‘If they are as thirsty as all that, let them come down to the pool’: unearthing ‘Wildlife’ history and reconstructing ‘Heritage’ in Gonarezhou National Park, from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s

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Heritage, nature and culture

Since the Gonarezhou National Park was formed in 1975, the ‘natural’ environment image of wild animals, plants and geophysical features has dominated the way it is perceived as a tourist resort and as a national heritage ‘site’. However this ‘national park’ is only a phase of the area’s history, and represents one dimension of a complex and changing perception of nature by man. In this paper I consider Gonarezhou not so much as natural space but as human-animal space in which the dominance of mankind over the last two or so centuries has imposed varying paradigms of heritage. Wildlife is a central part of these constructs, in which humankind “adapted and altered”[1] the environment around him/her and made it an ‘owned and controlled’ domain with or without the consent of other non-human living species. This sense of ownership, very

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1. A. PHILLIPS, “Interpreting the Countryside and the Natural Environment”, in D.L. UZZELL (ed), *Heritage Interpretation Volume I*: *The Natural and Built Environment,* (London and New York, 1989), p.123.

Historia, 47(2), November 2002, pp. 531-58.

often passed on to 'future generations', is what I define as heritage. It is the manner in which such 'ownership and control' of the wildlife environment was perceived and exercised in the pre-colonial and colonial periods that forms the crux of this paper. I argue that whereas pre-colonial space was not demarcated into separate human and game space, the first thirty years or so of colonial rule in Zimbabwe were characterized by evolving separate human-wildlife spheres that, in many ways, were influenced by contemporary wildlife policy and heritage. I view wildlife heritage not as a colonial creation but as emerging in the pre-colonial period and continuing in the colonial and post-colonial periods in a different cross-cultural and multi-racial environment.

In reconstructing wildlife heritage in Gonarezhou, as everywhere else in southern Africa over the same period, the writings of nineteenth century European adventurers and early colonial observers are crucial.[2] While early nineteenth century European observers only saw and commented on the landscape without having political control over it, their protégés in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century went a step further to colonize that landscape, claiming political title to its endowments. They disenfranchised Africans from, among other things, claiming entitlement to wildlife and other forms of 'owned' natural resources. Through racial dominance and the use of the powerful writing, photographic and later, radio and television media, European settlers created their own heritages on the ashes of the pre-colonial past. Nature was seen as a heritage on its own without any human embodiments. Upon this 'natural' landscape Europeans imposed national parks and removed indigenous inhabitants to the reserves, thus perpetuating separate biospheres.[3] In setting up national parks, the colonial authorities concentrated more on physical features rather than the consequences of establishing game reserves, such as forced removals of people. Not surprisingly, they were struck by the Gonarezhou's teeming wildlife more than the African culture any changes would destroy. In fact, maps drawn at the time portrayed the area as uninhabited and inhabitable.[4] (*See* Map)

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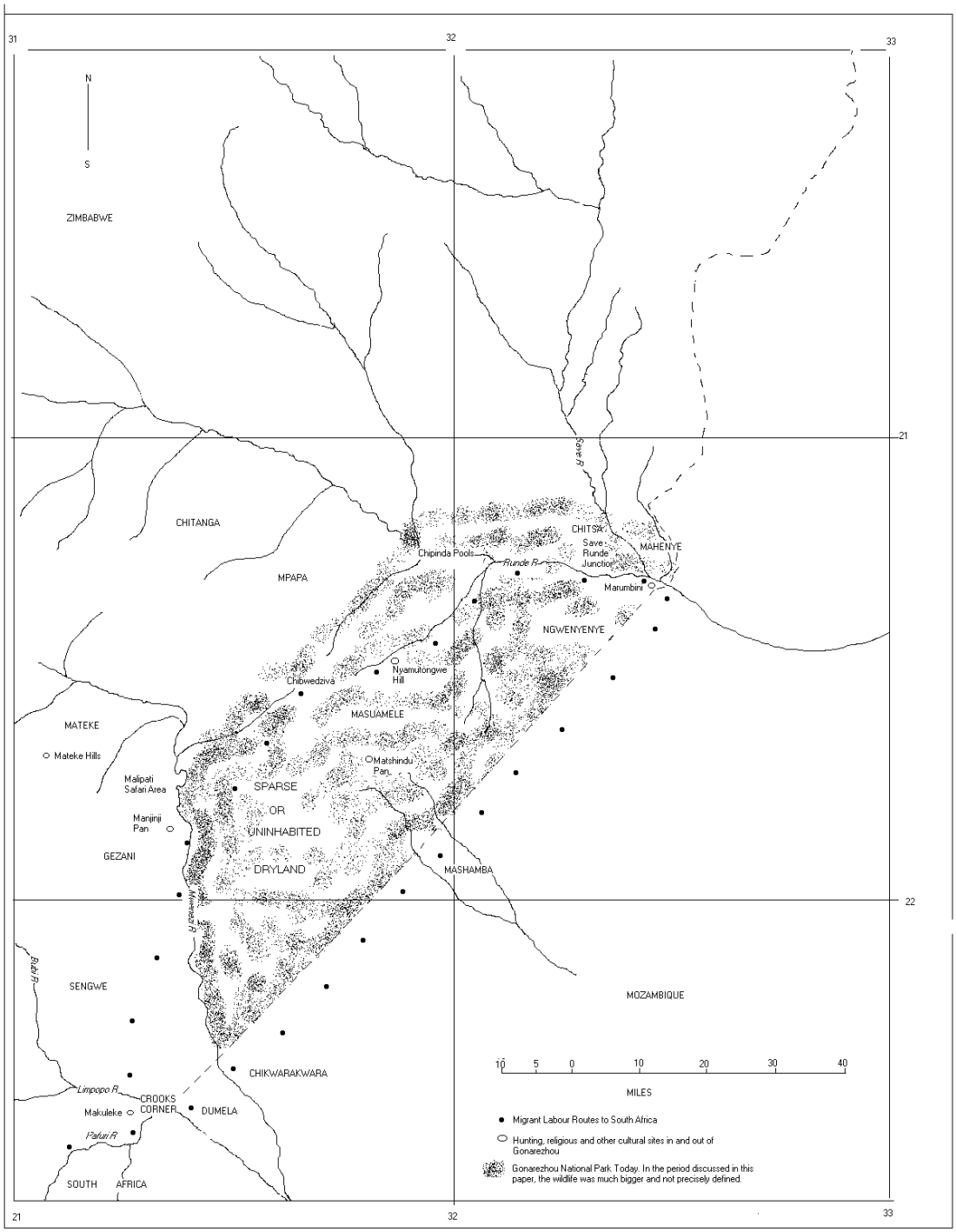
2. The most valuable book yet on the pre-colonial travel writers and artists is J. CARRUTHERS and ARNOLD, *The Life and Work of Thomas Baines*, (Vlaeberg, 1995).
3. K.R. OLWIG, "Nature Interpretation: a Threat to the Countryside", in *Heritage Interpretation Volume I*, p.132.
4. NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ZIMBABWE (hereinafter NAZ) File N3/24/2 Native Reserves Chibi District 1898-1915, pp.18-20. The three maps in this file were drawn by Peter Forrestall, the Native Commissioner for Chibi District.

Map 1: Some Important Cultural Sites in the Gonarezhou National Park



Historia, 47(2), November 2002, pp. 531-58.

It is clear from linguistic evidence that the people of this area regarded its wild animals with a sense of ownership. *Gonarezhou* is a Shona word of the Karanga dialect denoting an elephant landscape. In that landscape was found not just elephants but also other wild animals, together providing ivory, meat, and hides and skins. The Shona had already settled in the area in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Shona of the *nzou* (*zhou*) or 'elephant' totem, already living here by the eighteenth century,[5] had named this area in recognition of the terrestrial dominance of elephants. In short, nature became part of culture.

The national park, intended to be space where wild animals are conserved for present purposes and as a bequeathal to future generations, becomes a heritage built on preceding – and succeeding – human-animal 'interacting' landscapes. In short, where the tourist sees a sanctuary of elephants, buffalo, or giraffe, the cultural researcher sees a past 'imprisoned' in the game fence, waiting to be exposed. Ranger's study of the Matopos, echoes this view.[6] The present (man-made) boundaries of the national park, established in the late twentieth century, created separate biospheres between wild animals and people, preceded by a series of forced migrations, with people being resettled out of their original homelands now 'taken over' by wildlife. Yet the cultural residues of their activities remain as vestiges of their bygone heritage, physically moribund but alive in memory, performed art, and religious beliefs.[7] The Gonarezhou National Park is today a 'replacement heritage', an animal kingdom super-

5. J. H. BANNERMAN, 'Hlengweni – The History of the Hlengwe of the Lower Save and Lundi Rivers, from the Late-Eighteenth to the mid-Twentieth Century", *Zimbabwean History*, 12, 1981.

6. T.O. RANGER, Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture and History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe, (Oxford, 1999).

7. See for example NAZ TH10/1/1/1-442, The Personal Papers of J. Blake Marumbini Thompson. Thompson was a labour recruiter for the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WENELA) whose gathering, somewhat unsystematically, of oral traditions made him one of colonial Zimbabwe's foremost antiquarians. He was based at Marumbini, on the Save-Runde River Junction of the Gonarezhou, from where he recorded rich oral traditions tampered with a penchant for gross exaggeration.

imposed upon pre-existing and functional ones, rendering them moribund.[8] It is like imposing a 'Jurassic Park' on central Johannesburg or Harare, and bequeathing it as a heritage for present and future generations! The landscape is devoid of the people who made the history. The early protagonists for Gonarezhou thought very little of the value of African culture; in fact they believed in creating a civilized culture for Africans, including new heritages and landscapes.[9] The pre-colonial African landscape was therefore submerged by the creation of a '*culture nouveau*' in Gonarezhou, that of a wildlife paradise that dominates its image today. Hence the Transfrontier Park, of which Gonarezhou is a part, is touted as a wildlife paradise, built on a colonial notion of a wildlife biosphere. It is a myopic presentation of the area's heritage value. In the next few paragraphs I argue that the selective creation and projection of heritage is closely governed by political power, whereby those vested with political power often determine, as individuals, as groups or as governments, what constitutes heritage. In the Great Limpopo, the major justifications for transfrontier conservation projects have been tourism and conservation, which have a commercial premium, with very little value placed on cultural regeneration of 'moribund heritages' submerged by such projection.

Whose heritage speaks? The question of power

One explanation for this selective projection of heritage is that those in political power, be it in government, in the wildlife and tourism industry, or conservationists, have tended to promote only those images that suit their cause. In early colonial Gonarezhou, the only place assumed to be worth conserving and developing for tourism was the Chipinda Pools and Chibirira Falls areas of

8. In my paper on landscape transformations in the Gwembe Valley, I refer to the process whereby the gigantic Kariba Dam was built on the Tonga's Gwembe Valley homeland, sacrificing generations of African heritage to modern development. The people's past was simply flooded, the people dumped in barren lands, and in their place vast waters took over, to generate electricity the Tonga are yet to use four decades since Kariba was commissioned. 'Sold Down the River? Forced Resettlement and Landscape Transformation: Lessons from Kariba Dam, 1950-63', in T.O. RANGER AND G. MAZARIRE (eds), *Down to Earth, A Historical Study of Landscape in Zimbabwe*, Oxford, (Forthcoming).

9. A. WRIGHT, *Valley of the Ironwoods*, (Cape Town, 1972). Wright's rendition of his experiences as the District Commissioner of Nuanetsi (Mwenezi), contained in this huge book, typifies such attitudes.

the Save-Runde River Junction, where shimmering pools, cascading rapids and bountifuls of fish were deemed to be tourism asserts to the country.[10] Well before the tsetse fly invaded the area from Chipinge in the 1930s and 40s, the southern part of Gonarezhou had become a forgotten periphery given up to uncontrolled poaching, illicit labour recruitment, and cross-border smuggling. Today it is generally an inaccessible, undeveloped jungle tottering on the brink of underdevelopment with not a single decent gravel road, no telephone network, and without any radio or television reception of even the simplest sort.[11]

Because the area was regarded by the colonial government as by and large uninhabitable – dry, disease-infested, and inaccessible – it was deemed as not worth developing or controlling in equal measure to inland areas on the road and railway arteries linking with South Africa and Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique). In essence, only the northern part of Gonarezhou seemed to attract a heritage value in the perception of the early colonial authorities.[12] A significant paradox in these two areas, the Save-Runde and Mwenezi River sub-regions, is that in both Africans perceived their forced removal as a loss of heritage – they left behind their hunting grounds, religious shrines, birthplaces and so on – such that the two areas continued to have a heritage value long after their original inhabitants had lost them.[13] Their feelings are minutely recorded in written colonial sources, and their conception of heritage, submerged by dominant white discourse on what and who ought to determine heritage, remains consigned to memory and minute record.

This phenomenon of 'dominant heritage discourse', so Euro-centric in outlook, is neither peculiar to Gonarezhou nor confined to the twentieth century. Until the mid-twentieth century, the majority of Africans were illiterate, such that European writers had a monopoly over landscape, cultural and heritage discourses that were intricately detailed in books, paintings and other forms of media. The loss of power and rights over natural resources after colonization

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10. NAZ File S1194/1645/3/1 Game: Proposed Game Reserves at Chipinda Pools and Gwanda, 1932-5.
11. The odd bus that plies this route meanders and bumps and grinds through mounds and contours of dirt road to Malipati, raising a whirlwind trail of dust that covers the traveller in layers of dust-cake by the time he/she gets there.
12. NAZ File S1194/1645/3/1 Game: Proposed Game Reserves at Chipinda pools and Gwanda, 1932-5.
13. NAZ File NAZ TH10/1/1/1-442, The Personal Papers of J. Blake Marumbini Thompson.

removed the practiced forms of wildlife heritage – Africans were banned by law from hunting – and replaced them with preserved, non-practiced forms, such as history and memory expressed through folklore, performed art, religious systems and the inheritance of artifacts.[14]

But how do media consolidate heritage as 'owned' objects or memory over time? A recent study by Wolmer suggests that a combination of oral accounts and written/art forms were often combined to stereotype African spaces into landscapes that were identifiable with the self or the group. In this way landscape was narrowed down to personal interests and identities at the exclusion of other forms. Hence a persistent image that Wolmer notices about the Lowveld is that of "a 'hunter's paradise' where the landscape was most likely to be viewed down the barrel of a gun and where hunting was celebrated as a rite of passage".[15] This 'wilderness vision' of Lowveld space painted,[16] narrated in oral accounts and then written into biographies[17] and autobiographies,[18] presents insights into the carving out of a European heritage in the area that contrasts with unwritten pre-colonial forms created by local peoples. Wright and Bulpin's accounts are later samples of a continuing tradition of seeing the Lowveld as a hunter's heritage passed on from

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14. The sense of ownership over Gonarezhou's wildlife is illustrated by the ability of the young generations of locals to recount folklore and oral traditions about hunting areas, taboos and the processes of disenfranchisement that their ancestors went through in the 1890s and 1900s. They speak of these with deep emotion. Interview with Felix Mtombeni, a Hlengwe cross-border trade aged 29, Malipati Business Centre, 13 July 2001.
15. W. L. WOLMER, Lowveld Landscapes: Conservation, Development and the Wilderness Vision in South-Eastern Zimbabwe, (Ph.D, University of Sussex, 2001), p. 30.
16. P. FITZPATRICK, *Jock of the Bushveld*, (London, 1907).
17. T.V. BULPIN, *The Ivory Trail*, (Cape Town, 1954).
18. A. WRIGHT, *Valley of the Ironwoods,* (Cape Town, 1972); *The Grey Ghosts at Buffalo Bend*, (Cape Town, 1976). In these books, Wright talks about the tendency of viewing wildlife as unconscious villains at the mercy of greedy hunters. He exposes the cruelty of the poacher, who waits at the only remaining pools in the hot and dry winter months, knowing fully well that either the animals will take the chance of coming down to drink, or they will be finished off by thirst. This little book, written in the heat of the moment, is an emotional call to preserve the wildlife heritage and protect it against ravaging poachers. Written much later, it captures through flashback the history of the Lowveld as a landscape of hunters, somewhat exclusive of other landscapes.

succeeding hunters to new generations. As we shall see shortly, it is this heritage image that sells the Gonarezhou to the tourist world.

Because of tough legislation against African hunting, Europeans monopolized 'practiced forms' of this pre-colonial wildlife heritage.[19] This racial model, in which Europeans were the only ones with a say in wildlife management, was extended at an international level through white solidarity, and almost contributed to the formation of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park in the 1930s. Largely an initiative of General Jan Smuts, this plan involved the joining of the Gonarezhou and Kruger National Parks as a first step towards creating a wildlife corridor "from the Union, beginning at the Kruger National Park and going right up the east coast to Tanganyika."[20] However, owing to the rapid spread of tsetse fly from Mozambique into south-eastern Zimbabwe in the late 1930s, this extension was seen as not in the best interests of either country's, and was silently shelved.[21] Had in not been for tsetse fly, the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park would now be celebrating its 65th anniversary!

The images of a great transfrontier park were premised on the creation of a borderless tourist paradise spanning the two countries. Just to illustrate this 'wilderness vision' and the origins of the transfrontier park, I will quote a statement by the then Rhodesian Minister of Commerce and Transport in 1933:

> This scheme is too big to be tackled single-handedly. It must be an international affair, and that is what I hope it will be. We want tourists who are coming to see our famous sites to pass through the greatest game sanctuary in the world. My feeling is that we must use a little imagination in this matter. With imaginative enterprise we can build up this tourist traffic to a size that it will be a great source of wealth to this colony.[22]

Similar encouragement of human enterprise to colonize this landscape had been made some fifty-eight years earlier by the travel-writer St Vincent Erskine when visiting Mzila, the Gaza chief. He noted that 'Nowhere in this part of

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19. NAZ File N3/14/1 Internal Security: Intelligence, 1900-1910, Superintendent of Natives, Victoria, to the Chief Native Commissioner, 6 May 1908, 'Permits for Natives to Carry Guns in Chibi District'.
20. "Obstacles to Rhodesian Extension of Kruger Park", *The Rhodesia Herald*, August 13, 1937.
21. *Ibid*.
22. NAZ File S1194/1645/3/1 Proposed Game Reserves at Chipinda Pools and Gwanda, "Biggest Game Sanctuary in the World", Sunday, November 26 1933.

Africa have I seen so much game.'[23] Obviously, Erskine had no such vision of the sort that Gilchrist or Smuts would have half a century later, but this contrast shows that the collective worth of the transfrontier region has always been thought of in wildlife terms. What protagonists for the transfrontier park sought – a tourist paradise free of border strictures – just as is sought today, is what the pre-colonial hunter had enjoyed: then there was no strict 'immigration' system that could not be negotiated with African chiefs.[24] The colonial border was tricky, for it involved western-type border controls and, upon getting in, a number of procedures before the hunter could take a shot. So it was this sort of red-tape that a transfrontier sanctuary would remove, guaranteeing a return to the pre-colonial status quo. But this conception of a shared, transfrontier wildlife heritage was also influenced by the threat of lawlessness in the southern parts of Gonarezhou and the northern parks of the Northern Transvaal to conservation in the Kruger National Park. A transfrontier park would increase political control and stamp out illicit activities at Crooks Corner, not least poaching.[25]

There was no doubt that if the park had come off then, it would have been a blinding tourism success on account of the legends of the bushveld build by before and after colonization. This wider 'wilderness culture' of the Lowveld, epitomized by Crooks' Corner, was best celebrated in Percy Fitzpatrick's early twentieth century book, *Jock of the Bushveld*, showing a hapless hunter tossed into the air, high above the tree-tops by an angry buffalo which, in the process of charging, tramples on the hunter's rifle with its hind quarters, leaving all sorts of mayhem and panic in its wake![26] While perhaps showing nature's disgust with the destructive technologies of humankind, it lucidly reveals the Social Darwinist survival tactics of the jungle, steeped in the Lowveld's history. The popularity of Fitzpatrick's book, which celebrated the hunting tradition of

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23. ST. VINCENT ERSKINE, "Five Journeys of Exploration in South-eastern Africa", Manuscript, Royal Geographical Society Archives, London, 1890 (second journey), p.17, in "Lowveld Landscapes", p.32. See also Erskine's impression about the virgin wildlife landscape in his "Journal of a Voyage to Umzila, King of Gaza, 1871-72", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 45, 1875, pp.35-45.

24. See also the granting of concessions by Ngungunyane to Europeans allowing free exploitation of natural resources in the 1890s in NAZ File S1428/17/5 Concessions: Ngungunhana, Granted by, 1890-5.

25. M.J. MURRAY, "'Blackbirding' at 'Crooks' Corner': Illicit Labour Recruiting in the Northeastern Transvaal, 1910-1940", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 21(3), September 1995.

26. Jock of the Bushveld, cover.

the early settler community, and depicted wildlife as 'owned objects of sport', shows the heritage importance of wildlife in the lives of the race and class that was in power. In many ways it shows the 'love-hate' relationship between the authorities and Crooks' Corner, in which it was a celebrated western 'rogue' culture projecting towering masculinity, at the same time as it was an undesirable haven for fugitives. Allan Wright, among other colonial officials, sees the hero in *Bvekenya* as a hunter at the same time as he caricatures him as an undesirable appendage to ordered society. An explanation for this paradox offers important insights into the creation of heritages in the Gonarezhou.

In the colonial period, hunting and poaching are two idioms that determined racial distance from heritage. Those close to the wildlife heritage were those who were legally entitled to hunt, while those who were not, but proceeded to do so were poachers who, therefore, had to be kept far away from it. Laws governing hunting were, like all other laws, promulgated by those in power, who outlined terms to describe good practice – gentlemen, hunting in season, killing to eradicate tsetse fly, shooting in designated space and so on – as well as bad practice – using cruel methods like snaring and baiting, hunting 'out of season' when game was breeding, poaching, and so forth.[27] In all cases the poacher had one motive: to destroy as much game as possible, even if that meant the extermination of the entire breed. A poacher was, therefore, generally the scourge of the heritage. Through the agency of his activities, authorities were forced to declare reserves, national parks, and zoos. Through his illicit activities, a poacher created a parallel heritage of his own and which the 'morally decadent' in the community idolizes and then follows.[28] New poachers are born, following in the footsteps of their role models, just as great conservationists inspire new generations of their ilk.

Making and unmaking heritage: transformations 1830-1900

In his 1980 article, Roger Wagner explored the patron-client relations between the Boer hunters and local Africans in the trans-Limpopo valley region that resulted in the emergence of a new breed of African marksmen and gunsmiths. By 1830 the local people hunting in an area the Portuguese called *Beja* (Venda) had already made their mark as skilled hunters, who sold their ivory to the

27. Even in open shooting areas, such restrictions applied. See for example NAZ File G/3/2/12 Entomology: Game Elimination – Open Shooting Areas 1913-1915.

28. Allan Wright illustrates this sort of wantonness in his two books. He rejects poaching as a vice that was anti-heritage, but without, as District Commissioner, providing sufficient safeguards against it.

Portuguese of Delagoa Bay.[29] According to Stayt, class stratification based on elephant hunting was already well defined before the arrival of firearms.[30] The Great Limpopo regions of Makuleke and Chikwarakwara were the confluences of four main nineteenth century trade routes from the east coast, two from Inhambane and another two from Lourenco Marques. The routes passed through *Chinguine*, "a region on the east bank of the Limpopo" in the present-day transfrontier park. *Chinguine* was "a straightforward descriptive nomenclature derived from the inhabitants of the area, the Hlengwe, a widespread northern division of the Tsonga, who like the Venda have strong elephant-hunting traditions".[31]

Within this elephant frontier, voluntary and forced migrations explain the importance of the area's intermediate position between coast and interior. In the 1860s Ndebele trade routes passed through the Lowveld, which was also loosely shared with the Gaza as a tributary zone. The Ndebele launched sporadic patrols to collect tribute from their Hlengwe and Shona vassal while punishing defaulting chiefdoms. From the east the Portuguese of Lourenco Marques were expanding trade and ivory hunting activities further inland towards the Save-Runde confluence and the middle Limpopo. For example Joao Albasini, who in the 1830s built a strong personal militia, established forward elephant-hunting bases far into the present-day Great Limpopo area.[32] By the 1860s the Gaza position was therefore tenuous. These multiple forays are important in our understanding and reconstruction of wildlife history, in that a functional image of heritage based on immediate use and control emerges which is diametrically opposed to later colonial forms that emphasized long-term use built through conservation. Firearms were a means of asserting control over ivory and consolidating it. Without guns title over wildlife space was lost. This observation becomes clear in the case of the Gaza, who from time to time were prepared to surrender their control of the Great Limpopo hunting frontier

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29. R. WAGNER, "Zoutpansberg: The Dynamics of a Hunting Frontier, 1848-67", in S. MARKS AND A. ATMORE (eds), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, (London and New York, 1980), p.324.
30. H.A. STAYT, *The Ba Venda*, (London, 1931), pp.76-7.
31. R. WAGNER, "Zoutpansberg: The Dynamics of a Hunting Frontier, 1848-67", in S. MARKS AND A. ATMORE (eds), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, p. 324; See also FERNANDES DAS NEVES, *A Hunting Expedition to the Transvaal*, (London, 1879), pp.122-3.
32. R. WAGNER, "Zoutpansberg: The Dynamics of a Hunting Frontier, 1848-67", in S. MARKS AND A. ATMORE (eds), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, p.325.

to more powerful rivals to appease then and safeguard their independence. At other times the Gaza rulers used their authority over the ivory zone to play off their adversaries, the Portuguese and the Boers, against each other.[33] The strategy, however, failed to work when Ngungunyane tried to play off the British against the Portuguese in the 1890-6 period, ultimately resulting in his capture.[34]

One reason for this competition over the Great Limpopo's resources in the nineteenth century was its peripheral location relative to major centres of political power, a phenomenon that also overlapped into the colonial period. For example, in the 1880s and 1890s, the demarcation of the colonial boundary between the British South Africa Company (BSAC), the Portuguese and the Transvaal, cut across the Great Limpopo area in such a way that the area became a border region far away from emerging towns such as Chiredzi, Maputo and Pretoria. In negotiations for a peaceful transfer to British protection, this territory was used by the Gaza to fend off the Portuguese, somewhat abortively to a point. Ngungunyane, under immense pressure from the Portuguese, granted concessions to British nationals in their individual capacities or as representatives of the British government and the BSAC. The most notable was the Colquhoun Concession that gave the British concessionaire a large, vaguely demarcated swath of territory straddling the Portuguese East Africa frontier and chipping away almost the whole of Mashonaland up to the Zambezi.[35] In the aftermath of the drawing up of the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border in 1891, all territory east of that frontier were surrendered to the Portuguese, but the Company then inherited all concession to the west. The loser in all this manoeuvring was Ngungunyane, who had hoped to use British support to resist incorporation into Portuguese East Africa, but who was betrayed by the British government at his greatest hour of need and taken prisoner by the Portuguese.[36] Why is this important to heritage studies?

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33. *Ibid.*, p.326.
34. The most important files dealing with this aspect are those catalogued under the High Commissioner for South Africa, most notably NAZ File S1428/17/5 Southern Rhodesia 1889-1902: Concessions Granted by Ngungunhana 1890-1895, and File S1428/33/10 Portuguese East Africa – Ngungunhana's Messengers 1891-1896.
35. NAZ File S1428/17/5 Southern Rhodesia 1889-1902: Concessions Granted by Ngungunhana 1890-1895 and NAZ File CT1/7/1-12 Concessions Gazaland
36. NAZ File S1428/33/10 Portuguese East Africa – Ngungunhana's Messengers 1891-1896.

It is an illustration of the importance of history to heritage reconstruction. Because the Great Limpopo transfrontier area had no powerful rulers who had the power to negotiate on an equal footing with the partitioning powers, the borders of the area were settled first by the concessionaires, and then the colonizing powers, with Ngungunyane, who exaggerated his control of the interior to include even the Victoria Falls! In this way, African claims to local resources, which they identified as their heritage, were lost at Ngungunyane's court well before the border was drawn up.[37] Apart from creating separate nationalities and citizenship out of once homogeneous peoples, the border also redefined ownership of wild animals not only on the basis of race, for the first time, on the basis formal territorial boundaries under European settler administrations.

Political power and dual landscapes of wildlife heritage, 1900-23

While early twentieth people-wildlife interactions in Zimbabwe were dominated by wholesale killing of game in the northern districts in order to combat tsetse fly, the absence of fly in Gonarezhou in this early period kept it out of the limelight.[38] Instead, the area, particularly the southernmost part, was an obscure periphery characterized by massive European and African poaching that the state made no effort to stamp out. Animals were killed more as vermin, as sources of meat, and as sources of illicit ivory, rather than for spreading tsetse fly, which only drifted from Portuguese East Africa in the 1940s.[39]

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37. The utilitarian value of 'navigable rivers', in this case the Limpopo and Sabi, which were seen as vital for military patrols and trade, allowed the carving out of new areas for European encroachments, along with concomitant increases in European population, technology and culture. As these cultures took root, so too did the emergence of new forms of heritage. See especially NAZ File Ct1/11/3/18 Mozambique Company, 1891-6; NAZ CT1/11/13 Disputed Territory, 1890: Limpopo River; and NAZ CT1/11/3/3 Anglo-Portuguese Agreement, 1890-4. These files particularly reveal the attempts by the BSAC to internationalize the Limpopo in spite of earlier agreements between the Transvaal and the Portuguese which ruled out this possibility. Expectations were that if a railway were constructed up to the Limpopo, this would provide a much better route to conquer Matabeleland. NAZ CT1/11/13 Disputed Territory, 1890: Limpopo River, 'Memorandum by Lord Gifford Re: Limpopo', 22 Januray 1890.
38. See especially G1/3/2/1 Tsetse Fly 1905-22 for a more general survey of the fly problem in the Zambezi Valley and the Zimbabwean watershed.
39. See for example NAZ File N9/1/9 Melsetter District: Report for the Year Ending 31st March 1906. Annual Reports actually show this trend up to 1975.

Those that criticize the injustice of wildlife policy at the time point to various ways in which the state monopolized game 'ownership'. The most obvious was the disarmament of Africans after the 1896-7 African uprisings, and which served not only the political purpose of pacifying Africans,[40] but also removed an important technology for hunting.[41] The monopoly was also ensured through stringent firearms, hunting and pass regulations, a combination of which criminalized African hunting, such that only state officials could give Africans a right to hunt. Those that hunted without such authority did so illegally and were liable to arrest and prosecution as poachers.[42] The racially selective application of the Game Laws encouraged large scale European game slaughters, legally under the guise of tsetse fly and vermin control, and illegally through poaching. Significantly, the state descended heavily on less destructive African hunting.[43] In many ways this treatment is consistent with the question of ownership, with the white community viewing African appropriation 'without permission' as a violation of their 'property rights'. This behaviour shows that the perception of wildlife as a white heritage at the time was that it was permissible for Europeans to do whatever they wanted with wildlife, for example, destroying it to serve present purposes or conserving it for future generations.

Through an analysis of correspondences between state officials at the time, it is easy to make out the evolving conceptions of African firearms as a threat to European concepts of wildlife heritage. In many ways, the recourse to labour migrancy by Africans (discussed below) was a symptom of loss of 'ownership' over basic natural resources. Also because firearms, and to some extent spears, bows and arrows and hunting axes, were not only hunting or fighting instruments but also prestige objects symbolic of power, class, royalty and wealth, their banning removed the functionalism of these weapons. Other than

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40. NAZ File N3/14/2-4 Internal Security: Intelligence, 1898-1900, Peter Forrestall, Telegram to Chief Security Commandant of Police, 29 January 1900. The political motive for disarmament was particularly strong. Forrestall (writing from at Marka Pass) to the Chief Native Commissioner, 19 December 1899.

41. For sources of guns in the late 19th century, see A. Atmore, J.M. Chirenje and S.I.G. MUDENGE, 'Firearms in South-Central Africa' in *Journal of African History*, 12(4), 1971.

42. NAZ File N3/14/1 Internal Security: Intelligence, 1900-1910, Superintendent of Natives, Victoria, to the Chief Native Commissioner, 6 May 1908, 'Permits for Natives to Carry Guns in Chibi District'.

43. R. MUTWIRA, "Southern Rhodesian Wildlife Policy (1890-1953): A Question of Condoning Game Slaughter?" in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15(2), 1989.

their illegal use in poaching, and in ritual ceremonies as the spirit mediums' regalia, firearms assumed a monumental value as heritage artifacts.[44]

Even then, the Native Commissioner of the district regulated gun ownership, though most such firearms were old muskets. In his correspondence with the Chief Native Commissioner in 1907, Native Commissioner Peter *Ndambakuwa* Forrestall submitted a list of more than 600 Africans who had applied for permits to retain their guns. The applicants, all of whom owned muzzle-loaders, included fifty-one headmen from areas contiguous to Gonarezhou, namely Sengwe, Vurumela, Masuamele, and Chitanga. This list included only headmen but not all of them. Notable exceptions that chose to hold on to their 'heritage' were Ngwenyenye and Chikwarakwara.[45] The Superintendent of Natives in the province appeared to be aware of the heritage value attached to these obsolete firearms as "items of inheritance to be passed on from generation to generation like all other forms of property".[46] As there were still an odd few of these working and some that could be improvised for poaching, the threat of firearms as articles of inheritance was underscored as a threat to game. Because of inadequate police manpower to prevent abuse of firearms by Africans, the Superintendent's major worry was that "a permit to carry a gun is almost as good as a permit to shoot game".[47] The general perception of law enforcers was that Africans feared prosecution under the Arms and Ammunition Ordinance that forbade arms possession without registration more than the Game Laws that carried minor but symbolic sentences. Fears were raised that disarmament would benefit not hardworking Africans but the idle and lazy, whose motive in gun ownership was not sport but profit. "Meat would naturally be a source of profit to them till the game became more or less finished".[48] The state, therefore, was determined to assert its role as the custodian of the wildlife estate. Paradoxically, it was destroying more animals through tsetse eradication campaigns than were being accounted for by poaching.[49]

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44. Not all pre-colonial Africans owned firearms. Possessing them depended on a number of connections such as royal lineage, membership to hunting guilds, and so on.
45. NAZ File N3/14/1 Internal Security: Intelligence, 1900-1910. Native Commissioner Forrestall to the Chief Native Commissioner, 5 February 1907.
46. *Ibid*. Superintendent of Natives, Victoria, to the Chief Native Commissioner, 6 May 1908, "Permits for Natives to Carry Guns in Chibi District."
47. *Ibid*.
48. *Ibid*.
49. *Ibid*.

Another concern was that if huge numbers of guns remained in circulation, instead of them being non-functioning or monumental forms of heritage, firearms could regain their functionalism and threaten security. The practices of repairing muzzleloaders and powder/ammunition-making would then not only be difficult to stamp out, but would lead to African rearmament and possibly rebellion. In 1899-1901 for example, it was feared that if Boer commandoes continued to make forays into the Gonarezhou periphery, they would incite Africans against the BSAC, at a time when fears of unrest were high in the colony.[50] The concerns about the revival of this ammunition and muzzleloader guild are illustrated in the Superintendent's correspondence with the Chief Native Commissioner as late as 1908. He viewed the issuing of gun permits to Africans as:

> An incentive to steal all and every kind of ammunition for powder and lead from the neighbouring white population and settlements, which may not stop at that but go to rifles also. Then as the borders of the Transvaal and Portuguese Territory are seldom or very rarely patrolled by our police, an undesirable intercourse may spring up with especially the latter, where percussion caps and powder are readily obtainable. This intercourse may eventually lead to the necessity of a police station in an unhealthy and almost inaccessible country.[51]

Again, there is a strong congruence between political power/authority and heritage appropriation in early twentieth century Gonarezhou just as in the nineteenth century. The area south of the Save-Runde junction was by and large 'uninhabitable' except for areas south of the Mwenezi River, which was then demarcated into an African reserve. (Map) This latter was land unsuitable for European settlement and was reserved for Africans and wild animals because of its aridity, infertile soils, hot climate, and diseases. Police patrols to the southern part of Gonarezhou were rare, with an odd one to the Chipinda Pools and Save-Runde areas where there were one or two 'lawful' European

50. *Ibid*.
51. *Ibid*.

settlements.[52] As such, the exercise of state 'ownership' of space was weakened by the absence of law enforcement. Consequently, prior to 1953, except for the northern areas that were slowly developing into a hunting safari tourist area, the Gonarezhou remained a 'Wild West' where gunrunning, poaching and clandestine labour recruitment were rampant.[53] Whereas the state exercised a modicum of control over the northern part up to Melsetter (Chipinge), which had a significant Afrikaner farming community, the southern part, sparsely populated and inaccessible, remained a no-man's-land.[54] In these two spaces, the one within the orbit of colonial law and the other within the orbit of lawlessness, perceptions of heritage differed. In the Chipinda Pools region, the state asserted its 'ownership' and control, never mind how inconsistently, through a series of proclamations and de-proclamations of the area as a game reserve between 1900 and 1968. In this way, the area was regarded, along with other game reserves that were being protected for tourism, as heritage spaces.[55]

In the southern part, where state control was lax, if not non-existent, wildlife ownership and control was perceived through the barrel of a poacher's rifle rather than statutory instruments governing the use of firearms, trespassing or game laws. The career of *Bvekenya* presents us with a somewhat unorthodox example of perceiving heritage: from the eyes of a poacher, who in many ways is seen as its arch-destroyer. In an interesting discussion I had with professional hunters from South Africa in Gonarezhou in August 2001, I was fascinated by the stories they told of how *Bvekenya* had hunted "in these very lands". They spoke of the notorious poacher's ivory-hunting exploits with reverence, and

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52. A. WRIGHT, *Valley of the Ironwoods*, p.14; Until 1922, Nuanetsi (now Mwenezi) fell under Chibi District, whose headquarters and personnel were safely tucked away in far-off Fort Victoria. F.E. Hulley was the first Assistant Native Commissioner posted to Nuanetsi where he opened a sub-office responsible for the sub-region. But he gave up only after a year, to be replaced by H.C. Malone, who in turn retired back to Victoria in August of that year. E.T. Palmer was then seconded to replace him, but packed his bags and closed shop in early 1924. For a time H.F. Child and his young cadet assistant, Stanley Ernest Morris, braved the hostile environment before quitting in frustration in 1927. A succession of officials then followed until 1953 when Nuanetsi was accorded full district status.

53. Murray's account summarizes this no-man's-land down to 'blackbirding', yet as a more detailed study of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park that I am doing is indicating, ivory hunting and 'blackbirding' were two inextricable cultures that not only emerge from pre-colonial complexes, but also created their own sub-cultures.

54. See for example NAZ File S3106/11/1/1 Tsetse Fly Sabi Valley 1928-1948.

55. For Matopos, see NAZ File A3/28/46 Matopos National Park 1919-20.

seemed intent on emulating his feats.[56] Looking back to the first twenty years of the century, it seems that *Bvekenya* was building an image as a legendary ivory hunter in the 1900-1929, parallel to the law. This 'legend', as I discovered that August evening, would become a heritage nearly a century later. Hopefully, those tourists were also not thinking of emulating *Bvekenya*'s illegal activity, labour recruitment notwithstanding, to which he had switched when profits from ivory-hunting began to dwindle.[57]

But why is his story so important? First, it is an illustration of how 'legend' and 'hearsay' build heritage. *Bvekenya* has inspired many professional hunters to visit the southern part of Gonarezhou for hunting safaris in the Malipati Safari Area. These visitors now account for the greatest percentage of tourism earnings for that sub-region,[58] where they are keen to follow in his footsteps, literally, such that to them the sites they read about as most frequented by *Bvekenya* are heritage sites. To them *Bvekenya* is not an outlaw but a great hunter of his time, and his favourite hunting spots are shrines symbolizing the pinnacle of a hunter's career, and because such sites have attracted not only a historical but also a commercial value, they have become a kind of heritage.[59] As Allan Wright shows in his books, *Bvekenya* may have been a scourge of the elephants of Gonarezhou, but he symbolizes the spirit of the national park – its dangers, its thrills, its wildness and its mysteries.[60] Whereas at the time such spaces were merely regarded by the hunter as likely haunts for game, as resting places or footpaths to and from the killing zones, today they are monuments/heritage sites whose history is waiting to be written. Each of the sites in this 'outlaw's heritage has its own culture waiting for extensive study.

This approach can also be carried beyond wildlife to other historical space that bears a heritage value. Murray's study on 'blackbirding' reveals another character of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park as a living monument to labour migration processes associated with the rise of South African mining capital. But it is much more – poachers, gamblers, arms smugglers, sheep smugglers, ivory buyers, illegal businessmen and all sorts of fugitives fleeing

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56. A campfire discussion with professional hunters, Malipati Safari Area, 14 August 2001.
57. Only one file exists in the National Archives on Bvekenya's illicit activities. See NAZ A3/18/30/22 Administration: Recruiting, Illicit 1915-18.
58. Informal discussion with the Acting Game Warden, Mabalauta Field Station, 12 August 2001.
59. Campfire discussion.
60. A. WRIGHT, *Valley of the Ironwoods*, p.22; T.V. BULPIN, *The Ivory Trail*, pp.86-8.

justice from South Africa, Portuguese East Africa and Southern Rhodesia are all part of a multiple heritage that needs to be reconstructed.[61] Crooks' Corner, and Makuleke in particular, is not just a centre for illegal labour recruitment but also a kaleidoscopic metropolis for illicit activity. *Bvekenya* tells us that when he arrived here in the early 1900s, those around talked of elephant hunting, its prospects, where the elephants were, and the environment in the ivory trails. *Bvekenya* saw William Pye, who lived "a precarious existence as a recruiter of native labor for the mines". He, like his neighbours, survived on quinine and whisky, and meat. He had, like *Bvekenya* later on, married an African wife. It was Pye who had initiated him to the jungle and all its 'statutes'.[62] Of these, the beacon separating the three territories of Portuguese East Africa, Rhodesia and South Africa was one never to forget in times of danger from the law. "If you ever get into trouble", Pye had told *Bvekenya*, "Just remember that beacon. That's why most of us live here. Whoever comes for you, you can always be on the other side in someone else's territory; and if they all come at once, you can always sit on the beacon top and let them fight over who is to pinch you."[63] While showing the social ordering of the outlaw's paradise, *Bvekenya's* rendition of this isolated community's daily routine shows that occupations were not rigid, such that a poacher was also a gambler, a labour recruiter, and so on. *Bvekenya*'s own career testifies to this fluidity.

For instance, from about 1912, *Bvekenya* was diversifying his unlawful activities. With Hendrik Hartman, he hatched a plan to drive stolen sheep from Rhodesia to the hideous locations of the Zoutpansberg on the Brak River, where a waiting Hartman would then take them over. He made away with six hundred head, but a third of them died after being bitten by fleas. He then abandoned this trade and got acquainted with labour recruiters, among them Theodore Williams, a Welshman, Jack Ford, an Australian, Jacob Martin Diegel (nationality unknown), John Dart, another Welshman, Wieder, a Hungarian,

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61. This is a major theme of my broader study of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park and Victoria Falls wildlife tourism zones.

62. T.V. BULPIN, *The Ivory Trail*, pp.23-24.

63. *Ibid*., p.24. This is confirmed by archival evidence, but there is more room for theoretical manoeuvre based on anthropological approaches to the area's social ordering.

Colesen, a Swede, Jack Lambart, and many other such 'blackbirders'.[64] When recruitment from north of the 22 degree latitude was prohibited in October 1913, and after the collapse of the sheep venture, *Bvekenya* began to trade in 'black ivory' or 'native labour' so profitably that it surpassed his ivory profits. Bulpin describes his new stature as "Africa's leading illegal recruiter" in glowing terms; in 1917, his best year, he recruited 3.250 Africans "illegally and smuggled them past Portuguese and Transvaal police alike, along the secret paths which were his own black ivory trail".[65] Preliminary surveys I made of the Chibwedziva area of the Save-Runde sub-region confirms colonial accounts of "the old migratory labour path used for many years by Portuguese Africans on their way from their poverty-stricken and jobless homelands to the bright lights of Messina and the Witwatersrand."[66] The route skirted the wildest parts of Gonarezhou and followed the Runde River up to Fitshani, and then crossed via Chibwedziva into Sengwe. (Map 1) *Bvekenya* was just one of several illicit recruiters traversing between the junction and Crooks' Corner in search of 'black ivory'.[67]

The paths used by the migrant labourers to and from South Africa are important historical artifacts critical to the conceptualization of Gonarezhou's heritage of southward labour migration. The culture of migration is ensconced in local memory, inspiring generations of local youths to cross the Limpopo into South

64. *Ibid*., p.189. He paid a fine of £5. Sympathizers paid for him, lent him money to buy a new 9.7 rifle [according to Bulpin, "from one of the local policemen]. Then he set out … shooting seven elephants and recruiting several dozen Rhodesian tribesmen as he travelled, to compensate him for his trouble." This trial is also confirmed by police reports on a case in which Bvekenya was tried in Victoria (Masvingo), convicted, and then escaped with a fine. Enter File NAZ A3/18/30/22 Administration: Recruiting, Illicit 1915-18.

65. *Ibid*. Murray generally agrees with this view in his article ' "Blackbirding" at "Crooks' Corner": Illicit Labour Recruiting in the Northeastern Transvaal, 1910-1940', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21(3), September 1995. However he tends, by the title and subsequent discussion in his paper, to give an impression of Crooks' Corner' as a South African historical property. This has connotations on reconstruction of heritage. The Corner is as transfrontier as its name suggests, and the creation of the supra-park cements its position in regional heritage.

66. A. WRIGHT, *Valley of the Ironwoods*, pp.26, 36.

67. NAZ A3/18/30/22 Administration: Recruiting, Illicit 1915-18.File. Others were Martin Diegel, and Roux.

Africa to work on the farms and mines.[68] The continuity of migrant labour in the Gonarezhou's peripheries, like elsewhere in the Lowveld, is greatly influenced by close geographical proximity to South Africa, but there is no doubt that memory and folklore about Wenela have created a sense of 'heritage' that surrounds labour migration and that survives in local culture today.[69]

Because sources on migrant labour dominate the archival record, especially those in the National Archives of Zimbabwe, the historical discourse of the Great Limpopo has been shaped accordingly. I argue here that a more all-embracing approach to the history of the transfrontier is necessary in bringing out successions of 'heritage constructions'. The Crooks' Corner area is best analyzed as a cultural ensemble from which various heritages can be constructed, and which heritages are important 'human additions' to the wildlife image of the transfrontier park. In this article, I emphasize the human-animal relationship centred on ivory hunting, with *Bvekenya* as a key to unlocking it.[70] By tracing the sites he hunted and in which he socialized, we can reconstruct the human dimensions of Gonarezhou's history, thereby fully comprehending its heritage value today.

Among the sites *Bvekenya* mentions in his biography is the Matshindu area of Chibwedziva, where he established liaisons with the area's people centred on hunting, labour recruitment and more social forms of interaction. Bvekenya's account shows that he had been initiated into traditional religious beliefs, even though the extent to which he believed some of the local rituals, such as spiritual guidance in hunting, the power of the spirits to make rain, and so on, is open to debate.[71] What is not doubtful is his marriages to African wives, and the

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68. In my fieldwork in Malipati, just on the fringes of the Gonarezhou, I noticed that those who work in South Africa are called 'MaJoni-Joni', presumably because they are colloquially referred to as working in Johannesburg (Joni). South Africa is basically associated with Johannesburg, hence even those working on farms or towns elsewhere in South Africa are referred to as 'MaJoni-Joni'. I got this information from Tovadini Kemusi, a teacher at Malipati Government School. Kemusi grew up in the peripheries of Gonarezhou near Save River Bridge along the Chiredzi-Mutare highway and is an important source of evidence. He has also done a number of researches on wildlife as a research assistant.

69. This was also confirmed in an interview I had interview with Felix Mtombeni, a local unemployed youths who is a cross-border wheeler-dealer at Malipati Township, on the border with southern Gonarezhou, on 13 July 2001.

70. T.V. BULPIN, *The Ivory Trail*, pp.13-14.

71. He betrays his attractions to Hlengwe religious beliefs about rainmaking and powers over hunting fortune. *Ibid*., p.24.

resulting coloured offspring he sired. These elements of his personal life enrich our reconstruction of miscegenation discourses in the area, whereby European hunters, initially reluctant to 'stoop to lower civilizations', were then forced by circumstances of isolation into African religion and marriages.[72] By rehabilitating sites such as Matshindu as 'cultural villages' complete with historical accounts of Bvekenya's social relations, we can be able to package them as heritage sites for both the tourists and locals. The same can be applied to the Malipati and Mabalauta area, and as far south as Manjinji Pan in Chief Sengwe's area. *Bvekenya*, and many hunters of his day, hunted in these areas, where specific sites are known to locals and are also recorded in archival sources.[73] Manjinji in particular is a wildlife paradise, a pan created by an ox-bow lake cut off from the meandering Mwenezi River. It is a waterhole where animals came down to drink either at sunset or sunrise, before the construction of a fence barrier that now confines Manjinji to the communal areas.[74] These sites can be rehabilitated, along with pre-colonial ones, to show the various stages of history in Gonarezhou and the rich diversity of its heritage.

Equally, any reconstruction of illicit labour recruitment depot sites, notably at the Save-Runde Junction and Crooks' Corner, must be seen as artifacts denoting not just the impact of capitalist processes but also the loss of power by African chiefs both politically and socially as young men abandoned their homesteads in search of work on the mines and farms in Rhodesia and the Rand. They brought back articles of swagger and prestige that had been monopolized by the ruling classes in the pre-colonial period, such that they lost respect for the unsophisticated and powerless African chief. Among such articles of prestige were firearms, which the young men smuggled in from South Africa.[75] A few traditional leaders here still owned guns, among them Headman Mpapa, who still had his workable muzzle-loader as late as 1958. Most of these, however, were unserviceable old muskets incomparable to the new forms brought in by the migrant labourers. Even chiefly political power had vanished, replaced instead by bureaucratic power such as tax collection and

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72. Among those who took African wives was Peter 'Ndambakuwa' Forrestall, the district's first Native Commissioner.

73. T.V. BULPIN, *The Ivory Trail*, pp.51-72.

74. *Ibid*.

75. NAZ File N3/14/2-4 Internal Security : Intelligence, 1898-1900, Peter Forrestall, Telegram to Chief Security Commandant of Police, 29 January 1900. The political motive for disarmament was particularly strong. Forrestall (writing from at Marka Pass) to the Chief Native Commissioner, 19 December 1899.

other administrative, but non-decision-making roles that were not hegemonic and could be exercised only with the blessing of the colonial authorities.[76]

Another aspect in the reconstruction of the heritage sites is that, through historical research, we can unearth a diverse community of Africans and Europeans 'on the frontier' – living legally around the Save-Runde and Chipinda Pools areas, and illegally at Crooks' Corner – which emerged after 1900 and that further diluted cultural traits. Migrations of Europeans into these two areas created spaces in which people lived "both within and across cultures".[77] Returning labour migrants and educated young men, on the one hand, and European missionaries, labour recruiters, nearby ranchers, and poachers, on the other, added new dimensions to day-to-day life in ways that further eroded chiefly authority. The delimitation of chiefdoms, and the creation of reserves and European ranches, further complicated the 'ownership' of land and resources.[78] As such, the 'national park' should reflect in its heritage, not just the pleasures and good things it has brought to family, community, country and region, but also the pain of displacement, of loss, and of heritage disenfranchisement that it has visited upon its people now confined to the landscape beyond the game fences.

In this light, any reconstruction of this heritage must talk about the establishment and consolidation of the artificial international border which simply cut across communities, leaving chiefs with some of their people in one country, with parts of their chiefdoms now under different colonial authority. With such redefinition of citizenship and geographical space, chiefly power was drastically altered. In the present heritage context, 'ownership' of wildlife resources was redefined by the colonial border, such that chiefs on the Portuguese side lost title to ancestral grounds in Southern Rhodesia, and vice versa. Sengwe, Gezani, Mateke, Vurumele, Mpapa, Chitanga, Masuamele and Ngwenyenye were consigned to Rhodesian citizenship while Dumela, Chikwarakwara, Chitanga-Maingani, Mashamba and Mavhuve became

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76. NAZ File N3/14/2-4 Internal Security : Intelligence, 1898-1900, Peter Forrestall, Telegram to Chief Security Commandant of Police, 29 January 1900. The political motive for disarmament was particularly strong. Forrestall (writing from at Marka Pass) to the Chief Native Commissioner, 19 December 1899.

77. K. MEETHAN, "Tourism: Towards a Global Cultural Approach?" in Expressions of Culture, Identity and Meaning in Tourism, Reflections on International Tourism, (Newcastle), p.195.

78. NAZ File S2929/8 Delineation Reports: Victoria Province – Nuanetsi District 1967 January to August.

Portuguese East Africans.[79] This process of creating colonial boundaries had important ramifications on citizenship that must be reflected in the reconstruction of the national/transfrontier park's heritage.

Unearthing 'hidden heritages', pre-colonial and colonial historical sites in Gonarezhou

In this article, I view processes of heritage creation not as rigid pre-colonial and colonial constructs, but as a continuing tradition with spatial variations. I view colonialism as a process that imposed new significances of space and whitewashed pre-existing ones. For instance, where African religious shrines existed, the colonial processes superimposed national parks, farms, mines, and sometimes, as in the case of the Matopos, cemeteries that defiled the functionalism of such places in the eyes of Africans. Take for instance the appropriation of Gonarezhou as a religious complex, in particular the flat-topped, plateau-hill of Nyamutongwe, which dominates the Save-Runde junction landscape of Marumbini. This natural feature is popularly associated in white literature with a fever-struck European missionary from Chipinge who died on the mountain while apparently taking a siesta from the Lowveld heat on his way to South Africa in the late nineteenth century.[80] On closer scrutiny Nyamutongwe represents a clash of two religions. One is a Christian missionary one in which the hapless priest is a martyr inspiring future generations of his calling.

Another view of Nyamutongwe is that of African belief in the powers of the dead, in which the hills are not only haunted but are also shrines. Local inhabitants speak of a great battle between Zwangendaba and a detachment of Soshangane's men, the former being forced to head north as a result. They regard the mountains as haunted by the spirits of Zwangendaba's dead warriors, which stalk the hills and forests. Variously, they are also recorded as Hlengwe ritual sites in which hunters, among others in society, came to ask for guidance on hunting missions, and to understand the ways of the forests and prosper in their hunts.[81] These two dimensions reveal important historical processes

79. 'J. H. Bannerman, 'Hlengweni – The History of the Hlengwe of the Lower Save and Lundi Rivers, from the Late-Eighteenth to the mid-Twentieth Century", *Zimbabwean History*, 12, 1981, pp.3-7.

80. *Ibid*. See also NAZ File TH10/1/1/132-219, Correspondences between Joseph Blake-Thompson and Roger Summers, 1955. These two men were antiquarians who wrote a lot on the myths of the 'Lost City on the Lundi' presumed to have been located in the Nyamutongwe vicinity.

81. Interview with Felix Mutombeni.

indispensable to the reconstruction of heritage in the Gonarezhou. First, what is the impact of the *mfecane* on our conception of heritage in the area, and secondly, how does the history of nineteenth century missionary activity in southern Africa help us in understanding religion as a form of heritage?

Apart from Nyamutongwe, archaeological surveys carried out in the Save-Runde valleys in 1964 yielded a number of Middle and Late Stone Age sites, but which are yet to be fully probed.[82] Since then however, no conclusive research has been carried out to determine the archaeological worth of Gonarezhou to heritage creation. Much more needs to be done to uncover the earlier heritages as well as succeeding ones, notably rock art sites, rainmaking sites, burial places, and so on. Manyanga's Mateke Hills study has shown the prominence of wild animal bones in the midden excavations, a sign of the people's extensive utilization of their wildlife ecology.[83]

All I have been trying to do in the last few pages is to reconstruct Gonarezhou's heritage value to us as shaped by historical events from the 1920s going backwards, right up to the prehistoric period. I do not expect this article to provide clear-cut answers; I expect it to arouse debate that can inspire more research into the world's biggest game sanctuary, the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. I am pushing an agenda that this transfrontier colossus of conservation is not just about animals, but also about people and what they do from time to time about and in its ecology.

Conclusion: A clarion call to researchers – 'Come down to the pool!'

This article has tried to show the multi-facetted dimensions of heritage in the Gonarezhou arising out of the historical record. While the heritage value of the Gonarezhou has often been seen through the eyes of a hunter and the wildlife on which he preys,[84] this view is a superimposition of an image or value that represents a stage in the area's heritage creation processes. The view of the Gonarezhou as an animal landscape where 'thirsty animals come down to the

82. Among these numerous expeditions, the most important is C.K. COOKE, 'The Archaeology of the Sabi-Lundi Area, Gonarezhou Expedition', *Rhodesia Schools Exploratory Society*, Salisbury, 1964

83. M. MANYANGA, Choices and Constraints – Animal Resource Exploitation in South-Eastern Zimbabwe, c. AD900-1500" in *Studies in African Archaeology 18*, (Uppsala, 2001).

84. W. L. WOLMER, Lowveld Landscapes: Conservation, Development and the Wilderness Vision in South-Eastern Zimbabwe.

pool to drink, with the hunter lurking in the shadows waiting to shoot',[85] seems to overshadow other stages in the historical and archaeological record. By studying other historical processes connected or independent from human-animal interactions, the heritage value of the Gonarezhou is enriched. This is a challenge that many other 'wildlife heritage sites', in the form of private conservancies, game reserves, national parks and super-parks[86] face as they seek to market themselves beyond wildlife tourism. A healthy mix of eco-tourism and cultural tourism not only widens the tourist clientele, but also offers commercial value to academic research. In other words, heritage studies acquire a practical value as works of consultancy. In the Gonarezhou National Park, various such opportunities for cultural tourism exist.

Archaeologists could lead the way by probing rumours and reports about ancient civilizations in the area that were important trade links in themselves or with the interior. Antiquarians like *Marumbini* Blake Thompson in the 1950s spun yarns and half-truths about ports and moorings along the Save and Runde rivers up to Chipinda Pools that had been used by the Swahili to trade with the interior.[87] Apart from inconclusive antiquarian research expeditions to the area in the late 1950s and early 1960s, no serious research has been committed to uncovering legends such as 'The Lost City of the Lundi', which is assumed to have been buried by collapsing limestone cliffs.[88] Nor is there any interest in the ruins left by pre-colonial settlers indigenous to the area who lived in the Save-Runde Junction, or their relationship with the southern part, or the Gaza capital at Bilene to the east. Only Manyanga's study of Mateke Hills deals with an area close to Gonarezhou, but there are vast opportunities in the length and breath of the park.

Just as important, we need multi-disciplinary research collaboration to uncover the cultural diversity of the national park. It needs not be forgotten that the park was not a universal wildlife space prior to its declaration but one in which several political, economic, social and even natural systems operated. This diversity of origin poses questions for research as well as answers to future developmental concerns associated with the national park. In seeking answers to this puzzle, a holistic approach is required in order to prevent stereotypes, whereby ecological and other scientific studies are clothed in a specific current

85. WRIGHT, *Grey Ghosts at Buffalo Bend*, 1976, p.20-33.

86. R. DUFFY, 'The Environmental Challenge to the Nation-State: Super-parks and National Parks Policy in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1997.

87. NAZ TH10/1/1/1-442, The Personal Papers of J. Blake Marumbini Thompson.

88. Ibid.

or contemporary discourse, while historical studies only stick to 'ancient' discourses. This frontier needs to be crossed, just as the geographical frontiers that now separate the three countries but which, hopefully the transfrontier park will obliterate.

Obviously, our understanding of 'heritage-making' today should not be confused with the understanding of 'heritage' by those who made the history. This article has showed that the way we conceive 'heritage' today as a past from whence we came and which is bequeathed to us, is less functional than it was conceived during the time it was 'made' for us. Our duty as researchers is to project that functional conception as it was rather than projecting it as we see it today. Similarly, heritage as we see or live it today, as a selling package with a commercial value, and as an academic problem demanding scholarly enquiry, was probably seen in much less esoteric terms at the time when it was made. Hence out of historical processes we can create a heritage value to historical matter, but such matter may not necessarily have been conceived as heritage then.

Similarly, the manner in which we choose heritage today sometimes discards bygone heritage in preference of more marketable ones, or those that appeal to our convictions. For instance, Rhodes' statue now lies consigned to an inauspicious site in the National Archives of Zimbabwe today, but during the colonial period, it was the main attraction on Salisbury's Cecil Square. The convex of this is the elevation of Nehanda and Kaguvi, who were convicted and hanged as treasonous criminals in a humiliating public lynching in the 1890s, but who today are symbols of Zimbabwe's nationalistic heritage. Two different times, two different political eras, two audiences, and two very different heritage constructs.

Opsomming

As hulle so dors is, laat hulle na die oel kom: die opgrawing van 'wildlewe' geskiedenis en die herkonstruksie van érfenis'in Gonarezhou Nasionale Park, vanaf die laat negentiende eeu tot die 1930s

Gonarezhou is Zimbabwe se tweede grootste wildreservaat, geleë in die droogste en warmste deel van die land. Dit beslaan 4964 vierkante kilometer en word in die noorde begrens deur die Save Runderiviersamesmelting, in die suide deur die Limpoporivier, in die ooste deur Mosambiek en in die weste deur die Malipi Safarigebied. Die gebied word gekenmerk deur digte *mopani* bos wat veilige skuiling en habitat bied aan die wild wat tussen Suid-Afrika en Mosambiek beweeg. Voor 1968 is die gebied bewoon deur die Hlengwe, dit is

Tsonga-mense met taal-en familieverbintenisse met inwoners in die suid-westelike gebied van Mosambiek en in die noorde van Suid-Afrika. Voorts het Shona en Ndebele-mense ook die gebied bewoon. Die belang van hierdie park is geleë in die toekomstige insluiting by die Groot Limpopo trangrenspark (Kaart 2), ‘n eko-toerisme inisiatief van Suid-Afrika, Zimbabwe en Mosambiek. Die ryk wildlewe van die park het besoekers gelok sedert die Swahili-periode to gedurende die laat twintigste eeu, hoofsaaklik weens ivoor en handelsmoontlikhede. Grootwildjag is bevorder deur die beskikbaarheid van vuurwapens via die Indiese Oseaan, terwyl uitgaande ivoor dieselfde roete gevolg het. Die Gonarezhou is ‘n historese wildlewekompleks wat gestalte gee aan verskillende manifestasies van erfenis geskep deur mense se benutting van grond en natuurlike hulpbronne. In hierdie artikel word ondersoek ingestel na voor-koloniale inwoners se opvatting van erfenis en die veranderings in die begrip en aanwending van daardie erfenis in die koloniale periode. Dit word aangevoer dat in beide die voor sowel as die koloniale periode, erfenis gesien is as daadwerklike eienaarskap van die omgewing en sy bronne. Hierdie eienaarskap het grootliks berus op politieke mag, indien nie volledige nie, en in sommige gevalle het die behoud of verwerwing van politieke mag bepaal hoeveel indien enigsins, erfenis funksioneel gebly het of funksionaliteit verbeur het.