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Abstract
This paper is an attempt to describe the circumstances out of which the current Zimbabwean short story has evolved. It is itself a story which may help writers and readers first to understand why the genre has been so long emerging, second to appreciate the particular and embattled heritage at the disposal of new Zimbabwean writers, and third to encourage them by implication to think of new possibilities for the genre now that the historical conditions of pre-Independence no longer pertain.

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A glance at the chronology of the Zimbabwean short story by Black writers shows that its progress has been inextricably tied to the history of a handful of magazines. The not so obvious factor, however, is the relationship between the writer and the editor and various aspects of the Settler ideology which the editor puts into effect. This paper will look frequently at these relationships as a principal determinant of the progress and struggle of the emergent genre. It seems that from the start short stories by Blacks were fated to be still-born curiosities.

The earliest stories of any significance were published in 1931 in *Native Mirror*.

Prior to that, as far back as 1902, and indeed ever since, writers have published individual versions of Shona animal stories, but I am less concerned with transliteration of traditional stories than with the emergence of new fictional forms that reflect changes in society. However, fables are interesting, not because, as some critics argue, they reflect a proud heritage, but because they give the clue to a vital point in the history of African literature in English, namely the stance of the first European editors to Black writers. The typical procedure in the early years was for a Shona person to tell the story to a European who then transcribed and edited it for publication. This mediation is prompted by the preconception of settlers as to what was available in the storehouse of Shona literature. The mediated stories confirmed the myth that Blacks were childlike since these stories bore a close resemblance to animal stories of the Aesop kind which the European read to
his children. Half of the twelve short stories by Blacks in *Native Mirror* from 1931-34 are Shona fables told in English.

What then of the non-fable stories? There are few of them to begin with, though many more stories were sent in than were published. Some contributors had different notions from the editor on issues like originality and authorship. Readers were sending in stories they had read, often in school books, assuming they were public property just as the folk-tales were. A somewhat annoyed editor wrote in 1931, not for the last time, 'We must therefore ask that only original stories be sent us, that is stories which our readers themselves have written or which they have heard from others.'

The non-fable stories usually centre on an ingenious hero who after various trials is vindicated, or on a villain who is duly punished. The setting is rural, often specific. There are also fanciful stories of no fixed place or time in which the triumph of innocence is the main concern. Evident throughout, though ironically as will become clear, are a sense of justice and a respect for innocence.

To say that *Native Mirror* was the first regular outlet for Black writers in this country is a half truth. Started as a quarterly magazine printed on glossy paper with many photographs it was a wolf in sheep's clothing. The editorials and feature material suggest it was a vehicle for disseminating Settler attitudes and values among Blacks, a point confirmed by a message of encouragement from the Governor of the Colony in the opening issue. Certainly it was the first paper specifically aimed at a Black readership and printed in English, Shona and Ndebele. Many adverts were in the vernacular and to help hesitant White advertisers the paper published 'Useful Facts about the Natives in S. Rhodesia'. Readers were at first predominantly teachers and pupils, and after a few years the editor noted the demand 'for a certain amount of matter more advanced than we have been accustomed regularly to supply'. Once the paper established itself the Director of Native Development recommended it as an alternative reader for senior classes in schools. The avowed policy put to its Black readers was 'co-operation between the races', its aim 'to reflect the African mind and to be a medium for the expression of African opinion'. Demand for the new venture is reflected in the fact that it moved from a quarterly to a monthly to a weekly.

The first stories published were very short, about 300 words. There were plenty of contributors, often from a mission address. No author's name appears twice. If the paper's hope was that its short stories would 'reflect the African mind' or 'African opinion' the results show remarkably little variation and fit neatly with the Settler expectations mentioned above. They say more about the hope itself and the
editor's relation with his contributors than about the African mind. The reason becomes clear in the next few years. *Native Mirror* became the *Bantu Mirror* in 1936.14 Creative writing was dropped. The purpose of the paper, to educate Black opinion into Government ways of thinking, was now evident in its management. A former M.P. and missionary, F.L. Hadfield, became editor and managing director; under him 'a Native Editor'.15 Treasury granted the paper £15 per month and a further £180 per annum for subscriptions on the advice of the Director of Native Education.16 Correspondence shows that Hadfield worked closely with Government though he was wary of the danger of publishing 'only what was favourable to the Government'.17 He kept up an appearance of impartiality, but private correspondence shows there was cooperation with and surveillance by the Chief Native Commissioner.18 Concern for good relationships between the races meant to Hadfield and the Native Commissioner guiding the African mind to think and write like a European and thus fulfil the European's expectation of his Africanness. The encouragement of truly imaginative African writing was a non-starter.

These details are symptoms of attitudes lined up to control the emergence of Black writing in English, and they are sharply evident in two other incidents in the middle thirties. The Chief Native Commissioner working with the police in the Plumtree area effectively banned *Umsebenzi*, the magazine of the South African Communist Party,19 long before the arrival of censorship. And in parliamentary debates on the proposed Sedition Bill (1936) members agreed to control the import of literature, particularly from Watch Tower and the Jehovah's Witnesses which was regarded as harmful to race relations and subversive.20 The principle was clear that imaginative literature by Blacks should either contribute to an understanding of African culture or promote racial harmony. It should certainly not be political. The function of literature by Blacks was to promote Settler policy by supporting the underlying Settler myths even about Blacks themselves.21

This was the climate in which the next journal which gave space to creative writing appeared in 1937, *Mapolisa*.22 Together with *NADA* and *Fledgling* it reinforced the notion that African writing meant Shona folktales. *Mapolisa* was designed 'to foster a spirit of comradeship among native members' of the police.23 The continued trickle of animal stories - 'Mudune's elephant', 'How the jackal tricked the lion', 'The story of a dog'24 - and the dearth of personalised or critical fiction is most immediately explained by the editorial comment, 'We do not discuss international or home politics, that is what the governments of other countries or our own are doing.'25 Some months later the editor is convinced that many Black readers who would like to contribute don't do so because
they don’t know what to write about. A European staff member drew up a list of topics to help them: ‘this will be appreciated ... by many who would like to write to Mapolisa but cannot think of anything to write about.’ The irony of the argument is that letter columns of other papers repeatedly expressed concern over issues like education and housing. While the editor discouraged anything with a political hue, the readers themselves might not yet have realised the potential for talking about such issues in fiction. Hence the European editorial staff, assisted by African policemen, spent more energy on correcting and editing the expression of African contributors than censoring their ideas.

Stories in Mapolisa frequently show traces of a ghost hand either in oddities of translation from Shona or in their detached tone. Most stories have a strong moral note or deal with a problem of justice in keeping with the wider aim of the magazine, to teach readers ‘how to live lawfully and in peace’. Ever present is the hovering spirit of the editors.

Occasionally a stray voice speaks up for African literature. One such is The African Observer published in Bulawayo in 1934 which in an article far in advance of its day asked, ‘Who is going to interpret Black Africa as Chekhov gave the despised Russian peasant to the world?’ The beginning of an answer and an important moment came in a short-lived liberal magazine called N.B. (1949) which included Doris Lessing among its contributors. A short story by Lawrence Vambe, ‘No imagination whatever’, deals with the perplexing experiences of a young man Njombo who comes to town to make money. The story is an ironic protest at the presumptuous values of a White woman who employs Njombo as a gardener, the acquiescence of a fellow Black employee in her scheme of relationships, and the absurdity of their means of communication: ‘Njombo felt like telling the missus that he did not understand the kitchen kaffir. At best he guessed, but was afraid to say so.’ The story is a prototype of much fiction by Black writers that has since been published.

Vambe was involved too as first editor in another encouraging development, African Parade, which appeared in November 1953. It was the first popular magazine ‘edited and printed by Africans for Africans’. Despite its financial backing from a South African based company that wanted no radical politics, it was the first African magazine not covertly attached to or supervised by civil servants. Here was the first local competitor with South African forerunners like Drum and Zonk. The opening number said the paper wanted to help the African ‘discover himself and his talents and to take pride in his culture and his contribution to Western civilization’. This aim, much in the footsteps of Drum, together with a clear-cut acceptance of English as the lingua
franca and Shona as a vernacular to be proud of, make it a more aggressively African magazine than any of its predecessors. The contents of the first few numbers bear this out. Contributors and material come from all over central Africa. Stories ‘by African Writers’ have a page of their own, and folk-tales which would have been for adults in Native Mirror are put in a column of bed-time stories explicitly for children. Stories by African writers sometimes more varied and witty than previously are often brief, improbable, and moralistic as before. However, the claim to put culture and entertainment ahead of news, a prize of £10 for a story, and the absence of patronising editorials did suggest fresh possibilities for writers.

For the first time in a local magazine journalism acknowledged and tried to be sensitive to Black readers’ sensibilities - cartoon strips with African figures and narrative, detective stories, historical fiction - ‘How Tshaka made a Portuguese Doctor Swallow 150 Quinine Tablets’ - and autobiographical articles, the political potential of which later became an issue between the editor and management. Feature short stories take on a new confidence and relevance to day-to-day experience of Blacks. ‘Canana’'s story, ‘The Man with a Beard’ is a wry-humoured precursor of later stories and poems about the rural innocent on his first trip to town. Mbofana’s ‘The Life and Death of Negondo of Zwimba’ is the first story to present conflict between a rural community and Government. It celebrates the decision of the spirits over a Government plan to supply a borehole. Here too were the first examples of long complicated domestic dramas. When a history of Zimbabwean Black writing comes to be written African Parade must feature as the first and only sustained attempt before Independence to Africanise fiction in this country. The transformation of the writing from a timid, restricted, oppressed art form to a fresh, sometimes gangling and adventuresome youth just when Government was preparing to launch its Literature Bureau is remarkable. Post World-War II circumstances, Federation, Secondary schooling for Blacks, Vambe himself are contributing factors. The boldness of the stance and its variety were new phenomena that need further analysis.

The anomaly remains, however, that no lasting achievement in fiction came out of Africa Parade. It failed to mobilise a new generation of writers as Drum did in South Africa. Writers of the 1950s like Mutswairo and Chidzero - the first to produce novels in Shona - were abroad. Mutswairo wrote much of Feso at Adams College in Natal, and Chidzero having graduated from Roma had gone to Canada for postgraduate work. When then did writers not take advantage of the platform which Parade gave them? One reason was the paper’s policy to encourage new writers rather than establish reputations. Another may
have been that writers and editors were sensitive to the ever closer vigilance of Government on new publications. The Subversive Activities Act of 1950 which started out as a Bill for the suppression of Communism allowed *inter alia* the 'prohibition of the printing, publication, importation or dissemination of books, magazines, periodicals, or newspapers'. This Act set the climate in which literature would operate for the next thirty years.

Short stories in *African Parade* turn more and more to romance and melodrama as the years pass. A title like 'Marry me now, how many men can resist it?' indicates the later direction. This perceptible demise of initial promise and the absence of engaged writing is linked to entrepreneurs who in papers like *Popular Post* (1961-62), *Advance* (1970-71), *Prize* (1973-76) saw their chance to capitalise on a fast expanding Black urban readership. The tenor of the management of these magazines is moderate in politics and conformist in morals. This is repeatedly evident in the editorials of *Popular Post* and short stories such as 'The Story of John the Lodger' by Paul Chidyausiku which, while titillating the reader's excitement with improbable accidents and tense movements, affirm Settler versions of such values as loyalty, good sense, justice.

*Prize* with two short stories a month, and contributions from promising writers like Geoffrey Ndhlala, is nevertheless a colourful commercial venture designed to engage regular subscriptions from a middle class African readership. The presence of a strikingly innovative story - 'My Poor Feet, A Conversation Overheard by Charles Mungoshi' - might easily pass unnoticed. It is not difficult to see behind the undiscriminating vogue for melodramatic domestic stories financial backers such as African Newspapers.

An interesting contrast is the less flashy effort of little magazines like *Chiedza* (1969), later *Edzai* (1973-78). This was a cyclostyled magazine published in the Gwelo Municipal Council for distribution in the town's high density townships. It encouraged short stories in the three major languages - English, Shona, Ndebele - and the writing is less self-conscious, less strained for dramatic effects. The early numbers, despite now familiar topics like success at school or in love, have the promise of an unpretentious forum for new writers, more concerned for their story than the money market. Yet even in such a local magazine, the censoring hand eventually finds it has to declare itself. In June 1975 the editor writes, 'We hope more of you will send us articles on any interesting subject. However they should not be of a political nature as this is basically a social magazine' (p. 1). Not long after there are no short stories in *Edzai*.

The anomaly remains, however, that magazines and papers with a more open political mind than Government or its supporting editors -
Daily News (1956), Central African Examiner (1957), African Star (1960) - did very little to promote imaginative writing. In the turbulent political climate of the times, the banning of the NDP in 1961, of ZAPU in 1962, the emergence of ZANU, the collapse of Federation, UDI, short fiction reads like a trivial distraction from what preoccupied readers’ minds.

Yet romance is not simply trivialisation. It has its own ideology of displacement. Individuals with no roots yearn for fulfilment in a one-to-one emotional relationship which itself holds the promise of eternal security in an insecure world. 'Romantic love, in the modern sense,' writes John Berger, 'is a love uniting or hoping to unite two displaced persons.'\(^5\) The rising number of romance stories in the 1960s may be symptomatic of individuals who have lost their cultural bearings, are spiritually homeless, and look inwards rather than at the society for fulfilment in an egoistical dream. The larger socio-political context offers neither sense nor hope. Seen in this light Marechera’s House of Hunger (1978) could be regarded as the intense culmination of much that had been happening before him.

Particularly blatant exploitation of the malaise is evident in certain stories in Advance, a glossy all-colour monthly magazine managed by European editors for the urban African market. Amidst a welter of advertisements, prizes, advice on the pools, horse racing, trotting, are souped up real-life success stories, The Cripple who Made Good\(^5\) romance photo serials, and melodramatic short stories set in the city about the ills of drink, theft, and wife stealing. ‘Burned Bridges’ for example is a story by Amos Munjanja about a White man and his wife who having stolen what he thinks is a bag of money which will solve their problems discover the bag is full of pages from a clergyman’s notebook. The manner of the story and its material details leave a suspicion that Munjanja, who wrote several stories of the same kind in various magazines, had a money-making formula to write what the European editors thought Africans wanted to read.\(^5\) In a sense we are no further forward than the mentality of the 1930s with this twist. Being embroiled in the attractions of an urban consumer society Blacks were persuaded by all the means of high technology printing, including full-colour girlie covers, not to look for an identity but to fall in with a European bourgeois life style. Short stories of romance and crime are one of the most striking features of this process.

Just as Advance was the reverse of African Parade so is there another opposition which signifies a major change in the way Blacks saw the role and materials of art. In 1943 Stephen Katsande produced a painting at Cyrene of a Black Christ figure sitting teaching two younger men. The details of setting, clothes, accoutrements present Christ as a peaceable teacher in an African setting. In the 1960s when Canon Paterson
Cover of Advance magazine.
Advertisement from *Advance* magazine.

Feature article on Native Life in *Advance* magazine.
had moved his painting school from Cyrene to Harare his pupils expressed their preoccupations in a series of paintings which depict in strong lively colours children in an urban street stoning cars. The change is from parable to realism, from preaching to politics, virtue to violence, gentle to strong colours. This dramatic change in political consciousness heralds a new generation of artists. Young writers like Mungoshi, Muchemwa, Marechera and Zimunya take up a similar critical and protesting note in their early poems and stories of the 1970s.

The progress of the Zimbabwean short story particularly in the 1950s suggests that creative writing here had a decidedly different history to that in other parts of Africa. There are no signs of the effects of negritude, no attempt to tell the outside world about injustices inside Rhodesia, no equivalent of the Onitsha popular literature, no impact from the University to equate with Ibadan or Makerere. The literature was rarely produced by ‘an elite that had received its university training in African institutions, on African soil, in the midst of their African society’.

One reason for this scenario is evident in the official response to the first slim volume of short stories published by a Black writer in 1972. It is not unfamiliar if we look back to the 1930s. The same anxiety and stiffness of resolve to keep writers off politics is all the more strident. Mungoshi’s *Coming of the Dry Season* was banned and the unsuccessful appeal against the banning heard in camera. In his story ‘The Accident’, the particular point of the ban, Mungoshi was said to have brought the police into disrepute. Mungoshi had touched a nerve that had been twitching for decades. What neither Native Commissioners nor the Subversive Activities Act (1950) could control, however, was the imaginative sensitivity and enterprise of new young writers. What they did not realise was that romance, melodrama and in the late 1970s the rise of the detective story were symptomatic not of assimilation into European middle class magazine literature but of alienation. Mungoshi and Marechera in different ways make this point. With searching but assured poise, with irony and protest, sometimes poignant sometimes ferocious, Mungoshi and Marechera brought English onto the side of the alienated. Following on from Vambe’s editorials of the 1950s the Settler’s language had become the stick with which to beat him.

Marechera’s *House of Hunger*, as suggested earlier, differs from the decade of romance stories in that it explores and rebels against the triviality and alienation in relationships which romance had offered as attractive. Together with Mungoshi he is one of the first to scrutinise the quality of felt experiences in daily life. Previously those experiences had been pushing through cracks in the wary consciousness of a few writers only to be suppressed or modified if they ever got past patron-
ising editors. Thanks first to Vambe, then in the early 1970s to Mungoshi, then to Marechera what looked like a still-birth for several decades had finally and ironically metamorphosed itself into genesis.

NOTES

2. The earliest known example is 'A Mashona Fable', Mashonaland Paper, Nov. 1902, p. 3.
3. See S. Chanakira, 'Mashona Stories', contributed by M.E. Taylor, NADA, 6 Dec. 1928, 91-95. The European transcriber was often a Native Commissioner. For Albert Gerard's argument that 'generation after generation of newly educated writers displayed immense respect for their ancient oral traditions' see Albert Gerard, '1500 Years of Creative Writing in Black Africa', Research in African Literatures, 12, 2, 1981, 150. There is scant evidence of this in early Zimbabwean writing in English.
4. Native Mirror, Dec. 1931, p. 1. The point is made more harshly in Native Mirror, April 1932, p. 1. It is also noted in Mapolisa, March 1939, p. 3. See also the editor's comments in African Parade, Oct. 1954, pp. 5, 45.
5. For example, Anon. 'Story of a man and his family', Native Mirror, Oct. 1932, p. 18.
6. The paper was published in Bulawayo on 1 Jan. 1931, price 6d. The first number carried a message from the Governor, 'I was pleased when I was told that a journal was about to be started for the Natives' (p. 1).
9. Native Mirror, Oct. 1932, p. 1. The editorial intention was to expose readers to good simple English. The editor noted, 'we frequently have to correct the English in letters written for the columns, "From Our Native Readers"', Native Mirror, Aug. 1934, p. 10.
12. Native Mirror, July 1931, p. 1. By 1934 stories had to be 500-1200 words long. Prizes of at least 10/- or books were given for the best serial story (Native Mirror, Aug. 1934, p. 16).
13. Education for Africans according to L. Vambe, fell into two categories. Students from centres like Domboshawa and Tjolotjo became policemen, agricultural demonstrators, interpreters, whereas mission schools like Waddilove 'turned out a much more independent type of person', often future political leaders (L. Vambe, An Ill Fated People (London: Heinemann, 1972), p. 235).
14. In March 1936 a monthly paper similar in format and objectives was started in Northern Rhodesia, Mutende: The African Newspaper of Northern Rhodesia. In Nyasaland Zo-onha, started in 1924, proposed to Government that in exchange for a guarantee against financial losses it could be used 'for purposes of propaganda' (Governor of Nyasaland, 29 June 1935: Zimbabwe National Archive S 1542/L11/1933-40 (hereafter Nat. Arch.)).
15. Secretary for Native Affairs to the Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 1 July 1939 (Nat. Arch. S 1542/L11 p. 2).
16. The £180 was 'on condition that a copy of the newspaper is supplied to each Mission and Kraal school once a month ... in the Colony' (Secretary for Native Affairs, 1 July 1939: Nat. Arch. S 1542/L11/1933-40; L 3061/L11/9/39). See also Chief Native Commissioner to the Secretary (Treasury), 18 April 1939 (Nat. Arch. S 1542/L11, ref. J 1649/39) and letter to Chief Native Commissioner from the manager, Bantu Mirror (Nat. Arch. H 617/C11/1/39). Even so C.A.G. Power in a talk on 'The African Press' was able to say Bantu Mirror was 'a commercial undertaking, receiving no subsidy' (National Affairs, 11, i, p. 2).


18. See the frequent correspondence between Hadfield and the Chief Native Commissioner in Nat. Arch. S 1542/L11/1933-40.


20. One member referred to the 'subversive and seditious propaganda and literature in this Colony much of which unfortunately has taken root in the native mind' (Debates, Sedition Bill, 1936, XVIII, 1, 1022, 23 April 1936; cited by Songore, op. cit.).

21. The European view that African culture was a combination of the traditional and the exotic is borne out in Government's move in 1936 to send a group of Rhodesian Blacks to the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg. The plan was to send weavers, dancers and iron workers. The latter, however, 'would not, probably, have the same value as the dancers from the point of view of advertisement for tourists' (Secretary for Native Affairs to Secretary to the Prime Minister, 29 May 1936: Nat. Arch. S 1542/A11, 160). Another group was sent to England in 1936 for a film on Rhodes, and there was an unsuccessful attempt to send 100 African dancers to the United States in 1937. For Settler myths about Blacks in Rhodesia see A.J. Chennells, Settler Myths and the Southern Rhodesian Navel, D.Phil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1982.

22. Monthly magazine of the Police force costing 3d, aimed at Black lower income readers.

23. Editorial, Mapolisa, April 1938, p. 3.


25. Editorial, Mapolisa, Oct. 1938, p. 3. It is interesting to note that South African writers Plaatje, Abrahams and Mphahlele had published novels or collections of stories by the late 1940s.

26. Editorial, Mapolisa, July 1939, p. 3.


31. Ibid., p. 21.
32. A monthly magazine produced on relatively poor quality paper at 6d. It included several photographs and cartoons.
33. Front Cover, African Parade, Nov. 1953. Along with Vambe as editor was Mr Mlambo as proof reader and corrector.
34. See interview with W. Musarurwa who worked on the paper in the 1950s and 1960s; Interview, 17 Feb. 1987 (Zimbabwe Literature Documentation Centre, English Department, University of Zimbabwe).
35. 'We certainly faced competition from Drum ... it contained political articles' (Musarurwa, op. cit.).
37. Editorial, African Parade, Jan. 1954, p. 5, 'The hallmark of true culture and real education is to value and cling on to one's language.'
38. African Parade, Nov. 1953, p. 34.
39. See ibid., p. 25.
40. Musarurwa, op. cit.
42. See Noah M. Murapa, 'From the old to the present ways', African Parade, Dec. 1953, pp. 21, 42. When Musarurwa became editor in 1960 his first article was a biography of Kenyatta. 'The director Mr Avery did not want to publish it. There was a general feeling that there was need to suppress African political feeling since it had been aroused by events in Kenya' (Musarurwa, op. cit.).
43. African Parade, Jan. 1954, p. 19. 'Canana' might have been a pseudonym for the editor Vambe (Musarurwa, op. cit.).
45. For example a six part serial, 'Marizwikuru, the missing child' by Guyu-Kunaka, a pen name for 'one of the foremost Rhodesian African writers' (unidentified), African Parade, April 1954, pp. 14, 33.
46. Many of the articles came from missions and schools (Musarurwa, op. cit.). The intention of the Native Affairs Department in establishing the Southern Rhodesia Literature Bureau was to supply literature by Africans that was moral and wholesome in the view of Government. With reference to the tasks of the Information services the Secretary for Native Affairs wrote in 1953, 'Some effort to fill the vacuum or the hunger in the mind created by schooling must be made if undesirable influences are not to come in' (Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, 1953, p. 12). The point is made again in 1956, 'The demand [for books] is far ahead of supply and there is, therefore, every opportunity for purveyors of morally and politically pernicious literature to gain a foothold' (Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, 1956, p. 87).
48. Interview with Dr S. Mutswairo, 12 Feb. 1987 (Zimbabwe Literature Documentation Centre, English Department, University of Zimbabwe).
49. Musarurwa, op. cit.
50. Subversive Activities Act (1950), 7.i. It was strongly opposed by the Rhodesia Railways Workers Union. British Prime Minister Attlee replying to the Governor of Southern Rhodesia remarked sourly, 'His Majesty [King George VI] will not be advised to exercise his power of disallowance' in respect of the Act (Nat. Arch. Subversive Activities Bill (1950) S/483/2/17).
53. Charles Mungoshi, ‘My poor feet ... a conversation overheard by Charles Mun­

54. African Newspapers, bought out by the Thomson group and with affil­
itations with Kachololo in South Africa, owned at some stage most papers of any signifi­
cance in Southern Rhodesia including *Bantu Mirror*, *African Weekly*, *African Parade*, 
*Popular Post*, and *Central Africa Daily News*.

55. John Berger, *And Our Faces, My Heart, Brief as Photos* (London: Writers and 


58. The paintings are in the Zimbabwe National Archives.

59. Gerard, *op. cit.*, p. 157. I am indebted to him also for some of the general fea­
tures of the development of Anglophone African Literature.

60. The Literature Bureau was known by Black writers to practise political censor­
ship on their material. Both Mungoshi and Marechera published their first books 
outside the country.

p. 17, which continued for several months.

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