

Likewise, Procter provides some new and valuable insights into the operations of the U.M.C.A. mission as well. This is particularly true concerning the frequent military activities undertaken by the missionaries against the Yao, whom they saw as invading slavers, disrupting the local Manganja and Lomwe populations. Throughout the journal his own quiet opposition to these actions clearly emerges, including his critical analysis of the factors which brought about the mission's martial activities. Such criticism allows historians a better perspective on this aspect of the work of the U.M.C.A. in the Shire Highlands, and lends support to the numerous attacks made in Britain at the time against their use of forceful means.

Unfortunately, this and other important contributions which Procter's journal might make are buried in nearly five hundred pages of text with little to guide the reader. The editors have provided only a brief introduction to Procter and the U.M.C.A. mission. Instead of attempting a more complete analysis, they inconveniently asked the reader to turn for further enlightenment to Owen Chadwick's *Mackenzie's Grave* (London, 1959). This is unfortunate because Chadwick does little to illuminate Procter's role within the small missionary band, despite having had access to the manuscript of his journal. This might have been redeemed had the journal been carefully annotated, as the senior editor, Professor Bennett, ably has done for several other works (*From Zanzibar to Ujiji, the Journal of Arthur W. Dodgshun*; with George Brooks, *New England Merchants in Africa*; and *Stanley's Dispatches to the New York Herald*). This volume, however, possesses not

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a single annotation. Such glaring deficiencies may be the result of hasty preparation, but they probably reflect the relative lack of familiarity with the history of the Shire Highlands and with Central Africa in general.

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

Fortunately, we can thank the editors and the African Studies Center at Boston University for at least bringing Procter's own words to a wider audience. In this way his journal of the first U.M.C.A. mission, as well as his valuable and relatively dispassionate observations on the Africa he knew, will be a useful aid to a wide range of scholars interested in Central Africa.

M. E. PAGE

MURRAY, D. J. 1970 *The Governmental System in Southern Rhodesia*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. xxi, 393 pp. £4.

The thesis of this book is to dispute the 'prevailing interpretation of politics, founded on the study made by Leys and on the preconceptions he shared . . . [which] misunderstands the character of the established governmental system of the period, and substitutes for the actual dynamics, provided by the intense inter-group competition among those in European society, a belief that change in the period was to be attributed to the actions

of a united European race which felt its dominant position to be threatened' (p. 370). In *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959) Leys had predicted a swing to the party which offered the best safeguard to European interests, such changes to be accommodated within the established governmental system. Murray, however, finds that 'what occurred after 1962, was not a swing towards illiberalism within a continuing gov-

ernmental system, but the overturning of an established system founded pre-eminently on occupational economic roles, and the beginning of an attempt to create another in its place based on the role of European as against African' (p. 370). He is thus questioning an interpretation of Rhodesian history on racial lines by showing the 'intense inter-group competition' in European society.

Murray's intention is to delineate the governmental system in the context of the wider political and administrative system of the society, and to analyse the stability of this system. The first ten chapters are devoted to various aspects of the Rhodesian governmental system in the pre-Federal period. The formal structure of government, the Civil Service, Agriculture, Mining, Commerce and Industry, European Labour, Electoral Politics, and African Affairs are discussed in considerable detail, to show the system of power relationships through which basic decisions are taken for the society. Having analysed these relationships, and shown the growth of the intrinsic power and administrative captivity of the government through its alliance with representative organisations, Murray devotes his last, relatively short chapter to showing that this system had become unstable because the government had come to rely on the co-operation of major representative organisations which by 1953 had lost the support of a considerable proportion of the sectors they were presumed to represent; this weakness, it is argued, contributed to a large extent to the success of the Rhodesian Front party in the 1962 elections. There is no comparative analysis of the system during the Federal period, however, or for the post 1963, period, although we have Murray's assurance that there was no change during the Federal period which could upset his analysis. He gives only a brief description of the policy of the Rhodesian Front, to show that it relied on 'political organisation' as opposed to the old system of operating through economic organisations, that it in fact moved against the 'vested interests' and brought the advisory and administrative committees surrounding the government 'to heel'. The placing of politically sound men in charge of the Public Services Board, the participation of the Rhodesian Front in municipal politics, an attempt to take over the Rhodesia National Farmers Union, which failed but left the Union to break up into commodity associations, are

illustrative of this overthrow of the previous governmental system. It is a pity that this analysis was not taken further than 1964, since it could be argued that the R.N.F.U. has regained its former strength and has considerable influence with the government, whilst the Rhodesian Front has withdrawn from municipal politics. It would thus appear to be a reversal of the situation in 1962-3 and an indication of a return, to some extent, to the original system. Although there is still a greater emphasis on politics, and political organisation, it is just possible that this 'overthrow' of the earlier system was a temporary measure in order to place the new government (replacing one that had been established for nearly thirty years) in a position to assert its authority initially before reverting to a system of co-operation with major economic groups.

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

In the 1920s hostile feelings towards Africans were expressed in the formation of vigilance societies, with Huggins himself chairing the first meeting of the Segregation Society in 1929 (p. 290). Since this is not an historical study as such, however, there is no mention of the constant opposition to the African franchise from as early as 1898. The fear of African ad-

vancement is shown in the opposition to African education, particularly when academic but also to industrial training as indicated by the outcry in 1920 over the government Industrial Training Schools. Almost all legislation passed in the country expresses the attitude of settlers and the policy of governments in aiding white sectors of the economy and restricting the competitive activities of the African population, which however was not in a position before 1948 to assert and express its opposition to such policies.

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

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

There is also a tendency in Murray's argument to interpret certain policies and actions of the sectors in an unnecessarily cynical manner. The Farmers Union is described as having taken

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

There are also less emotive assertions to which objection can be taken, and which have been found to be incorrect, such as the statement that the Public Services Association 'acted as an ally of the Responsible Government Association' (p. 29). The reference quoted for this

is not only inaccurate, but since the Civil Service was not permitted to participate actively in politics, it was impossible for the Association to have been an 'ally' of the R.G.A., although their sympathies lay in that direction. It is also stated that the Rhodesian Agricultural Union was 'created by the Company Government' (p. 62), but the reference cited for this proves this not to have been the case; it was in fact formed on the initiative and invitation of the Mashonaland Farmers Association.

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

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KAY, G. 1970 *Rhodesia a Human Geography*. London, University of London Press, 192 pp. £2.50.

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

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

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

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

The first chapter sets the scene and introduces the main theme of man and resources and from the outset we are treated to the ingenious diagrams and clear black and white maps which characterize the book. A feature of the second chapter is the carefully documented discussion of changing views of Africans in Rhodesia, followed by an account of race relations and contemporary, political situation as it affects Rhodesia's international relations. The principal topics in the third chapter are the settlement and development of the country by European settlers, land apportionment and labour