and changing the land, but not exhibiting any profound sense of allegiance to it. Gray finds that literature which epitomizes the pioneering, frontier-type experience before the arrival of the missionary, frequently featured the hunter. For Gray such authors use Southern Africa as a projection for certain sentiments within the British psyche resulting in fictional experimentation outside the realist canon. In this survey of Southern African literature, Steven Gray regards the impact of imperial adventure as significant and enduring.

Consequently he examines typical mid-nineteenth century sagas such as William Cornwallis Harris's *Portraits of the Game and Wild Animals of Southern Africa* (1840), and his successors that employed popular literary techniques of selection and omission that were frequently as calculated as works of prose in any fiction.[27] In particular, Gray notes how hunter-writers demonstrated their awareness of how to shape action sequences. He finds that their reading of Walter Scott's and other romantic novels underpinned their need to encode a triumphal record of the conflict between cultures in Southern Africa. Their

perceptions of African people and the landscape were governed by a tendency

to dramatize the encounter between a dominant Europe and a bountiful, but

passive, Africa. He suggests that just as Scott had attempted to create a

disappearing chivalric spirit in the face of industrial expansion, so "the pure

action of the hunter took on a glorious, honour-saving dynamic of its own"

(1979: 100). Gray traces a succession of hunter-writers such as Le Vaillant,

Harris, Cumming, Baldwin and Selous who each claimed to go beyond the

bounds reached by their predecessors in what became a tradition of an ever

deeper penetration into the interior.

For Gray this trend endures beyond the millennium with Percy J.

Fitzpatrick (1907), who fictionally reworked his own life into the paradigm of an

earlier phase of colonial adventure. Gray notes that, although the literature of

hunting experiences was generally written in the service of an expanding

imperialism, ultimately it involved the displacement of this imperial sport by a

new order; that of the colonial bureaucrats - the traders, magistrates, police and

military. Gray traces the transformation of hunting narratives into boys'

adventure fiction at the metropole. I respond to this assertion in my

examination of Selous and Baden-Powell in Chapter Two.

J. M. Coetzee examines the literature of an empty landscape, the idea of

Colonial Man, the idea of cultural progress in eighteenth and nineteenth-century

travel narratives, and white pastoral literature (1988). He describes the settlers' search for a language with a capacity for dialogue with Africa. I wish to argue that it was in journals such as those of Baines and Selous where the founding narrative and tropes of both colonial literature and indigenous South African writing were initiated. In his study of discourses of the Cape, which preceded those of colonial Zimbabwe, Coetzee describes travel narratives of the seventeenth century in which Khoi and San people were perceived as idle and morally degenerate. By mid-eighteenth century, Coetzee notes, Barrow's account of idleness and degeneration included Boer frontiersmen and Cape Burgers while Moodie's narrative had linked the regression of European stock in Southern Africa to the outrage of slavery and to the keeping of servants. Coetzee suggests a reading of idleness since 1652 as an authentically native response to a foreign way of life. In Chapter Two and Three I examine representations of idleness and notions of degeneracy in colonial Zimbabwe in the 1870s and 1880s.

Coetzee also examines nineteenth-century ways of representing landscape at the Cape such as Burchell's *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa* (1822). Suggestions about representation at the Cape are relevant to my study because Selous, Baines, De Waal, and Schreiner passed through this gateway to the interior and were significantly influenced by the narrative of penetration initiated there in the 1700s. Coetzee also traces the notion of the

picturesque developed by eighteenth-century painters in Europe and notes that

the cult of the picturesque made the contemplation of landscape a widespread

cultural recreation. He suggests that the picturesque is landscape reconstituted

in the eye of the imagination according to acquired principles of composition

(such as those employed by the poet Wordsworth). According to this regime,

Coetzee argues, Thomas Pringle's landscape verse was derivative of a Romantic

vision. Further, he questions how landscape is read, examines topographic

poems since the 1790s, and proves how the issues of the wilderness and the

sublime were inherent in verse. Generally Coetzee does not take his study of

travel narratives beyond either 1860 or the Cape, which suggests that his study

excludes narratives other than those framed at the Cape metropole. The study

does not engage the project of Empire in the latter half of the nineteenth

century and the particular problems that emerged from 1870s-1890s.

THE CHALLENGE OF WESTERN THEORY

Initially I wish to provide reasons for invoking theory in my study of colonial

narratives. In the 1970s, once colonial discourse emerged as a legitimate field

of research, travel writing became an accepted concern of academic research.

Since Said's *Orientalism* (1978), Homi Bhaba (1985), Peter Hulme (1986), C.

Kaplan (1987), Gayatri Spivak (1988) and Mary Louise Pratt (1992) have

regarded travel writing as essentially an instrument within colonial expansion

which served to reinforce colonial rule prior to the moment of occupation.[28] By focusing on the tropes and structures normally employed in the analysis of literary texts, these critics include travel texts within the bounds of theoretical debate.

Between 1950 and 1979, the reception of colonial narratives in Zimbabwe was confined to publications, collectors items, souvenirs, memorabilia and nostalgic illustrations of a densely mythologised or forgotten world (travellers, prospectors, hunters, transport riders, reflections of colonial administrators in the 1920s and 1930s). Settler anthologies and Rhodesiana Series appeared immediately prior to Zimbabwean independence and championed the lives of European 'pioneers'.[29] While editors such as J. Cobbing (1975), and M. Gelfand (1968) provide historical contexts and define instabilities within the texts they introduce, often, these texts were read by editors such as E. E. Burke (1969) and some colonial historians as reliable documentaries rather than as deeply problematic textual artefacts. Although such narratives present certain theoretical challenges in content, style, and trope, they were popularly received in colonial Zimbabwe as the lives of heroic individuals. This study demonstrates that they were also symptoms of discontinuity, disorder and disjunction within the imperial project. Consequently my strategy is to explore the complexity, indecipherability and possibilities of interpreting this narrative from within the discursive constraints of its historical

moment.

Secondly, I wish to explain my motivation for deploying the insights of Michel Foucault in this study of nineteenth-century colonial narratives. Foucault's work poses questions which are of relevance to any study that involves an analysis of discourse and power. Given the wide range of readings applied to colonial narratives of Zimbabwe by anthropologists, historians and literary critics, Foucault's methodological tools are useful because they embody a certain productive scepticism. However, the use of Foucault's work is theoretically problematic in that it contains revisions and contradictions which preclude the formation of a system. Foucault's writing underwent significant revisions and changes over time. Therefore I employ Foucault's insights and vocabulary in my analysis as methodological tools which are applied to changing contexts, and are therefore subject to change and re-evaluation.[30]

Foucault's notions of discourse, the identification of its exterioriority, his critique of claims to Western rationality, scientificity, and humanism are applicable to my analysis of colonial writing. He argues that what society perceives to be significant and how objects and events are interpreted and set within systems of meaning depends on discursive structures. It is necessary here to define Foucault's analytical category of discourse in more detail. Foucault concentrates on the relation of texts and discourses to the 'real', and

the construction of the 'real' by discursive structures. [31] A discourse is thus a

set of sanctioned statements which have some institutionalised force and a

And how does it differ from ideology?

profound influence on the way that individuals act and think. Discourses are

those groupings of statements which are linked to an institution, or have a

common provenance or context, or because they act in a similar way. For

Foucault discourse is composed of a set of unwritten regulations which are not

necessarily composed by one person or group, and do not seem to be produced

in the interests of one particular group, although they may serve those

interests.

Discourse is something which produces an utterance, concept or effect:

'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault,

1972: 49). As a result a discursive structure is identifiable because of the

systematicity of the ideas, opinions, concepts, ways of thinking and behaving

which emerge within a particular context, and because of the effects of those

ways of thinking and behaving. Discursive frameworks demarcate the

boundaries within which we can negotiate affiliations, defining features, gender

etc. Although whatever signifies or has meaning can be said to constitute

discourse, such discourse differs according to its institution of origin, the social

practice in which it emerges, and in relation to the positions of those who

speak and those who are addressed. Institutions and social context thus play a

determining role in the development, maintenance and circulation of discourses.

Equally, Foucault insists that discourses occur in contrast and opposition

(conflict and dialogue) to other groups of utterances and that such discourses

shape our interpretation of texts: we attribute meanings in texts according to

the larger framing discourse.

Foucault argues that discourses do not exist in a vacuum but are in

constant conflict with other discourses and other social practices which inform

them over questions of truth and authority. Thus he does not ask whether a

discourse is a true or accurate representation of the 'real', rather he focuses on

the mechanics whereby one becomes produced as the dominant discourse,

which is supported by the society, its institutions and the state, whereas the

other is marginalised and suppressed. Discourse has effects because of factors

such as truth, power and knowledge. Truth, for Foucault, is not something

intrinsic to an utterance, nor is it an ideal abstract quality to which humans

aspire:

> Truth is of the world; it is produced there by virtue of multiple
> constraints.... Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of
> truth: that is the types of discourse it harbours and causes to function as
> true: the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true
> from false statements, the way in which each is sanctioned; the
> techniques and procedures which are valorised for obtaining truth: the
> status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.

(Foucualt, 1979: 46)

Truth is continually being produced by a society and it is reinforced by the exclusion of certain forms of knowledge. Foucault does not claim to speak from a position of 'truth': as a subject he can only speak within the limits imposed on him by the current discursive frameworks. All knowledge is determined by a combination of social, institutional and discursive pressures. What Foucault attempts to formulate is a way of examining historical processes without relying on the notion of the subject: he focuses on processes which underlie the constitution of our notion of subjectivity. For Foucault knowledge is the result of or the effect of contestation and conflict: knowledge is often the product of the subjugation of objects, as the process through which subjects are constituted as subjugated.

Foucault saw the relationship between economic and social structures and discourses as a complex interaction. Therefore he insists that power is not owned by one particular group: it circulates through society. Power is a form of action or relation between people which is negotiated in each interaction and is never fixed or stable: it operates around and through the networks which are generated around the institutions of State. For example in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1979) he describes the process whereby disciplinary structures informed the way that power relations are lived out in the

wider context of institutions, so that individuals learn to discipline themselves

or learn self-discipline through this notion that they are potentially under

surveillance. Foucault views power as dispersed throughout social relations,

where it produces possible forms of behaviour as well as restricting behaviour.

Therefore it constitutes a core element in definitions of discourse.

The study of discourse does not differentiate between those texts which

are designated as literary or non-literary. Discourses are principally organised

around practices of exclusion: what seems self-evident and natural exists as a

result of what has been excluded. Discourse can enable the analysis of

similarities across a range of texts as the products of a particular set of

power/knowledge relations. Consequently, the processes of exclusion which

operate around institutions and disciplines, and the critical discourses which

support and keep literary texts in circulation structure the type of knowledge

that is produced. Literature, whilst it can facilitate the formation of a national

culture. It is also the means whereby those norms of a shared culture can be

contested.

Discourses are highly regulated groupings of utterances or statements

with internal rules which are specific to discourse. Discursive rules and

structures originate in the discourse itself although they are shaped to a certain

extent by socio-economic or cultural factors. Discourses structure our sense of

reality: they inform the extent to which we can think and act only within certain parameters within each historical conjuncture. The perception of objects is formed within the limits of discursive constraints: thus there is 'a delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts or theories' (Foucault, 1977a: 199). Consequently, the first stage in establishing a set of discursive practices is to delimit a field. Discourse causes a narrowing of one's field of vision and excludes a wide range of phenomena from being considered as real. Second, entry into discourse is seen to be inextricably linked to questions of authority and legitimacy. In order for a discourse or an object to be activated, the knower has to establish a right to speak. Finally, each act somehow maps out the possible uses which can be made of that statement, or future rules for its use: one statement leads to others and is internally constrained by parameters for future statements.

In summary, Foucault emphasizes the arbitrariness and impermanence of current discourses: he charts the development of certain discursive practices, so that we can see that discourses are constantly changing and their origins can be traced to certain key shifts in history. He argues that history is discontinuous; there is not a seamless narrative which we can decipher underlying history, nor is there any continuity at all. My deployment of the term relies on the Foucauldian premise that discourse constitutes objects for us:

there is no intrinsic order to the world itself other than the ordering which humans impose on it through their linguistic description of it. Mary-Louise Pratt examines the way the borderline between plants and animals has been drawn differently at different historical periods. [32] Robert Young shows how within the Victorian era, scientific thought was characterised by a tendency to produce detailed tables, to label and systematise seemingly heterogeneous materials into very rigidly defined racialised systems of classification including intricate tables of inter-racial populations in South America which illustrate both parentage and the resulting progeny (Young, 1995: 176). For Victorians, this way of thinking about the world appeared the 'natural' way to describe racial difference.

In my analysis of late nineteenth-century journals, I will examine the way discourse not only constructs material objects such as groups of plants: but also how it constructs certain events and sequences of events into narratives which are recognised by a particular colonial culture as real or serious events. Objects and ideas are created by humans and institutions and constitute reality for humans. The only way we have to apprehend reality is through discourse and discursive structures. We apprehend by categorising and interpreting experience and events according to the structures available to us. In interpretation we affirm the solidity and normality of these structures which assume a constraining effect on our thought. The combined force of institutional and cultural pressure, together with the intrinsic structure of

discourse, which always succeeds the plans and desires of the institution or of those in power.

Foucault emphasizes the heterogeneity of discourse, which is "irreducible either to the history of the careers, thought and intentions of individual agents or to a supra-individual teleology of discovery and intellectual evolution" (1977: 19). Consequently narratives of colonial Zimbabwe may be seen to emerge from a configuration of discursive structures with which they negotiate, rather than describing some particular 'truth' about life. Discourses of the hunter and the explorer, utilized in these narratives, exist in opposition to discourses of the anti-expansionist lobby and the Aborigines' Protection Society. The concepts of power, 'governmentality' and justice are particularly relevant to my study of records of conquest in the 1890s. Colonial narratives of Zimbabwe focus on a specific region in which rapid and unstable transformations accompanied the violent penetration and occupation. Their differences arise from the variety of travel/settler institutions and social practices in which they are formed and from the range of positions from which they spoke. They also had to take account of changes in the metropolitan readership during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Framed within the paradigm of 'pioneer'/settler histories, narratives of colonial Zimbabwe 1860-1900 are often presented as reflections of 'reality', as

telling the 'truth' about Africa. Foucault dismisses the idea that the 'world' has

an order which we simply have to transcribe in writing. He distinguishes the

'world' from the act of knowing the 'world'; thus distinctions made in

'readings' of the world are those which society has constructed and instilled in

us through representations. This study aims to illustrate that within the colonial

moment what the writer 'knows' and 'sees' is determined through large-scale

discursive constructs. According to a Foucauldian view of textual production,

all texts can be seen to be heterogeneous, and the product of multiple

constraints. Also, the text is not seen to originate in a subject. Narratives of

colonial Zimbabwe cannot be read as simple accounts of a journey, a country

and a narrator, but must be seen in the light of discourses circulating at the

time.

Foucault shows that when one analyses signifying practices, the relation

between words and objects becomes problematic; we do not simply transcribe

'reality' through discourse, but we organise it through serious speech acts, or

what he terms "statements" (1979: 31-32). Since writings about empire, such

as narratives of colonial Zimbabwe, are often characterised by their truth

claims, my reading of them is informed by Foucault's method of analysis of

what can be deemed true in certain places. These imperial statements should

be subjected to a historical analysis which avoids final interpretation; which

does not seek to question only whether things said conceal an unspoken

element. Instead it questions them as to their mode of existence and what it

means for them to have appeared when and where they did to the exclusion of

other statements.

Several interpreters of these and other narratives have claimed to expose

their ideological foundations. For some social historians, the workings of

ideology in the colonial context seem transparent. By contrast, in his work

$\neq$ *discourse too*

before 1968, Foucault regards the notion of ideology difficult to employ, first

because it is always in virtual opposition to the truth. Secondly, it refers to

what Foucault sees as the deeply problematic category of the subject.[33]

Finally, it is in a secondary position in relation to something which must

function as the infrastructure or economic and material determinant for it.

Foucault foregrounds the surface of discourse. He is not concerned with the

hidden meaning of the text, since for him this type of hermeneutic impulse is

based on the notion of an illusory truth which awaits discovery. Discursive

analyses such as those by Comaroff (1993) and Pratt (1992) posit a level of

'reality' which is hidden from most people, but to which they have access

through analysis. Instead, Foucault asserts that there is no hidden 'reality';

what is discovered beneath the primary interpretation is yet more interpretation.

In arguing for the use of Foucault, I am aware of possible limits/problems

of theory. Jacques Derrida (1978) criticizes Foucault's understanding of the

relation of the same to the other in *Madness and Civilisation*, which posits

madness as outside the sphere of reason. He also criticised Foucault's attempt

to elaborate a 'positive unconscious' of knowledge in *The Order of Things*. For

Derrida this analysis was not capable of accounting for change and it inferred a

total discontinuity between periods (1978).

Edward Said finds that Foucault's conception of power is a potentially

captivating and mystifying category that allows him to obliterate the role of

classes, economics, insurgency and rebellion (1983: 48). For Said the

discursive situation resembled the unequal relation between colonizer and

colonized, in that words and texts are so much of the world that their

effectiveness, their use, are matters to do with ownership, authority, power

and the imposition of force. For Said colonial discourse recapitulates political

and racial separations, exclusions, prohibitions that were instituted

ethnocentrically throughout the nineteenth-century (50).[34]

By implication then, for Said, even if texts such as Selous's *A Hunter's*

Wanderings in South Central Africa are considered as silent printed objects of

some undiscovered merits, they are involved in actuality via numerous

exceptions, as well as historical, ideological, and formal circumstances. Thus

Said warns of dangers involved in the employment of "any centrist, exclusivist

conception of the text, or of the discursive situation, which ignores the self-

confirming will to power from which many texts can spring" (1983: 226).

Said identifies certain obstacles, risks and problems in the use of the theory of

Michel Foucault which was developed in studies of European and Western

civilization. In my project I set out to apply these theories to colonial discourse

in Africa. Such movement of theory from one culture to another necessarily

involves processes of representation and institutionalization different from those

at the point of origin. For Said this complicates any account of the "transplan-

tation, transference, circulation, and commerce of theories and ideas" (1983:

243). Thus cognisance should be given to differences that exist between the

initial set of circumstances to which the theory is applied, namely Renaissance

Europe and late nineteenth-century Africa under colonialism. Then one should

consider the distance or passage through contexts undertaken by a particular

application of theory and the various conditions of acceptance or resistance it

would be likely to encounter. Such a study has to account for the way in

which theory is transformed in this process and how it occupies a new position.

Furthermore, Said acknowledges that while Foucault has provided a

conceptual apparatus for the analysis of instrumental discourses, that in *The*

Archaeology of Knowledge (1972), power is to some extent neglected in that it

is approached mostly through abstractions. Said argues that while concepts

such as acceptability, accumulation, preservation, and formation are ascribed to

the making and the functioning of statements, discourses, and archives,

Foucault has not considered how these have become entrenched within institutions or fields of knowledge or society itself.

Referring to *Discipline and Punish*, Said admires Foucault's analysis of working systems of confinement from the inside, systems whose functioning depends equally on the continuity of institutions as on the proliferation of discourses and disciplines for the institutions. Also, Said remarks that Foucault's study of the carceral order develops the idea that for power to work it must be able to manage, control, and even create detail. It becomes evident that with the emergence of more detail more real power accrues through a process by which "management proliferates manageable units, which in turn generate a more detailed, and finely controlling knowledge" (1983: 244).

However, Said is critical of Foucault's shift in his analysis of power, from the detail to society as a whole. He suggests that when Foucault's language becomes general, his methodological advances involve a blurring of theoretical vision. For Said, Foucault's dismissal of Marxist economism in the societies he discusses, results in an obliteration of the role of classes, insurgency and rebellion. The real questions that Foucault is seen to be avoiding here concern the possibility of resistances to the disciplinary order and the inevitability that these resistances end up dominated by the system he describes. Said is also critical of Foucault's conception of power because it is both over-used and

elusive. Said finds it problematic that Foucault infers that the existing class system in any society places limits on any predicted future societies. He also rejects Foucault's contrived notion of a system of justice which can be put to work in different societies simultaneously as an instrument of a certain political and economic power and as a self-destructing mechanism. For Said, a notion of resistance, which is both an adversarial alternative to power, and a dependent function of it, is unacceptable. It leads him to conclude that Foucault's theory of power is both circular and a form of theoretical over-totalization. Ultimately it is Foucault's conception of history as something which is textual that Said rejects because it restricts the possibility of change.

In Gayatri Spivak's critique (1988) of current Western efforts to problematize the subject, including that of Foucault, she has also questioned how the third-world subject is represented within Western discourse.[35] In this essay Spivak questions the very possibility of the Western intellectual's role within contemporary relations of power from a post-colonial-Marxist-Feminist position. In an attempt to define her own position, she uses the example of Bhuvaneswari Bhaduri's suicide, in her father's modest apartment in North Calcutta in 1926, as a subaltern rewriting of the social text of sati-suicide.

Spivak argues that Foucault has an interest in retaining the subject of the West, or the West as Subject. She maintains that this move amounts to a

critique of the sovereign subject that actually inaugurates the subject. On the grounds that the ideology implicit in Foucault's dialogue with Gilles Deleuze[36] is more evident than in his other work, Spivak limits herself largely to this singular discussion. She begins by challenging Foucault's assertion that the networks of power/desire/interest are so heterogeneous that their reduction to a coherent narrative is counterproductive. On the contrary, Spivak sees the need for a persistent critique by which intellectuals must attempt to disclose and know the discourse of society's Other. Moving to the general prior to her engagement with a particular instance, Spivak concludes that Foucault "systematically ignores the question of ideology and his own implication in intellectual and economic history" (1988: 274).

Spivak concludes that Foucault rejects all arguments naming the concept of ideology as only schematic rather than textual, and this results in his mechanically schematic opposition between interest and desire. For Spivak this means that Foucault aligns himself with bourgeois sociologists who fill the place of ideology with a continuistic "unconscious" or a parasubjective "culture". More sinister than this is Foucault's urge to reintroduce the individual subject through totalizing concepts of power and desire. For her this is no less than the clandestine restoration of subjective essentialism.

Spivak is convinced that the notion of the surreptitious subject of power

and desire is marked by the transparency of the intellectual. For her this S/subject belongs to the "exploiters side of the international division of labour" (1988: 272). Spivak warns against how a substantive concern for the politics of the oppressed can hide a privileging of the intellectual and of the "concrete" subject of oppression. Equally colonial discourse analysis is threatened by the first-world intellectual masquerading as the "absent nonrepresenter who lets the oppressed speak for themselves" (1988: 273). What remains useful in Foucault for Spivak are the mechanics of disciplinarization, institutionalization, and the constitution of the colonizer. Probably counting Foucault among structuralists in general, Spivak argues this school questioned humanism by exposing its hero - the sovereign subject as author, the subject of authority, legitimacy, and power. Profitably for Spivak, this can be extended to the connection between the production of the humanist subject and the general process of colonialism by which Europe consolidated itself politically as sovereign subject of the world.

From a postcolonial materialist perspective, Aijaz Ahmad (1992) comments on how Foucault locates Marx firmly within the boundaries of what he calls the "Western episteme" (1992: 136) and denies that narratives of history can be assembled at the sites of the state and economic production.[37] Furthermore Ahmad emphasizes Foucault's engagement within spatial limits and the temporal constitution of a Western episteme. This episteme is located

in a transition that occurred specifically in Europe and that the narrative of

incarceration and surveillance is designed to demarcate the boundary between

the ancien regime and the modern. Consequently Ahmad finds that Foucault's

conception of discourse presumes a rationalism of the post-medieval kind,

alongside the increasing elaborations of modern state forms, modern

institutional grids, objectified economic productions, and modern forms of

rationalized planning. This leads Ahmad to the conclusion that Foucault would

have considered the French occupation of Egypt as a site of the state - a

position which he would disqualify as a constitutive site of discourse. Ahmad

notes that Foucault never constructed the history of any discourse on the basis

of master-texts: he always distinguishes discourse from canonical tradition,

from mentality, from institution. Ultimately for Ahmad, Foucault distinguishes

between discursive regularity such as the history of madness and personal

statement represented by the findings of one particular nineteenth-century

medical authority. Also he regards Foucault as preoccupied with specifying the

form and boundary of discourse, and refusing to collapse the discourse of

incarceration into discourse of sexuality.

first is the with this problem dissertation

Here I wish to respond briefly to Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Aijaz

Ahmad's criticism of Foucault. I would agree with Said that colonial discourse

recapitulates the racial and political separations of the nineteenth-century.

However, I think it is important to examine the discontinuity within specific

colonial narratives and expose the exclusivist colonial British production and reproduction of these texts. I begin with the nineteenth-century historical process of colonial self-formation which simultaneously violated Zimbabwean order. Said's caution regarding the transmission of Foucault's theory from Renaissance Europe to nineteenth-century Africa is valid. However, Said found Foucault's notions of discursive regimes, the production of 'truth' and the carceral society useful in his study of the way Europe imagined the East. I also find these notions enabling in the project of understanding regimes of 'truth' which registered the catastrophic nineteenth-century British expropriation of Zimbabwe. Said's assertion that in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Foucault ignored the way discourse became entrenched in institutions, is made redundant by his observation that within Foucault's carceral order, described in *Discipline and Punish* (1975), 'management proliferates manageable units which produce a more detailed, and finely controlling knowledge' (1983: 244). I find Foucault's extensive deliberations on the way discourses become entrenched within fields of knowledge and institutions[38] relevant to the way in which discourses of exploration, travel, and conquest became institutionalized within British imperial and colonial society. While I agree with Said that Foucault's conception of power is elusive, I find his relational notion of power useful in my study of nineteenth-century colonial self-fashioning in Zimbabwe.

I think Spivak's questioning of the Western intellectual's role (directed at

Foucault) within contemporary relations of power, should now be broadened

into a more inclusive consideration of the complexity of her own position and

that of other 'formerly dispossessed' Asian and Palestinian emigres-intellectuals

within the North American academy, such as Edward Said. I find it problematic

that Spivak's critique hinges on a solitary text, namely Foucault's dialogue with

Gilles Deleuze. Consequently, I have considered the tranformations and

development of Foucault's ideas from 1966-1982 in my analysis of colonial

discourse. I agree with Spivak's caution regarding the 'first-world intellectual'

who speaks on behalf of the oppressed. My analysis of Western narratives

concentrates on the re-imagination of a colonial self that was superimposed on

European inscriptions of a collectivised African self. With Spivak, I also find the

mechanics of disciplinarization, institutionalization and the production of the

humanist subject useful in my study of the way Britain consolidated itself

politically as sovereign subject of the world. Contrary to Aijaz Ahmad's

imposition of an historically fixed Occidental quarantine on Foucault's notions of

incarceration and surveillance, I argue that the construction of the Western

episteme was concurrent with the process of observation, exploration and

penetration of Africa, Asia and the America's. The latter movement insured

that Western man's self-formation depended on procedures of surveillance,

violent expropriation, and regional incarceration.

Finally, I will consider the link made in the 1920s between discourse,

social practice and subjectivity by the Russian Formalist, M. M. Bakhtin. His essays collected in *The Dialogic Imagination*, focused on the inter-subjectivity of all speech and the immediacy of its performative context (1981: 101). The implications of this for my study of colonial narratives are that every instance of discourse is immediately linked to a specific, shared situation in which every use of 'I' presupposes a 'you'. For Bakhtin, discourse and its meaning is built out of an exchange between voices in a specific context. In colonial spaces language thus occupied a position equidistant between the colonising self and the Other, words in language were always shared between the speaker and the Other. The possibility of neutral words and forms; language that belonged to no particular voice did not exist for Bakhtin.

Accordingly the words of colonial narratives cannot be regarded as monological, as authoritative statements about or interpretations of an abstracted, textualized reality. The language of missionaries, hunters and settlers is shot through with other subjectivities, accents and specific contextual overtones. Bakhtin regards all language as "a concrete heteroglot conception of the world" (1981: 102). Oppositions within the ruptured colonial tradition in Zimbabwe provide fertile soil for the type of dialogic exchange which Graham Pechey has identified:

... the notion of a multilingual field where the languages of colonizer and

colonized are indelibly inscribed within each other and which oppositional initiatives should seek to exploit rather than escape. (1987: 60)

Commenting on the "polyphonic" condition, Bakhtin argues that speaking subjects are represented in a field of multiple discourses. The colonial narrative is thus enmeshed with and enacts heteroglossia. For Bakhtin, preoccupied with the representation of nonhomogeneous wholes, there are no integrated cultural worlds or languages. All attempts to posit such abstract unities are constructs of monological power. Colonial "culture" should therefore be regarded as an open-ended, creative dialogue of subcultures, of insiders and outsiders, of diverse factions. Consequently "language" in the late nineteenth-century was the interplay and struggle of regional dialects, professional jargons, generic commonplaces, the speech of different groups and individuals. I wish to suggest that the narratives of explorer, hunter, missionary and soldier are not a manifestation of cultural or historical totalization but rather a carnivalesque arena of diversity. Bakhtin finds a utopian textual space where discursive complexity and the dialogic interplay of voices can be accommodated. The western imperial discourses of observation, invasion and penetration resist totality and offer a polyphonic gathering of competing voices. Furthermore, Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope denotes a configuration of spatial and temporal indicators in a fictional setting where (and when) certain activities and stories take place. Alternatively it is a fictional setting where historically

specific relations of power become visible and certain stories can occur. In colonial narratives of Zimbabwe the camp, the laager, the military column, the trackless wilderness, the court of Lobengula, and the Zambesi Mission constitute such sites.

Bakhtin emphasized the interplay between opposing tendencies in literature and in life. Dialogization directs attention to the more ambivalent or indecipherable dimensions of texts, while the dialogic process stresses the importance of contestatory voices. This results in a situation where the border assumes added importance because it was also the threshold where seeming opposites entered into an exchange and possibly coexisted, often in tensely charged relationships. The implications of this for my study are that texts or social realities of past societies evolve through constant dialogues that must be examined and entered from a variety of perspectives and that cannot be simply reduced to a single, monologic meaning. The dialogic approach to colonial discourse would open the discussion between opposing categories on many different levels: the dialogue between opposing ideas within specific texts, the dialogue between authors and the past, and the dialogue between texts and contexts.

Colonial narratives have not been regarded by critics as specifically literary and do not occupy the same generic space as the nineteenth-century

novel, but as Fredric Jameson has suggested, they attempted to draw together

disparate voices (1988: 7). To suggest that they were all monologic utterances

of imperial discourse is to suppress their dialogic nature. While some hunting,

travelling and missionary narratives are stereotyped, each contains regional

dialects, subcultures and voices dissent with the actions of officials.

Indigenous knowledges as well as misrepresentations of local situations were

often recorded in traveller's journals as facts. This is evident in the Ndebele

fuelling of myths about the extent of their own sovereignty, boundaries, and

powers. Also, exaggerated Shona reports of gold were circulated among

travellers, traders and hunters. The attempts by travellers, hunters,

missionaries to portray what the Ndebele, Shona and other people thought was

problematic in the sense that these utterances were translated, uttered in

situations of inequality, charged with conflict, antagonism, dominance and

resistance. On the one hand there is the controlling discourse which has been

assumed to represent that of the author, and on the other the problem of

representing what they had attempted to comprehend as indigenous voices.

Here I wish to consider theoretical common ground in the approach to

the subject, society, ideology and discourse in the works of Bakhtin and

Foucault.[39] Both Foucault and Bakhtin share a non-reductionist view of social

formation in that neither see society as a fixed structure but as a constellation

or dispersed field of opposed forces and strategies. Both reject the tendency to

assign ontological priority to 'matter' and to treat ideas as secondary and dependant. The notion that discursive structures are ideological representations of underlying class interests is also found to be misleading. They maintain that discourses are inextricably intertwined with wider relations of power and social practices which are not explicable by reference to the intentions and desires of individual social actors. Both contest the epistemological category of the bourgeois subject. While Foucault dismisses the notion that disciplinary discourses work by concealment or falsity and attributes their operation to a potential to organize and shape the body, Bakhtin sees the body as the primary site of ideological discourses. In the attempt to enable the subaltern to speak, both seek to rehabilitate lost or suppressed knowledges and practices.

CONCLUSION

I wish to summarise my method. My study looks at the moment of penetration into the African interior which was superimposed on the mineral revolution in Southern Africa. I look at the literary dimension of discourses of penetration and regard the formation of the colonial order as a more fractured and haphazard irruption which was as much a contingency operation as a predetermined strategy. I focus on colonial and settler order as discourse, not on historical analysis. As I have observed, social historians have used colonial narratives exclusively as symptomatic reflections of a capitalist order. Instead,

I wish to argue that they register disjunctions and confusion within the imperial project. I seek to explore possible readings of these texts in their complexity, within their discursive constraints and as part of a violent European expansive project in Zimbabwe. Instead of an analysis of socio-economic determinants, I will focus on the theoretical assumptions that underpin colonial vision, and consider literary qualities such as style and trope.

Readings which have regarded colonial narratives of Zimbabwe as reflections of the 'reality', or as telling the 'truth' about Africa justify my importation of Foucault's vocabulary and insights to present alternative readings. This would allow for distinctions between the 'world' and the acts of knowing the 'world' which each narrative contains. I will examine the role colonial and metropolitan society played in the deployment of large-scale discursive constructs to inculcate views of the world. Arguably, my claim that 'there is no reality/truth' is itself a truth claim. My study seeks to provide a critique of claims to rationality, scientificity, humanism and Western notions of justice made by colonial narratives of the explorer, hunter, missionary and soldier. I look at the heterogeneity of competing discourses at the colonial site, and how these discourses related to emergent Western institutions such as the church, the military, and to commercial syndicates. I also examine emergent forms of colonial law as opposed to imperial policy. Consequently, narratives may be seen to emerge from various forms of discursive structures with which

authors negotiated.

Utilizing Bakhtin's notion of dialogization, where the meaning of discourses emerge from an exchange between voices in a specific context, I view colonial culture as open-ended and language as an interplay of genres, dialogue and jargon. I will examine the indecipherable dimension of texts, where contestatory voices are evident and focus on moments when ideas within texts are in conflict, where there is disjunction between narrators and the past, and where there are contradictions between the text and its context.

I suggest those Western individuals such as Baines (1875), Sykes (1897), Schreiner (1897), and Lippert (1891) position themselves differently and sometimes with the silenced. By avoiding 'dominant readings' of the narrative of exploration and conquest, and concentrating instead on elements in the texts which are in conflict, I examine the existence of various, often contradictory discourses within one text. Consequently, travel writers who wrote the "imaginative geography" of the Ndebele and Shona landscape will be interrogated about the way they were often making and remaking identities, rather than merely complying with and confirming prevalent discourses.

Arguably, the texts I study were attempts to re-imagine the self through an encounter with Africa and to reformulate the positions from which

Europeans in the colonies could speak and write. Within the discursive system inferred by these narratives, I examine the possibilities of transgression and complicity in texts and question the seemingly monolithic and unified identity of colonial rulers. Consequently the emphasis should shift to the processes through which identities are constructed rather than on the reproduction of ideology. I enquire whether the concept of 'anti-conquest' (where the narrator distances her/himself from expansionism, while actively participating in it) and the monarchic trope (in which the act of observing coincides with that of possession) are relevant to the explorer-narratives of Baines and Mauch.

I avoid some present levels of postcolonial theoretical abstraction and use a particular theorist (Foucault) to examine the colonial archive. In seeking to contrast the fractured and contested narratives of male and female, opportunist settler and professional soldier of empire, I look at colonial order as more heterogeneous than earlier studies have suggested. This requires that the utterances of individual traders, prospectors, travellers, hunters and missionaries should be compared with the official LMS records of the Matabeleland Mission. Also, it suggests that the BSA Company strategies be considered as often contrary to directives of the British High Commission. It entails a sceptical examination of the official or institutional voice of the Colonial and BSA Company operatives.

The way the European subject was forced to reposition her/himself within an ethnic community, simultaneously constituted by class and gender discourses is a recurrent theme of this project. I wish to show how social conformity and class deference was induced at the metropole, while a racially-based superiority was violently imposed in colonial Zimbabwe. I also identify the use of race, class, sexual, ethical and nationalist discourses in late nineteenth-century imperialist texts where Britain represented itself as possessing a knowledge and morality that entitled it a position of dominance among European powers. In this process many discourses signalled Europe's rights and obligations to Africa.[40]

I explore how colonial narratives of Zimbabwe enunciated a taxonomy of values which affirmed Western modernity such as mastery, exploitation, action, technology, and progress. I also seek to prove that the moral confidence and certainty of such heroic tales as those written about colonial Zimbabwe are disrupted by the ambiguities, doubts, anxieties and alienations of a Victorian urge to dominate and control.

NOTES

1.   See contemporary perspectives of Britain's 'civilizing mission' in the Zambezi region in Robert Moffat's *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (1842), and of David Livingstone's vision of the Zambesi as 'God's highway' in Central Southern Africa in his *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857) and in J.P.R. Wallis ed. *The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone 1858-1863* (1957). Subsequent historians, such as Oliver(1952), Groves (1955 & 1957), Seaver (1957), Hanna (1960), Wills (1964), and Dachs (1972 & 1973.), consider the results of these initiatives. For recent studies of missionary endeavours and the implications thereof in this region see Comaroff (1991) and De Kock (1994, 1996).

2.   Other contemporary narratives that refer to this region are: J. G. Wood *Through Matabeleland. The Record of a Ten Months Trip in an Ox-wagon Through Mashonaland and Matabeleland* (1893). Emil Holub *Seven Years in South Africa: Travels, Researches, and Hunting Adventures, Between the Diamond-Fields and the Zambesi 1872-1879* (reprint 1982), A. A. Anderson *Twenty-Five Years in a Waggon. Sport and Travel in South Africa* (1888), W. M. Kerr *The Far Interior: vol. I & II* (1886), C. G. Oates ed. *Matabele Land and Victoria Falls. A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Interior of South Africa* (1881) and E. C. Tabler ed. *Zambezia and Matabeleland in the Seventies: The Narrative of Frederick Hugh Barber, 1875 and 1877-1878 and The Journal of Richard Frewen 1877-1878* (1960).

3.   Other narratives that could be included in this section are: Rose Blennerhasset and Lucy Sleeman *Adventure in Mashonaland by Two Hospital Nurses* (1893), William H. Brown *On the South African Frontier* (1899), J. Chalmers *Fighting the Matabele* (1898), Randolph. S. Churchill *Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa* (1897), D. C. De Waal *With Rhodes in Mashonaland* (1896), C. H. W. Donovan *With Wilson in Matabeleland or Sport and War in Zambesia* (1894), Percy FitzPatrick *Through Mashonaland with Pick and Pen* (1892), E. Glanville *The Fossicker: A Romance of Mashonaland* (1897) and Elsa Godwin-Green *Raiders and Rebels* (1898).

4.   Contemporary narratives, journals and correspondence of other missionaries which is related are: F. Coillard *On the Threshold of Central Africa* (1897), Robert Moffat *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (1842), John S. Moffat *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat* (1885) Robert U. Moffat *John Smith Moffat C. M. G., Missionary: A Memoir* (1921), J. P. R. Wallis ed.*Matabele Journals of Robert and Emily Moffat* (1941), Owen Watkins *Mashonaland Journal* (1891), and the correspondence of missionaries Carnegie, Thompson, Boos, Richartz, and Isaac Shimmin.

5.   Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century shifts in the imperial mood were reflected in imperial fiction and its readership.   The latter, positioned at the metropole, were familiar with disruptions to the imperial project, such as the Indian Mutiny (1857), Eastern Cape Frontier Wars (1840-57), Anglo-Zulu war (1879), Anglo-Boer war (1881).   Other narratives of the Chimurenga include: William H. Brown *On the South African Frontier* (1899), H. Plumer *An Irregular Corps in Matableland* (1897), R. Baden-Powell *The Matabele Campaign* (1897), E. A. H. Alderson *With the Mounted Infantry and Mashonaland Field Force* (1898) William Johnston *With the Rhodesian Horse* (1903) and fictional: Margaret Haynes *In Far Rhodesia: A Tale of the Matabele Rising*(1896), Olive Schreiner *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland* (1897), Frederick J. Whishaw *The White Witch of the Matabele* (1897), and J. Weedon Birch *Blood Brothers: A Story of the Matabele Rebellion* (1912).

6.   Other colonial historians who conform to this view are: R. N. Hall and W. G. Neal *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia(Monomatapa Imperium)* (1902), H. M. Hole *The Making of Rhodesia* (1926), Charles Bullock *The Mashona* (1927) R. C. K. Ensor *England 1870-1914* (1936), R. J. Evans *The Victorian Age 1815-1914* (1954), W. H. Gann *A History of Southern Rhodesia to 1934* (1965), Stafford Glass *The Matabele War* (1968).   Others not directly related to my project are: G. M. Trevelyan *British History in the Nineteenth Century, 1782-1901*, E. L. Woodward *The Age of Reform, 1815-1870*, V. Cornish, *The Geography of Imperial Defence*, H. D. Hall *The British Commonwealth of Nations*, J. H. Rose ed. *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Sir J. R. Seeley *The Expansion of England*, J. A. Williamson *A History of British Expansion*, and Basil Williams *Cecil Rhodes (1921)*.   While my analysis of the modes through which human beings have been constituted as subjects and objects of knowledge within colonial culture must refer to existing historiographics, it focuses primarily on discourse and representation rather than on contributing to existing historical debates.

7.   Various anthologies of exploration have appeared in the post-war era, see: Eric Axelson *South African Explorers* (1954), Samuel Baker *The Albert N'Yanza* (1962), Richard Burton *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (1962), Frank Debenham *Discovery and Exploration. Nyasaland: Land of the Lake* (1955), Isak Dinesen *Shadows on the Grass* (1960), R. Miller *The Travels of Mungo Park* (1960), M. Perham & J. Simmons *African Discovery* (1957), Charles Richards & J. Place *East African Explorers* (1960), Heinrich Schiffers *The Quest for Africa* (1957), and Richard Stanley & A. Neame eds. *The Newly Discovered Exploration Diaries of H. M. Stanley* (1962).

8.   Some of the biographies, auto-biographies and memoirs of colonial experience and service relating to Central Southern Africa in the early twentieth century are: Stanley P. Hyatt *The Old Transport Road* (1914), Marshall H. Hole *The Making of Rhodesia* (1926), *Old Rhodesian Days* (1928), Sam Kemp *Black Frontiers. Pioneer Adventures with Cecil Rhodes' Mounted Police in Africa* (1932), J. A. I. Agar-Hamilton *The Road to the North* (1937), H. C. Dann *Romance of the Posts of Rhodesia, British Central Africa, and Nyasaland* (1940), and Sarah G. Millin 'Rhodes Meets the Matabele' in S. E. Grenville ed. *Under the Southern Cross* (1941).

9.   Post-war histories which began to show divisions between those that found value in colonisation and those that saw it as destructive. The former include: Charles Bullock *The Mashona and The Matabele* (1950), A. J. Wills *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa* (1964), Robin Hallet ed. *Records of he African Association 1788-1831* (1964), A. J. Hanna *The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* (1960) and Robert I. Rotberg *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia* (1965), and Robert I. Rotberg ed. *Africa and Its Explorers: Motives, Methods, and Impact* (1970). While Philip Mason *The Birth of a Dilemma: The Conquest and Settlement of Rhodesia* (1958) and Colin Leys *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia* (1959) were critical of European rule.

10.   Revisionist historians: A. B. Davidson *Modern Africa: Social and Political History* (1989), Terence Ranger *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896-7* (1968), J. M. Mackenzie 'African Labour in the Chartered Company Period' (1970), 'Colonial Labour Policy and Rhodesia' (1974), Charles Van Onselen *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia* (1976), Colin Bundy *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (1979), Stanley Trapido 'South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialisation' (1971) and Ian Phimister *The Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe* (1988).

11.   See Julian Cobbing *The Ndebele Under the Khumalos* (1976), 'The Absent Priesthood: Another Look at the Rhodesian Risings of 1896-1897' (1977), and 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo' (1988).

12.   Richard P. Werbner *Tears of the Dead: The Social Biography of an African Family* (1991).

13.   See David N. Beach *The Shona and Zimbabwe: An Outline of Shona History* (1980) and *War and Politics in Zimbabwe 1840-1900* (1986) and Mapondera (1988).

14.   Recent studies of African society in Zimbabwe during the colonial era include: Richard Grove 'Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourses and the Origin of Conservation Thinking in Southern Africa' 1820-1900 (1989), John Iliffe *Famine in Zimbabwe, 1890-1960* (1990), Michael O. West African Middle-Class Formation in Colonial Zimbabwe', 1890-1965 (1990), Elizabeth Schmidt 'Negotiated Spaces and Contested Terrain: Men, Women, and the Law in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1939' (1990), Carol Summers *From Civilization to Segregation: Social Ideals and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1934* (1994) and Diana Jeater *Marriage, Perversion, and Power: The Construction of Moral Discourse in Southern Rhodesia 1894-1930* (1993).

15.   African writers in the 1950s were subject to the state censorship and control over publication by the Southern Rhodesian African Literature Bureau and the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation. Authors were discouraged from exploring overtly political themes. For a study of this writing in Shona, see George P. Kahari *Aspects of the Shona Novel* (1896). Writers include Solomon Mutswairo *Feso* (1956), Emmanuel Ribeiro *Tonderai* (1956), Ndabaningi Sithole *Amandebele KaMzilikazi* (1956), Peter Mahlangu *Umthwakazi* (1957), Bernard Chidzero *Nzvengamutsvairo* (1957), Herbert Chitepo *Soko Risina Musoro* (1958), Patrick Chakaipa *Garandichauya, Rudo Ibofu* (1961). Later writing which began to explore the exploitation and the contradictions of existence in a colonial state includes: Charles Mungoshi *Coming of the Dry Season* (1972), *Waiting for Rain* (1975), *Ndiko kupindana kwamazuva* (1975), Stanlake Samkange *On Trial for My Country* (1968), *The Mourned One* (1975), *Year of the Uprising* (1978) and Solomon Mutswairo *Mapondera: Soldier of Zimbabwe* (1978). For further examples and criticism of later Zimbabwean fiction see Musaemura Zimunya *Those Years of Drought and Hunger* (1983) and Flora Heit-Wild *Teachers, Preachers and Non-Believers* (1989).

16.   Nathan Shamuyarira *Crisis in Rhodesia* (1965), Stanlake Samkange 'The establishment of African reserves in Matabeleland, 1893-1898' (1968), *The Origins of Rhodesia* (1971), and Lawrence Vambe *An Ill-Fated People. Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes* (1972).

17.   Although Ranger has worked mostly at Oxford, within the more traditional British academy, I have elected to deal with him separately because of the impact he had on historical research about Zimbabwe

18.   Ranger, in his 1966 preface to the first edition of *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*, acknowledged that his reconstruction of events relied heavily on settler histories and those of African spies, prisoners under interrogation or evidence of alleged murderers. He also acknowledged his use of insights into Ndebele and Shona history and society derived from other scholars, by

anthropologists and oral historians, archaeologists and archival historians. My method of reading Colonial Narratives relies exclusively on traveller and settler accounts.

19.   Zimbabwean scholars who have examined issues related to society during the colonial period are include: Elleck K. Mashingaidze 'Christian missions in Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1920' (1973), David Chanaiwa *The Zimbabwe Controversy: A Case of Colonial Historiography* (1973) & *The Occupation of Southern Rhodesia: A Study of Economic Imperialism* (1981), J. A. C Mutambirwa *The Rise of Settler Power in Southern Rhodesia* (Zimbabwe) 1898-1923 (1980), J. G. Mutimbara (1981), C. J. Zvogbo 'Aspects of interaction between Christianity and African Culture in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1893-1934' (1986), Dickson A. Mungazi 'The Application of Memmi's theory of the colonizer and the colonized to the conflicts in Zimbabwe' (1986) *Colonial Education for Africans: George Starks's Policy in Zimbabwe* (1990), D. Munjeri 'Great Zimbabwe: A Historiography and History: Carl Mauch and after' (1987), S. I. G. Mudenge *A Political History of Munhumutapa, c. 1400-1902* (1988), Aeneas S. Chigwedere 'How We Became Shona' (1989), E. P. Makambe 'The limitations of a Patron/Client Relationship in Colonial Zimbabwe: The British South Africa Company versus Helese Gcinya, 1902-1905' (1990) and Herbert Chimhundu 'Early Missionaries and the Ethnolinguistic Factor During the "Invention of Tribalism" (1992), R. Mtetwa (1976) and S. G Ndlovu (1974).

20.   Ali Mazrui *Cultural Engineering and Nation-Building in East Africa* (1972), Ngugi wa Thiong'o *Decolonising the Mind* (1981; also his September, 1991 lecture on 'Colonization and African Resistance' at Vista University, Port Elizabeth), V. Y. Mudimbe *The Invention of Africa* (1988), *The Surreptitious Speech* (1992), *The Idea of Africa* (1994) and Noel C. Manganyi *Exiles and Homecomings: A Biography of Es'kia Mphahlele* (1983).

21.   Jean Comaroff *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (1985), John. L. and Jean Comaroff 'Through the Looking-Glass: Colonial Encounters of the First Kind' (1988), *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (1991), *and Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (1992).

22.   Clifton C. Crais *The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape 1770-1865* (1992).

23.   Within the North American academy, prior to the Comaroff's, Crais's and De Kock's findings, Paul Rabinow signalled a shift in the focus of work on nineteenth century imperial history. He criticized the 1970s and early 1980s studies of colonialism for being hinged on a dialectic of domination,

exploitation, and resistance. In his opinion, this situation contributed to the neglect of both colonial culture and the political field in which it was set (1986: 259). Rabinow considered that the group in the colonies who had been avoided in historical and sociological studies were the colonists themselves. This was particularly evident in the scarcity of material documenting the systems of social stratification and the cultural complexity of colonial life which varied from place to place at different historical periods. Consequently Rabinow saw the need for a more complex view of colonial culture accompanied by a more complex understanding of power in the colonies. Frequent misconceptions of power such as that of force personified, or as the possession of a single group such as the colonists, were inadequate for Rabinow because the colonists themselves were highly factionalized and stratified. Also the colonial state had not been adequately defined. The view of power that understood it as a thing, or a possession, or emanating unidirectionally from the top down, or operating primarily through the application of force has been put seriously in question (1986: 259). For Rabinow power needed to be seen as much more than in its physical manifestations.

24.   Historians who have concentrated on developments in the Eastern Cape recently include: Monica H. Wilson *Reaction to Conquest* (1996), Jeffrey B. Peires *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence* (1981), Martin Legassik 'The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography' (1980), and Noel Mostert *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (1992).

25.   Leon De Kock History, 'Literature and English: Reading the Lovedale Missionary Record within South Africa's Colonial History' (1992), 'Textual Capture in the Civilising Mission: Moffat, Livingstone, and the Case of Tiyo Soga' (1994), *Civilising Barbarians. Missionary Narrative and African Textual Response in Nineteenth-Century South Africa* (1996).

26.   Patrick Brantlinger (1988), directed attention to the structural and ideological properties of British adventure tales in the belief that in political terms imperialist adventure fiction may have been more influential than the nineteenth-century serious novel. By a careful examination of this genre, Brantlinger exposes its persistent focus on military conquest, the glorification of the military and combat; its chauvinist alliegance to Empire, the ruling nation and its colonies; its bigotted advancement of white racial superiority. British adventure was often regarded as synonymous with the civilizing mission in all the supposedly dark places of the world. Brantlinger concludes that such popular fiction directs its readers to an exotic realm in which the European hero acts out the rituals of conquest and procedures of colonial harvest before returning a rejuvenated patriarchal subject to the complexities of urban

metropolitan existence. Other studies of adventure fiction of the British Empire include, chronologically: E. Salmon *The Literature of the Empire* (1924), A. Haslam ed. *Anthology of Empire* (1932), Bhupal Singh *A Survey of Anglo-Indian fiction* (1934), S. Howe *Novels of Empire* (1949), C. A. Bodelsen *Studies in mid-Victorian Imperialism* (1960), P. D. Curtin *The Image of Africa. British Ideas and Action 1780-1850* (1965), A. Sandison *The Wheel of Empire. A Study of the Imperial Idea in some late nineteenth and early twentieth century fiction* (1967), G. D. Killam *Africa in English Fiction 1874-1939* (1968), A. J. Greenberger *The British Image of India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism 1880-1960* (1969), Benita Parry *Delusions and Discoveries. Studies on India in the British Imagination* (1972), J. Meyers *Fiction and the Colonial Experience* (1973), Brian V. Street *The Savage in Literature. Representations of 'primitive' society in English fiction 1858-1920* (1975), D.C.R.A. Goontilleke *Developing Countries in British Fiction* (1977), Hugh Ridley *Images of Imperial Rule* (1983), David Dabbydeen ed. *The Black Presence in English Literature* (1985) and Robert Giddings ed. *Literature and Imperialism* (1991).

27.   Other nineteenth-century hunting narratives include: M. H. K. Lichtenstein *Travels in Southern Africa 1803-06* (c.1815), William C. Oswell Five Hunting Expeditions in the Interior of Southern Africa (1844-1853), Gordon R. Cumming *Five Years of Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa* (1850). Baldwin *African Hunting from Natal to the Zambesi* (c. 1840), J. F. Victorin *Travels in the Cape: The Years 1853-1855* (1863), F. G. H. Price ed. *Sketches of Life and Sport in South-Eastern Africa* (1870), J. J. Bisset *Sport and War or Recollections of Fighting and Hunting in South Africa from 1834-67* (1875), F. C. Selous *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (1883), Percy Fitzpatrick *Jock of the Bushveld* (1907), A. Chapman *Retrospect. Reminiscences of a Hunter-Naturalist in Three Continents* (1928). Commentaries include: Geoffrey Haresnape *The Great Hunters* (1974) and John Pringle *Conservationists and the Killers* (1982).

28.   See Edward W. Said *Orientalism* (1978), Mary L. Pratt *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), Peter Hulme *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797* (1986), Hommi K. Bhabha 'Sly Civility' (1985), and Gayatri C. Spivak *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (1987).

29.   See Rhodesiana Reprint Series and publications of 'The Pioneer Head' Bulawayo, which celebrate the actions of explorers Carl Mauch and Thomas Baines, hunters such as F. C. Selous and numerous other prominent colonial figures.

30.   Michel Foucault's writings I have utilized in this study are: *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1973), *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1977), *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1977), *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (1977), *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction* (1979) 'Orders of Discourse' (1971) and *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972- 1977* (1980).

31.   In this definition of discourse I draw on Foucault's tracing of the development of discursive formations and their transition over time in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), particularly the essay 'Discourse on Language' (1971), 'The Order of Discourse' (1981) in Robert Young (ed), and to a lesser extent on the way it has been deployed in more recent commentaries such as Diane Macdonnell *Theories of Discourse: An Introduction* (1986), and Sara Mills *Discourse* (1997).

32.   See Pratt (1992) on the use of Linnean typologies of plant categorisation by nineteenth-century botanists in Africa and Asia: European system of classification aimed at global system. Plants were extracted form the systems of classification which indigenous subjects had developed to describe their properties, uses and habitats, and they became part of a wider colonial project which aimed to demonstrate the 'civilising' force of colonialism.

33.   Foucault traces the conception of man as both subject and object of knowledge. He explores the formation of the individual's body as an object of scientific medical examination and analysis, where the individual first became an "object of positive knowledge" (1975: 8). He argues that "the subject who knows, the objects to be known and the modalities of knowledge" must be regarded as so many effects of the way "human sciences constitute subjects and objects of knowledge" (1977: 297). Foucault is also concerned with the emergence of 'dividing practices' through which the subject is constituted as an object of research and of techniques of power. It is in *Madness and Civilization, The Birth of the Clinic* and *Discipline and Punishment*, that Foucault reveals how the emergence of particular institutional forms such as the asylum, the hospital and the prison are inextricably connected with the development of particular bodies of knowledge and associated objectifying practices. These facilities have produced divisions between individuals, such as the good and the criminal, the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy. The final mode of objectification Foucault was concerned with is the way in which human beings achieve a sense of themselves as subjects, in particular as subjects of 'sexuality'. This was the theme of *The History of Sexuality, Vol 1* and Foucault's envisaged further research into the self-formation of the individual.

34.   See Edward W. Said: 'Travelling Theory' (1983), 'Orientalism Reconsidered' (1985), and 'Kim, the Pleasures of Imperialism' (1987).

35.   Gayatri C. Spivak's essay 'Can the subaltern speak?' (1988) provides a postcolonial materialist critique of Foucault. Alternately, Barry Smart's *Foucault, Marxism and Critique* (1983) situates Foucault's work in relation to the limits and limitations of Marxism, while Mark Poster's *Foucault, Marxism and History: Mode of Production versus Mode of Information* (1984) sets up a dialectic of two conflicting methods of analysis.

36.   Spivak refers to the conversation "Intellectuals and Power: A Conversation between Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze" (205-217) in *Michel Foucault, Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (1977).

37.   A. Belden Fields (1983) also questions Foucault's conception of power and notes that Foucault distinguishes between "discursive domains which include systems of knowledge whereas institutions, political events, economic practices and processes are non-discursive domains" (1983: 141). Fields notes that Foucault directs us to power, which accrues from below as a result of new disciplinary advances and techniques, and as it is manipulated at the extremities by anonymous and changing agents. In Field's reading of Foucault, no identifiable group or individuals can initiate this form of power to further their interests or facilitate their utilization of the social body. Consequently, local conditions and particular needs appear to have shaped power gradually prior to any class strategy. Fields finds this contradicts Foucault's admission that decentred regions of power with their own discourses and techniques do serve the interests of capitalism power is exercised the way it is in order to maintain capitalist exploitation. In addition Fields notes that Foucault moves for an ascending analysis of power, starting from its infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, trajectory, techniques and tactics. These mechanisms of power continue to be invested, colonized, utilized, involuted, transformed, displaced, and extended by ever more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination. Fields finds Foucault's ultimate rejection of theory and all forms of general discourse implicit in this argument. What began with his concern over utopian theories becoming perverted in action thus leads Foucault to a rejection of any kind of holistic systemic analysis. Fields finds this conception problematic, particularly because Foucault does not deny that the system exists or that all power ultimately serves capitalism in the present epoch.

In her review of postcolonial literary theory Benita Parry (1987) examines the developments and problems in current theories of colonial discourse, which

respond variously to Foucault's insights, such as Said, Spivak and Bhaba. Parry finds that these critics regard colonial writing as an instrument within colonial expansion which served to reinforce colonial rule once it had been established. More specifically, she describes how imperialist discourse provided the British with an imaginary mapping of their situation within the domestic social formation and of their relationship to the peripheries. As Parry suggests, the language used in colonial narratives was socially inclusive, invoking working-class women as proud mothers of Empire and working-class men as natural rulers of lower races. Parry observes how the narrating subject was simultaneously constituted by class and gender discourses to reposition her/himself within an ethnic community. This option induced social conformity and class deference at the metropole, and racial arrogance and agression abroad.

Parry identifies the use of race, class, sexual, ethical and nationalist discourses in late nineteenth-century imperialist texts where the West represented itself as possessing a knowledge and morality that entitled it to global power. In this process a number of discourses signalled Europe's rights and obligations to the rest of the world. For Parry, texts are implicated by these discursive constructs, thus the race/class/ethical discourse suggested Europe's right and duty to appropriate the bounty of nature wasted by the natives to benefit its industrial classes and feed its hungry. Equally, utilitarian discourse, joined to a teleological one, fostered the notion of Europe's obligation to exploit the world's natural and labour resources in the interests of promoting international progress. It was racial/sexual discourse, Parry argues, which suggested the unfitness of Africans for organizing a rational society and exercising self-government because of their teeming sexual proclivities and unlicensed sexual performance. Finally nationalist/utopian discourse posited the divinely ordained task of Europeans to rule, guide and elevate backward peoples as a trust for civilization. Parry suggests that imperialist discourse enunciated a taxonomy of values which affirmed modernity such as virility, mastery, exploitation, performance, action, leadership, technology, and progress. However, the moral confidence and certainty of such positivist tales are disrupted by the ambiguities, doubts, anxieties and alienations of a stylistic modernism. Parry shows indebtedness to Foucauldian notions of power and resistance in her conclusion that "these conflicting inscriptions act to consolidate and disown imperialism's ideological tenets and social aspirations, and to the extent that such texts are discourses of imperialism, they are also the location of an internal interrogation" (1987: 55).

38.   See Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977), *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1* (1979) and *Madness and Civilization* (1967) for extensive discussions of the institutionalization of discourses of the criminal, the body and the insane.

39.   In my attempt to draw together the insights of both Foucault and
Bakhtin, I am indebted to Michael Gardiner *The Dialogics of Critique: M. M.
Bakhtin and the Theory of Ideology* (1992).

40.   I wish to posit representative texts drawn from my study which are
implicated by discursive constructs. Thus I wish to argue that the
race/class/ethical discourse of Selous suggested Britain's obligation to protect
Africans from Portuguese slave traders and at the same time provide a suitable
region for the settlement of British colonists. I will enquire whether T. M.
Thomas's utilitarian discourse, joined to a teleological one, fostered the notion
of Europe's obligation to exploit the world's natural and labour resources in the
interests of promoting international progress. Also within the context of
Germany's emergence as an imperial power, I will examine whether Mauch's
racial/sexual discourse suggested Ndebele and Shona unfitness for organizing a
rational society and exercising self-government because of their teeming sexual
proclivities and unlicensed sexual performance.   In the context of Chimurenga
in Zimababwe, I will provide a reading of how Baden-Powell's nationalist
discourse of white male superiority posited the divinely ordained task of
Europeans to rule, guide and elevate backward peoples as a trust for
civilization.

CHAPTER 1

EUROPE vs. AFRICA: THE GERMANIC AND BRITISH EXPLORATION

NARRATIVES OF CARL MAUCH AND THOMAS BAINES.

'Africa was the land of gold.'[1]

Mid-nineteenth century narratives of explorers in Central Southern Africa such

as those of Carl Mauch in F. O. Bernhard, *Carl Mauch. African Explorer* (1971),

E. E. Burke ed. *The Journals of Carl Mauch* (1969), Thomas Baines *The Gold*

Regions of South Eastern Africa (1877) and J. P. R. Wallis ed. *The Northern*

Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines. Volumes I-III, (1946), W. M. Kerr *The Far*

Interior (1886), and F. C. Selous *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (1891) were

directed at an established readership at the metropole.[2] Their findings were

noted at learned societies such as the Royal Geographic Society in Britain, and

in journals such as Petermann's *Geographische Mittellungen* in Germany. They

formed part of the broader 1870s European Imperial cartographic project that

regarded exploration as the advancement of world knowledge in the emerging

disciplines of geography, anthropology, biology and geology.[3]

Robin Hallet (1964) suggests that the British mercantilist preoccupation

with distant lands began with the eighteenth century voyages and travels of

James Cook in the Pacific, James Bruce in Ethiopia, and Joseph Banks in the Pacific Islands and Australasia. Further, Hallet notes how certain wealthy landowners and members of the London based Saturday Club, evolved into an Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa in 1788.[4] These patricians:

> ... looked at the map of Africa and saw how much of it lay blank ... were convinced that it would be both practical and useful to extend the field of knowledge ... products, plants, agriculture, trade, markets for industries. (1964: 15)

Following in the wake of metropolitan interest in Africa roused by the Abolitionist debate of the 1780s, commercial interests intensified.

Colonial anthologies and histories of European exploration in Africa between 1940 and 1970,[5] such as those of M. Perham and J. Simmons (1942), Robin Hallet (1964) and Robert Rotberg (1970) examine what were considered advancements of knowledge made in human sciences such as geography and anthropology. These developments are considered to be partly due to the scientific explorations undertaken by Bruce, Burton and Livingstone. Their journals and records are seen to be accurate accounts of a normalising process, integral to an unquestioned British civilizing mission in Africa. Regarding nineteenth century Protestant missionary philanthropy and commerce

as an antidote to the atrocities of the slave trade, both explorers and

evangelists were seen as bearers of light in a 'dark continent'.

Ostensibly Carl Mauch (1837-1875) embarked on a geological expedition

to Southern Africa in 1863 after a brief career as a schoolmaster in Southern

Germany.[6] His travels were largely at his own expense as "he received little

support from his emergent fatherland" (Bernhard, 1971: 5). After initial

surveys of the Transvaal, he crossed the Limpopo in 1866 with the hunter,

Henry Hartley, and reported on the discovery of gold at Tati. While Mauch had

announced these findings in the colonial press, "the journals he may have kept

were subsequently lost" (Burke, 1969: 3). On a second expedition with Hartley

he recorded the presence of gold near to the present town of Chegutu (Hartley)

in the area that was to become the most productive gold belt of colonial

Zimbabwe.[7] These revelations of potential fortune aroused considerable

interest in a Europe that had recently become aware of the discovery of

diamonds to the north of the Cape colony (Burke, 1971: 1).

Whereas Thomas Baines (1820-1875) is perhaps better known as a

landscape artist, he considered himself an established explorer who had

travelled in both America and Australia before he began his extensive journeys

in the interior of Southern Africa. In 1858 he accompanied Livingstone's

expedition to the Zambesi, returning to Matabeleland and Mashonaland in

1867-8 and travelled in the region almost continually until his death in 1873. Baines was meticulous with records and sketches; he took bearings and made topographical notes of wherever he travelled. As an agent for the South African Goldfields Exploration Company he was assigned to report on and obtain concessions for gold mining in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. In this chapter I refer mostly to J. P. R . Wallis's version of Baines's journal, (1946) and to his posthumous publication *Gold Regions of South Eastern Africa* (1877).[8]

I wish to argue that the representational strategies employed by Mauch and Baines should be regarded as symptomatic of the broader process in the development of the human sciences in the nineteenth century. Accordingly, they should be regarded as part of the global diffusion of Western technologies of discipline, their associated methods of examination, and the objectification and subjectification of the human subject during the 1870s. This movement from Europe outwards incorporates procedures of individualization, the analysis of wealth, economics and natural history.

Critical Method and Vocabulary

In her innovative study *Imperial eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), Mary-Louise Pratt suggests how travel and exploration writing

produced "the rest of the world" for European readerships.[9]   Her discussion of

the mid-nineteenth century British explorers focused on Burton and Speke, who

went in search of the source of the Nile, and Mary Kingsley who wrote on her

travels in West Africa in the 1890s. Pratt defines the link between imperial

expansion and a natural history that asserted:

> ... an urban, lettered, male authority over the whole of the planet; it
> elaborated a rationalizing, extractive, dissociative understanding which
> overlaid functional, experiential relations among people, plants and
> animals. In these respects, it figures a certain kind of global hegemony,
> notably one based on possession of land and resources rather than
> control over routes. At the same time, in and of itself, the system of
> nature as a descriptive paradigm was an utterly benign and abstract
> appropriation of the planet. (1992: 38)

Pratt asks how this signifying mode produced Europe's differentiated

conceptions of itself in relation to something it became possible to call the rest

of the world. Her analysis explains how this specific representational procedure

encoded and legitimated jingoist expansion of empire and how it also cast

doubt upon itself in these narratives. Using theoretical insights gleaned from

Foucault, Pratt examines how subaltern cultures selected and invented items

from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture. This

process, which Pratt termed 'transculturation', operated at the periphery and

from the colonies to the metropolis. She traces the way in which signifying

practices were adapted and transformed by Africans who presented particular

images of themselves and their cultures to Europeans. For Pratt, both European

constructs and modes of representation were therefore internally and externally

determined and were thus significantly transformed.

I wish to compare Pratt's observations of how Burton and other explorers

in Africa constructed images of the European self, both as observer and

conqueror, with similar procedures in Mauch and Baines's exploration journals

on Zimbabwe. I suggest that both these later explorers use a type of

representation designed to produce spectacular discoveries on behalf of the

metropolis. Both narratives contain examples of panoramic description

characterised by a spectacularisation of unremarkable events. These narratives

continually translate "local knowledges (discourses) into European national and

continental knowledges with European forms and relations of power" (1992:

206). Also, Mauch and Baines dramatise procedures of observation and

elevated these to the status of discoveries, in their pursuit of rewards at the

metropolis.

The problem with Pratt's assessment of male European travel writers is

that she delimits the range of possible readings to that of "explorer-man

paints/posseses newly unveiled landscape-woman" (1992: 213). Also, she

does not account for narratives of the later nineteenth-century invasion of Sub-

Saharan Africa in the 1880s, and differences within the considerable body of male and women travel writing that emerged during this period. I would argue that significant variations exist between the texts of exploration and invasion which Pratt examines, and those of the late nineteenth-century penetration of Zimbabwe. Further, she does not consider the complicity of women within the imperial project, nor the ways in which male travel writing diverges from official BSA Company and Colonial Office reports. By continually foregrounding what she sees as the silenced and marginalised voices such as that of Mary Kingsley, she ignores the instability of the anti-conquest category she employs. Along with Said (1975), Pratt restricts the ways in which both texts and various readings of them can deviate from positions of complicity or opposition. The type of ambivalence in Mauch and Baines's journals, and also the fractured and contradictory utterances that I explore in the following readings are inadequately accommodated in Pratt's study. I wish to argue that notions of affiliation to state and nation, and ruptures and discontinuities occur within scientific discourses used by Baines and Mauch. These tensions have been neglected in studies of other colonial narratives until now (De Kock, 1996) and I suggest that a different use of Foucault's insights outlined below would redress this trend.

Ann Laura Stoler's *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (1995), is a recent example of the

way Foucauldian insights can be deployed in an analysis of the recorded

relations between colonizer and colonized, and how this format informed the

order of things in the colonial arena. Stoler refers primarily to the early

twentieth-century Dutch colonies of Indonesia and Sumatra, and regards the

mechanisms of division in imperial culture as an attempt to "rationalize the

hierarchies of privilege and profit, to consolidate the labour regimes of

expanding capitalism and to provide the psychological scaffolding for the

exploitative structures of colonial rule" (1995: 27). Her study observes that

discourses of sexuality simultaneously "classified colonial subjects into distinct

human kinds, while policing the domestic recesses of imperial rule" (1995: 4).

She argues that an engagement with Foucault's insights in *The History of*

Sexuality. Volume one: An Introduction (1979), reveals that the origins of

eighteenth and nineteenth-century European discourse are located in

technologies of their day.[10] Stoler sees the advantage of including the

discursive anxieties and practical struggles over citizenship and national

identities in the nineteenth century at the metropole and on the margins of

empire within Foucault's frame. Stoler argues those bourgeois identities in both

metropole and colony:

> ... emerge tacitly and emphatically coded by race. Discourses of
> sexuality do more than define the distinctions of the bourgeois self; in
> identifying marginal members of the body politic, they have mapped the

moral parameters of European nations. These deeply sedimented discourses on sexual morality could redraw the "interior frontiers" of national communities, frontiers that were secured through - and sometimes in collision with - the boundaries of race. These nationalistic discourses were predicated on exclusionary cultural principles that did more than divide the middle class from the poor. They marked out those whose claims to property rights, citizenship, and public relief were worthy of recognition and those who were not. (1995: 8)

While numerous parallels exist between Dutch settler society in the East, and that of the Anglo-Dutch colonial order in the Southern African interior, there are also numerous differences. For example, the structures of African and colonial society in Zimbabwe differ from that in Indonesia and Sumatra. The Dutch occupation of the East was prior to the method and extent of settler occupation in Zimbabwe. The plantation-culture and fundamental trading-station order of the latter contrasts with the Chartered Company focus on the primacy of land for mining and settler ranches in Zimbabwe. While Stoler examines the technologies by which Dutch policy ensured shifting divisions within a colonial society that was racially, linguistically and culturally far more integrated and interactive, Zimbabwe presents a situation where the divisions along entrenched lines of race, culture and language between settler and African were predicated on a violent expansionism, a pattern of British colonial hierarchies and developments within Southern Africa since the mid-seventeenth century. The violence of BSA Company/settler rule in Zimbabwe during 1890-1900

compounded its inflexibility and brutality. This inevitably hardened the racial divisions between indigenous Africans and invading settlers. The rapid emergence of a dominant settler order and a dispossessed African population allowed less room for the degree of interdependence Stoler describes in the Dutch colonial East.

My use of Foucault will be dictated by the need to regard Mauch and Baines's journals as narratives that seek to define their European identity and outline the complexity of their relations with African people on the margins of Empire. Foucault addressed various modes of objectification and relations of power and knowledge through which human beings are constituted as subjects.[11] Foucault views nineteenth-century conceptions of the physician's psychiatric powers from Pinel to Freud and the positivist history of scientific progress as inextricably associated and indicative of modern technologies of power directed towards life. As the human body is imbricated in relations of power and knowledge, it became possible within colonial sites such as Matabeleland and Mashonaland to inscribe a typology of bodies, of physical characteristics, diet, typical diseases, and conditions that were differentiated from those of Europe according to socio-historical and cultural criteria. Both Baines and Mauch are implicated in nineteenth century conceptions of a gendered sexuality that includes a category of sex that performs certain functions. It offers a principle of unification through which anatomical

elements, biological functions, conducts, sensations and pleasures could be presented as the underlying causes of behavioural manifestations in exotic locations. Exploration narratives constantly sought to describe and interpret these causes.

Also the emergence and diffusion of technologies of power, particularly those of discipline and its associated methods of observation, classification, examination, techniques of subjectification and objectification, and procedures of individualization appear to have been transferred to Africa from the metropolis by these explorers. These writers employ modes of inquiry that aspire to scientificity while constituting human beings as subjects. Both Mauch and Baines objectify the speaking subject, provide an analysis of the wealth of the regions they traverse and describe its natural history. Their narratives rely on dividing practices through which the African subject is constituted as an object of Western research, subjected to techniques of colonial power.

Consequently, I wish to suggest that Foucault's genealogical analysis, that reveals the body as an object of knowledge and as a target for the exercise of power, is particularly relevant to my reading of Mauch and Baines. On the margins of empire, bodies of Europeans and Africans are located in a political field, invested with power relations that render Africans docile and productive, and thus politically and economically useful. The subjection of African bodies

and their forces is achieved through a political technology that constitutes the
ability to conquer their functions and master their forces. This process is
associated with the emergence of particular forms of knowledge such as
ethnography, cartography, geology and anthropology, which have human
beings and their habitat as their subject.

The imbrication of knowledge with networks of power is emphasized by
Foucault when he explains that:

> ... power produces knowledge, that power and knowledge directly imply
> one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative
> constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not
> presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. (1977: 26-
> 27)

Foucault regards the exercise of power and its effects as a complex strategic
situation, a multiplicity of force relations, an index of manoeuvres, tactics,
techniques and functions. As my examination of Baines and Mauch's narratives
suggests, power is transmitted by and through the powerless. Equally, in their
writing, the presence of power signals a constant resistance and a multiplicity
of points of resistance. Finally, both narratives affirm the basis of relations of
power that constitute the social body, and in turn are correlated with the

production and circulation of 'true discourse' and with the 'discourse of right' within Europe's expansionist trajectory in Southern Africa.

By using these insights of Foucault, and mindful of the way in which Pratt has examined the earlier moment of travel/exploration in the Cape, West Africa and East Africa, I wish to examine the complexity of nineteenth-century discursive strategies and their moment of production and reception in colonial Zimbabwe and at metropolitan centres. This section questions reductive dismissals of colonial utterances as entirely monological and defamatory towards African culture, while acknowledging the destructive and exploitative dividing practices of the emergent colonial culture in Zimbabwe. I explore the possibility that, at the same time, they registered African voices in a particular way as well as European doubts about colonization.

Mauch

I begin by asking how Mauch's reports produced Zimbabwe for readerships in colonial Southern Africa and at the metropolitan centres, how these reports were received and used by other explorers and travellers, and what effect the publication of these reports had on Europe's expansionist trajectory in Southern Africa. Although Carl Mauch trained as a teacher in Schwaebisch-Gmuend, he had ambitions as an African explorer. He undertook a geological survey of the

Transvaal Republic in the early 1860s, and, following the suggestions of

Reverend A. Merensky of the Berlin mission at Lydenberg, he turned his

attention to the region of modern Zimbabwe.[12] Although his interest was

primarily in auriferous deposits, he wished to confirm reports of the site of

ancient Zimbabwe. His loyalties were to his emergent German Fatherland,

although he acted on behalf of the Transvaal Republic and was detained on the

suspicion that he was a Boer agent by Chief Mapansule in the modern region of

Masvingo[13]. In the late 1860s, the publication at colonial and metropolitan

centres of his reports on ancient Zimbabwe and Northern goldfields galvanised

speculators into action and directed concession-seekers northwards to

Matabeleland and Mashonaland. The myth of Zimbabwe as an Eldorado first

exploited by King Solomon, was ultimately Mauch's most enduring

achievement.[14]

The discovery of the Tati goldfield in 1866, the Zimbabwe Tradition

Ruins at Masvingo in 1871, and the Northern goldfield in the Mazoe region in

1872, were commonly attributed to Carl Mauch. Less than a month later, at

the colonial metropolis, *The Cape Argus* published Mauch's reports and aroused

considerable interest about Matabeleland and Mashonaland among fortune

seekers at the Cape (Woods,1893: v). Between 1866 and 1874, in

Petermann's Geographische Mittellungen, reports of Mauch's discoveries

appeared in which his achievements as a nascent German hero were

emphasized, particularly his display of endurance and personal sacrifice for the Fatherland. As a promoter and champion of German scientific and geographical exploration, Petermann lauded as true patriotism the joint efforts of Mauch, Reverend A. Merensky and F. Jeppe (the latter published *The Transvaal Argus* in Potchefstroom) for compiling the "Original Map of the Transvaal or South African Republic" published in *Petermann's Geographischen Mittheilungen* (1868) for prospective German emigrants (Bernhard, 1971:10).

Mauch's signifying practices encode and legitimate the aspirations of economic expansion of empire and at other moments betray them. Because Mauch undertook a specifically geological/scientific expedition there was a dual expectation that he would confirm rumours of gold and in some way explain the ancient site of Zimbabwe. The occurrence of quartz reefs, which many explorers associated with gold discoveries, is frequently reported in Mauch's journal. He thus fulfills the expectations of readers attuned to nineteenth-century European discovery-rhetoric. During his first visits to Matabeleland and Mashonaland with Hartley in 1866-68, he had been shown many gold reefs and ancient workings on them, and concluded that the country was rich in gold overall.

However, Mauch's reports promoted notions of Zimbabwe as a place of excitement and confusion which was inherently dangerous for Europeans. He

spoke of hostile Africans who stole most of his possessions and deserted him in a remote and treacherous wilderness, others that made him an indefinite captive under suspicion that he was a spy. For Europeans, Mauch described Zimbabwe as a wild, inhospitable land in which one lived in constant fear of murderous Ndebele raiding parties. On his journey he contracted the deadly malaria, and was temporarily reduced to an invalid.[15] Mauch begins the journal by generally dismissing African opinion and explanations, but after leaving Masvingo, he gradually appeared to accept most of what his guides told him about gold. The narrative then traces a development in the Western subject from sceptical metropolitan self to that of a self more receptive to localised African knowledges. It marks a movement of understanding from the unknown to the known, from the exotic to the familiar. It may be argued that this process was to continue after Mauch returned to Europe. Shortly before his death, his dramatic admission that he was mistaken about the origins of the Zimbabwe Tradition Ruins completed an important but unreported stage of Western learning about Africa.[16]

Pratt notes that European explorers participated in a complicated process of transculturation from the colonies to the metropolis in that Africans presented certain aspects for observation which in turn influenced the scope of what imperial eyes saw. I wish to suggest that Baines and Mauch occupied complex and often ambivelent positions in relation to the African people and

landscapes they depicted. In relation to the metropolis, the London Stock Market and organs of policy formation such as the Colonial Office, certain explorers of Central Southern Africa sometimes appear to be in alliance with the subordinated or marginal groups they attempted to represent. Often they would select and invent from materials transmitted to them by African culture. Discoverers such as Mauch and Baines were competitors in the race for lucrative Royal Geographic society awards and the possibility of prestigious appointments at the metropolis. In many ways they posed as poor actors although they were aware that they played to a naïve and captive metropolitan audience, eager for any spectacle about the rest of the world. They knew that from 1860 onwards, the slightest suggestion of mineral wealth on the subcontinent would cause the already significant financial speculator interest in the region to increase dramatically. Often, their nuanced reports of gold discoveries, which were often unsubstantiated, were later found unworkable due to the lack of density and the inconsistence of the seams. Nevertheless, they fuelled the El Dorado/land of Ophir myth which was later embellished by arch-imperialists such as Dr Karl Peters and E. M. Mathers.

When Mauch's gold discoveries were announced in 1868, Petermann referred to the wider imperial implications of this moment by suggesting that:

> ... a new era of progress will set in. Even more valuable than the richest
> goldfield are agricultural products. This we have seen in California ....
> Nothing encourages European settlement in foreign lands, nothing
> establishes new and flourishing states, so much as this noble metal.
> (Bernhard, 1971: 26)

Judging by the flood of prospectors and diggers that rushed to the region in the 1870s, the impact of Mauch's reports of gold North of the Limpopo river possibly informed German Imperial discourse (Van Onselen, 1976:13). Petermann did not publish the entire journal because he considered that it contained evidence that Mauch fell short of the ideal German hero. Mauch's frank criticism of the brutality of Republican Dutch rule in the Transvaal also ran counter to German diplomatic engagement with the latter in the 1870s. Shortly before his death Mauch retracted his earlier statements about the origins of ancient Zimbabwe without providing any explanation. This sudden change further problematised the status of his claims. In his *Northern Goldfields Diaries*, Thomas Baines claimed that the effect of Mauch's letters on scientific societies in Germany and England was "fortunate, for it roused the public to action when a more sober relation of facts might have fallen on inattentive ears" (Wallis, 1946: 15). Baines also criticised Mauch's "vivid and glowing descriptions, highly tinted by the rainbow hues of hope, [which] attracted to our shores a host of adventurers from well nigh exhausted auriferous regions in California, Australia and New Zealand" (Wallis, 1946: 120). He also questioned

Mauch's 'discovery' of these goldfields and suggested that Henry Hartley "employed natives, who knew where gold used to be worked in former times, to point out the localities to Mr Mauch" (Wallis, 1946: 26). Baines appears more credible than Mauch because of his use of a wider range of references and sources for the claims he made, while Mauch seldom provided references or disclosed his sources.

The way in which Mauch's largely unsubstantiated reports of gold discoveries were articulated by Dr Petermann incited a European readership focused on colonial expansion;[17] his penchant for hyperbole is evident in phrases such as "gold-carrying rivers" and in the description of the Mazoe river as "rich in gold" (Wallis, 1946: 28). Prefacing Mauch's journey through Manicaland, Petermann concluded that gold was:

> ... the most important metal, which occurs in innumerable places. Its extraction is very simple (washed in rivers by the natives) .... Usually it occurs in thick flakes, but nuggets the size of hazel nuts appear to be not uncommon in the very rich fields of Manica. (Bernhard, 1971: 232).

Mauch attempts to inscribe Africa within specific fields of knowledge, such as geography, archaeology and geology. In the process, a specific form of power relation is constituted, by which Africa and its mineral resources become the target for European occupation and exploitation. Mauch's writing produced

Europe's differentiated conceptions of itself in relation to something it became

possible to call the rest of the world. Mauch represents Africa as sparsely

populated territory that has considerable gold resources and an expanse that

could be occupied by Europeans. Africans he met are described as inferior in

culture, socially primitive and existing in permanent fear of Ndebele raids. He

sees them as a dispensable part of a landscape that is suitable for European

occupation.

Mauch's writing produced Zimbabwe for his European readership and he

uses specific representational procedures, such as the monarchic trope, which

encodes and legitimates the expansion of Empire. This process is foregrounded

when the narrator juxtaposes the Limvubu valley with the German Neckar

region. He stresses the lack of industriousness among Africans in the following

journal entry for the twenty-third of July 1871:

> ... for the first time I had the opportunity of making a comparison with
> my pretty home, that is with the Neckar Valley. Of course Limvubu is no
> Neckar, but only a Rems, neither does it have a Brinken, nor are there
> any meadows and orchards on its banks. All this should be possible if
> there were a people with a *love for order and work* [my emphasis] living
> here; and I dare to state that here on the Limvubu one big garden could
> be created within a few years, in which everything from the banana to
> the potato, from coffee to sugar and oats too, would prosper. Not a foot
> of the soil ought to be unworked. The traveller cannot but feel sorry to

see such a region neglected through inefficiency, or rather, through laziness. (I can hardly excuse it by ignorance). (Burke, 1969: 110)

For Mauch, Africa simultaneously falls short of a Teutonic Eden and persists in a state of neglect and under-utilisation. There is a lack of order, industry and productivity. It is represented as a potential market for German technology, a cash crop producer and source of raw materials for European markets. Mauch sees the possibility of transforming the region into a colony. Implicit in this vision is the understanding that there is a potential supply of labour in the resident African population provided that they could be transformed into 'people with a love for order and work'.

In the later stages of his journey to the north, at Govora Mountain on the upper Pokuteke, he encountered a friendly paramount on the first of June 1872, and noted:

> ... the country rises gently and by and by becomes almost treeless. This basin in which the sources of the Pokuteke unite is a wonderful piece of country. The surrounding hills are not high and are overgrown by thick bush in parts. The soil is fertile: this should make a splendid site for colonists and cannot be unhealthy. (Burke, 1969: 221)

Unlike the foetid swamps of Quelimane that Mauch encounters later, here

Africa is described as an idyllic plateau and suited for European occupation; the

landscape is quantified as undulating hills ideal for pastures and crop-farming.

It is also measured as a climate and location fit for European habitation.

Besides providing a geological survey, Mauch clearly sees the need to inform

his readers about Zimbabwe as a potential colony. Assessed as a potential site

of colonial occupation, African resources and labour are measured and reflected

upon as objects.

Mauch's writings bear out Pratt's assertion that travel writers produced

differentiated conceptions of the European in relation to Africans, as well as

Stoler's suggestion that bourgeois identities at both the metropole and the

colony appear to be coded by race. Further, Mauch's text bears out Stoler's

assertion, quoted above, that discourses of sexuality both define the bourgeois

self and map out the moral limits of European nations by identifying marginal

members of society. When Mauch describes the life of the Makalakas he is

evidently influenced by European notions of degeneracy. African religion is

interpreted as superstition, women are described as slaves in a patriarchal world

and men are seen as fettered to primeval tradition. Africans are viewed as a

subspecies and as objects that are bonded by restrictive customs. A primitive

state and barbaric order are seen to prevail in which existence is fixed, allowing

for no change or individual choice. Mauch's own Lutheran secular affiliations emerge when 'Life after Death' is described as existing only:

> ... in the muddled imagination of the people. If one of them falls sick - or should he believe that he is sick - then a natural cause for the sickness is never even considered nor any enquiries made about it. All attempts at natural explanations are considered incredible, are listened to, thought over and - forgotten. Always it is the spirit of a long since, or only lately, departed person of the afflicted family which causes the sickness. Again he seeks help from the doctor [Nyanga] and his woods. According to the way in which they fall and the doctor's explanations, it is now this or the other deceased [who] needs this or the other medicine, this or that has to be done for the propitiation of the spirit. (Burke, 1969: 172)

African existence is reduced to a state of incomprehension and darkness where Nyangas exploit the fears and superstitions of the people. The Western observer is placed at a vantage from where he can classify the actions and beliefs of Africans. The belief system of the Makalaka is objectified and included in the late nineteenth century European taxonomy of 'savage' customs and behaviours. By contrast the narrator locates his ailments and suffering in the realm of treatable symptoms, fevers and disorders of the body. The Christian belief system is seen to protect the narrator from the apparent chaotic state he sees Africans trapped within. In the vanguard of an assumed rationality and in the interests of scientific progress, his journey takes him

through the land as an observer who reports on the geology and geography of the land but does not become attached to it. He is a professional explorer, focused on scientific observation of exotic phenomena. He records his observations for his European audience, for the fellowship of scientists and geographers.

Mauch constructs a European identity differentiated from that of Africans. The descriptive techniques employed in his illustration of Africans who lived in the Zoutpansberg indicate that he was possibly influenced by the classifications later popularised by Cesar Lombroso and the numerous nineteenth-century European race theories which classified humans into types on a scale that was ostensibly evolutionary.[18] Typically Mauch situates Lomondo, his typified 'savage type' close to, if not within nature:

> ... the forest is made impenetrable by a variety of bushes and creepers and one can proceed only on cleared footpaths. Lomondo himself is of an uncouth appearance and his face is almost animal-like. While his devouring-tools, behind extremely everted lips, have grown to perfection, the lids partly hide the small, cruel eyes and a once red-coloured piece of cloth makes the forehead appear still lower by the manner in which it is tied around the head. His behaviour matches fully one's expectations; crude talk in a shrill voice. I believe he would make a perfect character to portray a cannibal, and I can hardly doubt the pronouncement of one

of my companions to the effect that he actually is one. (Burke, 1969: 121)

Mauch focuses on what many of his Western metropolitan readership would have considered were simian features, cannibalistic motives and the savage appearance of the Africans. Passages like this lend credence to Stoler's argument that such discourses classified colonial subjects into distinct human kinds and that narratives simultaneously affirmed the bourgeois self and the racialized context in which they developed (1995: 7).

Stoler illustrates how bourgeois identities in both metropole and colony were coded by race and that discourses of sexuality "mapped the moral parameters of European nations" (1995: 8). Significantly, in the above extract Mauch acknowledges his indebtedness to the voice of settler prejudice. When he encounters Adam Renders, a hunter and trader of German origin, Mauch shows his familiarity with nineteenth-century race theory in Europe (which emphasized the notion of degeneracy and taboos regarding sexual relations with African women). Renders is described as a "white man who, unfortunately, belongs to the German Nation and who has sunk to the state of a Kaffir by his marrying two Kaffir women" (Burke, 1969: 134). In this sentence Mauch invents internal boundaries of proto-settler/colonial communities based on exclusionary cultural principles, where Lomondo is a 'savage' and Renders a

degenerate European. Similar techniques of differentiation were later deployed

by BSA Company and Colonial administrators in the 1890s to determine

allocations of property rights and citizenship at colonial sites.

Pratt describes Burton's Romantic spectacularisation of Lake Tanganyika

and its European discovery, how promontory descriptions were popular to

European readers in the 1870s and how Victorian discovery-rhetoric

accentuated the explorer's achievement (1992: 201-2). By contrast, Mauch

provides a sketch map and describes his tortuous observations of the

Zimbabwe Tradition Ruins:

... I went alone with my sketch-book and armed with my revolver to the

House of the Great Wife. I was well hidden from possible observers by

the tall grass intertwined with leguminous creepers, a suitable boulder

from which I could obtain an over-all sketch in the shortest time. Always

taking advantage of the tall grass which, unfortunately, prevented a

clearer inspection of the area between the mountain and the rondeau, I

crept into the interior of the latter and commenced drawing a rough

sketch-map. However, the ruined walls were hidden to such an extent

by trees, thorns, nettles, creepers, shrubs, grass and dry branches, that I

had to do the sketch without accurate measurements. No fixed point

relative to the sometimes visible parts nor a fixed segment of a wall

could be obtained because of the thick undergrowth. While the outer

wall up to a height of 24 feet presents the best preserved part, it appears

that none of the inner ones ever attained that height. (Burke, 1969: 188)

Nature is seen to defy Western European efforts to quantify remnants of an earlier civilization. In contrast to Burton's dramatization of a panoramic vista, Mauch is prevented from seeing a promontory vantage by hostile warriors and an impenetrable mass of jungle. Although his view was obscured, Mauch romanticizes his presence, emphasizing the dangers, his persistence, endurance and eventual achievements in a hostile and treacherous African interior. These were the elements of Mauch's reports that Petermann dramatized in his efforts to champion the heroic qualities of an emergent German nationalism.

Unlike Burton's description of Lake Nyanza (Pratt 1992: 201-202), here the landscape was not represented as extremely rich in Romantic metaphor and allusion. However, Mauch's description emphasizes a relation of mastery constituted between the European observer and the object, "the good Lord has guided me in a wonderful way ... on the 3rd September discovery of Goldfield No.1 of 1871; on the 5th September the discovery of the large ruins of Zimbabye" (Burke, 1969: 267). His sketch, descriptions and later reports are deictically ordered. What Mauch claims was hidden from European eyes becomes an object of European fantasy and myth in his narrative, with far-reaching consequences for the colonial project. Arguments for the British

occupation of the territory were stimulated because of reported German penetration of the interior from the West and Portuguese incursions from the east.

Mauch was in fact rescued from imprisonment at Chief Mapansule's kraal and able to see the Zimbabwe Tradition Ruins, only because of the efforts of Adam Renders (Burke, 1969: preface). Mauch himself does not acknowledge the part played by Renders in his 'discovery' of this ancient site. This suggests his spectacularisation of both the event and his own role in the process. Mauch's assumption that a "civilized nation must once have lived" at the site because all the indigenous people that he met were "uncivilised" (Burke,1969: 150), bears out the way in which identities were coded by race. Also, it illustrates how discourses of sexuality mapped out the moral parameters of European nations. Although Mauch could not find definite signs of mines in the quartz strata or the dry river beds around the site of Great Zimbabwe, he concluded that "one could not err in stating that there must have been diggings in former times" (Burke, 1969: 150). He simply assumed that earlier mines had caved in and were obliterated.

Denied sufficient time to explore the site adequately, he concluded his speculations about the mythological Hamiritic origin of Great Zimbabwe:

... only the Phoenicians could have brought it [the wood] here; further
Salamo used a lot of cedar-wood for the building of the temple and his
palaces: further: including here the visit of the Queen of Seba and
considering Zimbaoe or Simbaoe written in Arabic, ... one gets as a result
that the great woman who built the rondean could have been none other
than the Queen of Seba .... Bebereke mentions the four-legged pot
which cannot be broken; ... Today I dare to close this account with: The
Queen of Seba is the Queen of Simbaoe, Psalm 72,10 - The Seba
mentioned there is Simbaoe, Math. 2,11 - Of the three Kings the one
was from here, the others from Arabia and India. The reported pot is
possibly an Ark of the Covenant. The ruins are copies of Salamo's
temple and palace. (Burke, 1969: 190-191)

Mauch substantiates his association of Great Zimbabwe with King Solomon's

temple and Sheba with Simbaoe by referring to the following items: a fragment

of indigenous wood he mistook for cedar, his imaginative spelling of words

written in Arabic with his own translation of African words into German,[19] his

speculation that a reportedly indestructable African cooking pot was the Ark of

the Covenant and his nineteenth century European conviction that Africans

could not construct palaces and temples. Like so many Europeans who

followed him to that site, rather than employ archaeological and scientific

procedures that had been applied to Egyptian pyramids, Mauch indulges in

mythography and attempts to transform African artefacts into European

mysteries.

Mauch refers to his numerous attempts to elicit information from his guides and other local inhabitants; generally these are reported as unsuccessful. The part played by Africans in not providing him with all he requested is significant because he was often forced to speculate about the origins instead of being able to work from concrete evidence. Considering that he did not have a competent interpreter, Mauch was apparently recording what he thought would affirm Merensky's and his speculations about the Zimbabwe Tradition Ruins, rather than exercising caution about local knowledge he collected. He notes that the threat of Ndebele incursions into the area resulted in his forced departure via Senna, into Portuguese territory.

The degree to which conflict and collusion structured relationships in the interior is apparent in Mauch's journal entries. This is evident where the guide from Tsimombo, the Western narrator-observer and the metropolitan publisher are shown to have diverse and conflicting voices in the following report on a specific area. It is possible that the guide may have been either curious or eager to obtain some immediate material reward for his efforts in suggesting the stranger should visit a particular site. Mauch needed to expand his journal dedicated to the 'discovery' and exploration of the 'Northern Goldfields' of the interior and Petermann had particular motives for portraying Heinrich Barth, Karl Mauch and other German explorers as heroic individuals of an outward looking German nation-state in search of empire. The complexity of this grid of

diversion and confluence depended on the relative status of the participants and readers at the two different sites of production. One was in the African interior and the other in an industrialised Europe. When he crossed the Yantsitsi river near Samali's village, Mauch spoke to a guide from Tsimombo whose brother:

> ... had already washed a lot of gold in this boundary stream and he knows the place. In a very short time he had obtained so much, that it would have been sufficient to buy a gun or cotton cloth for himself. He still does so when he needs it, as do many others. The gold occurs in very small grains or leaves, not infrequently one finds also larger ones, as big as a bullet (12 to the pound) which, however, have always to be given to the chief of the district. With the rest of the gold they buy women and give two or more reeds for a maiden. He thought that Samali would certainly show some to me if I asked him to do so. Nobody could extract gold from the rocks, but their ancestors are supposed to have done so, and also the white men who lived in this country a long, long time ago. (Burke, 1969: 237)

In contrast to Mauch's earlier spectacularisation of his own role in the 'discovery' of the Zimbabwe Tradition Ruins, here he may be the passive recorder of what the guide from Tsimombo tells him about gold washing and the part gold played in the economy of the region. Unable to verify what the guide says by examining the stream, because of repeated attacks of malaria at this stage of his journey, Mauch accepted the evidence presented to him concerning gold. Significantly it was the guide's brother who had washed the

gold and the exact location is not divulged. The mode of representation here is constructed as much from the outside as from the inside. Vague reportage of gold-washing with no Western definition of place now satisfies the once sceptical European observer, and leads him to conclude that gold is plentiful throughout the district.

Although in the above extract what convinces him is technically a rumour, Mauch aspires to Western scientificity in his analysis of the potential value of Southern Africa to the Imperial state. He objectifies the speaking subject (guide from Tsimombo), who becomes the productive subject in this transaction. As an analysis of wealth, the narrative explores the knowledges required for European colonial intervention in Africa.

According to the fever-stricken Mauch, chief Samali explains that a certain [Zimbabwe Tradition] ruin "is the small, roofless hut up there, where I sacrifice to the 'God of the white people' and pray to him that he may kill my enemies and send white people once more" (Burke,1969 : 235). In response to Mauch's further questions on the supposedly alien civilisation that ruled in the Manica region, Mauch records that Chief Samali confirmed that white people lived there:

... a very long time ago; one cannot see anything of their houses, but where they dug in the stones can plainly be seen. They dug a lot of gold and we should all like dearly that some would come again; they would help us against Umtoko, who so frequently appears here and robs us of everything we possess .... Furthermore the whites who are the children of God to whom I sacrifice and pray, know much better how to pray for rain than I do. (Burke, 1969: 235)

This reported conversation involves the importing and naturalization of the speech of Samali, it contains inner tensions, collaborations and negotiations which are comparable to the process of dialogue. When the narrator reports the speech of his African informants to support his own 'truth' claims, the narrative is forced to accommodate the voice of those whom it usually dismisses. It appears that Samali was at war with Mtoko and needed assistance. At this stage, Mauch relied on an interpreter and was unlikely to provide evidence that would have undermined his own thesis. His emphasis on the premiss that there had been an ancient precedent of alien domination in the region would have been received by metropolitan readers as further legitimation for colonial exploitation of Mashonaland. Expansionists would have regarded this as further evidence that chaos, as factional violence, needed to be replaced by 'Pax Germanica', Western civilization replacing what was perceived as African disorder.

Particularly towards the end of Mauch's journal, the narrative should be scrutinised more as a record of the degree to which representations were influenced by the Africans whom the narrator encountered. The part Africans played in Europe's constitution of subordinated races is evident in Mauch's construction of events and perceptions. The narrative contains utterances of Africans which may have been intended to affirm the leading direction which Mauch's questions were taking and supply statements that pleased the European. He thinks that the only people who had built and mined in the region, were "Phoenicians and, possibly, Israelites in their thousands" (Burke, 1969: 226). This was typical of Mauch's method of confirming notions that he had attempted to elicit from his informants. The dual construction of this statement as much from the outside, by the European scientific observer, as from within, by the bemused African respondents, is apparent in Mauch's reported dialogue.

The shift from his earlier sceptical dismissal of the opinions of African people he questioned along the way to an unquestioning acceptance of the reports of the brothers of guides and his increasingly vague directions and exaggerations indicate the change that malaria had produced in the European observer-geologist. The further Mauch travelled towards Senna, the more frequent and expansive were his discoveries of gold. He recorded an "apparently very extensive" alluvial goldfield to the north of Samali's village:

... an important alluvial goldfield, that is, in this case gold occurs here in
the rocks as well as in the washed-up, or rather washed-down, sand.
That it is very rich, or has to be so, is testified by the information that
the people, while washing, only take what they can pick up with their
fingers. (Burke, 1969: 236)

Without any reference or verifiable details, he simply notes the local

knowledges and practices of which he has been informed. There is an absence

of the thorough explorations and detailed observations about geological features

that characterized his earlier surveys. Drained and reduced to a supine position

by malarial fever, Mauch had to be carried or supported. Ironically he now

found himself in the identical condition he had deplored in his earlier

observations on the African community on the Limvubu river and at other

villages. His directions had by this time deteriorated into utterly unscientific

and vague gestures such as, "according to information from our guide, in old

times gold was washed in numerous river-beds of the very hilly country"

(Burke, 1969: 237). That Mauch believed he had finally reached an area

"which has always been immensely rich in gold" is evident when he patriotically

renamed the goldfield at Samali's as the 'Kaiser Wilhelm Field'. This

simultaneous act of naming and possession is consistent with Petermann's role

as the publisher of the reports designed to rouse feelings of German patriotism

and national advancement at the metropolis.

As Baines was later to contend, Mauch never actually reached the rich alluvial goldfield of the Mazoe that he had alluded to and his directions were totally inaccurate. Mauch's observations about Eldorado eventually ceased as he became delirious and was carried by machila into Portuguese territory. Once he reached Quelimane he commented on the Goanese traders, who traded in the interior for gold and ivory, and were "richly adorned with gold watches, chains, rings and other golden jewellery" (Burke, 1969: 254). Contrary to the impression of a flourishing trade in gold created by his earlier reports, Mauch observes that the "lucrative business remains the trade in slave girls which shows a good profit, and there is a great demand for such in the interior" (Burke, 1969: 255). In the colonial Portuguese economy, Mauch suggested, slave girls were considered more valuable than gold. However, as he had already reported on his journey via Samali's village in the interior, in the endowment economy of African marriages, maidens were exchanged for two or three reeds of gold dust. Such contradictory observations indicate discontinuity in the narrative of the explorer.

The last entries of the narrative are concerned with Mauch's journey by river to Lourenco Marques, his embarrassment over the ragged condition of his clothes and his conflict with the Portuguese authorities before he left for Europe. As has been suggested above, Stoler's assertions that bourgeois identities are coded by race, and that discourses of sexuality identify marginal

members of society need to be considered at this point. Mauch attempts to restore interior boundaries of national communities when he writes:

> ... having often been the target for ridicule because of my appearance (a leather cap, a winter coat which, besides some differently coloured, sewn on patches, also left some unwanted openings, and my 'unmentionables' stained with grease) I, at last, was given an orderly by a young, dandy officer, who led me to the Governor's house. (Burke, 1969: 251)

The peculiarly Western self-conscious anxieties which locate Mauch in a Western European social order resurface as he enters hostile Portuguese territory. While he continually focused on descriptions of Africans throughout the narrative, the international rivalry between competing European industrialized nations was suppressed. Mauch then employs exclusionary cultural principles to distinguish between a lethargic and disorderly Mediterranean presence and his own 'logical' and 'methodical' actions. Mauch utilizes an essentially nationalistic discourse in response to what he regards as a mestizzo-melange population in a torpid and fever-ridden swampland of Quelimane. The Western presence is seen to be compromised and ultimately in regression in a situation where European, Goan and African are not clearly separated. The apparent lack of clear social, national and ethical boundaries disturbs the returned traveller from the interior. Instead of the Western 'order'

or 'civilization' on which he has predicated much of his narrative, he is faced by a mestizzo-culture, where slave-traders are housed near official government residences. The only hierarchy visible to the German in transit, is that of a corrupt colonial Portuguese officialdom which openly competes and involves itself in slave-trading activities.

Baines

While Mauch's narrative contains powerful mythologising elements concerning ancient Zimbabwe and the Northern goldfields, Baines claims to present an objective assessment of the exploitable resources and conditions in the interior. Mauch aspires to Western scientific and rationalist imperatives and yet relies largely on contemporary missionery speculations and unsubstantiated reports of his African guides. Baines utilizes imperial and nationalistic discourses of exploration and observation to replace the myth of an Eldorado in Cental Southern Africa with the more enduring notion of Britain's 'civilizing mission'. My examination of Baines will consider effects of domination associated with power, which, Foucault suggests, originate in manoeuvres, tactics, techniques and functions that operate within historical terrains. I will also focus on how relations of power within the contours of a colonial order invested the Western observer and the African observed. I wish to suggest that a reading of Baines's journals can reveal that the workings of power on the margins of empire

comprise a complex strategic situation in which multiple force relations are present.

By familiarizing himself with earlier reports on the interior, being an indefatigable landscape painter and journal writer, Baines articulates distinct imperial notions of Britain's assumed role as cartographer of Africa. Baines had read the accounts of earlier hunters such as William Cornwallis Harris (1840), the settler verse of Broderick (later published in 1875), and the proto-colonial records of Zimbabwe by Reverend A. Merensky, Mauch, Erskine, and Elton. In particular, Baines noted how Mauch had played a key role within colonial mythography:

> [that his] vivid and glowing descriptions, highly tinted by the rainbow hues of hope, attracted to our shores a host of adventurers from well nigh exhausted auriferous regions in California, Australia and New Zealand. (1877: 120)

Before his journeys into the African interior he had traversed North America and Australia and co-authored an explorer's manual, *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel and Exploration* (1867). It was from prestigious British scientific institutions, such as the Royal Geographic Society, that he sought recognition for his labours. His entries contained detailed readings of latitude, longitude and altitude, as well as references to existing histories and reports of Central

Southern Africa. While Mauch was primarily concerned with a geological survey, Baines's revised maps, his analysis of what other travellers had reported, his landscapes, and socio-political data constitute more of an expansionist impact study than a travel diary. Baines shows absolute confidence in the potential benefits of British sovereignty and claims to dispel earlier myths about the region including those circulated by Mauch. Baines's representation of his protracted negotiations with Lobengula differs considerably from many subsequent British reports of Ndebele brutality which described Africans as 'savage' and African society as disorder personified.

I employ Pratt's notion of the way writers produced the rest of the world for European readerships, how specific representational procedures encoded and legitimated the expansion of Empire, and how Victorian discovery rhetoric underpinned Baines's narrative. In this study of the production and circulation of exploration discourse, I focus on how techniques of power become embodied in local, regional and material institutions on the boundaries of empire. I consider whether differentiated conceptions of the European in relation to the African are evident in his journals. It appears that Baines's writing produced nineteenth-century Central Southern Africa as an Eldorado for European readerships in South Africa and at the metropolitan centres. His journal of the 'northern goldfields' consistently reported signs of gold and enthusiastic prospectors' reports. There is a sense of drama, and an urgency in this

narrative of discovery; the narrator is pictured at the cutting-edge of history, in the vanguard of a major gold-rush.

Baines's journal marks the sudden shift in Western expectations and notions of the profitability of African colonies in the wake of sensational discoveries of diamonds in the Northwestern interior. However, his stated project of demythologising Western knowledge about Zimbabwe was complicated by his own use of earlier Portuguese myths, and his reliance on the opinions of early hunters and missionaries. His complicity in the broader project of empire is underlined by his leadership of the South African Goldfields Expedition (SAGFE) to Zimbabwe and ritualistic displying of the British flag at each camp he struck. The narrative attempts to objectify local African and colonial knowledge and transform in into European 'scientific' knowledge. In an attempt to justify his critical review of earlier accounts, he outlines a situation where:

> ... sorely disappointed indeed were many of these early pioneers when on their arrival they found that technical terms descriptive of the richness of a gold field had been used here, in a loose and unrestricted manner, by writers who reckoned not upon the strict and literal sense in which they would be understood by miners in already established gold fields. In no instance was this more obvious than in that of the word 'payable', which often was freely used to designate a field in which the quartz appeared sufficiently rich to pay when it should be properly worked, while the miners understood it to apply only to one on which all the preliminary

explorations had been made, and which was already being worked and paying those who had claims upon it. (Baines, 1877: 121)

While indicating his awareness of the restrictions that distance placed upon his metropolitan readership, Baines asserts his avoidance of populist and sensationalist reporting. Instead, he aspired to a level of empiricism, objectivity and authority which he saw as commensurate with the status of a professional Victorian explorer.

Although critical of sensational accounts of gold strikes, Baines's journal depicted the region as a potentially rich goldfield. Daily entries for his stay at Chegutu (Hartley Hill), which Baines considered a "major gold field", testified that quartz samples were found, some with "visible specks of gold" (Wallis, 1946: 165) and many that the geologist found it necessary to examine. At Swinburne's diggings, Baines noted that the quartz was of a "reddish colour in which several specks of gold were plainly discernible to the naked eye" (Wallis, 1946: 165). A detailed map dated September, 1869 of the first claim of the SAGFE company at Chegutu clearly indicated extensive claims. The support of Nelson, Hartley, Griet and others was used to substantiate his own findings. Griet, whom Swinburne employed, apparently showed Baines a "newly discovered block of surface stone as big as Meg Merrilies pot containing gold

which, upon a close inspection, was actually visible in one or two places to the naked eye" (Wallis, 1946: 172).

A sense of a new age of high possibilities is foregrounded in these utterances, where the reader was led to believe that gold was abundant in the region. Narratives of the gold-rush, subsequent invasions by European miners and fortune-seekers and mushrooming settlements had become entrenched in various colonial mythologies after earlier gold-strikes in Australia (1850s), California (1860s) and the Kimberley diamond diggings (1868). The idea of making a fortune in distant exotic lands had a particular escapist appeal for the urban industrialised readership at the metropolis. Baines and numerous other explorers were also supplying the popular leisure-reading material that was in demand among the increasingly literate urban population. At the same time Baines's narrative also defines a complex strategic situation. It demonstrates the multiplicity of force relations and transformations that circumscribed individual positions in the interior of the subcontinent in the 1870s.

In the following extract, Baines's analysis of monopolist forces at work on the margins of empire foregrounds the manner in which exploration discourse defines the bourgeois self and identifies marginal members of the body politic. Significantly it marks the shift to a Cape-based speculator economy in the wake of the Kimberley diamond workings. It is thus clearly

differentiated from Mauch's discovery rhetoric of the 1860s and illustrates how sedimented discourses restructure internal frontiers of national communities. Also it demonstrates how nationalistic discourses are predicated on exclusionary cultural principles that divide society along class, property and citizenship lines. Describing the changes that capital investors on the London Stock Exchange were affecting in Africa in the 1870s at a time when the Ndebele succession led to the recall of all European hunters and prospectors to Bulawayo, Baines identifies the monopolist practices of speculators and missionaries like:

> Sir John Swinburne, who seems to have, temporarily at least, succeeded in inducing the Matebele to consent to grant him a monopoly up the country ...[and also the LMS missionary T.M. Thomas, who was] dazzled by the title and magnificent promises of Sir John Swinburne, [and] has consented not only to obtain permission for him to enter the country on fair terms, but to assist him in obtaining a monopoly of it to the exclusion of all others, in return for the service he is to render the Matabele in sending to Natal for their new king. [Shortly after this] Mr G. Wood arrived from Inthlathlangela and reported that the white men would not be ordered out of the country. He said that they were offended at Sir John's attempts to obtain a monopoly of the mineral wealth of their country and that he had himself advised them [the Ndebele] not to grant it. (1877: 198-202)

Here Baines signals an end to a supposed earlier phase of 'innocent' exploration of the 1850s and 1860s in the Southern African interior. As a servant of empire, he registers his unease, discomfort and a sense of foreboding of changes wrought by the aggressive speculator-capitalism of the metropolis. Nevertheless, his own objective was to obtain important concessions for the SAGFE company and, as my study reveals, he was prepared to enter the fray using whatever means were possible, despite these reservations over the methods of Swinburne and others.

Baines had been employed to report on the presence of gold and both his journey and his journal entries are structured much like a treasure hunt. At the start of his journey he comments on the gold workings at Tati and reports the findings of other mining concerns involved there. He continues this commentary in all the regions he visited. Writing of the confidence he had in Nelson, the geologist who accompanied the SAGFE company expedition, Baines enthused "that if a profitable goldfield exists in the country he will not fail to find it" (Wallis, 1946: 127). Continual references to Nelson's assays are made, typically that he had seen "extensive tracts of quartz which he will have to test yet as to their comparative richness" (Wallis, 1946: 149). Baines's journal served as the basis of the posthumous publication, *The Gold Regions of South Eastern Africa* (1883) in which the existence of payable gold in Mashonaland was confirmed. For example, he notes Hartley's opinion that the "richest

country is that to the Northeast of Moselekatse's place, where they divide the streams that run to the Southwest from the tributaries of the Zambesi and where the sources of the Sabia flow out between the two" (Wallis, 1946: 27). When his guide refused to go to the Zambezi, Baines speculates that the "sources of the Luenya (Mazoe) and other rivers in which the Portuguese wash for gold, cannot be fifty miles from us" (Wallis, 1946: 160).

These sub-narratives of fortune-seeking generated the impression among metropolitan readers that there was a great deal of gold in Mashonaland. Later, writers such as W.H. Brown (1899) and E.P. Mathers (1891), explorers and travellers generally regarded Mauch's and Baines's journals as authoritative and used them to justify further explorations, concession-seeking and prospecting in Matabeleland. Baines stresses the urgency for his directors to act by focusing on two factors: the large influx of white miners that were attempting to enter Matabeleland and the uncertainty among concession-seekers about whether the new king, Lobengula, would recognise existing deals for hunting and prospecting granted by Mzilikazi.[20]

The narrative utilizes discourses of geological exploration and functions within a continuous and uninterrupted process which subjects bodies, governs their gestures and dictates their behaviours. In a complex way, subjects are constituted as effects of a British objectifying power. By making meticulous

daily entries in his journal, painting his wagon a bright red colour and raising the Union Jack at each camp site, Baines is both an effect of an objectifying imperial power and an element of its articulation.

Pratt's definition of the link between natural history and imperial expansion gives primacy to Western man via "a scientific rationalization of relations among people, animals and plants, thereby figuring a type of global hegemony which correlates with the centrifugal movement of the expansionist project" (1992: 205). I wish to explore Baines's view of Nature in the interior to establish how it corresponds with that of Mungo Park and Richard Burton which Pratt has outlined. The way Baines records the storm of the fifteenth of March 1870 is an instructive example. He describes how that afternoon:

> ... the wind came again from the north-west, getting under my tent and swelling it upward like a balloon and making it for the time so roomy that I wished I could always ensure the convex instead of the concave form. A smart shower fell to the westward and another came down from an intensely black cloud that canopied Manyami's hills, but none came near us. At sunset a dark grey cloud overhung the western horizon, its northern edge resembling the steep side of some rugged mountain capped by long stratiform vapours, the recesses of which were opened up and illuminated by flashes of lightning, sometimes hardly strong enough to cast a flush upon the cold grey mass, and at others of intense and dazzling brightness. The most remarkable peculiarity however was

that the lightening was confined to the northern edge, often running just along it like a border of white-hot metal, sometime inside it, and less frequently outside, leaping as it were, across the clear warm western sky, in one instance descending from the overhanging horizontal stratum to the mountain cloud, as if in reality it were flashing from heaven to earth. (Wallis, 1946: 296)

Here the topos and methaphors of the fiction writer are deployed in describing the 'real' where forces of Nature mirror the European appropriation of territory. The Western presence on the veld is normalized in the process and made to appear essential to further transformations of this region that his narrative envisages. This is achieved by his portrayal of an exotic and deserted landscape, subjected to a violent storm. This investment in a Romantic topos could be regarded as a procedure whereby the narrator seeks to legitimate his individual quest. This is in stark contrast with Mauch's survival narrative and primarily geological survey of the route he was forced to take. Travelling mostly on foot, Zimbabwe was seen as both hostile and inhospitable for Mauch. The relative luxury of a fully equipped and staffed expedition in a wagon, and the legitimacy accorded by Lobengula's permission to travel, allowed Baines a degree of leisure denied to Mauch. As an Imperial landscape artist, Baines looks at the interior as one concerned with colour, perspective and composition. He sees Africa, its topography and people through Western

eyes sensitive to the exotic challenge the Zimbabwean interior presented to his audience.

Nevertheless Baines holds a bourgeois conception of the world as 'normal', urbanised, literate, and male dominated. The narrative is underpinned by a Western understanding, a rational, interpretive and objectifying logic which occupies a position from which it interprets social orders, plant and animal kingdoms. Baines's text marks the shift from earlier concessions of imperial sport/hunting obtained by Cornwallis, Cummings, Hartley and Selous, to the sort of concession and right to mine the land on a permanent basis which the SAGFE urgently required. Baines marks the transformation from hunter to concession-seeker or syndicalist envoy. It is significant that Hartley's expertise and standing in the Ndebele court is accessed and used by Baines to secure a mining concession. His discussion with the Matabeleland trader Robert Lee concerning the contrasting entitlement and value of land in European and African terms indicates the transformation of values that Baines and other European hunters and traders had initiated. Baines discussed buying land from Lobengula with the trader Lee, "land is of no value except as hunting-ground until we give it a value by working on it; and the Matabele would probably charge us as much for a plot as big as a wagon as for a district" (Wallis, 1946: 258).

Baines's narrative documents historical, technological and strategic

changes and developments that occurred in the late 1860s and early 1870s in

Matabeleland, particularly those surrounding the succession issue at the death

of the Ndebele king Mzilikazi. Crais has attributed such transformation to the

dissemination of colonial strategies developed in the Eastern Cape 1770-1850

(1992: 127). Baines's familiarity with the strategies used to divide African

populations in both the Eastern Cape and Natal explain how he came to imagine

the extension of British control over the interior as an inevitable continuation of

this process. Transformations in the system of rule in the Ndebele state were

later to be annexed by more global forms of domination generated in the

colonised space of the expanding Cape; particularly by the monopolist practices

of mining capitalism being developed by Cecil Rhodes and others in Griqualand

West.

Europe's expansionist trajectory in Southern Africa was at times partially

determined on the margins of empire by opportunistic and unscrupulous colonial

officials acting beyond the scope of their duties and jurisdiction. Baines's

methods and procedures of obtaining permission to prospect for gold in Ndebele

territory provide an illustration of how explorers became trapped within their

own efforts to establish their 'objectivity' as observers and participatants in the

scramble for concessions. Initially Baines had travelled to Matabeleland with

Hartley, the veteran elephant hunter, who suggested that the way to gain

permission to prospect in Matabeleland was:

> ... to go fairly and openly to the natives and attempt no deceit with
> them, but to tell them plainly that we are subjects of the Great Queen,
> Victoria, whose name they all know, to show them the letter given us by
> her representative, the Governor of Natal, and to tell them that our
> Queen does not want their country, but she wants a road into it that her
> people may seek gold and in return benefit the inhabitants by commerce
> and free trade. He advises us from the beginning to assume all the
> authority that the Governor's letter will give us and as much more as we
> legitimately can. (Wallis, 1946: 32)

The rhetoric employed here is designed to appear as fair and open to African

leaders although it sought to undermine their sovereignty in significant ways.

Like the many ensuing representations to Lobengula, it was calculated to give

the impression that Baines had the official sanction of the British government.

Contrary to Hartley's claim that the document was from Governor Keate,[21] the

author of the letter was Theophilus Shepstone, who was Secretary of 'Native'

Affairs in Natal.[22]

The letter on which Baines based his claims to legitimacy over other

concession-seekers in Matabeleland, dated 12 March 1869, set up a platform

for Baines's later omission of crucial details in his report to Lobengula which I

examine in due course.[23] In his reported conversation with Hartley above, Baines was advised to "assume all the authority that the governor's letter will give [him] and as much more as [he] legitimately can" (Wallis, 1946: 49). Here Baines and Hartley plan the deception of Lobengula. Shepstone was known among settlers for his knowledge of the African people and for initiating the division and subjugation of the African population in Natal. Contrary to the stated intention of seeking only for gold, Lobengula and his counsel realised that the entrenchment of colonial rule at the Cape and Natal signalled the British potential to turn their imperial gaze on Matabeleland. Shepstone used the language of imperial privilege, which sanctioned the actions of British agents in the interior. It is distanced and permits no play with its framing context. At the time it was written, it held great power over illiterate and misinformed Africans who were subjected to it.

Opposed to this intimidatory declamation is Baines's internally-persuasive discourse in a later conversation he records with Hartley. To a certain extent, Shepstone's letter centralizes forces in imperial language by homogenizing and hierarchizing issues at the colonial site. The use of metonomy in the phrase "many people from over the great waters" was intended to intimidate Lobengula, whereas the more proverbial idiom, "it is the way of a wise man to guide what he cannot prevent" (Wallis, 1946: 49) foreshadowed the European

invasion which Mzilikazi and the Matabele had already escaped from in the South after their defeat at Vegkop in 1837.

The inflammatory potential of the letter at Lobengula's court at GuBulawayo was recognised by Hartley, who was to interpret it to the Ndebele King. With his experience of bargaining for hunting concessions, Hartley rejected Baines's offered translation, preferring to interpret it himself so that he "could be able to explain or modify some expres-sions which, if too literally given, might be construed into a threat, or at least unnecessarily alarm the Matabele" (Wallis,1946: 49). The power for Lobengula to act against or disagree with the requests is denied from the outset, while the benefits of allowing Baines to proceed are stressed. The differentiation of Western as opposed to African culture in the process of subjugation and transformation to British control is apparent in the expansionist phrase "to all the native chiefs, etc.", and "to all Chiefs of native tribes residing northward and eastward of the Colony of Natal" (Wallis, 1946: 47). Coming from Shepstone who had intervened in the Matabele succession, it also signalled British expansionist ideals to the Matabele.[24]

Baines reported that Hartley had promised any assistance he could give with the reservation that, "though he must maintain his character as an elephant hunter, he would be able to bring us within ten miles of quartz reef

most likely to be auriferous" (Wallis, 1946: 35). In return Baines promised to recommend the SAGFE company directors "to grant [Hartley] a number of shares on the most liberal terms" (Wallis, 1946: 35). Baines gained admission to prospect in Matabeleland on the strength of Shepstone's letter and was subsequently granted a mining concession by Lobengula.

Baines's writing produced differentiated conceptions of the European self in relation to something it became possible to call the rest of the world. The difference between what Baines tells his directors and the strategic omissions in the message he provides to Lobengula demonstrate the production and circulation of an 'explorer's true discourse' in contemporary narratives of the Southern African interior. In a concerted attempt to convince his readership of his 'objectivity', plain style and unrefined reporting, Baines creates a site where colonial knowledge is formed. This was modified by other writers who sought to exploit what was exotic and unfamiliar to readers.

Europe's construction of subordinated Africans was shaped by the latter's representations of themselves and their customs which they disclosed or concealed from Europeans. For Friday 3 September 1869, Baines records his inspection of one of the many ancient diggings north of the Maadjen river in an area "containing many quartz reefs" (Wallis,1946: 142). Commenting on the way the Mashona guide obligingly collected samples of quartz from deep holes,

Baines's narrative anticipates Marlow on his journey up the river in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1889). There is also a suggestion of doubt and the uncertainty of the colonial exercise:

> ... if we had been in some gloomy forest the lank figure of our guest thus plunging, feet first, into the earth and again emerging with his long elf-locks (manufactured, be it understood, of flax blackened with grease and charcoal hanging about his shoulders) might have passed for a gnome or kobold. But the brilliant sun of the tropics is fatal to such illusions which pass away like visions of the night, or stage effects when the light of day pours in upon the tinsel of the theatre. The truth, however, is no less romantic than the ideal. Here was in fact a naked savage of a conquered and persecuted tribe possessing knowledge of that metal for which the victorious Matabele have not even a name, and doubtless a descendant of the men who gathered it for the early Portuguese before the slave trade desolated the country and made it more profitable to sell men to foreign lands than to employ their labour in their own, a man whose ancestors perhaps fought in the traditional wars with white men who wore 'iron jackets,' which young Africa counts as fabulous as white men do the story of the mysterious [Zimbabwe Tradition] ruins north of the Limpopo. ... the story of Barreto and his expedition, which could not be less interesting than that of Cortes and the Conquistadores. (Wallis, 1946: 142-3)

Underlining the epic dimension of his personal quest, Baines's use of the 'explorer's true discourse' of the sixteenth century European penetration of the Americas to legitimate the civilizing mission which Britain pursued in late nineteenth-century Zimbabwe. It is in the voice of the settler-miner and farmer who will use forced labour after the invasion of 1890 that Baines speaks here. He constructs a history of European invasion to which the British are seen as successors. In speaking for Africans, Baines denies them a voice. His reference to Cortes and the conquistadores underscores the predatory nature of his own mission. The Social Darwinist notion of the survival of the fittest is used to justify the British presence in Mashonaland. The relationship between the seer and seen is predicated as that of master and servant.

Baines and Mauch's narratives are effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of Western knowledge about Southern Africa. After 1850, along with other writers, they devised methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures for investigation and research and apparatuses for the control of African society in the initial phase of subjection on the margins of empire. In significant ways, they resemble seventeenth and eighteenth century mechanisms of power investigated by Foucault. European narratives that referred to colonial frontiers in the 1870s act as mechanisms of power that are exercised over bodies through a system of surveillance and via a network of material coercions which implement an efficient and controlled increase

(minimum expenditure, maximum return) in the utility of the subjected African body. This power was disciplinary and can be seen as a fundamental instrument in the making of industrial capitalism on the margins of empire and in the construction of divisions within colonial society in the Southern African interior in the 1860s and 1870s.

The way in which his exchanges with African leaders are reformulated, so that the narrator becomes a mediator of events he chooses to report, constitutes the rupture between what the text says and what it thinks. In view of the fact that the narrator continually compromises his position and relations with whom he negotiates, the text "should be set to work against itself" (Belsey, 1980: 134-135). Baines constitutes himself as a mediator of 'the truth' or the 'discourse of right' in his exchanges with Lobengula. He invents this position for himself and his detailed description of all his transactions are intended as a justification of his actions, as a normalisation of his methods and strategies. His role as concession-seeker is normalised here while earlier he had been critical of Swinburne's syndicalist "new fashion of campaigning" referred to above.

Concluding his observations before returning to Bulawayo, Baines stated that he was firmly convinced that "gold is extensively distributed", and he reported that another agent Edwards claimed that "gold is very extensively

diffused throughout the continent" (Wallis, 1946: 190). As agent of the SAGFE company, he provides as much encouragement as possible to the directors to invest in mining operations in Mashonaland. These views are scientifically supported by Nelson's geological report, which Selous and other travellers were later to quote when promoting Rhodes's interests before the occupation in 1890. Using the map he had made of the expedition, Baines showed Lee:

> ... all the places indicated by Mr. Nelson or known to myself as containing gold, especially the country between Impembesi, Sebaque and Umnyati rivers, the Simbo rivulet north of the Umvuli river, the quartz hills seen by Mr Hartley near the Portuguese house on the Imbula river and those on the Inzinghazi, as well as the old Mashona workings I saw north-west of our camp at Ganyana. (Wallis, 1946: 268)

What Baines reports to Lee, whom he proposes as the resident agent for the SAGFE company at Bulawayo, needs to be compared with what he told Lobengula. The former were the details that Lobengula expected to receive from Baines; this was surely the "knowledge... [required]...to protect the interests of those in whose territories it is said to be" [and the] "positive information of its [gold's] existence and locality" that Shepstone referred to in the ON HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE letter. The concession that subsequently enabled Baines to prospect in Matabeleland was obtained without divulging the

locality of the gold to Lobengula. Instead Baines produces a differentiated

conception of the European self in relation to Africans in his account to

Lobengula of the findings of his expedition. Utilizing a discourse from which

the African is permanently excluded, his monologic speech between 'civilized'

European and 'uncivilized' African was framed by a simplistic and patronizing

idiom, typical of the style of other colonial narratives:

> ... I told him there were various rocks in the country, some of which
> were barren, but others were of the kind that contained gold, and in
> these I had occasionally found a little here and there upon the surface,
> enough to indicate that if I were to dig, I might find more; or if I had
> leave to search the surface, I might do so, but that this was yet
> uncertain, and all that I had seen could only be regarded as the bud upon
> a tree, to indicate the kind of fruit that might be expected, and that I
> could not tell till I saw some more of the country. (Wallis, 1946: 212)

Significantly here, Western knowledge of the potential mineral wealth of the

region places the European observer in a position of dominance over his African

hosts. Significantly, this assumption of control, achieved by the application of

Western knowledge about geology and mining, is denied to the African. By

constituting himself as the one who has the knowledge of Gold that Lobengula

requires, Baines attempts to obtain additional concessions for further prospect-

ing expeditions. It is by "seeing some more of the country" that the European

assessment of its wealth will be facilitated. Western observation enables and

simultaneously constitutes an act of possession for the leader of the London

based SAGFE to Central Southern Africa. Without divulging the map and

details he had given to Lee, Baines subsequently negotiated and obtained a

concession to mine from the newly appointed leader of the Ndebele, King

Lobengula. He took the opportunity to sketch both a portrait of the king and a

scene depicting Lobengula and his court which supplemented and legitimated

the written accounts of proceedings he witnessed at Bulawayo and at Inyati. It

was one of the few European representations of the Ndebele king ever made.[25]

Wider African suspicions surrounding Western forms of representation such as

photography appear justified in this context (Comaroff, 1991: 37).

Baines sought to maintain an imagined neutrality as observer in these

encoding and signifying practices, but, as a participant in transactions on behalf

of a London syndicate, he became enmeshed in the discourse of subjugation.

Baines's Victorian humanist interpretive frame led him to describe King

Lobengula and Africans generally as human beings and to include notions of

African sovereignty in the correspondence and concessions he composed on

behalf of Lobengula. Baines's association with the SAGFE expedition to the

region locates him as an employee and concession-seeker. While Baines

avoided the more common narrative strategies of contemporary travellers such

as Selous, Mauch and John Moffat, which explicitly demonise the Matabele

king and his rule, his injunction that Africans should first enter the service of

Europeans to learn how to mine the gold sanctions the exploitative practices

that occurred in the 1890s. His account therefore provides a contrast to those

countless totalizing and polemical renditions of Ndebele savagery which created

a precedent for the British invasion of the region. However, this consideration

is negated by Baines's ruse to get a concession without disclosing the exact

locations of where he had prospected successfully. Significantly it is through

Baines's idiomatic use of the English language that he deceived Lobengula.[26]

Baines's signifying practices encode and legitimate the aspirations of

economic expansion of empire and, at times, they betray them. His description

of Lobengula's response to his evasive report on the presence of gold is an

attempt to gain legitimacy for European mining in Matabeleland:

> Watson showed him the little specks in our specimen stones, and he
> soon began to recognise the matter as one of importance to his country,
> and asked whether a man could be able to send his own boys to collect
> it, as he would to shoot ivory. I told him it would be possible perhaps in
> future times, but they would have to learn first by working for the white
> men. (Wallis, 1946: 217).

The presence of gold in Matabeleland and Mashonaland was the reason, Baines

suggests here, that African people would enter the colonial economic and

political order at the level of labourers and subjects. According to this

perception the white men who knew how to dig for gold would be their masters. This perspective was different from that employed when Baines was seeking leave to explore for gold at the beginning of his expedition. Then they phrased it differently, as "merely to obtain on fair terms the privilege of working in the unoccupied portions" (Wallis, 1946: 48). Here Baines uses language both socially and ideologically; both the narrative and the reality which it represents are part of imperial ideology. The articulation of ideological elements contained in the text suggest the economic and political subjection of Africans within areas controlled by colonists.

These texts should be viewed as skirmishes within a continuing conflict, as arenas in which nothing was uncontested, as part of a 'contact zone' in which competing voices engaged in conflictual dialogic exchange. The reports, journals and maps were incomplete, and spoke of exchanges which were inconclusive, embattled and never neutral. The fields of exploration were in dispute, they were contradictory, they propagated inaccuracy, indulged in mythology, and pandered to Romanticist notions of Life and Nature. While the process of reading and interpretating such narratives is deeply problematic, an engagement with all the voices that were part of a process of 'transculturation', as Pratt has suggested, reveals more about how images of the various subjects were presented at the metropole. I regard the texts therefore as ambivalent, as expressing as much doubt as they expressed certainty about Europe's

expansionist projections, and as important resources of African responses to the European presence in Africa.

CONCLUSION

Here I will outline Mauch's distinctively German nationalist representation of his 'discovery' of the Zimbabwe Tradition Ruins, the Mazoe goldfields and African social order. Then I consider Baines's expansionist and Imperial British appropriation of Zimbabwe. Although both had the Imperial objective of mineral exploration in the Central Southern African interior, their journals constituted competing narratives of discovery.

Mauch's essentially metropolitan conception of an emergent German national identity, which had begun to challenge other European powers, underscores his comments on racially-coded Western bourgeois notions of industry and productivity. According to this racialized hierarchy of colonizers, there were superior European types, such as the industrious farmers of the Neckar valley, and inferior Mediterranean types such as the Portuguese of Beira and Albasini of the Limvubu. Mauch's comments on Albasini's outpost, Renders's adaptation to African customs and loyalties, and the Portuguese colonial officials at Senna and Beira are catalogues of varieties of European immorality, corruption, and degeneracy. In recording his embarrassment about

the threadbare and grimy state of his clothes after his journey, once he returned to the coastal outpost of Portuguese imperial control at Beira, Mauch attempts to distance himself from degenerate Europeans in Africa and restore his austere German Lutheran identity. The settlement is described as chaotic and as a compromised model of Western civilization. He then interprets the behaviour of Portuguese authorities towards him as attempts to him prevent him from returning to the interior by Imperial European competitors. According to his nineteenth-century continental notions of Western rationality, science, industry, productivity and civilized society, he finds that the Portuguese have degenerated. For the German explorer, they are corrupt, indolent, unproductive, and rely extensively on African slaves and servitude. When he solicits Portuguese backing and support for his further geological surveys in the interior, he finds them hostile and suspicious. His narrative illustrates the intensity of competition among European expeditions along the Zambesi from mid-century onwards.

Mauch's representation of Africa indicates a conflict between his Germanic rationalist and scientific imperative as an observer/explorer and his biblical speculations concerning the origins of the Zimbabwe Tradition Ruins. According to the former he sought to translate local African knowledges about mining into a Western geological survey of the interior. His 'discovery' of Great Zimbabwe however, led him to narratives of the Old Testament in his search for

origins. Throughout his journey, Mauch's record of African customs, appearance, beliefs and behaviours are underpinned by nineteenth-century German notions of order and civilization. While he concentrates on gold-bearing geological formations in the regions he traverses, Mauch transforms local knowledges about rivers reputed to have alluvial gold and old workings into his 'scientific' Western survey. This endeavour was further flawed by his limited mid-nineteenth century European understanding of what were essentially strange African geological formations that he encountered.[27] In his speculations on the origins of Zimbabwe he relied on the Old Testament of the Bible for an account of the fabulous wealth of King Solomon and Queen Sheba. When published in Europe, his reports initiated the Hamaritic myth of an earlier foreign dominance in Zimbabwe, which became entrenched in the settler imagination of the 1890s.

When he reported on African behaviour, Mauch conformed to Western race theories of primitive man, although he relied extensively on their assistance and knowledge to locate his 'discoveries'. Throughout his journey Mauch's observations on the appearance and customs of Africans are founded on Lutheran doctrine, notions of rationality, conventions and decorum. Consequently, he represented Africans as superstitious and indolent savages. This typology of Africans as inferior contrasted with his account of the fabulous wealth in the interior, simultaneously justifying and legitimating the European

presence north of the Limpopo. Mauch's journey was seriously affected when the Karanga Chief Mapansule captured him and he was forced to abandon his survey and escape into Portuguese territory. This prevented him from reaching the Mazoe river and other regions which local knowledges held to be rich in gold. His typically nineteenth century European perceptions of Africans as inferior underscored his conclusion that an ancient Phoenician civilization had colonised the region. This contributed to the founding logic of colonial expansion that suppressed archaeological evidence of the African origin of early Zimbabwe.

Mauch's description of Lomondo above may be compared with the of Mr Jones's henchmen in Joseph Conrad's *Victory* (1915), while Baines's description of his Mashona guide plunging into ancient mine-workings, suggest that such narratives preceded later British modernist novels such as Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1905) and the imperial romance and adventure fiction of Rider Haggard, J. Chalmers and Bertram Mitford.[28]

As an aside?

Lastly, turning to discourses used, Mauch's narrative employed scientific, nationalist and eugenicist discourses. While it constitutes a clandestine geological record, it is infused with partly formulated notions of a nascent German empire. It made no claim to popular literary status among an established readership of exploration narratives. Mauch considered the journal

as a secret record of an explorer engaged in unofficial mapping and geological surveillance which was to be concealed from the attention of other European competitors. Mauch's references to the discomfort and deprivation he suffered in what was represented as a dangerous, uncharted African interior peopled by hostile tribes, constitutes a sentimental discourse. Its subsequent publication by Petermann served the ends of an emergent German nationalism in the late 1860s. In these reports, Mauch was presented as an example of a heroic German explorer. Mauch's narrative contained minimal descriptions of landscape and was confined to comments related strictly to mineral wealth, geological formations, and his route.

Baines cast himself as a heroic Victorian explorer in an Imperial age when an expansionist Britain sought to map the unknown interior of Central Southern Africa.[29] Baines describes how his interest in the Zambezi region, was stimulated by reports of Mauch's discovery of gold and the Zimbabwe Tradition Ruins at a Royal Geographic Society Meeting in 1870. His claims to legitimacy affected the way he represented his project as British exploration in the context where expansion epitomised progress. Its underlying structure was infused by bourgeois conceptions of metropolitan Britain as urbanised, literate and male-dominated. In contrast to Mauch's clandestine foray into the interior, Baines was the leader of the South African Goldfield's Expedition to the Zambesi region. He was one of the first Europeans to negotiate mining concessions

with the recently appointed monarch Lobengula. To this end he obtained a letter of introduction from the Colonial Governor's office in Natal, and purported to represent the British Crown. He was motivated by an Imperial sense of destiny and competed for awards of the Royal Geographic Society. The posthumous publication *The Gold Regions of South Eastern Africa* (1877) documents Baines's travels throughout Southern Africa, particularly to regions where gold was discovered.

Baines sought to justify British interest in Zimbabwe by describing extensive potential gold-bearing deposits in a region adjoining the recently appropriated diamond-fields of Griqualand West. An unchantered region was converted by Baines into a system of wagon routes, rivers and auriferous sites on the margins of empire. According to the logic of nineteenth century imperial exploration, observation and possession, Zimbabwe was represented as a fertile and wealthy region that was de facto in British hands.

There is a disparity between Baines's reports about gold and his representation of Africans. The narrative shows a division between what it thinks and what it says. The relationship between the observer and the observed is predicated as that between master and servant. Baines established a system of surveillance which enabled a network of material coercions which transformed Europeans into owners of mining concessions and Africans into

labourers. By seeking to legitimize his expedition via recourse to the Spanish imperial order of Cortes and the conquistadores in South America, Baines argued for Social Darwinist notions of the survival of the fittest to justify British expansion in Mashonaland. By investing himself with the power to mediate between Lobengula and colonial officials, he underlined the importance of the European concession-seeker and speculator in Matabeleland.

Baines's narrative of the Northern Goldfields utilized romantic discourses while it served British Imperial interests to the North of the Limpopo. It contained a more conscious popular literary response to the established metropolitan readership for exploration and travel narratives. His journal exceeded the scope of an official Company report on gold deposits in a number of respects. As an established imperial landscape artist he was pre-occupied with the composition of exotic African scenes. Secondly his narrative utilizes the epic discourse of the chronicle, which was both a commentary and challenge to various other travel-writers in the region. He contested the accuracy of their claims and provided detailed evidence in support of his own findings. This is supported by his recourse to the authority of hunters, traders and missionaries on the state of things in the region. He adapted his journal of an expedition to the wider imperial objective which sought to impose a global hegemony on the region. It was underpinned by a Western imperial logic that claimed to interpret Africa in a 'rational' and 'objective' way. It was part of a

greater Imperial project to quantify Africa according to land concessions, mining claims and establish a precedent for British occupation.

While Baines continually framed his narrative as an objective, demythologising analysis which sought to repair the misconceptions created at the metropole by Mauch and earlier writers, nevertheless it confirmed the impression of an Eldorado on the margins of colonial Southern Africa. His narrative employed numerous techniques of expansion, whereby letters from Colonial Governors were used to sanction prospecting expeditions. These, in turn, led to the mapping of auriferous regions and the process of negotiation with African leaders for mining concessions and land claims in the region.

Mauch's transliteration of the speech of his guides illustrates that Pratt's term 'transculturation' exaggerates the extent to which European constructs and modes of representation were transformed on the margins of empire. The degree to which signifying practices were transformed and adapted by Africans belies the complex process whereby Mauch's journal was published within a Nationalistic German framework in the 1860s. The texts that Pratt has examined do not adequately account for dynamics of the late nineteenth-century invasion of Southern Central Africa by diamond monopolists from the Cape. Ultimately Pratt's category of the anti-conquest is unstable when applied

to the way in which Baines's narrative illustrates an ambivalence towards the

imperial project.

NOTES

1.   See Robin Hallett ed. *Records of the African Association 1788-1831*, (1964: 7).

2.   For a discussion of the British metropolitan readership at this time see John Mackenzie *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (1986) and *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (1984). Robert Rotberg notes that *David Livingstone's Missionary Travels and Researches in Southern Africa* (1868) sold over seventy thousand copies in (1970: 43). In *Records of the African Association* Robin Hallet traces the origins and development of the metropolitan readership to eighteenth century notions of knowledge where:

> ... the educated man came increasingly to display a rational curiosity, a scholarly interest in far distant lands, their geography, their peoples, and their products. Of this interest there are many manifestations. One of the most striking is the immense popularity of books of travel, a popularity that dated back to the war with Spain at the beginning of the century. By 1750 no country house library could be reckoned complete without one of those great multi-volumed *Collections of Travels*, produced by enterprising London publishers. Later in the century there appeared those massive and encyclopaedic folios, the *Systems of Geography*, that covered every country in the world. In both the *Collections*, and the *Systems*, Africa was well represented, for the number of books on the continent had been increasing steadily to reach a small spate in the 1870s. (1964: 9)

3.   Zweder von Martels argues that the origins of the human sciences of the nineteenth-century can be traced to: "Graeco-Roman guidebooks, itineries, routes, maps, descriptions of experiences abroad; in prose, poetry or as part of historical and (auto)biographical works" (1994: xii). He cites Pausianias's guidebook to Greece, the geographical works of Strabo, Herodotus's accounts of military campaigns by Xenophon and Caesar; road-books such as the Antonine itinerary and the Peutinger map; satirical travel poetry of Horace's *Iter Brundisium*, the epics of Homer or Virgil, Ovid's *Tristia*, adventurous stories of Alexander's travels, Lucian's *True History*, and Apuleius's *Golden Ass*.

Consequently, he concludes that the Western science of observation, or 'culture of the eye' was institutionalized during the Renaissance:

... through the collections of all sorts of curiosities, plants and animals, gathered over a long period of time by enterprising men. Collecting had a long tradition but it became conspicuous through the activities of the Medici family and other similar collections. The sixteenth-century 'Wunderkamer' is another step in the direction of the later Museum. A similar innovation to bring *realia* under the eyes of the public, was the creation of botanical gardens, the first of which was planted in Padua before the middle of the sixteenth century. Together with the anatomical theatre they reformed medical teaching, since demonstration instead of reading became the essence of scientific training. This provided the foundation of libraries and the systematic study of ancient literature which had become the standard for imitation and emulation. (1994: xiii)

4.   Robin Hallet traced the origin of the Africa Association to the Saturday's Club which "held its dinners at the St Alban's Tavern off Pall Mall ...[and] resolved on 9 June 1788 to form their Club into an Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa" (1964: 13). In addition Hallet cites Joseph Banks's explanation to members, at a meeting in 1799, of the burgeoning prospects and monopolist ethos of British trade in West Africa:

> ... increased riches still increase their wants of the possessors and as our manufacturers are able to supply them, is not this prospect of at once attaching to this country the whole of the interior trade now possessed by the Moors, with the chance of an incalculable future increase, worth some exertion and some expense to a trading nation? (1964: 31)

5.   Other editions which celebrate the European explorer's encounter with Africa in the postwar era include: Eric Axelson *South African Explorers* (1954), Frank Debenham *Discovery and Exploration. Nyasaland: Land of the Lake* (1955), Heinrich Schiffers *The Quest for Africa* (1957), Isak Dinesen *Shadows on the Grass* (1960), R. Miller *The Travels of Mungo Park* (1960), Charles Richards and J. Place *East African Explorers* (1960), Samuel Baker *The Albert N'Yanza* (1962), Richard Burton *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (1962), and Richard Stanley and A. Neame eds. *The Newly Discovered Exploration Diaries of H. M. Stanley* (1962).

6.   Mauch's journals have been appropriated at various stages since the mid-nineteenth century: in both 1899 and 1937, in what could be described as expansionist moments within the national German state, biographical accounts of Mauch's explorations were motivated by the impulse of an expansionist vision of Greater Germany. First in Petermann's record of German exploration *Petermann's Geographische Mittellungen* (1866 -1874), and E. Mager *Karl Mauch: Lebensbild eines Afrikareiseden* (1895). In the late 1930s, the legend

of Mauch as an heroic German explorer was resuscitated by Hans Offe *Carl Mauch: Leben und Werk des Deutschen Afrika-Forchers: Zu Carl Mauch 100* (1937) and Servaas D. Le Roux *Pioneers and Sportsmen of South Africa 1760-1890* (1939) as part of a wider German nationalism, which later manifested itself in the Third Reich. In the post-war era by Kurt Schleucher ed. *Deutsche unter anderen Volkern* (1966), and in Southern Africa E. E. Burke ed. *The Journals of Carl Mauch* (1969) focused on his discovery of Zimbabwe in 1871, his gold prospecting in Manicaland and journey via Senna to Beira (1969). F. O. Bernhard *Carl Mauch. African Explorer* (1971) subsequently attempted to focus on Mauch's explorations within the context of late nineteenth-century German imperial expansion.

7.   I do not wish to set up an alternative history to the many existing colonial Rhodesian histories of Zimbabwe. Instead by analysing the archive of this colonial past, I wish to comment on the origins of the present state. I therefore abandon the term colonial Rhodesia and replace it with Zimbabwe.

8.   Baines's earlier and later publications include: *Explorations in South-West Africa: Being an Account of a Journey in the Years 1861-1862 from Walvisch Bay on the Western Coast, to Lake Ngami and the Victoria Falls* (1864), D. W. B. Lord, and Thomas Baines *Shifts and Expedients of Camp life, Travel and Exploration* (1867), and *The Gold Regions of South Eastern Africa* (1883). His journals were published by J. P. R. Wallis *Thomas Baines of King's Lynn: Explorer and Artist 1820-1875* (1941), *The Northern Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines Vol. I-III* (1946), R. F. Kennedy ed. *Journal of Residence in Africa, 1842-1853* (1964) and Edward C. Tabler, Eric Axelson and Elaine N. Katz eds. *Baines on the Zambezi, 1858-9* (1982). Interest in his painting has been aroused by: Marius and Joy Deimont *The Brenthurst Baines: A Selection of the Works of Thomas Baines in the Oppenheimer Collection* (1975), A. Porter 'Thomas Baines in Port Elizabeth' (1987: 19-26), Jane Carruthers *Thomas Baines: Eastern Cape Sketches, 1848-52* (1990), M. Cosser 'Thomas Baines' (1990: 2-3), G. Duminy "Thomas Baines and the Langalibalele Rebellion: a critique of an unrecorded sketch of the action at Bushman's Pass, 1873" (1991: 41-55), L. Van der Walt 'Thomas Baines and the Colonisation of Space' (1993: 23-31), Anthea Bristowe 'The Trouble with Thomas Baines' (1995: 18), J. Carruthers and M. Arnold's postcolonial re-assessment of his work in *Rediscovering the Art of the Chronicler* (1996). See also forthcoming publication of Papers from the January 1997 Baines Conference, Art History Department, Univ. of Cape Town.

9.   Mary-Louise Pratt 'Scratches on the Face of the Country; or What Mr Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen' (1985: 138-62), 'Fieldwork in Common Places' (1986), *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*

(1992). Other cultural theorists within the United States Academy have made extensive use of nineteenth-century colonial discourse as some form of social library from which a wide range of studies and methodological strategies were advanced. Those who explore the wider implications of writing about culture and history include: Clifford Geertz *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), Hayden White *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1975), *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (1978), *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (1987), Vincent Crapanzano *The Writing of Ethnography* (1977), Dominick LaCapra *Rethinking Intellectual History. Texts, Contexts, Language* (1983), James Clifford *The Predicament of Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (1986), James Clifford and George E. Marcus eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (1986). Studies which provide examples of enunciative networks, truth games and currencies of discourse which share a complementarity with those of travellers and settlers in Ndebele and Shona territory as remote sites/regions of the imperial village are: Michael Taussig 'Culture of Terror - Space of Death. Roger Casement's Putumayo Report and the Explanation of Torture' (1984: 467-97), *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (1987), Ann L. Stoler 'Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race, and Morality in Colonial Asia' (1991: 51-101),'In Cold Blood': Heirarchies of Credibility and the Politics of Colonial Narratives (1992), 'Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule' (1992: 319-352), 'Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia' (1992: 514-551), *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality, and the Colonial Order of Things* (1995), and Anne McClintock *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (1995). Dane Kennedy's *Islands of White* (1987) used anthropological theories of creation and maintenance of cultural boundaries in an attempt to understand the dynamics of separation and power in colonial Kenya and Zimbabwe.

10.   Stoler argues that Europe's eighteenth and nineteenth discourses on sexuality, like other cultural, political, or economic assertions, cannot be sketched in Europe alone. Instead they should be traced back to nineteenth century technologies of sex. She asserts that they were "refracted through the discourses of empire and its exigencies, by men and women whose affirmations of the bourgeois self, and the racialized contexts in which those confidences were built, could not be disentangled" (1995: 7).

11.   See Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977), *The History of Sexuality vol I* (1979), and in "Two Lectures"(1980).

12.   MacQueen's reports on the 'Journey of Galvao da Silva to the Manica Goldfields' (1788) and the 'Journey from Inhambane to Zoutpansberg by Joaquin da Santa Rita Montanha' (1862) appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Geography Society* (Bernhard, 1971: 120). Basil Davidson suggests that the Reverend Merensky of the Berlin Missionary Society in Lydenberg had been influenced by reading reports of seventeenth-century Portuguese explorers De Barros, Dos Santos and Da Silviera who had led expeditions up the Zambezi river in search of Monomatapa, a reputedly Christian civilization in the African interior that derived fabulous wealth from the mining of gold (1964: 139). In addition, Reverend A. Merensky, superintendant of the Berlin Missionary Society in Southern Africa wrote, in a letter of 12 October 1868 to *The Transvaal Argus*, that in the "country Northeast and East of Mosilkatse the ancient Ophir of Solomon is to be found and that in the times of the Ptolymies Egyptian trade penetrated to the eastern shores of Southern Africa" (Bernhard, 1971: 120). C. Van Onselen regards the influence of Portuguese expeditions and their reports on the colonial project in Zimbabawe as insignificant (1976: 12).

13.   F. O. Bernhard suggests that Petermann used his journal to build Mauch into a "kind of national hero" in the formative moments of the German Empire and of the All-German concept in the 1870s (1971: ii). Consequently, Mauch's journeys were heralded as typical of an "urge for exploration [that] knows no difficulties, no limitations. Danger, misery, death itself hold no terror, no discouragement for the explorer.... Mauch joins the long succession of German travellers in Africa" (1971: 1). Bernhard links the publication of Mauch's reports with the expansion of the Fatherland and suggests he was presented as an example of true German honesty and tenacity. However, Bernhard argues that Mauch's character was also sanitised by Petermann. The publisher decided that his journals could not be published in Germany because they revealed his "arrogance and vindictiveness" (1971: ii).

14.   Carl Peters, in his *King Solomon's Ophir* (1895) and *Eldorado of the Ancients* (1902), elaborated this myth that the Zimbabwe Tradition Ruins near present day Masvingo were evidence of a South Arabian/Hamiritic people who once invaded and ruled over large parts of modern Zimbabwe. R. Summers suggests that Mauch was the first to confirm actual sites such as Zimbabwe, Tati and Northern Goldfields and imaginatively link them with biblical figures such as Solomon and Sheba (1965: 11). Van Onselen also finds the myth attributable to the reports of Karl Mauch (1976:13), while Hallet's study of the Africa Asssociation suggests that it had its precedent in the eighteenth-century belief that "Africa was the land of gold" (1964: 7).

15.   While he survived some years after his return to Europe the virus eventually caused his death. The employment Mauch obtained, was as a manager of a cement factory in Blaubeuren. Burke suggests that his death in Stuttgart, as a result from a fall on the 4th of April 1875, could be linked to an advanced stage of malaria (Burke, 1969: preface).

16.   Shortly before his death, Mauch admitted he had made a mistake about the origins of Gt Zimbabwe but refused to elaborate (Bernhard, 1971: preface).

17.   This trend was entrenched in later publications, such as Carl Peters's *King Solomon's Ophir* (1895), which transposes adventure fiction into the emergent science of archaeology, and his *Eldorado of the Ancients* (1902), which embellished the myths of the foreign origins of Zimbabwean civilization, typically described the region as an El Dorado. The jingoist scribe, E. M. Mathers, provided an expansionist validation of empire in *England's Eldorado in Southern Africa* (1898). These were followed by Theodore Bent's *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* (1902), and Hall and Neal's *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia. (Monomatapae Imperium)* (1902) which sought to inscribe the Hamiritic myth by embalming it in archaeological fantasy. Later settler legitimation myths popularised the concept of an earlier foreign domination of the region resulting in its survival as a document for the 'rest of the world' long after the turn of the century.

18.   For an example of this classificatory paradigm see Ceasar Lombroso & William Ferrero *The Female Offender* (1895) and Caesar Lombroso and Gina Ferrero *Criminal Man: According to the Classification of Cesare Lombroso* (1911). See also J. M. Coetzee 'Blood, Flaw, Taint, Degeneration: The Case of Sarah Gertrude Millin' (1980) and Robert Young's discussion of the origins of race thinking in the nineteenth-century in *Colonial Desire* (1996).

19.   R. Summers, a British archeologist working in colonial Rhodesia between 1947 and 1958, noted in *Zimbabwe, a Rhodesian Mystery* (1963) Johannesburg: Nelson, that the language of Mauch's *Reisen im Aneurin von Sud Afrika* was very "old-fashioned" and consequently thought it needed to be translated as literally as possible. For the "sake of readability" however, Summers admits that he had focused on the "sense rather than on Mauch's actual words" (1965, 8-9). Commenting on versions of Mauch's descriptions of Zimbabwe that had subsequently appeared, Summers felt they "showed a lack of knowledge of Mauch's actual words" (1965: 11). F. O. Bernhard transcribed Mauch's journal from the Gothic script and then translated it for Burke's edition (1969).

20.   T. M. Thomas in *Eleven Years in Central Southern Africa*, describes the procedure used in the 1860s whereby concessions were granted by Mzilikazi for hunting North of the Limpopo, "through hunting Matabeleland was opened up to some extent, and has now been explored" (1873: 394). Also he noted that the king:

> ... was reluctant to give his consent to any foreigner to go to hunt. His unwillingness arose from the fact that hunters were also explorers, and would open up his country; a thing altogether at variance with his own policy... aware of the danger of putting fire-arms in the hands of those whom he had conquered... In the Amandebele country the king's confidants and zealous adherents only were, for a long time entrusted with guns, horses, and even shields. (1873: 392)

21.   Robert Keate was the Colonial Governor of Natal in 1870.

22.   Theophilus Shepstone, who was Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal at the time, and the architect of disciplinary technologies of European rule over the Zulu people by means of separation, division, and strategic intervention. He actively campaigned to appoint a pretender to the Ndebele Kingship, in the place of Lobengula, after Mzilikazi's death. He was also a mentor of colonial Romance writer Rider Haggard.

23.   Shepstone's letter to Lobengula:

ON HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE

To all the native chiefs, etc., whom it may concern from the Secretary for Native Affairs, Natal.

<u>The Lieutenant Governor of Natal to all Chiefs of native tribes and their people residing northward and eastward of the Colony of Natal.</u>

Greetings.

It has been noised abroad that gold, the metal of which the highest money is made, exists in territories northward and eastward of this Colony, which are inhabited by native chiefs and tribes, and the consequence of this report is that many people from over the great waters have arrived in Natal on their way to those territories to search for gold, and from them we learn that many more are coming.

If gold exists where it is said to exist, no power can stop the stream of those

who seek for it, however it may be wished to do so; and it is the way of a wise man to guide what he cannot prevent.

Knowledge is the first step towards the application of every effective remedy and, before any action can be taken either to regulate the conduct of the seekers for gold, or to protect the interests of those in whose territories it is said to be, positive information of the existence and locality must be forthcoming.

Mr.Baines, the bearer of this letter, is on his way with two companions to seek for this information. He is an old traveller in this country and knows many of its chiefs and people; and the Lieutenant Governor of Natal hopes to be assisted by the information Mr Baines may collect and send him, to form a correct opinion of the truth or falsehood of the rumours which are now disturbing the minds of so many people in so many different countries.

The Lieutenant Governor commends Mr Baines and his party to the friendly protection and care of all native chiefs and people with whom he may come in contact, and trusts that the knowledge they will be able to acquire will hereafter prove to be of great benefit not only to the white people but to the natives themselves and to all concerned.
    By Command.
    (signed) Th.Shepstone Secretary for Native Affairs. Natal.
    (Wallis, 1946: 48-49)

24. Shepstone's subsequent involvement north of the Limpopo was when he sent a delegation to Bulawayo to investigate grievances among traders and travellers in 1877. Due mainly to the suspicion with which Shepstone was regarded in Matabeleland, it has been suggested that the party was murdered on Lobengula's instructions (Tabler, 1961: 129-130).

25. See the photograph of Lobengula in E. C. Tabler *Pioneers of Rhodesia* (1965).

26. Lobengula's predicament with regard to the web of concessions and negotiations is clearly illustrated in a letter from Emvujene, Near Bulawayo, 30/12/1890, addressed to the Governor in Cape Town:

A letter has come calling Maxwell [Lobengula's translator] away: why is he called away? You must speak to him and let him come back quickly, because he is my witness, and I have much work for him to do. I have heard that my land is being cut up and given out; why is my country to be cut up without my word "Gubi Loko?" i.e. This is bad. Mr. Moffat

asks me to give Rhodes power to punish the people who do wrong in Mashonaland. They ask for strength to punish, but they went into my country without asking for this power. Why do they come now and ask? When did we speak in this matter? Did not the Queen say in her letter to me by Maund, I was not to give away all my herd to one man? Have I given all my herd to the people in Mashonaland now? Who has got the herd to kill today? Why did the Governor turn back at Macloutsie with Rhodes, for I have asked Rhodes to come in for the last two years? What was said to them that they turned back without coming to see me? First news I got was that they were coming to Mangwe to meet me, then the next news was they had gone back. I wish this letter conveyed to the Governor at the Cape by Major Maxwell. [Signed as witnesses: J. W. Colenbrander (interpreter by the King's wish), Dawson, Tainton, Usher, Maxwell, Karl Kumalo.] (Rhodes Papers 3A, Charters: 1891, Rhodes House, Oxford)

27.   See the report on the inaccuracy of Mauch's geological findings by Paup (Burke, 1969: Appendix).

28.   *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) features a pretender to the throne of a 'savage' African race by the name of Kulumane. Having been an official in Shepstone's Natal Native Administration stationed at Ubombo, Rider Haggard was aware of Shepstone's efforts to promote a pretender called Kuruman to the Ndebele kingship in 1870. Among the many settings for his particular blend of Imperial Romance, Bertram Mitford's *The King's Assegai: A Matabili Story* (1894) and *John Ames, Native Commissioner: A Romance of the Matabele Rising* (1900) used the violent penetration and exotic charm of the Zimbabwean interior.

29.   G. Duminy 'Thomas Baines and the Langalibalele Rebellion: a critique of an unrecorded sketch of the action at Bushman's Pass, 1873' (1991: 41-55), describes Baines as a propagandist of Empire.

CHAPTER 2

HOW SHOULD 'CIVILIZED MAN' BEHAVE? RESPONSES TO THIS QUESTION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY NARRATIVES OF HUNTING, TRAVEL, WAR, AND PROTEST IN ZIMBABWE.

In this chapter I will consider how nineteenth-century discourses of hunting, natural history, imperial service, health and liberal humanism constituted 'Colonial Man' differently from 'African Man' in Zimbabwe.[1] Both types of Man were formulated in the following texts via symptomatic narrator/protagonists. This is applicable to the hunter in F. C. Selous's *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (1881), the woman traveller in Marie Lippert's *The Matabele Travel Letters of Marie Lippert* (1891), the cavalry officer in Robert Baden-Powell's *The Matabele Campaign* (1897), and the critic of imperial aggression in Olive Schreiner's *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland* (1897). Although Baden-Powell's campaign epic and Schreiner's satire focus exclusively on the Chimurenga of 1896-7, which I will deal with in Chapter Four, here I will concentrate on the way the discourses they use constituted male identity in Zimbabwe. Initially I consider the moment prior to occupation in Selous's first hunter-narrative and Lippert's correspondence. These texts establish a context for my examination of later notions of public petitioning in Schreiner and of imperial surveillance in Baden-Powell's scouting epic.

Selous and Baden-Powell's texts re-affirm the master narrative of Western hegemony in their constitution of dominant white males on the margins of empire. Colonial man is represented as a heroic British individual. These adventure and romance genres celebrate violence and exploitation on the margins of Empire. In an age given to industrialisation and urbanisation, the clash of Ndebele, British and Shona cultures inspired narratives of a reversion to an ancient spirit of chivalry. These texts revell in the glory of the chase and elevate the figure of the western hunter and imperial soldier in the African interior. Lippert and Schreiner's texts, by contrast, present colonial man as anti-heroic and flawed. In the latter texts a critical context for viewing a morally indefensible and deeply problematic male British identity is established. This alternative paradigm for conceptualising imperialism is opposed to the adventure genre used by Baden-Powell and Selous.

Nineteenth-century transformation of European populations, occupations, technology and institutions seriously affected the expansionist project in Southern Africa. Until the 1870s in Britain the population had increased sharply along with the rise in prosperity associated with industrialisation and manufacturing. By the 1880s, however, German and French trade and population had surpassed that of the United Kingdom, and intense rivalry ensued between these imperial powers (Evans, 1950: 285; see also Leys, 1989: 42). These changes affected the way in which

subjects were constituted, particularly during the second half of the
nineteenth century. They also produced bourgeois notions of the individual
and of the private. For example, in the 1850s sexual behaviour in Europe
became associated with the control of populations and many medical,
bureaucratic and normative discursive practices began to accumulate and
proliferate. Earlier forms of control that had emerged at the metropole
related to recommendations of the Poor Law Commission of 1834. This
was followed by the Contagious Diseases Act (1860) and the Public Health
Act of 1875 (Ensor, 1975: 171). Agitation for the provision of education
for women and the introduction of regular population measurement (census)
also facilitated further state control over the social body (Davin, 1978: 62).
Two notions promoted as normal were the nuclear family and the urban
housing estate. The Victorian idea of morality began with the institution of
heterosexual marriage and the family. This was in turn structured around
the figures of an employed husband, a wife at home and a child at school
(Evans,1950: 271). In a bourgeois Europe that had begun to view its rapidly
increasing working classes as degenerate, settler colonies appeared to offer
an alternative and healthier breeding space.[2]

In the wake of feminist studies of colonial literature considerable
attention to debates in colonial masculinities has characterised the work of
John Springhall (1977), J.A. Mangan (1981, 1984), Michael Roper and John
Tosh eds. (1984), John MacKenzie (1991), and more recently, in the work

of Robert Morrell (1993), Mrinalini Sinha (1995) and R.W. Connell (1995).

In their examination of late nineteenth-century British masculinity Roper and

Tosh emphasize that the construct is relational in that it underpins social life

and cultural representation (1984). They illustrate how British colonial rule

was to some extent justified by a conception of English manhood as a

civilizing force. This is evident in the imperial procedure whereby qualities

integal to manliness in Britain were supposedly instilled in both Asians and

Africans abroad. These authors argue that, at the same time:

> ... the imagining of black masculinity was shaped by multiple
> repressions of the dominant form of masculinity in Britain at the time.
> The negative attributes of lasciviousness and idleness, which
> colonizers commonly fastened on to both Indians and Africans,
> represented a projection of their own unacknowledged desires. (1984,
> 14)

Futhermore, as masculinity is the product both of lived experience and

fantasy, this complicates the interface between men's social power with a

range of dominant and subordinate cultural representations. For Roper and

Tosh men's behaviour as well as their social power cannot be examined

merely in terms of externally derived social roles but requires an investigation

of how cultural representations become part of subjective identity. These

authors insist that other forms of social power such as class and religion

were often framed in terms of a discourse about manliness. Also they

suggest that at a given time, various discourses about manliness compete

and occupy an uneasy and often unstable ordering in a gender hierarchy. This is evident during the 1880s where key attributes of Imperial Man were the emphasis on face-to-face authority, the celebration of the will and the unequivocal assertion of racial superiority.

In this study of the link between domesticity and manliness in the Victorian middle class in the 1880s John Tosh identifies an important facet of the flight from domesticity among this group where Empire promoted emigration, the armed services and colonial administration which enabled the formation of male comradeship and male hierarchies. Also, he shows how the cultural representation of an heroic British masculinity became fused in an ideological configuration with representations of national and imperial identity. Such virtues of English-British manhood underpin the imagining of Empire and imperial identity where Englishmen occupied a position of natural, racialised superiority over Africans. Formed under the specific. conditions of Empire and colonization these imagined masculinities were necessarily constituted in the encounter with cultural difference and in relation to subordinated African masculinities. The tradition of imperialist military adventure enabled the imagining of a secure, powerful and almost omnipotent English-British masculinity. This form of sanctioned mythography also registers a fascination with and fear of colonized African masculinities which possess qualities that appear antithetical to the

Englishman. These inimical features exist within narratives as a troubling,

disturbing, or even overtly desired presence.

Recently R.W. Connell (1997) notes how different cultures and

periods of history construct gender differently. He insists that relations of

hierarchy and exclusion characterize these constructions in their social

contexts and within institutions. Also, these constructions of gender are not

homogeneous, instead they contain internal divisions and contradictions.

Connell finds that, in the colonial context, conquest disrupted local gender

orders and the construction of gender was accompanied by a hardening of

racial ideology and segregation. Through displacement, subsumption and

hybridization gender ideologies were changed, effecting both the division of

labour, the nature and gender order of the metropolitan state. Most often

frontier masculinities were associated with violence and egocentric

individualism, although the advent of permanent settlement altered the

nature of subsequent forms of exploitation. The imperial social order created

a hierarchy of masculinities, where colonized man was represented as

inferior, effeminate of treacherous. For Connell, since the emerging imagery

of gender difference in European culture functioned as a general symbol of

superiority and inferiority, a generalized masculinity was attributed to the

colonizers. The means by which such gender structures were developed

include migration, settlement, the development of institutions as well as the

distribution of mass communications and colonial romance.

While there are adequate grounds to suggest that the construction of gender, particularly that applied to the colonial male, was crucial to the constitution of the Western subject in the narratives I examine here, to make the formation of colonial masculinity the central focus of this chapter would restrict the discussion to one aspect of a more complex process whereby different discourses constituted different notions of the Colonial subject between 1870 and 1900. I am concerned with the constitution of the notion of subjectivity in the colonial sphere rather than an exclusive study of the gender of that subject. I accept that in these narratives, imperial masculinity sometimes transforms into one haunted by the African experience which was internalised and resulted in a gendered form divided against itself. However, the issues that I wish to focus on are representations of settler manhood, representations of Africans, genres deployed, and the use of eugenic discourses. I shall also consider how separate European and African identities were constituted, and how the relation between author, text and reader was restructured. Finally, I shall compare the sentimental legacy of the Selous and Baden-Powell narratives with the scientific or rationalist framework within which they ostensibly functioned.

Sport Of Empire

The fictional mode of Selous's narrative is derived from that of the sentimental hero, exemplified in Pratt's study of Mungo Park (1992), that of the adventure hero common to earlier hunters' journals and figures related to older traditions of survival literature.[3] The narrator is alternately a natural historian who collects game specimens and a geographic explorer who makes regular observations on latitudes, climate and topography throughout Central Southern Africa. In his initial *A Hunter's Wanderings* (1881) and his nostalgic *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences* (1908), Selous catered for international readers who relished repetitive hunting cycles involving dangerous African beasts and entertained notions of Africa as an Anglo-Saxon hunting ground.[4] However, this imaginary world of desire and yearning should be seen as a reaction to the tensions within late nineteenth-century Capitalism, Western societal conventions, and the monogamous ideal of a Victorian family (G. Dawson, M. M. Roper and J. Tosh eds. 1991:120). In reaction to this economic and social nexus, Selous's texts represented an increasingly invasive white male-dominated order in which the wandering hunter, armed with the latest high calibre rifle, escaped from the bonds of Western morality.

In this narrative of sustained colonial violence, as in the genre of imperial romance used by Haggard in *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), the

bourgeois self was constituted by and simultaneously embodied a particular imperial vision of the world. Thus, a poor adventurous youth/protagonist was dramatically located in Algoa Bay in September 1871. On his return to the metropole at the end of his first journey to Africa, the author reconstructed an image of imperial youth at an expansionist moment which clearly coincides with the earlier tradition of British hunters in Southern Africa. This is reflected in his ambitions and desires:

> Having carefully read all the works that had been written on sport and travel in South Africa, I had long ago determined to make my way to the interior of that country as soon as ever circumstances would enable me to do so; for the free-and-easy gipsy sort of life described by Gordon Cumming, Baldwin, and other authors, had quite captivated my imagination, and done much to determine me to adopt the life of ever-varying scenes and constant excitement, ... and for which an inborn love of all branches of Natural History, and that desire so common amongst our countrymen of penetrating to regions where no one else has been, in some degree fitted me. (1881: 1)

Here the discourse of the chase denies its historicity by naturalizing itself as sport and by absolutizing itself as adventure. At a moment when Imperial expansion in Southern Africa was rapidly taking shape, the Western bourgeois self was framed against an industrialised urban routine and monotony, where townships rapidly encroached upon rural England. Bounded by restrictive class and social conventions, the European male of the lower middle strata was driven to compete fiercely for employment to

sustain a meagre existence for his modest family. The severe North European climate resulted in a life of perpetual confinement bounded by constraints and limitations. Above this level the aristocracy and the wealthy enjoyed a life perceived by Selous as effete and indulgent. At the outset, the narrator embodies Victorian lower-middle class male aspirations, rejects a life of deference to genteel and refined superiors, and seeks to evade class restraints by carving out a rugged existence in the tropics.

Within the early fictional mode used by Selous, the world was represented as open in the sense of space and ahistorical in that it was timeless. This was in contrast to the heightened pace of imperial expansion among the Western industrialized nations in the 1880s. The recurrent idiom of the chase demanded penetration beyond the limits already reached by earlier hunters. Pratt's 'monarch-of-all-I-survey' topos (1992: 205) suggests that the narrator's view of the Victoria Falls involved spectacularisation of an important imperial topographic phenomenon in the far interior:

> As we stood facing the falls the roar was deafening, and so dense was the spray that, except when a puff of wind blew it momentarily aside, we could see absolutely nothing. But these glimpses were magnificent. One stands, it must be understood, on the very edge of the chasm, on a level with the river above, and only separated from the cataract by the breadth of the opening (about a hundred yards), into which it dashes, so that when a sudden puff of wind blows away the spray immediately in front one sees the beautiful blue river,

studded with thickly-wooded, palm-bearing islands, seemingly as still and quiet as a lake, flowing tranquilly on heedless of the coming danger, till with a crash it leaps in one splendid mass of fleecy, snow-white foam into an abyss four hundred feet in depth. At whatever part one looks the rays of the sun shining on the descending masses of foam form a double zone of prismatic colours, of whose depth and brilliancy no one who has only seen the comparatively faint tints of an ordinary rainbow can form any conception. (1881: 110)

In the far interior of an exotic and dangerous Africa, the formerly marginalised and insignificant individual witnesses and records a Wonder of Nature. He implies that his act of imperial observation removes him from the world of the working class in Northern Europe. What he perceives, he possesses. Moreover, in exercising the popular Imperial adventure writer's skills he often derided, Selous presents a view of social space that is vast, vegetation that is luxuriant, and a historical moment of heightened Imperial potential [see note 3 above]. In this process, which Pratt describes as 'spectacularisation' (1992: 201), the observer metaphorically stakes his claim to the landscape. In dramatizing the African scene, the writer emphasizes his possession of it, becoming a lord of the domain. This contrasts with his lowly state as a tenant in Europe. Instead of being the marginalised victim of an exploitative lease within an urbanised landscape, the individual is suddenly master of all he surveyed in Africa. The narrator's position here resembles that of Cecil John Rhodes, his successor and future employer.[5] In a contrasting scene the hunter-narrator later describes

Umparira as a pestilential zone.[6] In the latter he uses the medieval European discourses of plagues and juxtaposes these with familiar figures of the nineteenth-century fictional discourse of a Dickensian London. Opposed to the captivating image of the Falls, the scientific discourse of nineteenth-century Europe affirmed the hostility of the African interior and categorizes it as a place of death.

From the outset, Selous provides his readers with a geographic and biological survey of the interior. For metropolitan institutions such as the Royal Geographic Society, and in the Imperialist discourses of biology, he classifies human types and records details of big game species for natural history museums.[7] In the 1870s the author observed scattered missions, farms and rural communities of the colonial frontier regions along the Vaal and Orange rivers. He attempted to gauge how receptive African people were to European economic practices and quantify African material existence to codify it within an Imperial order of being. Accordingly, in *A Hunter's Wanderings* (1881) he referred to the authority of natural history, science, and a combination of Social Darwinism and Eugenics. People are categorised into tribes and measured according to the perceived sophistication of their habitation, willingness to trade, generosity, pastoralism, agricultural methods and the apparent vigour of their lifestyle. For example, he describes the dilapidated mission at Campbell's-dorp in the following terms:

> ... there were many deserted gardens and ruined cottages ... although most of the people seemed a lazy, poverty-stricken lot, some of the better class of Griquas were living in houses quite as comfortable as those of the lower class of Transvaal Boers. (1881: 4)

Selous utilizes bourgeois notions of diligence, abstinence and a Protestant work ethic as he applies British class distinctions to the ex-colonial Dutch and Griqua habitations. In stark contrast to these lower ranks of frontier society on the northern banks of the Orange, Selous represents the San as a subspecies of humanity. The only sign of this group visible to the imperial eye is a Bushman's lair:

> ... amongst the trees by the water's edge. A few boughs woven together and forming a sort of canopy. [Their] only weapons were rude-looking bows and neatly-made poisoned arrows ... they appeared to be very few steps removed from brute creation. (1881: 5)

The narrator relies on a Social Darwinist classification of colonial races in which the San are placed close to the animal kingdom. Implicit in this ordering is the notion of a dominant European male, armed with a modern rifle. His relations with various types of colonial man and various Africans vary, such as his meeting with the hospitable Anthony Potgeiter, "a coloured man from the Cape Colony, ... sending us lots of milk and some bread" (1881: 5). By contrast, Michonya's African Berg community are represented as mean because they insist on payment before they deliver their produce.

However, the narrator-trader feels obliged to acknowledge their agricultural skills:

> ... [they] seemed industrious, possessing large herds of cows and goats, as at every kraal they had many acres of ground under cultivation... they sew with great neatness, and take kindly to the outward signs of civilisation. (1881: 6)

These comments serve as a comparative framework for the narrator's later ethnographic and socio-economic observations on populations in the interior. Once the narrator-hunter reaches the interior beyond the Limpopo, he begins his hunter's cycle and record of sport, ivory, and skins. Typically, after a long hunt, the narrator returns to the 'skerm' (camp) where he reflects on the different discourses of the self, identity, good and bad male types, and possible forms of association informed by Western cultural knowledge. As a European in Africa who seeks repose and a racially exclusive male companionship, the narrator registers his alienation from the more communally-orientated African male customs and traditional ways of entertainment and feasting:

> I soon had a piece of elephant's heart, nicely salted and peppered, roasting on a forked stick over the coals; and if I had but had a white companion with whom to talk over the day's sport and fight the battle o'er again, my happiness would have been complete. (1881: 69)

The narrator represents the European, although surrounded by his party of African men, as alone and excluded from participating in a traditional African feast. His perceived function becomes that of an ethnographic observer of primitive behaviour and customs. By contrast, hired African hunters/servants are represented as uninhibited in their vigourous demonstration of their enjoyment, solidarity, and sense of tradition:

> [The African men] ...went in for a night of it; for, after having gorged themselves with fat meat, they commenced dancing, ... the whole day's sport was gone through in pantomime; and all the while they sang wild songs ... in praise of their own and my prowess as hunters, while others were the old standard songs of their country.... Altogether it was a wild and interesting scene, and their naked figures and wild gestures, now brought into strong relief against the dark background, and anon but dimly seen in the uncertain light of the large log fires, recalled vividly to my mind the pictures, in an old book at home of Captain Cook's voyages, of the South Sea Islanders dancing round the fire during the preparation of a savoury meal of human flesh. (1881:70)

The description is infused with popular Eurocentric literary notions of primitive indulgence, an indulgence that is seen as completely opposed to the implied composure, rationalistic reflection and observation of the narrator. Selous had returned to the metropolis and from this vantage-point he could embellish and reinterpret his earlier reflections according to the contemporary dictates of popular adventure-fiction and in line with the

developing imperial view of the world.[8] For the hunter-narrator such a scene

can only be comprehended in terms of his childhood recollections of

eighteenth-century accounts of voyages of discovery that depicted primitive

tribes and savagery. Significantly, the mythological dimension of European

thinking about the rest of the world and Europe's popular ideas of

cannibalism are foregrounded here. For the hunter-narrator in Africa, far

from the metropolitan centre, this African scene is re-encoded and integrated

into an Imperial world-picture by juxtaposing it with those of other narratives

such as *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*

(1776-1780). The mode shifts from the subjective experience of being

already in the middle of things, and of observing, to a differentiated appeal

to the scientific authority of natural history, the ethnically coded lessons of

popular fiction, and a form of objectivity only accessible in impersonal

description.

For the hunter wandering through an apparently timeless Africa, which

is nonetheless trapped within an impending moment of imperial expansion,

ironically the next day happens to be a Sunday. The narrator/hunter

despatches his African workers to fetch the elephant tusks and find wild

honey. This command provides the European subject with the opportunity

to revert to a 'civilised' and leisurely metropolitan past-time: "... taking my

blankets and a copy of Byron's poems, and establishing myself under a

shady tree, I prepared to pass a lazy morning" (1881: 71). This engagement

in bourgeois forms of refinement by the 'civilised' subject is normalised in contrast with the manual labour of the African workers. They are out in the heat, either hacking tusks out of elephant carcasses or chopping a bee-hive out of a tree so that the narrator could be presented with "a large piece of mopani bark... full of delicious fresh honey, to which I proceeded to do ample justice" (1881: 71).

In the emerging hunter-trader economy described in the text, there is a transformation from the value of individuals to the value of their labour. As the narrative proceeds, the European self is constantly redefined by his differentiated participation in an evolving grid of higher-order actions, behaviours and responsibilities. This self is separate from Africans in the ensuing descriptions of hunting incidents, reactions and responses. Thus the problem with the death of Mendose[9] is that it prevents the hunter from shooting a third elephant that "had made good his escape during the confusion, which he never would have done had it not been for the death of Mendose" (1881: 87). The hunter-narrator's immediate and 'objective' conclusion is that Mendose has been accidentally shot by another African hunter.

Attention is shifted momentarily from the European hunter to the reactions of the African hunters, ostensibly because they disrupt the aim of the former in his attempt to shoot the third elephant. From the viewpoint of

the narrator they hastily and unsportingly abandon their posts and utter "loud lamentations and cries of Mai-ai! Mai-mamo!" (1881: 87). The narrator observes what is described as the inappropriate reaction of the Africans, "I saw a Kafir stretched upon the earth, his companions sitting round him, wailing and clapping their hands" (1881: 87). The spontaneity of the African response to death is seen as strange and disruptive of the western conventions of sport and adventure.

In the hunter-narrative the chase is represented as an ancient chivalric duel between man and beast disrupted suddenly by unmanly African voices. The actions of the Africans in the middle of the chase are represented as crazed: for example, they "threw down their weapons, ran backwards, clapping their hands, and shouting like the rest" (1881: 87). Their gestures are described as weak. By contrast, the European is represented as decisive, strong and ruggedly compassionate: "I ran up at once to see what could be done, but all human aid was vain - the poor fellow was dead" (1881: 87).

If Victorian adventure fiction was seen as suitable reading for boys, this hunting sequence must have inspired European adolescents.[10] This scene reflects differentiated forms of irrationality and primitiveness in the African male, as opposed to the rationality, composure and control of the European. The shape of the African expression of grief is represented as a threat to the rational narrator-hunter, whose own actions are a model for

sporting British male types. The terseness of the narrator's own response is normalised within the paradigm of decisive European male actions and adventures in a confused and savage Africa. The focus then shifts back to the unfinished hunt as he records the way in which the sixth elephant is shot and how the seventh escapes because of the accidental death of Mendose. The author concluded the incident and returned to camp to record the action sequence at the end of "the best day's hunting" (1881: 87).

However, to the chagrin of the hunter-narrator, who is anxious because there is lots of work for his African assistants to do before sunset, the "Kafirs continued to shout and cry, seeming utterly paralysed, and I began to think that they were possessed of more sympathetic feelings than I had ever given them credit for" (1881: 87). This demonstration of African emotion and other Westernised forms of a 'human' response to death is represented as a further disruption to the chase. It could also be argued that it signals an aporia in the discourse, in that the hunter is confronted with the death of an African man and feels obliged to provide an account of the British 'sporting' code under these circumstances. However, techniques of the popular adventure writer provided the Anglo-Saxon hunter in Africa with a way out of the dilemma. According to the British 'sporting' code established by Cornwallis-Harris and Cummings, Selous was obliged to include violence, death and an apparent indifference to suffering in his story (Grey, 1979: 96). By another 'rational' intervention, the hunter roused his

workers from their 'irrational' display of emotion and made them bury

Mendose hastily. This was accomplished by asking, "whether they wished

to leave the body for the hyaenas" (1881: 87). Although the literary

technique of the writer is foregrounded, the illusion of progress on a

spectacularised hunt is maintained. The disruptions in the sequence of the

narrative of sport reflect the historical disjunction of time occasioned by the

European penetration of Africa.

In terms of African time, the African burial rites usually last many

days and is accompanied by ceremonial rituals and solemnity. This

procedure is fortuitously collapsed into insignificance by the hunter's

discovery of a makeshift grave in the side of an anthill. The narrator,

reflecting back on his African adventures from the metropole, crassly

interprets the beliefs of the African males:

> Into this rude grave, with a Kafir needle to pick the thorns out of his
> feet, and his assegais with which to defend himself on his journey to
> the next world, we put the body, and then firmly blocked up the
> entrance with large stones, to keep the prowling hyaenas from
> exhuming it. Poor Mendose! he was an obedient, willing servant, and
> by far the best shot of all our native hunters. (1881: 88)

This mixed and foreshortened obituary is more a lament for the potential loss

of sport and revenue to the professional hunter/sportsman than an

expression of remorse at the death of an equal. For the British 'sportsman',

it was "the best day's hunting, as regards weight of ivory, at which I had ever assisted" (1881: 88). For the observer of the 'world that never was' such incidents are essential ingredients in imperial tales of hardship and endurance, thirst and glory. In an Africa represented as dangerous and hostile, a brutal treatment of the emotions is called for (Hammond et al in Grey, 1979: 98).

The male type was constituted differently in the British narrative of 'sport and adventure'. The two forms took the shape of an individual 'rational' European self and a collective 'primitive' African identity. Mendose is brought to life in the narrative through his potential as servant and as a reliable worker. Ironically he only acquires significance and the distinction of being the best shot of all the African hunters at his death, rather than during his term of labour as a hunter in the service of the narrator-employer. Nevertheless, he is buried without ceremony.

By contrast, Selous's representation of the response to the death of a European companion in Africa is sentimentalised. It also illustrates how differentiated and racialised codes form a submerged regulating structure for the narrative. For the narrator-hunter, the death of a European male in the wilderness is a source of great distress. In stark contrast to his dispassionate response to the death of Mendose, the death of French moves the 'great white hunter' of the African interior to lament:

What my feelings were, upon receipt of this horrible and unexpected
news, I will not endeavour to describe. The mental anguish, however,
which I suffered, just at a time, too, when I was far from well in
body, brought on a succession of attacks of fever that very nearly
ended my troubles. For several nights I never slept, as the vision of
my lost friend (for we had always hit it off very well together),
wandering about and dying by inches, continually haunted me. (1881:
400)

In this instance, the European male's loss of a fellow hunter occasions a

description of emotional loss rather than as a sporting mishap in the case of

the death of Mendose.[11] Generally, in this narrative, sporting life is confined

to a select group of Europeans and depicted as a continuous and dangerous

search for ivory and trophies.

The narrative of adventure also incorporates discourses of the human

sciences such as anatomy, anthropology and eugenics as it progressively

depicts a hierarchy of savage African types. Selous's African workers are

ethnically differentiated according to the different tasks they perform. The

narrator describes "... two Griqua hunters in the service of Mr Westbeech of

Pandamatenka. One of whom, Jacob Ourson, gave us some information

about the country near the Chobe river" (1881: 119). Others are managers

in the service of hunters, for example, "Henry Wall (a bastard man from

Graham's Town, who had entered Mr. Garden's service at Tati, as

interpreter and overseer over all the waggon-drivers and Kafirs)" (1881:

134). The hunter's entourage thus included various categories of African labour: transport organizers, interpreters and assistants.[12]

Although he extensively documents frontier life, the narrator is also the central figure of his own account of British observation in Africa. While the narrative performs a dual function, the sentimental mode prevails. Utilizing the epic form, he describes a series of trials, challenges, and encounters with the unpredictable. The narrator espoused the virtues of bravery in an African wilderness and surrounded by lions that:

> ... roar not far down the river... advancing steadily along the river towards our camp, roaring grandly... gave tongue in splendid style, making the forest resound again, and forcing me to clutch my rifle involuntarily. ... several of them roaring in unison will make the whole air in their immediate vicinity vibrate and tremble, and I know of nothing in nature more awe-inspiring, or on a dark night to make a man feel nervous. (1881: 127)

On his heroic quest, this self-styled knight-errant faced many imagined and some real dangers. Significantly, for the Imperial project, the Lee Metford is an adequate protection against most threats. This extract conveys a sense of the superiority of Western Man in Africa, which was perceived at the metropole as a justification for the presence of the hunter in the African interior. The narrative records that, for over a century, European hunters had preceded European settlers in the South African interior. At the level of

imperial adventure, therefore, Zimbabwe is doomed to be conquered by Europeans from the South.

The hunter-narrator notes that he had encountered many different African communities and varieties of behaviour as he penetrated the exotic African wilderness. For Selous, it was a place of excesses and extremes that provided a testing ground for the demonstration of British racial, class and national superiority. The narrative is not always explicit about the relations the European hunter/protagonist had entered within African society. Specifically, the text remains silent about Selous's relationship with Alice from Khama's court.[13] However, Selous does record his encounter with a type of European degeneracy in the interior,[14] similar to that which was rife among the working classes in overcrowded urban slums at the metropole (Davis, 1996). Selous described Mr. Crossley, a degenerate Colonial Male, who exhibited regressive social behaviour and indulgence, as someone:

> ... who knew the country and the people, once private secretary to Adam Kok, the Griqua chief, and once held a very good position, from which a passionate devotion to the flowing bowl had dragged him down step by step, till he now did not own so much as the shoes he stood in. He was, however, in his sober moments, which when within ten miles of a canteen, were both short and infrequent, an intelligent and well-informed man. (1881: 3)

Here Selous identifies intemperance as the cause of deterioration in the European male, in contrast to what Carl Mauch perceived as Adam Renders's promiscuity in the wilderness and abandonment of Lutheran notions of morality which I described in Chapter One. The narrator implies that the bourgeois virtues of abstinence and temperance are more characteristic of the British colonial presence than that of the Portuguese or German traders.[15] Selous uses nationalistic discourses when Europeans other than the British are seen to deteriorate and generally encounter a worse fate in the African interior. Selous describes the 'degenerate' German, Schindehutte, and his death in the following terms:

> [he was] a fine, handsome man, and I have been told, a very agreeable and well-informed one when he was sober... [he] came to dreadful end. He was on his way to the Zambesi with two waggon-loads of goods, amongst which was a hogshead of Cape brandy, to which he paid the most marked and unremitting attention, till at last he went half mad, and in a fit of delirium-tremens commenced shooting his oxen as they were trekking along. One day one of his Kafir servants demanded his payment, and on being told that his time was not up, became insolent, on which Schinderhutte, taking a loaded rifle from the side of the waggon blew his brains out, the ill-fated Kafir falling dead alongside the fore-wheel... One day, however he disappeared. Search was made for him the following morning, and some portion of his remains found, the rest having been eaten by hyaenas. There is no doubt that he was killed by Makalakas and Bushmen in revenge for what was nothing more than the cold-blooded

murder of their comrade. ... the natives looted the waggons, stealing all the guns, powder, sugar etc. (1881:186)

These observations and expansionist rhetoric are part of his affirmation of Western bourgeois notions of progress. The narrator employs nationalist discourses of 'propriety' and 'truth' which are closely allied to an expansionist world-view. For the narrator, entrepreneurship is evident in Westbeach, the early Zambesi British trader who competed with many Portuguese slave-traders in the Barotse valley. In contrast to these miscreants, in the eyes of the narrator, Westbeech's efforts bring a double benefit to the Barotse and realise Livingstone's objective of converting the Zambesi into 'God's highway':

> ... by bringing a better class of guns, powder, the Englishman beat his competitors out of the market, and thus did more to put an end to the slave market carried on along the central Zambesi by Portuguese subjects, and to raise the name of Englishmen amongst the natives, than all the pamphlets of the stay-at-home aborigines protectionists. (1881: 246)

Selous's narrative evidently marks the phase of 'experimental engagement' within the project of empire in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. For the narrator this 'progression' is dictated by individual profit. The activities of hunters and traders are seen to benefit Africans in a way that far outweighed the contribution of the anti-expansionist lobby at the metropole. For the 1870s

the topos of the chase and the figure of the hunter signified 'enlightenment'. Selous's journal was published by a lucrative book industry as imperial adventure for the growing literate audience at the metropolitan centre. Meanwhile, in Britain, the anti-expansionist lobby and the Aborigine's Protection Society articulated their opposition to the escalation of Imperial aggression and its destructive impact on African social orders.

Letters of a Woman's Journey

The letters of Marie Lippert provide an alternative view of colonial society. They are fragments of a private correspondence that was subsequently published in the German Press in response to the demands of an expansionist national order. In contrast to the fictionalised and extensively reworked metropolitan hunter-narrative of Selous, Marie Lippert's letters to her family explore the world of her private experience, a world which was subsequently opened to public scrutiny.[16] The letters are an attempt to portray her personal response to her 1891 African journey. They are consequently addressed to her German relatives although they should also be viewed as a response to nineteenth-century Continental social norms, values and mutating notions of the bourgeois self.[17] Lippert's correspondence should be seen within the context of the 1880s Imperial German invasion of Namibia. The letters were thus part of a larger framework of texts, institutions and practices of the Imperial world order.

Following the mineral revolution in Southern Africa, the African social order was rapidly proletarianised. With the emergence of a contract system, men left their villages and were confined in labour compounds at Kimberley and on the Rand for extended periods. Eduard Lippert was a German financier who had business linked to the mining industry on the Diamond Fields and on the Rand. In October 1890, he acquired a concession from Lobengula to "the exclusive right for one hundred years to make grants of land to Europeans both in Matabeleland and in Mashonaland" (Hanna, 1960: 88). Marie Lippert accompanied her husband on a journey undertaken in 1891 to facilitate Rhodes's monopolisation of all mining and land concessions obtained from Lobengula.

The notion of ownership of mineral rich African land and the procedure of being 'squared by Rhodes' inform her correspondence describing the journey. After the resolution of the conflict between the two colonial businessmen, she set out to enjoy the journey that Rhodes had funded. Her attitude to her husband's opponent was partial, "I prefer people like Rhodes, who says quite cynically: 'Might is Right', rather than people who try and smother everything in a featherbed of smooth words" (1891: 15). Her utterances are an affirmation of the project of empire. For the narrator the European invasion of the territory was the first step towards introducing 'civilisation' to the region. In some instances her comments on African customs, dress, manners and behaviours should be considered as

part of a perceived European urge to transform Africa, its people and their ways. However, it will be argued that what Pratt has termed 'transculturation' (1992: 6) is evident in Lippert's remarks on the advantages of an African style of dress and lack of inhibition in the interior.

On her approach to Tati, the narrator appears to be alone in a dry, harsh African wilderness, isolated in a stultifying and hostile environment:

> I was afraid that we would not find the water. We drove on, hour after hour, through endless bush. The whole of Africa consists of bush, but here it is not so monotonous and gloomy ... sometimes it looks like a clearing in a beech forest, with single trees and scrub, then again it is very dense ... everything is still bare and grey, and waiting for rain .... I do feel the heat, the red-hot wind and the lack of air in the little clay huts ... the heat is so colossal that one can't think properly later in the day. (1891: 13)

The alien subject registers an experience of being trapped and threatened in this vast natural expanse.[18] In contrast to the almost continuous signs of habitation in Central Europe, where, for example, each village in rural Germany was in view of the next, no church steeples were visible to the traveller in the Kalahari. The random and scattered indigenous forestation contrasted with the densely forested pines and beeches of Europe. Africa was seen as the opposite of Europe in climate and topography. A Western woman accustomed to a furnished German metropolitan home experienced

the heat and confined spaces within African dwellings as oppressive. Marie

Lippert also registers an imagined threat to the 'civilised' European woman's

psyche.

In the late nineteenth century, the nucleus of Western bourgeois

society was the family unit. The organisation of the German national state

along capitalist lines facilitated control over the increasing urban population,

promoted its ordered growth and provided it with sanitary living conditions.

European Man and Woman are represented in an encounter with a group of

African men deep in the barren interior. Possibly the group may have been

migrant workers en route to the Diamond Fields at Kimberley. In a gesture

of hospitality in the remote semi-desert region, these men had shown this

lost and dehydrated party of Germans a water-hole. They had also enlarged

the drinking hole and built a fire for the European travellers:

> Eduard and I sat eating beside the fire, while on the other side eleven
> grinning naked [Africans] sat in a semi-circle. They were pleased with
> us, with the pieces of bread, which we threw to them, and most of all
> with the dirty serviette, which I had thrown away and which one of
> them immediately tied round his head. (1891: 13)

In the view of the narrator, the group is composed as opposite in various

ways: the European self and the African self are constructed out of

differences in posture, dress, actions and customs. However, the

relationship is construed as one of almost abject dependence, as scraps of

food are thrown at the men in a dehumanising manner. The letter
normalizes the alienating social and exploitative effects of the colonial order.
Even in the chance meeting in the wilderness, relations of dominant master
and subordinate servant appear to have been replicated. It is possible to
view this meeting as one between an elite captain of industry and his wife,
who were travelling on business, and African members of the emergent
proletariat on the march. Lippert represents Colonial Man on the frontier as
strange, unstable and degenerate. Those she encounters in the
Bechuanaland Border Police and at the new mining camp at Tati are viewed
as European male types, who had become disorientated, having lost their
Western identities, values and norms. The narrator describes what she sees
as the misplaced monastic tendency of Demaffey, who:

> ... lives in a crazy fashion at the top of a wooded hill; one has to climb
> over the stones for twenty minutes, but then it becomes wonderfully
> romantic, sitting in front of the hut, and looking away over the
> endless bushy hills and plains, and onwards to the mighty river, over
> which the sun sets dark red, in overpowering solitude. Demaffey is a
> dreamer and a hermit, who is only fit to sit on a hill and look down at
> Africa, thinking of scientific problems as he does so. (1891: 17)

Here the Western man of science is represented as a social outcast
according to Continental notions of rational action. He is also the inactive
dreamer, in stark contrast to Selous's ideal of the hunter and man of action.
Implicit in Lippert's view is the idea that entrepreneurs such as Rhodes,

Eduard Lippert and others involved in mining and concession-hunting are 'active'. Similarly, the European Doctor at Monarch Reef is represented as a comical instance of moral and physical degeneration who "has been sent away because he drank up all his own opium, chloroform and eau-de-cologne bottles without discrimination" (1891: 17). Often, then, like Selous's defective male types, such as Crossley and Schindehutte, instead of proliferating and regenerating a depleted European stock in a healthy living space, the European male is seen by Lippert to deteriorate in Africa. Thus her class-based European social sensibility is focused on observations of degeneracy among European male subjects, such as members of the colonial frontier society, who were:

> ... rather a rough set, these Border Police and traders and hunters, mostly gentlemen, but very little left in them of gentle ways. One of them has a beautiful estate in Scotland, and his father died lately and he is supposed to come home; but where there is anything to drink he drinks it, and none of them are any good for civilization any more. (1891: 24)

This position is in sharp contrast to Selous's and Baden-Powell's lionisation of the British presence in Africa. Instead, Lippert notes how the dissolute heir to a European fortune and landed estate has become degenerate, while others have moved beyond acceptable limits of civilised norms, morality and usefulness. The common occurrence of sexual relations between European males and African women in the interior, including established forms of

cohabitation, is implicit but remains absent from this polite form of correspondence. It is therefore subject to a submerged regulating structure of European sexual mores that limited what Lippert could write in her epoch.

In her comments on Africans Lippert attempts to constitute a separate racialized European self through discourse. The letters are a response to an urbanised industrial German cultural and social order. The populations of the interior are therefore contrasted with those in Germany. Once the narrator reached Bulawayo, the party were detained by Lobengula's warriors until they were granted an audience. From a European perspective, where time had a specific value, the narrator and beleaguered European woman saw things as "very African and queer, quite different from anything we have hitherto experienced" (1891: 19). The narrator's ambivalence towards Africa emerges from her perception of:

> ... an unbelievable mixture of barbarism and civilization. Just think - we had a proper horse race here yesterday, and yet our wagon stood in the shadow of a tree on which they hanged a woman last year; a few bones and a scrap of cloth are still lying around. (1891: 24)

In what was an inversion of the dominant position of the industrialized Imperial Europe over the rest of the world in the 1890s, the camps of various European agents and missionaries were located outside the perimeter of the royal kraal of Lobengula. As a visitor to the region from her original

vantage-point within western European civilisation, the narrator had

transgressed many European and African cultural and spatial boundaries.

Conforming to notions of European feminine social refinement and leisure

she sketched, painted and kept a journal for her family in Europe. However,

she also appears to have challenged certain restrictive conventions that

applied to the conduct of women by undertaking the journey with her

husband into the African interior, where few European women had ventured.

Thus Lippert seems more of a 'modern' European woman in the new

extroverted generation that emerged in tandem with an expansive German

imperial order.

While her comments on Lobengula and the Matabele generally

conform to settler myths of innate African cruelty and savagery, the narrator

admires the persuasive and leadership skills Lobengula displayed at his court

in Bulawayo. Such praise was rare among contemporary narratives at a time

when his kingdom was swamped with European concession seekers, their

agents and opportunists. In the seemingly endless deliberations that took

precedence over Eduard Lippert's submissions to Lobengula concerning the

succession of his mining rights to Rhodes:

> ... remarkable was the manner in which the king guided them in the
> direction which suited him, putting leading questions to bring out
> special points, and cleverly cross-examining to be sure of getting at
> the full truth. Distrust of the white man is deeply ingrained in the

Matabele, and this is not to be wondered at, considering the occurrences of the last few years! They never lose their temper over an argument and cannot understand the white man doing so. Lobengula never raises his voice; he speaks in a sort of undertone, which, however, carries far and is heard and immediately attended to by his people even at a distance. (1891: 51)

The view of an astute, articulate African monarch emerges in Lippert's correspondence. Instead of Lobengula being represented as inept in the management of invasive speculators and the hostile intentions of British and Boer expansionists, she notes his ability to manage and regulate these intrusions. In doing this, Lippert contradicts the British expansionist and colonial propaganda of Baden-Powell and Selous which depicted Lobengula as a savage despot. With his hegemony intact after the 1890 Chartered Company invasion he apparently posed a major challenge to European control in Mashonaland and prohibited European infiltration of Matabeleland. An incident at the Lippert party's camp foregrounds nineteenth-century European bourgeois notions of privacy and sexuality. Lippert's response to an intrusion is indicative that for her the menace of a lower social order violates her private realm:

I am too hot, and have just been annoyed about our people, who have been looking at my sketch-books in our absence. It really is too bad - these coloured men handling my sketch-books! I flew among them like a whirlwind, almost as fiercely as though someone had been touching your drawing table! (1891: 27)

The narrator's indignation illustrates her adherence to many conventions of exclusion by which males were prohibited from entering the private space of a woman. In the camp and throughout the journey these racially coded European notions had obviously been compromised and reformulated. The exclusive male company included Africans who assumed a certain familiarity and demonstrated their curiosity which breaches the boundaries of Western female privacy or sanctity. For the European woman-narrator the subaltern maleness of the servant-class is associated with another form of degeneracy, namely that of miscegenation.[19] Lippert's narrative is more explicit on the subject than Selous, Chalmers and Baden-Powell, and indicates that she was aware of the occurrence of sexual relations and cohabitation on a regular basis between European men and African women.

In contrast to Lippert's perceived transgressions of female Western sexual norms and boundaries by African males, she describes the emerging social unit of a colonial husband and wife, Johann and Mollie Colenbrander:

> ... they are people from Natal, very cheerful, quite accustomed to this life in the interior, have lived a long time in Swaziland and Mashonaland. She goes riding with him when he hunts, shoots excellently and has even gone for Natives with her gun. (1891: 21)

The semi-nomadic and potentially violent proto-colonial family had become a reality on the margins of empire. [20] Lippert, the European woman on an African journey which would end inevitably at the metropolis, admires this colonial woman but does not show any urgency to adopt her lifestyle. The ideal colonial woman who could survive in the hostile interior is portrayed as the ideal companion to man. An essential requirement of this way of life was her ability to perform male settler accomplishments such as horse-riding and marksmanship. In particular it, is implied that the ability to shoot at Africans is vital for colonial women.

What emerges from the narrator's comparisons of European, colonial and African women's lifestyles is a perceived need for the relaxation of restrictive conventions that limit and confine Western metropolitan women:

> I am also surprised that bad water and queer food and exertion did me no harm; it just shows how valuable is a natural life, entirely in the open, and how wrong our civilized life must be. If I had followed the advice of the queens and worn no girdle and corset, I should probably be feeling still better. They were indefatigable in showing me again and again that I must take off my girdle and put a piece of loose cloth around me as they do. (1891: 42)

The advice of women from Lobengula's court "these simple children of nature" (1891: 50) is considered by Lippert as reasonable and the Western conventions which she felt constrained by are regarded as inappropriate.

Her outdoor existence is contrasted with the 'unnatural' metropolitan social conventions and etiquette which placed restrictions on what roles women could play in society. Although the issue appears to be clothes and superficial manners, Lippert may be suggesting that there were deeper underlying issues concerning the appropriate behaviour of European as opposed to African women. Restrictive nineteenth-century conventions of Western clothing are linked to austere behavioural codes and morality. African women wore less leaving much of their body exposed. Many Europeans, including Lippert, interpreted this as sexual promiscuity. The European women's monogamous condition, which incorporated strict moral and social limitations on sexual behaviour, was compared with what appeared to be the spontaneous hedonism of African women in a polygamous state.

On the return journey to the Cape from Bulawayo, Lippert comments on Khama, who dressed in the European style. However, in her reservations and contradictory conclusions, she expresses the ambivalence common to the European and the wider settler response to the possibility or threat of a 'civilized African':

> European clothes do not suit natives; they never look dignified in them, and they seem to lose the grace and stateliness of their bearing. I think I prefer them without the varnish of civilization; and I certainly found the naughty, violent, and naked heathen Matabele much more

interesting than the good-natured, industrious Christian Mangwato. Khama keeps his people in excellent order. (1891: 47)

According to this view, eighteenth-century European notions of the 'noble savage' are transformed into a stated preference for a 'natural' condition for Africans. This is also reflected in her observations about the "perfectly free and open-air life" (1891: 43) of travel through the interior. Her preference for "naked heathen Matabele" suggests that she would have had doubts about being able to tolerate or interact with mission-educated Africans. Lippert seems to contradict her earlier enthusiasm for the benefits of European 'civilisation' in this rejection of any change to an imaginary Edenic African order. Her Western notions about racial difference underpin these observations and are important in the process by which she formulates the European male subject. Here discourses of eugenics and of human progress appear to have constituted Colonial Man, while those of a primitive existence and strange customs constituted African Man.[21]

Lippert legitimates the colonial presence but identifies the tendency for the European male to deteriorate and revert to a fallen state in the tropics. Her travels and her reflections on life in the interior, allow her the opportunity to perceive the artificiality of conventions and societal norms operating in her metropolitan home:

... there is something in this perfectly free and open-air life which seems to make everything right and pleasant and which makes one consider seriously whether there isn't something radically wrong about civilization of the present day and all its fuss about small matters. (1891: 43)

The elaborate conventions of European women's clothing and appearance form the underlying structural context for Lippert's comparison of African with European codes. At a time when Western man had penetrated the interior of Africa and lived without any restrictive conventions, apart from his ability to survive, Lippert challenged other behavioural norms which restricted and confined the role of European Women on the Continent. The narrator seems to imply that colonialism presents an opportunity for change that Western women urgently needed.

While Lippert focused on a gendered nineteenth-century world of private experience, in which she reflects on how her African experience moulded and qualified her European sensibility, Selous publicizes the role of the hunter and Romanticizes Africa. He is concerned with his popular Victorian and later legendary status as a 'Great White Hunter'. He appeals to the densely mythologised paradigm of the fearless Anglo-Saxon adventurer who crosses oceans and penetrates 'Darkest Africa'. Selous is therefore preoccupied with Imperial Man engaged in violent muscular action and the ritualistic codes of the chase, while Lippert is restricted to passing observations and comments on the actions of Colonial Man. Lippert's

support for Rhodes's ruthless concession-making, her fear of African men

and women, and her recurrent claustrophobia in the remote African interior

contradict Pratt's claims about European Woman's greater sensitivity, comic

irony and "recovery of European innocence" in West Africa (1992: 214).

Imperial Surveillance in Matabeleland

Baden-Powell of the Thirteenth Hussars, is a symptomatic figure of jingoist

sentiment, and later founder of the Boy Scouts' movement. Although he

was commissioned as a minor staff officer at the time, his narrative is

characterised by the rhetoric of the imperial military regiment and of his life

in service of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria.[22] *The Matabele Campaign* (1897)

marks a shift to a monological order of surveillance and control over

information in the interests of Empire and promotes the enlistment of British

male individuals into the colonial service. It transforms the era of sport and

adventure into a notion of imperial time according to which Zimbabwe was

viewed as a 'perfectly new country'.[23] It has epic features in that it is an

extended narrative on a purportedly great and serious subject. It is related in

an elevated style, and figures a heroic protagonist on whose actions the fate

of the British Imperial campaign in Matabeleland is seen to depend. In this

chauvinist annal Baden-Powell constitutes the white male along racial lines,

espousing the virtues of white colonial and imperial warriors. He is also

indebted to the Victorian adventure paradigm of Kipling, Henty and Maine

Read.[24] This fictional mode gives him the latitude to exaggerate what was, in reality, his insignificant role in the campaign against the Ndebele during the 1896 rising. In this adventure mode, colonial life is seen to be dictated by the imperial military codes and practices which brutalized relations between European and African.

Although bound to the clerical tasks of a censor of press reports at Bulawayo, the narrator embarks on a largely fictionalised career as a scout, who is continually out 'on the war-path' where he observes the movements and positions of the Ndebele. The narrator describes his official intelligence functions:

> ... in camp here Press correspondents have to bring me their messages, in order to get them signed for transmission by field telegraph, and it is most interesting to see what marvellous news some of them can manage to fake up out of very inadequate material. (1897: 175)

Ironically, by regarding his scouting activities as primary he underplays his surveillance duties on information concerning the Ndebele Chimurenga. However, Rhodes and the BSA Company desperately sought to limit the damage to investor confidence such reports on atrocities were having on the Stock Exchange in London. In his official position Baden-Powell had access to all reports on skirmishes, battles, manoeuvres and atrocities at the time. This privileged access enabled him to authenticate his narrative, which he

subsequently completed on his return to the Dublin Barracks of his regiment.

Typically the narrator of Baden-Powell's text experiences excitement out on a mounted reconnaissance patrol when he surprises a young Ndebele woman in the open veld. Her terror and flight excite the narrator's hunting instincts and he takes up the chase:

> ... running after a lady, a lithe and active young person, [who] dived away at a tremendous pace into the long grass ... She was getting away at a great pace her body bent double to the ground, taking advantage of every bit of cover, more like an animal than a human being ... Away I went after her ... a grand gallop, it was a grand race through long grass and bush. (1897: 200-201)

Here Baden-Powell represents colonial warfare and the brutal treatment of African women as imperial sport or an aristocratic English hunt conducted in Africa. The idiom of the traditional English sport of foxhunting is deployed to sustain an act of violence. Implicit in this view is the idea that the Ndebele woman was a legitimate target for imperial soldiers. Although she manages to escape, the woman is dehumanised by the chase. Here the imperial self is portrayed as bold, decisive, indifferent and unburdened by conventions which predicated relations with white women at the metropole.

In its context this incident has other implications: first, it implies that imperial military operations in Matabeleland are a hunt or chase for an animal

quarry, and secondly, it represents an attempt to capture a young woman at a time when many women were being molested and assaulted by settler males.[25] Baden-Powell's narrative marks the transformation from adventure/exploration to a sanctioned military violence where all pretence of Western ethical or moral sentiment is abandoned in a systematic effort to crush Ndebele and Shona resistance. This is narrativised as a legitimate campaign in which Western scientific and technological advancements have to be used against what is perceived as a treacherous opponent. At the metropole, Baden-Powell's text legitimated and justified atrocities committed by colonial forces. Discourses of military action, regimental honour, tradition and valour constituted colonial man as a hero. This included the imperial notion of duty and obedience embodied by:

> Terry of the 7th Hussars at Inyati with six men occupying a small fort. Their life did not seem too cheery; open flat, blazing sun, and flies innumerable. Rudyard Kipling would well describe this young sprig, fresh from Charterhouse, accepting the surrender of numbers of Lobengula's trusted old warriors. (1897: 278)

Harnessing the imperial adventure genre of Kipling, Baden-Powell sketches in the unwritten, class-based, aristocratic origins of the soldier. This young member of the British ruling class provides a class-based contrast to trooper Halket in Schreiner's novella, and indicates Baden-Powell's aspiration to the level of the ruling elite within the imperial forces and metropolitan society generally. Implicit in this discourse of racial superiority are Social Darwinist

notions of the inevitable subjugation of African people by 'civilised' Western males. Signalling the change in the historical moment wrought by colonial occupation, Baden-Powell notes how even the 'trusted old warriors' are forced to surrender to a "young, inexperienced and particularly handsome young hussar" (1897: 277).

In aspiring to an imperial campaign journal, the narrator monologically brushes aside 'milk and water philanthropists' at Exeter Hall and dismisses African voices that described the same events. For example, he records the account of a Ndebele warrior who had surrendered, and who subsequently acted "a pantomime description of the battle ... he imitated all the sounds, his action was perfect" (1897: 277). Baden-Powell was bemused when he discovered that the performance was a fabrication, although this feigned acknowledgement of European prowess in battle was very much part of the strategy of various paramountcies in Matabeleland.[26] A contemporary faction that diametrically opposed the monological utterance of aggressive expansionists was the liberal correspondent Labouchere in the Manchester-based *Truth*.[27]

The narrator-scout formulates the European male subject on the border of empire through discourses of bravery, battle, endurance and loyalty. Colonial man is constituted as hero in sentimental observations of inflated regimental decorum and ritual. Typically the narrator-scout indulges

in a celebration of his "anniversary of joining Her Majesty's service 1876-1896" (1897: 282) in a message directed at young British males who aspired to imperial service. This mock-heroic ceremony was coded in popular 1890s expansionist sentiment, crusading fervour, and the celebration of military service as an institution surpassing matrimony. The narrative was constructed at the metropole, in response to popular jingoist sentiment and contemporary press debates. It reflects tensions in the Victorian social order and shows how the phenomenon of Empire and colonial service was seen to provide opportunities and space for the lower ranks of British society. Such affiliation was seen as a means of receiving commissions, appointments, and gaining social acceptability at the metropolis which would otherwise have been denied them.[28] The narrator, who was an upwardly mobile servant of Empire, elaborates on a kind of self-effacing fortitude only available to British men:

> I always think more of this anniversary than that of my birth, and I could not picture a more enjoyable way of spending it. I am here, out in the wilds, with the troopers. They are all Afrikanders, that is Colonial born, one an ex-policeman, another a mining engineer (went to England with me on board the "Mexican"), the third an electrical engineer from Johannesburg, all of them good men in the veldt, and good fighting men. We are nearly eighty miles from Bulawayo. (1897: 282)

The narrator presents an exclusively male hierarchy on the periphery of Empire. This British military order is based on an inflexible Imperial code which achieves its dominance over the rest of the world by a real and an epistemic violence. Here the imperial officer leads a small mobile unit of colonials who are of Dutch extraction and thus could be regarded as 'civilised natives'. They are both commandos and key civilian and industrial functionaries in the establishment and maintenance of British control in Zimbabwe.

In a text which places the imperial soldier on the colonial frontier in the Imperial spot-light, Baden-Powell utilizes discourses of race and of a militarist order to constitute the male subject as 'civilised' or 'savage', 'rebel' or 'loyal'. The narrator finds order and conformity among the Hussars, who are:

> ... first-rate fellows, and cheery in spite of all their hard work and absence of reward. Most of them walked the greater part of the march on foot, in order to save their horses. They all work so well and quietly, no order even in daytime or in camp is given above the ordinary tone of voice, but it is always heard and obeyed at once; naturally it is a great comfort to have such men with one. (1897: 324)

By contrast, Chief Uwini is described as a defiant rebel: "... he was badly wounded in the shoulder, but, enraged at being a prisoner, he would allow nothing to be done for him; no sooner had the surgeon bandaged him than

he tore the dressings off again" (1897: 287). Juxtaposed with the
description of the Hussars above, Uwini is considered a "fine truculent-
looking savage, and boasted that he had always been able to hold his own
against any enemies in this stronghold of his, but now that he was captured
he only wished to die" (1897: 288). Here African 'savagery' is emphasized
to make the deeds of British men appear more impressive.

While Baden-Powell's narrative sets out to justify and legitimate the
British military invasion of 1896-7, it constitutes a record of atrocity and
violence that undermines any pretensions it may have to justice or morality.
For example, the narrator is the commanding officer at a summary court-
martial and public execution of an Ndebele leader. Baden-Powell concurs
with the settler urge to avenge the massacre of European families and he
views excessive violence as a necessary strategy to 'teach the natives a
lesson'. For this Victorian acolyte, genocidal acts such as the dynamiting of
caves in which Africans have taken refuge, are an appropriate means of
establishing a physical dominance of Colonial Man over the African Man.

Baden-Powell engages and encodes discourses of African defiance and
refusal to submit in his representation of Uwini:

... when asked by us to call upon his people to surrender, now that he
was captured, absolutely declined to make any such proposition to
them. He said that he had ordered them into rebellion, and had told

them to fight to the last, and he was not now going to go back on his orders. (1897: 290)

After the narrator explains that the resident Native Commissioner had deemed it imperative that Uwini be executed in order to break up resistance in the district,[29] he describes the assembly of the kangaroo-style court-martial. Uwini was charged with ordering the murder of whites and instigating the Rising in that part of the country:

> The court-martial gave him a long hearing, in which he *practically* [my emphasis] confessed to what was charged against him, and they found him guilty, and sentenced him to be shot. I was sorry for him - he was a fine old savage; but I signed his warrant, directing that he should be shot at sundown... At sunset all the natives in camp, both friendlies, refugees, and prisoners, were paraded to witness the execution of Uwini. He was taken out to an open place in the centre of his strong-hold, where all his people who were still holding out could see what was being done, and he was there shot by a firing party from the troops. (1897: 297-9)

Unlike in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977), where in eighteenth-century Europe the tortuous public execution is transformed into the daily routine in the modern prison, in this narrative public execution is depicted almost as being part of the daily routine of the patrol Baden-Powell commanded. According to Foucault, in seventeenth-century the public spectacle of physical punishment was replaced by a confinement of the body

where the focus had shifted to the punishment of the soul or psyche. Here, by contrast, we have an imperial military code that includes a procedure for a summary hearing and sentencing in the field, and which sanctions public executions in order to 'teach the natives a lesson'. At the colonial site, within a system which divided populations according to racial and cultural affiliation, it would appear that the transformation of disciplinary technologies in Western Europe became confused or reversed.

Although Baden-Powell was relieved of his command and received a letter from General Carrington announcing a court of inquiry into his conduct regarding Uwini by order of the High Commissioner, the absence of further allusion to such an inquiry in the narrative suggests that it was not held. Baden-Powell's continued participation in military operations and subsequent meetings with Carrington, Rhodes and BSA Company officials suggest collusion among the leadership on the question of military executions. In an order where all information was controlled and command over the military was in the hands of one unscrupulous magnate (Rhodes), the BSA Company history could be revised, and colonial time could be reorganised.

In Baden-Powell's monological imperium, modern mining technology, developed in the West, could be legitimately used to perpetrate spectacular Medieval-style massacres, such as the dynamiting of caves filled with African refugees and the looting and burning of kraals:

... in Monogula's we placed thirty-four cases of dynamite, and at one grand burst blew up the whole koppie, so that where there had been a hill there remained but a crater. [On a subsequent occasion] ... we called down into the caves, for anybody who might be there to come out, ... after getting out a large supply of grain and Kaffir food... we blew up the cave with three charges of dynamite. (1897: 409, 432)

The nineteenth-century adventure genre evidently accommodated representations of frequent acts of violence and transgressions of civilized norms in the name of an imperial quest. Their emphasis on a quest, violent action sequences and their exotic settings anticipated the popular twentieth century adventure-fiction of Wilbur Smith and others.[30] In this 1890s campaign diary, after describing a prolonged attack on Wedza's stronghold the narrative shifts into a reverie on the romantic splendours of Africa. Imperial time, for some, allowed for a more boundless adventure-time. The rigours of campaigning were interrupted by sport: there was hunting of game, and hair-raising encounters with lions, crocodiles and hippopotamuses.

Baden-Powell defines Colonial Man as a zealot, as part of a superior racial and military order, and driven by a sense of loyalty and duty to 'the British Crown'. This chauvinism also places Colonial Man beyond the borders of conventional European morality. Conversely, African Man is seen to be trapped in an ahistorical state of 'savagery' and violence which has to be confronted by uncompromising military force.

What Baden-Powell regards as order and discipline is satirically reworked by Schreiner in her anti-imperial vision of the manifest abuse of power by commissioned officers in *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland*. Baden-Powell describes a summary field court-martial and execution, similar to that which Schreiner deals with at the end of *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland*. Baden-Powell's ritualised sequences of the administration of martial law are countered by Schreiner's use of kaleidoscopic images of violence in her text and by her including a photograph of the 'hanging-tree' in Bulawayo[31] to attack the project of empire.

A Woman against Empire

In her fictionalised critique of imperialism and colonialism, Olive Schreiner reflected on the British suppression of the Ndebele and Shona Chimurenga of 1896-7 from within an emergent Cape liberal and humanist tradition.[32] Baden-Powell had used the identical location and violent action as an epic canvas to enhance the puerile scouting idiom of his campaign diary. While he had sought to bolster empire by reducing Chimurenga to an abnormality within imperial progress, Schreiner sought to speak on behalf of voices that had been silenced.[33] To facilitate this she sought a dialogic fictional mode that could accommodate heterogeneous utterances of the colonial project. In his *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics,* Mikhail Bakhtin has described a 'carnivalised' prose form (1984: 122). For my study of Schreiner's

carnivalisation of the imperial project in Mashonaland, this Russian Formalist's identification of notions of syncretic pageantry are useful. For Bakhtin, this pageantry is evident in the way fictionlised participants live an immediate and de-hierarchised carnivalistic life in which there is a "half-real working out of a new mode of interrelationships between individuals; where eccentricity permits latent or subconscious sides of human nature to reveal themselves and where all authority, values, thoughts, phenomena are drawn into contacts and combinations" (1984: 122-123).

Using a mode of colonial satire,[34] Schreiner framed an oppositional voice on the boundary of empire that stripped away the gaudy fabric of Imperial Romance set up by Haggard, Selous and Baden-Powell. Her anti-imperial protest novella made an impassioned public appeal to a misinformed metropolitan audience. She exposed the real extent of the atrocities committed against Africans, activities that had dogged the shadow of the speculator-figure in Southern Africa. Schreiner's text constituted an outraged liberal-humanist attack on a British imperialism directed by speculative capital. She achieved this by exploring the male psyche of an ordinary soldier in the British forces engaged in suppressing the 1896-7 rising in Mashonaland. Through the trope of allegory and the disjunctive sequence of a dream, Schreiner focused on the fragile and uncomprehending perceptions of the average person in the colonies. Here Colonial Man is seen as the dupe of ruthless capital and land speculators such as Rhodes.

Unlike Selous and Baden-Powell's extended monological narratives of imperial sport and adventure, superficially Schreiner's text appears insubstantial and convoluted. It consists of hallucinatory and disjunctive episodes set in a Zimbabwe where the population were experiencing the full weight of Rhodes's speculative dreams. It represents a brutish European male colonial order bent on violation and plunder. This is facilitated by a sustained sense of religious, ethical and moral controversy throughout, in contrast to the clannish morality employed by Selous and Baden-Powell. The action sequences are reduced and marginalised by politicised humanist debates which dialogize utterances in a field dominated by the more monological 'truths', sport and adventure of imperial expansion exemplified by Selous and Baden-Powell. Primacy is given to reflection, questioning and the power of the subconscious, its effects on an ordinary individual and his capacity to oppose the dominant order.

The narrative begins with Peter's soliloquy which locates him within the invading force in Mashonaland. This is followed by his extended exchange with the Christlike figure or stranger. The occupation of Zimbabwe by Rhodes's BSA Company is then interrogated from the vocal Cape Liberal perspective in the Cape Legislature during the 1890s. As Premier, Rhodes was directly accountable to this body. The narrator concludes the violent and predictable action with the murder of the trooper-turned-evangelist who had dared to oppose the tyrannical captain.

Schreiner's anti-hero is framed in deliberate opposition to the heroic hunter-figure of Selous or the imperial Hussar of Baden-Powell. This contrast between a pathetic Colonial Man and the fictional tradition of robust frontier adventure-hero is evident in her description of the male subject isolated from his troop and forced to spend the night in the open veld:

> ... he was a slight man of middle height, with a sloping forehead and pale blue eyes: but the jaws were hard set, and the thin lips of the large mouth were those of a man who could strongly desire the material good of life, and enjoy it when it came his way. Over the lower half of the face were scattered a few soft hairs, the growth of early manhood. (1897: 28)

Schreiner's trooper is an immature and insecure individual, given to doubts and mental recriminations. Having emerged from the ranks of the impoverished labouring class at the metropole he is subject to greed. Schreiner sees this form of avarice as rapacity - a fundamental principle enshrined in the Royal Charter that had been granted to the exploitative and violent speculator in Zimbabwe. The initial moment of enforced isolation at the beginning of the novella, provides an interlude in the violent conflict of the Chimurenga and its equally violent suppression. The type of reflection Peter indulges in rhetorically solicits the mostly silenced and unrecorded responses of the common man in the colonial forces. The plethora of sanitised BSA Company telegraph reports, the official campaign narratives

and other adventure fiction that documented the Chimurenga were opposed to this confessional mode.

Instead of affirming popular settler mythologising at the Cape and the jingoist sentiment at the metropole, Schreiner uses heterogeneous voices in a satirical attempt to refashion the schizoid male subject and his experience of violence on the margins of empire. Peter's thoughts during his nocturnal seclusion wander to his European childhood, his relationship with his mother, and his mock-speculator vision of a personal Eldorado based on that of diamond magnates such as Rhodes. He thinks of his huts where he cohabited with two African women, his use of machine guns and dynamite against the Shona, and his part in the rapine, pillage and plunder of their villages. These images are thrown together, resulting in a kaleidoscopic effect:

> ... he heard the loud cry of the native women and children as they turned the maxims on to the kraal; and then he heard the dynamite explode that blew up the cave. Then again he was working a maxim gun, but it seemed to him it was more like the reaping machine he used to work in England, and what was going down before it was not yellow corn but black men's heads. (1897: 36)

Here Colonial man is much more violent and traumatised than the disorientated European male Lippert had identified at Tati in 1891. When the timid protagonist is viewed as a perpetrator of violence sanctioned by

the monolithic BSA speculator order North of the Limpopo, Selous and

Baden-Powell's heroic representation of Colonial Man is brought into

question. Notions of imperial sport, adventure and scouting are

compromised when associated with such a graphic caricature of genocide in

Zimbabwe. Peter's participation in the brutal rape of "a black woman he and

another man caught alone in the bush, her baby on her back" (1897: 36),

and his "purchase of a fifteen-year old girl from a policeman and another of

thirty for a cask of brandy" (1897: 43) implicate him in the settler violence

and exploitation of Africans which occurred after Rhodes's 'Pioneer Column'

occupied Mashonaland.[35] In Schreiner's narrative, discourses of dominance

and violence thus constitute Colonial man as an archetypal conquistador.

Contrasted with this darkness in the mind of Colonial Man, the

dialogue between Peter and the Christlike stranger is framed within a

Western Christian paradigm of forgiveness and the administration of pastoral

care to the tortured soul. It is also a prolonged fictional analysis of colonial

atrocity in the era of Chartered Company Rule which concludes with the

conversion of Peter Halket. In return for forgiveness, the trooper is given the

liberal-humanist injunction to ensure:

> ... in that small spot where alone on earth your will rules, bring there
> into being the kingdom today. Love your enemies; do good to them
> that hate you. Walk ever forward, looking not to the right hand or
> left. Heed not what men shall say of you. Succour the oppressed;

deliver the captive. If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirsts give him drink. (1897: 93)

In this move Schreiner satirically inverted the offer Halket and his comrades had already accepted from Rhodes, "they said there was lots of loot to be got, and land to be given out" (1897: 45). In her reference to that magnate (in all but name) the narrative subverted Rhodes's dreams of unrestricted colonial expansion in Southern Africa. Peter is told to use the humble words "Thy money perish with thee!" (1897: 91) to oppose the delusions of an imperial magnate who planned to carve huge portions of Africa, and those who:

> ... seek to make that name immortal in this land; and write it in gold dust, and set it with diamonds, and cement it with human blood, shed from the Zambesi to the sea. (1897: 91)

Halket's first act of opposition on his return to his troop is his request to the demonic Captain for the release of the Shona captive. In parody of Labouchere's comments in *Truth*,[36] Halket's plea for clemency falls on deaf colonial ears. Further acts performed in fulfilment of his pact with the stranger, but in defiance of the captain's orders, results in his cold-blooded murder by this drunken tyrant. Halket's death ominously appears to signal the impossibility of opposition in an exploitative colonial order based on plunder and rapine. Unlike in Selous's and Baden-Powell's narratives, there is no legitimating frame for colonial violence. Here the order of 'might is

right', which Lippert so admired in Rhodes, is exposed to intense religious and moral scrutiny.

The roots of colonial injustice are thus traced to an uncompromising imperial dominance which used racial and cultural differences on its margins to separate and control populations. Another trooper, who was party to the events described, laconically defines the inverted logic of the colonial order, "this isn't a country where a man can say what he thinks" (1897: 111). This fictional state resembles the monological conditions in which imperial functionaries such as Baden-Powell censored reports which implicated the BSA Company directors in Bulawayo in barbaric acts of cruelty. Schreiner was aware that her voice would be effectively silenced by Rhodes at the Cape, and made the journey to England to find a publisher.[37]

With the knowledge that she could evade the carceral net of colonial censorship, Schreiner represents this anonymous European male-dominated colonial order, which was characterised by an overpowering self-interest and callous disregard for others, by using stereotypes such as the dissolute Captain, the ex-convict informant and the indifferent colonials.[38] Schreiner shifts the cause of the problems in the colonies back to the disorder of a class-based society at the metropole. Epitomizing the figure of the disgraced heir shipped off to the colonies to avert a scandal at home, the captain represents a degenerate aristocracy who:

... has ten empty champagne bottles lying behind his tent. ... he has
pati and beef, and lives like a lord! ... and [his] friends in England
didn't want to have [him; so he was] sent out here to boss it over us!
... [such] fellows come swelling it about here... Friend's got money...
He'll be a colonel, or a general, before we've done with him. (1897:
98-99)

In a morally bankrupt metropolitan order Schreiner implies that appointments
are made according to the incidental criteria of birth. The iniquitous class-
based system of favour and influence at the metropole was seen to be
replicated in the imperial chain of command. This in turn has a catastrophic
impact on the colonial frontier. Schreiner focuses on the interlocking
mechanisms of compulsion and adherence by which this system is
sustained. According to the former, she represents the cynical redeployment
of criminals throughout the colonies according to their ability to perform
functions of surveillance for this corrupt authority:

... under some bushes a few yards off lay a huge trooper, whose
nationality was uncertain, but who was held to hail from some part of
the British Isles, and who had travelled round the world. He was
currently reported to have three years' labour for attempted rape in
Australia, but nothing certain was known regarding his antecedents.
(1897: 97)

The process of entitlement, by which individuals were enlisted in the BSA
Company forces in return for land, is reflected in the lethargy of the three

colonial Englishmen, who "lay on the ground on their stomachs, passing the time by carrying on a desultory conversation, or taking a few whiffs, slowly, and with care, from their pipes, for tobacco was precious in the camp" (1897: 97). Gray observes how Schreiner established idle smoking as a symbolic expression of colonial indifference (1979: 199).

In contrast to her depicted inertia within camp, Schreiner describes the violence of the capture of the Shona refugee. It is evident that, in this extract, Schreiner used the stylized discourses of the Victorian adventure-hero in a satirical reworking of the language of the chase on the colonial margins:

> ... the men went down into the river, to look for fresh pools of water, and they found a nigger, hidden away in a hole in the bank, not five hundred yards from here! They found the bloody rascal by a little path he tramped down to the water, trodden hard, just like a porcupine's walk. They got him in a hole like an aardvark, with a bush over the mouth, so you couldn't see it. He'd evidently been there a long time, the floor was full of bones of fish he'd caught in the pool, and there was a bit of root like a stick half gnawed through. He'd been potted, and got two bullet wounds in the thigh; but he could walk already. It's evident he was just waiting till we were gone, to clear off after his people. He'd got that beastly scurvy look a nigger gets when he hasn't had anything to eat for a long time.
> (1897: 105)

Unlike in Baden-Powell's campaign diary, the voice of the narrator calls into question the racialized colonial utterance. The separation of the identity of an indifferent colonial and that of a dehumanised African is achieved through recourse to other oppressive lexicons of eighteenth-century slave-trading jargon, plantation idiom, and contemporary racial labelling in former British colonies in the Southern States of America. In a move to debunk settler myths and official BSA Company misinformation on the 1896-7 Risings, Schreiner satirically inverts the notion of colonisation as progress and exposes it as a form of Western barbarism.

In contrast to the feigned impartiality of Baden-Powell's narrator-commander presiding at Uwini's court-martial, which I referred to above, the Captain's arbitrary execution order on the Shona prisoner shows crass brutality:

> ... he blew and swore, and said the nigger was a spy, and was to be hanged to-morrow; he'd hang him tonight, only the big troop might catch us up this evening, so he'd wait to hear what the Colonel said; but if they didn't come he'd hang him first thing tomorrow morning, or have him shot, as sure as the sun rose. He made the fellows tie him up to that little tree before his tent, with riems round his waist, and a riem round his neck. (1897: 105)

Here the piratical authority of the brigand in this satire disrupts the mock-elegaic mode which Baden-Powell lapsed into when signing Uwini's death-

warrant. For Schreiner, instead of a benevolent civilisation, an order of imperial violence and domination has been installed in Zimbabwe. Schreiner's narrative marks the entrance of the oppositional mode of satire among the competing discourses that constituted colonial man. Halket constitutes an anomalous subject engaged in confession and in the search for forgiveness according to Judaic-Christian doctrinal and symbolic rituals. The protagonist appears as a martyr who symbolizes the efficacy of pastoral power. In contrast to the adventure genre, the text enters the world of conscience and workings of the soul. It frames an epiphany of the Colonial Man in prayer. In the midst of colonial horror it resorts to the idiom of a dream or reverie where a Christ-figure offered repentance.

By contrast, Baden-Powell transforms the senseless violence and brutality of Colonial Man into glorified imperial military action. Instead of the intense scrutiny of private conscience attained by Schreiner, Baden-Powell remains on the plateau of public duty in the wider context of imperial service. Africa, like Asia and the Americas, fell within the bounds of British colonial space. For the 'superior' British race, Imperial service therefore dictated notions of defending this space on its own terms, without any form of appeal to liberal-humanist notions of justice. It also provided unlimited scope for the achievement of exaggerated forms of honour, acts of bravery and demonstrations of loyalty to the British Crown.

CONCLUSION

These narratives register changing relations on the colonial frontier, hold

different views of colonial space and historical time, and legitimize the shift

towards expansionism in colonial and metropolitan perceptions. They also

mark a transition, at the metropole, from viewing Africans as 'savages' to

registering them as docile labourers. Three different conceptions of colonial

space evidently emerge from the narratives discussed above: in Selous and

Baden-Powell's narratives the European hunter/soldier is located in an

Imperial hunting ground/battlefield engaged in violent conquest. In Lippert's

correspondence, Colonial Woman is represented as vulnerable and trapped in

a primitive hinterland. While the expansiveness of this interior is seen as a

threat, the journey offers European women an escape from restrictive

metropolitan stereotypes and conventions. In Schreiner's allegory, when a

'recovering' Colonial Man begins to interrogate the bankrupt morality of the

speculator, he is silenced by the imperial machine in what had become a

monopolist Charterland. The terms of comparison applied to Selous, Lippert,

Baden-Powell and Schreiner here are: the way the identity of Colonial Man

is constituted; the way Africa and Africans are represented; and the

fictional mode that deployed.

There are differences in the way Colonial Man was constituted in

these narratives: particularly along the lines of class, race and gender.

Lippert and Schreiner frequently regard Colonial Man as morally and psychologically disfigured; Selous and Baden-Powell lionize him. The constitution of a 'superior', literate European male at the colonial site is viewed by both hunter-narrator and soldier-narrator as progress. In addition, a hierarchy of national Colonial Men emerges from these narratives, ranging from upper-class English to degenerate Portuguese, French and Germans. Schreiner and Lippert often cast doubt upon notions of 'Imperial Progress' North of the Limpopo and signal the dangers of a buccaneering European male order. These writers voice certain reservations about undisciplined European males in the colonial arena by differentiating between evolving 'good' and 'bad' male types.

As I noted in relation to Baden-Powell's account of Uwini's execution, the transformation of European disciplinary technologies at the colonial site was complicated by the fact that feudal punishments, such as public execution, were redeployed under nineteenth-century colonial British martial law during Chimurenga. What emerges from these texts is the operation of conflicting moralities. In different ways, Lippert and Schreiner refer to the facility of the individual conscience. Schreiner explores the possibility of protest on the margins of Empire, where a reformed Colonial Man opposes expansionist violence. Baden-Powell and Selous participate in a frontier order where individual choice is assimilated into imperial service and duty. In aligning himself with the vanguard of British civilization, Selous

romanticizes and legitimates a colonial presence engaged in dehistoricized adventure.[39] In Baden-Powell's campaign-narrative, Colonial Man emerges not merely as both subject and object of knowledge, but as organizer of the spectacle in which he appears. What counts as 'truth' is determined by the conceptual system or, more accurately, the discursive practices of the emergent Imperial discipline of 'scouting'.[40]

Selous adopts Western scientific techniques of observation and classification of European individuals and African types. This procedure resembles the typology he uses for the mammal species he hunted and collected in the region. These categories are then rearranged according to Social Darwinist catalogues ranging from primitive to sophisticated tribes. Finally he assesses each tribe as labourers. In this account Africans emerge as idle, irrational, and inferior.

Lippert's perception of Africans is governed by the notion of the noble savage. Generally the Ndebele are regarded as barbaric, but preferable to what she views as the more insidious Christianized and Westernised Mangwato. However, Lobengula and Khama are represented as astute and articulate rulers within their respective social orders. Lippert's experiences a need to avoid physical contact with Africans. She shows a need to define her personal space in camp and to combat the 'insubordination' of African servants.

Baden-Powell regards Africans as violent, unpredictable and subhuman. His monological imperial militarist perceptions impairs his vision and renders him incapable of observing any positive features in the behaviour of Africans. Although surrounded by African servants, guides and African levies, he can see no value in them apart from their potential as labourers.

Schreiner challenges the inherent brutality of campaign and hunter narratives which affirm the dangerous tendencies of the monopolist. She draws parallels between the slave-trading idiom and plantation-culture of the Southern States of America and the correspondingly brutal order of the speculator in Mashonaland. In a move to demythologise BSA Company disinformation on the 1896-7 Ndebele and Shona Chimurenga, she satirically refashions the notion of imperial progress as a form of Western barbarism. However, it is important to point out that, although Schreiner would have been regarded by her contemporaries in South Africa as a revolutionary for many of her ideas, she is trapped within a late nineteenth-century Cape liberal-humanist paradigm. Although a dissenting voice on the imperial margins, she is also a product of colonial society. Her representation of Africans is informed by stereotypical notions of European racial superiority.

The fictional mode employed by these authors determines the content of their narratives. Selous and Baden-Powell's use of romance and adventure genres privileges the hunter/soldier figure and celebrates the

violence and exploitation of the imperial project. In the hunter's cycle and the campaign diary there is an emphasis on action and movement, whereas Schreiner, and to a lesser extent, Lippert, frame a critique of the imperial project. In an intensely private voice describing a German woman's experience in Zimbabwe, Lippert largely affirms the European civilizing mission in Africa, while Schreiner uses the more public form of satire and allegory in order to subvert it. The latter employs fictional modes to launch a metropolitan attack on speculative capital and its abuse of power on the margins of Empire.

When juxtaposed in this analysis, these narratives suggest that localized discourses of hunting, humanism, ethnography and travel are in competition. Baden-Powell's and Selous's narratives are informed by a sentimental legacy of desire while they claim to be scientific, rationalist and objective. Selous classifies economic practices and material existence within an imperial order of being. Schreiner uses a British convention of liberal-humanist protest and the right to appeal against injustice.

The narratives should be seen in the context of nineteenth-century European reactions to industrialization, urbanization and the resulting social changes at the metropole. The relation between the author, reader and text was restructured by the commodity-status of the published journal, diary or satire. During the period framed by these narratives, reception at the

metropole underwent significant changes. While the demand for popular adventure fiction increased, there was a sustained appeal from the philanthropic and Aborigines Protection Society lobby against imperial atrocities and exploitation.

This reading suggests that Pratt's analysis of travel writing, while it remains a pioneering study of imperial appropriation, leads her to the formation of absolute divisions and classifications. Although she limits herself to the genre of travel writing, she covers different continents, languages and historical phases. She charts nineteenth-century imperialism as a global phenomenon, where many colonialisms over two centuries in South America are equated with colonialisms in Africa. Consequently, she distorts the historical specificity of national, regional or local cultures and their violent social transformation. Her analysis locates nineteenth-century imperial power within a centralized metropolitan institutional nexus and then seeks to trace its diffusion:

... how travel books by Europeans about non-European parts of the world went about creating the 'domestic subject' of Euro-imperialism; how they have engaged metropolitan reading publics with expansionist enterprises whose material benefits accrued mainly to the very few. (1992: 4)

Her categories of the 'anti-conquest', 'monarchic trope', and 'discovery-rhetoric' are unstable (1992: 204). Furthermore, they limit the range of possible positions from which subjects may speak. My examination of various sub-genres of travel writing, such as the hunting narrative, the allegory, the campaign diary, and private correspondence, has exposed the differences between positions from which subjects spoke. Her differentiation between the 'scientific' and 'sentimental' modes is problematic when applied to Selous, who employed both simultaneously. Furthermore, instead of the latter categories simply replacing earlier survival literature, with Selous and Baden-Powell they articulate imperial conquest.

In focusing on the very real differences between narratives of travel, hunting, conquest, and allegory, I have attempted to provide an 'ascending analysis' of imperial power in Zimbabwe, based on what Foucault has called the micro-physics of power.[41] In my reading of Selous, Lippert, Baden-Powell and Schreiner, I have considered how localized discourses of hunting, natural history, imperial service and health constitute Colonial Man differently from African Man. I have focused on representation and forms of power in my analysis of colonial narratives, beginning with the most basic level of the social order. Then I proceeded to document changes and developments in the annexation of these forms of representation and power by more general forms of domination. This has revealed how mechanisms of

power were appropriated, transformed, and extended by more general forms

of imperial domination.

NOTES

1.   Narratives of the hunter-explorer that refer to Zimbabwe from the 1870s onwards are represented here by F. C. Selous whose *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (1881) and *Travel and Adventure in South Central Africa* (1893) typify the late nineteenth-century chronicle of hunting/topography at a moment when most of the big game had been exterminated in malaria-free regions of the sub-continent. For other travel narratives see Introduction notes 3 and 4, and Stanley P. Hyatt *Biffel: A Trek Ox* (1909). Fictional texts of the African adventure/romance genre include: Andrew A. Anderson and Alfred H. Wall *A Romance of N'shabe: Being a Record of Startling Adventures in South Central Africa* (1891), Anna de Bremont *A Son of Africa* (1899), George Cossins *Isban-Israel: A South African story* (1896), Ernest Glanville *The Fossicker: A Romance of Mashonaland* (1891), Bertram Mitford *The King's Assegai: A Matabili Story* (1894), H. Rider Haggard *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) and *She: A History of Adventure* (1900), Richard N. Hall *Bulawayo Jack; Or, Life Among the Matabele Kopjes* (1898), H. Major *In Search of Gold; Or, Our Adventures in Matabeleland* (1900), Edward Marwick *The City of Gold: A Tale of Sport, Travel and Adventure in the Heart of the Dark Continent* (1896), and Frederick J. Whishaw *Lost in African Jungles* (1896).

2.   F. C. Selous describes the Mashonaland plateau as a "country where European children would grow up with rosy cheeks, and apples would not be flavourless" (1893: 80).

3.   Selous's writing has mostly been commented upon by biographers such as Peter H. Capstick *The African Adventurers: A Return to the Silent Places* (1992) and C. J. Ford 'Frederick Courtney Selous 1851-1917' (1991: 131-148). For a discussion of Selous's travel writing and Victorian male attitudes, see Jane Carruthers 'Frederick Courtney Selous: Letters to Henry Anderson Bryden, 1889-1914' (1995). Earlier commentators on the genre include Dorothy Hammond and Alta Jablow *The Africa that Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing about Africa* (1970). Mary-Louise Pratt provides a comparative analysis of travel writing in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992). She examines the relationship between personal narrative and impersonal description in the ethnographic writing of John Barrow, Mungo Park and Richard Burton. Her discussion of monarchic discourses of domination and intervention provides useful theoretical insights for my analysis of Selous. Also Pratt discusses "survival literature" in the 1700s (1992: 86-7). Steven Gray examines the literary-historical implications of the development of the colonial novel in the nineteenth-century which includes an analysis of the "ingrained legacy of hunting and adventure" (1979: 95-130). Selous's *A Hunter's Wanderings*, as Gray argues, is a type of narrative which has definite antecedents in the earlier hunter's tales of Harris, Cumming and Baldwin (1979: 96). A. Coetzee

provides a critical discussion of the implications of writing a history of South African literature in 'South African Literature and Narrating the Nation' (1994: 279-301). In his study of an adjacent colonial culture, Dorian Haarhoff, in *Wild South-West: Frontier Myths and Metaphors Set in Namibia, 1760-1988* (1991), examines images of landscape, representations of the white adventure-hero/protagonist figures, and their attitudes towards indigenous Namibians.

4.   See Theodore Roosevelt's Foreword in Selous's *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences* (1908).

5.   See Robert Tredgold for an account of Rhodes's first visit to the Matopos, particularly of his comments about the site he named 'World's View' (1956: 14).

6.   In *A Hunter's Wanderings* Selous describes Umparira as "a horrid-looking place, situated in a marsh between two rivers, suggestive of nothing but fever, ague, and mosquitoes. It is a most unhealthy spot, and the graves of three English traders, who died there of the deadly malarious fever attest the fact. It is just my idea of Eden in 'Martin Chuzzlewit,' and the very look of the place is almost enough to give one ague" (1893: 119).

7.   In his later *African Nature Notes* (1908), Selous, by now a legendary Great White Hunter, exhaustively describes his big game trophies from twenty years of hunting in Southern Africa.

8.   See discussion of the imperial agents in adventure fiction in Patrick Brantlinger *Rule of Darkness* (1988), Hugh Ridley *Images of Imperial Rule* (1983).

9.   See also Selous's re-working of Cumming's description of the "Fate of Poor Hendrik" in *African Nature Notes* (1908: 47).

10.   The growing readership in England sympathetic towards the empire-builder's efforts to obtain a royal charter for the invasion of Mashonaland, together with popular reading at the time has been described by R. J. Evans in *The Victorian Age, 1815-1914*:

> By the 'nineties, the national scheme of education was beginning to show some result in an increasing degree of literacy, and a widening interest in affairs beyond one's own front and back doors. It was this new public which Alfred Harmsworth and others ... with their new, cheap papers, *Answers, Titbits* and the *Daily Mail* ... brought to the masses some notion of the great world beyond them. In this, they were doing on a popular scale what a group of writers [Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot and Trollope] had already achieved at a higher level. In 1883 Seeley's *Expansion of England* explained the Empire

and the imperial idea to all men with critical and receptive minds, more fully and arrestingly than ever before. The book became a best-seller, as five years later did a similar one, Froude's *Oceana*. The impact of these two books was deepened by the appearance of Rudyard Kipling, whose frank acceptance of imperial destiny in poetry and prose struck the prevailing note, echoed by Cecil Rhodes's speeches to the Chartered Company of South Africa which were read all over the country as pronouncements of high and patriotic policy. (1968: 293)

11.   This would appear to contradict Hammond et al's remarks on the Victorian ethics of sportsmanship and codes of fair play: "… that if life is conceived of as a game, profound emotion is uncalled for, repressed" (1970: 190).

12.   Selous comments on African labourers in *Travel and Adventure*, such as: "the Masaras [Khoi-San] who are excellent trackers", while along the banks of the Zambesi, he exchanges a cotton blanket for three months labour with "a fine, broad-shouldered fellow, as black as ebony, always good-tempered and willing, and proved a most excellent servant" and who "like most natives who inhabit the fertile banks of the Zambesi, [he] was fat and sleek, and presented a strong contrast to my spare-made, sinewy Makalakas and Masaras" (1893: 117).

13.   For accounts of Selous's customary Tswana marriage with Alice and concerning the subsequent dis-inheritance of his son see Stanlake Samkange 'Son of Selous' (1992: 166) and Lawrence Vambe in *An Ill-Fated People* (1972: 90).

14.   See Selous's description of Portuguese slave-traders on the Zambezi in *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa*. A Portuguese slave-trader from Nhaucoe is depicted as a "small, sallow, dried-up looking specimen of humanity, Samoes by name. He had with him several girls, whom he wanted to sell for ivory" (1891: 290). Selous also documented a more menacing figure, Senhor Mendonca, who was notorious for his atrocities to slave girls and Africans in general and recorded Mendonca's summary of his African experience: "'Negro diablo; Afrika inferno'" (1891: 297).

15.   There are some interesting parallels between Selous's observations concerning the behaviour of Western Man in Africa in this context, and the way Foucault describes the bourgeoisie as constituting an identity for itself, in mid-eighteenth century Europe, by:

> creating its own sexuality, and forming a specific body based on it, a 'class' body with its health, hygiene, descent, and race; the autosexualization of its body, the incarnation of its sex in its body, the endogamy of sex and the body. (1979: 4)

16.   See Eric Rosenthal's comments on the details of publication of Lippert's letters in D. H. Varley (1960: Preface).

17.   In his discussion of the technologies of individualization that originated in the bourgeois family, Foucault notes that from the nineteenth-century onwards, in Europe, a system of rules and practices defining marriage, kinship ties, the transmission of names and possessions was associated with the institution of the family (1979: 63-65).

18.   See various recent commentaries on women travel narratives: particularly those that investigate the gendered role of women, such as Sarah Mills *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Colonial Travel Writing* (1991), Alison Blunt *Travel, Gender and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa*, (1994) Blunt, A. and Rose, G. eds. *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (1994). For a more critical insight into the theoretical problems posed by this genre see C. Kaplan *Questions of Travel* (1996). For studies of colonialism and gender in Southern Africa see M. J. Daymond ed. *Frances E. Colenso* (1985) and the literary-biography of A. M. Lewin-Robinson, M. Lenta, and D. Driver, *The Cape Journals of Lady Anne Barnard 1797-1798* (1993).

19.   The implication of degeneracy in terms of race anticipates the 'Black Peril' phenomenon of the first decade of twentieth-century colonial life in Southern Africa. While the physical reality and the progeny of inter-racial unions had been present from the time of the arrival of Dutch colonists at the Cape, it was more than a century later before the issue became suitable subject matter for authors of colonial fiction. Much controversy in the settler press preceded the fictional narratives of the 1920s, which dealt with this theme such as Douglas Blackburn's *Leaven* (1911), Sarah Gertrude Millin's *God's Stepchildren* (1924), and William Plomer's *Turbott Wolfe* (1925).

20.   De Waal's narrative *With Rhodes in Mashonaland* (1896), examines numerous semi-nomadic Boer families that lived a nomadic existence in laagers in the interior. Many of them hunted in Zimbabwe during the winter and drifted southwards in the summer. De Waal canvassed their opinion on settlement in Matabeleland and Mashonaland.

21.   See also Patrick Brantlinger's discussion of the way Europeans perceived Africans in *Rule of Darkness* (1988).

22.   Baden-Powell was promoted to rank of colonel as a result of his service in Matabeleland, despite his being relieved of the command of the patrol which resulted in his order for the execution of Uwini. He later received a peerage in recognition of his service. For an account of his military career see Duncan Grinnell-Milne *Baden-Powell at Mafeking* (1957). For biographical studies, see R. H. Kiernan *Baden-Powell* (1939), E. E.

Reynolds *Baden-Powell :A Biography of Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell* (1942), and William Hillcourt *Baden-Powell: The Two Lives of a Hero* (1964).

23.   The transformation from an original state of nature (the African wilderness) to that of a colonial site, are frequently described in colonial narratives of Zimbabwe between 1880-1900. For example, in his *Impressions of South Africa* J. Bryce describes Mangwe Pass and Bulawayo as both Edenic and timeless:

> It was a beautiful prospect both in the wild variety of the foreground and in the delicate hues of ridge after ridge melting towards the horizon, and it was all waste and silent, as it has been since the world began. (1897: 269)

However, he also appropriates it as a British Imperial possession and therefore part of an expansive late nineteenth-century European capitalistic order:

> There is something intoxicating in the atmosphere of a perfectly new country, with its undeveloped and undefined possibilities; and the easy acquisition of this spacious and healthful land, the sudden rise of the English town where two years before there had been nothing but the huts of squalid savages, had filled every one with a delightful sense of the power of civilized man to subjugate the earth and draw from it boundless wealth. (1897: 274).

24.   See Hugh Ridley's discussion of these imperial adventure writers in *Images of Imperial Rule* (1983).

25.   Schreiner's Halket refers to his participation in an assault on a Shona woman (1897: 36).

26.   See David N. Beach's discussion of Mapondera and other leaders in the 1896-7 Rising in *War and Politics in Zimbabawe, 1840-1900* (1986).

27.   Labouchere was editor of this tabloid. In *Sunshine and Storm* Selous initiates counter-propaganda to 'Exeter Hall' and that sector of the British Press opposed to the British suppression of Chimurenga:

> ... a letter ... on the subject of hanging natives appeared in the *Daily Graphic* of Saturday, 13th June, purporting to have been written by a young tradesman of Bulawayo, ... : "My stand has one big tree on it, and it is often used as a gallows. Yesterday there was a goodly crop of seven Mat. hanging there; to-day there are eight, the eighth being a nigger who was heard boasting to a companion that he had helped to kill white men,

and got back to town without being suspected". (1897: 137)

Selous also refers to Labouchere's report, in *Truth*, of another letter in which a writer expresses that "it is grand fun potting niggers off, and seeing them fall like nine-pins ... and quite a nice sight to see men shot as spies" (1897: 137).

28.   See John Mackenzie *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (1986), and Robert Giddings ed. *Literature and Imperialism* (1991).

29.   See Baden-Powell's account of Native Commissioner Geilgud's participation in the conflict (1897: 278).

30.   Wilbur Smith, for example, transposes nationalist European conflict in the Second World War onto an exotic African location in *Shout at the Devil* (1968).

31.   The enduring memory of this colonial atrocity in post-colonial Zimbabwe is evident on a recent issue of postage stamps which contain a picture of 'The Hanging Tree' in a central street of modern Bulawayo.

32.   Schreiner's first novel, *The Story of An African Farm* (1885), established her internationally as an author who had moved beyond colonial romance in her study of the marginal society of empire. Malvern Van Wyk Smith and Don Maclennan, *Olive Schreiner and After: Essays on Southern African literature* (1983) compiles a parochial literary-historical tribute to Schreiner. For a more useful collection of critical commentaries from the nineteenth-century to the present, see Cherry Clayton, *Olive Schreiner* (1983). For essays which investigate the implications of Schreiner's vision of colonialism, with particular reference to *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland*, and provide critical commentary on Schreiner's treatment of colonial and imperial themes, see Peter Wilhelm in 'Peter Halket, Rhodes and Colonialism' (1983: 208-211), Phyllis Lewsen 'Olive Schreiner's Political Theories and Pamphlets' (1983: 212-220). C. P. Sarvan's essay examines the implications of gender and racism in 'Olive Schreiner's Trooper Peter Halket' "(1984: 45-47), while J. A. Berkman focuses on the fictional and generic forms adopted by Schreiner in *The Healing Imagination of Olive Schreiner* (1989). Laura Chrisman in 'Colonialism and Feminism in Olive Schreiner's 1890s Fiction' (1993: 25-38) provides a more useful consideration of the gendered discourse of British Empire, Schreiner's position and her representation of black African women. Also, she examined the radical and oppositional aspects of her writing. Annie Gagiano provides some insight into critical reception of Schreiner during the 1980s in 'Olive Schreiner Demythologised' (1993: 102-106). Gerald C. Monsman reads Schreiner as an important resource of techniques of colonial state-formation in *Olive Schreiner's fiction: landscape and power* (1991). Carolyn Burdett provides a post-colonial insight into the reception of her works in 'Olive

Schreiner Revisited' (1994: 221-232) and Anne McClintock reads Schreiner's texts as important resources for contemporary North American feminist struggles in *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (1995).

33.   Schreiner's non-fictional work on Zimbabwe includes 'Our Wasteland in Mashonaland' in F. E. W. Findlay *Big Game Shooting and Travel in South-east Africa* (1909) [originally published in *The Cape Times*, 26 August 1891]. Her perceptive essays 'The Englishman' in *Thoughts on South Africa* (1923) and *Woman and Labour* (1911) show that Schreiner was nevertheless trapped within a Social Darwinist paradigm.

34.   Some Social Left historians may argue that the authorial irony I credit Schreiner with here is debatable, given her Social Darwinism and use of stock Victorian stereotypes of Africans. I would respond to this by grounding the discussion in the discursive regime in which nineteenth-century colonial writing evolved. Based on my findings thus far, I cannot find evidence that would substantiate the argument that Schreiner was complicit with the broader processes of colonialism and imperialism.

35.   For further discussion of colonial violence and the representation of black women in Schreiner's *Trooper Peter Halket* see Laura Chrisman's 'Colonialism and Feminism in Olive Schreiner's 1890s fiction' (1993: 25-38). See also Anne McClintock's chapter on Schreiner (1996).

36.   See the discussion of the causes of the 1896 Rising in *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (1897: 166) where Selous attacks Labouchere and the philanthropist lobby in Britain. This is opposed by Schreiner and her liberal-humanist interrogation of colonial order at the Cape metropole. Halket challenges the lynching captain who has summarily condemned the Shona prisoner:

> ... he started, how did we know this nigger was a spy at all; it would be a terrible thing to kill him if we weren't quite sure; perhaps he was hiding there because he was wounded. And then he broke out that, after all, these niggers were men fighting for their country ... we shouldn't shoot wounded prisoners when they were black ... All men were brothers, and God loved a black man as well as a white; Mashonas and Matabeli were poor ignorant folk, and we had to take care of them. (1897: 106-7)

37.   In June, 1898, Schreiner voiced her real doubts about the implications of publishing Trooper Peter Halket in a letter to her brother (in Clayton, 1983: 121).

38.   The anonymous review of *Trooper Peter Halket* (1897) in Blackwood's Magazine, (in Clayton 1983: 82) provides a strident anti-feminist interpretation which attempts to counter what was perceived as Schreiner's attack on Western Man.

39.   Selous identified strongly with what he considered was "that little body of English and Scotch men, who, as traders and elephant-hunters in Central South Africa, have certainly, whatever may be their failings in other respects, kept up the name of Englishmen amongst the natives for all that is upright and honest" (1881: 246).

40.   Baden-Powell sees a link between the need for labour in the process of colonisation and the need to control the unruly elements in the British working class when he refers to ancient (Phoenician) ruins: "these forts since they extend in a chain round the gold districts, in which there are remains of ancient workings, they were probably built with the object of simplifying the labour question, and keeping the workers in and agitators out. Couldn't something of the sort be devised for the benefit of England?" (1897: 398).

41.   During the 1970s Foucualt defined and modified his definitions of power, particularly in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977), *The History of Sexuality*, Vol.1 (1979) and in "Two Lectures" (1984).

Chapter 3

THE MISSION AS TRADING-POST IN THE 1870s AND AS AN

INSTRUMENT OF DIVISION IN MASHONALAND IN THE 1890s.

In Chapter One I examine the Germanic and British imperial discourse of the

explorer. Chapter Two considered ways in which colonial narratives of the

hunter, traveller, soldier, and fictional representations of the British

occupation sought to impose a European order on Zimbabwe 1860-1900.

This Chapter examines the missionary-trader narrative of T. M. Thomas

Eleven Years in Central and Southern Africa (1873) and the racially defined

mission of G. W. H. Knight-Bruce *Memories of Mashonaland* (1892).[1]

The social historian Terence Ranger in *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*

(1968) regards the 1896-7 Ndebele and Shona Chimurenga as a focal point

of early Zimbabwean resistance to British imperialism. Consequently, he

examines the instrumental role that missionaries played in countering African

resistance. On the grounds of Earl Grey's expressed admiration for the

disciplinary infrastructure at the Jesuit Chishawasha mission in 1898,

Ranger regards Father Richartz as a spy and negotiator for the British South

Africa Company. This zealot's attempt to convert the condemned leaders

Kagubi and Nehanda on the scaffold is seen as evidence of a cynical

affirmation of Christianity over a brutalized African spiritual order.

Proceeding with this line of argument, Ranger investigates Lord Grey's reconstruction plan for African society at the cessation of hostilities. He emphasizes how the latter admired and appropriated the methods of Jesuit missionaries at Chishawasha. Subsequently, Ranger examines the role of missionaries in the invention of tribalism and ethnicity in Zimbabwe.[2]

Historians such as Anthony J. Dachs (1973) and Norman Etherington (1978) examine the development of missions in Southern Africa.[3] Dachs recorded the colonial legacy of missions in Zimbabwe, while Etherington attributes the general failure of the various missionaries along the East Coast of Southern Africa in the nineteenth-century to the resistance of Nguni people. Zimbabwean scholars of history and culture such as Stanlake Samkange (1985) Herbert Chimhundu (1992), C. J. M. Zvogbo (1977) and others provide critical perspectives on the detrimental effects of Missionary education and orthography in Zimbabwe before 1900.[4]

Revisionist histories of nineteenth-century Southern African and Colonial culture that use postmodern critical theories include, Clifton Crais *The Making of the Colonial Order* (1992) and Leon De Kock's *Civilising Barbarians* (1996). The former finds that the impact of the missionaries in the Eastern Cape is initially in the diplomatic sphere. He also concludes that missionaries inculcated a proto-capitalist value system on Xhosa society. The latter is indebted to Jean and John Comaroff and Marie-Louise Pratt for

his theoretical insights into Presbyterian missionary activity in the Eastern Cape. Thus he finds that the narrative of Robert Moffat is structurally bound by the "romantically conceived journey" (1996: 147) in which "the land provided a setting, within an archetypal romance narrative, for heroic endeavour in a secular version of the underworld" (1996: 150).

Although De Kock suggests that missionaries wrote populist accounts of their experiences in exotic locations for a captive audience, De Kock employs criteria traditionally used in the analysis of fiction. However he finds that Livingstone was essentially an explorer and nineteenth-century field-scientist who was convinced that it was only through the spread of Christian humanism that the horrors of the slave trade and what he regarded as the evils of certain African rituals would be eradicated. It is via Livingstone's "appropriating gaze of the humanitarian naturalist", De Kock suggests, that the "mastery over nature [which] relies on a wider certainty of Western technological and cultural supremacy" was achieved (1996: 166-7). According to this reading of Livingstone, Victorian religious norms were imposed on African society and empiricist notions applied to the African condition. In this manner, Livingstone sought to impose a grand design on the European presence in Africa. De Kock concludes that Livingstone was instrumental in transforming Africa into a resource for the spread of commerce and Christianity.

Working within the United States academy, the historical anthropologists John and Jean Comaroff examine colonialism as a cultural project where missionaries initiated a form of dependency in native communities (1996: 1988).[5] Their research focused attention on nineteenth-century missionary evangelism in a new way, bringing important theoretical insights to a field dominated by essentially colonialist and more traditionalist historians. They also illustrate how an analysis of the micro-physics of evangelism in the Southern Tswana mission yard reveals how 'transculturation' occurred between African converts and Wesleyan missionaries.

John Comaroff (1989) assessed the impact of nonconformist missionaries on the Griqua and Tswana peoples on the northern frontier of South Africa 1810-1840. Colonialism for Comaroff was "not a coherent, monolithic process and needed to be viewed in its disjunctive moments" (1989: 662). Through innovative sociology, the missionaries are traced back to their anomalous class position at the lower rung of the emergent bourgeoisie in Western Europe. He considers their function as bearers of the ideology of utilitarian and philosophic individualism that inspired them to construct themselves in particular ways in the metropolitan and colonial arenas. Using Foucault's insights into the process of subject formation, Comaroff argues that missionaries saw the self as a divided entity, first as the core of subjectivity from which a person looked out and acted and

secondly as an object of consciousness. Consequently for Comaroff, the social values of bourgeois ideology such as discipline, generosity and ownership "became embodied in self-control, self-denial and self-possession" (1989: 665). The 'ideology of personhood', this study of Tswana society contends, was the foundation for notions of self-improvement, and for the notion that individuals could sell a derivative part of themselves (their labour) for reward. For nonconformists, society was determined at the metropole in that the poor had to achieve self-realization through their labour and attention to duty, while the heathen could gain salvation only "through free labour and commerce, self-willed moral and material improvement" (1989: 666). Thus the inequality between European master and African servant within colonial society was made to appear as if Divine calling sanctioned it. Comaroff finds that Nonconformist missionaries exported these images of selfhood and society to Africa. The author finds that when doctrinal homogeneity among nonconformists was eroded after 1800, English Protestantism was refashioned along capitalist lines. Subsequently Christianity became an object of debate and struggle. After the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, nonconformists set out to "evangelize in an imperial vacuum" (1989: 669). For individuals such as Robert Moffat and David Livingstone the means of consolidating abolition in Africa was to build the kingdom of God on a "moral economy of Christian commerce and manufacture, methodological self-construction and reason, private property and the practical arts of civilized life" (1989: 669).

Subsequently John and Jean Comaroff *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (1991) identify three types of colonialism that were in conflict: the British colonial government, the Boer settlers, and the civilizing mission of the LMS and WMMS on the South African frontier between 1820-1860. For them the first model stressed the politico-legal foundations of British rule, the second model was geared to the acquisition of land and to enforcing exploitative labour practices, while the missions worked to transform Africans into Christians at a spiritual and cultural level.

The Comaroffs also examine the initial phases of the encounter between British missionaries and the Southern Tswana peoples on the South African frontier. They trace the social and cultural origins of the written records of Western missionaries and the orality of the Tswana people, the rise of modern Britain and colonial expansion, the way the nineteenth-century British public viewed Africans, and define tensions within the precolonial African polities. However, when applied to a largely effaced oral record among the Southern Tswana the Comaroff's findings and hermeneutic strategies do not seem to allow for contrary readings of events, signs and symbolic gestures. Their use of certain metaphors and idioms such "through the looking glass" and those that encompass their project within "a journey", confuse rather than clarify the issues. What they call the "long conversation" between missionaries and Tswana illustrates the way

Western Anthropologists construct meaning and interpretations about African culture and social history.

Their study essentially identifies the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society project in the South African interior as a continuous process from the 1820s to the 1870s. Both these European societies and their agents are seen to emerge from the rise of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist state and the broadest transformational processes at work in nineteenth century Britain. The Comaroff's research on Africa depends to a large extent on their analysis of British culture rather than on African society. In addition, the Tswana chiefs and communities examined are seen as symptomatic of African society overall. Re-invented nineteenth-century African reactions and responses to the missionaries serve as a foundation for the Comaroff's second volume of twentieth century resistance to the South African Apartheid State.

The Comaroff's view of how Tswana society responded to the missionaries in the nineteenth century is often based on evidence such as conversations recorded by Europeans and disingenuous speculation on the import of nineteenth century African actions, signs and symbols. By using examples that often suit their argument,[6] they patch together a process that is both imaginative and predetermined by their conclusions about Southern African liberation movements of the 1980s. The Comaroff's tapestry of

African resistance, and the imagined Tswana response to nineteenth-century missionary evangelism is based on their fieldwork in South Africa and derives its argument from popular twentieth-century theories of Western social anthropology.

An example of the privileging of one interpretation is evident in their reading of the politics of water in Kuruman in the 1820s. For the Comaroffs, the missionaries were motivated by the need to subvert Mothibi's power, and "the Tswana were to misunderstand this preoccupation with rain-making and irrigation, for there was an ironic contradiction in the stance of the missionaries" (1993: 208). After this, the Comaroffs interpret the Reverend Read's sermon at Kuruman on imaginative twentieth-century readings of reported missionary utterances. They refer to an image of conversion:

> ... in which the material signs of heathenism are dissolved by the power of the Word. Note how water and words are rhetorically braided together here, so that each chain of metaphors comes to imply the other: words convey reason to the mind as tears bear tangible witness to affected emotions - water distilling the force of God's moving message, be it rain from the heavens or the weeping of the human heart. Evidence of this pattern of association is everywhere at hand. The verbal truth, evangelists were wont to say, would irrigate the desert of the African's mind just as moisture would fructify his blighted habitat. (1993: 214)

For the Comaroffs, the Tswana interpretation of what Read said is obvious, even though his sermon was translated and distanced from its original context. The essentially intrusive dimension of the Western Missionary narrative and its empowering and corrupting effect on African society is largely ignored in this passage and in a significant proportion of their remaining argument. In contrast to their exhaustive analysis of the origins of ninetenth-century Wesleyan Euro-evangelism, the Comaroff's appear uninterested in developing an equally comprehensive account of precolonial Tswana society.

Furthermore, at a point where white expansion had assumed catastrophic proportions for all Africans in the Southern African interior, the Comaroff's study of missions thins out. They cover the 1840s through to the 1860s in less detail than the 1820s and 1830s. The biographical minutia, utterances and counter-utterances of three missionaries, who resigned from the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, are then used to illustrate the effects of the entire range of Protestant evangelism from the 1860s-1890s. The complex changes in African societies caused by the mineral revolution are largely ignored. The limited regional focus on specific missions on a section of the frontier and a very specific grouping within Tswana political order does not prevent the authors from generalizing about African society throughout Southern Africa. The fact that disjunctive changes and transformations over more than a century are incorporated into

the same project is problematic. Also the author's conception of the Tsidi

Barolong as a separate African community results in the establishment of

another form of division, which leads to further questions about their object

of study.

Much of the thesis is based on the examination of the

autobiographical editions of missionary lives, edited journals, letters and

reported dialogues. Various and often conflicting theories are employed at

different stages of this argument, which simplify and gloss over possible

contradictions between Foucault's insights into disciplinary society and bio-

power, Raymond William's definition of ideology and Antonio Gramsci's

notes on hegemony.[7] By shifting from pre-colonial to post-colonial eras the

Comaroffs align themselves with a type of globalized scholarship that looks

outwards on a post Cold-War world. From the vantage of the most refined

late capitalist economy, these South African born academics examine 'the

rest of the world', its histories, its conflicts. They participate in the broader

Western anthropologist's academic gaze over African society as though this

act of scrutiny was impartial. Although the authors continually point out the

inadequacies of recent attempts to view colonisation as a binary process

involving European domination and African resistance, their argument

suggests a dialectic of external stimulus and internal reaction. This amounts

to formulaic pattern of European action followed by African response.

In my study of Thomas's text and the earlier moment of missionary activity in Matabeleland between 1859-1884, I focus on the economic dimension of Thomas's mission and the sustained resistance to missionaries. I examine Knight-Bruce's memoir, which concentrates on his travels and surveillance of potential mission outstations in Mashonaland 1890-1893. Both these missionary narratives suggest philanthropic objectives that included the development of a political ordering of life: not through an enslavement of others, but through an affirmation of the European self. I shall enquire whether this colonial regime provided itself with what Foucault has defined as a body to be cared for, protected, cultivated, and preserved from the many dangers and contacts. More crucially, I ask whether these missionaries constructed a racialised European identity that had to be isolated from Africans so that it would retain its differential value. In addition I enquire whether the evangelists accomplished this by equipping the European self in Africa with - among other resources - a technology of sex.[8] I shall explore the notion that disciplinary discursive regimes emerged from the missions in Matabeleland and Mashonaland.

Thomas Morgan Thomas: A Pioneer of the Ndebele mission of the London Missionary Society at Hope Fountain.

As Etherington notes, following the relative failure of missionary initiatives among the Nguni before 1880, the focus of philanthropic efforts shifted to

territories and African communities beyond the Limpopo (1978). Having

been expelled from the London Missionary Society on 23 September 1872,

for contravening the prohibition on trading and for his political involvement in

the Matabele succession dispute, Thomas Morgan Thomas published an

account of his experiences in his native tongue, Welsh.[9] Thomas's decision

to publish his experiences in his home language suggests his disillusionment

with the LMS hierarchy, his dissent with that organisation and that there

was a substantial readership of missionary narratives among independent

congregations in Wales. He sold the book from door to door successfully

and, in 1873, he published the English translation entitled *Eleven Years in*

Central South Africa. This publication ran to three editions and by then

Thomas had accumulated sufficient funds to return to Matabeleland and set

up a rival mission to the LMS at Shiloh, where he lived until his death in

1884. Thomas was one of many missionaries who subsequently became

settlers and created settler dynasties. His narrative anticipates his own

career at Shiloh to a certain extent and justifies his activities that

contravened the LMS code of conduct. This early missionary played a key

role in the colonial mythegraphy of class divisions among Africans such as

aristocratic Zulu royal lines and a slave (Amaholi) class.

Before focusing on Thomas's narrative, it is important to establish the

context of late nineteenth-century missionary discourse of the Zambezi

region.[10] In 1856 Livingstone had become convinced that the Zambezi was

"God's highway" to the African interior and British readers were confronted

with the images and rhetoric of an imperial destiny (Hanna: 1960, 61). That

this process was never exclusively philanthropic is clear from Livingstone's

emphasis on the benefits of legitimate commerce, which he felt:

> ... breaks up the isolation engendered by heathenism and the slave
> trade, and surely if we take advantage of the very striking peculiarity
> of the African character (i.e. their fondness for barter and agriculture)
> we shall eventually bring this people within the sphere of Christian
> sympathy and the scope of missionary operations. (Hanna, 1960: 49)

In R. J. Evans's *The Victorian Age: 1815-1914* (1936), procedures of

exclusion derived from Social Darwinist notions of the survival of the fittest

are redeployed to demarcate a division between the strength of the colonizer

and the weakness of the colonized. Equally, 'justice' and 'right' are seen to

coincide with European intervention, occupation and systems of colonial

rule. Evans deploys the body of the monarch to legitimise the British

presence in Africa. According to Evans, as the champion of democracy,

Queen Victoria embodied:

> ... the high sense of the power and dignity of Britain, the desire to see
> justice triumphant, the sturdy recognition and acceptance of the
> rightness of strength as opposed to the wrongness of weakness, and
> the determination that the strength should be rightly used, all these
> found expression in the expanding Empire. (1936: 293)

Here the process by which conservative historians and the educational system appropriated, maintained and modified social and political discourse is evident. The Queen is symbolically located at the top of the imperial pyramid, occupying a position abroad which the House of Commons had long since removed at home.

While Ranger (1968, 1985, 1988, 1989), the Comaroffs (1988, 1989, 1991, 1992), Crais (1992) and De Kock (1996) explore missionary activity in the nineteenth-century as a zone in which African social orders were radically transformed and largely destroyed, the catastrophic failure of the Ndebele mission and the pre-1897 Mashonaland missionary initiatives present a different situation. I wish to argue that Thomas's narrative deviates from the Missionary Road narratives of Coillard and John Moffat, who worked in the Zambesi region at the time. Unlike these, it vindicates a more secular view of missionary activity and explicitly condones expansionist ideals. Thomas proved that hunting, trading, gardening and attention to primary health were essential to the initial and subsequent phases of missionary activity. With his family, he established an extensive network of trade in ivory, hides and skins through to the Zambezi. These items were bartered for guns, ammunition, beads, wire and cloth with itinerant traders from the south. His independent mission at Shiloh became a model outpost for frontier commerce in the Ndebele controlled territory more than a decade before the occupation of Mashonaland by the BSA Company. He was one of

the first missionaries to act on the behalf of a mining syndicate in the region, and he interceded in the Ndebele succession at the death of Moselikazi. The later mission to Mashonaland by Knight-Bruce illustrates the level of Shona resistance to evangelism before the Chimurenga of 1896-7, and how missionaries offered small-holdings to dispossessed Africans as the price of conversion in the wake of the brutal suppression of the Chimurenga.

In 1887, John S. Moffat lamented the failure of the LMS mission to Matabeleland. Likewise, the American and Paris Missionary Societies deplored their failure to establish a mission in the region. The Makola mission, for example, suffered a fate similar to that of countless West African stations when the ministry collapsed due to malarial fever. After almost thirty years at Inyati, John Moffat was to remark disparagingly that while a "few individuals may have been influenced for good," he had seen "no indication that the life of the [Matabele] tribe is in any way touched by the gospel" (J. S. Moffat, 1885: 218).

Reflecting bitterly on the failure of the Matabele mission, F. Coillard, whose Paris Missionary Society had been refused entry to Matabeleland, asked:

> ... what influence the gospel has had up till now on this savage nation? Alas! Apparently none what ever! I confess it is the most perplexing problem of modern missions. The Revs. Thomas and

Sykes have laboured for twenty years in the country. Mr John Moffat first, and then Mr Thompson of Ujyi, consecrated to it the first fruits of their ministry. In spite of all these efforts and sacrifices, there is no school, no church, not a single convert - not one! In fact, I do not know which ought most to astonish the Christian world, the barrenness of this mission field or the courage and perseverance of these noble servants of Christ who have for so long ploughed and sown in tears. (1897: 44)

While invoking the biblical metaphor of the sower and the seed, this vitriolic catalogue of failure works to undermine the more idealistic evangelism of the missionaries and strengthen colonial and metropolitan support for a military invasion and occupation of the region. With the Ndebele, the failure of the LMS mission can be traced to Mzilikazi and Lobengula's perception that missionaries "brought potentially revolutionary and divisive doctrines with them that could undermine the allegiance of converts to the traditional political authorities" (Wills, 1964: 113). While the Ndebele found it expedient to have the services of the missionaries as advisors and intermediaries, for medical support and later for education, they discouraged conversion unilaterally. Other reasons for the lack of success of the Zambezi missions were the climate, the prevalence of malarial fever and the area's inaccessibility. To the Directors of the LMS, John Moffat attributed the main obstacle to missionary work among the Ndebele as the "people themselves, in their habits, and in their natural indifference to the truth" (Wills, 1964: 113).

In an effort to underline the reluctance of the Ndebele to abandon their own beliefs and embrace those of Christianity, R. U. Moffat later described John Moffat's recollection of an incident at a sermon he preached to a large gathering of Ndebele at Inyati in 1860:

> ... I pointed to the compact crowd in front of me and said, "You men can every one of you speak to God for himself and God is willing to listen to you." I told the boys and girls that, even when they were alone in the gardens or herding cattle in the veld, they could speak to God and he would hear them. By this time I noticed that there were signs of uneasiness. I looked round at the chief, whose seat was a couple of yards from me. He had risen up and stood trembling with rage. He shouted in a stentorian voice, "You are a liar!" This was followed by a roar of applause from the audience. Again he said it, and again there was a thunderous cheer. I waited for the dead silence that fell upon all and said, "Chief, I am not speaking my own words. I am speaking the words of God." The chief slowly subsided into his chair. (R.U. Moffat, 1921: 93)

Here Christian doctrine is reconstituted as an aberration and as a subversive presence in the African social order. Foucault notes how in eighteenth-century Europe Christian doctrine tends to diffusion and "how doctrinal adherence involves both the speaker and the message" (1970: 226). In the above context, the mid-nineteenth century Western Missionaries Robert Moffat, David Livingstone and the Reverend Coillard held allegiance to a common set of evangelical tenets such as the omnipotence of the Christian God. In adhering to this item of doctrine, the Western narrator, as speaking

subject, is involved through, and because of, what he said. This is demonstrated on the above occasion by rules of exclusion brought into play by the Chief when the alien European speaker formulated an utterance that was unassimilable in African culture. The notion of an omniscient Christian God in nineteenth century Zimbabwe threatened the status of the leader of the local African community. Here the Chief publicly rejects this fundamentalist tenet of Protestant belief, which he perceives as subversive of the wider African social and spiritual order. This instance bears out Foucault's view that doctrine is permanently the sign, the manifestation and "the instrument of a prior adherence - to a class, to social or racial status, to a nationality or an interest, to a struggle, a revolt, resistance or acceptance" (1970: 226).

Subsequently, Emily Moffat referred to a rival missionary at Inyati who had taken to bribing the people to attend Sabbath Congregations because of the lack of interest "for more than we can approve, and now they expect pay for listening to a service" (Wallis, 1945: 225). This suggests that the missionaries in Matabeleland generally relied on material inducements to promote African interest in their ministry. As my study of his evangelical pragmatism would suggest, Thomas may have been the missionary to which Emily Moffat referred. The fact that the first African conversion to Christianity in Matabeleland was of a leper, baptised only in 1882 by a Roman Catholic priest, illustrates the extent to which the early missionaries

struggled to introduce Christianity (Wills, 1964: 101). Once Thomas had translated the New Testament into Sindebele, Lobengula forbade any of his people to learn to read. Coillard records this in an interview he had with Lobengula on 18 January 1878, at Bulawayo, in which Lobengula responded to the Paris Missionary Society requests to educate people:

> ... he does not wish, he says, that his slaves should be taught. His country is already provided with missionaries. He will soon have four (LMS party), and he does not want any more. (1897: 35)

J. B. Thompson, another founder member of the LMS Matabele mission, complained to Mullens on the 25th March 1873, expressing the opinion that the mission had failed because it differed from the social and cultural order at Bulawayo:

> ... the greatest hindrance of all our work here is to be found in the constitution and polity of the tribe. The Gospel goes dead against everything which distinguishes them as the Amantabele Tribe - (1) It destroys all despotic power, makes men intelligent, thinking and responsible beings, who seek for judgement and justice. It takes from the King all Divine power attributed to him, and attributes it to God alone. (2) It destroys entirely all their military standing, whose sole object is bloodshed and death .... (3) It destroys all polygamy, and also that honoured and much to be dreaded enemy of all life and liberty - I mean witchcraft. These are the monuments of the nation, in which they glory .... To receive the Gospel is to give them all up. This people know, and especially the king. (Hanna, 1960: 57)

Here Nonconformist doctrinal tenets are framed in an oppositional relation to Thompson's popular settler and missionary view of Ndebele social and political order. The cleric juxtaposes British notions of justice against despotic and arbitrary rule by Lobengula, Western notions of peace with the Ndebele practice of aggressive domination of neighbouring domains, and Western notions of voluntary religious affiliation with African indulgence and superstition. Assuming the authority to speak in a context in which the African voice is muted, Thompson interposes rules of exclusion which enact prohibitions on Ndebele social order, custom and belief. By elaborating an opposition between true and false, he appeals to a single ensemble of discourse to which many individuals at the metropole and on the margins of empire could define their reciprocal allegiance.

What was implicit in this birth of a colonial order, heralded by literacy, 'knowledge' and conversion within the mission yard, was that it hinged on a military intervention which would destroy the social fabric of Ndebele society. Successful evangelism, and the same 'muscular Christianity' described by R. J. Evans above was prefaced by conquest. In the build up to the 1890 British invasion, this reading of the social organisation of the Ndebele would have been used by agents of empire as a justification for the destruction of the military capacity of Lobengula. As

J. B. Thompson suggests, evangelism could not proceed while the 'constitution and polity' of the Ndebele remained intact.

At his independent station at Shiloh, T. M. Thomas was representative of the secular-minded trader/missionary type in late nineteenth-century Zimbabwe and showed few of the anxieties expressed by F. Coillard, J. Moffat and other missionaries to the Ndebele. Even his arrival in Matabeleland is framed in Metropolitan notions of a Romantic journey through an African paradise. He had concentrated on descriptions of the landscape as wilderness and the African people as violent savages:

.. [after] crossing [the] Goqwe, Seriba, Motloutse, Shashe and Thate rivers, we entered the territories of Umzilikazi. The scenery now became more beautiful and romantic. The monotony of the vast level and forest country was replaced by the welcome variety of hill and dale, bush and open field, rocky mountains and streams of water. In summer, the scenery between the Umpakwe, in the south-west and the Khumalo river in the north-east, a distance of about seventy miles, was very beautiful. The road made a thousand curves, ever winding between the mountains of granite. Sometimes a hill seemed piled upon a hill, with overhanging rocks at every possible angle, and rising perpendicularly to such a height on both sides of the pass, that little more could be seen than the sky immediately above. The endless rising and falling of the road - the many small streams which meandered between these hills - the almost infinite variety of tropical flora, shrubs and trees, completed the grandeur of a scene not soon to

be forgotten. Among those hills, we arrived at the first villages
belonging to Umzilikazi. (1873: 57)

This extract appears to signal an "archetypal romance narrative", such as the
one De Kock (1996: 150) identifies in Robert Moffat's *Missionary Labours
and Scenes in Southern Africa* (1842). Instead, Thomas records a typical
pioneering routine which included hunting, trading and representing mining
syndicates in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Thomas describes the
pioneering demands on the missionary in Central Africa who had to act as:

> ... mason, carpenter, smith, architect, wheelwright, gardener, and
> farmer; ... and finding that thereby his influence over the natives has
> been increased rather than lessened. ...Far away from the appliances
> and conveniences of civilization, and unable to obtain native help, we
> were constantly thrown upon our own resources, and had either to
> suffer or to help ourselves. Instead of exposing ourselves to sickness
> by adopting the native mode of life, I built my own house. ...To
> obtain animal food for my family and neighbours, guns had to be
> mended and the game to be shot, while the produce of the garden and
> corn-field was dependent upon our own exertions. (1873: 417)

Here, as John Comaroff argues, "Western bourgeois social values of
discipline, work and ownership are embodied in self-control, self-denial and
self-possession" (1989: 665). Subsequently, Jean and John Comaroff
regard conversion, in this context, as part of the cultural coercion of the
colonizing process. The notion of achieving self-realization through his

labour and his attention to duty seem to underpin Thomas's emergence from the ranks of the impoverished working-class at the metropole to the level of a trader, colonial master and first independent missionary at Shiloh. This realm of philanthropic practice was, in his opinion, closely allied to an evangelism echoed in Livingstone's sentiments:

> ... the first and chief object of the Missionary enterprise in heathen lands is to introduce Christianity, this is not all it accomplishes, but indirectly it confers upon the natives many secular benefits. For as soon as a missionary has entered a new field, and has gained the confidence and affection of the heathen, so far as to render intercourse with them safe, the other men, who have other ends in view than that of introducing gospel truth, follow in their wake. (1873: 390)

Thomas attributed the opening up of Matabeleland to certain hunters to whom Mzilikazi had granted concessions that were renewable annually in exchange for weapons. He described how guides were provided to restrict the movement of hunters to designated areas in which game was found, as Mzilikazi had observed "hunters were also explorers, and would open up his country; a thing altogether at variance with his own policy" (1873: 391). As Baines reported, it was the elephant hunter, Henry Hartley, who had shown both Mauch and himself where old gold workings were in the 1860s and 1870s (Wallis, 1946: 26). Thomas regarded this annual procession of hunters returning to Matabeleland as the first stage of bringing light to a dark

continent. He also felt that the exploitation of the region by colonists was desirable.

Evidently the opening of the missionary road into Matabeleland in the 1860s facilitated the entry of miners, traders and settlers. For Thomas missionaries constituted the vanguard of 'civilization'. Relations at Gubulawayo had been transformed in the ensuing decades by the barter and exchange economy. The brisk and lucrative trade in weapons that developed under Lobengula had once been outlawed by Mzilikazi (1873: 392). For T. M. Thomas, the LMS missionaries had also paved the way for the traders in that they had made Matabeleland 'safe' by winning the confidence of the 'despotic savage' Mzilikazi. He believed a similar opening up of the territory for commerce had been achieved by the Makololo mission. Instead, earlier accounts suggest that traders such as Westbeech who exported 30,000 lb of ivory from the Barotse valley between 1871 and 1876, had been responsible for opening up the region for the missionaries in Matabeleland.[11]

As part of a narrative of 'progress and development' viewed as both natural and inevitable, Thomas compared Mzilikazi's hostility with white traders in 1859 with the situation several years later:

... as the news that the king of the Amandebele had begun to trade with white people became known in the Old and New Colonies, the

number of wagons from the south increased annually. Some of these wagons brought various articles for sale, such as guns, ammunition, beads, brass wire, clothing, knives, crockery, and cooking utensils. These things were exchanged for ivory, ostrich feathers, tigers' skins, and cattle. (1873: 391).

Although Thomas had established a cordial relationship with Mzilikazi and served as his physician, he considered the establishment of British hegemony north of the Limpopo as a priority. Thomas's descriptions of the Ndebele, their customs and relations with other tribes broadly concur with those of Father Coillard of the Paris Missionary Society, who noted that:

> ... the treacherous and cruel character of the Matabele is well known .... The atrocities which form their pastime and delight defy all description. Their thirst for rapine and pillage respects absolutely no one .... The king can have his subjects massacred without distinctions of rank, and he does so, remorselessly; but he has not the power to govern them. Here, indeed, is a country where Satan has his throne. (1897: 44)

What is important to this study is the way in which Thomas ingratiated himself at Mzilikazi's court and participated in the succession dispute that arose after his death. Of equal interest is his collusion with the London and Limpopo mining syndicate.[12] Hugh Barber, a traveller in Matabeleland between 1877-78, records a meeting with Thomas at his independent mission at Shiloh set up in competition with Sykes's LMS station at Inyati.

Affirming Thomas's entrepreneurship, he notes Thomas had accumulated a good deal of ivory during that year, and "relieved us of everything we had on our waggons for sale [trading goods, muskets, lead]. We returned to Bulawayo with about four hundredweights of good ivory" (Tabler, 1960: 109).

Undeterred by the lack of success of the early missionaries, Thomas focused on what he considered the promising scope for trade, mining and white settlement in Central South Africa. Tracing the development of interest in gold mining, Thomas mentioned Mauch's discoveries at Tati and the Zambezi gold field and that a Transvaal agent had failed in an attempt to acquire the Tati district in 1868. Subsequently he noted that "gold seekers from the Colonies, England, Germany and Australia, poured into the country" (1873: 396). Of those that remained, some sunk shafts and could get "three to four ounces per ton" (1873: 396). Without providing any details about the fact that he was acting as agent for Levert of the London and Limpopo mining company, Thomas noted that company's claim to the "exclusive mineral rights of the Tati District" (1873: 396). In favouring the large syndicates over the small-claims men, Thomas was followed by another missionary-turned-merchant, J. S. Moffat , who later acted on behalf of the Chartered Company. Thomas was also enthusiastic about Swinburne's permit to prospect at Umatjiyangompi's gold fields. Thomas

Baines complained of how Thomas had acted on Swinburne's behalf by

discrediting all other syndicates to Lobengula (Wallis, 1946: xv).

Documenting the benefits of civilization in the Tati district, Thomas

registers the change in circumstances from 1864; when the district was the

"favourite resort of the larger game and wild beasts", to 1869; when

"crushing and stamping machines were planted upon the very spot where

we had to keep up the fire all night to ward off wild dogs, wolves, and lions"

(1873: 396). By the following year, he continued, "European houses were

erected, and ... it was delightful to find that there was quite a community of

white people gathered" (1873: 396). For the missionary in the remote

interior, the Tati settlement was "such a comfort and so cheering to a

person who has been long isolated from the society with whom he can

properly associate" (1873: 397). Besides these social benefits, Thomas and

other missionaries relied on traders for "clothes, tools, tea, coffee, sugar and

salt for their own use" (Hanna, 1960: 66). In addition, the remote mission

stations needed an "enormous supply of calico, beads, blankets and other

trade goods: a baggage train to serve as both purse and bank account"

(Hanna, 1960: 67). Thomas's utterances about the Tati settlement fell on

receptive ears in Britain, and were understood as recruiting jingles to sons

and daughters of Empire who sought employment and land abroad. After

noting the discovery of a "quantity of alluvial gold and some very rich quartz

reefs" which yielded "upwards of twenty ounces of gold per ton" by another

group of miners (1873: 397), Thomas eagerly anticipated British hegemony in the region:

> ... regarding the introduction of every improvement into those remote and dark regions, as a good sign, and favourable to our work as missionaries, I am very much delighted to find that the governor of the Cape Colony has gone up the country, with the view of ascertaining the real import to the Colony of all the recent discoveries of diamonds, gold and other minerals. And most heartily do I hope that he may see it the duty of the government to extend its protection and oversight to those of its subjects who in Central South Africa seek to promote the interests of both Europeans and natives. (1873: 397)

Here the missionary voice concurs with that of the hunter, trader, explorer and prospector in arriving at the conclusion that Britain would lead the exploitation of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Although the Zambezi gold fields were three hundred miles beyond Tati, Thomas envisaged a similar fate for them. He provides extracts from Baines's diaries and Nelson's mineralogy report on the Northern goldfields confirming the presence of payable gold. He then considers practicalities of transport and the prospects for Europeans to farm in Mashonaland. In 1888 the missionary Carnegie lamented that the LMS was faced with a terrible conflict in which "gold and the gospel are fighting for mastery, and I fear that gold will win" (Hanna, 1960: 71). Thomas did not share this concern about the fate of the poor success of evangelism in Matabeleland. Instead, the failure of the Zambezi missions, in his opinion, justified the extension of British control over the

region. For Thomas, the more important business of converting the Matabele into loyal servants of the Crown would be accomplished by colonial administrators, rather than by evangelists.

The narrative concludes ambivalently, abhoring the type of speculation he had consistently indulged in, and outlining future prospects of missionary work among the Ndebele:

> ... the position of the Christian Missionary in this land of gross darkness, where all persons and institutions are manifestly in the power of the god of this world, is even now one of great difficulty; but it was still more so ten years ago, when he was completely isolated from all Christian friends and civilized society, and surrounded by forms and practices of heathenism, which were peculiarly opposed to the Gospel of Christ. That he has been enabled therefore to remain in the country, and successfully to establish his mission ... is a matter for devout Thanksgiving. ... the whole land is open to the soldiers of the cross. We may go in and take possession, not seeking the gold of its quartz reefs, nor the diamonds of its river beds, but offering to all the unsearchable riches of Christ. (1873: 416)

Thomas registers progress in the task of introducing the rule of the norm and constraint by technique. The initial instability and flux that surrounded the missionary's earlier strategies of identity construction and self-affirmation is evident. The survival of the missionary was due to his development of manipulative techniques of diplomacy and refinements in the enculturation of

the Western values. At the same time, the operation of these procedures on

the margins of empire complicated perceptions of missionary philanthropy at

the metropole. The cultivation of the bourgeois self on the colonial frontier

relied on the enlistment of other bodies to perform manual tasks at the

mission and thereby provide the leisure for self-bolstering acts such as

journal writing. On Thomas's return to his independent mission at Shiloh

from the metropole in 1874, until his death in 1884, he dedicated himself to

the ethnolinguistic project of translating the Bible into Sindebele. Unable to

succeed in converting souls to his church, he imbued the Ndebele language

with the norms and values of Christianity.

Thomas was thus an important figure in the early mission to

Matabeleland. He conceptualized his task as the first step in the colonizing

process, by which his 'civilizing' activities prepared the indigenous

population for the later influx of prospectors, traders and settlers. By

contrast, Bishop Knight-Bruce was more indebted to the popular legend of

Livingstone. When he entered Mashonaland after the occupation in 1890,

he was determined to advance his predecessor's grand design for the

Zambesi mission. By 1893 he had returned to the metropole bearing the

title of Bishop of Mashonaland, long before there was a Bishopric, Diocese or

Shona congregation of which to talk. At the metropole, where considerable

importance was being attached by humanitarians to the expansion of

missions in Africa, the bishop's brief African tour of duty was to bring him

considerable prestige. This is in sharp contrast to the prolonged and unrecognised mission of T. M. Thomas at Shiloh.

Knight-Bruce: Mashonaland as a new field for missions.

By 1890 the invasion and occupation of Nguni, Sotho and Tswana territory in Southern Africa by British or Boer forces was practically complete. Most major military battles between colonial and settler forces (excluding the Ndebele and Shona north of the Limpopo) had taken place and there was a clear boundary between British, Portuguese, German and Boer territory in the interior. This precipitated a transformation in the position of missionaries on the periphery of empire. From being the isolated representatives of some distant power, they now brought Africans into immediate contact with the dominant colonizing force and their position as negotiators and mediators on a political and cultural level was emphasized. Missionaries found themselves trapped between the land and labour-hungry settlers and administrators and populations of increasingly disorientated, dispossessed and confused Africans. In Mashonaland and Matabeleland missionaries worked closely with BSA Company officials and colonial authorities to divide the colonised population and refine the colonial master-servant order.

To Chief Maconi and a gullible British readership, Knight-Bruce represented Mashonaland as a new field in the British Imperial world order.

His narrative, styled as a Memoir of colonial service, differs considerably in tone from his diaries of 1888. What he originally described as an African Wilderness beyond the reach of Colonial authority is transformed in his Memoirs into a territory very much within the jurisdiction of colonial administration and as an integral part of Empire. In his projection, "there comes a time in the history of all these native races when they must needs come into contact with the white man" (1892: 132) this missionary regards the Colonization of Zimbabwe by the British as inevitable and part of an imperial evolution of the world. For the missionary-explorer this process had a logic of its own, by which his knowledge, acquired during two journeys in the region, placed him in the position of a colonial authority at the metropole. He was then privileged to speak on a particular socio-scientific order within the expanding Victorian world picture. Knight-Bruce considers his exclusive rights to a new field, the philanthropic observation of colonial behaviour:

> ... so long as a native is looked on, as he too often is in Africa, as a thing to work and to be kicked, he will rouse no interest at all. A caterpillar rouses none in the mind of the gardener, who looks on it as something to be crushed, though to the naturalist it has another value. (1892: 151)

In the above model the botanical garden is used by the first Bishop of Mashonaland (C Lewis and G.E. Edwards, 1934: 435); the hierarchy of naturalist, gardener and pest are deployed to locate the missionary in relation

to populations which he separated on Western rationalist, scientific and racial grounds. Judging by the way the European self is located here, it appears that in the late 1800s imperial society evolved a system of controlling and delimiting discourse which functioned as a system of internal rules. According to this regime, philanthropic rationalist discourse exercised its own control. These rules were concerned with the principles of classification, ordering and distribution. In 1890 the Shona had been included within the locus of British control - they constituted a new population that had to be audited, classified and confined.

Knight-Bruce provides a nineteenth-century Western analysis of 'native' behaviour, ways of thinking, speaking and action which amount to a scientistic discipline. Implicit in missionary discourse is the operation of a principle of limitation which is defined by groups of objects, methods, their corpus of propositions considered to be true, the interplay of rules and definitions, of techniques and tools. The missionary-scientist identifies dangers inherent in Shona society, "that strange perverseness that characterizes them" (1892: 109), and outlines ways of controlling their thinking, morality, dress and behaviour. While stringently denying that he was a 'negrophilist', Knight-Bruce claimed to have anthropological insight into the African condition. Typically this knowledge included insight into Shona morality which rendered it necessary but difficult to "awaken that

sense of sin and wrongdoing which was essential to the highest

development of man" (1892: 125). Consequently, he observed:

> ... the untouched native seemed to be a poor child intended to be
> taught and helped, and possibly, in so far as a child should be,
> punished, but still treated as a child. Sometimes he was more or less
> a well-behaved child, sometimes more or less badly-behaved child;
> sometimes he was clean, sometimes dirty; sometimes brave,
> sometimes cowardly, but always a child. He should have temptations
> kept out of his way, and be kept under the strictest rule, and taught
> and strengthened, so that in the future he may fight the battle of life
> for himself. I do not at all agree with the man who said: "The best
> education for a native is the Martini-Henry rifle." (1892: 158)

The 'infantile' condition of the African diagnosed by the Bishop makes the

presence of the missionary imperative. The pastoral role envisaged for the

missionary here is complex and extensive embracing the functions of

superintendent, trustee, and custodian. The Shona people appear to the

prelate as characteristically abject and helpless. Significantly, the African is

denied a voice as Western authority proclaims its monologic assessment and

disallows any counter-discourse. To his European audience the vagrant

cleric describes a situation of dire need in a recently acquired territory of

Empire. It is imperative, he suggests, that a systematic intervention be

planned, organised and funded. The range of this intervention should be as

broad as possible. The missionary shall perform many spiritual, pedagogic

and secular functions; in short they will take responsibility for the African

population. They will speak on their behalf. They will impose a carceral society.

The appointment of colonial administrators such as Theophilus Shepstone and John Moffat "who have knowledge of natives and their ways' (1892: 152) was imperative to Knight-Bruce's mission to the Shona. For his European audience, Knight-Bruce differentiated between being able to understand the language of the Shona and what he considers was the more difficult process of understanding their thoughts. He opens a further terrain for African philanthropic enquiry at the metropole by differentiating between characters, individuals and classes of African society. Moving to the exterior of the body, he sees a need to transform the appearance and clothing of the African body:

> ... a leather skirt saturated with the grease and dirt of years, when worn next to the skin, is not in practice, any more than in theory, a pleasing thing in which to dress a clean woman. When the body has been long smeared with pigs' fat and red ochre, the disadvantage of a skin dress is increased. ... would prefer the women to wear something above the waist. ... the ordinary native in an old pair of very dirty trousers is not a picturesque object. The best Mashona boy we had took to wearing trousers, which I asked him to take off, and wear a calico body-cloth. (1892: 149-150)

While prescribing Western notions of the covering and sanitizing of the African body, Knight-Bruce affirms conceptions of a separate European self,

with its practices, norms and behaviours. Foucault noted that the deployment of sexuality was first established as "a new distribution of pleasures, discourses, truths, and powers" (1979: 123). Here the Bishop's view of African sexuality may be seen as a self-affirmation of one class rather than the violent enslavement of another. What is envisaged for European colonial society is a series of defences and protections, a definition of racial boundaries for social control and political subjugation. It is in the calico body-cloth, the Bishop implies, that the disenfranchised Shona servant class will be confined, disciplined and then converted.

Knight-Bruce prescribed a remedy for the 'neglected' condition of the Shona that located a network of mission outstations, each centred on an emergent township such as those that appeared at Bulawayo, Mount Hamden (Harare) and Umtali (Mutare). Evidently strategies that were developed in Natal and on the Eastern Cape frontier were redeployed by colonial authorities in the interior. In this process of mediation between Protestant missionary and dispossessed African Populace, the Bishop's strategy aimed to harness technology and techniques developed at the Cape and in Natal. Accordingly African catechists from the Cape and Natal colonies would be placed near each village:

> ... native Christians of different nationalities from Cape Town and Durban. They varied in power, characteristics, and moral qualities, but, as a whole they were invaluable. Seshona ... was almost as new

a tongue to them as to any of us-but a certain connection between all the languages in that part of Africa helped them. (1892: 85)

A buffer-population of disciplined African individuals was to be located throughout the villages thus establishing a network of linguistically appropriated contact points representative of Sotho and Nguni speaking populations that had already been transformed and converted.[13] Consequently in the years immediately preceding Chimurenga, a new order began to appear and reorganise the space of empire. Knight-Bruce relays a report by a recently appointed European minister to his British readers on the recent transformation that had occurred at Chief Maconi's:

> ... a most picturesque situation, fine rocks, hills, and valleys all round, its nice huts done in Zulu style by our catechist there. In a compound, surrounded by reeds, were the huts, with the church just outside, and in it two of the big pictures you sent me - "The Good Shepherd" and "Christ walking upon the Water" (1892: 100).

While the landscape is redefined in pastoral hues, habitation becomes 'organised' and centred around the house of worship, which is in turn subject to the pastoral authority of the minister in the nearby European township. The institution of separate living space for European and African is architecturally implied in this philanthropic version of the notion of the colonial compound. At a spiritual and cultural level the eyes of recently dispossessed individuals are focussed on icons of the Reformation.

Alternately, where the BSA Company administration deemed it appropriate, various inducements and constraints are set to work on African converts removed from their traditional lands which had been carved up into extensive land concessions and granted to the rank and file of the invading column. Subsequently, those who became converts to the evangelists were granted small portions of ground attached to mission stations. In return for their spiritual affiliation, "they could grow crops" (1892: 132).

For Knight-Bruce and other missionaries in Mashonaland at the time, disciplinary procedures were to be implemented in the lives of African people by preparing them for labour:

> ... the first step towards educating the native is to make him work. There is no one who more thoroughly agrees with this than the experienced missionary .... There was no place where the natives had to work so consistently as at the mission, where they had, as a body, to get up earlier, and waste less time during the day. We could practically always get labour, although we probably paid less than was paid in the European camps, because the native knew they would be treated fairly (1892: 134-136).

While Africans were being included as a subject population in the expanding spiritual domain of Christianity in Zimbabwe, missionaries introduced Western capitalist notions of employment, time, wages and working conditions. It was a procedure by which the actions and habits of Africans

would be harnessed to the service of Empire. In this way, Africans were rendered 'useful' to the colonial project. Knight-Bruce outlines the establishment of outstations under 'native' catechists, and notes how these stations provided trinkets, cloth and the paraphernalia of Western civilisation to attract converts.[14] Trade and barter were integral to the process of conversion in the new secular order.

In his narrative, Knight-Bruce saw a clear division of his mission along racial lines into 'native' work and European work. The Bishop took a very active part in initiating separate churches for Europeans founded by the military and the police in 1893. He cited Umtali (Mutare) as a model for future townships, (where the original township was abandoned and shifted some distance away because of the planned rail link to Beira). The original site, having been abandoned by the settlers, provided the bishop with an ideal mission-house 'for native work'. It was within easy reach of the outlying African kraals and the railhead from which it was supplied with staff and supplies. Ranger (1968) has examined how Grey used this plan to reform the 'Native' administration in Zimbabwe after 1897. Knight-Bruce also notes how "the church brought the first medical doctor and nurses to Mashonaland" (1892: 211). The link between the two institutions that had emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe, where spiritual and medical care were intricately related, was thus conveyed to the margins of empire. The crusading bishop acknowledged the financial and moral

support of missions at the metropole, such as the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and from Company directors such as Rhodes and Jameson.

I wish to consider the position missionaries espoused in relation to other instruments and social formations of the colonizing process at the metropole and on the margins of empire. Like Moffat, Thomas and Selous, Knight-Bruce compiled *Memories of Mashonaland* (1895) after his return to England. It was therefore, in a reflective mood, that he speculated on his African experience and the future of the Mashonaland mission. For example he recounts his efforts to explain the new colonial order to the powerful Chief Maconi of the Eastern region:

> ... he asked about Lobengula and the war, of which we told him as much as we knew. Then he wanted to know how long the white men were going to stay in Mashonaland, and I said "they were come to stay." How could the Queen spare them from England? We gave him some idea of the size of London by pointing to the country round, all to be covered with houses. He then wanted to know where the white man had his gardens, i.e. grew his food. We told him the world was our garden, food coming in from all countries. (1892: 102)

The war Chief Maconi showed interest in was the BSA Company invasion of Matabeleland in 1893, which was to have serious effects on the existing

power balance in his paramountcy. Significantly the bishop's reply is guarded, as his intimate association with the colonial forces would subsequently reveal. The missionary is placed in the role of superintendent, mediator, and authority on the 'primitive' African. Knight-Bruce draws a comparison between London as the centre of Empire and an extensive tract of 'undeveloped' land in Africa. Chief Maconi, who was to play a central role in the 1896-7 Chimurenga, questioned the nature and status of the European presence. Population density at the metropole is linked to the appearance of colonists in Mashonaland. The wandering prelate again resorts to the loaded metaphor of the garden - where the countries of the world appeared to become part of a British Imperial plantation.

Knight-Bruce became directly involved in Jameson's invasion of Matabeleland in 1893 as chaplain to the troops. He also speculated on how the "machine gun [was] a deterrent that saved many lives" (1892: 232-3) in this conflict. This complicated his perceived role as a go-between on the frontier, although he allegedly offered to mediate with Lobengula on behalf of the BSA Company. Subsequently, caught up in nostalgic reverie at the metropole, he fondly recalls:

> ... just before going from Bulawayo, the king asked where I was; he calls me the 'Induna of the Teachers'. "Is he with the fighting men?" ... and when they told him I was at Fort Salisbury, he seems to have said something to the effect that he knew I was not with his enemies.

Of course he could not understand my position of neutrality, but this
is one reason why I wish to go to him. (1892: 235)

This 'neutrality' included the bishop's holding of a service for the BSA

Company troops at the site of the smouldering remains of Lobengula's burnt

out Royal Kraal at Bulawayo in 1893. Referring to the victorious BSA

Company troops, he described the occasion as momentous:

> ... I think it was one of the most beautiful services I have ever known
> - the perfect peace after the life of fighting and noise, and dust and
> heat; the looking back into the plunge into the unknown that had been
> made by the men; the strange end to the long series of unexpected
> acts that only culminated here - all affected us very strongly. I have
> never seen a more utterly reverential body of men gathered before
> their God. (1892: 237)

The brutality of the colonial euphemism 'pacification' is evident in Knight-

Bruce's reflective moment. Expansionist aggression is masked by the silence

that follows what is construed as colonial victories. The invasion of

Bulawayo is represented as a crusade into the underworld; the defeat of the

Ndebele impi as a triumph of good over evil and as the restoration of

Christian order over savagery. Knight-Bruce does not question the

mythologised settler views of Ndebele raids that were used as pretext for

invasion by Jameson. Instead, the bishop admires the rapid deployment of

force and Jameson's decisive intervention that avoided the tedium of official

sanction and ponderousness. In all that he had witnessed Knight-Bruce saw

the operation of a divine hand. He does not deal with the brutality of the conflict, the attacks on villages, the burning of crops and confiscation of the royal herd. Neither does he mention the confusion, lack of supplies and precarious positions of troops in broken terrain discussed by Stafford Glass and the official Company report by Wills and Collingridge.[15]

His praise for the determination and skill of the invading force, his exoneration of the brutal captain who murdered a village leader who dared to oppose him place him in an expansionist frame.[16] In concurrence with several missionaries such as Thompson, Helm and John Moffat, military conquest is regarded as the necessary precursor to successful philanthropy in Matabeleland.

Finally I wish to refer briefly to the way in which missions and missionaries engaged hostile discourse which emerged at the metropole:

> It is outside Africa, and in England, that the ideas hostile to missions seem to flourish. It was when I was first going out to Africa that I was told that it was well known that Dr. Livingstone always travelled alone for some iniquitous purpose, of which he did not wish Europeans to know anything. My informant said that everyone in Africa knew it to be so. (1892: 121)

Here the bishop engages with the anti-philanthropic lobby in England which dismissed missionary endeavour in Africa and other colonial possessions.

Interest in these outposts of Empire was dependent largely on their economic value as sources of cheap raw materials and vast markets for British manufactured goods, rather than as bountiful missionary fields. For many missionary operations could only be justified in so far as they supported and underlined colonial administration and trade. Knight-Bruce gives Lovedale and Kuruman as examples of missionary success.

Within Africa, the Bishop suggests, colonists and settlers were equally divided in their support for and opposition to missions:

> ... among a certain section of the European population in Africa any movement towards raising the natives in any way would be resented, and I presume that they would disapprove of the action of the civil authorities in encouraging schools for general education among natives; but this is a very different position to saying that, from our standpoint in England, Christianizing the natives does no good. Their position would be that they wish to treat the native as a thing to be used: that any elevation of him may put ideas into his head that had better not be there: that he may know too much for them. The position taken by the enemies of missions in England is a totally different one-that the native is injured by the process. (1892: 121)

Here the various grounds for anti-missionary sentiment within the colonial and metropolitan social orders are explained. On the one hand there was the settler in search of cheap labour who saw freehold African agriculturalists as a threat. For them the Africans were objects and any efforts at altering their

spiritual or intellectual conditions were subversive of the colonial order. On the other hand, Knight-Bruce refers to a metropolitan line of opposition where missionary work is seen as an invasion of African social order, which amounts to a disturbance of 'Nature' of both the culture and the society. Implicit in both these views however, are Social Darwinist notions of a hierarchy of races in the world where Western man forms the most advanced category.

In distinguishing between different types of philanthropic merit, Knight-Bruce argues that the 'good' of the coming of the missionaries should be distinguished from the broader process of colonisation. The organisation of missions in Mashonaland for the Bishop was a principle of limitation defined by groups of objects, methods, their corpus of propositions considered to be true, the interplay of rules and definitions, of techniques and tools. In this new order of which he saw himself as founder, what was supposed at the outset was that which is required for the construction of new statements about the Mashonaland Mission. Through the action of the missionary activating the rules of what was 'good' for Africans, the text offers a system of control in the production of 'true' discourse. These rules also served to control philanthropic discourse at the metropole and determine the conditions under which it may be employed. The evangelical regime that Knight-Bruce sought to impose contained a certain number of rules which

were exercised upon those individuals employed within it. It also denied

access to everyone else.

A decade earlier, Thomas had registered what he considered progress

in the task of introducing the rule of the norm and constraint by technique in

Matabeleland. The initial instability and flux that surrounded the

missionary's earlier strategies of identity construction and self-affirmation in

the 1860s are evident. However, for Thomas the survival of his mission at

Shiloh was due to his ability to adapt to the local hunting and trading

economy. He also developed techniques for the dissemination of Western

values and became a physician to the King. At the same time, the operation

of these procedures on the margins of empire complicated perceptions of

missionary philanthropy at the metropole. The cultivation of the bourgeois

self in this fashion on the colonial frontier relied on the enlistment of other

bodies to perform manual tasks at the mission. Like Knight-Bruce, Thomas

placed the African individual in the class of labourer.

CONCLUSION

These two narratives evidently illustrate a possible divergence of strategies

in the imperial project. Thomas could be described as the first independent

missionary in Matabeleland under Mzilikazi and Lobengula between 1859-

1884, whose mission espoused a certain Welsh identity within the project of

empire and an alternative vision of missionary endeavour to that of the LMS Matabeleland Mission. Knight-Bruce represented the later and more militant missions which followed the BSA Company infiltration and occupation of Mashonaland in the 1890s. When there was a scramble among Missionary Societies to proclaim control over extensive sectors of land in the recently occupied territory, he styled himself as the first Bishop of Mashonaland.

Thomas's Welshness, his at times myopic and mercantile approach to missionary endeavour, distinguished him from other LMS missionaries in the region such as Moffat, Sykes and Carnegie. He found it imperative to hunt, establish his own source of revenue by trading extensively in the region, and to participate in the Ndebele succession. He saw his role as gardener, artisan, builder and physician to the king as essential to his pastoral duties. The publication at the metropole of his experiences *Eleven Years in Central Africa*, first in Welsh and later in English, served to fund his establishment of an independent mission at Shiloh in competition with his former LMS colleagues. This shift was unprecedented at Bulawayo under Lobengula and resulted in a situation where two European missions were in competition. All these points synthesized into what Thomas saw as part of the greater pragmatics of the British 'civilizing mission' which entailed the 'opening up' of Matabeleland to traders, miners and the wider colonial commercial and military infrastructures.

Bishop Knight-Bruce perceived himself as one of an emergent aristocratic imperial elite destined to take the leadership in the planning and transformation of British-controlled territory in Central Southern Africa. On his return to the metropole he styled himself as a spokesperson and champion of the wider British philanthropic cause in Africa. The Bishop was involved in a later stage of topographic and demographic division and planning of the new colonial order in British-occupied Mashonaland. This project necessarily included violent coercion of Africans by the military. It also divided pastoral and doctrinal order of the European churches in the townships and rural African mission outstations along racial lines. This division was extended into the first hospitals (such as the one at Mutare) that served as institutions of colonial health by tending primarily to the needs of the colonial population. The envisaged separation of institutions of worship and health, was to play a central role in dividing populations and imposing a racially configured disciplinary order on the African interior. His travels in the region enabled the demarcation of his paper bishopric of Mashonaland at the metropole. In 1893 the township of Mutare (Umtali), which had been shifted to accommodate the Maputo rail link, became some model colonial habitus in which Africans occupied the old site around the structure of a church and Europeans moved to the recently surveyed streets of the new site. The first hospital to be built of brick was initiated, staffed and funded by the Bishop who saw the health of the settlers and their spiritual welfare as closely linked in this fetid corner of empire. The Bishop

saw his task as supportive of the BSA Company militia and its emergent 'Native' Administration, which was staffed and modelled on the Colonial Eastern Cape and Natal 'Native' Administration.[17]

The missionary endeavours of Thomas and Knight-Bruce illustrate the limitations in the work of historians such as T. O. Ranger, John and Jean Comaroff, and Herbert Chimhundu. Ranger's oversimplified caricatures, and the neat binaries of the Comaroffs need to be rethought, taking into account in particular the earlier secular missionary vision of Thomas and the later separationist infrastructural and disciplinary strategies of Knight-Bruce. Both these missionaries deviated significantly from what could be termed the 'normal' or 'legitimate' Western European notions of a pastoral domain. Chimhundu's insights into the part played by missionaries in the ethnolinguistic division and tribalisation of Africans are useful, though they do not account for the isolation and discontinuity in the efforts of Thomas to translate the bible into Ndebele as he knew the language. Nor do they take account of Knight-Bruce's deployment of South African 'native catechists' in his efforts to disseminate the Gospel in Shona dialects and languages.

NOTES

1.   Contemporary narratives of Missions in the Zambezi region include: Robert Moffat *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (1842), John S. Moffat *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat* (1885), Owen Watkins *Mashonaland Journal* (1891), F. Coillard *On the Threshold of Central Africa* (1897), Robert U. Moffat *John Smith Moffat C. M. G., Missionary: A Memoir* (1921), J. P. R. Wallis ed. *Matabele Journals of Robert and Emily Moffat* (1941). See also Records of the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies and correspondence from missionaries in Matabeleland and Mashonaland including: Carnegie, Thompson, Father Boos, Father Richartz, Father Prestage and Rev. Isaac Shimmin.

2.   See Terence O. Ranger *The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe* (1985), '"Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa"' (1988) and 'Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: the Invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe' (1989).

3.   Historians who have examined the Zambezi missions in the 1950s include: C. P. Groves *The Planting of Christianity in Africa, 1878-1914* (1955), *Missionary and Humanitarian Aspects of Imperialism* (1957); in the 1960s: William C. Northcott *Robert Moffat: Pioneer in Africa 1817-1870* (1961), Stephen Neill *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (1966); in the 1970s: Anthony J. Dachs ed. *Christianity South of the Zambezi* (1973), *The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe*, 1879-1979 (1979) in the 1980s: Brandon Graaf *Modumedi Moleli: Teacher, Evangelist and Martyr to Charity. Mashonaland 1892-96* (1988), and Richard Grove 'Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourses and the Origin of Conservation Thinking in Southern Africa 1820-1900' (1989).

4.   Zimbabwean historians of Missionaries include: Stanlake Samkange who refers to the effects of missionary education at the W.M.S. Waddilove mission in *Origins of Rhodesia* (1970), Elleck K. Mashingaidze 'Christian missions in Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1920' (1973), Ngwabi Bhebe *Christianity and Traditional Religion in Western Zimbabwe 1859-1923* (1979), C. J. M. Zvogbo 'The Influence of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions in Southern Rhodesia,1891-1923' (1977), 'Aspects of Interaction Between Christianity and African Culture in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1893-1934' (1986), Aeneas S. Chigwedere 'How We Became Shona' (1989), Dickson A. Mungazi *Colonial Education for Africans: George Stark's Policy in Zimbabwe* (1991), *Colonial Policy and Conflict in Zimbabwe: a Study of Cultures in Collision, 1890-1979* (1992), and Herbert Chimhundu 'Early Missionaries and the ethno linguistic factor during the "invention of tribalism" in Zimbabwe' (1992).

5.   See Jean Comaroff *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (1985), John L. Comaroff 'Dialectical

Systems, History, and Anthropology: Units of Study and Questions of Theory' (1982), 'Images of Empire, Contests of Conscience: Models of Colonial Domination in South Africa' (1989). Also John and Jean Comaroff 'Through the Looking-glass: Colonial Encounters of the First Kind' (1988) and *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (1992).

6.   James Clifford and George E. Marcus (1986) consider the problematics of Western anthropologists who represent other cultures. In particular, the latter study of ethnographic narrative explains how writing about culture involves the rendering of negotiated realities and that culture is contested, temporal and emergent. Clifford and Marcus envisage culture as codes and representations that are contested, where the poetic and political are mixed and that cultural descriptions are experimental and ethical. Consequently, cultural accounts are by nature "constructed and artificial" (1986: 19).

7.   For a discussion of Michel Foucault's post-1970s work on power and knowledge relations and their articulation of a new form of critical analysis which challenges the Marxist critique of Raymond Williams and Antonio Gramsci deployed by the Comaroffs, see Barry Smart *Foucault, Marxism and Critique* (1983). Foucault's work and Gramsci's concept of hegemony seem incompatible if not in conflict.

8.   My analysis is informed by a reading of A. L. Stoler, in *Race and the Education of Desire* (1995) in which she employs Foucault's discussion of the technologies of sex and how these were first designed to affirm the bourgeois self in *History of Sexuality: Volume One, An Introduction* (1979). In her study of the Dutch East Indies' society she notes that the primary concern was not the repression of the sex of the classes to be exploited, but rather the body, vigour, longevity, progenitor, and descent of the classes that 'ruled'. This was the initial purpose for which the deployment of sexuality was established, as a new distribution of pleasures, discourses, truths, and powers. Stoler qualifies the sense in which this achieved the self-affirmation of one class rather than simply enslaving another. She elaborates on its functions in the Dutch colonial order as a defence, a protection and a reinforcement that was later extended to others as a means of social control and political subjugation.

9.   For a discussion of how one set of colonised people, i.e. the Irish, Welsh and Scots, were deployed against later colonised groups and recruited as foot soldiers of Empire see Linda Colley *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (1986).

10.   Jeff Guy *The Heretic* (1983) provides interesting parallels for my analysis of Knight-Bruce in his study of the controversial Bishop Colenso's mission in Natal.

11.   J. A. Pringle (1982) gives some indication of the extent of early trading in the interior via his chronicle of contemporary colonial Eastern Cape and Natal records of hunting and ivory sales. In the first seven months of 1824:

> ... 22 700 kilograms of ivory changed hands and a flourishing trade developed in Grahamstown. The export of elephant tusks and hippo teeth increased steadily and by 1825 these commodities had reached a total of 48 050 kilograms. At Fort Wiltshire on the banks of the Keiskamma River similar game fairs were also held in the 1820s. (1982: 37)

The Natal Mercury of 23 August 1883, reported that during the half-year ending 30 June, the Grahamstown magistrate issued permits for the purchase of 69 989 pounds of gunpowder, 32 805 pounds of lead, 3 699 577 caps, 1 069 guns, 45 revolvers, 2 294 941 cartridges and 1 550 pounds of dynamite. At its peak the Durban ivory trade was the colony's major export, worth 10 000 pounds Sterling a year. Before each open season regular advertisements appeared in the press for people to join organised hunting expeditions and share the profits. This ivory was loaded in Durban Bay and exported to Europe for use as piano keys, billiard balls, dice and door handles. In 1858 ivory represented the largest export item from Natal, producing:

> ... 31 754 pounds Sterling in revenue, being twice the value of any other single item. But by 1883 the best years of the ivory trade had come and gone. In 34 years ivory to the value of R337 109 had been exported through Natal. The peak year had been 1877 when 19 350 kilograms had left the Colony. At a rough estimate, 400 elephants had been killed to supply that ivory. But by 1895 the trade had dwindled to 30 kilograms. Elephants were still killed in the far interior but in Natal they had almost disappeared. (Pringle, 1982: 10-11)

12.   See J. P. R. Wallis ed. *The Northern Goldfields Dairies of Thomas Baines* in which Baines insisted that Thomas had assisted Levert to obtain mining concessions in Mashonaland. The manner in which the latter maintained the favour of Lobengula, who invited him to return to Matabeleland after his expulsion from the LMS, also suggests that he worked to retain his influence in a different way from that of the other missionaries in Matabeleland (1946: xv) F. C. Selous in *Travel and Adventure in South Central Africa* also records how Thomas's son had established a trading post on the Zambesi (1893: 156).

13.   Knight-Bruce refers to the African catechists from the colonies Barnhard and Frank, who assisted in revising Father Hartman's first grammar in Shona, its peculiarity of tense, and translating the Lord's Prayer into

Shona (1892: 179-180). See also T. O. Ranger (1985, 1988, 1989) and Herbert Chimhundu (1992), for an analysis of the ethnolinguistic impact of the missionaries in Mashonaland.

14.   For a transcript of a letter from an African catechist on an outstation near Mutare see Knight-Bruce (1892: 169-170).

15.   See Stafford Glass *The Matabele War* (1968) in which he argues that the official BSA Company version by Wills & Collingride is a distorted account of the invasion of Matabeleland.

16.   W. A. Wills & L. T. Collingridge *The Downfall of Lobengula* (1893) and Stafford Glass *The Matabele War* (1968) for references to Imperial Artillery Captain Lendy's atrocities and subsequent dismissal as Native Commissioner.

17.   Clifton Crais *(1992),* argues that the techniques acquired in the Eastern Cape and Natal were transferred into the interior. N Rouillard (1953) describes how colonial officials fromt he Cape were redeployed in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 4

NARRATING THE CHIMURENGA 1896-97 IN MATABELELAND AND MASHONALAND.

Adapting Foucault's argument concerning Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the British hegemony in Africa, I wish to argue that imperial knowledge, through which the lives of Africans in Zimbabwe were progressively shaped between 1860, and 1890, may be differentiated and made coherent by an analysis of discursive rules and institutional conventions and their transformations during BSA Company rule. At the time, and subsequently, discourses of sanctioned imperial military violence and of a 'savage' African violence mediated the emergence of a colonial order and were reflected in colonial narratives of Zimbabwe. It is also possible to trace how, through the twin development of the human sciences and technologies of power exercised over life, social and political problems [African 'crimes', 'murders' and 'sedition'] were normalized, subjected to classification and control, and thereby transposed into technical problems that more detailed imperial knowledge and better techniques of intervention had promised to resolve.

I would argue that two strategies of the sixteenth-century European state that Foucault isolates in his study of 'governmentality' are discernable in the

discourses of the emergent colonial order in late nineteenth-century Zimbabwe. First, the secular injunction that underpins much of the BSA Company and imperial motives during Chimurenga, implied that European officials must manage conflict, protect the township, and insure harmony and peace. Secondly, in the aftermath of Chimurenga, the pastoral codes that emerged from Missions, such as the Jesuit Priest Richartz's Chishawasha project, implied that the goal of the missionary and 'pastoral' leader was essentially spiritual. As his duty was to ensure the salvation of Shona souls, he would watch over the conscience and actions of each Shona individual.

The narratives which I examine represent imperial European discourses of an 'irrational' African violence matched by a 'pacificatory' and 'rational' European military violence during the 1896-7 Chimurenga in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. In this analysis of conflict in Zimbabwe in the 1890s, I wish to explain how Africans were objectified and further divided into those who collaborate, render loyalty and assistance to the colonial project and those who revolt against it. Secondly, I examine the way colonial writers employed techniques in order to initiate an active Colonial self-formation. I suggest that this process of formulating an understanding of the Colonial self was mediated by an external authority figure (the Crown, Empire, nation and flag), where the individual and the race are combined in a common set of concerns.[1] The analysis of each text will begin with the biographical details of the writer and a

summary of the events and concerns.

In 1897 the High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, visited Bulawayo to assess the situation and indicated what institutional changes were to be made in the wake of Chimurenga.[2] Key legislation between 1897-1900 that signalled this transition from conquest to institutional consolidation was the Order in Counsel of 20th October 1898, under which a new constitution was granted to Southern Rhodesia. This was accompanied by Milner's appointment of a Resident Commissioner who was to act as political head, while a Commandant General, appointed and paid by the Imperial authorities, was to control the military police forces. This Order in Council expanded and revised existing institutional mechanisms, by providing for an Executive and Legislative Council under the supervision of an Administrator. Milner and the Colonial Office had effectively reduced the BSA Company control while strengthening that of the Imperial Government. As with the instigation of settler Legislatures at the Cape and Natal, by granting the settlers representation, the region was more formally incorporated within the empire.[3]

This chapter analyses the transition from discursive colonial formations that sought to control Africans during the 1896-7 Chimurenga (Popular Ndebele and Shona Risings) to those institutional measures subsequently designed by imperial officials and missionaries to condition African minds in the post-

Chimurenga period of British rule in Zimbabwe. This transformation from discourses to institutions is evident in the following extracts. The first example that describes the adoption of 'Lynch Law' in Bulawayo appeared in F. W. Sykes's imperial campaign diary, *With Plumer in Matabeleland: An Account of the Operations of the Matabeleland Relief Force During the Rebellion of 1896* (1897):

> What rebel spies were caught were summarily tried and hanged. There is a tree, known as the hanging tree, to the north of the town, which did service as gallows. Hither the doomed men were conveyed. On the ropes being fastened to their necks, they were made to climb along an overhanging branch, and thence were pushed or compelled to jump into space after "a last look at Bulawayo". Their bodies were left suspended for twenty-four hours. (1897: 28).

The second, which appeared in the Jesuit Priest Richartz's mission report of November 1898, describes the violence sanctioned by the colonial judiciary at the trial and execution of spirit mediums Kaguvi and Nehanda in Mashonaland:

> Nehanda was taken out on to the scaffold. Her cries and resistance when she was taken up the ladder, the screaming and yelling on the scaffold, disturbed my companion, Kakubi, very much, till the noisy opening of the trap-door on which she stood, followed by the heavy thud of her body as it fell, made an end to the interruption. Though very

much frightened, Kakubi listened to me and repeated that he would no longer refuse baptism. After he had made the necessary acts of faith, repentance, etc., I baptized him, giving him the name of the good thief, Dismas, with whom he was to share the great blessing of forgiveness in the hour of death .... The hangman came and did his duty ... Kakubi did not give the least trouble nor did he make any lamentation. He died ... quiet, resigned and, as I hope, in good disposition. (*Zambesi Mission Record* 1: 2 November 1898)

Here there is a clear transformation from contemporary discourses of the macabre persecution of Africans in the Bulawayo laager during the Chimurenga in Matabeleland, to that of a Post-Chimurenga pastoral institution concerned with the care of the condemned leaders Kaguvi and Nehanda's souls. Both instances refer to executions, but while the first documents the brutality of war, the second is concerned with saving African souls. The missionary holds out a hand of redemption and Christian forgiveness to the once defiant Chimurenga leader as he is about to die. Here Kaguvi is transformed into a prisoner by the institutionalised colonial court that sits in 'judgement' over him. It hears witnesses, settler and African alike, who testify on the matter of his involvement in the orchestration of Chimurenga in Mashonaland. Here the missionary converts the juridico-legal procedure into an opportunity to evangelize. The body of the condemned is about to be destroyed, but, in the eyes of the Jesuit, the soul is redeemable. The first entails discursive

representations and colonial images of settlers lynching Africans, whereas the latter constitutes the foundational records of an institutionalised pastoral order concerned with acts of faith, repentance and the administration of Christian sacraments.[4]

I wish to look at how colonial narratives of the 1896-97 Chimurenga (risings) in Zimbabwe, such as Bertram Mitford's colonial romance *John Ames, Native Commissioner: A Romance of the Matabele Rising* (1900), the campaign journals of Elsa Godwin-Green *Raiders and Rebels* (1898), D. Tyrie-Laing's *The Matabele Rebellion: 1896. With the Belingwe Field Force* (1896) and F. W. Sykes (1897), contribute to the formation of popular and official imperial knowledge about Southern and Central Africa in the late nineteenth-century.[5] In particular, I examine the dual processes of scientific classification (anthropological study of Mlimo/Mwari cult and Mhondoro spirit mediums) and the disciplinary restructuring of divisions and exclusions are achieved by 'reformed' colonial administrative mechanisms and institutions. I shall focus on narratives of the suppression of Chimurenga as complex textual representations, not only of a monological archive of domination, but also as signals of particular flaws in the constitution of Colonial Man, and doubts about the colonial project in Zimbabwe.

The Ndebele and Shona Chimurenga of 1896-7 threatened to disrupt the financier-speculator's dreams of British hegemony from Cape to Cairo and the attendant narrative of imperial progress. Narratives of the Chimurenga shift from focusing on the control of African bodies to the control of African minds. What was originally represented as the strange and 'primitive' Ndebele and Shona religion by early travellers such as Mauch, is seen by settlers as a subversive medium that orchestrates Chimurenga.[6] Typically, in both the fictional and nonfictional narratives, the Ndebele and Shona Chimurenga (risings) are represented as instances of African 'treachery' and 'irrationality', seditiously instigated by Mlimo/Mwari cult leaders and Shona spirit mediums. From this perspective, Chimurenga is seen to embody African violence, disorder and the dangerous confusion of armed warriors on the rampage. This clandestine history, colonial narrators assert, could only be understood as primitive rituals. For writers of colonial romance, African religion was represented as overwhelming evidence of inherent African unreliability, treachery and savagery.[7] Accordingly, most colonial narratives frame African motives as a complex and bewildering melange of Mlimo/Mwari cults, Shona Mhondoro spirit-mediums, and witchcraft. Africans are said to have used necromancy and sorcery to beguile their disgruntled and credulous followers into co-ordinated acts of murder on isolated settlers.

For the settlers, the key to the Chimurenga was the power these cult

figures and spirit mediums exercised over Africans. Consequently, the means

of suppressing the Chimurenga was to effect the capture and execution of

these figures. At the cessation of hostilities, this procedure was extended to

serve as a foundation for a new legal infrastructure, and reformed 'native'

administration in the region. In Grey's plan the influential position occupied by

the Mlimo/Mwari priests and Mhondoro spirit mediums in Ndebele and Shona

culture was to be replaced by missionaries and 'Native' Commissioners, thereby

ensuring the control of African populations in the vast rural districts outside the

colonial centres.

In the 1890s, at a time when European imperial states assumed their

superior military capacity in the colonised world, half the European population in

Matabeleland were massacred within days of the outbreak of Chimurenga.[8]

However, by the end of the last battles in Mashonaland in 1897, the cost in the

lives of African men, women and children was much greater. Subsequent

narratives that focus on this period of Chartered Company rule in Zimbabwe

such as William H. Brown *On the South African Frontier* (1899) and H. Plumer

An Irregular Corps in Matableland (1897), went some way in attempting to

deflect this particular threat to the imperial body. They fashion a means of

European mastery over Africa utilizing discourses of a militarised 'civilizing

mission' founded on heroic settler valour and the faculty of endurance.[9]

This section examines the production of effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of colonial knowledge. These include methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures for investigation and research, and apparatuses of control. I wish to argue that campaign narratives by Alderson (1896), Plumer (1897) and Baden-Powell (1897) attempted to normalise colonial society and institutions of the colonial state in Zimbabwe. To facilitate this shift, existing techniques of exploration, hunting, mining, transportation and their exploitative labour practices, are transformed into militarised and institutionalised means of containing the Ndebele and Shona Chimurenga. In Colonial Romance and Imperial Adventure the transformation of colonial discourses into institutional practices became fictionalised.[10] Escapist paradigms provide a space in which colonial violence/warfare functions as a justificatory mechanism for the dis-entitlement of African populations and the appropriation of African land for white settlers.

As the colonial annals of Chimurenga were drafted, sovereign African paramountcies became 'the enemy within'. As the narrative of Western hegemony became more triumphalist, it also depended increasingly on nineteenth-century European evolutionary discourse. Following the disintegration of Chimurenga, changes to judicial procedures were initiated which accelerated the official trials, executions and punishments of all those Africans who were implicated in the organisation and leadership of

Chimurenga.[11] Further and more systematic measures to divide and control

African populations were institutionalized in the post-Chimurenga period by the

demarcation of reserves in Matabeleland, the removal of African populations in

Mashonaland, and the development and expansion of Christian missions. In a

context where land was allocated to those Africans who proved their adherence

to the Christian faith, Evangelists embarked on widespread 'educational

programs'. This process was further consolidated under Grey by the

systematic reorganisation of 'Native' administration according to tribal

configurations in newly demarcated districts. This in turn streamlined the

surveillance of all the activities of scattered African populations.[12]

I wish to argue that although colonial narratives, such as those by Tyrie-

Laing (1896) and Sykes (1897), attempt to portray a sense of 'progress' in

Britain's 'civilizing mission', the colonising impetus is disrupted from the outset

by a degree of uncertainty in the exercise of expansion in Central Southern

Africa. They illustrate its state of exposure, isolation and vulnerability to

attack. Therefore, I examine examples of incoherence, discontinuity and

ambivalence in the master narrative of Western Imperial expansion in Southern

Africa North of the Limpopo, particularly in sub-narratives such as those of

imperial military campaigns against Chimurenga and those that are constitutive

of a post-rising colonial order.

At this point, I consider the teleological implications of Terence Ranger (1968), Stanlake Samkange (1971) and other anti-colonial historians' reading of the 1896-7 Chimurenga and their documentation of African resistance to colonialism.[13]   Their research became a means of foregrounding the struggle for independence after UDI when Zimbabweans became polarised by the white-supremacist Rhodesian Government. Within Zimbabwe the African Nationalist opposition emerged from a period of division in the 1950s. The shift to militancy within the African Democratic Movement was accompanied by preparations for a protracted guerilla war from Zambian and Mozambican military bases. This process involved considerable factional and ethnic rivalry that was exploited by the Rhodesian Front. Lawrence Vambe (1972), and Nathan Shamuyarira (1965) also sought to encourage and inspire those Africans engaged in the liberation struggle so that energies would be rivetted on the achievement of liberation.[14] I shall also examine the response of subsequent historians such as David Beach (1968) and Julian Cobbing (1977) to this historiographical trend.

In *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896-97 A Study in African Resistance* (1968), Ranger asserts that, contrary to the jaundiced perceptions of generations of colonial and Rhodesian historians, Africans could be justifiably proud of their past. By providing evidence of the Zimbabwean, Mutapa and Changamire states he traces their link to modern Shona communities. Ranger

also describes the Ndebele past sympathetically and attempts to correct the distortion of Shona-Ndebele relations by colonial historians. This is followed by an examination of the brutal exploitation of the African populace during the early years of British occupation 1890-96. Consequently he argues that conditions favourable to social revolution obtained in late nineteenth-century Zimbabwe. The Chimurenga (Risings) are viewed as popular peasant revolts against European expansionist capitalism, a sustained, planned and co-ordinated revolt by both the Ndebele and Shona people. Accordingly, he looks for insurgency and mobilization in the Mwari cult and in hierarchies of the spirit mediums. He discovers charismatic prophet figures Mkwati of the Mwari cult, and the Kaguvi medium of the Shona Mhondoro system. He finds that these personalities and spiritual powers coordinate the secular and religious hierarchies, transforming inter-cult relationships and engaging in subversive political activity. This view suggests these leaders used the appeal of the past glories of the Rozvi empire and offered a new society to those who rose. For Ranger, the situation in 1896-7 is:

> ... in a true sense a revolutionary situation, revolutionary in the sense that what was needed was the total overthrow of existing white control, a revolutionary fervour and commitment on the part of the rebels, and in that something was required over and above the fragmented remnants of pre-European political systems, both in order to organize a rising and to provide a vision of society when the rising had been successful. (1968:

213)

Accordingly, he sets out to find a radical and revolutionary leadership who exercised extraordinary prophetic powers that cut through both the hierarchical and traditional cohesiveness in the Ndebele and Shona political orders. Subsequently Ranger views power as a possession of a Western capitalist-coloniser, and he applies a materialist theorization of the situation in order to identify a 'peasant consciousness' and a basis for a revolutionary struggle between a united African peasantry and a brutal European colonizing apparatus.[15]   Ranger's analysis of imperial power and African resistance is based on readings of nineteenth-century industrialised European society that emphasize the class struggle.   While Ranger's populist historiographical map of Zimbabwe retains its validity as an account of the colonization process and because of its insights into white society, other aspects of it are problematic. His citation of many extraneous anti-colonial risings such as that of the Zulu, the Luo, the Boxer rising in China does not substantiate his analysis of events in the 1890s in Zimbabwe. Neither does his extensive, and at times, uncritical, use of the evidence of colonial officials lend credibility to his argument. Lastly, his inaccuracy in citations regarding the movements of and the part played by the Kaguvi medium confirm his own misgivings about how research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s had eroded the grounds on which his original findings were based.[16] This suggests that Ranger's view of actual relations and

divisions within Ndebele, Shona and colonial society distort his theorizing of power and resistance in the colonial situation. Nevertheless Ranger's reading of missionary complicity, participation and instrumentality in the oppression of the rising in Mashonaland was very influential on subsequent proto-Zimbabwean fictional and historical writers such as Mutswiaro, Vambe, and Shamuyarira.

For example, Stanlake Samkange is primarily indebted to Ranger when he concludes that the "Chimurenga or Isindunduma of 1896 can be seen as the Shona-Ndebele participation in the continent-wide nationalist resistance to European Colonial domination in Africa" (1985: 46). His reading of events in Matabeleland is also influenced by 1960s African Nationalist and anti-colonial perceptions that respond to settler narratives from the 1890s onwards. He described Chimurenga as a modern nationalistic movement:

> In 1896 the first African national uprising took place. Led by their religious leaders, Mkwati, Siginyamatshe, Mlugulu, Nehanda, Kaguvi and others, the people took up arms against the oppressors. (1985: 47)

Samkange finds that the oppressive nature of the BSA Company rule, the severe drought, the rinderpest and a plague of locusts "united Shonas, Kalangas and Ndebeles in a general desire to rid the country of white men" (1985: 28). In this situation he finds that Africans turned to "the priests of Mwari or Mlimu,

and mhondoro (spirit mediums) ... who blamed it all on the presence of the

white men in the land and advised; 'Wipe out the white man!' " (1985: 28).

Although he conceded that Africans differed widely, he finds that the "vast

majority of Africans joined the uprising, including many black police officers

who deserted with their guns and ammunition" (1985: 28). However,

Samkange also concludes that those Africans who remained neutral such as the

Ndebele Indunas Gambo, Faku and uMjaani, the Kalanga chiefs and people of

Ndanga and Chibi, undermined Chimurenga. There were also those who

collaborated with the white men. In his fictional writing he returns to the

phenomenon of African betrayal in the colonial period.[17]

Closer to the moment of Zimbabwean Independence in the late 1970s

and 1980s, Southern African historians suggested alternative readings of

Zimbabwean history and society.[18] These analyses of the destruction of

African society under colonialism focus on African oral testimony and provide

local histories of Ndebele and Shona society unlike those that appeal to more

populist Zimbabwean nationalist accounts.[19] David Beach, Richard Werbner

(1991) and other subsequent studies illustrate how pre-industrial Shona and

Ndebele society in violent confrontation with a European and colonial settler

culture in Zimbabwe presents a model that differs considerably from the

advanced industrial and hierarchical Western European class-based society and

its proletariat.[20] In the colonial situation, many former members of the British

working class were engaged in the brutal suppression of the Chimurenga.

Julian Cobbing's (1976, 1977) research into the formerly untapped oral record of a collective Ndebele memory challenges Ranger's thesis and provides a more detailed and accurate picture of nineteenth-century Zimbabwe. Cobbing dismisses the colonialist conception of a powerful and essentially warrior culture that was dependent upon Shona agriculture, technology and religious ideas. Instead, Cobbing argues that the Ndebele possessed a productive agriculture, a vigorous commerce, an essentially 'civilian' political structure and complex religious ideas. His research on Ndebele raiding and influence on tributaries challenges colonial historians and anti-colonial historians alike. David Beach (1989, 1986) also turns to African oral resources and contested Ranger's views on successive VaRozvi kingdoms. He argues that the key elements of Shona political history were the paramounts who proliferated and increased their chiefly power during phases of settlement. For Beach the internal dynamics of alignment and division within Shona paramountcies in the period before Chimurenga have been underestimated. By analysis of these developments, Beach proves that the origin of the crisis is more deep-rooted and enduring than Ranger had suggested. For Beach, the study of Shona participation or neutrality during Chimurenga is an important means of determining the greater socio-political forces at work throughout the region during the latter half of the nineteenth-century.

METHODOLOGY

This section uses Foucault's analysis of modes of objectification through which human beings are constituted as subjects.[21] Foucault sees knowledge as an essential condition for the formation and growth of industrial, technological society. Foucault describes how, in sixteenth-century Europe:

> ... a relationship of violence acts upon a body or upon things; it forces, it bends, it breaks on the wheel, it destroys, or it closes the door on all possibilities. (in Dreyfus, 1982: 220)

Foucault insists that knowledge is not independent of power, and he explores the relationship of individuals to power. Rather than individuals possessing power or suffering power, Foucault considers that it is a notable effect of power that:

> ... certain bodies, certain gestures, and certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals. Power is prior to particular individuals in that what counts as a dominating or dominated individual is a product of power-relations. (Gordon, 1977: 98)

This view of power removes the individual from direct contact with power. For Foucault, individuals are produced by and exist in power-relations. Individuals

are only what they are in a web of power.

In his analysis of the emergence of the modern state, or what he terms the "governmental state", Foucault noted that the nineteenth-century imperial expansion of European states resulted in transformations in the government of these states (1979: 6). He then notes further developments that occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries, which resulted in the state being able to wield an unprecedented kind of power that determined the fate of individuals and the destiny of peoples. Foucault concludes that, in a situation where to govern is to structure the possible field of action of others, political power "reaches the very grain of the individual, touches his body, intrudes into his gestures, his attitudes, his discourse, his apprenticeship, his daily life" (1980: 6). Subsequently Foucault's account of power relies on an 'analytics of power' which classified the field of power-events according to five criteria: classifications and exclusions between groups, the objectives of an act of power, power's means - whether arms, words, administrative routines, power's mode of institutionalization (prisons, barracks, the family, the legal system) and with power's techniques and degrees of rationalization (1982: 216-217).

While the European context of Foucault's observations differs significantly from late nineteenth-century conditions in Africa, evidently imperial discourses of violence marked the initial phase of the emergence of mechanisms of colonial

power, which include public lynchings of Africans in Bulawayo. More precisely, strategies encompassed managing the possibility of African conduct and putting in order the possible outcomes of Chimurenga. This foregrounds the procedures by which the British imperial and colonial government structured the possible field of African life and behaviour in the nineteenth-century.

However, this application takes into account Foucault's caution that European existence, and, for my argument, both colonial and African existence, were not hereby completely overcome by techniques of power through which they were governed and controlled:

> Every power relationship implies, at least *in potentia*, a strategy of struggle, in which the two forces are not superimposed, do not lose their specific nature, or do not finally become confused. Each constitutes for the other a kind of permanent limit, a point of possible reversal. A relationship of confrontation reaches its term, its final moment (and the victory of one of the two adversaries) when stable mechanisms replace the free play of antagonistic reactions. Through such mechanisms one can direct, in a constant manner and with reasonable certainty, the conduct of others. For a relationship of confrontation, from the moment it is not a struggle to the death, the fixing of a power relationship becomes a target - at one and the same time its fulfilment and its suspension. And in return the strategy of struggle also constitutes a frontier for the relationship of power, the line at which, instead of manipulating and inducing actions in a calculated

manner, one must be content with reacting to them after the event. (Dreyfus, 1982: 225)

Foucault speculates that the modern approach to "governmentality" originated in the nineteenth century, in response to two intersecting processes: the rise of "the great territorial, administrative, and colonial states," which made it necessary to manage large and varied populations; and the religious warfare between Protestants and Catholics, which focussed attention on the "manner in which one is to be spiritually ruled and led on this earth in order to achieve eternal salvation" (Kritzman, 1988: 59). For Foucault, early modern theorists of government began to combine two previously disparate ways of thinking. On the one hand, secular philosophers had long approached the art of government in worldly terms alone: it was the goal of the statesman to manage conflict and protect the territory of the city, insuring harmony and peace. Theologians, by contrast, had approached the art of government in terms that "were explicitly *other*worldly: the goal of the 'pastoral' leader was spiritual; seeing to the salvation of souls, he would watch over the conscience of each individual like a shepherd guarding his sheep" (Kritzman, 1988: 59). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Foucault argues, these two ways of thinking came together for the first time. The result was a new hybrid art of government, concerned as never before with regulating and monitoring the outward and inward life of each citizen (1979: 5).

Foucault suggests Christianity and its associated forms of power superseded forms of power in the ancient world. This included new forms such as 'pastoral power':

> Christianity is the only religion which has organized itself as a Church. And as such, it postulates in principle that certain individuals can, by their religious quality, serve others not as princes, magistrates, prophets, fortune-tellers, benefactors, educationalists, and so on, but as pastors. However, this word designates a very special form of power. It is a form of power whose ultimate aim is to assure individual salvation in the next world. Pastoral power is not merely a form of power which commands; it must also be prepared to sacrifice itself for the life and salvation of the flock. Therefore, it is different from royal power, which demands a sacrifice from its subjects to save the throne. It is a form of power which does not look after just the whole community, but each individual in particular, during his entire life. Finally, this form of power cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets. It implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it. This form of power is salvation orientated (as opposed to political power). It is oblative (as opposed to the principle of sovereignty: it is individualizing (as opposed to legal power); it is coextensive and continuous with life; it is linked with a production of truth-the truth of the individual himself. (Dreyfus, 1982: 214)

Two items derived from this definition of 'pastoral power' can be usefully deployed in my discussion of the post-Chimurenga philanthropic order in

Mashonaland. First, in colonial nineteenth-century Zimbabwe, this form of power professed to reinforce inequality, health, well-being, security and protection of settler and African society. Second, that a noticeable effect of the circulation of this power is that agents or officials of pastoral power increase in number in both public and private structures and institutions ('Native administration' police, mission stations and hospitals).

Foucault's enquiry into rules of right in the production of discourses of truth is also relevant to my study. He asserts that in any society:

> ... there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth. (Gordon, 1976: 93)

Here Foucault refers to a normalisation of power and suggests that relations of power depend on the production of discourse. I wish to establish that imperial power in colonial Zimbabwe underwent a process of normalisation during Chimurenga. I suggest that this form of power is less legal in character, it is in

direct and immediate relationship with its target (the hierarchical colonial social order), and its effects are more noticeable than between 1890-1895. I then examine what 'economy of discourses of truth' existed in Zimbabwe and which discourses circulated and functioned at the time. Evidently, in their letters to the press, settlers that were sheltering in laagers, used discourses of violent retribution against the Ndebele. In their campaign diaries, the colonels and captains used discourses of imperial warfare. In their reports to Chief commissioners, 'native' commissioners used nineteenth-century ethnological discourses. The imperial nurse, engaged in the domestication of Colonial Woman, employed discourses of health. In reports to their metropolitan headquarters, the missionaries used discourses of pastoral care. All these discourses reflect how things worked at the level of ongoing subjugation, where processes which subjected bodies in the colonial sphere, governed gestures and dictated their behaviours.

A further question that emerges is how racialised colonial and European subjects are gradually and progressively constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, and thoughts. Critics such as Robert Young (1996) and Anne McClintock (1995) employ psychoanalytic theory to describe the way in which Africans were systomatically excluded from setter social orders. To a large extent the relations between the emerging colonial order and Africans are regarded as paranoid in that they were driven by

intense desire and intense fear. In this way the colonised country is invested

with sexuality and becomes the object of sexual fetishism and exoticism;

simultaneously however, it is also the repository of irrational fears. While I

acknowledge that fantasy played a major role in the representing of other

countries within the colonial period, I am aware that the deployment of

psychoanalytic concepts can obscure the degree to which narratives entailed

various levels of allegiance to or dissent from the imperical project.

I therefore examine evidence from Sykes (1897) and Godwin-Green

(1897) that suggests that the colonial order in Zimbabwe fell short of the type

of control that the Colonial Office and BSA Company directors envisaged. Both

these narratives suggest that there was a lack of control on the margins of

empire, resulting in a situation where the conduct and behaviour of both

Colonial Man and colonised African had become dangerous to the project of

empire. Consequently, during the period in which the British Colonial Office

assumed responsibility for the situation, the focus of the colonial project shifted

to the development of a form of 'pastoral power' concerned with the regulation,

management and welfare of the African population.[22] Such 'reforms' of the

'Native' administration suggest a deployment of imperial knowledge, discursive

rules and institutional conventions. These are, in turn, narrativised in fictional

representations of the rising such as J. Chalmers's *Fighting the Matabele*

(1898) and nonfictional campaign diaries such as R. Baden-Powell's *The*

Matabele Campaign (1897) and F. C. Selous's *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (1897).

In this section, I wish to analyse these narratives as records of the way power is disseminated in the early phase of colonial rule in Zimbabwe. On the one hand there is a discourse of a 'civilized/justifiable/rational' colonial category of violence. This type is opposed to discourses of 'barbaric/irrational/seditious' African violence. Similarly, the narratives are, underpinned by Western imperial claims for the implementation of a colonial/settler disciplinary order in the African interior which is regarded as a form of chaos, an absence of order, a domain of witchcraft and sorcery, of Mlimo-Mwari cults and spirit mediums. Colonial society regarded Chimurenga as criminal action which was punishable and that the European suppression of it was an act of 'justice'. It was then envisaged that there would be a return to the 'order/normal' of the Chartered company, the expansion of missions and an activation of a reformed 'Native' administration and policy.

I shall examine ways in which Bertram Mitford (1900), Elsa Godwin-Green (1898), D. Tyrie-Laing (1896) and F. W. Sykes (1897) represent imperial power, how Africans are classified and how divisions and exclusions between paramountcies are activated. This would include ways in which colonial objectives are framed and legitimated. I shall then define what means colonial

power used - whether arms, words or administrative routines. Lastly, I consider how colonial power underwent modes of institutionalization (laagers, volunteer corps, relief columns, hospitals, prisons, barracks, the family, the legal system), and the techniques and forms of rationalization deployed by colonial power.

COLONIAL ROMANCE

From the 1880s Bertram Mitford, the prolific colonial romance writer, focused on Eastern Cape frontier conflicts and settler life from his vantage in the Border-Kei region. Mitford celebrated the creation of the Ndebele nation in three of his novels. By laying the blame for the 1896-7 Rising on White Mlimos, lower-class Englishmen and the 'Makalakas', he attempted to exonerate the Ndebele. Mitford suggests that the BSA Company forces contained more scoundrels than public-school educated Eglishmen. As in *John Ames. Native Commissioner. A Romance of the Matabele Rising* (1900) his heroes were typically colonial male types in relationships with metropolitan European women.[23] The European heroine embarks on her travels to Africa from her father's picturesque landed estate at the metropole and returns with her hero. Her quest for romance involves the elevation of the colonial-born, John Ames, to a level of social acceptance at the metropole. This process entails the recognition/achievement of a rite of passage to the British landed gentry by Colonial Man.[24] The narrative of colonial action is peripheral to the

metropolitan problem of anaemic pedigree in the landed British upper-class.

This is resolved however, following a trial of strength in Africa enabling the

rejuvenation of Anglo-Saxon breeding-stock with new blood. Order is only

possible at the metropole: Africa is chaos. In the Bulawayo laager the lovers

are reunited. The melodramatic narrative, dictated by a triangular governess-

ward-suitor convention, reimposed metropolitan class distinctions on the

protagonists.[25] Finally, at the metropole, the landed gentry is represented as

part of a sedate British order in contrast to the chaos in an African wilderness.

The earlier description of the Hollingworth's cottage in the vast African interior,

which was transformed into a scene of carnage, is contrasted with this orderly

British landed estate.

Romances such as Bertram Mitford's *In the Whirl of the Rising* (1904)

attempted to normalize European mastery of Africa by creating the impression

that Western agents could manipulate and control the rising by seizing control

of Mlimo/Mwari cult-leaders.[26] Such narratives advised the metropolitan

readership to ignore humanitarian arguments about BSA Company abuse of

Africans and the settler population to remain vigilant and form networks of rural

surveillance in the districts to monitor and report on future signs of African

subterfuge.

The way adventure-romance narratives configured power in the colonial

arena, anticipated the more systematic imperial procedures which emerged after the rising in Mashonaland due to the efforts of Sir Richard Martin and Earl Grey. Earlier, Rhodes had skilfully staged negotiations the Matopos where he had 'squared' the Ndebele leaders of the rising with promises of land and conditions which later proved insubstantial.[27] Mitford's *John Ames: Native Commissioner* (1900) is dominated by the importation of the British class struggle, its displacing effect over other historical processes, and its movement between metropole and colony. Mitford romaticizes and at the same time obscures events in Matabeleland in 1896 by excluding references to Chimurenga in Mashonaland.[28]

The development of the romance between the European protagonists becomes subject to their quest for survival during Chimurenga. Within this archetypal colonial romance, the Ndebele Chimurenga is transformed into a threat to the lovers. However, in a typical inversion of conflictual relations between coloniser and colonised in Africa, according to the dictates of 1890s race doctrine in Europe, it is revealed to the white hero that Chimurenga was orchestrated by a disgruntled Englishman.[29] This white 'Mlimo's' magic powers are consequently regarded as far superior to those of Shiminya the African 'sorcerer'. Africa is represented as unchanging: chaotic, dangerous and violent for Europeans, an "infernal savage-ridden country" (1900: 309). Divisions within the narrative are indicated by a discourse of Western rationality

integrated with the developing romance between Colonial Man and metropolitan heiress, and this is juxtaposed with European discourses of African violence and 'barbarism'.

The narrative foregrounds the complex imperial social linkages between 'stages of civilisation' shifting outwards from the London metropolis as the centre, the Cape as intermediate station, and Bulawayo as the remote outpost in the African interior. It focuses on colonial perceptions at the Cape when John Ames describes a letter of complaint in Rhodes's *Argus* newspaper:

> ... some fellow has been going for that most cherished and firmly rooted institution, the great Cape fish-horn .... He doesn't see how a civilized community at the end of the nineteenth century can tolerate their day and night alike being made hideous by an unending procession of dirty Malays blaring weirdly, wildly, deafeningly through a 'yard of tin'... They are the most well-to-do crowd on this peninsula. The fact of the matter is that the Malay vote is a power just here, and it would be about as easy to uproot Table Mountain itself as the diabolical snoek trumpet under discussion. (1900: 55).

When he reflects on anti-Malay sentiment in the Cape press, the hero shows an understanding of Cape political tensions, social structures, and the way the colonial metropole functions as a bridge between Europe and Africa. Later, his remarks to the recently disembarked heroine on the grim realities he

experienced when he participated in the occupation of Mashonaland, locate him within the imperial project as one imbued with colonial understanding and knowledge. In its reference to nineteenth-century dynamics of Cape politics, such as the Malay franchise, the text provides a particular settler view of the Cape political scene, where Rhodes's ambitions for the interior originated.

The scene rapidly shifts to the emergent colonial social order in Matabeleland, when Hollingworth is described, in clipped colonial speech, as a concession settler, "down-country man, up here trying to farm. Served in the war against Lo Ben, and had ground given him" (1900: 106). As in the nonfictional campaign narratives of Sykes (1897) and Alderson (1896), the romance narrative casts settler society as paralysed, beset by an archetypal lethargy, and unprepared for the outbreak of Chimurenga. Typically, they appear to underestimate their potentially 'treacherous' African servants. One colonial describes how he entrusts his servant with his rifle, "Mafuta's gone on ahead with it ... he's a reliable boy. Had him a long time. He's quite safe" (1900: 118). Nidia the heroine finds herself in this tranquil but doomed colonial setting:

How peaceful it looked in the golden light of the afternoon stillness! The homestead, truly, was of the roughest description, with its thatched roof and 'dagga' walls, yet it, and the pointed conical huts behind it, were all

in keeping. A settler's dwelling in a new land! A halo of romance
overspread it in Nidia's mind. (1900: 123)

Like Selous's nonfictional *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (1897) this narrative
cherishes colonial institutions and society at the time of Chimurenga. Mitford
describes a 'rational' order that ensured the Ndebele people had access to a fair
hearing regarding claims against the Matabele Police. This type of British
colonial 'justice' is seen to be inscribed on the person who had acquired colonial
knowledge. The hero John Ames is a 'Native' Commissioner who had become
expert at languages, and had knowledge of 'natives' and 'their ways' :

> ... [he] was an excellent specimen of this class of public official. Born on
> a Natal farm, he could speak the native languages fluently, and had all
> the idiosyncrasies of the native character at his fingers' ends, a phase of
> useful knowledge which a few years spent at an English public school
> had failed to obliterate, and which, on his return to the land of his birth,
> he was able to turn to practical account. He had come to Rhodesia with
> the early Pioneers, and having served through the Matabele war of 1893,
> had elected to remain in the country. He was of goodly height and
> proportion, standing six feet in his socks, handsome withal, having
> regular features, and steadfast and penetrating grey eyes; and at the time
> we make his acquaintance had just turned thirty, but looked more.
> (1900: 11)

In contrast to the urban poor at the metropolis, he has attended an elite

educational institution, from which he emerged to become a vigorous, 'healthy-outdoors' type. He represents an emergent colonial land-owning echelon on the margins of empire. The image of a virile colonial male is seen to promise a form of rejuvenation for the diminishing landed aristocracy in Britain. Imperial knowledge, without which the colonial project cannot proceed, is seen to be embodied in the person and experience of colonial officials. Emphasis is placed on the use of Ames's techniques for guiding the possibility of Ndebele conduct, such as having a "thorough knowledge of the natives and their ways, his consummate tact in dealing with them, and his scrupulous and unquestionable probity"(1900: 16). In contrast to him, however, the narrative acknowledges that profligates from lower echelons of British society were appointed as BSA Company police officials.[30]

The narrative suggests that the problem with the BSA Company government is its inability to incorporate and synthesize the nineteenth-century Social Darwinist and ethnographic perceptions regarding the behaviours of conquered races. This colonial knowledge had only been acquired by a few select individuals, such as the hero, who had been born in Natal. Characteristically, Ames warns the uncomprehending BSA Company Policeman, "I know the natives, Inglefield, and you don't ..." (1900: 12). Drawing on his personal archive of African conduct, John Ames warns about the dangers of the Matabele Police being armed and redeployed to collect taxes and apprehend

defaulters, so soon after the BSA Company invasion of Matabeleland: "it isn't human nature ... the Matabele won't stand that for ever" (1900: 12). Typically reflecting a functional mechanism for preserving imperial control over the Ndebele, Mitford represents British colonial 'justice' as something embodied by certain colonial officials deployed in the far interior. In a practical illustration of such divisive and exclusionary procedures, the scene locates a Ndebele paramount and the complainant on the one side, a row of 'Native' Police on the other, and the two European officials arbitrating between them:

> Even here the picturesque element was not wanting. The open space of the compound was nearly filled; the police ranged in a double file on the one side, the people of Madula under Samvu, the chief's brother, squatting in a semicircle on the other. Inglefield occupied a chair beside John Ames, his orderly behind him, and his interpreter - for his acquaintance with the language was but scanty - rendering the words of each witness. And these were legion; and as the hearing progressed, both sides became more excited, to such an extent that when Nanzicele was making his statement, audible murmurs of dissent and disgust, among which such epithets as 'liar' were not undiscernible, arose from Samvu's followers. More than once John Ames would intervene, quiet but decisive; but even his influence seemed strained under the task of preserving order among these rival bands of savage and slightly civilized savage. (1900: 17)

This strategically hierarchized arrangement of bodies in colonial space,

according to the BSA Company order, activates imperial principles of division and exclusion on African society. The divisive British colonial system is exemplified as 'rational', and involves an apparently thorough, legitimate investigation of African grievances by the Company officials, followed by a swift and decisive punishment of the African offender. However, the negligence of the police commissioner for failing to check Nanzicele's corruption and abuse of power are not questioned. In the wider context of the European occupation and dominance of the African subcontinent in the nineteenth-century, the romance narrative functions as the mouthpiece of imperial expansionist sentiment. For anti-colonial historians such as T. O. Ranger and S. Samkange, such scenes could only have materialized in the realm of colonial mythography.

In his colonial romance view of Ndebele society, Mitford superimposes feudal structures of British class hierarchy on African society.[31] Utilizing contemporary settler myths, which depend on a continuing proliferation of 'savage' types, the narrative suggests that a dominant Zulu aristocracy maintains control of the region and is assisted by subordinate and hybridised degrees of lesser Zulu/Ndebele. Outside this system, and in abject subservience to it, are the slave-caste Amaholi, and other tribal groupings such as the Makalaka. In addition, the European occupation is seen to have introduced a new danger in the form of the potentially treacherous Matabele

Police whom settlers regarded as the 'enemy within'. There is evidence of Mitford's selective use of settler accounts of Chimurenga in the narrative, particulary concerning the abuse of power by and desertion of the Matabele Police.

Representations of African witchcraft function within the narrative as an exotic foil to the domesticity implicit in the blossoming romance between Victorian lovers. The narrative indicates its dependence on Social Darwinist notions of primitive society and an absence of reason where African rule is represented as despotic, Africa is seen to exist in a state of 'darkness', where superstition outweighs other factors, and where Africans are rendered helpless victims of witchcraft by treacherous and cunning manipulators.[32] The narrative demonizes African 'irrationality' in its representation of witchcraft and of the Mlimo cult of 'abstraction.' Shiminya, the archetypal sorcerer has "features of an aquiline, almost Semitic cast" (1900: 20). Here Mitford's narrative encompasses settler myths of the Hamiritic origins of Ancient Zimbabwe.[33] Shiminya lives in a 'muti' [den of thorns] on the banks of Umgwane:

> Human skulls and bones decked the plastered wall, but the most dreadful object of all was the whole skin of the head and face of a man - of a white man too, with a long heavy beard. This awful object glowered down in the semi-gloom, a gruesome expression of pain in the pucker of the parchment-like hide. Great snake skins depended from the roof -

heads artfully stuffed, and the attitudes arranged to simulate life; and many a horrid object, suggestive of torture and death, was disposed around. (1900: 23)

The African order is represented as one of darkness and superstition. It incorporates the practice of torture and human sacrifice.[34] In this fictionalised African order, existence is subject to the Mlimo cult:

Shiminya ... was one of the highest in the ranks of the mysterious hierarchy known to the natives as 'Children of the Mlimo'. The origin of the cultus [sic] of this sinister abstraction has never been located with certainty ... the shadowy sayings of the Umlimo began to be sought out eagerly by the conquered race, and a rosy time seemed likely to set in for the myrmidons of the abstracion. These, with the astuteness of their craft all the world over, saw their time. The conquered race, strange to say was not satisfied. It had signally failed to appreciate the blessings of civilization. If life was a trifle less secure under the rule of the king, why, that was all in accordance with national custom. (1900: 20-21)

Here the romance narrative functions as a conduit of popular settler views of European racial superiority, African antediluvianism and Chimurenga as the dangerous tendency of 'savages.' In this romance version, as in most nonfictional accounts, the Mlimo exploits the widespread and popular dissatisfaction of the Ndebele under harsh Company rule.

In the colonial romance, Zimbabwe and Chimurenga function as an exotic backdrop to a passionate but socially unsanctioned relationship between heiress and colonial. The official BSA Company version of Chimurenga is redeployed in a dramatic, suspense-filled action sequence and it opens an exotic theatre for lovers to meet. The narrative relies on settler representations of some British colonizing culture under attack by bloodthirsty African 'savages', who spare neither women nor children. African violence is seen to constitute a threat to the project of empire. In contrast to the tranquil settlers' dwelling in a new land referred to above, a vision of carnage greets the young heroine:

> On the couch beneath the window aforesaid lay the form of Hollingworth - the form, for little else about the wretched man was distinguishable but his clothing. His skull had been battered in, and his features smashed to pulp. There he lay, and on the floor beside him a periodical which he had been reading before overtaken by the sleep from which he was destined never to awaken. In one corner lay the corpse of his wife - and, in a row, four children, all with their skulls smashed, and nailed to the ground with assegais - the whole having undergone more or less nameless horrors of mutilation. This is what she saw - this girl - who never looked upon a scene of violence or bloodshed in her life. This is what she saw, returning in serene security to the peaceful home that sheltered her. (1900: 125)

Like the nonfictional texts I consider, the narrative focuses on the massacre of a European family in a domestic setting. In its reference to atrocities

perpetrated against settlers, this deed is regarded as an unspeakable act of barbarism and a direct assault on the Victorian/Malthusian concept of the family.[35] In its deployment of a logic of protection, it was argued that such violations of British colonial social order justified the subsequent brutality by colonial forces on Ndebele and Shona villages, where Africans were not regarded as having a family unit or recognizable social equivalent. They were represented as renegades that sought refuge in caves to avoid British 'justice'. Following the massacres, the dynamiting of such caves, filled with men, women and children, was regarded by settlers as appropriate revenge for the deaths of Europeans. Reversing historical events in the Chimurenga in Mashonaland, where Africans were transformed into refugees in their own land by an imperial British invading force, the lovers become fugitives of Chimurenga in a "savage and hostile land" (1900: 191). However, instead of terror, they experience "sheer unadulterated delight" (1900: 191) in their escape from the bourgeois conventions which would normally prevent such close association outside the bounds of matrimony. Significantly "she was absolutely dependent on him" while he had "in his ears the music of her voice" (1900: 191). Conforming to Victorian romance conventions, the desires of the protagonists were fulfilled in the most dangerous setting.

As *In The Whirl of the Rising* (1904), it is a loyal African servant who rescues both hero and heroine from certain death at the hands of Ndebele

warriors in return for a few cattle and the promise of terminal servitude as a labourer.[36] In this popular imperial trope, collaborators and 'loyal' Africans are the only 'redeeming' feature of African society during Chimurenga. This pattern is repeated in the nonfictional campaign narratives.

Ultimately the colonial male is absorbed into an apparently normal, disciplined British social order and leisurely routine. In this procedure the landed aristocracy is restocked and it benefits implicitly from a revitalization of its 'racially superior' blood lines. The reader is presented with a moneyed habitation in an idyllic pastoral landscape where there is security, tranquillity and an absence of poverty. It is only here, the narrative suggests, where desires of imperial fortune are ultimately realised:

> Golden August - a sky of cloudless blue softening into the autumn haze which dims the horizon; golden August, with the whirr of the reaping-machine, as the yellow wheat falls to the harvest, blending with the cooing of wood-pigeons among the leafy shades of the park; golden August, with its still, rich atmosphere, and roll of green champaign and velvety coppice, and honeysuckle-twined hedgerow, and dappled kine standing knee-deep in shaded pond; in short, golden August in one of the fairest scenes of fair England.
>
> Here and there red roofs clustering around a grey church tower, whose sparkling vane flashes in the sun; here and there a solitary thatch. In

front a lovely sward stretching down to a sunken fence, and a gap, revealing the charming vista of landscape beyond-such is the outlook from the library window of the beautiful and sumptuous home into which we will take a brief and only peep, for it has been for some years past Nidia's home, and is the property of her father. (1900: 308)

In contrast to "an infernal savage-ridden country" (1900: 309) in Africa, we are presented with this urbane domestic habitus which epitomises European bourgeois social achievement. Typically, the Europeans abandon Africa, a place suitable for adventure and dangers, but not for European existence. In this romance, Mitford provides no possibility of a return to the African interior after Chimurenga; in order to escape the threat of African violence, Europeans must go home.

Narrative of Imperial Health

By contrast, Elsa Godwin-Green registers the nurturing impulse of a British nurse who volunteered to serve in the Transvaal in the abortive 1895 Jameson Raid. At a hospital in Krugersdorp she tended the British invaders wounded at Doornkop. On hearing about the outbreak of Chimurenga in Zimbabwe the following year, she travelled to Mutare and cared for the wounded colonial troops. It comprises a record of service and travel to scenes of disturbance in remote African outposts of empire. The narrative begins as a typical Victorian

adventure.[37] As Pratt has suggested, in her analysis of Mary Kingsley's travel narrative on West Africa, desire is expressed as fear (1992: 216). While locating herself in the vanguard of colonial defence in Mashonaland, Godwin-Green also defines a woman's place in the project of empire:

> How little people living in safety in their English homes can realise the perils and privations suffered by men and women who go out to new countries, brave its dangers and discomforts, paving the way for others to enjoy the prosperity and safety - purchased it may be with their blood (1898: 144).

Premised on her vision of a British colonial order confronting African chaos and violence, the narrative outlines the supporting role of European Woman in the project of empire.[38] The narrator derives her authority from nineteenth-century discourses of health, the family, and notions of duty as a Victorian hospital nurse. It constitutes a record of medical practice, the conduct of British troops and of the emergence of hospitals. The narrator transfers her Romantic perceptions of Nature as perfection on to African landscapes in her sketches, paintings and descriptions such as that of Christmas Pass. She sees British settlers as part of Nature and the natural order in an imperial Africa. In this exotic space the narrator interprets the perils and dangers of colonial life for her metropolitan audience. She also serves as a conduit of settler prejudice, where Africans are represented as 'treacherous' and 'primitive'.

Zimbabwe is seen as ideal colonial living space, a fertile and unoccupied land that provides a natural solution to urban overpopulation, poverty and disorder in industrialized urban Europe:

> The mountains, plains and valleys of Rhodesia should give room to live, grow, and to be happy, to thousands of men and women now crowded together in over-populated cities, ... the field for enterprise to those seeking health and wealth, with room to breathe and live under blue skies and sunshine. There the conditions of life must be far happier than they can be in crowded courts and alleys, or even in the better parts of our densely populated cities. (1898: 209)

Late nineteenth-century industrial Europe faced a population crisis and was unable to adequately house and feed her own poor. By contrast Zimbabwe was seen to be a state of abundance, an African Eden.[39]

On the surface, the emergent settler social order appears genteel "four weddings and receptions, there were musical evenings and races, with cricket matches and tennis tournaments in the afternoons" (1898: 103). However, at Beira and Mutare (Umtali), there are internal threats to colonial society in the form of drunken Colonial Man.[40] Also within the township, numerous servants are employed, and at the outbreak of Chimurenga in Matabeleland, many attacks on isolated settler homesteads were reportedly carried out by African

servants and labourers. As Chimurenga spread throughout Shona paramountcies the loyalty of surrounding African populations became uncertain. Native Commissioner Hulley undertook negotiations with Chief Mutassa in order to persuade him not to support Chief Makoni who had joined the Chimurenga. Within the township of Mutare, however, the beleaguered settlers were alarmed when all African servants and labourers had deserted. This was followed by a "rumour of neighbouring chief [who would] send impi to cut the throat of every white person in Umtali that night ... the laager was broken up and a large body of volunteers were on patrol" (1898: 106). Within this context the European narrator is faced with danger:

> I returned to my hotel a little after ten o'clock .... Some time afterwards - it was very dark for there was no moon - I was awakened by shouting and screaming, heavy footsteps passed my door and invaded the room at the end of the balcony ... every room on this balcony was now empty, save my own, as far as I knew. The rumour flashed across my mind. I thought my time had come. For the first time since I left Cape Town a chill fear clutched my heart. The idea of cold steel at my throat was horrible - the flesh revolted against it. A bullet whizzing past or even finding its mark could perhaps have been borne with fortitude, while at work at any post. But to die thus uselessly in cold blood - no, I would make a desperate effort for my life ... Daylight inquiries elicited the fact that the hotel had been invaded by a party of noisy, drunken men, who had found their way up the staircase, to the balcony. Jemmy had fortunately diverted their attention, thus preventing them from exploring

my room, and at length had succeeded in getting rid of them. I was too much alarmed to remember that a band of Kaffirs intent on murder would be unlikely to wear heavy boots or make a great disturbance. Their plan is silent, stealthy, swift destruction. (1898: 107-109)

Here the imagined or perceived threat of a savage African enemy beyond the laager walls is juxtaposed with the actual European danger within, in the form of the drunken Colonial Man who violates Colonial Woman's space. In the Victorian woman's utterance fear is symptomatic of desire.

In this extract, I would like to examine whether Pratt's notion of a monarchic female voice, "which asserts its own kind of mastery could illuminate this narrator's view of the place of European Woman in the colonial project (1992: 213). I also enquire whether this world is 'feminized' (1992: 214)? Could Godwin-Green's Makalaka's kopjes scene exemplify the domestic goddess keeping watch, holding a night vigil? The narrator made a long evening trek in an armed convoy and pitched camp at a place of:

... great danger, the kopjes forming large caves came up close on the road, and grass and brush formed a complete cover for natives to creep up unseen. It was a cold and desolate-looking spot. A feeling that it was haunted and uncanny clung to us, and we could not throw it off. This perhaps was heightened by the gleaming fires and dusky natives, Kaffirs, Zanzibari boys, and Shangaans grouped about them dressed in

quaint limbo (drapery) of bright colours. Farther off the gleam of the red coats of the West Riding men caught the eye as they moved to and fro preparing their supper over the fire. It was well known that thousands of Mashonas were hidden in the kopjes round about. They could have annihilated us had they been so disposed. The bright African moon at the full poured down her light. The evening star paled and set behind a great dark kopje. The fires of the dreaded Mashonas gleamed on many a distant hill .... One thing the transport rider promised to do. He would shoot us both if we were surrounded by natives, and all hope of escape was over. (1898: 128).

Again European woman experiences a sense of menace, the scene is desolate in contrast to the beauty described by Mary-Louise Pratt in her reading of Mary Kingsley (1992: 214). The workings of her (European woman's) subjectivity are foregrounded. However, the narrator does not take possession of what she sees. Instead there is horror (read as desire) as the moon and stars are associated with the threat of death. The only choice offered to the isolated woman is that of being shot by a European male rather than being attacked by Shona warriors. Unlike Kingsley's vision the mood is earnest, even desperate (1992: 215). Africa is violent and dangerous. This night which threatens the European subject with a brutal end is closer to the scenario depicted by Conrad in the journey up the river in *Heart of Darkness* (1899). Makalaka's kopjes are no place for European woman.

At a later stage in her journey, Godwin-Green distorts Rousseau's Romantic doctrine by locating it within a racialized colonial British conception of nature. She represents the European trader and his store as a form of colonial Eden which African Man destroys. Utilizing popular European conceptions of an African violence, the narrator surveys White's store.[41] The outward signs of colonial order are represented: the emergent European settler-trader concept of home, a garden, and store combine to represent colonial British 'civilisation' in Africa. They also signal the emergence of a capitalistic mode of exchange, within an expansionist imperial market of supply and demand. At the trading store, the technology of commodification of African goods and labour into imperial coinage functioned as a link in the European penetration and extension of British hegemony in Africa. These transformations underpin her description of White's Store:

> ... one of the neatest and best kept stores on the Umtali-Salisbury road. Some pretty little huts remained, nestling beneath the great granite boulders which rose above and behind them. These grouped together formed a large kopje. In the fissures of the rocks grew dark trees and sombre-tinted brushwood, forming a rich dark background to the little homestead. A well-cultivated garden had been surrounded by a neat palisading to keep out grazing mules and oxen, as well as wild marauding beasts. (1898: 144).

It was this particular order which is violated:

White was working in a brickfield when the natives surrounded and brutally murdered him. His mutilated body was found and buried by some of our Imperial troops travelling up the road. Poor White - as he made bricks in his field, the heavens darkened suddenly for him. His eyes were rudely closed for ever to the lovely South African world in all its wild beauty. I walked away from the camp into the rifled huts. All was ruin, disorder, and ruthless destruction. Bake pots, cooking pans, and household property, which the natives were unable to take away, were shot through or broken to pieces. A portmanteau, with name-plate bearing the name of the owner, had evidently been set up as a target for assegai thrusts - it was pierced through and through. Torn books and papers littered the floor. Stores and clothing had been removed. (1898: 144)

Here Chimurenga is represented as a 'savage' African force which destroys colonial order. Consequently the narrator implies that European violence was justified in order to counter this threat to imperial order.[42] Politically, Godwin-Green locates herself within the project of empire and argues for economic expansion. Her rhetoric combines mastery with domination, and knowledge of Africa with control over Africans. Her solution to the Chimurenga in colonial Zimbabwe was for the establishment of a violent and uncompromising settler order capable of instituting 'discipline' on hostile Africans. Although the narrative is saturated with fear (desire), the narrator presents a vision of order in Zimbabwe.[43]

In the Belingwe Laager: A Record of Regional Defence

When Chimurenga began, Tyrie-Laing was employed by a mining syndicate in the isolated district of Belingwe and was appointed by Earl Grey to command the local settler garrison at Belingwe. The narrator defined his purpose as discharging "a duty I owe to the officers, noncommissioned officers, and men of the Belingwe Field Force, lately under my command, by placing on record their share in the quelling of the Matabeleland rebellion of 1896" (1896: 7). Like other colonial narrators of the Risings, Tyrie-Laing underplayed the extent to which various paramounts in the Mberengwa district and on the margins of Ndebele control were making complex and informed political choices. The narrative describes how a mine manager was transformed into a captain of a militarised Field Force and how a settler workforce is transformed into a mounted troop in a remote outlying district:

> I scanned the sunburnt faces of the advance party, shown up by the glimmering light from the camp fires, with a more intense interest.... To me they were the men I had been ordered to meet, command, and to lead to the end of the campaign ... if these were a fair sample of the men composing the relief column, no matter what hardships were in front of them they would prove equal to overcoming them. (1896: 152)

It also provides a detailed record of logistics as well as an 'internal' view of the

rising from the districts, as opposed to other narratives framed largely in the laagers at Bulawayo, Mutare and Harare.[44] Tyrie-Laing describes a European order successfully defended against attack by 'violent' and 'treacherous' Africans in the remote district of Belingwe in 1896. The narrative outlines a strategy for guiding the possibility of African conduct in the region, as well as for configuring the possible outcomes of Chimurenga. Laing's suggested method of imposing discipline on Africans in Belingwe is derived from mining practices and comprise procedures for selecting, training and coercing Africans. The instruments through which this disciplinary power achieves its hold are those of hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and techniques of interrogation.   These procedures are reviewed as techniques of division and exclusion which enable the imposition of imperial disciplinary mechanisms on a divided African population. By utilizing the epic mode, the narrative prioritizes and celebrates the process of the colonial 'mastering' of Africa, including its violent transformation of African 'disorder' into Western 'order', the emergence of new strategies, and the inauguration of panoptical surveillance radiating outwards from a central laager into the surrounding African space. For the narrator, the forces of Chimurenga are diagnosed as forms of an African 'irrationality' which manifested itself in atrocities against settlers and the looting of homesteads.

Ambivalence in the colonial project was compounded by the fact that

African paramountcies responded individually to Chimurenga. African leaders devised strategies according to the nature of the colonial threat in their region. This included the use of other forms of resistance to colonial rule. I wish to focus on events in this narrative that suggest how African paramountcies in the Belingwe district were divided in their reaction to European attempts to regain control.

The narrative begins with the desertion of the Belingwe Matabele Police at the outbreak of Chimurenga. This recently constituted group had been recruited by the BSA Company from the local people to carry out the unpopular task of press-ganging labour, collecting tax and apprehending defaulters. While Tyrie-Laing suspected that the native police would side with the rebels, 'Native' Commissioner Jackson adamantly dismissed this possibility. When reports came in of attacks on isolated settler farms and mining camps, Tyrie-Laing ordered the fortification of the camp at Belingwe. The fears of the commander concerning the Matabele police are confirmed and the tension is heightened when he observes:

> the natives hard at work, under the white guards, who had a trying duty to perform, ... to keep a look-out for a possible enemy in front and treachery from the enemy employed within. (1896: 25)

Later commissioner Jackson inspected the cattle posts, and returned to report that "all the native police, except for three, had deserted, taking with them twenty rifles and ten rounds of ammunition per man" (1896: 31). For the colonial project, the concept of the 'enemy within' was anathema in the sense that settlement and occupation depended on forced, or cheap, docile labour. Thus, for settlers, as Selous predicted, 'the enemy' of colonisation would always be internal to it.[45] It was only during the Chimurenga that definite and visible lines were drawn between those who would collaborate with the European forces, those who attempted to remain neutral, and those who rose against it. Once the fighting was over, most settlers would again be surrounded by large communities of landless African people. Unlike during Chimurenga, it would be impossible to distinguish between those who wished to subvert European rule and those who tolerated it in various ways. In the Belingwe district, as indeed throughout Zimbabwe between 1893-6, the 'Black-Watch' (African Police) were detested for the gross brutality shown towards their own people during the execution of their duties. However, underlining Selous's injunction at the outbreak of Chimurenga about relations between 'more civilised' and 'less civilised' races,[46] they deserted their 'Native' Commisioner's compounds and joined the rebels, with their rifles and ammunition.

The narrative describes how, having established a centre of control at

Belingwe, the colonial force focused attention on the complex web of fealty and divisions operating in central Matabeleland and Mashonaland during Chimurenga.[47] Due to the uncoordinated responses to Chimurenga by these paramountcies, such colonial forces could move against individual paramounts, cut them off and destroy their villages and strongholds. The effect of more villages suffering this fate led many paramounts to surrender and spare their people further deprivation. By dividing the population into 'friendlies' and 'rebels' the Europeans could neutralise African opposition by exploiting traditional rivalry that existed in Matabeleland.[48] The strategy adopted by Tyrie-Laing, once he had fortified the laager at Belingwe, was to isolate and attack each paramountcy separately. Initially the narrator focuses on the route from Tuli to Victoria where he transcribes the predicament of M'Tipi from the Gondoque district to South of Belingwe:

> 'We have kept the roads open, and have always given food and cattle to the white man when passing through our country, and when the white man went into Matabeleland to fight the Matabele Impis two years ago we also wished to give assistance. My people and myself have every reason to hate the Matabele. They have been our mortal enemies for years, and we only wish to have the chance of paying them back in part for the harm they have done us on several occasions'. (1896: 140)

Here the narrator's construction of differences and divisions among Africans

constitutes an axis along which the small isolated colonial force could proceed. The discourse of European mastery over Africans comprised a field of historical knowledge. It was also a practice concerned with a particular field of objects, operated by a certain number of imperially designated individuals, who had certain functions to exercise. In this way, colonial society used disciplinary methods whose objective was the economy and internal organization of African conduct. This exercise of power in remote outposts established a model of continuous supervision and regulation of African society.

The situation with Sekombi is a different example of the complex and shifting allegiances in the region prior to and during the rising and the way in which colonial narrators produced and framed African responses. Tyrie-Laing suggests that diplomacy was employed by Africans in order to retain some form of neutrality while appeasing both the Ndebele, who had joined the rising, and the colonial forces. According to the Western narrator, while Sekombi was prepared to come into the Belingwe laager with one of those who collaborated with the colonists, he defined his complex strategy to cope with the dual threat of Ndebele and colonial domination:

I am related to M'Tipi by marriage, and live inside his territory. I and my people are loyal to the white man. We will do what we can to prove our loyalty, but don't wish to leave our kraals now, because the Matabele are

close by and watching us. Yesterday five of their scouts came close up to my kraal, but they would not enter. They were armed with Martini-Henry rifles and assegais. They inquired for information in regard to the movements of the white men to the south. My people told them that the white men had all passed on to Tuli .... M'Posi is working with the Matabele, about two hundred of whom are staying with him. They have blocked the pass that you came through and intend to surround you in it when you go back. If you had waited another hour the morning you left M'posi's kraal your party would have been surrounded. You were followed until the rebels heard the Maxim firing at Dooboolelo's kraal .... In these war-times scouts are always going and coming. I told you before, I cannot let my men leave their kraals, as our position is not strong, and as the Matabele are on the watch. If they found out we were assisting you they would be sure to attack us. (1896: 167-169)

The complexity of interpreting relations between paramountcies and colonial forces, and within both sides in this conflict needs to be acknowledged. There is considerable evidence that the boundaries were constantly shifting, depending on the nature and proximity of the threat posed by Ndebele or colonial forces. Laing's narrative seems to suggest that various forms of neutrality were observed by paramountcies, and that there were considerable negotiations between both sides in the Chimurenga. Laing devises a disciplinary manual on the techniques of observation, normalizing judgement and for the cross-examination of African populations. Submission to colonial authority took various forms and depended on the nature of the threat, the

vulnerability or strength of the fortress. Against those paramounts such as Dooboolelo, who resisted the colonial forces, a scorched-earth policy was executed. When this paramount was asked to come down from his mountain stronghold and surrender,

> ... the chief declined to do [so], and defied us. We gave him an hour to consider, while we were having breakfast. At the end of that time he was still defiant, so his position was attacked and his kraals destroyed. All the kraals under him were treated in the same manner as we went along. (1896: 133-134).

The ruthlessness of colonial forces is evident in the Belingwe Field Force attack on Senda's position and subsequent burning of his villages,. Western mining technology was transformed and used to inflict maximum punishment in the repression of Chimurenga. After some resistance "the caves where survivors were sheltering were dynamited and all the livestock was taken" (1896: 134). Typically this process of attrition took the form of looting and pillage carried out by the surrogate impi of M'Tipi. Other paramountcies, such as that of Mapelabana, were sufficiently fortified against attack and sought to remain at a distance from the conflict. European contact with them was confined to the use of messengers loyal to colonial forces in order to 'konja' [surrender] without appearing at the Belingwe laager in person:

No, I cannot do that, because my heart tells me that the white chief will kill me for the part my people and myself have taken in the rebellion; but I will do what I can to put matters right and keep my people quiet, and this pass will be open to the white man. I will also send grain and sheep as a token of submission. ... I don't want to help the white man, and I don't want to fight with him. I wish to stay in peace here with my people. We will live like rock-rabbits in our caves until this trouble is over. (1896: 196-7)

Here the narrator is suggesting that Mapelabana is mindful of the danger posed by the colonial forces and their African allies. Consequently, his terms of agreement do not amount to a surrender. Although Mapelabana had professed his submission to the colonial forces, he retained his disgust for M'Tipi's men for turning traitors to the African cause by helping the whites, when he said, "I have told you to tell the white man that this pass is open to him, but you Basuto dogs will never go through it again. Your wives will very soon be widows" (1896: 197). Mapelabana's expediency in coming to terms with the colonial forces, clearly did not include the waiving of the right to revenge against M'Tipi's men for having betrayed the Africans and sided with the Europeans. This defiance, these instances of disruption posed a significant obstacle in the path of the colonial project. Again there was an enemy within, an event of non-cooperation. The rising for Mapelabana was a temporary situation, something transitory and he would wait the time out in his mountain recess and devise a strategy to survive the situation in future. This emphasizes the complexity of

relations in the 'contact zone' before, during and after Chimurenga.

The narrator outlines the establishment of a disciplinary system of control over Africans in Belingwe. In September 1896, Earl Grey, the Administrator, registered it as an exemplary model for the suppression of Chimurenga, and as a signal of colonial victory. He praised the troop:

> ... for the gallant conduct you have displayed in the field on all occasions during the rebellion ... if every district had stuck together and defied the rebels as you did, the rebellion would never have reached the dimensions it did. You are being disbanded, and to me this is a sure sign that the rebellion is at an end. You have made your district of Belingwe famous, and the white men respected by natives in every part of it. (1896: 325-6)

Earl Grey also saw it as a triumph of Western scientific knowledge in the African colony, which illustrated the incorporation of local colonial understanding of African languages, and how the balance of power essential for colonial domination could be achieved by exploiting divisions among African paramounts. For Grey, it was a blueprint for a carceral order in such an expansive territory with such a potentially hostile African population.[49] The narrative marks the evolution of techniques of control of 'rebellious' African populations on the colonial margins. These measures include establishing and

defending a laager (fortress) against attack, mobilising loyal African paramounts

to join colonial forces, and the execution of mobile patrols in attacks on African

paramounts who supported Chimurenga. It also entailed the redistribution of

looted grain and livestock removed from the villages to 'friendlies'.

It is evident from the above analysis that both Mitford, Godwin-Green

and Tyrie-Laing's renditions of Chimurenga used discourses of African

'savagery' conveyed through the settler/colonial press in Southern Africa and at

the metropolitan centres in Britain.[50] The narratives celebrate more than just

the colonial suppression of Chimurenga in the Belingwe and Mutare region.

They also signal the use of colonial disciplinary technologies and mechanisms of

power exercised over settler life in Africa, and the emergence of concomitant

social and political institutions. By these procedures, the reported events of

1896-7 were normalized, classified and transformed into technical problems

which more detailed imperial knowledge and better techniques of intervention

could resolve.[51] But they also demonstrated the complexity of the African

response to colonialism, particularly that African strategies for dealing with

domination were changing. While Chimurenga had not succeeded in its primary

objective to rid Zimbabwe of the colonial menace, it succeeded in identifying

colonial rule as a process of subjugation and continuous oppression against

which all Africans could unite, given the right circumstances.

The Observations of a Trooper-Journalist

F. W. Sykes's narrative presumes that a superior British Empire existed and functioned in other colonised territories such as Australasia, thus he emphasized the need for similar structures of 'imperial justice' and 'order' in colonial institutions, techniques and strategies in Zimbabwe in the late 1890s. In his opinion, the process of 'mastering Africa' had been poorly handled by the BSA Company officials. His later service as District Commissioner after Chimurenga suggests that he saw the possibility of restoring the 'proper' type of order in the 'Native' administration. For Sykes, the notion of documenting empire in Africa began with his written and photographic account of the conflict, its participants, battles, marches and Rhodes's peace talks with Ndebele leaders in the Matopos. This text signals the divergence between statements of the Colonial Office, official BSA Company reports, and the observations of the 'ordinary' man. These positions corresponded with settler opinion and perceptions in complex ways. They may also indicate the discontinuity in metropolitan readers' responses to these reports.

Sykes's Australasian origin marks the movement of colonial officials from one site of imperial conflict to another (he had been an editor of a country newspaper in Australia).[52] After service in the MRF he entered the 'Native' Department in the office of Chief Native Commissioner, Matabeleland. He then

served as District Commissioner in Sir Richard Martin's reconstructed 'Native'

Administration after 1897 at Victoria Falls 1901, as Civil Commissioner at

Livingstone in 1904. After he resigned in 1906, he returned to Queensland.

Sykes's and Baden-Powell's campaign narratives provided metropolitan readers

with eye-witness accounts of battles from the frontier. They marked the

normalization of the function of a nineteenth-century imperial correspondent

who also photographed troops, Ndebele leaders, battlefields, graves, and

mission stations. However, colonial images, such as those of the picture of a

Bulawayo lynching of Africans in Olive Schreiner's *Trooper Peter Halket* (1897),

initiated a counter-discourse at the metropole to that of imperial victory and

'progress'.

In contrast to campaign diaries of Baden-Powell, Alderson and Selous,

who were commissioned officers, Sykes offered a noncommissioned officer's

account of the Matabeleland Relief Force during Chimurenga.[53] Sykes claims

the additional insight of one who observes military operations from within the

rank and file rather than from the Relief Column Headquarters. This also

suggests that he was not under the same obligations as the commanders to toe

the official BSA Company line. Presumably, he was thus able to make

observations about events from within the ranks or as an eyewitness on the

battlefield.[54]

Sykes described the transition from pre-1896 'colonial disorder' as a

brutal BSA Company 'justice'; where the Ndebele were systematically

provoked, to that of a new 'imperial order' initiated by Rhodes's policy of

appeasement.[55]   The narrative upholds the notion of a disciplined colonial

machine in Matabeleland during 1896 that restored 'order' swiftly and

comprehensively. His exhaustive account of Rhodes's peace talks with the

Ndebele leaders in the Matopos illustrates the significance he attached to

negotiated strategies for imposing colonial 'order' in Zimbabwe, as opposed to

military solutions. Nonetheless, attempts to 'normalise' Chimurenga and

present it to the European readership as a typical imperial problem, were in

conflict with the Exeter Hall faction of British public opinion. Labouchere of

The Manchester Guardian epitomised this lobby, who upheld the notion that

Africans were justifiably opposed to colonialism in Zimbabwe.

Unlike Selous's *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (1896), which largely

dismisses African grievances against the BSA Company, Sykes's narrative

questions certain settler assumptions. It suggests measures for the control of

African conduct in Zimbabwe were inadequate, and implies that more

sophisticated administrative mechanisms to separate and control colonial

populations were required.[56] Apart from providing another view of Chimurenga

it constitutes a critical indictment of BSA Company 'native' administration,

atrocities, lynchings and an apparently more sympathetic hearing of African

grievances. However, it also appeals to racially based notions of a superior, 'rational' Western male. The performance of European field commanders in African conditions was subjected to scrutiny. Tyrie-Laing's lack of caution at Unugu gorge, the resultant loss of lives and the BSA Company's hasty recruitment of irregulars from the Reef and other parts of South Africa was criticized.[57] Sykes implies that imperial 'normalisation' was required and that Company institutions had to be restructured along more uniform lines. According to this imagined European imperial order, an internal discipline had to be established among Africans by which their 'inferior' status as the conquered race had to be systematically shown. This narrative suggests that more sophisticated mechanisms of European control were needed, including procedures under which Africans loyal to the colonial forces were rewarded, while those who had participated in Chimurenga were punished.

Campaign histories sought to normalise conflict on the colonial margins via the use of Nature/fire imagery to signal African opposition or resistance.[58] Sykes also reworks popular settler perceptions to provide a rationale of Chimurenga. For the narrator, Chimurenga was partly a result of a lack of order and discipline in the BSA Company government. Instead of a set of standardised practices, a centralised authority, and panoptical control, where the conduct of both Africans and 'Native' Commissioners could be managed and observed, there was a random application of BSA Company 'justice' :

... [the] organisation of native affairs was most rudimentary, and consisted in merely appointing Native Commissioners over ill-defined districts, with a general order to "boss up things," which they proceeded to do upon more or less original lines. (1897: 5)

This type of control depended entirely on the individuals concerned and varied from the crass brutality of Captain Lendy and Native Commissioner Brabant, to more benevolent officials such as 'Mwiri' Edwards and Johan Collenbrander.[59] What further compounded the problem, for Sykes, was the punitive and arbitrary measure of arming and randomly deploying Ndebele police:

Native Police ... sent out under no supervision but that of their own native non-commissioned officers [who] under cover of the authority of the new Government, took this opportunity to pay off old scores against, and generally tyrannise over, any of the people against whom they had a grudge. (1897: 9)

As a semi-nomadic society, Ndebele political and socio-economic order depended on cattle as a measure of value, as signs of the hegemony of the ruling house, for controlling populations, and as the material means of social wealth. The BSA Company confiscation of livestock could therefore be interpreted as a direct and violent assault on their social order:

... after the occupation of the country in 1893, the Chartered Company,

by right of conquest, claimed all the king's cattle ... estimated at a
quarter of a million head .... The Govt. authorised Native Commissioners
to collect and send in a certain number of head each month ... the
necessarily arbitrary manner in which it had to be carried out, the
perpetual irritation so engendered .... On the breaking out of the
rinderpest, the enforced shooting of the newly restored cattle in the
infected districts rendered the natives desperate. (1897: 8).

The phenomenon of Chimurenga in 1896 proved that instead of dividing and
marginalising the Ndebele, the BSA Company's systematic looting of their
material wealth united and mobilized them. Without the means of survival, the
Ndebele were driven to violence against the oppressor and the invader. For
Sykes, the process of surveying and allocating land by Company officials, the
granting of extensive land concessions in prime grazing areas and the
occupation of traditional African land by settlers aggravated an already tense
situation.[60] Then, in broaching what was for Victorian readership the taboo
subject of sexual relations, particularly those between settler male and African
women, Sykes publicly challenged the widespread settler practices of
concubinage and violation of African women.[61] It was within the context of the
brutalization of the African population generally that this extreme form of
domination and exploitation occurred:

By ... relegating the black man to the position almost of a mere brute,
some of the settlers are apt to lose that natural feeling of respect which

would influence their actions were they living among people of their own colour. The conduct of many of the whites towards their black sisters, married or virgin, in Matabeleland, certainly contributed to the causes which led up to this unfortunate rebellion. (1897: 10-11)

The concept of the family of humankind, which underpinned his reference to African women as the sisters of white men, ran counter to Sykes's Social Darwinist thinking, contemporary white supremacist race theories and the settler attitudes and opinions of the day. Sykes saw it as regrettable that the image of the settler which emerges from his analysis was that of a conquistador, a buccaneer who plundered land, cattle and women as he wanted. However, like Selous's (1896) and most other accounts of Chimurenga, African grievances were dismissed once the narrative began to focus on African violence and the 'innate savagery' of the 'barbarian' became the controlling colonial trope.

Although African grievances were cited, Chimurenga was regarded by the narrator as evidence of an inherent 'irrationality' in African social order which could only be explained in terms of his Social Darwinist theories of superior and inferior races.[62] His descriptions of the Mlimo cult, African rituals, superstition, and massacres also rely extensively on settler myths of a "secret history of Chimurenga', and of an African society subjected to the exploitation of African grievances by the cunning of the Mlimo (Selous, 1896, xv).[63] This

trend dominated reports of the Chimurenga in the colonial and metropolitan press, diverting the attention away from Ndebele and Shona leadership and organisation to that of the MLimo. Sykes asserted that in civilized and savage countries,

> the superstitions of the ignorant are employed as a lever by which the cunning and unscrupulous influence the course of events to the attainment of their own ends. The ceremonial adopted whenever the deity is consulted ... the answer comes from behind the screen ... by a confederate in the cave who speaks through a horn, with his head wrapped in blanket. The revelations are necessarily of a somewhat ambiguous nature, but are enough to satisfy the public mind. Thus by the subtle cunning of the M'Limo priesthood, instigated probably by the crafty originators of the actual rebellion, natural causes and current events were used as instruments to convince the wavering, and ensure unanimous action throughout the country in the attempt which followed to drive out the white invader. Emboldened by the curious success of their prophetic utterances, the children of the M'Limo predicted that the rebels need have no fear, as the bullets of the white men when fired would be turned to water. The more enlightened of the native leaders and counsellors ... recognise in this witchcraft a powerful weapon which may be opportunely used to further their own ends. (1897: 254-8)

The narrator applies nineteenth-century scientific classification and race theories to categorise the conduct and behaviours of what were considered primitive or conquered races. The Ndebele are regarded as a superstitious race ruled by

their fear of witch-doctors who combined with rulers in manipulating and controlling the society. Ironically this narrative of primitive and corrupt government mirrors African images of 'Charter Ro'.[64] Ultimately, for Sykes, the key to controlling African society was to have knowledge of African beliefs and values, particularly the functions of the Mlimo/Mwari cult.

Having established the settler knowledge gained about African religion, Sykes also examined colonial strategies needed to counter the threat of Chimurenga. These included the processes of dividing the populations and negotiating separate agreements with the leaders that agreed to come forward. Rhodes's protracted negotiations in the Matopos were regarded as an exemplary use of Western rationalist methods by colonial officials to end Chimurenga. The procedure of recruiting African collaborators as spies is seen as a corollary to that of Rhodes's 'squaring' the Ndebele Indunas. Sykes describes the successful deployment of this strategy against those who participated in Chimurenga.[65] A 'native' scout, Jan Grootboom is described as the 'loyal Cape boy':

> His services as a spy upon the positions and movements of the enemy have been invaluable. Possessing an intimate knowledge of the country, and the customs and tactics of the natives, combined with courage and absolute self-reliance, he was just the type of man most adapted by nature and disposition for purposes of espionage. John Grootboom is a

Cape Boy, and his black skin, no less than his big heart, has many times saved his life, when a white man under similar circumstances would have stood no chance whatever. Divested of the ordinary garments of civilisation, with clean shaven face and head, tonsured a la Matabele [sic], John has little difficulty in passing for one when occasion requires. He is a specialist, knowing instinctively when to meet cunning with cunning and bluff with bluff, and, no less important, the exact moment when it is most advisable to 'make tracks'. (1897: 263)

The narrative explains how colonial intelligence networks were effectively established and the Ndebele lines were infiltrated. Via processes of division and exclusion, a subaltern class was recruited from African society, mostly from the ranks of 'Cape Boys' who had accompanied the 1890 invasion force. The extract focuses on the knowledge gathering function of these agents. Accordingly, for Sykes, Grootboom epitomised the successfully colonised African who could be deployed to colonize the Ndebele from within. By these means a carceral order could be established where informers could constantly observe and report on African conduct and behaviours.[66] However, in a transcription of Grootboom's speech some disjunction and ambivalence emerge. The response is conditioned by the context in which the narrator elicited the information and suggests that the speaker said very much what the reporter wanted to hear.[67] His actual position was obviously a lot more complex:

'There is no fight, there is no peace. It is no good. The Matabele says

he is boss, the white man says the same. I don't know that to think myself. They won't try to attack Bulawayo again, or come round these parts. They say the white man means to live there; very good, let him stay where he is, and we will keep to our part of the country, the other side of the Umsingwane River. That is the way they talk; they are very cheeky, and say they have not been beaten. They have some very fine country, the other side of the Matoppos, all along the Tuli River where there is plenty of water always and fine Mopane veldt. They keep all their cattle there and store their grain'. (1897: 268)

This statement evidently questions Ndebele complicity with the colonial project. I would argue that it represents the creation of yet another position in the colonial order, yet another division and line of exclusion under which buffer African populations were installed to act as go-betweens and security barriers for European settlement. The implication is clear that the Ndebele do not consider that they have relinquished their sovereignty over Matabeleland. Instead it is suggested that they have retreated to an area around Tuli. This opinion contradicts the narrator's version of Rhodes's terms of peace and land allocation. This illustrates the problem which this type of collaborator posed to the project of imperial surveillance. Such figures could establish themselves as mediators between the colonials and the Ndebele, maintaining a certain distance from both parties and thus complicating the colonial hierarchy further. It also signals the emergence of the twentieth-century colonial dilemma Africans faced in the 1920s and 1930s: that of being trapped between the

oppressor and the target of oppression.[68]

Babayana, the Ndebele counsellor and one time envoy and advisor of Lobengula, is considered a contrasting African 'type' to the collaborator/informer referred to above. The narrator implies that the induna was unreliable and could not be trusted by colonial officials. While he had been 'useful' to the colonial administration in the negotiations held in the Matopos in September 1896, he presented a particular problem in the post-Chimurenga period. Babayana posed a potential threat to the imposition of a new order in Matabeleland because he represented the once powerful Ndebele sovereignty. His ability to remember, particularly about the way in which his society had been dispossessed and to articulate these concerns among the angry youth made him and others potential nodes of Ndebele resistance. For the colonial narrator, Babayana's internalisation of certain Western conventions also made him more able to interpret colonial strategies from his position within Ndebele society, and therefore more capable of deception. Such implied intransigence complicated the imperial project of classifying and controlling African conduct. He is defined as a 'partly-civilized savage':

> ... the Li Hung Chang or counsellor of the Matabele nation. His principle characteristics are cunning, a most tenacious memory, and what is commonly called 'the gift of the gab'. ... confidential agent and

counsellor to the nation, and in Lobengula's time he was known as the
'King's ears' .... has been to England, has spoken to the Great White
Queen, and with his own eyes has seen the wonderful sights of
civilisation. This no doubt gives him a recognised status amongst his
countrymen. (1897: 270)

However, the narrator implies, this position was neutralized by his
impoverishment and marginalisation. From being an important induna and
counsellor in Lobengula's court, he is reduced to a beggar. Subsequently, in
terminology drawn from late nineteenth-century race theories, the implications
of Babayana's marginalisation are analysed by the narrator. His degeneration
to the status of a senile indigent in the streets of Bulawayo,[69] functions as a
symbol of the fate of most of the Ndebele who were stripped of their power
and dispossessed of their land:

> He spends most of his time in telling the tale of his novel experiences
> across the blue waters. The old scoundrel is getting on in years now,
> and hobbles about with a stick, attended by one or two native followers
> and several native Kaffir dogs. Dressed in a native police tunic of some
> antiquity, with a wide-brimmed hat on his grizzled head, so far as its
> upper part of the covering of his body conforms to respectability. This,
> however, is somewhat discounted by the fact that he despises
> 'continuations', his nether limbs, either from poverty or choice, being
> unencumbered by clothing. He has a much-wrinkled and intelligent face,
> capable of great variety of expression when talking. Like many of his

race, he is a master of metaphor, and accompanies his speech with the most graphic gesticulations. (1897: 273)

Thus the narrative records how Africans were marginalised, displaced from the best agricultural land and how these procedures of colonial violence resulted in the social fragmentation, isolation and impoverishment of the Ndebele. Deprived of their land and cattle, they were reduced to a subject population and forced to seek employment from settler farmers and miners to survive. It also foregrounds the violence of nineteenth-century Western ethnographic representational forms used by colonial writers when describing 'savage' or 'primitive' races. According to this construct of settler logic, the African can only mimic the dress, manners and speech of the conqueror. Sykes's narrative marks the transition to photographic technology which can capture images of the subjects he describes. In Sykes's biographical typecasting, with which he concludes his narrative, Babayana is photographed 'before' and 'after' to illustrate his regression.[70]

Sykes's narrative evidently outlines the workings of colonial power during Chimurenga in various ways. First, it illustrates how Africans were classified into 'loyal' and 'rebellious' types and how divisions and exclusions between Africans and colonials were activated. Second, it provides a commentary on inadequacies in the BSA Company vision since 1890. Third, it examines the

various techniques colonial officials used such as the military, negotiations, and administrative routines. Finally, the way in which colonial power was institutionalized is described in some detail, while the project of empire in South Eastern Africa is applauded as an indication of progress towards 'civilization' in the region.

CONCLUSION

Contemporary press reports published in Bulawayo, Kimberley, Cape Town and London attempted to create the impression of coherence in the discourse of European domination. After Chimurenga, the master-narrative of Western hegemony continued to be written via accounts of 'progress' and conflict on the margins of empire.[71] While the British suppression of Chimurenga was portrayed as immediate and comprehensive, these narratives indicate the divisions, constraints and fragmented nature of the European response to African resistance in 1896-7. Narratives of Chimurenga invoked discourses of an imagined Western rationality in the field of colonial action and employed contemporary race theory in their description of African bodies, colonial gestures, and imperial desires. These forms of representation provide an index of the complex ways in which power was distributed and concealed in the colonial arena. The relationship of power inscribed within these colonial narratives resembles that which Foucault describes as existing within the

respective limits of a relationship of confrontation and one of complete victory over an adversary. Chimurenga, misconstrued as insubordination by popular settler opinion, was a necessary condition of existence for these colonial texts.

The following criteria will be applied to the narratives of Mitford, Godwin-Green, Tyrie-Laing and Sykes. First, I consider how the imperial mood at the metropole and master narrative of British expansion in Zimbabwe were fractured by discontinuity, incoherence and ambivalence. Second, I look at the normalisation of imperial violence in metropolitan narratives and the way in which colonial Zimbabwe was re-imagined as a reinforced carceral order after 1897. This process is evident in shifts between the chronicles of imperial technology that described the suppression of Ndebele and Shona resistance (Chimurenga), and strategies focused on the conscription of Africans into a state of colonial obedience. These narratives indicate the transformation of colonial judico-legal and educational-missionary infrastructures and the redefinition of programs of confinement. Finally I examine how the genres of imperial romance, travelogue and campaign narrative affected the content in each text.

Mitford's protagonist exemplifies Colonial Man adapted to life in the tropics, with a 'scientific' knowledge of African languages and customs. In the emerging colonial state he fulfills a key mediatory role between settler and

African populations. While colonial service presented an alternative outdoor lifestyle to the rigidity, tedium and triviality of urban Victorian existence, the underpaid and isolated hero contracts dangerous fevers, and lives in the African wilderness among a lethargic settlerdom. Although the hero is respected by those Africans in his jurisdiction and is seen to arbitrate fairly in internal disputes in his district, all Africans join the Chimurenga. Ultimately this romance view of the colonial project sees it as transitional and temporary. It offers a rite of passage for aspirant colonials to landed estates in England. The relations between coloniser and colonised are inverted when it is revealed that the actual (Merlinesque, white Mlimo) leader of the Chimurenga, who miraculously intervened to save both hero and heroine, was actually a deranged European who had an old score to settle with imperial authorities. While the journey to the African colony is seen to enable the heroine to temporarily evade rigid metropolitan class barriers and behavioural norms, her eventual return occasions the benign admission of triumphal Colonial Man into the echelons of the English establishment. The European woman returns to her subordinate and domestic status on a country estate within a male-dominated order at the metropolis.

Mitford's narrative normalizes Africa as a conflictual and violent space in which Western technology ensures that European military violence ultimately prevails over primitively armed and less coordinated African Impi. The lack of

vigilance of Colonial Man is foregrounded in this narrative. It is implied that the future of European occupation depends on the division and strict control of African populations in manageable units (labour reservations) separated from settler farmsteads. Mitford's selection of a skilled colonial official as hero, mirrors the shift in Zimbabwe from officials who do not 'understand the native mind' to a post-Chimurenga administration which could monitor African behaviours from a panoptical vantage. From its administrational headquarters it could re-direct its officials as experts in local languages, customs and religions. For the imperial project, Chimurenga had illustrated the organisation, complexity and social cohesion of the Ndebele and Shona. Consequently, this became an immediate focus of further European anthropological examination. It is implicit in the narrative that the carceral net envisaged by reformers of 'native' administration in the wake of Chimurenga would from now on concentrate on the movements and reports of cult and spirit mediums via a web of informers.

Significantly, the narrative avoids fictional engagement with the more prolonged Chimurenga in Mashonaland, which began immediately after the Ndebele Chimurenga. The protracted nature of the conflict in Mashonaland and the dynamiting of caves containing refugees appears to have become unpalatable to the leisure-orientated Victorian romance readership by 1900. At the time of publication, the anti-expansionist and Aborigines' Protection Society lobby at Exeter Hall had exposed the colonial atrocities perpetrated on African

men, women and children in Zimbabwe. Bertram Mitford's imperial romance functioned as a form of counter-propaganda to the liberal and humanitarian voice by representing an indefatigable colonial official addressing Matabele grievances on the eve of Chimurenga. Ultimately, however, this 'native' commissioner abandons his isolated district in Africa and joins the landed aristocracy in England. For the heroine, Africa is rapidly transformed from a paradise for adventure and travel. It suddenly erupts into a violent and dangerous space crawling with bloodthirsty warriors at the outer limits of imperial control. For her, escape from Africa and her return to the safety of the metropolis become axiomatic.

Mitford's celebration of fictionalised workings of Western rationality appealed to a different readership at the metropole from that which was more receptive to the anti-imperial satire of Olive Schreiner and Sykes's documentary confirmation of settler brutality. At a mediocre level, Mitford uses the fictionalised world to deposit deeper myths about colonialism. Although his white high priest's sense of wrong against imperial authority is not clarified, it is a concrete instance of one, admittedly deranged, European voice which not only dares to oppose the colonial project, but actively orchestrates Chimurenga against it. Both Schreiner and Mitford see the historical process of colonialism embodied in the person respectively of Rhodes or this 'white Mlimo'. However, this romance perspective reduces the Ndebele Chimurenga to a conflict

between 'good' European colonizers and 'sinister', 'dangerous', and 'irrational' Africans inspired and coordinated by cunning and manipulative witchdoctors.

Godwin-Green's vicarious pursuit of excitement and adventure in 'hostile' Africa places her in situations of isolation and danger. While the narrator promotes prospective European settlement as a panacea for the overcrowded urban population of England, her narrative represents a colonial woman's life as one of continual threat and confinement. While colonial society is represented as heroic in its defence of European settlements against attacks during the Chimurenga, drunken and disorderly soldiers are seen to pose an ominous threat to the virtue of isolated European women. The abundant natural beauty of Zimbabwe's landscapes is tainted by this European woman's perceived exposure and vulnerability to the attacks of violent African 'savages'. Like the frequently abused African Women, she is also a target of Colonial Man's violent sexual urges.

The narrative also signals the transformation wrought by the emergence of Western institutions in the African interior. The narrator-protagonists arrival is associated with the advent of the colonial hospital in Mutare, the care of the sick and wounded soldier in the Eastern Districts, and the pastoral power of missionary evangelism. The text celebrates the emergence of a civilian European order on the frontier in which the figure of submissive Colonial

Woman becomes normalised within the previously male domain of colonial

service. The narrator heralds the appearance of colonial society in Mutare

(Umtali) with a record of social activities, marriages, and funerals. Africa is

perceived as a healthy living space for European emigrants. Godwin-Green

represents Zimbabwe as a future Eden, provided that the police and

administrators established and maintained control over Africans. Africans are

regarded by her as children, Colonial Man as their Patriarch. The process of

reimposing a more sophisticated imperial discipline and order on a fragmented

African society characterises the post-Chimurenga period in the narrative. The

imposition of martial law is seen as a model for a future penal code. Colonial

institutions such as Hospitals and Churches were established. These were

staffed by British Doctors, Ministers, nurses and the Sisters of Holy Orders.

This narrative marks the transition from sentimental travel writing on the

frontier to the anguished condition and doubt of the narrator in Conrad's *Heart*

of Darkness (1899). Godwin-Green identifies her seeing and desire with her

gender (modesty). Her preoccupation with landscape, Nature, and the

picturesque suggests her enchantment with the idea of an exotic Africa.

However, the narrator experiences revulsion at what she perceives as the

inherent violence of Africa. This results in the perceived alienation of European

Woman in the colony. Her racialised inversion of Western Romantic

conceptions of Nature in the colonial sphere relies on the displacement of

Africans and the resettlement of their land by Europeans. Her desire, expressed

as curiosity, is marked as female and implies a need for Western Woman to be

protected from the many dangers present in Africa. It also suggests that

Colonial Woman needs to be controlled. Throughout her journey a vast unspoilt

Nature surrounds her. Although armed Colonial Man accompanies her,

whenever she leaves the laager she expresses a feeling of being encircled and

observed by hordes of African 'savages'.

While Tyrie-Laing's narrative is also ostensibly an epic of colonial bravery

by an isolated group in Belingwe, it catalogues extensive African collaboration

with settler forces. As I noted in my discussion of Sykes above, Tyrie-Laing's

miscalculation at Enugu gorge resulted in unnecessary casualties. The

narrator's foregrounding of the unreliability of the Ndebele police also illustrated

the vulnerability and instability of the remote outposts of empire. The

'victories' of this force were mostly hollow, conditional on the changing mood

of the paramountcies, and they rendered colonial domination conditional and

temporary rather than permanent.

However, the Belingwe garrison was seen to be a remarkable exception

in Matabeleland during the Chimurenga. Most other outposts were attacked

and looted by the Ndebele, while the survivors were forced to retreat hastily

into the Bulawayo laager. The Belingwe force owed its success to the fact that

many paramountcies in the area did not support Chimurenga. One by one, Africans were subsequently forced into submission or had their villages burned and livestock confiscated. The text foregrounds many transformations of mining technology and administration into defence and military strategy. It shows how principles of division and exclusion were violently imposed on African populations, preventing the unity and coordination essential for the success of Chimurenga against European occupation. By redeploying African collaborators against those who refused to surrender, and by allowing M'Tipi to attack and loot his traditional rivals, the status-quo among paramountcies in the region was seriously disrupted. This strategy was to be repeated throughout Matabeleland in the European campaign against Chimurenga, culminating in Rhodes's negotiations with those Indunas who chose to cease hostilities in the Matopos.

Tyrie-Laing envisaged a post-Chimurenga colonial order that divided Africans into those who would cooperate with 'native' administrators and those who were increasingly marginalised in their resistance against it. The Belingwe garrison, as Earl Grey noted at their disbandment, had become an important symbol of the paramilitary settler technique of joining a chain of fortified laagers. It represented the possibility of exploiting divisions among Africans to control and organise them into disciplined bodies that could subsequently be redeployed as labourers. The narrative re-imagines colonial life along a

restructured colonial axis within a divided population, where the European occupies the centre. Africans are then confined and placed under permanent surveillance on the margins of Empire.

Although Sykes endeavoured to provide an official account of the Matabeleland Relief Column, he renders a view of colonisation from the position of the common man. While Sykes dispels some of the more flagrant pioneer myths surrounding the customs and rituals of the Mlimo/Mwari cults and the Shona spirit mediums, the narrative categorizes Africans as irrational and primitive beings that should be systematically and firmly controlled.[72] Originating as he did from Australasia, the narrative implies that genocidal practices of Australian settlers on the Aborigines were models for contemporary settler societies in the colonised world. Significantly the narrative does not refer to those atrocities, although they were common knowledge and would certainly have been familiar to this former Sydney journalist.

What emerges from the documentary-style campaign diary, is a forceful indictment of BSA Company rule as well as the disclosure of torture and summary executions of Africans in the Bulawayo Laager. Instead of seeing Colonial Man as part of a homogenous superior social order at the vanguard of civilization, the narrator reveals the abuse of power by settlers and Company officials. In a counter-discourse to Baden-Powell and Selous, he reveals the

irregularity of colonial forces. These are seen to range from professional soldiers to desperate freebooters who were recruited on the Rand with promises of free land. Instead of supporting Rhodes's vision of colonial hegemony in Zimbabwe, Sykes's analysis of the causes of Chimurenga would confirm the popular utterances epitomised by Labouchere's reports in *The Manchester Guardian* and other instances of the Aborigines' Protection Society's criticism of the brutality of Company Rule in Matabeleland.

Sykes's comments on the instrumental role played by African collaborators and 'native levies' against Chimurenga on the side of the colonial forces are central to his vision of a post-Chimurenga 'Native administration'. His later employment as a 'Native' Commissioner and as a District Commissioner suggest his prior interest in the field of analysing, surveillance and control of African populations. His preface is infused with contemporary Social Darwinist theories of superior and inferior racial types, suggestions about European imperial order, and the destiny of colonial officials. The detailed description of Rhodes's peace negotiations, as well as biographical profiles of an exemplary African collaborator and the dangers of 'half-educated' Africans underlines alternative methods of subjugation in the imperial project. The text provides a plan for a re-organised colonial order which would establish a permanent surveillance of populations on the margins of European settlement by taking account of all the knowledge of African behaviour gained during

Chimurenga.

This Chapter has described how the Occidentalist imperative encompassed the transformation of the technology of domination. The division of 'civilized' and 'savage' was activated, and Western scientific knowledge was paraded as 'civilization' confronted by African 'irrationality'. This process was enabled by the colonial narrators' use of discourses of African violence. Through the exercise of evolutionary rhetoric, nineteenth-century race theory and the logic of imperial expansion, European violence was normalised in an imperial military campaign. It was made to appear like the rational imposition of Western order on a chaotic African situation. Consequently, narratives focused on precise manoeuvres conducted by field forces, troops of mounted rifles, artillery shelling of positions, bombardment of enemy strongholds, the use of maxim guns, the formation of defensive laagers in towns, the distribution of forts along supply routes, the deployment of relief forces, and deeds of colonial heroism. However, this use of official-imperial terminology was undercut by press reports of public hangings of African captives, of the dynamiting of caves containing fugitives, of the burning of kraals, and of the systematic looting of cattle and grain, and of the shifting nature of African loyalties in the field of conflict. Livingstone's discourse of a civilizing mission on the Zambezi had began to rupture, revealing the dark underside of imperial barbarism and horrific images of European savagery.

In 1898, after the British suppression of the rising recorded in these narratives, a new pastoral and evangelical order emerged in Mashonaland.[73] It differed considerably in its motives and methods from the pre-1896 missionary evangelism. Contemporary missionary records illustrate the systematic intervention of a pastoral order which accompanied the suppression of the Chimurenga. Missionaries such as Father Richartz (quoted above) now achieved prominence in their condemnation of African religion, particularly in the case of Shona spirit mediums. Christianity now assumed a more militant role in the wider institutionalisation of 'Native Affairs'. Consequently, post-Chimurenga narratives stressed the disciplinary dimension of the civilizing mission. There was a more extensive and entrenched militarisation of the colonial administration. Generals, majors and captains were placed in command of regiments, columns, and BSA police. New 'Native' Commissioners were appointed and Zimbabwe was divided into hostile or friendly districts: areas prone to revolt, regions that had been 'cleared of rebels', and districts evacuated by settlers. Transport lines and passes that had been broken were re-opened by patrols. Ultimately, such European histories of African 'rebellions' validated the systematic displacement, marginalisation and re-distribution of African populations. I suggest it was through this knowledge and its exclusionary mechanisms that the lives of Europeans and Africans were shaped.

NOTES

1.   See my discussion of self-formation of Colonial man in relation to African man in Chapter Two. That this process entails the importation of Social Darwinist thinking is evident in Sykes, Selous, Godwin-Green, Alderson, Chalmers and Mitford.

2.   A. J. Hanna describes how, in 1898 when planning changes to the administration of the chief officials in the BSA Company, Milner lamented: "a lot of unfit people were allowed to exercise power, especially with regard to the natives, in a manner which cannot be defended" (1960: 139). Using the colonial administration in India as a model for the new order in Zimbabwe, the Governor insisted on careful selection for important administrative posts, especially Native Commissionerships:

> In the present state of the country the government of the natives must be largely personal government. They understand nothing else. In wide districts with a small, rather rough European population and thousands of natives, a great deal of power must be given and a great discretion left to the 'head of the district' - to use the Indian phrase. But it is extremely difficult to get a sufficient number of men at all fitted to exercise such wide powers, liable as they are to abuse. (1960: 139)

In his romance form, Mitford accurately described the brutal mediocrity of the Company's employers.

3.   For further discussion of the consolidation of colonial institutions during this period see J. K. Rennie, (1978: 86-98), A. Keppel-Jones, (1983) A. K. H. Weinrich (1977: 207-229), E. Mashingaidze (1976: 71-87), Malcolm Rifkind (1968), and J. Taylor (1974).

4.   While Sykes provided photographs of settler graves, missionaries, battlefields and collaborators, he did not publish any images that would implicate the BSA Company in atrocities against the Ndebele. By contrast, Olive Schreiner's text (1897) contained a photograph of colonial troops attending the hanging of African captives in Bulawayo. The introduction of 1983 reprint edition provides a discussion of subsequent omissions of this photograph. The controversy surrounding the publication of the photograph indicates the expansionist lobby's efforts to suppress its distribution at the Cape and European metropole.

5.   Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth-century shifts in the imperial mood were reflected in imperial fiction and its readership. The latter, positioned

at the metropole, were familiar with violent disruptions of the imperial project, such as the Indian Mutiny (1857), Eastern Cape Frontier Wars (1840-57), Anglo-Zulu War (1879), and the first Anglo-Boer War (1881).

6.   Apart from the contemporary reports in the *Matabeleland Times,* F. C. Selous was one of the first to attempt to shift the focus on the causes of Chimurenga from an analysis of BSA Company malpractice and abuses of power, onto Africans themselves, their 'superstition', rituals and cults as well as what he saw as inherent instability of African social structures:

> Judging from the knowledge which we now possess of the secret history of the rebellion, it appears that the leaders of the movement must long ago have determined to revolt whenever a favorable opportunity occurred, and a rebellion would therefore in all probability have taken place sooner or later; so perhaps it is well to have had it and got it over at the same time as the rinderpest. The latter plague will have far more lasting effects than the native rising. (1896: ix)

7.   The re-working of settler myths regarding rituals of Mlimo/Mwari cult mediums and priests are evident in Bertram Mitford (1900), *In the Whirl Of the Rising* (1904), Earnest Glanville (1897), and H. Rider Haggard (1896).

8.   In Matabeleland, 150 men, women and children were killed, later in Mashonaland 450 men, women and children lost their lives (Sayce, 1980: 277-8).

9.   Subsequent non-fictional narratives up to 1914, which focused on Chimurenga include: R. Baden-Powell (1897), E. A. H. Alderson (1898), William Johnston (1903). The fictional include: Margaret Haynes (1896), and Frederick J. Whishaw (1897).

10.   Bertram Mitford (1900), and Earnest Glanville (1897) fictionalised individual settler heroics.

11.   For various ways in which subsequent historiography appropriated the trials of Kaguvi and Nehanda, see N. Shamyurira (1965), T. O. Ranger (1968), S. Samkange (1971), L. Vambe (1972), and D. N. Beach (1986).

12.   For discussion of land allocations, division into 'tribal' entities and ethnolinguistic categories utilized in the colonial period see S. Samkange (1971), L. Vambe (1972), D. Chanaiwa (1973, 1981), H. Chimhundu (1992), and A. Chigwedere (1989).

13.   See Terence Ranger (1968) and Stanlake Samkange (1971).

14.   For details of the liberation struggle and its internal divisions see Maurice Nyagumbo (1980) Martin, David and Phyllis Johnson (1981).

15.   Ranger saw the acceptance of commodity production occurring in the nineteenth-century on the Zimbabwean plateau:

> ... this meant a steady development of peasant consciousness on the spot. Peasants were engaged in direct competition with white farmers from the beginning of their experience with colonialism and their understanding of agrarian capitalism and of the ways in which the state supported it ultimately produced a consciousness which was highly conducive to mobilization for guerilla war. (1985: 25)

16.   See Ranger's preface to the 1978 reprint edition.

17.   See discussion of Samkange's fiction (1966), (1975) and (1978) in N. J. Smith (1989). In the post-independence era, indicating a certain sentimental nationalism, Samkange argued "although the vast majority of Africans joined or supported the uprising of 1896-7, there were many who remained neutral, countless who actually fought as friendlies and 'Cape Boys' on the side of the white men against other Africans and hundreds who served as spies, informers and runners" (1985: 29).

18.   In their research on Shona-Ndebele relations in the nineteenth century historians such as Ngwabi Bhebe (1979), Honyini Bhila (1982) Peter Garlake (1973), Allen Isaacman (1977), Richard Mtetwa (1976), Gorerazvo Mudenge (1988), and Keith Rennie (1978) have illustrated the limitations of Ranger's reading of Zimbabawean history and society.

19.   See contemporary liberation journals of the 1980s banned by the Rhodesian Government listed in K. Sayce where the Chimurenga of 1890s is linked to the Struggle for Independence in the 1970s:

> Between 18-22 June, Chimurenga action spread from the Chegutu area to Motoko, Marondera, Headlands and as far as Manikaland. Up to 450 whites were killed in a war which was organised on similar lines to that in Matabeleland. The Paramount Chiefs were united by religious authorities into a strong instrument for the prosecution of the Chimurenga. The courage of the leaders of the first Chimurenga was a direct inspiration to the leaders of the Second Chimurenga. (1980: 277)

20.   For a detailed criticism on Ranger's three chapters on the Ndebele rising see J. R. D Cobbing (1977). For criticism of Ranger's analysis of the Shona

rising see D. N. Beach (1989). Beach argued that the risings should be regarded as the working out of potentialities of combination and division established by the political, military and economic experiences of the chiefdoms in the immediately preceding decades (1986: 15).

21.   Foucault examines how subject-formation is linked to power relations in 'The Subject and Power' (Herbert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow , 1982: 208-228).

22.   By placing Sir Richard Martin in command of the imperial forces and appointing Earl Grey to supervise the establishment of a new 'Native' Administration, High Commissioner Milner and the Colonial Office sought to regulate the activities of the BSA Company. Grey's adoption of the Jesuit Mission at Chishawasha as a model institution for the confinement of Africans confirmed this trend.

23.   Both Mitford's texts (1900) and (1904) pivot on the figure of the European male with colonial experience romantically linked to metropolitan heiresses.

24.   See Edward. W. Said (1987) and my discussion of Baden-Powell and his notion of imperial service and social ascendence at the metropole in Chapter Two.

25.   Typically the archetypal romance plot is packed with the exotic and dangerous. This includes the Mlimo cult, Shiminya the 'sorcerer' as guiding force of African behaviour, torture, the orchestration of Chimurenga, the link to disaffected Ndebele police and leaders of rising, the appearance of a metropolitan heiress, Nidia Commerell. Meets handsome colonial-born John The Romance begins and shifts to Zimbabwe. Ames the 'good' colonial official opposed by biased settlers. Settler laxity and what is seen as a failure to observe and control Ndebele results in Chimurenga. This is a time of Ndebele 'treachery': murders on farms, massacres and chaos. Nidia and John become fugitives from the Ndebele. John observes a meeting of Chimurenga leaders in the Matopos and hears Shiminya's predictions of disaster. The lovers are rescued by a loyal African servant and escape unscathed from various catastrophes. The hero, Ames is poor and does not hold a suitable position, so magical letters from the white Umlimo provide mysterious finances, Nanzicele and Shiminya kill each other; Ames resigns from BSA Company and indulges in further heroics as a mounted volunteer before returning to the metropole to live happily on a landed estate in England.

26. Both Mitford's heroes encounter and dominate African witchdoctors, whereby neutralizing the impact of Chimurenga.

27. See Samkange's discussion of Rhodes's methods of removing competitive African agriculturists from the land onto tribal reserves which became labour pools modelled on the Glen Grey Acts at the Cape (1971).

28. In his dedication Mitford acknowledged his indebtedness to J. H. Collenbrander, an early settler official in Matabeleland (1900). For further biographical detail see Tabler (1966: 25). The fact that Mitford avoids the Shona Chimurenga suggests that reports of the Aborigines' Protection Society had eliminated the region as a suitable exotic, adventure zone.

29. See the proliferation of race theories in nineteenth-century Europe which placed Western man at the top of the hierarchy of human types in J. C. Green (1981).

30. Inglefied, representing the urbanised working class, is described as an 'English importation, an ex-subaltern in a line regiment, who having lived at the rate of about double his means for years, had, in common with not a few of his kind, found it neccessary to migrate with the object of "picking up something;" and he had duly "picked up a commission in the Matabele Police" (1900:12).

31. This fictional representation would support Clifton Crais's (1991) claim concerning the transfer of colonial technologies from the Cape to the interior. Via the mechanisms of nineteenth-century European anthropological mechanisms of tribalisation and settler myth, the Ndebele are divided into an aristocratic Zulu royal line, next are lower-placed Zulus who have become 'hybridised' through intermarriage with other tribes, Makalalakas and then the slave class (Amaholi). The categorization probably originates with Collenbrander anchored in Theophilus Shepstone's Natal 'Native' policy which was utilized in the division of Zululand into 13 separate tribal regions under his patriarchal stewardship.

32. This is evident in the following description of Shimunya: "his whole aspect differed as widely as possible from the pure-blood Matabele ... [he was] of the Amaholi, or slave caste" (1900: 20).

33. For details of the Hamiritic myth propogated by Carl Mauch and others see Chapter One.

34. In this passage it is implied that his performance of barbaric rituals includes his capture of a young maiden:

Seated there upon the ground, Shiminya continued to shake his bowl of hell-broth. Save for a few bird's claws and a bladder or two fastened in his thick wool - for he was not ringed - he was destitute of the revolting gewgaws of his profession... into the hut. At his appearance the low moaning rose again, and in its note was the extremity of pain and fear. It proceeded from a long dark form lying on the ground, which the eyes, becoming accustomed to the semi-light of the interior, would have no hesitation in pronouncing as human. Further investigation would reveal it a female form, securely bound and lashed to a pole; a female form too, dowered with no small share of the symmetry and comeliness. The face, when undistorted by pain and terror, must have been a pleasing one in the extreme. (1900: 22)

35.   For a discussion of the family in Victorian society and images in colonial writing see Chapter Two.

36.   The end of the collaborator is described unceremoniously: "Pukele say, no kill Jonemi. Amapolise dey kill Ingerfiel, and missis, and strange white man. I not help. I go wit amapolise. I save Jonemi" (1900: 227). However, later, we read:

the epitaph on the faithful, loyal savage, who having watched over the helpless refugee for days and nights that he might restore her to friends and safety, had found his reward. Shot on sight, by those very friends, when in the act of consummating his loyalty, such was his epitaph. 'Accidents will happen!' (1900: 237)

Similarly, in Samkange's novel, the collaborator is finally beaten to death by settler thugs in the closing sequence (1978).

37.   The narrative obeys the ritual of Victorian adventure, framed as a journey from the metropole outwards:

We were bound for Africa, that land of promise, with its diamonds, gold, coal, and other mineral wealth, possessing a glorius flora, perhaps the richest found on the earth's surface, while its varied and interesting fauna forms a veritable paradise yet for the sportsman and hunter of big game. Its hordes of dusky natives and dark places yet unexplored have made the very name of the vast continent fascinating to many of us since early childhood. It is a name to conjure with, to those loving new scenes, which at least promise some adventures. (1898: 1-2)

For a gender-based discussion of Victorian woman's position in colonial writing see Margaret Daymond (1985), Sarah Mills (1991), Mary-Louise Pratt (1992), and C. Kaplan (1987, 1996).

38.   See Anna Davin's discussion of "Woman and Empire" (1989: 203-35).

39.   Godwin-Green describes the topography of Colonial Zimbabwe:

> The vast tract of territory under the guiding and controlling hand of the British South African Company covers an area of 750,000 square miles.... The company has mineral rights over almost all this area, the value of which can only be guessed at. The climate in many parts is very fine, particularly in the highlands lying from four to five thousand feet above sea level. These high plateaux, though tropical, from their elevation have a mild and fairly equable climate, while the summer rains are abundant. Much of the land is excellent for farming operations. Doubtless many of the drawbacks, such as fever and horse-sickness, would diminish or disappear with the drainage and cultivation of the land. (1898: 209)

40.   At Beira, on her upward journey, drunken Portuguese soldiers invade the hotel at night. See also Blennerhasset and Sleeman (1893) and Olive Schreiner (1897) for accounts of colonial male violence which threatened women in the colonial sphere.

41.   The description attributes value to Africa where it is seen to resemble an English summer garden, although its main appeal was melodramatic:

> Man may break and destroy; Nature, with her (sometimes) gentle hands, covers the ruins with flowers and beauty. Here the former grew in profusion. The lemon-scented geranium, the little blue lobelia, and lovely flowers of a paler blue, with clumps and festoons of the African primrose, vied each with the other in eagerness to hide the ravages where they had been most complete. One hut, entirely shadowed by the green vine of the granadilla, was like a May-day bower; some of the late passion flowers yet lingered, while the ripening fruit hung almost ready to drop into the hand. But the hand which had planted the vine lay mouldering in an untimely grave. (1898: 144)

42.   Godwin-Green contrasts popular settler views of the violence and the Aborigines' Protection Society lobby in her version of the press reports of Norton family massacre at Harare (Fort Salisbury):

We speak soft things in England about the "poor blacks" - and their pathway through life is not all sunshine - but let us try to picture the scene which awaited those who went to seek the Norton family .... The place was deserted; no living thing moved; but the rooms showed that a fearful struggle had taken place for they were literally smeared in blood ... they had all been murdered and fearfully mutilated. A scalp with a woman's golden hair was found in one place and evidences of brutality on every hand. (1898: 144-145)

43.   For Godwin-Green:

... a great future awaits Rhodesia, when the difficult problem of the native population has been effectually solved. The way leading to a solution perhaps being first, an efficient police force to place visibly and permanently before the savage with his limited intelligence, the outward sign of law, order, and justice, next a wise administrative power to maintain the same. (1898: 209)

44.   See detailed record of the logistics of colonial strategy in Belingwe and appendices of casualties, roll of troops, patrols, battles, and orders of demobilisation in Tyrie-Laing (1896).

45.   Selous outlines the future of the colonial project:

From the black man's point of view the white man is probably not necessary as a factor in the prosperity of the country. He could get along very well without him. Unfortunately we cannot manage without the black man; he is absolutely necessary for the development of the country on the white man's lines. But a sulky, rebellious black man, only held in subjection by fear, is both a useless and dangerous personality, and therefore, the dictates of the policy will be at one with the promptings of humanity, in demanding that the natives of Matabeleland shall be governed both kindly and justly as well as firmly. (1896: xvi)

46.   Selous's use of Social Darwinist and other nineteenth-century race theories is evident in his diagnosis of the Rhodesian condition:

It is very difficult to understand the workings of a Kafir's mind, as any one must admit who has lived long amongst natives. [The occurrence of the] Matabele rebellion appears to me to be no proof of any special iniquity per se on the part of the Government of the Chartered Company, since history has shown us, that wherever a savage race, entirely

unaccustomed to order and restraint, has been conquered by a highly civilised people, who have forthwith essayed to govern that savage race as humanely as possible, but after all in their own interests rather than in the interests of the conquered people, a rebellion against the more intelligent ruling class has been the result; for the ways of the civilised man are not the ways of the savage, who, there can be no doubt, would rather put up with all the ills from which we consider we have freed him, than be subject to the restraints of a settled form of Government. Practically, he says 'hang your Pax Britanica' ; give me the good old times of superstition and bloodshed; then, even if I did not know the day or the hour when I might be 'smelt out' as a witch, and forthwith knocked on the head, at any rate I could have basked in the sun until my time came; and then, too, when the 'impi' went forth, what glorius times I had, and how I revelled in blood and loot! (1897: xiv)

47.   D. N. Beach examines the complexity and uncertainty of relations with colonial forces among paramounts in Central Zimbabwe throughout the nineteenth century (1986).

48.   Laing's anthropological knowledge of African communities in Southern Africa was based to a large extent on his mining experience:

> ... the natives of this district are of Basuto race-a very strong tribe under M'Tipi, and generally known as M'Tipi's Kaffirs. They have always been very loyal to the Chartered Company and friendly to the white men[and are] delighted at the prospect of having a chance of trying their strength with their natural foes, the Matabele. Also M'Kati, Umcheti and Tshaleja sons of M'Tipi-known to Posselt then join forces with Laing. (1896: 136-144)

49.   See Earl Grey's address to the Belingwe Field Force on their final parade in Bulawayo in Tyrie-Laing (1896) and Terence Ranger's discussion of Grey's policy after Chimurenga (1968: 268).

50.   See the descriptions of the Cunningham and Norton family massacres in *The Matabeleland Times*, *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, Selous (1896), Plumer (1897) and Godwin-Green (1898).

51.   Tyrie-Laing reports Earl Grey's praise for the way the BFF had gained the 'respect' of Africans throughout the region (1896).

52.   For the migration of archetypal North American Social-Darwinists to colonial Zimbabwe see narratives of W.H. Brown (1899) and J. Chalmers

(1898). Also note references to the American Scout, Burnam in Tyrie-Laing (1896: 262), Selous's reference to John Smith the American negro who participated in the invasion of Matableland (1896: 178), and Baden-Powell's reference to Gielgud, the ex-cowboy turned Native Commissioner (1897: 334).

53.   Plumer and Alderson were Colonels, Selous was a Captain, Donavan a Major.

54.   See my discussion of the effect of BSA Company censorship of Bulawayo telegraph lines in Chapter Two, particularly the role played by Baden-Powell who was the official censor of reports.

55.   In return for an immediate peace Rhodes ostensibly undertook to provide land for the Ndebele leaders in the Matopos. See Stanlake Samkange (1971) for an African Nationalist view of Rhodes's duplicity in the non-implementation of these agreements.

56.   Sykes described the situation as follows:

> Was not the assumption of unqualified possession of Matabeland by 1895 on the very face of it premature? ... the Matabele were not conquered, far from it, neither did they consider themselves so. With the dissimulation of all negro people they remained passive, summing up meanwhile the possibilities in view of the new order of things. (1897: 2-4)

Selous outlined the colonial project in more essentially Social Darwinist terms:

> ... the whole question of the colonisation by Europeans of countries previously inhabited by savage tribes must be looked upon from a broad point of view, and be judged by its final results as compared with the primitive conditions it has superseded. Two hundred years ago, the Eastern States of North America were inhabited by savage tribes who, by incessant internecine war and the practice of many customs, constantly deluged the whole land with blood. Now the noble red man has disappeared from these territories - has been exterminated by the more intelligent white man - and in place of a cruel, hopeless savagery there has arisen a civilisation whose ideals are surely higher than those of the displaced barbarism. In like manner, before Van Riebek [sic.] landed at the Cape of Good Hope, the whole of South Africa was in the hands of savages, a people, be it noted, who were not living in Arcadian simplicity .... Now an orderly civilisation has been established over a large area of

this once completely savage country .... Well, the present state of Matabeleland is one of transition. Its past history ... has been one of ceaseless cruely and bloodshed. But in time a civilisation will have been built up in that blood - stained land, as orderly and humane as that which has been established - In place of a parallel barbarism - in the older States of South Africa. (1896: 65-66)

57.   At the outbreak of the 1896 Chimurenga in Matabeleland, many 'footsloggers' from the Reef and other parts of South Africa, were recruited for the Relief Column under the impression that they would receive farms in return for their services. In 1893 clear precedents had been set for land in return for military service against the Ndebele. Prior to the BSA Company attack on Lobengula's kraal at Bulawayo, according to the 'Victoria Agreement', Jameson promised each volunteer 3,000 morgen (twice the amount given to the troops that occupied Mashonaland), twenty gold claims, and an equal share of half the 'loot', i.e. cattle. Subsequently, Rhodes assured volunteers in the ruins of Lobengula's kraal on 19th December 1893, that they "will be the first entitled to select land ... It is your right, for you have conquered the country" (Hanna, 1960: 136).

58.   Chimurenga or African anger is semantically coded by Sykes as:

The fire however was smouldering. It was soon to break out more fiercely than before, with results disastrous to those settlers, traders, and prospectors who had no inkling that it was even alight. And it took a big blaze to convince them, too... the first seeds of the crop of horrors of 1896 were sown [by Lobengula's legacy of vengeance]; let us see by what process the germ was matured and ultimately brought to active fruition. (1897: 2-4)

59.   The brutality of BSA Company officials has been documented by Beach (1986), Samkange (1978) and Ranger (1968). In NADA there are extensive official records of these early 'Native' Commissioners.

60.   Sykes describes the arbitrary transfer of land to settlers as follows:

The ownership and transfer of land puzzled the natives. For instance, a man would buy a farm from the Government. On taking possession he would perhaps find several native kraals situated upon his property. He would intimate to the natives that they must look upon him as their

master; the land upon which they were living now belonged to him; and if they wished to remain where they were, they must go to Bulawayo and obtain ... a pass entitling them to remain, providing they did duty as herds or labourers for the white man. The owner ... would sell his farm to ... proprietor No. 2 ... 'The other man is gone; I am now your master' (1897: 9).

61.   For critical assessment of these relations see Olive Schreiner (1987) and Samkange's anti-colonial fiction (1978).

62.   John C. Greene (1981) describes Social Darwinism - the belief that competition between individuals, tribes, nations, and races was an important engine of progress in human history - was endemic in much of British thought in the mid nineteenth-century. Greene argues that the idea of progress through competitive struggle was elevated from the status of a principle of political economy to that of a law governing biological and social evolution. The "Lamarckian" principle of the inheritance of acquired characters, was viewed as co-operating with the law of natural selection in bringing about the gradual improvement of the human race. The sense of Western, and more especially British or Anglo-Saxon, superiority over other nations and races seemed confirmed by the findings of science as well as by the progress of history. He suggests that Darwin's *Origin of Species* gave a powerful boost to this kind of thinking, and that Darwin himself was deeply influenced by this current of thought.   It was clear that Darwin was looking for evidence of the same natural agencies that disseminate, modify, improve, or bring about the decline and extinction of varieties of plants and animals had also acted on the various tribes and races of man in early human history. Greene suggests Darwin believed that the process of selection applied to intellectual characteristics and:

> ... the most intellectual individuals of a species being continually selected and the intellect of the new species thus improved .... This process is now going on with the races of man; the less intellectual races being exterminated. (Darwin to Lyell, 11 October 1859) ... the white man is improving off the face of the earth even races nearly his equals. (Darwin to Lyell 23 September 1860). (1981: 101)

63.   Sykes traces the Amakalanga origins of Mlimo and compares its workings with the Delphic oracle. He describes this religious leader as:

> ... the professed deity of peace and plenty, crops and harvest, the god of agriculture, similar to the Ceres of old ... Before the rebellion, the Mlimo had just acquired extraordinary credence by predicting the rinderpest.

One of the Abantwana M'limo had news of it through some channel only known to himself, long before it reached the South. Then again the deity informed his worshippers that the drought which had played such havoc with the crops of 1896, would cease when they had killed some of the white people. Strangely enough after the murders of Maddocks and the Cunningham family, the rains which had held up so long immediately commenced to fall. Much capital was made out of the eclipse of the moon in March as an omen foretelling strange things to come, while the Abantwana M'Limo did not fail to point out to their credulous followers that it was only since the advent of Dr Jameson and his white impis, that the large red locust, that scourge of the mielie fields, had made its appearance in the land. (1897: 259-260)

64.   Samkange (1978) illustrates how Africans perceived themselves as being subjected to the arbitrary will of BSA Company officials (1978: 25). Also Ranger shows that Africans often described this form of rule as barbaric (1968: 309).

65.   After the occupation of Matableland in 1893, Rhodes gave instructions to begin recruitment among the Thembu people of the Eastern Cape for 'buffer' populations of colonised Africans who could be settled on land between settler farms and reserves demarcated for Ndebele use (Rouillard, 1953).

66.   Samkange referred to the effects such divisions had on the Chimurenga of 1896-7 and in the modern nationalist war of liberation (1985: 31).

67.   See my discussion in Chapter Three of Baden-Powell's account of two deserters from colonial forces (who were 'Cape Boys'), were shot by Hussars when they went over to the side of those that had joined the Chimurenga.

68.   See Van Onselen's (1976) discussion, of forced labour in the 1930s and the complexity of African resistance to capitalism in the mining industry.

69.   'Before' and 'after' photographs are intended as visible evidence of Babyana's 'deterioration' (1897: 270-273). Sykes describes his degeneration as follows:

> The first time the writer met him was after the last indaba at Mr Rhodes's camp .... Babayana's stock-in-trade, so far as the English language is concerned, consists of 'All a right.' This he invariably uses to express 'Howd' you do', 'Good-day' and 'Thank you' when addressing any one not versed in the Matablele vernacular. His incessant flow of language indicates that he is accustomed to an attentive audience, and in

argument he could give most men and some women many points and a beating. [He is] cunning, [and has] a most tenacious memory. Babayana is now located at a kraal a few miles to the south of Bulawayo, and may now and again be seen in town on a 'cadging expedition', for since the war is over, he is cute enough to be on the best of terms with the powers that be, and is always ready to swear eternal fealty to the white man, in exchange for a bit of tobacco. (1897: 270-272)

70.   J. M. Coetzee's (1988: 30) examines the notion of degeneration as it occurs in colonial narratives.

71.   Subsequent fictional and non-fictional narratives which focused on Chimurenga include William H. Brown *On the South African Frontier* (1899) and Sam Kemp *Black Frontiers. Pioneer Adventures with Cecil Rhodes' Mounted Police in Africa* (1932).

72.   The narratives of Chimurenga in Matabeleland mirrored the settler/colonial perception that the Ndebele were the dominant power in the region. Only one campaign diary (Alderson, 1898) focused on the events in Mashonaland, and Olive Schreiner's satirical novella (1897).

73.   This trend is exemplified by Father Richartz of the Jesuit mission at Chishawasha and his attempts to convert Nehanda and Kaguvi on the scaffold. He attended the condemned prisoners Kaguvi and Nehanda in their cells and tried to convert them. He conveyed the news of their execution to them and gave the following account 'The End of Kakubi' in the *Zambesi Mission Record*, 1: 2 Nov. 1898, of the conversion of Kaguvi medium while the unrepentent Nehanda was executed in the room above. Afterwards Father Richartz described the reactions of the white settlers, who felt that the rebellion had ended once these mediums were executed:

> Everyone felt relieved after the execution, as the very existence of the main actors in the horrors of the rebellion, though they were secured in prison, made one feel uncomfortable ... their bodies were buried in a secret place, so that no natives could take away their bodies and claim that their spirits had descended to any other prophetess or witch-doctor. (Ranger, 1968: 310).

CONCLUSION

It has been the aim of this study to utilise Michel Foucault's insights and vocabulary in trying to account for the way Europeans sought to impose a Western 'order' upon Central Southern Africa 1860-1900. I have examined the discursive regularities in narratives of exploration and conquest in the hitherto neglected field of late nineteenth-century Zimbabwe. My study has demonstrated how the production of discourse at both this colonial site and at the metropolis was simultaneously controlled, selected and redistributed "according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality" (Foucault, 1972: 216). Rather than asserting a homogeneity for texts written within the colonial context, I have explained how it was possible for explorers, travellers, hunters, missionaries and soldiers to speak of different objects, to have contrary opinions and to make contradictory choices within the same discursive practice.

Although it is clear that Foucault's work has informed recent postcolonial research into nineteenth-century social orders in Southern Africa, I acknowledge the difficulties of using a theorist who focused on the formation of knowledge in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards (J. M. Coetzee, 1988; John and Jean Comaroff, 1992; Mary-Louise Pratt, 1992; Clifton Crais, 1992; Leon De Kock 1996). While my reading of discourse

has been concerned with a Foucauldian analysis of the imposition of

Western 'order' upon a Zimbabwean 'wilderness', this is informed by

interpretations and criticism of Foucault's methods outlined by Edward Said,

Gayatri Spivak and Aijaz Ahmad (Said, 1983; Spivak, 1988; Ahmad, 1992).

I locate the discursive regimes within their moment of production and

reception and consider the effect that context has on the structure of these

texts. In a situation where each discursive position is called into question by

other elements within the texts, I regard individual statements as unstable.

In addition, I have sought to define the range of narrative roles adopted by

explorers, missionaries and travellers. My analysis shows that these texts

are determined in a certain way by economic and social distinctions that

outflank the author's personal wishes, actions or biography. I perceive the

need to distinguish between the colonial situation in Southern Africa and

those of the Americas and Asia. It is within this framework that I argue for

the place of postcolonial research into the hitherto neglected nineteenth-

century narratives of the colonial 'archive'.

I began my analysis with narratives of the explorer that described

Zimbabwe as an El Dorado. I demonstrated how both Mauch and Baines's

texts sought to base certain claims in Nature, science, in the plausible, upon

sincerity and 'true discourse'. An Imperial German and British national-

scientific discourse emerged and exercised its own control over 'true' and

'false' observations. A scheme of internal rules evolved in what came to be seen as an observable, measurable and classifiable African interior. Racially-coded Western notions of 'industry' and 'productivity' were deployed in geological and topographical descriptions of Zimbabwe. The binary of a 'superior' Western Christian civilization and African 'barbarism' were harnessed to distinguish 'rational', 'scientific', 'industrious', 'hygienic' Europeans from 'primitive', 'heathen', 'idle', and 'dangerous' Africans. Local African knowledge was transcribed into a Western topography and mythography of Zimbabwe. The dual process of imagining and mapping colonial space predicated relations between colonizer and colonized as those between master and servant. In these important ways the discourse of the explorer contributed to the founding logic of Empire.

My study of the narratives of Selous, Lippert, Baden-Powell and Schreiner demonstrates that the constitution of Colonial Man was achieved via a concurrent dehumanisation and displacement of Africans. The formulation of the colonial subject was a complex process where an alternately heroic Western individual and a morally-bankrupt colonial were gradually absorbed into a collective Imperial self. Opposed to this construct were racialised European representations of a collective African labouring class. This section demonstrates how global shifts in imperialism relate to European industrialization and urbanization and how power relations in colonial society are reflected in localized discourses. Studies of colonial

narratives in Southern Africa have not accounted for the range of positions

from which narrators who entered Zimbabwe spoke, particularly those of the

hunter-adventurer, the allegorist, the campaign diarist and family

correspondent. Neither have they illustrated to what extent the 'scientific'

and 'truth' claims of these narrators are based on private experience and on

the conscience of the individual.

In my analysis of the role of the Missionary in the formation of

Colonial Society, I found that economic practices were codified into

philanthropy and morality in complex ways. What began in 1860 as the

Matabeleland Mission of the London Missionary Society became absorbed

into the more global logic of expansionism and invasion. I have shown how

this evangelism relied on institutional support and the popular reception of

missionary records at the metropolis. Also, I demonstrated how it was

reinforced by the first evangelists, and became entrenched with the

translation of the Gospel into Ndebele and Shona. I pointed out a disparity

between the pragmatic 'civilizing' mission of T. M. Thomas and Bishop

Knight-Bruce's grandiose Imperial vision that focused on an efficient pastoral

administration and a racialised separation of the African diocese. This

suggests that there is a need to re-think the missionary record identified by

the Comaroffs (1993) and De Kock (1996).

In my analysis of the narratives of Chimurenga I examined the

normalization of a violent British military order which aspired to 'rationality'
and 'civilization' and affirmed the triumphal master-narrative of Western
hegemony. I analyse the shift from the suppression of African resistance to
the institutionalization of divisions and exclusions within a post-Chimurenga
carceral order. These narratives register the transformation of technology in
the late 1890s, the refinement of techniques of surveillance and the
emergence of a system of control in the production of discourse. This
discursive framework included blueprints for a discriminatory pastoral order,
a settler juridico-legal order, and a 'Native Administration' for Africans in
tribal reservations after 1897. Mitford, Tyrie-Laing, Sykes and Godwin-
Green converted Social Darwinist notions and nineteenth-century race theory
into a system of rules, definitions and methods to define the range of African
behaviour and conduct during Chimurenga. Although I point out Schreiner's
dissident voice and the discontinuity, ambivalence and incoherence in
narratives of conquest, most writers projected popular settler classifications
and myths about African society.

Generally colonial narratives have been analysed as if they were
simply accounts of the lives of individuals. What is needed is that
theoretical models of colonial discourse should be reformulated to account
for the discontinuities and ambivalences within narratives of exploration and
conquest. Further work on the instability of texts will reveal the notion of
subversion of discourses within the parameters in which texts have been

produced and received. Instead of being dismissed simply on the grounds of their replication of or reaffirmations of colonial rule, they should be seen as symptomatic of the shifts, transformations and contradictions inherent in power relations in colonial Africa.

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