

ORIGINS

- a. The salt expedition theory by S.Moyana and S.I.G Mudenge.
- b. The infiltration of the Dande Chidima region in the Northern plateau by D.N. Beach.
- c. The vanguishing of the states like Teve, Barwe,Guruuswa,Tonga,Dande etc by Mutota thereby earning the name 'Master of the ravaged land' which means Munhumutapa by T.O. Ranger and P.E.N. Tindal.
- d. Overpopulation at Great Zimbabwe and Mutota volunteered to leave by Ian Phimister.
- e. Mutapa state formed by army commander who left Great Zimbabwe (NOT MUTOTA) by Fage and D.N Beach.

ORIGINS OF THE MUTAPA STATE.

It is a matter of controversy amongst scholars. Various theories were put forward to tress where this state originated from. Nevertheless not withstanding the efforts of the scholars, this issue remains a thorn in the flesh.

To start with , Moyana, S.I.G. Mudenge and S. Mukanya supports the salt expedition theory. The scholars suggest that the state was found around 1400 AD by Nyatsimba Mutota who was an heir to the Great Zimbabwe Kingdom. It is said that after a severe salt shortage at Great Zimbabwe, Nyatsimba was send by his father to look for areas where the state could look for salt. After leaving with a group of men, he is said to have scattered around the country until he reached the Northern Plateau near the moden day Mutare. Tired of the expedition Nyatsimba was reluctant to return to Great Zimbabwe, thus with the help of his companions he established the state by in-cooperating defeated states in the area, thus those three scholars agree that the Mutapa state was formed as a result of the search for salt. Although the suggestion can be accepted in explaining the origins of the Mutapa state, the theory suffers many weaknesses, the weaknesses brought about by D.N. Beach who bases his argument on the following reasons;

1. Nyatsimba Mutota was not the founder of the state, if he founded it he did it so to an already existing state.
2. The fact that it is said that he incooperated defeated states is refutable, Beach wonders how he could vanguish those states while he was accompanied by few man.
3. He argues that Shona Kings were highly respected and so were their sons. So how could a royal descended be send on a salt expedition.

The arguments of Beach hold much water in refuting the credibility of the salt expedition theory. Nevertheless one wishes to highlight that those arguments of Beach are dressed with weaknesses, frevorous and far fetched. In reference to his first argument that Nyatsimba was not the founder of the

state, T.O. Ranger takes it as a surprise that Beach does not give the founder of the Mutapa state yet he purports it was not Nyatsimba Mutota. Given that other scholars agree unanimously that the founder was Nyatsimba Mutota, D.N. Beach's argument in contradiction to the salt expedition theory falls short of credibility. This is also the same with his second argument that if Nyatsimba is regarded as the founder of the Mutapa state then he founded an already existing state. Amazing is that Beach does not give the name of that already existing state, instead he postulates that the Mutapa was founded after the infiltration of the Dande Chidima region in the Northern Plateau. To some extent S.I.G. Mudenge agrees with this suggestion. However no one is told how the name Mutapa was given to the state, thus even though one might be tempted to agree to this suggestion there is no historic convincing facts.

Not willing to be left behind T.O. Ranger also forwards that the Mutapa state came into being when Nyatsimba Mutota, a military genius left Great Zimbabwe owing to political struggles and started vanguarding states on his way up to the Northern Plateau. Within a short period of time, it is said that the name of Nyatsimba was held in high esteem, that praise names were bestowed on him. The number of conquered states increased including Torwa, Tete, Barwe, Guruuswa, Tonga, Dande etc. It is known that when a state is large it is difficult to maintain political stability but Nyatsimba in a master stroke fashion was able to administer all the conquered states. A name was then given to him, Munhumutapa, a Shona name which means Master of ravaged or conquered lands. Given such an explanation as to how the name Mutapa was founded the view of T.O. Ranger is not hard to believe. It is surprising that D.N. Beach also agrees with the explanation.

Nevertheless, he argues that how could Nyatsimba ravage the surrounding states when it is a historical fact that he left Great Zimbabwe with only a few companions. This is a noble argument from Beach. However he fails to appreciate that a strong army is not only measured by numbers but by skills. Take into consideration the Ndebele state which succeeded in crushing the remnants of the Rozvi state. For that reason one supports the idea of T.O. Ranger. It is convincing that the reason why Nyatsimba left Great Zim as per Moyana, S.I.G. Mudenge, S. Mukanya vis a vis the view of Ranger and Tindal are not reconcilable.

The first one is the salt expedition and second one of a break away state. The major question is who then can be believed, when Nyatsimba arrived on the Northern Plateau he found salt. The reason which is given why he did not return to Great Zimbabwe is not convincing thus belief is made next to impossibility. The other view which is supported by Phimister as the formation of the Mutapa state is that there was over population at Great Zimbabwe. It is said that as a result of exhaustion of resources at Great Zimbabwe, there was overpopulation. In a bid to alleviate this problem the Mambo is said to have asked his sons who was ready to leave with a number of considerable people and Nyatsimba volunteered. He was later to scatter in the Northern Plateau, a much en route to the formation of the Mutapa State. Nevertheless with this issue of overpopulation other schools suggested that Nyatsimba was not asked to leave for good but to go in search of fertile lands which were rich in minerals. Thus it is a point that there is a controversy in overpopulation in itself. The other view is given by Fage who claims that the state was founded by an Army Commander who left Great Zimbabwe. However he declines that it was Nyatsimba Mutota.

Considering the various theories above it is pattern that the origin of the Mutapa state is far from certainty. What is easy to believe is that Nyatsimba Mutota was the founder of the name Mutapa, was given to the state when other surrounding states were vanguarded.

THE POLITICAL SET UP OF THE MUTAPA STATE

1. 'The dictatorship of the Mutapas succeeded in keeping the state intact'. Discuss
2. Critically analyse the political set up of the Mutapa state.

Mwari

Masvikiro or King (spirit mediums)

Kings advisors or war council (Dare rehondo)

Chiefs

Headman

Mutapa officials

-Headman or chief

-Council or advisors

-Masvikiro or spirit mediums

-Machinda or body guards

-Vasori or spies

-Nhume or messengers

-N'angas in the Kings court

POLITICAL SET UP OF THE MUTAPA STATE

Its believed that the state had a hierarchical society whereby at the top was Mwari, followed by the Mhondoro, Masvikiro, King, his advisors, Machinda and the chiefs. The king possessed absolute powers that no one could question his policies. It was on account of the dictatorship that the King was able to maintain the ultimate intact. The King was viewed as a spiritual being whereby most of the times he was excluded from the eyes of the masses. On the basis of such belief the Mutapas were able to perpetuate despotism.

THE COUNCIL/ ADVISORS

This consisted of relatives and elders in the Mutapa state. They were there to give the King advice in relation to the political administration of the state. Advice from them was taken seriously by the King as according to D.N. Beach, the Mutapas believed that 'Akuruma nzeve ndewako' a Shona

phrase which means that the ones who gives you advice is interested in your survival. However the King retained the power to veto what advice was given to him thus the council of advisors was only a consultative board.

MACHINDA / BODYGUARDS

These were men chosen to protect the King. Thus the main tasks of the Machindas was to make sure that the physical integrity of the Kings person was not infringed. However the Mutapas did not consider such physical protection to be sufficient.

THE N'ANGAS IN THE KINGS COURT

These were individuals who were about to foretell and fourth tell and were supposed to protect the King from dangers which could not be discerned by the eyes of an ordinary man. They were even consulted before declarations of wars whether it was going to be a victory or loss. Again the King was not satisfied by the spiritual leadership of the N'angas.

THE MASVIKIRO'S

There were also carefully chosen by the King, T.O. Ranger criticises this action as he argues that for one to be a Masvikiro / spirit medium it is not a matter of choosing but a matter of the spirit or Mhondoro choosing you. So when the King chose the Masvikiros who dealt in his Court it was quite obvious that he chose those who could fourth tell and foretell good things about the King. It follows that some of the things which the Mutapas were told were smeared with lies so as to fit the desires of the King. D.N. Beach cements this idea when he says ' Not all the Masvikiros were Masvikiros in the Mutapa state'. Scholars agree anonymously that the N'angas in the Kings court contributed to the fall of the state since some of their prophecies left the state torn apart.

OTHER OFFICIALS IN THE MUTAPAS

1. The Chief –for the smooth running of the Mutapas political administration, the Kings were surrounded by officials such as the following:....., These were responsible for the administration of territories where the Kings administration could not be felt effectively.
2. Nhume / Messengers- these had the role of modern day messengers where upon they were supposed to deliver the Kings messages to Chiefs and other Kings. They played a critical role as far as communication is concerned. Some messengers needed not to travel but only to use drums in communicating the Kings message.
3. Vasori / spies- Dosandos and other Portuguese who visited the Mutapa state claim that the Mutapas possessed a system of Network Surveillants maned by the Vasori / spies. These were supposed to notify the King about the ongoing and off goings in the Mutapa state. Dosandos purports that the first Portuguese to visit the Mutapa were taken aback when they were told that their presents in the country was known even when they were miles away.later the prazo holders were always out smarted by the Mutapas whenever they tried to attack them through the help of the spies.
4. Council of war / Dare rehondo

These were responsible for planning strategies of executing wars. They were also consulted before a declaration of war. Nevertheless powers of declaring a war were vested in the hands of the King. The council of war consisted of man with military ability and extra-ordinary shrewdness. After hatching their plan to attack an enemy the King would consult the Masvikiros whether they were happy with such an attack, if the masvikiros complained, he would then consult the n'angas whether the war was going to be won or lost.

5. The army- In the Mutapa state was the enforcing machinery. It is believed that it consisted of a large number of man, various Portuguese estimated the number up to 3000. Each chief / every vassal chief state was supposed to give its army in times of war. It was on account of the army that the Kings were able to perpetuate despotism. However D.N.Beach disagrees with the estimation given by the Portuguese. He said the Portuguese tried to increase the number of the Mutapa soldiers in a bid to justify their defeats on the hands of the Mutapas. Nevertheless, S.I.G. Mudenge purports that they could not be such exaggeration since the Mutapas themselves agreed that they possessed large numbers of soldiers. Notwithstanding this argument by S.I.G. Mudenge T.O Rangers' argument is in line with that of Beach, since he says in relation to the large number of soldiers,' a clear exaggeration meant to exhaust and glorify the political powers of the Mutapa'. Thus according to him the Mutapa people agreed to have possessed large numbers of army so as to sanctify the belief that they were politicaly strong.

THE REIGN OF NYATSIMBA MUTOTA.

It was characterised by despotism where upon he was the supreme ruler of his subjects. No one could question his decision and activities in the Mutapa state. Nyatsimba Mutota faced no opposition since he was the founder of the state. As the King of the Mutapa he was also the judge and executor of punishment. When a person committed a crime (mhosva) he was called to the King, tried by the Kings council in presence of bodyguards and received a judgement of the King who also gave the sentence. From the above it is apparent that the King wildered much power in the Mutapa state, however one should not think that the lives of the Mutapa people were sorrowful. African historians purports that the Mutapa state was always full of happiness e.g every end of year there was a ceremony celebrated to the unity of the people. It is said that Nyatsimba Mutota slaughtered his own cattle and cooked from his own granary to the joy of the people. Nevertheless a close look of what was transpiring in the Mutapa state reviews that not everything was ross. It is a historian fact that at the end of every harvest each individual was supposed to contribute to the King's granary and kraal in the name o f Zunde Ramambo. Zunderamambo was a special reserve in food and livestock which was used in times of drought or visitors at the state.Deductively its a fact that when he killed livestock and cooked for the people at the end of every year he was taking from his own granary. Not withstanding the above argument credit should be given to Nyatsimba Mutota for his shrewdness for he was able to sustain the state even during the times of drought.

THE FAMOUS DANDA REHURO.

Nyatsimba Mutota had the power to decide life and death. If one was found to be an enemy of the King or was suspected to be treasonous of Nyatsimba. Death that person deserved with the help of n'angas in the Kings court. Many people were sent to the Danda rehuoro where ones neck was placed

on a log and using the gano (axe) one's head could disappear from the body. It was through this danda rehuro that Nyatsimba was able to perpetuate this dictatorship. Ian Phimister purports that some people lost their lives simply because the King was of the opinion that the danda rehuro would go thirsty if many days passed by without an execution. Patently this was dictatorship at its peak though unrefutable that such dictatorship engendered fear in the Mutapa people. Fear which was unnecessary for the survival of the state. The necessity seeing that no one would dare plan a thing against the state.

NYATSIMBA WARS OF EXPANSION.

When he was now well in the political saddle Mutota engaged in aggressive wars in surrounding states. When he defeated a state he incorporated all young men into his army which means that each regiment meant an increase in the number of his soldiers. On account of his continuous victory in the Dande Chidima regions he became known as an invincible warrior whom no one wished to lock horns with.

NYATSIMBA DYNASTIC POLICY

The empire was growing and growing with Nyatsimba's wars of expansion that it was becoming difficult if not next to impossibility for him to manage effectively the empire. It was from this standpoint that he started his dynastic whereupon he appointed his relatives and close friends to be Kings and chiefs of regions where his behests could not be effectively felt. The dynastic policy was therefore an improvement in the administration of the Mutapa empire. It was also closely knitted with the policy of tribute paying by vassal states. This tribute payment ensured allegiance by vassal states. When Nyatsimba Mutota died he was succeeded by his son Mutapa Matope.

THE REIGN OF MUTAPA MATOPE

He was son of Nyatsimba Mutota and became King after the death of his father. Many of his policies resembled those of his father. It was during the reign of Matope that the Mutapa state started facing political problems. It started with Matope's dynasty whereupon it became more and more difficult to maintain the dynasty intact. This was probably on account of introduction of guns that the vassal states acquired more power and started challenging the rule of the Mutapas. They were succession disputes after the death of Matope. According to D.N Beach every faction made an attempt on the throne". This was particularly with Gatsi Rusere and other clanmates dedicated to get on the throne, Gatsi Rusere invited the Portuguese to come to his aid, seeing the benefits which were associated in helping Gatsi the Portuguese agreed and according to Mudenge it was on account of the Portuguese that doom was spelt in the Mutapas.

THE REIGN OF GATSI RUSERE.

He clearly sharpened the fall of the Mutapa state. His contact to the subjects of the mutapa was extensively boring and his associations with the Portuguese was outstandingly fatal. When the Portuguese helped Gatsi to overcome to power they made him no less than a puppet, thus in reign he strived to please the Portuguese instead of the people of the Mutapa.

THE TREATY OF 1607.

This was between the Portuguese and Gatsi Rusere where they agreed that Gatsi was to recognise the interest of the Portuguese in the Mutapa state. Those interests included mining rights and the rights to settle in the state. Moreso, he was not supposed to enter in any other treaty of that sought

with any country. In return the Portuguese were to help Gatsi in wars especially against the revolting vassal states. Nevertheless the Portuguese were supposed to continue the pay of the Curva tax. At first value this treaty was lucrative since Gatsi succeeded in suppressing all the revolting states. It is from that perspective that the Portuguese tried to justify themselves for causing no decline to the state but rather acting as a life injection to the state. Nevertheless a critical analysis of the treaty of 1607 present that as a hurricane against the stability. The treaty allowed the Portuguese to mingle and intervene in Mutapa political administration, not to mention its milking of the resources of the Mutapa state. For such a stronger reason it is no wonder why D.N Beach regarded the treaty as disastrous in the decline of the Mutapa whilst P.N Tindal say " the treaty wrecked the state that it is to suppose that the people of Mutapa could not learn in such a wreck and be ruled by an unashamed puppet who could not hesitate to strip and break the bones of a big man, they revolted against Gatsi Rusere and Mutapa Kapuratsine came to power.

THE REIGN OF KAPURATSINE.

Mutapa Kapuratsine was hostile to the intervention of the Portuguese to the Mutapa state. Now that the Portuguese had a strong hold in the state after establishing mining claims they could not let go and were adamant to the demands of Kapuratsine. Kapuratsine was infuriated and awaited a day he could prove to the Portuguese that he was no Rusere but Kapuratsine of the Mutota dynasty. The n'angas in the King's Court after consulting their "Hakata" told Kapuratsine that a certain family of Mambura was associating, aiding and abating the Portuguese. Kapuratsine was not slow to suggest that they should be brought to the Dandarehuro and that was the end of the Mambura family. The Portuguese protested but Kapuratsine was not ready to listen and in 1629 he declared a war against the Portuguese. Nevertheless Mutapa could not stand the better armament of the Portuguese and when they were defeated in the same year it was not surprising that a treaty was imposed on him.

THE TREATY OF 1629 (Between Kapuratsine and Portuguese).

1. The Portuguese were supposed to enter the Mutapa state and do their activities without any hinderance.
2. Portuguese missionaries were supposed to be allowed to build churches wherever they wanted.
3. The Portuguese were supposed to enter the Kings Court with shoes and not remove their hats, with this the self importance of the King was ruined.
4. The Portuguese to stop paying the Curva but instead the Mutapas to pay tribute to Portugal, D.N Beach regards this treaty as a treaty which turned Mutapa state into a vassal state of the King of Portugal. Moreso, the King of Portugal appointed a man who was stationed in the Mutapa state as a representative of the King of Portugal. In addition to the discounted and disgraunted Mutapa Mavura was appointed as King of Mutapa state and was baptised as Philip, a clear indication that he was leading the Mutapa for the Portuguese" thanks to S.I.G Mudenge.

THE REIGN OF MAVURA.

It saw the benefits of the Portuguese accruing. Mavura also allowed many people to be forced into Christianity and agreed the setting up of the prazo system. The prazo system spelt doom to the people of the Mutapa since it resulted in land desposition and displacement. All fertile lands were secured for prazo holders since the Portuguese were farmers and depended in recruiting labour

from the Mutapa state and family members were not happy thus during the reign of Mavura revolts were important. Revolts in the Mutapa state coupled with wars from the vassal states succeeded in leaving the Mutapa state on the terrain to start its decline. Mavura died in 1652 and the Portuguese were quick to impose Domingo as another puppet, unfortunately to their detriment Domingo was assassinated and Nyenyedzi was imposed as the next ruler and was baptised as Pedro. Not able to face the eruption of class struggles in Mutapa, the then oppression, the unnecessary face of the Portuguese, attempts on his life and revolts from vassal states, Nyenyedzi abdicated and Nyakunembiri was chosen as the King and was baptised as Alfonso. Though they thought they had imposed a puppet, Nyakunembire was a man of tricks and he started by poisoning many Portuguese in the Mutapa state and then leaving them to be devoured by animals and reporting it as the cause of their death. Not satisfied with this he started claiming that minerals were exhausted in the state and threatened any of his people who reported on any discussions in the state. Tindal say that the Portuguese who were disgruntled left the state and those who helped to find new discoveries deserved death.

NYAKUNEMBIRES CAMPAIGNINGS 1650

Nyakunembire's campaignings of 1650, he aimed at reviving the glory which was there during Mutota's reign. He wanted to prove to the revolting states that the Mutapa was not yet down, thus one by one he conquered the vassal states who had gained their independence under the weak leadership of puppets. Nyakunembire ruthlessly demanded success from all his army commanders though this succeeded in gaining the vassal states. This policy also contributed to the fall of the Mutapa state e.g another army commander, Nengomasha was defeated and was on his way home with the remaining soldiers when he heard that the Dandarehuro was waiting for him, he turned and fled not alone but with the army. After regaining strength he lamented several attacks on the state which culminated the fall of the state thus it is not wrong that the fall of the Mutapa state was self inflicted.

THE REIGN OF CHIOKO

The last ruler was Chioko although his reign was short lived, this is particularly on account of the fact that the Mutapa was then a vassal state of the Rozvi state. Forces of imperialism were also to arouse the last tracks of the Mutapa state.

A BRIEF ASSESSMENT OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF PORTUGUESE IN THE POLITICAL FALL OF THE MUTAPA STATE.

1. The Portuguese supporting and imposition of puppets esp their support of pre Gatsi, preMavura, preDomingo, preAlfonso etc succeeded in tearing the Mutapa state in debris. It is a fact that people were not happy with these puppets that they started revolting against them which culminated political instability thus the Portuguese are blamed for causing succession disputes. However one should not forget that the likes of Gatsi, Mavura etc were power hungry so they should also share the blame.
2. The treaty of 1607 and 1629
3. Revolts from vassal states and civil wars, Many scholars esp those with bias suggest that this was a cause of the fall of the Mutapa state independent from any activities of the Portuguese. However

that is not true, were not the Portuguese who supplied the vassal states with necessary ammunition. It is presumed that had the Portuguese not supplied with ammunition the vassal states could have remained weak thereby lamenting no attack against the Mutapa state. After all the Portuguese encouraged the vassal states to revolt.

4. The prazo system- The political system of Mutapa was balanced through sharing land. When the prazo holders took much of the land from Mutapas such political stability was disturbed since tribes started fighting fearlessly for stripes of land. Thus in as much as it is a fact that the civil wars contributed to the fall of the Mutapa state politically, it is a fact that was increased by the Portuguese.

THE ECONOMIC SET UP

Agriculture was the main basis of the state. Other economic activities practised included mining, trade, rearing cattle, hunting, tribute paying, pottery etc. Agriculture was practised at a much high scale. The crops included drought resistant ones such as sorghum, with the coming of the Portuguese growing of maize was introduced. Thus the King's army survived through maize production and his subjects. Mining- this was done at a lower scale. Extraction of copper, gold, bronze and iron was done for making of ring, bangles, razor, knives. Strict control were made on gold production by the Mutapas. They sent their own miners to work in mines or made their miners to pay tax half of the gold they discovered. Trade- gold was important with trading in the East Coast. Ivory and copper were also exported. Clothing and beads were the imports.

QUESTION: "Without the tribute paying states the Mutapa state could not survive". Is this a valid judgement of the economic set up of the state?.

Considering that the army of the Mutapa needed to be fed it is no doubt that tribute payment which came mainly in form of grain did contribute to the state survival. Agriculture was the main basis of the Mutapa state thus the state could survive without tribute payment since many people were farmers. However, considering that a person had no grain to pay as tribute he would go and work in the Kings Zunde (field) it can still be argued that agriculture was linked by tribute payment. A trade to take place, traders had to pay tribute first thus if tribute was not to be paid no trade could take place. For mining to take place the Portuguese had to pay tax as tribute to the Mutapas. Thus without tribute payment again no mining. Hunting by the Portuguese in the Mutapa Kingdom had to be done after payment of tribute ie the right to hunt e.g by selous. The payment of tribute by vassal states contributed to its survival since this was a sign of allegiance or loyalty thus there was no chance that the vassal states could revolt without the Mutapa knowing. HOWEVER other economic factors contributed to its survival e.g pottery, basket weaving etc cattle rearing. Political factors also contributed to its survival e.g military strength, dynastic policy not to mention wars of expansion. Religion also contributed- the spiritual guidance of Mwari. Social factors also contributed to its survival e.g yearly ceremonies.

THE FALL OF THE MUTAPA

1. Succession disputes, 2. Division in religion, 3. Revolt from vassal states, 4. Exhaustion of fertile lands and mines, 5. The prazo system, 6. The Mutapa Portuguese treaty of 1607 and 1629, 7. Drought of 1605 and 1660, 8. The attack from Changamire Dombo and the 9. dictatorship of the Mutapas.

1. Interference of the Portuguese in disputes of the state led to its fall e.g Gatsi and Mavura crisis.

2. There was division of religion after the introduction of Christianity
3. They revolted against the leadership of the Mutapa thus the Mutapa now concentrated on suppressing revolts rather than keeping the state intact.
4. Mavura being a puppet allowed the supply of forced labour for the Portuguese in every mine.
5. Did the same in the Prazo.
6. Signed by Rusere
7. Worsened the situation of the Mutapa
8. Dombo helped the Mutapa defeat by Portuguese but now wanted the Mutapa to be under the Rozvi when the Mutapa resisted it was attacked.
9. Being disgruntled in all factors of life Mutapa could no longer take in ill-treatment from their own Kings.

QUESTION: "The Portuguese only sounded a death knell on a state already on the decline". Do you agree with this view in relation to the fall of the Mutapa state.

1. Division of religion- it is said that religion unifies people, the coming of Christianity brought division for Gonzalo preached that the N'angas were demonic, on account of that he was later killed. This led to the war between the Portuguese and the Mutapa. D.N Beach says the n'angas from time immemorial had played an important role in the survival of the state yet Goncalo brought confusion by saying they were demonic. 2. Succession disputes- The Portuguese were the ones who imposed puppets like Gatsi, Mavura etc and these were to cause succession disputes. 3. Revolt of vassal state- the Portuguese were the ones who supplied necessary ammunition and many Mutapas perished as they were using arrows. 4. Fertile lands and mines were exhausted by the Portuguese who were now working on them by the treaty of 1607. 5. The Prazo system- this led to family separation due to forced labour by the Portuguese. On account of the above points it can be rather said the Portuguese ignited the fall of the Mutapa state rather than just simply saying they only sounded a death knell. HOWEVER it was the Mutapa state which invited the Portuguese e.g Gatsi a puppet. Droughts were natural disasters nothing to do with Portuguese.

THE ROZVI STATE

1. "There is no state without origins, however to trace that of the Rozvi is to open a Pandora box of confusion". Validate this statement.
2. Discuss the origins of the Rozvi state.

ORIGINS

Like that of the Mutapa, the origins of the Rozvi is a matter of controversy, various scholars attempted in vain to trace the origins of the Rozvi state but in vain. One of them Dr MJ Sibanda purports that the Rozvi state was founded by Changamire Dombo a descendant of the Torwa. Changamire or leader. This view of Sibanda is supported by P.E Tindal in his book the History of

Central Africa. When he says “from the falling Torwa states Dombo constructed a strong state”. This use of the word construction by Tindall in that statement suggests that the Rozvi came into being on account of the effects of Changamire Dombo. The origins of the Rozvi state is also given in Portuguese sources.

1. Dos Antos Written Records

He purports that the Rozvi state was founded by Changamire Dombo who was nothing but a poor cattle herder of the Mutapa. He says that Changamire Dombo was treated with cynicism that any man in his rightful mind could not stand. On account of that Changamire Dombo fled with the wealthy of the Mutapas and founded his own state. Appreciated are these efforts of Dos Antos to trace the origins of the Rozvi state. Nevertheless apparent are the blattering weaknesses attributed to his records. First of all the word Changamire meant Mambo, a Shona word which means King but it seems as if Dos Antos takes the word Changamire as if it was the first name of Changamire Dombo which is incorrect. On these grounds the writings of Dos Antos falls short of credit.

2. Da Dominica

He claimed that Dombo was a deadly wizard or a magician who was able to conquer other states using magic, thus he referred to the Rozvi state as a magic state. He also claims that the Shona name Kurozva which means to trick and spoil using magic was hence forth given to the group which followed Dombo and the name was later to be shortened Rozvi. Though one might be attempted to believe this who is supported by Stokes and Brown in their book the Zambezia Past, it is apparent that Dominica’s writings are influenced by his Eurocentric. This is because many Europeans believed that they were defeated by African States on account of their ability to use magic.

3.S.I.G Mudenge, The Mutapa Book

Advocates that the Rozvi state came into being after Dombo in 1700 led a strong army of about 2000 to 4000 men to the small states of Butwa and defeated the Torwa. Between 1684 and 1695 he is said to have launched campaigns against the Portuguese and expelled them from the Zambezi valley and then built a strong state which included the Torwa, Manyika, Kalanga, and the Mutapa on the Zambezi Plateau. This can be believed because the Headquarters were there. First Danamombe where the former state was situated. It was later to be moved to Manyika i.e Tavazikamabo, on account of the way they easily conquered enemies. The Portuguese called them Rozvi to mean Destroyers or Despoilers. D.N Beach also agrees with these notions of Mudenge in his book the Shona in Zimbabwe, though he purports that the Rozvi state was a direct state to the Zimbabwe state based at Khami i.e Rozvi.

4. Phimister and Procter in their book People and Power

They give two views from historians as to the origins of the Rozvi state.

a) Historians who purport that the Rozvi state came from an area in the North Eastern area of Zambezi between the Mutapa and the Torwa state in the South-West around 1690s. This was roughly the same time when the Rozvi defeated the Portuguese out of Manyika and Mutapa. These historians refer to traditions involving the founding ancestor of the Rozvi state, Dombo and to the two hills called Hurungwe and Zhombe in North Eastern Zimbabwe. They also referred to Portuguese documents written in 1684 and 1696 claiming that Rozvi power was based in the North East. They also wrote that the Mambo rulers descended from the same ancestor with the same Moyo or

Moyondizvo totem. A praise name which according to tradition originated in an area North East of the central area of the Rozvi state.

b) Other Historians suggest that the Rozvi state was a continuation of the Torwa state probably under a new ruling lineage but certainly under a new name after 1680. It is believed that they were conflicts between lineage in the mid 1690 over who should rule Torwa. On account of these conflicts there was a destruction of the Torwa capital, Khami. Thus the new capital was built at Danamombe. There was also depression in trade because of the disappearance of the Muslim Mwenyi the major trade to the Torwa in the 17 century i.e it is said that the Rozvi state came into being from the remnants of the Torwa state. However one might argue against the view that the Rozvi was a new ruling lineage in the Torwa state, archaeological evidence brings to spot light striking similarity of artefacts, tools, buildings, jewellery, pottery etc between the Torwa and the Rozvi state. Surely if the Rozvi was a new ruling lineage there were likely to be some difference.

ORAL TRADITION PERTAINING THE ORIGINS OF THE ROZVI STATE.

As according to the book of Moyana (Politics of Land) it is thought abroad that the Rozvi state was founded by Dombo who had special powers, it is said that he was able to make soldiers brave and even change the colour of cattle. It was then on account of these activities that he was able to attract many people into his bosom, consequently forming the Rozvi state. Dombo was also known as Chikura. Others also believe that there was a battle between two large granite mountains called Hurungwe and Zhombe near modern day town of Murehwa. Zhombe was defeated and Dombo tried to make Hurungwe mountain his throne. On account of his efforts, Dombo appeared to be a hero and the masses rallied behind him. Other traditions talk of how Chikura was born to a virgin and ate seeds out of the ground as a child, his father was Mwari called him to rule the state. Other traditions relates to his ancestors of the Changamire lived on hills and how Chikura built his own hill higher than theirs out of earth with ivory steps to overshadow theirs. These are clearly references to the terraced top residence of the Torwa rulers with their Ivory task set into the sides of the stairways. There are also many traditions about how the ruling Torwa lineage married into other lineages and after struggles involving magic and trickery brought them under their control and formed the Rozvi state. Notwithstanding these controversies one thing is for certain that there was a Rozvi state founded by Changamire Dombo and really existed.

POLITICAL SET UP OF THE ROZVI STATE.

The state had a militaristic structure and a famous army throughout Africa. It was located in the South West of Zimbabwe. At the height of their power the Rozvi armies operated as far as Zumbo and Manyika in the North and East. In a changing political map small chiefdoms were swallowed up and driven off their lands by larger ones. Chiefdoms, succession disputes which often involved outsiders as allies of the rival lineages. Present day communities have traditions that a new Chief need to be confirmed in his position by the Mambo the most powerful of all the rulers but this did not mean that the Mambo ruled over those Chiefdoms. He nearly offered some protection and recognition. Powerful Chiefdoms often refused to pay tribute to the Rozvi and in some cases the Mambo intervened forcefully to force them to do so. Although power was not consistent and stable the Rozvi remained most powerful and largest of the many Shona Chiefdoms throughout this period. In this case force rather than a common culture and lineage ties held the state intact. Young men

from different Chiefdoms and Lineages were forced to join the Rozvi armies by rewards of royal cattle and cattle captured in raids.

Moreso young men were also sent to serve in the army as a form of tribute by subject Chiefs in return of cattle and security. Controlling large herds of cattle was more important than controlling trade for the power of the Rozvi Mambos. This created the need to increase the Royal cattle heads through raiding and intervening in the politics of other chiefdoms to obtain tribute over a wide area. This increased the dependency of the Mambo in their armies. In many areas the Rozvi army collected tribute from local chiefs. This prevented Junior chiefs from becoming too powerful and independent. Rozvi collected tribute in the whole of Zimbabwe and also beyond the Shoshangai hills in Botswana. Traditions and sources stress the use of magic, tricks and spoils by the Rozvi armies. This was clearly intended to strike feelings of fear into any chief who revolted Rozvi and was also a tactic used by Tshaka.

These traditions together with exaggerated Portuguese reports of the Rozvi. Violent and terror probably create an exaggerated impression of Rozvi power. The picture they paint is that of an absolute and brutal state ruling directly over the whole of the Zimbabwean Plateau. In fact the Shona chiefdoms of the Mutapa state. Mazoe Valley, Barwe, Teve most of the South Eastern Highlands, the South Eastern Lowveld, the Nambuya area and the Zambezi Valley remained independent or paid tribute from time to time. Even within the areas regularly traversed by Rozvi armies, Rozvi power fluctuated greatly as the power of the local chiefs rose and fall. Thus it can be noted that the Portuguese exaggerations are there to justify themselves for the defeat they suffered in the hands of the Rozvi. Foreign trade was of less importance than it had been in the early state. In addition to grain and cattle tribute was also paid in gold and ivory. The Mambo exchanged these for luxury imported goods from the Mwenyi and later the Portuguese. In early stages these luxury goods were used to reward members of the ruling class for their loyalty. The Changamire did not allow the Portuguese to enter the state they treaded through Vashambadzi or agents of the Portuguese. At Danamombe archaeologists found Chinese porcelim, bottles of Dutch alcohol, Portuguese canvas, jewellery and over 25kg of gold. Most Torwa lineages retained their positions of authority under the rule of the Changamire.

Traditions has it that the commander of the Rozvi army and chief collector of tribute was an official known as the Tumbare, he came from one of the senior families of the ruling class and stood in place of the Changamire if the throne was a succession dispute or if the heir was too young to rule. The Rozvi also experienced succession disputes on the death of a ruler which contributed to its fall. This was one of the most weakness of African states esp when facing outside aggression. Tumbare helped to solve this dispute amongst the ruling class over who should rule. In a way this provided the complete destruction of the Rozvi state.

THE DECLINE OF THE ROZVI STATE.

The Rozvi from their basings in South West of Zimbabwe were recognised by tributary chiefs over the whole Zimbabwe for 150 years, they took over from and transformed the Torwa state. However by the 19th century Rozvi state was declining. Many chiefdoms stopped paying tribute to the Rozvi Mambo. The weakened Rozvi state was raided by several Nguni and Sotho speaking people. These had been displaced from their homes in south Africa by the Dutch and British colonial expansion

and warfare among African states. In about 1835 Zwangendaba attacked Danamombe. Changamire Chirisamhuru was defeated and died at Manyango. Nxava invaders caused further destruction many more tributary chiefdoms took the opportunity to break away from the Rozvi. The Ndebele under Mzilikazi invaded and settled in the South West of Zimbabwe in 1838 and they found the Rozvi state broken and divided, many Shona chiefdoms formerly tributary to the Rozvi became tributary to the Ndebele. However other Rozvi chiefdoms and tributaries continued to resist Ndebele demands of tribute and even raided Ndebele villages themselves. After 1853 the Rozvi ceased to exist as a strong political force in Central Africa thus although it was in existence it was under the Ndebele.

EFFECTS OF NGUNI GROUPS ON AFRICAN STATES.

MFEKANE GROUPS AND EFFECTS ON SHONA SOCIETY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

MFEKANE- Period of state transformation, migration and warfare accompanied by drought.

Causes

1. Effects of drought- this worsened the situation by starvation, a hungry man is an angry man.
2. Overpopulation
3. Emergence of the new states- these fought for superiority in power.
4. Displacement of Nguni groups by Portuguese and Boer for land. These Nguni groups now fought for land. Due to drought they started raiding one another. This mfekane led to the immediate result of formation of the Zulu state. We are interested in defeated states: Ngoni groups that came to invade African states in Zimbabwe (Ngoni invaders).

Examples: effects of Ngoni on the following:

Rozvi, Manyika Kingdom, Mutapa state, Shangani and the Ndau state.

ROZVI

Recognised by tributary chiefs over the whole Zimbabwe for 150 years. This was dependent on its army but Soshangane from the Ngoni dealt with the Tumbare. Fought him. Nyamazana further defeated the Rozvi- she even skinned Chirisamhuru. Also the Rozvi survived on the vassal states were now unloyal. There was serious economic depression caused by the Ngoni invaders. The Rozvi could no longer carry economic activities and they were now concentrating on fighting thus this led to economic decline. Through this the state was reduced to ashes that Mzilikazi came to build his state on top of those ashes. By the coming of Mzilikazi he conquered other states and took beautiful women and young men and this led to decline in Rozvi population and population of other states. In 1835 Zwangendaba's Ngoni attacked Danamombe thus Changamire Chirisamhuru was driven to his death at Manyanga. Nxaba's Ngoni invaders caused further destruction thus many more tributary chiefdoms took the opportunity to break away from the Rozvi state.

MANYIKA KINGDOM

Soshangane caused the decline of many states through devised methods of fighting. No African state resisted the cow horn formation. Further Whites first arrived in South Africa thus S.A had already started using guns and other weapons thus this contributed to the defeat of African states. The same thing happened to other states the only difference is in names and events. Hungers also led to the fall of African states because it must be beared in mind that the Ngoni groups also fled due to drought thus when they arrived in Zimbabwe, the states they conquered and carried out food raids and the Shona were left with no food led to the decline.

STATE BUILDING POLICY.

It must be noted that when these Ngoni groups came they came in small groups and after defeating the Shona they took young men and beautiful women thus their states increased in numbers of people and depopulation on the defeated states (decline). However didn't they only sounded a death knell, can be said so e.g on their arrival there were succession disputes among the states e.g Rozvi.

THE NDEBELE STATE: SOUTH EAST ZIMBABWE.

Invaded by the Shangaan. Through conducting peaceful and economic activities such as crop cultivation, livestock production and hunting the Shangaan exalted tribute and raided Ndawu for food and cattle during the early period. However evidence on raiding has been exaggerated. A popular myth propagated by early European hunters and accepted by pre-settler historians was that the impact of the Ngoni (Shangaan) than the Ndawu was one of complete destruction and desstructive. There was later superimposition of the Ngoni groups on local societies resulted in the creation of a new type of state that called for new forms of political legitimation, social assimilation and religious symbolism. The King was head of the army, Amabutho used to consolidate state system. Encoragement to social assimilation. Aculturation resulted in an intergrated system, encooperated states in S.E Zimbabwe vis-avis Shangaan people changed their clan names. However social assimilation was not one sided for the Shangaan also adopted the concept of Mwari and village medicine men from Shona groups.

THE MUTAPA STATE (NDEBELE).

Came and defeated the Mutapa by conquests and they practised peaceful economic activities e.g cultivation, livestock production and hunting. The Ndebele executed tributary and raided the Shona for food and cattle particularly during the early period. However evidence on impact of raiding suggests that its of exaggeration and based on myth. This impact was based on the response of the Shona groups to Ndebele influence, the capacity of the Ndebele to subjugate Shona activities. Thus all such activities were to the detrimental of the Shona thus this led to the decline of the Shona states. There was super imposition of Ngoni groups on Shona societies and the King was involved in each and every aspect of the state and was head of the army (Amabutho) who consolidated state system. Ndebele assimilated the Shona and subjected indigenous groups socially. There was aba Zanzi- ruling elite, enhla- the advisory committee and ama hole- servant class. Aculturation led to Shona adopting clans and customs of Ndebele. Men started piercing their ears and learning the

language Shumba-Sibanda, Zhou- Ndlovu. However social assimilation was not one sided for the Ndebele also adopted Shona dances and music, the concept of Mwari.

THE SHANGANI

One of these groups subsequently called the Shangane after their leader Soshangane proceeded North east and settled in the Chipinge district. The chiefs kraal was set up near Mt Selinda and from this centre raiding parties went out to subdue the local Ndau and Chopi tribes. Shangaan authority was established over a wide area from the Sabi river to the Coast. For many years the Shongaans were widely feared as they raided neighbouring tribes plundering as far North as the Inyanga region.

QUESTIONS

1. "African imperialism" Is this the best term to describe the activities of the Ngoni states between the Zambezi and the Limpopo?

2. Assess the contribution of the Ngoni invasions in causing the declines of the Rozvi, Mutapa and Manyika Kingdom.

NB. Ngoni invasions can be called African imperialism because some of the states came to settle thus colonisation e.g Soshangane of Shangaan defeated, cooperated, assimilated them to form their states

Forming a large group of countries all under the direct political control of a single state or ruler.

The gaining of political and trade advantages over poor nations (indirect imperialism).

THE NDEBELE STATE.

1. Critically analyse the formation of the Ndebele state.
2. The Ndebele state survived external threats on account of the Ndebele King's ability of nation building. Assess the validity of this statement.
3. The Ndebele took spoil(raids) as the basis of their economy. Do you agree?
4. Assess the Ndebele relations with other surrounding states.
5. The Ndebele- Shona relations were far from being cordial. Discuss

ORIGINS

The Mfecane led to the formation of the Zulu state under Tshaka yet he was despotic and this led to people moving away from Tshaka. One of those people who ran away from Tshaka was Mzilikazi who was Tshaka's army general and crossed the Limpopo and formed the Ndebele state. It can be said that this state was formed on account of greed because Mzilikazi ran away with the wealth (cattle) etc from a raided state when he was still under Tshaka. In 1818 the year that Dingiswayo died, Mzilikazi became the leader of the Khumalo. After being allied with Zwede he switched his

people's allegiance to Tshaka. He and his regiments filled a unique position in Tshaka's army. They were a lineage regiment led by its own chief. Perhaps it was a small enough unit not to form a threat to Tshaka. But the loyalty of the regiment must have been centred on Mzilikazi rather than Tshaka. Tshaka did not want Indunas who did not deliver all the spoils of battle to the royal kraal. Mzilikazi did not risk Tshaka's anger when after a campaign in Northern Zululand in 1821 he did not return all the captured cattle. Firstly he insulted the royal messengers and then escaped across the escarpment into the interior. On his flight he smashed all opposition and in 1824 he reached the Oliphant River. He settled at Ekupumuleni, here he rested for a time, reinforcing his ranks with captured women and children and sending out his warriors to crush his enemies and capture more cattle. However Ekupumuleni was too close to Tshaka, and Mzilikazi began to move towards central Transvaal- this was devastated and depopulated by the Ndebele between 1825 and 1828.

Constantly searching for security, Mzilikazi was still threatened by the Zulu and by bonds of Koranna and Griqua. Dingane sent an army against him but the battle was indecisive. Mzilikazi still feared the threat of half caste groups. By an attack on the Tanning led by Moletsane, after which the Ndebele moved Westwards to Mosega. They systematically destroyed Tswana people on the way. Having escaped from the Zulu Mzilikazi was faced by a more dangerous enemy. In 1836 Boer track parties entered his territory un announced. He mistook the Erasmus and Ziobenberd trek parties for raiding expeditions and destroy them. A further attack on Petgieters party is remembered as the battle of Vegkop. In an attack on Mosega on 2 January 1837 the Boers defeated the Ndebele. In October Petgieters defeated Mzilikazi again and forced the Ndebele into Shona territory modern Zimbabwe. Mzilikazi had been accused of being a tough leader with the same mood as Tshaka, but during his lifetime the security of his people was all important. He was completely uncompromising in his dealings with other groups to achieve it. It must be said in his favour that because of his great personal authority his land and his people were united law and order.

Mzilikazi built up a strong economic and defensive system in the face of the great insecurity and violence of the time. Mzilikazi was able to establish tributary states. He took the title Inkosi, intervened in wars and disputes and where a group or faction form with his support they became tributary to him. Mzilikazi established on a nation building policy. T.O. Ranger " Mzilikazi and Soshangane recognised that nations were built by aggressive measures or oppression nor does a King need repressive measures but to appraise defeated states and to mantain integrity". Mzilikazi's army captured many Isithunga (Young man and women) from communities he raided and intergrated them into lineage groups loyal to the Khumalo.

Qusetion: Did Mzilikazi in the nation building policy oppress the encoperated states?

POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE NDEBELE

Like all tributary states, the Ndebele authority was exercised in different way over different regions. The state was divided into:

1. A cultural core state (ilizwe) consisting of lineages. These all came directly under the authority of the Ndebele Inkosi.

2. A wider tributary area consisting of more or less independent Rozvi and Kalanga chiefdoms who permanently paid tribute to the Ndebele Inkosi and increasingly came to see themselves as the Ndebele, speaking Ndebele and adopting Ndebele customs.

3. A peripheral area of independent chiefdoms which occasionally herded Ndebele cattle and occasionally paid tribute to the Ndebele Inkosi but which were subject to punitive (punishment) raids if they refused demands and tribute.

THE CENTRAL STATE (ZANSI).

These lived in Uminzi or Imizi consisting of a dozen or so homesteads under an elder of the lineage who was called the 'Umnininzana'. Each umuzi was part of a wider group that recognised the authority of a chiefly lineage, the herd of which was called an Induna. The Induna was also commander of the Young men in the district in times of war. These groups of villages all belonged to chieftencies or Isigaba under the authority of a great chief or Indunankulu. On the arrival of the Ndebele they set up Isigaba on lands they took over from the original inhabitants. The original population was swallowed whole and became thoroughly assimilated into the Ndebele lineages and culture. In addition to abezansi and enhla the encooperated Shona became known as Amahole, original inhabitants of South Western Zimbabwe who became part of the Ndebele state. There remained a tendency of Nguni families to marry Nguni and Sotho for Sotho and Rozvi- Kalanga to marry within their communities, but there were 1000s of exceptions. These were divisions of states and culture rather than from class or caste divisions. The Isigaba established a fine lineage based system in which everyone was encooperated into a lineage that was part of the state. Most Ndebele owed allegiance to the Inkosi through their chief or Indunankulu. While this promoted unity it was also like all other lineage societies, a potential sense of tension. It made it possible for some Indunas to breakaway in times of crisis such as the succession of Lobengula and after the invasion of the Ndebele in 1893.

THE TRIBUTARY AREA (ENHLA).

Although only the people in the central state saw themselves as fully belonging to the Ndebele state, Ndebele authority extended over a much wider area through a system of tributary relations with more or less independent chiefdoms. These were almost in areas of economic and strategic importance to the Ndebele state. In these areas chiefs paid tribute to the Ndebele Inkosi or looked after Ndebele cattle on behalf of the Inkosi. Tribute was usually paid in goods and services that had more symbolic than economic values, skins, hoes, tobacco or young men and women to work for the Inkosi on specific projects such as hut building. Although these involved work and sacrifice from communities tribute payment generally did not involve serious economic hardships like the permanent removal of cattle or young people. In return tributary chiefdoms gained immunity from Ndebele raids. The main aim of the tributary system was to maintain peace and stability so that Ndebele cattle could be grazed in the outer regions of the state. It was also to look for open important trade routes like the Zambezi valley in the North West and the wagon route to the Cape in the South West. Mzilikazi and Lobengula replaced the Rozvi members as the tributary rulers over a large area. But many who had been tributary to the Rozvi resisted Ndebele power and moved out of reach of Ndebele amabutho. Others successfully resisted Ndebele raids, raiding the Ndebele themselves on occasion. In addition to paying tribute, many chiefdoms looked after Ndebele cattle.

To do so gave them immunity from Ndebele aggression. In many cases these cattle alliances developed into political and military pacts. And the chiefdoms became alliances of the Ndebele. Some eventually coming to see themselves as Ndebele. But since brutal reprisal was dealt to anyone who threatened the basic economic interests of the Ndebele state. It was a very flexible and constantly changing system. Many people in the tributary chiefdoms identified with the Ndebele and showed their allegiance to the Inkosi by piercing their ears and speaking Ndebele. Some were incorporated into amabutho, thus those people were voluntary to be associated with the Ndebele.

Others who accepted Ndebele leadership remained in their original chiefdoms and were given cattle to herd for the Ndebele Inkosi. Some only occasionally paid tribute. The degree of their independence varied greatly- thus the Ndebele were not brutal on them. The fact that the great majority of formerly tributary chiefs rose together with the Ndebele Izindunas against settler Colonial rule in the Chimurenga of 1896 suggests that most tributaries identified strongly with the Ndebele even through years after the state invasion. Thus there were relations between Shona and Ndebele, however enemies can unite to crush a common enemy (the colonialists).

THE RAIDING PERIPHERY (HOLE)

These were chiefdoms beyond the tributary area who resisted Ndebele rule. Ndebele amabutho raided North East right up to the Coastal Northern Shona-speaking chiefdoms to Mashayamobe, the upper Mazoe valley Mangwende and Chinamara to try and control the trade with the Portuguese, the Tonga and Shangane to the North most involved as long as they paid regular tribute in salt, skins and tobacco. The unfortunate Tonga and Leya in the NW were raided by the rival armies of both the Ndebele and the Kololo as each tried to prevent the other from taking control of the valuable Zambezi trade route. The Venda and Kalanga to the South and S.W accepted Ndebele rule but the Ndebele did not try to provoke the Transvaal Boers by raiding to the far South. The main enemies of the Ndebele were the Boers, the Ngwato and the Kololo because they competed for control over grazing lands, trade routes and tributary chiefdoms. The Ndebele amabutho did not dare attack the Boers in the Transvaal nor did the Boers try to attack the Ndebele, by the 1880's the Shona speaking chiefdoms of the central plateau had acquired guns from the Portuguese and were increasingly able to resist the Ndebele expansion. Shona chiefdoms in the S.E traded guns from Boers and Venda, elephant hunters and were able to confront Ndebele raiding armies on more equal terms. Some were even able to mount raids on Ndebele amabutho for tributaries. This was not yet on a scale to challenge Ndebele dominance, however British colonial expansion seriously upset this balance of power. It gave certain enemies of the Ndebele the opportunity to attack e.g. the Ngwato sent 1000 soldiers in support of Rhodes invasion of the Ndebele in 1893.

THE INKOSI

The Inkosi held the chieftaincies of the central state and the tributary chiefdoms together. The Inkosi place or capital was the geographical heart of the nation. The power of the Inkosi grew out of his ability to defend his people. This military power was based on the ability to raise the amabutho. The amabutho protected villagers' cattle. They increased the cattle herd. The raids increased the labour force by capturing young men and women from their defeated enemies. The cattle and captives belonged to the state and was distributed by the Inkosi.

THE AMABUTHO

The Ndebele developed an effective system of organising the men of the state army based on the Nguni system of amabutho. When necessary or when circumstances allowed it, the Inkosi raised army Ibutho fighting group. Young men from the established Ndebele lineages from the tributary chiefdoms and also captives were called up together. These were called amajaha they were placed under a senior Induna and lived together in temporary settlement. During this period they were trained to fight, used as labour, for the Inkosi, used as a police force and they guided remote cattle herds. They maintain close link with their imizi and frequently return home to help with the harvest and other works. After five to ten years of training the amajaha were then encouraged to marry and settle down. Many returned to their imizi by the fortunate who had distinguished themselves. In services they were rewarded with land and allowed to form new imizi on a new isigaba, groups of villages under their induna. This system enabled ambitious izinduna to raise the states of their lineages within state. In this way the Ndebele centred state area was constantly expanded incorporating people from many different backgrounds into new. After the amabutho had settled down the Ndebele established a state forming society in which warfare was confined to the periphery protecting the grazing lands and raiding only when Ndebele intents were threatened therefore did not always raid. One of the major weaknesses of this system as in the Zulu when faced with well equipped and provisional colonial armies was the fact that the amabutho remained farmers committed to returning to their villages to help with planting, harvesting or they were not a permanent standing army that could sustain the King's military campaigns in the way that colonial armies could.

CATTLE

The Inkosi organised the economic well being of the state through the amabutho. All captured cattle belonged to the state and were distributed by the Inkosi usually through the local Izinduna. Some of these were allocated to the Amaqhawe as rewards for loyal service. Other cattle became his private property and were used as 'lobola' (bridewealth) for wives. This made him the richest and most important person in the state and enabled him to establish family bonds with tributary chiefs and senior lineages which further strengthened his powers. The third and largest group of cattle was called the Izinkomo zelonthu which the Inkosi allocated to any homestead. Many young men who needed cattle for lobola could get them from the Inkosi. The Inkosi became the ultimate provider and through this could also control where and when new imizi were established. Each umzi also had a number of cattle that it owned itself. These were called Inkomo Zamathunga (Cattle for milking) and could be used for trade or bridewealth payments. These cattle did not belong to any individual but to the lineage. The important lineages had more izinkomo zamathunga than less important lineages. Almost of the cattle in any umzi, however where izinkomo zebutho which were controlled by the Inkosi, the umzi could use the milk of these cattle and occasionally were allowed to slaughter one but they belonged to the state as a whole.

RELIGION

Like all African rulers, the Inkosi and the ruling lineage were glorified by religious specialists and praise poets. This glorification was expressed in praises which emphasised the permanence and naturalness of the Inkosi power and set him apart from the rest of the people. The position of the inkosi carried a deep religious significance. People believed that the royal (amadhlosi) spirits of the ancestors, looked after and brought rain for the whole nation. Only they could intercede with the

great God Inkulunkulu-Somandla. This God was also known by the Sotho derived name Mlime or the Shona name Mwari. But this did not mean that the Ndebele ever abandoned their own ancestors. The spirit hierarchy reflected the political hierarchy. Senior members of the Khumalo royal family were also seen as important rainmakers. These beliefs were expressed and symbolised in important ceremonies to which the Inxwala was the foremost. The Inxwala was a call to everyone in the state to express thanks for good crops and to renew their loyalty to the amadhlosi esp the royal amadhlosi. The ritual involved symbols of rain, female fertility, tribal potency as well as symbols for the fertility of the land and cattle. Black cattle said to contain the royal amadhlosi were paraded. The amabutho were also assembled and this provided a show of force which served as a deterrent to the rebellious and as a symbol of protection for the royal.

Only after the Inkosi himself had ceremoniously eaten the first fruits of the harvest, could the nation harvest and eat their own crops. The Inkosi was identified with the nation's fertility and well being. All izinduna and tributary chiefs were required to demonstrate their veneration to the amadhlosi and their loyalty to the Inkosi. Not to attend was seen as a refusal to renew loyalty to the amadhlosi and the King, and invited retribution. Each Isigaba held its own ceremony presided over by the Indunankulu and honouring the amadhlosi of his lineage. This was repeated in the imizi and gave the opportunity for people in each Umzi to revere their own ancestors in a way that did not threaten the Ndebele spirit hierarchy. The Ndebele recognised the ritual authority and rainmaking powers as long as they remained loyal. In some cases the Ndebele themselves even paid tribute to the mediums of the great Shona-Spirits like Nyamuswa, Nanewawa and Chaminuka, therefore there were relations between the Ndebele and Shona.

THE UMPHAKATHI

Through loyal service the izinduna could rise to the special status of belonging to a group of inner advisors called 'Umphakathi'. The umphakathi were consulted on all major issues and helped the inkosi rule by consensus rather than simply by decree. The umphakathi also supervised the state between the death of an Inkosi and the succession of the next. This helped to hold the state together during the civil wars of 1868-70 and between 1893 and the uprising of 1896 under the new Inkosi. The inkosi's brothers and sisters were regarded as too superior to rule and were given important ritual and political positions but could not preside over their own Isigaba. This helped reduce the possibility of civil war.

TRADE FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Inkosi controlled all trade in cattle, game and ivory with outsiders. Initially the main trade routes were in Portuguese trader in Zambezi valley and even overland to Sofala. By the 1850s however, the Southern trade routes through Botswana and the Boer republics had become important. A trader named George West Beech established an important trading post at Pandamatenga between the Ndebele, Ngwato and Lozi states. The chief import of the Ndebele was guns. After 1850 the Inkosi issued a strict system of hunting and trading licences for Whites who wished to hunt and trade in the Ndebele state. These licences were paid for guns and both Mzilikazi and Lobengula were able to build up sizeable armies which greatly enhanced their authority for prestige. But these guns were tended to be mainly the older muzzle-loading rifles which proved no match for the modern breach loading rifles and automatic machine-guns of the future colonial invaders. Approved traders were allowed to establish trading Sofalas near the Ndebele capital of Bulawayo. They were very strictly

controlled. Some of these early founders like Usher and Dawson developed a strong loyalty to the Ndebele, married Ndebele wives and defended the Ndebele in the face of the later colonial invasion. By 1880 most of the Ivory had been shot out and the Ndebele increasingly traded their cattle-Izinkomo Zamathunga.

As the tensions increased, the Ndebele became dependent on guns acquired from trade. The trading stores had also turned the Ndebele into consumers of Western trade goods like iron pots, tools and cloth. Lobengula could not eject the traders and return to the old ways of simple self sufficiency under Mzilikazi. Yet he was aware of the dangers that White traders posed to his power. Chiefdoms who got guns from trade with the Portuguese, Venda and Boers were able to resist tribal demands more effectively and therefore threatened Ndebele access to grazing lands. Some tributary chiefdoms were tempted to ally with the invading White settlers and resist the Ndebele demands for tribute. An example is the Shona aid Fort Victoria (Masvingo) whose refusal to pay tribute provoked the raid which was used to satisfy the invasion of the state in 1893. There was already a tradition of Ndebele men going to work for White hunters and traders for payment in guns, blankets and other goods. With the beginning of mining after 1870 young men went to work on the Tati goldfields and the diamond fields at Kimberly. By 1884 there were over 100 Ndebele working for Rhodes' de Beers mining company alone. In 1891 traders reported (hundreds) of Ndebele passing through Tuli on their way to the diamonds fields and in 1892 there were hundreds said to be working for Whites settlers in Salisbury.

Most still went with the permission of their Izinduna and bought guns with their wages. They returned to their Imizi where they converted the trade goods into cattle. Nevertheless this new independent source of wealth threatened to weaken the economic and political system upon which the Inkosi depended for his power. Rhodes clearly understood this and tried to take control of trade with the Ndebele by buying up all but a few independent traders operating in the Ndebele state. However even as late as 1893 the power of the state was not weakened to the point where foreigners could create any serious divisions within the state.

ECONOMY OF THE NDEBELE

Agriculture-much lower scale, mining, raiding neighbouring areas, tribute paying, hunting and gathering. They did not want to farm, T.O.Ranger regards the Ndebele as marauders of the Shona, waiting for the Shona to farm and they came to harvest.

NDEBELE-SHONA RELATIONS

Relations between the Ndebele and other Shona states in the political set up.

When Mzilikazi arrived with the Ndebele people, he succeeded in vanquishing most of the Shona states in the Southern part of Zimbabwe. On account of those victories the defeated states were supposed to dance according to the rhythms of the Ndebele Kings. European sources review that the rule of the Ndebele Kings was dictatorial upon all Shona states, such dictatorship is brought to spotlight when it is said the Ndebele Kings returned the discretion of abdicating and passing

judgement in all cases arising in the Shona states. Even the laws which were used by the Shona chiefs to rule their Kingdoms were designed by the Ndebele Kings. Although One is speaking of times when the word Nationalism can be regarded to be in model and alien to these times it is apparent that these Shona Kings desired to rule themselves independently. So the encroachment of the Ndebele in the political set up of these Shona Kings society made the relations between the Ndebele and Shona far from being cordial. It is then to no wonder why during the reign of Lobengula the shone chiefs regularly revolted against him and were ruthlessly suppressed. On account of the conduct of the Ndebele King D.N. Beach regarded the Ndebele as the blood thirst nation which could rejoice in maimem and would not hesitate to toil for fun. Such dictatorship by the Ndebele people made the Shona so vulnerable, passive and submissive to the Ndebele.

J.Omer Cooper quotes Peterson a European historian, 'I was astounded when a Shona chief crawled like a lizard when approaching a Ndebele King Lobengula, for the worse when the Shona chiefs licked the tores of Lobengula, at the same time i was ashamed since even the most patriotic in England could not do the same to her Majesty'. Given such a scenario one is convinced that the Ndebele-Shona relations were far from being cordial. Nevertheless not withstanding such evidence it should be noted that most European-historians had a purpose for painting the Ndebele black. The Berlin Conference stipulated that before a European country could occupy an African state, there was to be some form of agreement between the African chief and the occupiers. The BSAC had succeeded in cheating Lobengula in the occupation of Mashonaland. Generally failures gives the best lesson so there was no way by which they could cheat Lobengula in occupation of Matebeleland. The only way was to defeat the Ndebele occupy it by virtue of conquest. So the Europeans body needed an excuse or pretext to invade Matebeleland. Thus they painted the Ndebele in red and black as marauders and destroyers of the Shona people for them to appear as the messiahs of the Shona people thus the relations of the Ndebele-shona relations as per European historians are smeared with Euro-centricity and bias from their writings. It appears the Ndebele were completely dominant in all the Shona states of which the Shona states were mostly independant.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NDEBELE-SHONA IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR

Various historians denounced the Ndebele to have been extravagantly indolent. They say that the Ndebele depended on raiding. T.O. Ranger said " It was a pathetic scenario that the Shona strived in cultivation of crops and grieved during harvest time as the Ndebele harvested for them". Though it is said the Shona states always faced starvation on account of the conduct of the Ndebele people D.N. Beach also advocates that before a Ndebele young man could marry he was supposed to prove himself as a brave man in a raiding spree. This meant that whenever they were Ndebele young man who wanted to marry, a shona state fall victim. Inorder to prove their bravery those young Ndebele warriors ruthlessly assalted shona people both young and old whilst other Shona man were forced to look after off springs of these young Ndebele warrrious since in their raiding they minded not to distinguish between married and unmarried because the Ndebele people were few they always captured all young beautiful girls in their raiding, thus they succeeded in bringing social distress in shone states. Nevertheless the time of raiding is also exaggerated, according to D.N. Beach " the Ndebele did not raid the shone people for no purpose". He says that the states which were raided were those under the dominance of the Ndebele and only after refusal to pay tribute. Moreso he

argues that some shona chiefs e.g chief Svosve raided the Ndebele states as much as they were raided.

Operating on these grounds it is not proper to say the Ndebele were completely marauders or spoilers of the shone people. However bearing in mind the military powers of the Ndebele state esp considering weapons they used such as the efficient short stabbing spear, assegai not to mention their super military tactic such as the cow-horn formation, surely to believe that the shona states raided the Ndebele state as much as they were raided is to take leave ones senses.

THE NDEBELE SHONA RELATIONS IN THE SOCIAL SET UP

It is thought abroad that the Ndebele discriminated,oppressed and exploited the vulnerable shone. Those who were assimilated into the Ndebele society were discriminated. They are said to have been passed into their own class known as the Hole and were restricted from mingling from those of the Zansi class. Oral tradition purports that the shone people were regarded as the Masvina, a shone word referring to a dirty hag. If such traditions are to be believed then the Ndebele-shona relations were far from being cordial. Nevertheless how can that be believed when it is a point that inter-marriages occurred between the Ndebele and shone people. Surely it was not possible for such a purported Ndebele warrior to marry a dirty heg. However still the fact that one is dirty and untidy does not necessarily mean that beauty is not unsensible. After all in the history of Zimbabwe the whites who refered to blacks as baboons could be found socialising for sexual favours. For that reason the issue of inter-marriages cannot stand as a clear proof of the cordiality of the Ndebele-shona relations.

NDEBELE-SHONA RELATIONS IN THE RELIGIOUS SECTOR

It is this sector that it is poorest to say the Ndebele-shona relations were far from being cordial. Its an unwarranted myth. The Ndebele adopted the shone religion and even worshiped their ancestors through Mkwati, the shone mediator. After all if their relationship was far from being cordial why is it they supported each other in the first Chimurenga 1796-97 and in the 2nd Chimurenga. Nevertheless, having a common enemy does not necessarily mean that you are friends, thus why even after their cooaparation in the 1st Chimurenga,conflict between them wosened and who knows even up to today.

N.B Class system was only ceremonial not practical- Zansi, Ehla and Hole.

THE COLONISATION OF ZIMBABWE

1. The flag followed the cross. How far does this describe the colonisation of Zimbabwe?
2. Critically examine the reasons of the occupation of Mashonaland.
3. Critically analyse the role of missionaries, hunters and concession seekers in the colonisation of Zimbabwe.
4. Missionaries were the forerunners of imperiliasm. Do you agree?

-Role of missionaries, concession seekers, explorers, hunters and traders.

-Mashonaland was colonised on account of papers.

-Matebeleland was colonised on account of conquest.

-Zimbabwe colonised on account of diplomacy and war.

MISSIONARIES

-Goncalo da Silveira

-Charles Helm

-Robert Moffat Hope Fountain

-John Smith Moffat

-John Mccanancy

Europeans knew little about Africa, a few had been inland. They were explorers and missionaries like D. Livingstone. They often told stories about 'darkest continent Africa'. Some said Africans were savages who fought all times and often ate people. Those in Europe got distorted idea of Africa. The European churches thought Africa had no God so they send missionaries to spread their religious beliefs about Christ and led Christianity. Some said they were bringing civilisation. They did not know about the civilisation that already existed.

Goncalo Da Silveira

Indeed these were forerunners of imperialism. Taking into consideration that the integrity of the shona state was based on religion. It is to no doubt that the coming of these missionaries was fiasco because it is said the coming of Goncalo was a landmark to colonisation. Goncalo preached to the blacks to believe in Christ while others did not, thus this led to division. He preached that the n'angas and praying of ancestors was demonic. Thus after state division had been caused it is to nowonder that it was not tough for the pioneer to defeat the blacks.

ROBERT MOFFAT

He was the 1st white man to settle in Zimbabwe and had friendship with Mzilikazi. He built many churches including Inyathi mission, Hope Fountain etc. Building churches makes one believe that missionaries came to colonise. The missionaries were busy telling people that their ancestors were demonic. Tindal said Moffat is even said to have shared people with sweets''. Thus such actions and teachings of whites weakened the mental of blacks. D.N. Beach- Moffat even further advised the issue of colonising Mashonaland.

CHARLES HELM

Some of treaties signed by Lobengula were on account of Helm persuading him-thus these missionaries contributed greatly to the colonisation of Zimbabwe, e.g in the signing of the Moffat treaty, Moffat was accompanied by Charles Helm thus through the preaching of the word Lobengula

started to have belief in Helm and agreed to sign the Moffat treaty. Lobengula like his father allowed the missionaries to come and he treated them well. But very few Ndebele accepted the new religion, they kept their religion, Sotho, Tswana and Shona customs. The missionaries decided that their religion must be destroyed but Lobengula trusted Helm.

CONCESSION SEEKERS

-Moffat Treaty

-Rudd Concession

-Grobber Treaty

-2nd Moffat Treaty

Lipert Concession

MOFFAT TREATY 1888

Henceforth Mzilikazi always sought advice from Moffat. Moffat was greatly respected through the Ndebele state. After the Grobber treaty, it led to the renewal of the 2nd Moffat treaty. Moffat came with a missionary Charles Helm to seek an agreement with Lobengula. Lobengula trusted Helm then helped Moffat to get an agreement with Lobengula. This was called the Moffat treaty. Lobengula then said the Grobber treaty was "not my word." Moffat and Helm did not tell Lobengula that they were being paid by Rhodes. The treaty said that Lobengula would not sell land or make other treaties without telling the British government. On the back of the treaty, Helm wrote that he had explained what it said." These treaties were written in English language by Europeans. Mzilikazi and Lobengula could not read so they had to ask the same people who wrote the treaties to tell them what the treaties said. After this treaty the British government said Lobengula was the ruler of Mashonaland and Matebeleland, but he was not the ruler of Mashonaland. This was warning to the Portuguese who were trading in Mashonaland.

LIPPERT CONCESSION

The British government would not allow the company to make laws. They said the Rudd Concession gave rights only for mining. So Rhodes gave a lot of money to a German banker called Lipert to get another treaty. Lipert told Lobengula that he was against Rhodes. Lipert said he was thinking of the rights of the Ndebele people. But this was not true- Lobengula believed what Lippert said and gave him a Concession over land. Lobengula did not rule over land in Mashonaland, the Shona chiefs did but the company used this concession to take the land. By signing the Lippert treaty Lobengula would apply the policy of entangling in war a white man against a white. However by so doing he merely tightened the noose already lying loosely around his neck-Ferber.

THE GROBBLER TREATY 1887

Mzilikazi made a treaty with the Boers in 1887. The Afrikanas hunters and traders could enter Matebeleland. English speaking settlers in the Cape began to worry about the Boers would take all the land. They wanted the Limpopo River to be the Southern border of all Afrikanas country. The Boers found gold in the Transvaal. They thought they might be more gold in the North. 1887 the Boers sent Piet Grobber to visit Lobengula. Grobber signed a treaty that said Lobengula with an ally of the Boers. Lobengula may have wanted a peace treaty. He knew the power of European guns and

he did not want war with them. But he did not know what more the treaty said. It said he would help the Boers and put his men under Boer command. Boers said the Grobblers treaty gave them mining rights in Matebeleland. So the British made plans to occupy the area and stop the Boer from taking it. Thus John Moffat came to sign a second Moffat treaty after telling Lobengula that the Boers were coming to invade Matebeleland.

THE RUDD CONCESSION

In 1818, Lobengula put his mark on paper giving mining rights to Charles Rudd. The paper said no one else could look for minerals in his Kingdom. Rudd promised to pay 135 pounds per month plus 1000 rifles, 100 000 rounds of ammunition and a gunboat to patrol the Zambezi and 675 pounds in cash. Rudd sold the Concession to Rhodes' company for more than one million dollars. The Boers sent people to see Lobengula, they told him he had sold his country. Lobengula was very upset. He sent 2 advisers to Britain to tell the Queen that he had been tricked. Rudd had lied about the paper, what it said. Rhodes got very angry because he was trying to get the Royal Charter from Queen Victoria for his BSAC, so he marked out a plot to kill Lobengula and take his land. But one of his men got drunk and talked about it and it was dropped. Lobengula's men had gone to London i.e Umushete and Babijane with E.M Mound, who said he was against Rhodes, but Mound also tricked Lobengula then made a public statement saying he did not agree to the Rudd Concession. This did not stop Rhodes-on the basis of the Rudd Concession the BSAC planned an invasion through Mashonaland.

TRADERS e.g Dawson, Thomas Baines

Traded with Africans with cloth and gold. When these traders returned to their respective countries they encouraged more to come to Africa for gold could be obtained easily. Thus the trickling of more whites led to the Colonisation of Zimbabwe. Dawson and 3 indunas were sent by Lobengula and on arriving Dawson denied that he knew his companions and the two were short and one of them escaped.

HUNTERS e.g F.C. Selous and T. Baines

He knew all the routes and was the leader of the Pioneer Column. By leading the Pioneer Column he avoided from clashing with the Shonas. These hunters even wrote pamphlets telling other Europeans back home about all the gold in Zimbabwe-" country full of milk and honey, animals etc". Thus this led to more whites coming leading to the Colonisation of Zimbabwe.

EXPLORERS AND WRITERS e.g D. Livingstone

He wrote pamphlets back home in Britain saying there was abandoned gold and fertile soils in Zimbabwe. He also wrote that Africa was a dark continent and needed to be civilised and could only be civilised through colonisation. However they did not know about the already existing civilisation in Africa. Some wrote about what they saw, the country with a rich fertile land where cattle are found in every valley. Others wrote of the wide range of food grown by African farmers, millies, millet etc.

MOVEMENT OF THE PIONEER COLUMN

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THE ANGLO-NDEBELE WAR 1893-4

Q 1. " No one wanted war in 1893" What then caused the clash between the BSAC and Lobengula?

Ndebele causes

- Deprivation of raiding grounds
- No more tribute instead paying tax to the whites
- Killing of three Indunas in S.A
- Forced labour, white brutality

THE BSAC

- Failed to find gold rand in Mashonaland
- Rhodes' Cape to Cairo dream
- The Gomara telegraph wire issue
- The shooting of the white scouting party
- A claim by the whites to protect the shona people- Ndebele being a manace to progress.

ANGLO- NDEBELE WAR

1. " No one wanted war, however the situation was ripe that it only needed an event for its outbreak" Do you agree with this statement in relation to the outbreak of the Anglo-Ndebele war?
2. " The Anglo- Ndebele war was inevitable" To what extent is this statement true?
3. "The Ndebele are largely to blame for the outbreak of the Anglo Ndebele war" Discuss
4. " It was not a war since there was no much resistance on part of the Ndebele, its proper to see it as an attack to disposses on the part of the company BSAC. Asses the validity of this statement. Events.

Causes

- Failure to find a gold rand in Mashonalana
- Tempting pastures in Matebeleland and hope to find a second rand.
- Deprivation of raiding grounds on part of the Ndebele
- No more tribute to Lobengula , Victoria Incident
- Killing of Chief Mugandani
- Punishment of chief Chivi and complaints from Jamerson
- Gomara and the telegraph wire issue
- The BSAC ultimatum to Lobengula to vacate/ vamoose Gomara territories within 3hrs
- Killing of Lobengula reknowned warriors

-Killing of Lobengula indunas in South Africa because of Dawson's tricks

-Ndebele warriors killing of the white scouting part

NO MORE TRIBUTE TO Lobengula

Effects of the Rudd Concession were now being felt on the Ndebele. Lobengula had granted all rights to the company thus the company had the control of Mashonaland. Due to this the Shona also started to give their gold to the whites as tribute and not to the Ndebele. This led to decline in trade of the Ndebele since they no longer received gold from the shona and at the same time the shona no longer paid tribute. Due to these effects the Ndebele felt offended and can be said to have got interested in war with the company.

GOMARA AND THE TELEGRAPH WIRE ISSUE

A Shona chief Gomara and his people were suspected of stealing 500yards of telegraph wire and were forced to pay affine with stolen Ndebele cattle. Lobengula got angry and he is said to have demanded back the cattle from the company. Not wanting war the whites returned the cattle to Lobengula. However Lobengula was not satisfied, still angry, in 1893 July sent his regiments to punish the chief.

THE BSAC ALTIMATUM TO LOB TO VACATE GOMARA TERRITORIES WITHIN 3HRS

After Lob had sent his regiment to punish the shona chief many shonas were killed on farms, mines and in the houses of Europeans and many shona fled. The European settlers then decided that as long as the Ndebele army was not broken it would continue to disturb the mining and farming. With the impossible 3hrs ultimatum the Ndebele were attacked on by Jameson's men. Restraints of Lob men by him showed that he did not want war with the British but instead the British were the ones who wanted war. However they can be justified that they wanted progress in their farming and mining. Nevertheless the 3hr ultimatum in an event that would take more than 10 days shows that the British wanted war with the Ndebele. Many Ndebele warriors killed but still Lob restrained.

FAILURE TO FIND A GOLD RAND IN MASHONALAND

TEMPTING PASTURES IN MATEBELELAND & HOPE TO FIND A 2ND RAND

These two events can describe the whites as people who wanted war. Because of the writings of writers and explorers they hoped to find gold in Mash, but they found it to be in exaggeration in both Mash and Mat. The whites went on for pastures but one must bear in mind that the whites had once cheated Lob in the Rudd Concession and there was no way they could cheat him the second time except by conquest in order for them to get pastures and gold claims. So they wanted war since they could no longer approach Lob. However for them wanting pastures, this can be said that it created a situation which was ripe for war to occur, thus it can be said they opted for war.

DEPRIVATION OF RAIDING GROUNDS ON PART OF THE NDEBELE

Without raiding the Ndebele state could crumble because the whites had settled in Mashonaland thus the Ndebele are to blame for the Anglo- Ndebele war. It is said that before young warriors could marry they could go on raiding spree in the shona states in order to show their bravery. Then if no raiding grounds could be found then no one would marry thus this led the Ndebele for blame on war. However the issue of raiding was a myth and it was exaggerated by the whites. After all the Ndebele had to be said to have a reason like punishing and not for fun. After all the Ndebele were

good herders-economy not based on raiding but raiding was just part of their economy. So raiding grounds saying shows the Ndebele are largely to blame for the war is simply an overstatement.

-punishing of chief chivi and complains from Jameson.

-A shona chief chivi had failed to pay tribute to Lobengula and had to face some punishment from Lobengula.

Killing of Lobengula indunas in South Africa because of Dawson's tricks

Lobengula showed that he did not want war because he sent his indunas with Dawson for peace. Though scholars say it was Dawson who initiated the negotiations. So after the killing of the indunas it can be said that Lobengula took it as trickery. Considering that Dawson worked hand in glove with the British thus by this they wanted war.

NDEBELE WARRIOUS KILLING OF THE WHITES SCOUTING PART

Some scouts from British had been moving and within Matebeleland viewing the area of some Ndebele regiments and surrounded them before they killed them. Jameson wrote a note to Rhodes and Rhodes is said to have simply replied by the bible verse luke 14vs30 meaning or telling Jameson that he had to finish his business, thus recruiting men and launching war against the Ndebele. This man began to build but cannot finish the job, they will say, the verse.

OTHER THINGS THAT SHOW LOBENGULA DID NOT WANT WAR

He sent a letter to the British Queen, but his messengers were killed before they moved very far. Lobengula sent Izinduna with 2 bags of gold to his persuaders as a sign for his wish for peace- the izinduna gave the gold to the mercenaries but they did not give it to Jameson. Allan Wilson was sent with some soldiers to trap Lobengula but were out numbered by the Ndebele and killed, thus this showed the ndex still wanted war. The trader Dawson even wrote to the Queen in his base in Byo saying "the King Lobengula does not want war with the British and will do so unless forced into it, be in self defence.

QUESTIONS

The transition from company rule to settler rule spelt doom to the people in Southern Rhodesia. Evaluate the validity of this statement.

POLITICAL SET UP 1890-1923

Executive- settler government-governor.

Judiciary-Appellate Division-court of 1st instance & Privy Council- appeal court in London.

Legislative

-Making of laws, however approved by the Queen of England. Most were discriminatory to the blacks. Vis-avis the traditional set up. Shona chiefs were deprived of their powers. Rhodes-Ndebele peace settlement-the Ndebele were to be paid by the company therefore servants of the government and could not do what they deem necessary.

POLITICAL EVENTS POSITIVE

- The Rhodes Ndebele peace settlement 1897
- The setting up of a regular system of procedures to check the ill-treatment of Africans.
- British government's announcement as the Africans native guardian.

NEGATIVE SIDE OF POLITICS

- Industrial Conciliation Act
- Taxation, 1903 hut tax doubled to 1 pound, wife taxation 10 Shilling, 1912 dog tax imposed, grazing fee imposed in Matabeleland, 1914 cattle dipping made compulsory 2 Shillings per cow.
- The Rhodesian native labour bureau
- No voting rights for Africans

Various reasons have been given to try and account the transition from company rule to settler rule. Needless to say Mashonaland and Matabeleland were colonised in 1890 and 1893 respectively on the initiation of the BSAC. From the early years of colonisation this company had an upper hand in Southern Rhodesia because the main objective of a company is to make profit, the BSAC in S. Rhodesia stretched to all lengths to gain the profits. In the process the people of S. Rhodesia at large bore the consequences. Plainly, the company administration was largely beneficial to company shareholders whilst detrimental to the remaining settlers and the blacks. The settlers were those whites who accompanied the Pioneer Column to S. Rhodesia in 1890 but had no shares in the company. These settlers no longer able to stand company nepotism and favouritism denounced the BSAC right in the eye of the internal community, as a company which segregated its fellow brothers not to mention its subjecting of the natives to chronic inhuman treatment.

However, the settlers did not only highlight the problem without a solution, they proposed that for the sake of cheques and balances there should be a joint administration of S. Rhodesia by the settlers and company shareholders. Britain being responsible for S. Rhodesia sought to show its good intentions by agreeing to join to administration. It was agreed that the blacks had revolted in the 1st Chimurenga because of the company's mal-administration. Questions raised were as follows, Did the transition from company to settler rule improve the lot of the blacks?, Did such a transition affect the shareholders and settlers?.

In answering these questions one will then be able to evaluate the validity of the statement that the transition from company rule to settler rule spelt doom to the people in S. Rhodesia. Establishment of defined political administration body i.e the executive legislative and judiciary after the transition came with its various changes in Southern Rhodesia. In Salisbury a governor was placed and he wielded all the political power. The effect of such a development saw the chaoting of the powers of the African chiefs and kings, to these chiefs and kings the transition was an eraser to their power. Moreso a legislative body was formed which was responsible for making laws in S.R. Nevertheless, such laws were supposed to be consistent with the laws at the Good Cape of Hope and were supposed to be approved by the Queen of England. Given that the laws which were being passed were largely discriminatory to the Africans, it goes without saying that the transition was an

introduction to a gloomy era to the Africans. Of the major concern to the legislative body was to deprive Africans from their right to vote.

Not to mention the illegibility of Africans to political posts thus from the word go the Africans could not choose who to rule them nor could they contest to be rulers a situation which led to the non representation of Africans. Given such a scenario its patent that the transition spelt doom to the Africans in that regard. However one wonders if ever the Africans had voting rights before the transition. Its common cause that they did not, nevertheless still it can be argued that before transition the chiefs had considerable powers so at least they were represented. However argumentatively the question is again did they vote for these chiefs. The point still stands that there was no voting in the history of Africans. It only remains a matter of opinion whether it was preferable to be oppressed by your fellow black to a white alien.

In the same vein the coming of the Appalate division also worsened the situation for Africans. Where upon the Africans were not informed about the procedures of the courts but were dragged to these courts to receive punishment. In the strict sense of the word this court was only to administer justice to the whites. As to another scholar no one black was found in the court, rather if you were given the chance you received a punishment. Moreso, because the judges who presided in them were whites hence did not recognise the rational behind African, many times they wanted to give solutions to things which they did not understand therefore opening a Pandora box of confusion. As according to Dr Allys Armstrong colonial legislation and judicial activities succeeded in working hardships esp on the African woman. She argued that the judges mis-interpreted the protective position of father as family head figure to a father who willded unchallenged complete power over the wills and wishes of the family.

According to her in the African tradition men were simply viewed as careful father to take protection of their family but not to oppress. Not understanding this, colonial legislation and judiciary mystified everything whereupon a judge approached was a woman complaining of oppression and illtreatment by a man could be dismissed off hand as being frivolous exescious and lazy. Because of the developments after transition African women started to leg behind as far as development is concened. Deductively its apparent that such a transition was doom to African women.

One is also to look at how colonial legislation after transition also affected the economic livelihood. One will 1st examine laws dealing with taxation, the colonial govt made it the duty for everyone to pay tax. However apparent is the fact that most of these taxes were targeted for Africans, e.g 1903 in the middle of a femine the hut tax was doubled to one pound, its common cause that it was the blacks who only lived in the hut. Now that the govt had to double the tax even in era of drought shows nothing but the heartless of whites. Moreso, some of the tax imposed were apparently unreasonable and insultative for any man in his ordinary mind for e.g 10 Shillings were charged on each wife after the 1st one. Given that Africans by that time symbolised wealthy, the imposition of such tax on human beings as though they were goods was perceived by many Africans as a confront to common sense.

On taxation colonial was not yet ended. In 1912 imposed the dog tax. As has been said by Zvobgo the colonisers were there to discriminate the Africans from all their rights. A dog was a servant, the more dogs one had the more protection and prays. Yet by these dog tax one could no longer keep many dogs. Seeing that the Africans were not following the true and purpose the land tenure act

which required one not to keep the herd of more than six. A tax was imposed in Mat for grazing known as grazing tax. Moreso, to make sure the laws were observed, cattle deeping was made compulsory whereupon they would have the chance to check how many cattle one possessed. Insult upon injury cattle deeping was not free but 2 Shillings for a cow.

To that end it is clear that taxation was a tool which was used to present calamity to the Africans because the settlers who had not enjoyed the benefits of Rhodesia wanted to copy with others made the situation unbearable to the Africans, thus the jumping in of the settlers as core administrators presented a new aggresive and fresh oppression. They grabed whatever they could living the large populace of African landless. To make sure that there was sufficient labour for them the Rhodesian Labour Bereau was set up and this was a special body which recruited labour from Africans, it also introduced contracts between employer and employee which were only advantageous to the white employer and disadvantage to the African. So well did Phimister speak well of this contracts as agreements binding in oppression not binding in business. Moreso, should it be noted that the doom was not only limited in the Economic and political set up but also in social and religious life.

Pass laws were drafted by the year 1902 any man over the age of 14 was required to register at pass office and required to gain chitupa. For a man to move from one city to another and arrive safely without some harassment one needed the following identification certificate, a travelling pass, a visiting pass i.e not going to your area, also a pass to seek work if already employed documents of your employer. In view of all these it does not stand beyond any doubt that the freedom of movement for the Africans were shuttered. Moreso, as according to Tide in addition to formal pass laws many men found it necessary to carry the receipt for the watch they wore, or the parcel which they carried or could be easily regarded as a thief by the police. Even if you did not need to travel you could not strain around without business for the vagrant act which criminalised the loitering of people without business would catch up with you.

Thus to the African man his social life after the transition was a burning furnace. As for the woman in this regard the situation was worse because they were regarded as perpertual minors who needed guidance all the life, so they could not walk alone into towns without their men, could not even own property, marry or get divorced without the consent of their fathers. It seems colonial legislation was oppressing women, in 1919 another was passed which made it a crime for a woman to run away from his husband, this was a warrant to men to oppress his wife knowing that he could not do anything but to stay.

As for their accommodation Africans were located in most undesirable locations e.g in Salisbury the Municipal location for Africans was moved in 1907 to a site where residents would be able to catch smell, sewages, cementry, slaught houses. Moreso, houses were rented on a monthly basis and those with harsh restrictions e.g visitors could not stay for more than 12hrs , no one was allowed in road after 9pm and police could enter anyones house at any time and this was an infringement to the Africans. No one was allowed to carry any form of business which was a 1st step to hinder African development. Locations were surrounded by barbed wire and police was there to check. Only recreational was the beer hole and only one beerhole for the whole community was a hazard to health.

As another insult Africans were supposed to take off their hats when meeting a government official. To take off shoes when getting into offices. It would have gone well if the blacks could obey their picnic boss. However it would be injustice to say the transition was a complete doom to the Africans because some positive things happened e.g a regular system of procedures to check the ill-treatment of Africans was established, where upon if an African complained on interrogation was made. However what is of impression is whether such a system was practical or in theory. Even then the British government announced that it was the guidance of the Africans. To what extent could the govt opt to favour the blacks than the whites, it's generally known that blood is thicker than water. Nevertheless all things said, when a stable govt was established improvements in agric were made.

In conclusion it can be said that doom was largely spelt to Africans and partly to shareholders who were not used to share power but now were to share. However in view of the settlers who were beneficiaries to that transition the statement is not valid that the transition spelt doom because they were all people living there.

Q. Why is there a reason to believe that Lobengula was a victim of calculated deception?

The death of Mzilikazi, the original Ndebele king led to two years of succession rivalry. Eventually Lobengula ascended the throne in 1870 and his reign 1870-1893 was marked up by the scramble of African territories by the imperial European powers. For the Ndebele country, the greatest pressures came from the south where the Boers who had settled in the new republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free state and the British from the Cape were determined to outmanoeuvre each other in Central Africa. Paul Krugger, the Transvaal president set the ball rolling by sending a Boer prospectre Piet Grobblers to sign a treaty with Lobengula in 1887. Establishment of friendship and cooperation between the Boers and Ndebele will be exclusive. As according to Asha " the boers regarded the teaty as the genesis of their supremacy in Matebeleland. The Ndebele on the other hand thought this was a mere renewal of an old friendship, non-colonial treaty of friendship signed as early as 1852 between Lobengula's father and predecessors, Mzi and the Boers.

As far as these goals, it might be seen as the reason why Lobengula was the victim....Nevertheless with Grobblers dying in 1888, suffices it to say that the boer deception did not go far. CJR had come to S.Africa in 1870 at the age of 17, ostensibly and invalid seeking the recuperative climate of Natal, where his brother was a farmer. He was an aroused imperialist who cherished the dreams of a railway line running from Cape town to Cairo through British soil, he had swiftly and eagerly made himself a financial boss in the south African mining industry and even owned controlling shares in the De Beers Diamond Mining Company in Kimberly. He was therefore determined to use his vast financial resources to acquire as much African country as possible for the British Emperor and to implement this he formed the BSAC.

Aiming to seek territories in Central Africa and link up with British agents operating in East Africa from Zansi bar. The Lobengula Grobblers treaty jolted Rhodes into grater activity northwards. The Ndebele nation was strong and warlike with a political system that emphasised the concentration of men and cattle rather than territorial expansion. The Ndebele had little use for trade with foreigners esp Europeans and had also rejected missionaries. Rhodes was only too aware of Lobengulas complete lack of excitement where trade with British was concerned. He now worked out a gradual, indirect approach in his bid to gain control of central Africa. He reacted to Grobblers's activity by immediately sending a missionary, Robert Moffat whom Lobengula had much confidence, to undo

what Grobber had done. According to Phimister Moffat visit resulted in a treaty in which peace and amity between Lobengula and British was established and according to which Lobengula was not to make any other agreements with other white people without the consent of Rhodes. The last part of this treaty clearly indicated that this was not an agreement between equals, although Rhodes' agents turned to imply equality in his approach to Lobengula. When other concession seekers began to crowd the king's court and Lobengula's attitude appeared ambiguous Rhodes decided the deception had not worked and dispatched Charles Rudd to try to be better.

In negotiating with the king, Rudd like his predecessors adopted calculated deception which resulted in a document in which Lobengula is said to have agreed to give exclusive mineral concessions in his country to the BSAC and that the company would be granted "all things they (company men) would deem necessary to win and procure". In return, the king was to receive a monthly payment of 100 pounds plus 1000 rifles and a gunboat on the Zambezi. According to T.O Ranger the Rudd concession was a master-stroke at keeping other concession seekers at bay. It was also a coup d'état in imperialistic diplomacy and deception of a sovereign king". The idea of receiving guns had appealed to the king because he considered they would come on handy in stopping the Portuguese and other possible aggressions from encroaching on his kingdom. Now that Lobengula never received some of these promises it goes without saying that the Ndebele king was a victim....Moreso should it be borne in mind that the concession had deliberately omitted to mention jurists rights and Lobengula assumed the white miners will not infringe upon his political power and since only a few were to come he would manage to control them.

However he soon realised that the reverse was the case, for while he had agreed to one hole and ten men to dig it, hundreds of miners began to arrive at the base, thinking that he could not be overruled by the whites as far as diplomacy and deception is concerned, Lobengula sought to create conflict and confusion among the whites by giving a concession of land rights to Edmand and Lippert, he thought that since mining can only be done on land it was to be difficult if not next to impossibility for Rhodes to practise his mining rights without a conflict with Edmund and Lippert. With such a scenario he hoped to gain an upper hand, nevertheless unknown to Lobengula was that Edmund was Rhodes' agent, so Lobengula in an attempt to regain he gave all.

For this stronger reason it is crystal clear that Lobengula fell victim of ...Meanwhile Rhodes proceeded to London to request a charter for his company to exercise his sovereign rights in Matebeleland, the request was based on the Rudd and Lippert concessions. But Lobengula in granting these concessions had not had any intention of selling his country so when he became aware that he had been deceived he repudiated the concessions and sent letters and two indunas to Queen Victoria of Britain to try to put an end to what was just to happen to his country but his protest were ignored and Rhodes obtained the charter he had gone to seek.

Still realising that there was much to be gained through deception and diplomacy, Rhodes finally dispatched Jameson to Lobengula to try to persuade the king that the charter amounted to nothing alarming and he should give it his blessings. In a conversation with Lobengula Jameson got a verbal go ahead to look for a mine in Mashonaland which was regarded by Lobengula as his vassal state. This was interpreted by the BSAC as a consensus to occupy the country and began to organise the pioneer column to enter Mashonaland in 1890. When Lobengula demanded to know what the white impi was doing in Mashonaland he was reminded of the agreement between him and Jameson. The

pioneer finally reached Fort Salisbury in September 1890. Lobengula had become aware that in his determination to enter the kingdom, Rhodes' patience was running out and was in fact already planning a massive army plot against Matabeleland but the king's own diplomatic patience with the services of imperialistic troops was also stretched. The unawareness of his ending up as the victim of a calculated deception is best illustrated by him when he said "Did you ever see a chameleon catch a fly? The chameleon gets behind the fly and remains motionless for a time, then he advances very slowly and gently, 1st putting forward one leg and then the other. At last when well within reach, he darts his tongue and the fly disappears.

"England is the chameleon and I am the fly". He was right. In 1893 the era of deception ended. The British attacked Lobengula's kingdom, occupied it and killed the king in the process. Lobengula had fallen victim to his long held fears, the culmination of Rhodes' calculated deception on him. Nevertheless it should be noted that the word 'victim' carries with it some sentiments of innocent, so one asks whether Lobengula was victimised or an innocent in the whole process. Lobengula was tricked on account of his illiteracy and abuse of friendship by the whites, for a person who can deceive you is the one you trust. But never forget that Lobengula was also tricked on account of his greed and this completely takes away his innocence. About him trusting the whites he can also be blamed because the Shona chiefs continuously warned him of his association with the whites yet he could not take any advice from anyone. His illiteracy only played a hand because he had trusted the white man. Although it is believed that Rhodes was kind, it should be rementioned that Lobengula was also calm.

So in conclusion it can be argued that in a battle of grievances with the armour of deception, the Ndebele king was defeated. Otherwise deception was there but does not make Lobengula a victim but an equal defeated belingerant.

Q. "Wasted effort, a non achievement but an aggravation of circumstances" Is this how you would describe the aftermath of the 1st Chimurenga?

The statement that wasted effort, a non achievement but an aggravation of circumstances is nothing but trueism if one is to look at what transpired after the 1st Chimurenga whereupon the blacks, that is Shona and Ndebele were even oppressed more than they had in the past. Many laws were passed which oppressed the blacks i.e the Land Apportionment Act which deprived the blacks from their land.

Q. Discuss the causes, organisation and consequences of the Chimurenga, Shona-Ndebele war 1896-7

The Ndebele rising of 1896 was caused by several factors. The immediate cause was the BSAC's mal-administration and ruthless behaviour. After the war of 1893 the Ndebele lost nearly all their land and cattle. The man who had defeated the Ndebele had been promised land and cattle which they now holds. The majority of the Ndebele found reduced to squatters on European farms, giving part of their farm produce for rent, or providing labour in payment. The young men loathed this forced labour, and equated it to slavery. Thus the Ndebele felt themselves exploited by the whites and unprotected by the white man judicial system. They began to organise themselves for another confrontation with the invaders, this time being joined by the Shona who for long had been their vassals in what was a simultaneous uprising of both tribes.

When the company's pioneer column 1st entered Mashonaland in 1890 the mood of the Shona towards them fluctuated between indifference and mild welcome as possible allies against the Ndebele, their local rivals. The chiefs thought they would stay temporarily as did their subjects but gradually they began to be disillusioned with the attitudes and new activities of the arrivals whose interests seemed to conflict with theirs in several ways.

For one thing, the Shona discovered that the company administration intended to displace their old and valued trade patterns and to replace them with an economy controlled by the whites. The Shona of central and eastern Mashonaland had been carrying on a trade in gold and ivory with the Portuguese in return for guns and a wide variety of other goods, but the company was only interested in European mining and attempted to stop the Portuguese. The substitute goods brought by the company from S.A were sold at a too high price. This economic frustration therefore led to the revolt against the whiteman. The chief could not acquiesce in the ill-treatment of their people in this manner.

Secondly land began to be alienated in certain areas, particularly those which were suitable for farming. White settlers arrived to take up land without the permission of the chiefs, they argued Lobengula had given land to them therefore the company had the right to allocate it. But the Shona chiefs did not regard themselves as Lobengula's subjects and one of the most cherished rights of the chief was the right to allocate land. This right was now being usurped. 3rdly the whites began to assume the right to punish the subjects of the chief. To the chiefs, these activities were tantamount to a presumption of overlordship by the whiteman when they had neither conquered nor disarmed. The demand for tax payment was regarded as the greatest threat yet to the political independence of the chiefs. The mass of the Shona were also discontented with the whites on this issue because collection of tax usually was the seizure of cattle and sheep and was also done with excessive force. The Shona also affected by the white demand for labour, people were often forced by individual settlers, backed up by the police to work on farms.

Beating was not infrequent," If God sent the whiteman to teach me and any people" wailed chief Makoni of Mawungwe,"why did God send the whiteman to kill and outrage the native people"? The Shona of western, central and eastern districts were fed up with all this and began to organise themselves under chiefs and religious leaders in order to revolt against the whiteman aggressions. In Matebeleland, early military leadership was promoted by Umulugulu, the chief priest of the Ndebele nation, Nyamanda Lobengula's oldest son. The former provided the focal point for the older generation, while the latter represented the aspirations of the younger generations. These two worked in unity that had bonded the Matebeleland from the days of old. That brought unity force between Umulugulu and Nyamanda's groups together on the one hand and on the other the whole cast and other Ndebele subjects whose common attachment was to the Mwari- Mulimo cult.

The representatives of the Mwari cult who played the most important role in the uprising were Mkwati and Sigiyamatshe. The former in fact fanned the back base of the spiritual unity of the Ndebele. Based during the revolt in the Ntabazikamambo cave, Mkwati was not only responsible for bringing the whole cast into the rising and involved the Kalanga and the Rozvi and effectively directed the course of the war. The revolt also through up revolutionary leadership who provided religious powers which could render European weapons harmless. In western Mashonaland. Bonda and Chihwa representative of the Mwari cult there, played the most important role in the Shona

rising. Thus the Mwari cult provided an important organisational link between the Shona and Ndebele. This link was made even stronger by the fact that Mkwati had considerable control over the cult representative in the north Bonda and Tshana regions. Thus when the Ndebele got these terms, Mkwati dispersed to the north of Mashonaland and urged a re-segents of the fighting spirits. He was largely responsible for the refusal of the Shona for peace. The religious unity in Mash was sealed with the emergence of spirit mediums in central and western districts, outstanding among them, Kaguvi, Chaminuka and Nehanda. These spirits medium together with the Mwari cult and its representatives in both Mash and Mat allied with indunas and chiefs to provide a combination of leadership which was unique in its inspiration before the risings were also remarkable in their organisation. In each province it was planned in all districts would take place at the same time. Not only did they involve both the Ndebele and Shona but almost everybody in the resistance area that included children, women, old men, young men, the aristocracy and the lower cast.

The majority of the fighters were however Shona speakers, the wars called for great sacrifices for both black and whites and both wanted peace, on the white side, Rhodes holmed in by high cost in money and men and faced with the prospects of losing the charter if war continued, personally went to the chiefs to negotiate with the Ndebele learders. He promised them sweeping administrative reform which would allow them to settle down in their pre 1893 land. Some of their leaders would be re-instated and paid a salary as recognised indunas and they would be no victimasation of the Ndebele or their leaders. The Ndebele took a risk and believed Rhodes. The did not regret this as many of these promises were actually kept. Some of the most respected leaders of the rising did become recognised indunas and the Ndebele felt their resistance had not been in vain. Another consequence of the revolt was that the Ndebele politics was now bound to. T.O.Ranger has ileterated how this gave the ndebele" a political target which could be aimed at by pertitions, collection of money and the organisational of associations".

It also meant that many Ndebele recognised two Lobengulas sons who had been send to school in S.A and were now by far the best educated in Southern Rhodesia. All these factors combined to produce political unawareness in Mat. But when the Ndebele reacted for peace, the Shona continued fighting. They had not experienced the defeat that the Ndebele had in 1893 and fought on throught 1897 hoping to win but they finally lost. After the capture of their leaders most of them surrendered unconditionally. The few advantages that had been promised to the Ndebele after they retreated were never to come their way. Their chiefs were given no terms and profits. Many of their leaders were accused of taking part in the revolt. The result was that Shona chiefs no longer appered as leaders of their people as been in the old sense, in contrast to the Ndebele chiefs. Most of the Shona retired in acceptance of complete defeat. It was difficult for new forms of political parties to grow up among them.

They had been no Shona convert to Christian religion, so they were now very few illiterate Shona equipped with outwide world, those politics in ex-resistance areas turned to narrow tribal politics of hostility been suppress of the new and old chiefs. All in all the events of 1896 had been very damaging to the blacks. The BSAC was discredited abroad, both for its Jameson raid blunder in the Transvaal and its behaviour in Rhodesia. The Rhodesian white population was blamed for its various forms of oppression and described as a dangerous and irresponsible community. The rising had been a political war to evict the white man, but the Mwari-Mulimo cult had played a crucial role on

strategising the conflicts and their defeat was a serious blow to the peoples confidence in the tribal spirits vis-avis modern weaponry and organisation. Some even became Christians in protest.

THE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT (1923-1953)

In 1923 the settlers in Southern Rhodesia were granted Responsible Government status and they were allowed to form a new government controlled by the settlers. With this the settlers in Southern Rhodesia were a step closer to independence from the British government. Charles Coughlan (1923-1927) became the 1st Prime Minister.

-1923 Constitution

-Political set up

-Economic

-Social and Religious

Q. The 1923 constitution was an insult to the black people in Southern Rhodesia. Discuss

It provided a governor representing the British sovereignty, a legislative assemble of 30 members to be elected on the franchise, one to qualify an income of 100 pounds or property worth 150 pounds, Provision for an upper chamber that was to be required at any time, NB the constitution conferred a considerable measure of autonomy on Southern Rhodesia on its internal affairs, but legislation on certain subjects notable changes in the constitution and any laws discriminating Africans and Europeans was reserved by the British Queen of England. "Internal affairs remained in the British hands"

Constitution- supreme law of the land and any law inconsistent with is null and void.

THE LAND APPORTIONMENT ACT

Separation development policy on the land, political, economic and social. All aspects of life are 1st in land. Whites gained more land than the blacks.

EFFECTS

Over crowding in reserves, Europeans did not abide by the Land Apportionment Act because whilst whites could buy an African land, African could not by from theirs. It relaxed the hostility on land issues, lead to landless peasants because nobody could take it even if the owner had died. The Black could not go to Harare to get the title deeds therefore he just bought the land and to find out that the land had been bought again by the white man. Both races had security therefore developed it, separation meant development since they could not work together.

THE LAND APPORTIONMENT ACT 1931 CLAUSES

1. The interests of a race to the land allocated to it thereto, are to be indivisible, inalienable and paramount.

2. There shall be no cross-purchase, a native shall not buy from white sector as much as a white person shall not buy from the black sector.

3. For the purposes of labour, it shall be permissible for blacks to work on white sector in as much as a white man can work on black sector.

4. Purchases of land in both white and black sector to be provided with title deeds.

Q. What were the significance of Trade Unionism and did the blacks achieve anything? Definition-the jointing of groups to try and negotiate the interests of both the worker and the employees for both of their benefit.

-Industrial workers union 1925 led by Charles Mzengeli, they protested against hard working conditions. Go slow and strikes

ACHIEVEMENTS

Accommodation- Luveve, Highfields and Senga, however over populated. Wages were increased though not sufficient, 1ST step towards politics i.e ANC-armed struggle. Trade unions to congresses eg BANTU Voters Association.

FAILURES

Wages though high were not sufficient, Industry the whites on top and the blacks low.

SIGNIFICANCE

The way to Nationalism

Led to the representation of Africans

Led the Europeans to recognise that Africans could run their own associations

Examples of trade unions

Industrial workers union 1925 led by Charles Mzengeli, they protested against hard working conditions.

The 1945 strikes, how they protested, deliberate machine breaking and deserting work.

Charles Coughlan Government 1923-27

POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION OF COUGHLAN, WHAT WERE THE PROBLEMS & CHALLENGES FACED BY HIS GOVT & HIS STEPS.

-When responsible government had been granted by the British government Charles Coughlan became the 1st prime minister

LEGISLATURE

-This was to comprise of 30 members who could promulgate laws though some were subject to approval by the British government. It should be noted that of those 30, there were no Africans thus Africans fell victim to some oppressive laws e.g the Anti immorality Act 1923.

JUDICIARY

-The Privy Council was still based in Britain, Appellate Division was still in use, courts were still populated with white judges because by that time Africans had not qualified into diplomatic posts, moreover a government was placed in Salisbury to monitor everything and protect British interests on behalf of the Queen.

ON THE ISSUE OF VOTING

The Responsible Government did not make any changes to the pre-existing franchise. It stated that voters must have been residents of Southern Rhodesia for at least 6 months and having the ability to complete the form from the electoral register and had to occupy property worth 150 pounds or earning 100 pounds annually.

ECONOMY, the problem was that, who was the owner of an allocated land in S.R

Land 1st- problem who was the owner of an allocated land in S.R. Solution the Morris Carter Commission appointed in 1925 to look at it. The recommendations of the charter were that in looking into this issue, they were to consider things such as population, skills and production. They proposed that land was to be divided into Native Purchase area and white purchase areas and this brought about security on the parts of the races and this was to be taken into consideration by the Coughlan government which was later to establish the Land Apportionment Act 1931.

AGRICULTURE

The problem was that, there was under development in the agric sector because blacks wanted to stick to subsistence farming. To solve this problem, schemes were proposed and demonstrators were taught at these schemes such as Domboshawa and Thsolotsho and these demonstrators went out and demonstrated on how to use the land. Imperial Tobacco Company was found leading to the export of tobacco and thus forex was earned. However it resulted in forced labour though employment was created. To avoid over grazing Africans were forced to destock their cattle while the whites resorted to paddocking.

TRANSPORT

The problem was that, there was no transport to help in the flourishing agriculture sector and there was no link between rail and road. To solve this problem the government embarked on building roads and in 1927 the Rail Commission was appointed to deal with the rail transport.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

From time immemorial the blacks and whites relationship was far from being cordial because the whites regarded themselves as superior than the blacks whom they regarded as inferior. This led to separate division policy such as schools, clinics, recreational and accommodation among other things.

SCHOOLS

Schools were built in separate places for blacks only and for whites only. This was oppressive to blacks because the teachers who taught them had only reached standard 6 hence were half baked and this led to half baked students if not completely dolls whilst on the whites their teachers came from abroad and they were highly trained and this resulted in them acquiring better education as compared to the whites. When they met in industries for work, obviously the white men were the bosses of the blacks due to their high education. So the blacks were oppressed in every aspect of life.

HEALTH

For a society to function well it needs healthy people, and this led to the whites building up hospitals for themselves with all special medicines and qualified doctors who were always 24-7. For Africans they built instead clinics with few medicines as compared to their hospitals and there were no readily available doctors to attend the patients, instead he was only called for in times of emergency. However much blame is not to be put on the whites because by that time, blacks refused to get treatment in the clinics because they believed the n'anga could heal them better.

RECREATIONAL

Many recreational facilities were created and the separate development policy still applied in places such as bars, swimming pools etc. This was oppressive to the blacks because you could only find posts written "blacks not allowed", but you could not find "whites not allowed", this means that the recreational facilities of the whites were superior than those of the blacks and meant that the whites could never go into those for Africans because they were dirty. If a white man was found in these places, maybe he was a detective hunting for criminals.

ACCOMMODATION

Same applies to accommodation whereby the blacks were populated into the high density suburbs which were near industries therefore pollution, noisy and sewer retaliation. The whites placed themselves in low density suburbs which were away from the CBD and factories and industries therefore no air pollution and noise.

INFLUENCE OF CHURCHES

Churches also played a big part in early protest movements. Mathew Zvimba's church of the white bird, a Shona movement combined Christianity with older Shona religions. The Watch Tower movement was brought to Zimbabwe by Malawi domestic servants, it was active in North-western Mashonaland where hymns were sung in Chinyanja and nationalistic heroes such as John Chilembwe and Eliot Kamutana were remembered. There was also an appeal to Shona history in such later churches Guta raJehovah led by the prophetess Mai Chaza. The future political leader Ndabaningi Sithole worked in a church formed by Rev E.T.J Nempare. These churches gave voice to rural grievances and created a sense of national unity.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CHURCHES

The blacks used to boycott from work and would go to these churches as a way to rest from these jobs. These churches also formed political parties and hiding behind the name of church e.g Ndabaningi Sithole worked in a church formed by Rev ETJ. Due to bad treatment the blacks were receiving in European churches, they decided to form their own churches. The blacks did not understand the European languages and were not allowed to sit near whites. This caused the blacks to move out and form their own churches like the ZIONIST by Mutendi, Whitebird, Gutaramwari and Apostolic church.

FEDERATION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA, NORTHERN RHODESIA & NYASALAND 1953-63.

DEF- Federation is bringing two or more states under the control of central government consisting of representatives. The Federation came into being in 1953, southern Rhodesia, northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were brought together. The Federal decade can be summarised as follows,

REASONS FOR FEDERATION

1. It was hoped that economic advantages would accrue in a Federation.
 - a) The allowance of interdependence, S.R had developed secondary industries, Northern Rhodesia had copper and Nyasaland had labour.
 - b) The expansion of markets, to create an economic base which would lead to competition with that of South Africa.
2. To allow partnership between blacks and whites.
3. The influence of the memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa written by Lord Passfield and other news paper articles.
4. Already existing co-operation between the three territories e.g in education and commerce
5. To create a solid block between South Africa dedicated to Apartheid and dubious democratic African states which were emerging in the West and North of the continent.
6. To reduce political administration costs of the three territories???? How
7. The need to spread civilisation.

STEPS LEADING TO FEDERATION

1. The successful Federation of East African countries.
2. The 1st Victoria Conference of 1936.

3. The Bledisloe Commission and its recommendations.
4. The 2nd Victoria Conferance.
5. The overthrow of the Labour Party Majority in the British General election of Feb 1950.
6. The referendum of 9 April 1953.
7. The Order-in-Council of 1953.

IMPORTANT ISSUES TO BE CONSIDERED

1. Whether the principle of partnership was achieved between blacks and whites.
2. Whether there was a real principle of interdependence among the three territories.
3. Economic, political, social and religious achievements should also be considered.
4. Discussion of the constitutional development during the Federal decade.

REASONS FOR DISSOLUTION OF FEDERATION 1963

1. Opposition from African nationalists.
2. Opposition from whites in S.R who desired separate development policy.
3. Opposition from Britain which felt to have an obligation to protect the native Africans.
4. Formation of the Dominion party in 1956.
5. Exhaustion of copper mines in Zimbabwe.

STEPS LEADING TO DISSOLUTION

1. Events of 1959 the years of repression.
2. The London agreement on the withdrawal of member states 1961.
3. Withdrawal of Nyasaland.
4. Order-in-Council of 1963.

QUESTIONS

1. Critically examine the reasons and steps leading to Federation.
2. Discuss the reasons leading to the Federation and its subsequent fall.
3. "They under rated the depth of the fear and abrorance with which ordinary Africans looked upon the transfer to SR as part of the authority presently exercised by the colonial office". In this light show how the attitudes of the Africans contributed to the failure of Federation and fall.
4. "Southern Rhodesia, they said was a good place in which to work, but a bad place in which to live". What does this view of migrant labours review about the working and living conditions in S.R. Assess the validity of the assessment.

5. "Federation was a hot house and forcing the growth of African nationalism". Discuss
6. "If Federation was a wrong policy in the early 1950s, it would be false lodging to assert that the breaking up of the Federation would be the right policy in 1963". To what extent do you agree with this statement.
7. "The concept of partnership was only cosmetic for Federation exposed the hollowness". Justify or refute this statement.
8. Tress the Federal constitutional developments and assess their relevance to Africans.
9. What were the achievements and failures of the Federal decade.
10. The Federal decade is refered as the lost decade by Tindal do you agree?
11. The concept of interdependence meant the milking of other states resources by S.R. Justify or refute this statement.

FEDERAL DECADE

The idea of uniting N & S Rhodesia was put forward as early as 1915 by the directors of the BSAC. Their aim was to reduce administrative costs. They tried to make it attractive to the settlers in SR by depicting the country North of the Zambezi as a land of rich natural resources. However as acc to J.Desmond Clark (The prehistory of Southern Africa 1959) the wealth of the copper belt was yet unknown. The proposal of such a Federation or amalgamation was rejected because its acceptance would have likely to retard the attaining of Responsible Government in S.R which was the chief political objective of the settlers. In 1924 a parliamantory commission visted S.R, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania to assess the closer union among these states. This commission was led by Sir Hilton Young and reported in January 1929 that Federation was only possible for Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. But found out that this group did not have adequate communication with N.R, Nyasaland and S.R. The Commission then turned its attention to the possibility of forming 2nd group of territories linking the three, this was the 1st step towards Federation.

Nevertheless in N.R and Nyasaland the opinion of the settlers was divided ,in the railway belt it was on the whole favourable to amalgamation though some doubted whether N.R could hope for enough representation in a joint legislature to safeguard her special interests. In the 40 Jamerson area when the Tobacco planters relied on the Nyasaland railway it was opposed to any union with S.R unless Nyasaland was included. In Nyasaland the trading interest and larger planters were uneasy about S.R Natives Policy, the smaller farmers however favoured it and expressed dislike at what they called (Pro-Native Policies persuade in Tanzania and Uganda).

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION

The commissioners themselves were unable to agree in their recommendations. Sir Hilton Young submitted a minority report in favour of uniting the central part of S.R, the railway belt & all Northern western Rhodesia except Barotse province with S.R. The other commissioners of whom Dr J.H. Oldham was the most notable, rejected the proposal "to place any further tracts with a large Native population under the government of S.R until that government has demonstrated its ability to copy with the extensive native problems that already confronted it". Given such a scenario it is clear that it was a question of race relations as well as of economic. Sir Hilton was pre-occupied with

economic interdependence of the three territories whereas as Dr Oldham and his colleagues were primarily concerned with the imperial or Britain responsivly to promote social justice in the East African dependances.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEMORANDUM ON THE NATIVE POLICY IN EAST AFRICA WRITTEN BY LORD PASSFIED

According to E.Colson & M.Gluckman (Seven tribes of British Eastern & Central Africa), this document by Passfied drove the settlers of Northern. R to cast aside all doubts and hesitations about the desirability of Federation with Nyasaland in S.R. Moreso it is argued that it was on account of the niceties of the Federation preached by Passfied in his book that settlers in Nyasaland & N.R recognised that if the British government was going to insist on the paramount of native interest and was therefore going to deny them the state of self-government which they desired then. So they thought they might seek and find sympathy and aid from neighbouring colonies enjoying freer institutions and more equitable opportunities i.e S.R. NB- It had attained Responsible government in 1923 thus to them Federation could replace self governance.

THE 1ST VICTORIA CONFERENCE OF 1936

It was the 1st Victoria Conference attended by all elected members of N.Rhodesian legislative council and representatives of all three political parties in S.R, United party, Reformed party and it solved that the convention is of the opinion that the early amalgamation of N.R & S.R under a constitution conferring the right of complete self governance is in the interests of the inhabitants of both colonies. It was a step towards federation. NB- Nyasaland was excluded and the blacks were ignored. It is to no wonder why the blacks in Nyasaland refused to cooperate after this conference arguing that it was a white federation. According to P.E.N. Tindal this was a bluttend error on account of the resolutions of the 1st vic falls conference, a royal commission was appointed in march 1938 with Vis-count Bledisloe as chairman.

THE BLEDISLOE COMMISSION 1938

It was to inquire " whether any, and if so , what form of closer co-operation or association between S.R,N.R & Nyasaland is desirable and feasible, with due regard to the interest of all the inhabitants irrespective of race, of the territories concerned and to the special responsibility of our government in the U.K of Great Britain and Northern Irealand for the interest of the native".

RECOMMENDATIONS/FINDINGS OF THE BLEDISLOE COMMISSION 1939

It expressed the view that the problem confronting the 3 territories were fundamantaly similar and that S.R "Stands to benefit if her future is planned as part of a bloc of British territory. N.R & Nyasaland it added, with no great air of conviction, "should also derive some advantage since their own resources were unlikely to attract the European enterprise necessary for development". It also reported that the 3 territories would " become more and more interdependence in all their activities and that identity of interest would lead them to sooner/later to political unity". It also recognised that the native policy of S.R was "in some respect restricting and if persisted in would limit the opportunities open to Africans, as they gradually emergy from their present backward condition. It recommended that the policy of partnership should be taken into cognisance before federation. To this end it might be suggested that these recommendations pushed a step forward to federation. Nevertheless, the commission also called attention to "the striking unnomity" of African opion in N.R & Nyasaland in opposing the withdrawal of the Crown's protection consequent upon the

merging of these territories with S.R and they were "agreed in doubting the practical wisdom" of federation as long as African fears and suspicions remained alive and threatened to prejudice the prospect of co-operation including developments in the united territory".

They argued that they should be co-operation amongst territories but neither unification or federation. If the British government had promised that the interests of the Africans would be continuously protected in a federation, the fears of the blacks could have been erased. Yet in 1944 colonel as secretary of state for the colonies announced in the house of commons that the British government had "after careful consideration, come to the conclusion that the amalgamation of the territories under existing circumstances can not be regarded as practicable". In reply to questions he made it clear that the "existing circumstances" he meant disagreements on the subjects of native policy.

ECONOMIC INFLUENCE TO FEDERATION

The desirability of the close possible co-ordination of the policy and action of the govt of the 3 territories in such matters as communications, economic relations, industrial development, research, labour, education, agriculture and health influenced the idea of federation. S.R had developed industries, N.R had copper mines and Nyasaland a lucrative agriculture & what the whites termed idle labour.

EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE

The arrangements which had already been made for white man's children to have secondary education in S.R led to federation. Acc to A.J. Hanner(The story of Rhodesia & Nyasaland) in 1937 there were 219 children from N. Rhodesia and 70 from Nyasaland who were attending school in S.R .Moreso the presence of similar interest among the 3 territories made federation possible. For instance there was a good deal of exchange of scientific information concerning agric, medical and veterinary problems. There was consultation about the development of communication in the common interest and same bank notes circulated in the 3 territories and coins minted in S.R were legal tender in N.R & Nyasaland. In the opinion of many whites, federation was more probable in view of all these similarities and could be easily achieved. Thus at face value it can be argued that the existence of such similarities led to the federation in 1953.

THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT 1936

This was an agreement on migrant labour that the 3 territories should cooperate in terms of labour. The existence of such a treaty also promoted federation.

THE ROLE OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN COUNCIL

It stimulated the tendency of co-operation amongst the 3 territories and tendency which was later to lead to a federation. However its influence was limited since it was merely an agency for consultation and cooperation, the 3 govts did not give any of their powers to it. This is to no wonder why Sir Godfrey Huggins, prime minister of S.R regarded it as "nothing more than a soap and that his cabinet had agreed to it only because it would bring them a stage nearer to federation.

THE 2ND VICTORIA CONFERENCE 1949

Delegates from the 3 territories were all present. Sir Miles Thomas was the chairman. A resolution in favour of federation was passed enormously. It was agreed that the Australian system should be

taken as a model, after the conference, Sir Miles Thomas told the press" not only had the foundations been laid but the house had been built, and all that remained was to move in the furniture and fittings". Operating on those grounds it is observed that the 2nd V. Falls conference was more than a stride towards federation. Nevertheless it might be argued that if the house had been built it had been built without the planning authority in London and without any attempt to ascertain the views of the most people who were to live in it- according to the Rhodesian times, however, "They appeared to be general agreements that Africans would not oppose federation as they had opposed amalgamation, and that the colonial office consent to federation might be expected".-esp as Sir Geoffrey had said that he would agree to the notions of some Africans to be in the upper house of the federation legislature. Nevertheless the British government persisted that they would not neglect its solemnly pledged duty to protect Africans in a federation unless they were represented from the start. On the other hand Huggins argued that " the time has not yet arrived for that and further that the Africans had not yet enough civilised to justify one constituency.

THE IMPACT OF THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTIONS FEB 1950: ON THE

CAUSE OF FEDERATION

According to C.Leys (European Politics in Southern Africa 1959) " the prospects of a federation of N.R, S.R & Nyasaland were rescued from collapse by the British general elections of feb 1950". The elections saw the wiping out of opposers of federation like Mr Greech Johnes the secretary of state for the colonies. According to A.J Hanner(supra ibd-in that same book) he was thoroughly familiar with the backgrounds to the demands of federation and profoundly distrusted the motives of its Rhodesian advocates. His successor Mr James Griffiths had held little if any previous acquaintance-association with African affairs. Though he championed federation Griffiths always suffered indescion.

The next secretary of the state Mr Oliver Lytteltan showed no such indescion. Once he had made up his mind that federation would have solid advantages and that the safeguards for African interest were perfectly adequate, he pressed ahead with all the vigour and singleness of purpose of a highly successful businessman. A referendum was held in Southern R. On 9 April 1953 and the proposed federal constitution was opposed by a majority of nearly 2 to 1. The opposition to it in S.R came from the more un compromised in support of white supremacy and racial segregation, who distrusted the new orthodoxy of inter-racial partenership on account the advocates of federation took their stand. The fact that the conservative was attacked by the white champions of European interest in S.R as well as the black champion of African interest in N.R and Nyasaland enabled its sponsors in Britain to repress it.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION 1953

It acquired the force of law on the 1st February 1953 with the Federation of Rhodesians and Nyasaland (constitution) order in council. It came into being on the 3rd of September 1953.

THE PREAMBLE OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

Federation should go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership of the Common wealth. It is apparent that the preamble reviewed the demands of the Federal government to be granted its sverigty which was to mean the exclusion of British government to protect the Africans in Federation. The constitution also provided for the execution, holding and legislature.

However autonomy was given to nine territorial governments. The imposition of constitutional link with S.R upon the protectorates minimized the extent and importance of African opposition, attributing it to the self interested mis-representation of a small number of nationalist politicians. It was argued that these politicians were no less than lunies to suppose that Federation would be followed by a northward rush of white settlers to occupy native trust land in the protectorates, Mr Lightton asserted that as soon as masses of the Africans people find out that Federation left them wholly unaffected, except for improved social services, opposition would wither away and the nationalists demagogues would come to be despised as charlatans. Nevertheless, here upon it might be argued that they underestimated the depth of fear and abhorrence with which ordinary Africans looked upon the transfer to S.R of any part of the authority previously exercised by Britain. Large numbers of men in both Nyasaland and N.R had 1st hand knowledge of conditions in S.R, having worked there as migrant labourers, they had seen how there was poor accommodation, living conditions vagrantly miserable, health and sanitation grossly and wrongly placed.

They could not also forget the great ruthlessness and suppression of the 1945 strikes and how the sharp teeth of police dogs sinking into their flesh. Thus although they were attracted by the wages in S.R, Salisbury and Byo, they were conscious that they were generally looked upon as subject people whereas in their own country they were free. Thus most of them argued that S.R was a good place in which to work but a bad place in which to live. Technologically, it was quite interesting to regard Federation as transfer of power in whole or in part from Britain to the Federation. On the contrary, S.R was on the same footing as N.R & Nyasaland in giving up certain of its own powers to the new Federal government and legislature and in the legislature the single chamber federal assembly S.R was to be represented by only 17 of the 35 members. N.R & Nyasaland had to share between them 26 seats. It can be therefore argued that Federation was created by the partial transfer of power to the white settlers. NB-the powers which were transferred did not include the control of African affairs. Britain retained such power. But the last clause of the constitution itself provided that the constitution was to be reviewed not less than seven and not more than 9 years from its coming into force.

By a conference consisting of delegations from governments from U.K Federation and the 3 territorial governments and who could tell what would happen, didn't the preamble of the constitution express hope that the Federation would go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership in the Commonwealth? This was indeed, to be the culmination of the achievements of partnership between the races and was to take place when the inhabitants of the Federation so desired. But who could say when partnership had been achieved? And would "inhabitants" be interpreted to mean anything more than voters, the great majority of whom were whites? Was it not indeed, reasonable to interpret the preamble and the provisions for constitution review taken in conjunction to mean that the Federal government could have full independence when the Commonwealth for the asking subject perhaps to a referendum not later than 1962? And full independence even within the commonwealth would imply the complete elimination of the colonial office and U.K parliament from the control and protection of N.R & Nyasaland. These developments were not inevitable but they were sufficiently probable to justify anxiety on the part of anyone who thought that Britain's duty to retain her authority in the two protectorates until the Africans were ready to take at least as large a part as the settlers in governing them. Although a half educated or wholly illiterate African could not explain his fears in logical terms.

It is probable that a very large number of humble faults sensed something of the kind. In N.R and Nyasaland Africans wanted to stay out of the S,R sphere of influence and they relied on Britain to keep them out. Africans acquired from D.C District Commissioners about whether to accept the Federation since they were better placed. Nevertheless, their indifference answers were " this is your matter which you have to decide for yourselves". Yet how could the Africans be considered to be competent to reach a wise decision on a matter of such weight and complexity if they were not yet competent to exercise the full franchise of citizens in an independent state. Africans were considered to be "political minors who needed continuous reminders that put that shoe on the other leg". J.A Barnes (Politics in a changing society 1934). If Mr Griffith was right in thinking that federation was good for Africans Mr Lyttelton was right in giving it to them but did he gave them with the result of them accepting. Wasnt it a matter of imposition? It should be taken into account that if federation was given to the Africans then it would not have been burden with recognizable hostility. Africans suspected that the DC's were hiding something sinister to them.

When later the dc were instructed to explain the whole concept of federation and its advantages the Africans had become too distressful thus led to the downfall of such a federation since Africans were acting up fears reacted by forming congresses.

FORMATION OF CONGRESSES

The A.N.C of 1944, it was the unification of associates concerned with African welfare and advancement. It agitated for extension of political power to Africans. Federal scheme was strongly opposed by congresses. It was on account of the congress system that in 1956, African members of the legislative council were for the 1st time elected e.g Mr H.B Chipembere and Mr M.W.R Chihume, however congresses were denounced as merely movements of smart young black men with enough education to make them consorted but not enough to make them wise and that it had little influence among single descent, respectful country folks. However the election of these black men was viewed as their chance to learn to run the estate which would some day become theirs. Chipembere was an extremist, he is quoted to have said " anything like moderation would never get us anywhere, whether we demand things in strong terms or whether we demand them with mild language we get nothing". The only language which the British imperialist can hear is of the language of extreme conflict".

For many congress man, the real enemy was federation. The Delvin Commission found out that " even amongst the chiefs,many of whom are loyal to the government and dislike congress methods, we have not heard of a single one who is in favour of federation. Witness after witness appered before us for the sole purpose of all the trouble we were investigating the trouble was federation, so federation was an achievement hunger to the blacks. Many who wanted to be moderate with the whites were dismissed from the congress e.g Mr Wellington Chirwa who was also elected as a representative of Africans in the legislature of the federation. On account of his wet dog wise approach, Mr Chipembere insisted that Chirwa must resign. When he refused he caused his expulsion. When the congress in 1959 decided to draw up a list of struggles and question, Mr Chirwa's name was placed at the head of the list. Other significant men who contributed to the congress are the likes of Dr Banda. It is said that though Banda did not encourage violence he did little to prevent it. The congress also encouraged the formation of independent churches. They proposed that it was better to be poor in freedom than to be prosperous in servitude i.e federation.

In N.R attempts by violent extremists to win control of congresses led to a crisis movement in 1958 for many were detained and many executed.

ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF FEDERATION

The construction of the Kariba dam in 1959 can be regarded as an achievement of the federation. This is so if one is to take into consideration that before the federation the construction had been proposed, before the federation S.R had proposed the construction but had not done so because of the shortages of fund. However on account of interdependence in a federation all the 3 territories contributed by paying taxes, federal government was able to construct the dam. Moreso the other reason is that when people enter into a federation they hoped that Britain would donate some funds and Britain did fulfil their hopes in the construction of the dam. The K.D was to provide with hydroelectric power to all the 3 territories, revenue from tourists and fishers thus as according to A.J Hanner "it was indeed a planners dream and visionaries heaven". It is also argued that on account of the construction of the K.D there was an economic boom in S.R for that reason, the construction of the K.D can be regarded as an achievement by the federation.

Moreso before the federation the Responsible government imposed a heavy burden of taxation upon Africans through hut, poll and dog taxes. Various Africans from the rural areas flocked to Salisbury and Bulawayo to seek employment. In the end it is alleged that there was rampant unemployment and the construction of the kd created employment for the Africans. However it is said that in the construction of the kd it was dangerous that many Africans perished. Moreso it can be refuted that in S.R there was rampant un employment and it is said that the other reason for a federation was to acquire labour from N.R and Nyasaland, but still it can be argued that they did want employees who wanted high wages but cheap labour, thus they regarded Africans in Nyasaland as labour line idols. The setting up of various schools like U.Z can be regarded as an achievement of federation. As for the University of Rhodesia i.e present day .U.Z such an effort by the federal government can be celebrated. However that achievement during those days was limited to the whites in S.R since they were the ones who gained most. Nowonder why N.R and Nyasaland were always complaining of S.R as milking their resources. Thus as far as the issue of interdependence is concerned nalabona/no goods.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT/ ACHIEVEMENTS

1. Constitutional amendment act 1957

2. Electoral act of 1958

These pieces of legislations improved the structure of Africans for the membership of the Federal Assembly which was increased from 35 to 59 and a second non racial electoral role was introduced. The constitutional act of 1957, the views of African affairs board should be taken seriously. Nevertheless as a result of these constitutional changes the A.A.B came to be composed of members of the I.F.P who did not protest against any bills passed.

THE CONCEPT OF PARTNERSHIP

It was hoped for cooperation between Africans and the whites. The essence of partnership was to erase any form of racial segregation. As far as this aim of federation is concerned, the federal government failed dismally. This is because the glaring was the attitude of Welenkey's government to all those who sympathised with the blacks. In 1958, commander Thomas Foxpit secretary of the

Anti-slavery society in London was expelled from the government for giving advice to Africans politically to guide the revolution of African nationalism. In 1959 Rev Colvin of the church of Scotland ministry was fired from the government for supporting Africans. Mr Stone House, a federal member of parliament was geared with shanks of "white caffino", "live in the compound next time and go back to your black mummy for supporting blacks". Sir Roy stated publicly he. Sir Roy had been approached directly with a request for permission to talk and further stone house so he could be black".

TERRITORIAL DISCRIMINATION

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

EXCLUSION OF AFRICANS IN THE FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE

It was appalling that Africans were completely excluded, it was a terrible thing that non white Rhodesians of ability were absorbed into admission.

WHITE HEAD'S STATE OF EMERGENCE 1959 AND REPRESSIVE LAWS

"There were exceedingly dangerous to the rule of law and to the liberty of the white men as well as to the blacks". Whitehead described partnership as a horse rider relationship. In other words he was saying that the white man is the rider and the black man the horse, no wonder why Robson Oblangater," the federation was a European ladder for the white man to climb on us".

INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION ACT

It was to deal with fundamental matters in an emergency multi-racial society in a non racial way. "It was a compromised, a triumph of partnership in all its ambiguity". Robson Oblangater. The concept of partnership was ambiguous as according to Oblangater because he defines partnership as dealing together in a business enterprise and he wonders whether blacks and whites were to operate as equal partners with equal salaries and whether there was to be a major shareholder and a minor. It came to prove that in federation whites were the major shareholders.

BRIEF SUMMARY ON THE FALL OF THE FEDERATION

Look at all reasons, opposition and factors undermining federation, the London agreement on the issue of territories, break aways by member states, etc.