

A Social History of African dog-owners in Zimbabwe, 1890-2018.

by
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Shona Proverbs

Fungira mumoyo rwendo rwembwa ('thinking in the heart the journey of a dog'; meaning a dog will go where you cannot control because the journey is born from his own thoughts and desires).¹

Shona proverb.

'The eyes of a dog are a type of speech that says things the mouth is unable to say.'

I.T. Mabasa, *The Herald*, 7 July 2015.

¹ This proverb was also used in the late 1970s to refer to young men and women who left the country clandestinely to join liberation armies in neighbouring countries. In 1999, Oliver Mtukudzi used the same proverb in his song *Ndimu Ndapedza* (I have finished hoeing/cultivating my portion of the field) that was released as part of the *Tuku* Music album. In the song, he sang that '*gunungunira mumoyo ruwengo, fungira mumoyo rwendo rwembwa*' (grumbling in the heart breeds hatred – and might cause other human beings to act secretly – as a dog which plans its journeys in secrecy)'.

Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification. Key parts of Chapter Six of this dissertation were published in D. Wylie and J. Barendse (eds), *Dogs in southern African Literatures*, (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 2018).

Signature.....

Date.....

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Abstract

This thesis examines the history of human-dog relations in Southern Rhodesia and Zimbabwe from 1890 to 2018. It argues that from the pre-colonial period, dogs have had a variety of significant but shifting relationships with human beings. The dissertation seeks to disrupt strictly anthropocentric or human-centred histories, by including dogs as historical subjects. It uses archival sources, traditional (vernacular) knowledge, literary sources, and newspapers as primary stories in reconstructing this history. Starting from the pre-colonial period, African-owned dogs have strayed between nature and culture, between being work animals and being pets, and between human settlement and wild environments, between their physical bodies and being spiritually significant animals or political metaphors. So they provide a previously unexplored vantage from which to understand changing agrarian, political, environmental and economic struggles in the past. This dissertation argues that in the pre-colonial period a variety of types of dogs from various sources ranged the Zimbabwean plateau and that the idea that a specific dog breed or even ‘type’ existed in southern Africa is an ahistorical and teleological imposition of western terms on the region. This thesis argues that dogs became central to understanding competing ideas held by (and about) different classes, races and genders. It focuses on how crises, like episodic outbreaks of rabies, altered human-dog and human-human relations in the country. It explores why colonial conservation ideologies sought to encourage Africans to keep ‘better and fewer’ dogs and what that meant for Africans and their dogs. It analyses how and why ideas of ‘dog breeds’ and ‘purity’ in dog breeding changed, examining the extent to which Africans accepted new ideas of dog breeds. It explores how the interaction of colonial ideas with ideas that came from African rural areas along with those of the African urban working. It also examines how all these dog-keeping practices created creolized dog breeding practises at different times in the country’s past. Zimbabweans have used dogs to think through issues that at first sight seem unrelated such as oppressions, tradition, colonialism, imperialism, nationalism, modernity, indigeneity and autochthony. Overall, the dissertation brings southern African dog histories into a productive historiographical conversation with those of the Global North and of the Middle East.

Key Words: dogs; canines; dog breeding; dog breeds; Southern Rhodesia; Zimbabwe; southern Africa; dog tax; rabies; conservation; cattle ranching; literature; transspecies; anthropocentric; nationalism; colonialism; animal history; multispecies history; critical animal studies; the animal turn.

Opsomming

Die proefskrif ondersoek die geskiedenis van die verhouding tussen die mens en honde in Suid-Rhodesië en Zimbabwe vir die periode 1890 tot 2018. Die proefskrif argumenteer dat honde sedert die pre-koloniale periode 'n verskeidenheid betekenisvolle maar veranderende verhoudings met die mens gehad het. Die proefskrif poog om weg te beweeg van 'n suiwer mensgesentreerde geskiedenis deur honde as historiese rolspelers in te sluit. Die studie maak gebruik van argivale bronne, tradisionele alledaagse kennis, literêre bronne en koerante as primêre narratiewe in die rekonstruksie van dié geskiedenis. Sedert die pre-koloniale periode het honde met Swart (African) eienaars gealterneer tussen die natuur en kultuur, tussen werksdiere en troeteldiere wees, tussen menslike nedersettings en natuurlike omgewings, tussen hulle fisieke liggame en hul rol as geestelik betekenisvolle diere of politieke metafore. Honde bied dus 'n nog voorheen onverkende perspektief of vertrekpunt van waaruit veranderende landbou/agrariese, politieke, omgewings en ekonomiese weerstand verstaan kan word. Die proefskrif argumenteer dat in die pre-koloniale periode 'n verskeidenheid tipes honde van diverse oorsprong op die Zimbabwe Plato voorgekom het en dat die idee dat 'n spesifieke honderas of selfs 'n "tipe" hond in suidelike Afrika voorgekom het 'n a-historiese en teleologiese las was wat deur westerse opvattinge op die streek afgedwing is. Die proefskrif argumenteer dat honde deurslaggewend geword het vir die begrip of verstaan van die verskillende idees/opvattinge van (en oor) verskillende klasse, rasse en geslag/gender. Dit fokus op die wyse waarop krisisse soos die periodieke uitbreek van hondsdolheid verhoudings tussen mens en hond en mens en mens in die land verander het. Die proefskrif probeer bepaal waarom koloniale bewarings-ideologieë gepoog het om Swartmense (Africans) aan te moedig om "beter en minder" honde aan te hou en wat dit vir Swartmense (Africans) en hul honde beteken het. Dit analiseer hoe en waarom opvattinge oor "honderasse" en "suiwerheid" in die taling van honde verander het en ondersoek die mate waarin nuwe idees of opvattinge oor honderasse deur Swartmense (Africans) aanvaar is. Die proefskrif ondersoek hoe die interaksie tussen koloniale idees en idees vanuit die Swart (African) plattelandse gebiede saam met die van die Swart (African) stedelike werkers- en middelklasse gekreoliseerde hondetelingspraktyke in verskillende tydperke van die land se verlede tot gevolg gehad het. Zimbabweërs het honde gebruik om oënskynlik onverwante kwessies soos onderdrukking, tradisie, kolonialisme, imperialisme, nasionalisme, moderniteit en inheemsheid te deurdink.

Oorkoepelend stimuleer die proefskrif `n produktiewe historiografiese debat tussen die hondegeskiedenis van Afrika en die van die Globale Noorde en die Midde Ooste.

Slutelwoorde: honde; hondetelery; honderasse; Suid-Rhodesië; Zimbabwe; suidelike Afrika; hondebelasting; hondsdolheid; bewaring; beesboerdery; literatuur; oorgangspesies; mensgesentreed; nasionalisme; kolonialisme; dieregeskiedenis; multispesiegeskiedenis; kritiese dierestudies; die diere-wending.

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Dedications

For my mother, Rutendo Temba Mutedzi, and my father, Noel Tasaranahwo Dande. I am also grateful to my paternal grandmother, VaLoveness Hazvibati Dande (my first teacher), who always told me that ‘*muzukuru haikona kunana* (grandson do not be dull)’ whenever I failed to answer many of her numerous questions. I say ‘thank you’ to her. To my *sazita* (my namesake) Innocent Rhevheti Luckus Braundi Dande and to your wife, Evangelista Vhangiri Dande, I say ‘if you had not intervened this journey would not have begun.’ *Sazita* you always told me to ‘*itawo zvako* (acquire things in your name).’ I want to say to my stepmother, Tendai Dande, that ‘this thing (the dissertation) is equally yours.’ You told me that ‘*uchadya mabhii* (you will eat words/acquire an education).’ As an artist, you told tales and sustained us. I hope I will always find the energy to sustain the high expectations that you have for me.

Abbreviations

AG	Attorney General
BKC	Bulawayo Kennel Club
BSAC	British South Africa Company
BSAP	British South Africa Police
CNC	Chief Native Commissioner
DTO	Dog Tax Ordinance
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
HA	Harare Archive (City of Harare)
HCC	Harare City Council
ICA	Intensive Conservation Area
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC T	Movement for Democratic Change (Tsvangirai)
NAD	Native Affairs Department
NAZ	National Archive of Zimbabwe
NAZ RO	National Archive of Zimbabwe Records Office
NCs	Native Commissioners
PEA	Portuguese East Africa
RLOFA	Rhodesia Landowners and Farmers' Association
SPCA	Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
SRNA	Southern Rhodesian Native Association
SWA	South West Africa
TTL	Tribal Trust Lands
ZKC	Zimbabwe Kennel Club
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

Table showing colonial and post-colonial names of some districts in the country

Belingwe	Mberengwa
Charter	Chikomba
Chibi	Chivi
Chilimanzi	Chirumhanzu
Chipinga	Chipinge
Essexvale	Esigodini
Enkeldoorn	Chivhu
Gatooma	Kadoma
Gwelo	Gweru
Harari	Mbare
Hartley	Chegutu
Inyanga	Nyanga
Lomagundi	Magunje (Makonde)
Mashaba	Zvishavane
Marandellas	Marondera
Mazoe	Mazowe
Melsetter	Chimanimani
Mrewa	Murehwa
Mtoko	Mutoko
Umvukwes	Mvurwi
Salisbury	Harare
Sebungwe/Kariangwe	Gokwe
Selukwe	Shurugwi
Tjolutjo	Tsholotsho
Umtali	Mutare
Victoria	Masvingo
Wankie	Hwange

Map of contemporary Zimbabwe.

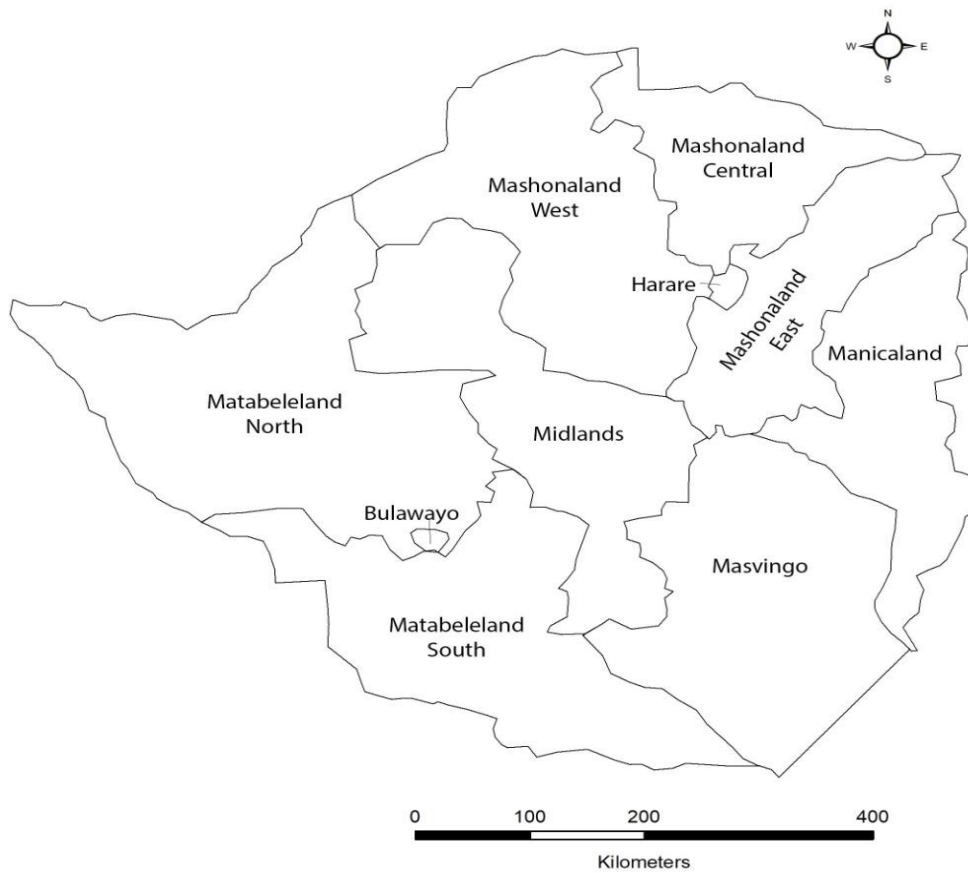


Figure 1: Map of contemporary Zimbabwe showing the country's ten provinces.²

² My thanks to Russel Kapumha for drawing this map.

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Chapter One

Introduction, Literature Review and Methodology

In June 2019, Professor Jonathan Moyo — a politician and propagandist, who served in former President Robert Mugabe’s cabinets in various ministerial portfolios intermittently between 2000 and 2017 — circulated former President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki’s eulogy for David Kaloane on his twitter wall.¹ While delivering the eulogy Mbeki had warned South Africans that ‘there would be people who want to exploit the condition of our people and behave as *mgodoyi* (a useless and skinny stray dog) behaves. But it should be very important that we should be vigilant so that we don’t let *imigodoyi* take charge of our lives’.² Kaloane (1938 - 2019) was a South African artist and political activist who used dogs as key metaphors in the late 1980s and early 1990s. His *mgodoyi series* of 1993 showcased mongrels to symbolize both venality and violence. *Mgodoyi* is a rude Zulu word for a man who ‘behaves like a mongrel’. His dogs strayed and scavenged and scrapped³ as a satire of the negotiations that brought independence to South Africa.⁴ In some of his artworks, feral dogs forage on the streets of black townships as fat spoilt pooches bark from the safety of fence gardens in white suburbia. Kaloane’s collection shows that dogs cannot be tied down to ‘one interpretation.’ He also used dogs to portray life under apartheid ‘when black people were treated like stray dogs that had no place and no origin.’ However, his *mgodoyi* also spoke about violence and gangsters in the townships: ‘you see their eyes glowing in the dark and you fear them because you know they are there but you don’t know when they might attack.’⁵ Art critic, Ivor Powell, argued that Koloane rendered up ‘the forms and textures of a peculiarly South African township experience.’⁶

¹ ‘Prof Moyo: Death by Twitter,’ *The Zimbabwe Mail*, 18 November 2017, <http://www.thezimbabwemail.com/technology-science/prof-moyo-death-twitter/>, accessed on 12 September 2019.

² In fact, some angry Zimbabweans shot at the *Mega Deals* narratives by jokingly arguing that the only Zimbabwean leader who brought mega deals was King Lobengula. These two tweets about *mgodoyi* and Zimbabwe’s political culture were circulated as screenshots on WhatsApp as people debated politics.

³ ‘David Koloane: Selected works by David Koloane,’ https://www.saatchigallery.com/artists/david_koloane.htm, accessed on 25 September 2019.

⁴ ‘David Koloane,’ <https://www.artprintsa.com/davidkoloane.html>, accessed on 25 September 2019.

⁵ H. Dugmore, *The Mystery of Life*, www.ru.ac.za, 31 May 2015, accessed on 25 September 2019.

⁶ I. Powell, ‘David Koloane,’ *Art South Africa*, 4, 2 (2005), 72.



Figure 2: One of the drawings that belonged to Kaloane's mgodoyi series.⁷

⁷ David Kaloane: Mgodoyi II,' *The Artist's Press*, <https://www.artprintsa.com/davidkaloane.html>, accessed on 25 September 2019



Figure 3: One of Kaloane's drawings that was part of the *mgodoyi* series.⁸

Moyo applied this warning to the ‘new’ Zimbabwean situation, which changed dramatically in November 2017 following a military intervention (coup) dubbed *Operation Restore Legacy*. It ended the Mugabe presidency and replaced him with his former protégé turned rival, Emmerson Mnangagwa. Before November 2017, Moyo had argued that a Mnangagwa presidency would be an abnegation of the nationalist nation building project.⁹ Ironically, Mnangagwa and his supporters described him as a ‘barking (mad) dog’ because he worked as a strategist for another rival faction that was eyeing the presidency hungrily.¹⁰

Despite having been Mugabe’s enforcers, the post-coup ZANU PF leadership populistically declared to the citizenry and to the international community that they were founding a ‘new’ democracy and building an inclusive and prosperous society. It repackaged itself as the *Second Republic* (a *New Dispensation*) and hubristically promised to bring *Mega Economic Deals* into

⁸ ‘2007: Interview with David Kaloane (2007)’, <https://johanthom.com/writtenbiocv/interviews/interview-with-david-kaloane/>, accessed 25 September 2019.

⁹ ‘Third SapesTrust Pan-African Lecture: ‘Whither Zimbabwe's Nationalist Project’ by Prof Jonathan Moyo,’ *YouTube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TqEEgWNvltg>, accessed on 9 September 2019.

¹⁰ ‘VP Emmerson Mnangagwa Speaking at a Star Rally 2 in Bulawayo-6 June 2015,’ *YouTube*, 12 June 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?v=YnIIV8whoms, accessed 21 August 2018; ‘Mutsvangwa bays for ‘mad dog’ Moyo’s head,’ *Newsday*, 4 July 2017; ‘Mutsvangwa threatens to deal with Moyo for behaving like a mad dog in a manger,’ *Pindula News*, <https://news.pindula.co.zw/2017/07/03/mutsvangwa-threatens-deal-moyo-behaving-like-mad-dog-manger/>, accessed 5 September 2019.

the country.¹¹ Moyo, who had skipped the country on the eve of the coup, launched a social media counter-offensive. He described the ‘new’ ZANU PF, its policies and programmes as *mgodoyi stories* that negated the ‘true nationalist project’ of the country’s founding fathers. Although Zimbabweans had initially welcomed the military-assisted transition (a polite phrase for coup), they eventually began to believe Moyo’s counter-narrative because ZANU PF had failed to save the rapidly deteriorating economy.¹² Moreover, ZANU PF prescribed economic austerity for the country and the citizens at a time when its own fiscal profligacy became public knowledge amidst indications that it was becoming more authoritarian than its predecessor was. This strengthened those people who wanted to unmask the ‘new’ dispensation as a ‘fraud.’ Moyo sensationally launched an unrelenting *twar*—a twitter war of attrition over the meanings attached to the military transition—labelling the country’s leadership as *imigodoyi*. He also utilized conspiracy theories, political jokes and prophecies generated by other opponents of the regime.¹³ Many Zimbabweans embraced Moyo’s counter-propaganda, circulating the images, pictures and stories depicting ZANU PF as a *mgodoyi* defecating into the mouths of Zimbabweans.¹⁴ Moyo’s *mgodoyi* narratives pandered to regional (ethnic), urban and opposition politicians’ complaints about ZANU PF’s governance model.¹⁵ Broadly, these variants of the *mgodoyi* narratives conveyed frustrations about the abuse of state power, the narrow-mindedness of national politics and the failure of national institutions. They accused ZANU PF of squandering the country’s resources and citizens’ aspirations on the altar of political expediency.¹⁶

¹¹ ‘Zimbabwe’s Mnangagwa promises jobs in ‘new democracy’ *BBC News*, 22 November 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-42077233>, accessed on 5 September 2019.

¹² B. Macintyre, ‘A Zimbabwe joke is no laughing matter,’ http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/ben_macintyre/article4221062.ece, 27 June 2008; ‘Mugabe’s joke is no laughing matter,’ *The Times*, 7 April 2008, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/mugabes-joke-is-no-laughing-matter-k6j2s0n0fx5>; J. Musengi, ‘A Zimbabwean joke is no laughing matter’: E-humour and versions of subversion,’ in S. Chiumbu and M. Musemwa (eds), *Crisis! What Crisis?: The Multiple Dimensions Of The Zimbabwean Crisis*, (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2012), 161-175.

¹³ There was a rise in the usage and circulation of political jokes that criticized the government. See G.H. Karekwaivanane, ‘*Tapanduka Zvamuchese*’: Facebook, ‘unruly publics’, and Zimbabwean Politics,’ *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 13, 1 (2019), 54-71; L. Moyo, ‘Repression, Propaganda, and Digital Resistance: New Media and Democracy in Zimbabwe,’ in F.O. Mudhai, W. J. Tetey, and F. Banda, *African Media and the Digital Public Sphere*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 57–71.

¹⁴ Karekwaivanane, ‘*Tapanduka Zvamuchese*’, 64; ‘Ndebele’s long walk from Bulawayo to Harare,’ *Bulawayo24*, 9 December 2018, <https://bulawayo24.com/index-id-opinion-sc-columnist-byo-151339.html>, accessed 27 September 2019.

¹⁵ ‘NO PLACE FOR THIS IN OUR FOOTBALL . . . Shameless tribalist spoils Bosso party,’ *The Herald*, 13 September 2016.

¹⁶ In fact, some angry Zimbabweans shot at the *Mega Deals* narratives by jokingly arguing that the only Zimbabwean leader who brought mega deals was King Lobengula.



Figure 4: Image circulated on social media by Zimbabweans and popularized by Professor Moyo on social media.¹⁷

Several reports of shocking levels of corruption in the government's handling of the country's fuel, electricity, pension schemes and agricultural sectors bolstered this idea.¹⁸ In fact, ZANU PF's flagship policy of Command Agriculture¹⁹—an ambitious top-down policy that brought together farmers, manufacturers of agricultural implements, agricultural finance capital and the government—became mired in reports of grand corruption. Ostensibly, it aimed at returning Zimbabwe to its former glory as the agricultural engine of southern Africa. However, it was discovered that the government had fraudulently disbursed about \$3 billion that was set aside for procuring fertilizers to a funeral parlour.²⁰ True to his spin-doctoring nature, Moyo rebranded the policy as 'command ugly-culture' and described the 'new' dispensation (government) as having adopted the 'the ugly-culture of a stray dog'.²¹

These ideas about the *mgodoyi* stray, crossing borders in the southern African region just as once – as this thesis will contend – Southern Rhodesia also borrowed some of its ideas about breeds (and, indeed, the dogs themselves), ideas about rabies regulations, and veterinary and

¹⁷ 'Prof Moyo: Death by Twitter.'

¹⁸ 'Mthuli Ncube, Acie Lumumba and Queen Bee – the meaty details unravel,' *The Zimbabwe Mail*, 24 October 2018, <https://www.thezimbabwemail.com/main/mthuli-ncube-acie-lumumba-and-queen-bee-the-meaty-details-unravel/>, accessed 5 September 2019.

¹⁹ 'Command agriculture and the politics of subsidies,' *zimbabweland*, 25 September 2017, <https://zimbabweland.wordpress.com/2017/09/25/command-agriculture-and-the-politics-of-subsidies/>, accessed on 5 September 2019.

²⁰ 'Missing US\$3 billion: Chinamasa's world up in flames,' *The Zimbabwe Mail*, 21 July 2019, <https://www.thezimbabwemail.com/zimbabwe/missing-us3-billion-chinamasas-world-up-in-flames/>, accessed on 8 September 2019.

²¹ 'Moyo scoffs at 'Command Ugly-Culture' *Newsday*, 19 June 2017; 'We will survive on 'command lies, ugly-culture,' *The Standard*, 2 July 2017.

conservation ideas from south of the Limpopo. However, the saying about the ‘ugly-culture of a stray dog’ also speaks strongly to local contexts and idiographic agricultural histories and struggles within Zimbabwe.²² It connects political power over agriculture, food production (and even its consumption) and the country’s governance politics to ideas about stray dogs. Here agricultural science, politics and economics met with racial, gendered, class and cultural politics about dogs. In Moyo’s coinage, the stray dog found in colonial discourses easily merges with the *mgodoyi* of the villages and of the townships.²³ It becomes a hybrid *mgodoyi*—a new kind of stray dog—that can be deployed in village, national, regional and international contexts in resisting tyranny and bad leadership. However, emphasis on his (Moyo) ‘barking’ or even the use of dogs as accessories for oppressive regimes that sought to put leashes or muzzles on the ruled or the weak places dogs in an ambiguous political position.²⁴

As shown above, dogs avail a useful and previously neglected entry point into Zimbabwe’s agrarian, political and social historiographies. Following these barking, whimpering, yelping and straying dogs into the country’s past can be a rewarding exercise for historians who are willing to join them in sniffing the past from down below. In fact, the terminology used by the post-colonial elites mirrors similar struggles and discourses pitting African dog-owners on the one hand and settler livestock farmers, the colonial state, the Native

²² This thesis uses Southern Rhodesia where historically appropriate, while using Zimbabwe to denote both post-independence period and over the *longue durée*.

²³ There are other Ndebele and Zulu synonyms for *mgodoyi* and these are *umgaxa*, *umkhenkethe*, and *umkhongolo*. Ndebele people use them interchangeably. However, it seems that *mgodoyi* is more vulgar and may explain why southern African politicians use it more frequently compared to these other words. In Zimbabwe *mgodoyi* is a Ndebele word for an emaciated stray dog. It refers to a rejected, ‘unwanted,’ or diseased dog perhaps infested with parasites and also parasitical upon society. It could possibly be ‘covered in sores and flies,’ to an extent that ‘if he approached you while you were about to eat your *sadza* (thick porridge that is eaten with relish), you would lose your appetite immediately.’ It is, thus, a ‘pariah’ abandoned by its owners that would be in an embarrassing and sad state eking out an ugly and dejected existence on the margins of society. Although Zimbabweans use the term to refer to dogs, they usually use it—along with many other harsh epithets—for human beings that lack moral fortitude to stay in the community without stealing and engaging in indiscriminate carnal acts. Such people lack ‘the qualities or attributes that make a person worthy to be called a human being’ would have descended into being *imbwa yemunhu* (a dog person, or ‘You Dog’). Evidence shows that verbally abusing a person by calling him/her a dog predated the establishment of colonial rule in the country. For instance, King Lobengula used to refer to some southern Shona people who resided close to Bulawayo as his dogs as will be shown in the next chapter. See ‘Death of a cattle herd,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 2 April 1904; ‘Former President Mbeki pays tribute to the late artist David Koloane,’ *Youtube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QgGF7mUerI4>, accessed 26 August 2019; B. Chikwava, *Harare North* (London: Vintage, 2009), 226; I. Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*. (Harare: Bhabhu Books, 2013); ‘Our love-hate relationship with dogs,’ *The Herald*, 16 July 2014; ‘It’s possible for a human being to earn the dog title,’ *The Herald*, 1 September 2015.

²⁴ ‘The Game of Dogs and Masters,’ *Sunday News*, 7 August 2016, www.sundaynews.co.zw/the-game-of-dogs-and-masters/, accessed 21 August 2018.

Affairs Department (NAD), the Veterinary Department, the British South Africa Police (BSAP) and the Health Department on the other hand, who also—in a different time, context and setting—complained about the ‘ugly-culture’ of stray dogs. While deliberately linking current struggles over agriculture, national resources, politics and dog symbolisms, it unwittingly links ‘stray dogs’—or African-owned dogs—to early colonial struggles over environmental conservation between settler farmers and Africans. Evidently, dogs—whether symbolic or real—have been central at key moments to thinking about resources governance, the environment and autocracy in Zimbabwe’s past.²⁵ Their bodies, (assumed) behaviour and the suite of metaphors, discourses and ideas that human beings attach to them assists in describing and challenging autocracy (as in the case of Moyo). However, ZANU PF politicians also used the metaphor of barking dogs to warn their opponents of the futility of opposing their power arguing that those who did so were akin to village dogs that bark at a moving elephant or a moving train.²⁶

Colonial authorities began complaining about African-owned dogs, which they called ‘stray dogs,’ from as early as 1893.²⁷ As will be shown in this dissertation, the colonial state devised an arsenal of ways to control (and limit) their numbers, their behaviour and their environmental impact – including muzzling, taxation, vaccination campaigns, castration, spaying and by massacring them (especially during rabies outbreaks). Between 1902 and 1912, as this thesis

²⁵ One variant claims that consuming anything from a dog is a taboo in the country. In 2013, ZANU PF warned the voters as it campaigned for the 2013 elections that ‘Zimbabwe will be condemned to the level of the dog that eats its own faeces in the land of milk and honey, while whites enjoy the fruits of our Land, if we allow ourselves to vote for those who are talking to whites.’ Similarly, Tendai Biti, who served as the Minister of Finance during the Government of National Unity between 2009 and 2013, described the economic policies of the ‘new’ dispensation (2018-2019) Minister of Finance, Mthuli Ncube, as ‘a dog’s breakfast.’ Biti did this because he felt that Ncube’s austerity for growth policies would be disastrous for the country. At the same time, Zimbabweans circulated WhatsApp pictures of themselves as timid dogs that were afraid of taking on the regime in the streets and pictures of themselves as vicious dogs that were biting the government on social media. The government regularly complained that its citizens were attacking it on social media platforms ‘with near-absolute impunity.’ See ‘Dog fur horror and the Shonas,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 9 April 1972; ‘Re-engagement: What are we telling whites?... Lessons from How the Dog Fell from Grace,’ *The Patriot*, 31 May - 6 June 2013; ‘No bread, no beer as Zimbabwe currency crisis erupts,’ *Biznews*, <https://www.biznews.com/premium/2018/10/12/no-bread-beer-zimbabwe-currency-crisis-erupts>, accessed on 5 September 2019; N. Manheru, ‘Zimbabwe - Behold a Recalcitrant Reality!’ *The Herald*, 28 November 2015.

²⁶ ‘The Game of Dogs and Masters’; No laughing matter: Old fears for Zimbabwe’s daring creatives,’ *newZwire*, 22 August 2019, [https://newswire.live/no-laughing-matter-old-fears-for-zimbabwes-daring-creatives/#Mnangagwa-must-abandon-his-obsession-with-kuvukura-\(barking-dogs\)-insult-of-the-opposition/](https://newswire.live/no-laughing-matter-old-fears-for-zimbabwes-daring-creatives/#Mnangagwa-must-abandon-his-obsession-with-kuvukura-(barking-dogs)-insult-of-the-opposition/), accessed 5 September 2019.

²⁷ C.C. Mavhunga, ‘Vermin Beings: On Pestiferous Animals and Human Game,’ *Social Text* 106, 29, 1 (2011), 157.

will show, colonial authorities destroyed over 160 000 African-owned dogs.²⁸ Yet astonishingly, as this thesis demonstrates, the population of dogs owned by Africans continued to increase. In 1954, the Veterinary Department estimated that there were 250 000 dogs²⁹ in the country (compared to 4 846 930 Africans, 15 153 coloureds and 228 296 whites in 1969).³⁰ Although the rabies outbreaks of the 1950s and 1970s³¹ resulted in the passage of progressively stricter dog licensing and control byelaws and rabies regulations, the dog population continued on an upward trajectory. Barely four decades after the 1954 dog population census, there were about 1.36 million dogs in Zimbabwe's communal areas and they constituted about 71% of the total population of dogs in the country.³² Their population was increasing annually at the rate of 6.5% (as compared to the human population that was annually growing at the rate of 3.19%).³³ Harare City Council (HCC) officials estimated that the dogs population in the city had skyrocketed to 300 000 dogs (a ratio of 1 dog per every 5 people) in 2005.³⁴ Denise Morton, the Chief Inspector of the Zimbabwe National SPCA estimated in 2018 that Harare's dog population could be around one million.³⁵ There was a perfect storm in the country in that the rising population of dogs coincided with the collapse of Zimbabwe's health and veterinary facilities and with the alteration of the country's agrarian landscapes from the 1970s (but especially during the Zimbabwean crisis some decades later). Rabies data that was collected between 1985 and 1996 showed that 56% of positively diagnosed rabies cases occurred in rural

²⁸ Southern Rhodesia Legislative Debates, First Session, Third Council, 'Proposed dog tax,' 28 April 1905, 12-13; R. Mutwira, 'Southern Rhodesian wildlife policy (1890-1953): A Question of Condoning Game Slaughter?,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15, 2 (1989), 250.

²⁹ J.R.A. Butler, J.T. Du Toit and J. Bingham, 'Free-ranging domestic dogs (*canis familiaris*) as predators and prey in rural Zimbabwe: threats of competition and disease to large wild carnivores,' *Biological Conservation*, 115 (2004), 370.

³⁰ P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *'Rhodesians Never Die': The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia, c. 1970-1980*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 16.

³¹ 'Disease increase in Rhodesia,' *Rome News Tribune*, 21 January 1979, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=348&dat=19790121&id=ZM8tAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=EzMDAAAIAIBAJ&pg=1506,1508369&hl=en>, accessed on 2 October 2019.

³² Butler, Du Toit and Bingham, 'Free-ranging domestic dogs (*canis familiaris*) as predators and prey in rural Zimbabwe,' 370; A. Coetzer et al, 'Epidemiological aspects of the persistent transmission of rabies during an outbreak (2010-2017) in Harare, Zimbabwe,' *PLOS/One*, (2019), 2, <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0210018>; 'Zimbabwe Population,' <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/zimbabwe-population/>, accessed 25 September 2019.

³³ Butler, Du Toit and Bingham, 'Free-ranging domestic dogs (*canis familiaris*) as predators and prey in rural Zimbabwe,' 370; A. Coetzer et al, 'Epidemiological aspects of the persistent transmission of rabies during an outbreak (2010-2017) in Harare, Zimbabwe,' *PLOS/One*, (2019), 2, <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0210018>; 'Zimbabwe Population,' <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/zimbabwe-population/>, accessed 25 September 2019.

³⁴ HA TE/E/6 Dogs licenses: All Correspondence, Director of Works' report to the Environmental Management Committee, 24 March 2004; Mrs C Dean, General Manager, Friend Animal Foundation to Mr Mupezeni, HCC, 29 October 2003; HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses, Director of works report to the Environmental Management Committee, 'Subject: proposed Dog license fees review: Harare (Dog Licence and Control) bylaws, 1993,' 1 March 2005.

³⁵ Interview of Denise Morton (58 years), Chief Inspector SPCA, Harare, by author, 7 January 2019.

areas, 31% occurred in commercial farming areas while 13% broke out in urban areas.³⁶ Between 1950 and 2000, about 45% of all reported cases of rabies in animals were attributed to domestic dogs. Moreover, there were about 11 959 reported cases of dog bites in 2012 and two human cases of rabies were also reported.³⁷ It was reported that about 44 321 people were bitten by rabid dogs between 2018 and July 2019 and that only 5 600 dogs had been vaccinated from the above mentioned number. About 32 people, 228 dogs, 102 cattle, 44 goats and 25 donkeys died from rabies in the country in the same period.³⁸ At a global level, it is estimated that rabies causes about 59 000 human deaths annually in 150 countries, especially in Africa and Asia.³⁹ These statistics, the environmental discourses raised about stray dogs and the issue of agriculture (throughout Zimbabwe's history) show the connectedness of dogs to many important aspects in the country's past. These issues also raise the need to use dogs as a new way to think about the shifting political, ideological and symbolic discourses in the country's past and how they have been sustained over time.

Scope of the study

The nuanced and ever shifting central-yet-liminal position of dogs as both domestic animals and strays (or even their closeness to humans compared to other domestic animals) belies their importance in the agrarian historiography of Zimbabwe (as will be shown in Chapter Four). African-owned dogs were, as this thesis will contend, transgressive creatures that strayed between the less-clearly delineated borderland between nature and culture, between being work animals and being pets, and between human settlement and wild environments, between their physical bodies and being spiritually significant animals. As such they provide a previously unexplored vantage from which to smell the agrarian, political, environmental and economic struggles in Zimbabwe's past. They were important cogs in rural production processes.⁴⁰

³⁶ Coetzer et al, 'Epidemiological aspects of the persistent transmission of rabies during an outbreak (2010-2017) in Harare, Zimbabwe,' 2.

³⁷ WHO, 'Rabies country profile: Zimbabwe,' June 2013, https://www.who.int/rabies/epidemiology/Rabies_CP_Zimbabwe_09_2013.pdf?ua=1, accessed on 27 September 2019.

³⁸ 'Chimbwamupengo Chabata Harare, Bulawayo,' *Kwayedza*, 26 July 2019.

³⁹ WHO, 'Rabies: Epidemiology and burden of the disease,' <https://www.who.int/rabies/epidemiology/en/>, accessed on 6 October 2019.

⁴⁰ B.C. Moore, "Dogs were our defenders!": Canines, Carnivores, and Colonialism in Namibia,' *AHA Today*, 16 June 2017, https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/summer-2017/dogs-were-our-defenders-canines-carnivores-and-colonialism-in-namibia?fbclid=IwAR149IOYjwjQZEEgPtfVvb0bcCBVd6Lz-bnmb_COZHpfzwwCTnAekJMq340, accessed on 12 September 2019.

However, as this thesis will show, colonial authorities came to regard them as ‘bad animals’ that spread rabies, threatened livestock farming and that aided their owners in destroying natural resources such as pastures through hunting (with their owners). For these reasons, the colonial state criminalized their mobility and also sought to control that of their owners. The dissertation focuses on this species with the intention of bringing to the fore struggles over competing production choices and uses of rewarding ecologies that pitted different races, classes, genders and political identities in the country.⁴¹ How one identity—be it raced, classed, gendered or otherwise politicised—treats animals can be read as part of a discourse in which it divides itself from other competing identities in an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ manichaeian binary. Such discourses marking an ‘in’ group and an ‘out’ group speak to broader power struggles over political processes, ideologies and environments articulated through discourses about animal ownership, protection and breeding.⁴² For instance, in another context of oppressive power relations, Nazi Germany passed some ‘progressive’ animal protection laws in 1933 that placed certain species—such as eagles, wolves and pigs—in a new human/animal hierarchy that placed these animals ahead of Poles and rats and Jews in terms of importance.⁴³ Thus, Nazi Animal Protection Law accorded the protection that they denied other human beings such as Jews in their concentration camps to some animals. The Nazis further disparaged Jewish butchery practices and attitudes to animals as ‘uncivilized’, ‘impure’ and threatening to their society.⁴⁴ In presenting their ideas about power, purity and species, the Nazis relied on pseudo-science and racism. Such historical cases show that species have been prisoners to human ideas and symbols about power and purity in a manner that ‘cruelly diminished’ other human beings, cultures, religions and worldviews.⁴⁵ At times colonial officials blurred the conceptual distance between colonized subject people and these subject animals. In one instance, a Land

⁴¹ L. Van Sittert and S. Swart (eds), *Canis Africanus: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008); R. Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 75-106; N.J. Jacobs, ‘The great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre: Discourse on the Ass and the Politics of Class and Grass,’ *The American Historical Review*, 106, 2, (2001), 485–507; J. Tropp, ‘Locust invasion and tensions over Environmental and Bodily Health in the Colonial Transkei,’ in D.M. Gordon and S. Krech (eds), *Indigenous Knowledge and the Environment in Africa and North America*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), 113-128; J. Tropp, ‘Dogs, poison, and the meaning of colonial intervention on the Transkei, South Africa,’ *Journal of African History*, 43, 3 (2002), 451-472.

⁴² K. Kete, ‘Animals and Ideology: The politics of animal protection in Europe,’ N. Rothfels (ed), *Representing Animals*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 19-34; D. Szybel, ‘Can the Treatment of Animals Be Compared to the Holocaust?,’ *Ethics and the Environment*, 11, 1 (2006), 97-132.

⁴³ Kete, ‘Animals and Ideology: The politics of animal protection in Europe,’ 19-34; Szybel, ‘Can the Treatment of Animals Be Compared to the Holocaust?,’ 97-132.

⁴⁴ F. Buscemi, ‘Edible Lies: How Nazi propaganda presented meat to demonise the Jews,’ *Media, War and Conflict*, 9, 2 (2015), 180-197.

⁴⁵ F. Fox, ‘Endangered species: Jews, Buffaloes, victims of pseudo-science,’ *Eastern European Jewish Affairs*, 31, 2 (2001), 82-93.

Development Officer in Shurugwi in the 1950s, who was known as Mr Fisher reportedly killed a dog and ‘picked up the red bloody animal which was dead and stormed into the classroom.’ He allegedly told African students that ‘this is what you will look like.’⁴⁶ However, African nationalists also came to label fellow Africans—who disagreed with them during the liberation war—as dogs deserving to be stoned.⁴⁷ Evidently, studying species (like dogs as this thesis does) is a way of ascertaining how humans dealt with differences of class, gender, ethnicity, religion⁴⁸ and race amongst themselves and to gauge the extent to which this affected animals. It is also as a way of understanding how humans used animals or discourses about animals in asserting their control over other human beings, their livelihoods and the environment. Consequently, many professedly progressive animal protection laws were passed by societies that practised slavery, imperialism, sexism, classism, racism and that used child labour under the severe factory system.⁴⁹ This ambiguous relationship between these issues raise the need for historians to interrogate ‘received knowledge’ – unproven ideas based on pseudo-science⁵⁰ usually marshalled by the powerful in safeguarding their interests – about species, humans and environmental conservation discourses. Rather, it must be accepted that knowledge is diverse, context and culture specific (in addition to it having partial application in specific times). This shows that discourses, even those that were clad in the most benevolent and idealist reasons, need to be rigorously tested for their biases – and what they may tell us about the working of power in society.⁵¹

In the case of Southern Rhodesia (as Zimbabwe was called between 1890 and 1980), the colonial state came up with various methods of controlling African-owned dogs that ranged from massacring them during outbreaks of rabies, to dog registration, to dog taxation and lastly to encouraging Africans to own ‘better and fewer dogs’. These colonial demands dictated new

⁴⁶ J. McGregor, ‘Woodland Resources: Ecology, Policy and Ideology: An Historical Case Study of Woodland Use in Shurugwi Communal Area, Zimbabwe,’ PhD Dissertation, Loughborough University of Technology, 1991, 114-115.

⁴⁷ L. Vambwe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, (London: Heinemann, 1965), 173, 271

⁴⁸ For instance, the Catholic Father Jean-Baptiste Loubière, a Frenchman who had worked as a missionary in Portuguese East Africa before proceeding to work at Kutama Mission in present day Mashonaland West in the 1930s, was described by Lawrence Vambe as having the ‘irreligious fault’ of being short tempered. He was quick to call anyone who annoyed him and other ‘Protestant and materialist white men *mboga*.’ That word was a mispronunciation of the Shona word ‘*imbwa* (dog).’ See Vambwe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 71.

⁴⁹ M. Deckha, ‘Welfarist and imperial: The contributions of anti-cruelty laws to civilizational discourse,’ *American Quarterly*, 65, 3 (2013), 515-547; B.L. Shadle, ‘Cruelty and empathy, Animal and race in Colonial Kenya,’ *Journal of Social History*, 45, 4 2012, 1097-1116; J. Saha, ‘Among the Beasts of Burma: Animals and the politics of colonial sensibilities, c. 1840-1940,’ *Journal of Social History*, 48, 4 (2015), 913.

⁵⁰ S. Brill, ‘Between Science and the Expertise of the Elders,’ *RCC Perspectives Transformations in Environment and Society*, 4 (2019), 61-67.

⁵¹ Jacobs, ‘The great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre,’ 485–507.

ways of breeding, keeping and relating with dogs for Africans. As this thesis will show, the colonial government wanted to forcibly induct Africans into new ways of relating with the natural environment by changing human-animal relations. The aim was to end traditional, economic and social endeavours that depended on dog keeping in African areas.⁵² Thus, the thesis examines competing environmental discourses about dogs that were held by Africans and their colonial masters. It analyses the broader power dynamics over animal ownership and resources control pitting African communities, settler farmers and various colonial departments. Broadly, it can be seen that certain types of dogs, ways of using, breeding and keeping them not only challenged some colonial economic ventures but were productive of discourses that branded some Africans as ‘bad subjects.’ This was because ‘good’ dogs made ‘good’ African subjects.⁵³ As this dissertation will establish, dogs were politicized animals because their owners debated with governing authorities various policy positions — aimed at addressing competing sectional economic interests in a young colony—from many vantage points and at times produced ‘criminal subjects’ in those Africans that failed to heed official policy directions. The colonial administration (between 1890 and 1980) increasingly came to view African-owned dogs as ‘subject animals’ that required to be placed under surveillance using dog registration and taxation. Dogs had to put on tokens as demanded by colonial surveillance and its exercise of sovereignty: the authority to decide which dogs lived and which dogs died. Those dogs that were permitted to live temporarily attained some rights to quasi-citizenship and this aided the material, working, spiritual, traditional and political standing of their owners.⁵⁴ In following these debates, this dissertation aims to contribute to the growing movement that is aimed at populating African history with animals. According to Swart, the aim is to address the dominance of flattened metanarratives of globalised Animal Histories by exploring animal sensitive history from the Global South, producing animal histories that do not generalise or homogenise but rather pay attention to local ideographic contexts in order to

⁵² B.C. Moore, ‘“Dogs were our defenders!”: Canines, Carnivores, and Colonialism in Namibia’; S. Swart, ‘“It Is As Bad To Be a Black Man's Animal As It Is To Be a Black Man” – The Politics of Species in Sol Plaatje's Native Life in South Africa,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40, 4 (2014), 689-705.

⁵³ G.L.M. Lewis, ‘The Bondelswarts Rebellion of 1922,’ MA Dissertation, Rhodes University, 1977, 62. T. Emmett, ‘Popular Resistance in Namibia, 1920-1925,’ in T. Lodge (ed), *Resistance and Ideology in Settler Societies*, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986), 6-48; R.J. Gordon, ‘Fido: Dog tales of colonialism in Namibia,’ W. Beinart and J. McGregor, *Social History and African Environments*, (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), 240-254. C.B. Moore, ‘Canines, carnivores, capitalism, colonialism: Some transformations in hunting, agriculture and labour in Southern Namibia, 1915-1930,’ MA Dissertation, African-American and African Studies, Michigan State University, (2016).

⁵⁴ P. Howell, *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015), 178-182.

initiate dialogue with other regions of the world.⁵⁵ Moreover, the aim is also to broaden the southern African past by viewing it from an unfamiliar angle.

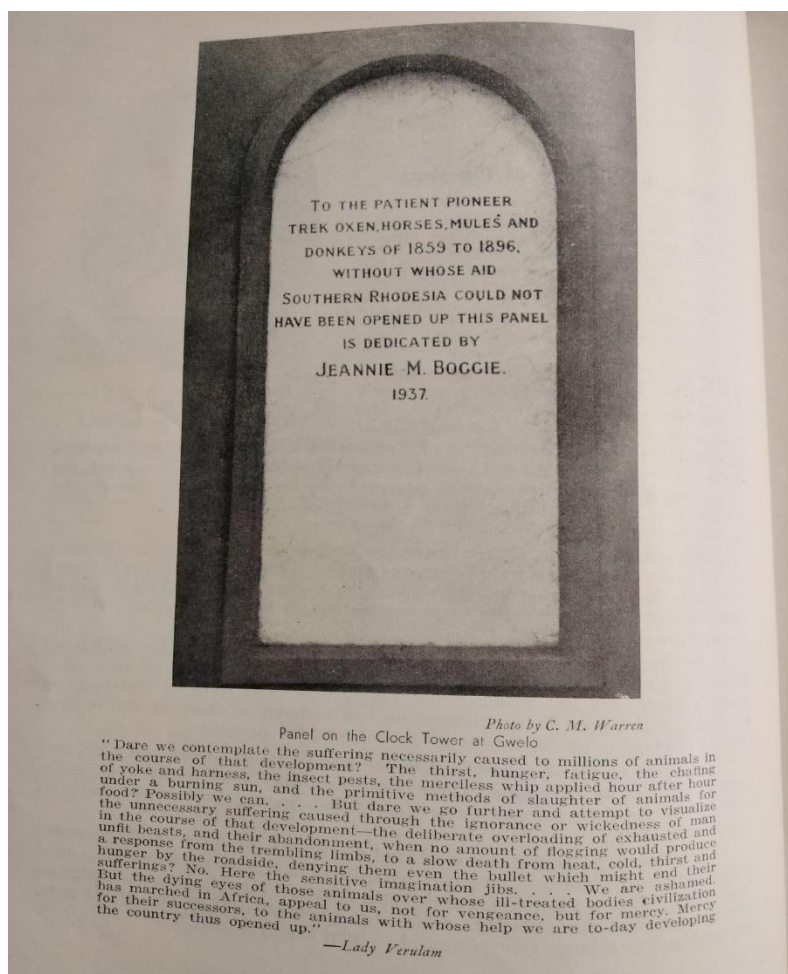


Figure 5: Panel on the Clock Tower at Gwelo.⁵⁶

The animal angle offers unusual new perspectives. For example, as early in 1937, Jeannie Boggie (1876-1967), a white dairy farmer, dedicated a panel on the Gwelo (now Gweru) Clock Tower, dedicated to protecting her husband's (Major William James Boggie) legacy. The panel celebrated the 'patient pioneer Trek oxen, horses, mules and donkeys of 1859 to 1896 without whose aid,' labour and suffering Southern Rhodesia would not have been opened up.⁵⁷ This was an early version of 'animal history' and, true to its era, it offered a triumphalist whiggish celebration of settler beasts that helped their masters conquer and civilize 'savage' Africa. Interestingly, despite having been invaluable—if not indispensable—companions of the early colonial hunters, pioneers, missionaries and farmers (as this thesis argues), dogs were not

⁵⁵ S. Swart, 'Writing animals into African history,' *Critical African Studies: Writing Animals into African History*, 8, 2 (2016), 95-108.

⁵⁶ J.M. Boggie, *First Steps in Civilising Rhodesia*, (Bulawayo: Philpott and Collins, Limited, 1962), 12.

⁵⁷ Boggie, *First Steps in Civilising Rhodesia*, 12; She also wrote *A Husband and a Farm in Rhodesia*, (Salisbury: Published Privately, 1959) and *Experiences of Rhodesia's Pioneer Women*, (Bulawayo: Philpott & Collins, 1938).

similarly eulogized. Wylie and Barendse have observed that the paintings and pictures of the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries African rural life or of the Boer trekkers show that the dog were ‘ever-present’ yet they were ‘seldom centralized, remarked upon, or explored—let alone accorded agency or a voice.’⁵⁸ However, a cursory glance at the memoirs and biographies of early pioneers and settlers show that dogs were as vital to their survival, security, identities and economic endeavours as much as the other animals that were publicly honoured.⁵⁹ The ‘civilising animals,’ mentioned by Boggie, existed on a continuum on whose other extreme was found local ‘subject animals’—the rogues, villains and criminals that spread rabies and poached game with their owners in game reserves, on white farms and in the forests. While the ‘civilising animals’ were presented as having contributed positively to the overall prosperity of the colony, the reverse was true for the ‘subject animals’. These colonial classifications of animals turned down traditional, cultural and religious ideas about ‘good’ and ‘bad’ animals that originally held sway in African villages. The thesis grapples with the tensions, negotiations and compromises that existed between western ideas of ‘good’ dogs and those of Africans by juxtaposing ideas couched in nativism, autochthony and indigeneity with those that celebrated colonial modernity. It explores the extent to which these ideas were negotiated and contested and if compromises were reached out of necessity or expediency. It investigates the extent, nature and speed with which Africans embraced new ideas and attitudes about dog owning and keeping. Considering that these measures, laws and policies required a degree of coercion for them to be successful, they thus presupposed some degree of state intrusion into African areas and ways of life. The thesis does not subscribe to a Manichean framework of ‘good’ black versus ‘evil’ whites, in which an autonomous and well-informed African sector resisted colonial orders consistently, naturally or always overtly. Africans were a diverse and heterogeneous collection where traditions and new ideas uneasily co-existed and fed into each other. However, there were some who opted for the middle ground where syncretic and

⁵⁸ D. Wylie and J. Barendse, ‘Introduction: Dogs in every corner,’ D. Wylie and J. Barendse, *Dogs in southern African Literatures*, (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 2018), 1.

⁵⁹ In her other book, M.L Arsenis, a Rhodesian woman who was a member of the Rhodesian ridgeback club and who popularized the dog breed in the 1970s, wrote about nineteenth century big game hunting north of the Limpopo river that was done by hunters such as Cornelius van Rooyen and their ridged dogs. She quotes Frederick Courteney Selous’ *A Hunter’s Wandering in Africa* to relate his exploits in Matabeleland and Mashonaland territories with his dogs. She also writes of Petrus Jacobs, an old Afrikaner Hunter, who was saved from being mauled by a lion by his three dogs and another person, known as ‘Tractor’ Arthur Smith, who used a pack of ridgebacks in hunting in the Umvukwes (Mvurwi) district in Southern Rhodesia. See M.L. Arsenis, *The Adventures of Rip, the Ridgeback*, (Republic of South Africa: Randburg Printers, 1962); M. L. Arsenis, *Dog Tales and Trimmings (Ten Popular Breeds)*, (Cape Town: Howard Timmins), 54-55; F. Clements, ‘Lion dog,’ *This is our Land: Stories and Legends of the two Rhodesias*, (Salisbury: Baobab Books, 1963), 93.

creolized ideas of dog keeping established themselves.⁶⁰ Similarly, the colonial state was also composed of different departments that competed in both formulating and enforcing policies in African areas.

This study takes a *longue durée* approach that spans from the pre-colonial past right up to the present moment. This is because ‘subject animals’— such as indigenous African-owned dogs—passed through successive regimes that initially slotted them into the vermin category before progressing to the phase of political independence in southern Africa that saw in them ‘authentic breeds’ that epitomized Afro-centricity, pan-Africanism and African renaissance.⁶¹ These transitions tell as much about the dogs themselves as they tell about their owners, their countries and the changing political systems. They encapsulate an unwieldy baggage composed of overlapping and contradictory discourses such as colonialism,⁶² nationalism, imperialism, post-coloniality and decoloniality.⁶³ The dissertation examines all these aspects and how they intersected with the politics of life, agricultural policies and veterinary interventions in the country during the period under review. It examines how African-owned dogs posed problems to the settler agricultural sector first as a veterinary problem (due to rabies outbreaks) and secondly in discussing settler farmer’s discourses about cattle ranching, grass burning and hunting (with dogs) by Africans. The thesis connects African-owned dogs to agrarian struggles in Southern Rhodesia in Chapters Three and Four. These chapters show the centrality of African-owned dogs to longstanding debates about farmer-tenant relations, peasant consciousness, veterinary problems, discourses about breeding of good animals, agrarian conservation ideas, and to struggles related to coping in drought prone areas. These issues have

⁶⁰ Swart, ‘It is as bad to be a black man’s animal as it is to be a black man’ 695.

⁶¹ S. Swart, ‘Dogs and Dogma: A discussion of the social political construction of southern African dog ‘breeds’ as a window onto social history,’ in Van Sittert and Swart, *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 267-287.

⁶² This dissertation derives its inspiration from Gordon who argues that dog tales in South West Africa open the way to a nuanced understanding of colonialism. Gordon argues that a study of African proverbs and colonial photographs provide an important entry point into understanding everyday struggles pitting different races under colonialism. He examines colonial stereotypes about Africans dogs and about how the Boers treated Africans to show that most of them were cultural constructs that did not have evidence to validate them. This dissertation draws from Gordon by analysing colonial stereotypes together with traditional stereotypes ones that came from the villages, those that arose within nationalist histories and the contemporary wave that is inspired by disillusionment with nationalist politics. See Gordon, ‘Fido: Dog tales of colonialism in Namibia,’ in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*,’ 173-192.

⁶³ ‘The Game of Dogs and Masters’. A broader argument can be made here. Many dogs found in the colonized world have after the attainment of independence been accepted as belonging to these countries’ national heritages. See ‘Masters of the pyramid: The dogs reclaiming their heritage,’ *BBC New*, 3 September 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-49471593>, accessed on 9 September 2019.

been topical in Zimbabwean agrarian historiography.⁶⁴ Notwithstanding these human discourses, these dogs remained sentient and working animals whose welfare depended on the class, racial, gendered and geographical position of their owners in both the colonial and post-colonial periods. Looking at them in particular spaces can also be revealing of histories of cities, villages and farms. The dissertation is in dialogue with established historiographical canons of the country such as colonial, nationalist, economic, agrarian and patriotic historiographies. It also contributes to the broadening of scholarship on and about the country's urban history and the Zimbabwean crisis.⁶⁵ It does so by focusing on dogs because they present a fresh perspective and vantage with which to examine the country's past. By focusing on human-dog relations, the dissertation tells minor or subaltern histories that are nonetheless connected to big and hegemonic narratives of the country's past. By moving away from anthropocentrism, the dissertation brings species into the purview of Zimbabwean history from which they were nibbling at the periphery. At the same time, it has enabled a Global North-Global South historiographical conversation.

This study is first PhD dissertation that focuses on human-dog relations in Zimbabwean historiography. As such, it was impossible to cover all aspects of dog owning that transpired in the Zimbabwean past. Initially, the intention was to come up with a dissertation that covers aspects of both white and African dog owning, histories of rabies, police dogs and the uses of dogs during the liberation war (as the Rhodesian state resorted to the use of repression in the 1960s and 1970s). However, the study makes occasional inferences to dog owning by white Zimbabweans even though it does not provide a thorough analysis of that aspect. Similarly, histories of police dogs and the uses of dogs during the liberation war (as instruments of repression) have not been

⁶⁴ J.K. Rennie, 'White Farmers, Black Tenants and Landlord Legislation: Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5, 1 (1978); A. Mseba, 'Land, Power and Social Relations in Northeastern Zimbabwe from Pre Colonial Times to the 1950s,' PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 2015, 7; T.O. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); W. Beinart, 'Soil Erosion, Conservationism and Ideas about development: A Southern African Exploration, 1900-1960,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15, 1 (1984), 52-83; I.R. Phimister, 'Discourse and the Discipline of Historical Context: Conservatism and ideas about development in Southern Rhodesia, 1930-1950,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 12, 2 (1986), 263-275; J. McGregor, 'Woodland Resources: Ecology, Policy and Ideology: An Historical Case Study of Woodland Use in Shurugwi Communal Area, Zimbabwe,' PhD Dissertation, Loughborough University, 1991; J. McGregor, 'Conservation, Control and Ecological Change: The Politics and Ecology of Colonial Conservation in Shurugwi' *Environment and History*, 1, 3 (1995); L. Van Sittert, 'The nature of power: Cape Environmental history, the history of ideas and neo-liberal historiography,' *Journal of African History*, 45 (2004), 304-313.

⁶⁵ 'Gate-crashers run for dear life as man gets 'eaten' by dogs at Soul Jah Love's album launch,' *My Zimbabwe News*, 14 August 2019, <https://www.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/50362-gate-crashers-run-for-dear-life-as-man-gets-eaten-by-dogs-at-soul-jah-loves-album-launch-gig.html>, accessed on 5 September 2019.

included in this thesis. The other important aspect relates to discourses about Chinese foreign nationals who were periodically accused by Zimbabweans of consuming dog meat in the country. This issue reflects cultural difference and Zimbabwe's changing international relations with Asian countries between the 1980s and the contemporary period. Zimbabweans have in the past decade been deploying satirical art that depicts dogs and their excrement in social media protests. This phenomenon also deserves academic attention. In addition, contemporary debates involving both local and international media outlets as they debate the ethics of rescuing dogs that belonged to former white commercial farmers who were displaced during the Fast Track Land Reform programme are also stimulating provocations for further research. These aspects will have to wait for another study because time, resources and the stipulated length of the dissertation did not permit them to be included in this study. So many such aspects of dog owning in Zimbabwe deserve historical appreciation. For these reasons, this dissertation selected one of the major strands of that history as its contribution toward the ultimate goal of availing that comprehensive social history of human-dog relations in Zimbabwe.

Literature Review

This literature review consists of several sub-arguments that make up the central argument of this dissertation. The first one is a general introduction into southern African animal histories and it situates the present study in that historiography. It argues for the need to pay attention to local ideographic context in Southern Rhodesia in seeking to broaden the debate beyond South African and Namibian case studies of dog histories. In doing this, it also shows that dogs have a place in the agrarian and livestock historiography of Zimbabwe from which they have been inconspicuous. It also argues that rabies was not controlled by imported South African and British policies but by local responses that were shaped by local practices, politics and reactions to the disease. Similarly, it challenges the prevailing argument that dog taxation in southern African was imposed in order to compel Africans into selling their labour. Rather the aim was to solve settler cattle farmer's commercial and environmental interests and to 'improve' African dog owning (for agricultural reasons). The dissertation shows that African dog owning was debated along and together with issues such as cattle ranching, settler farming interests, discourses about keeping 'better' and 'fewer animals', animal improvement ideologies, veterinary discourses, pasture management policies and ideas about environmental control and conservation. The second subsection examines literature about cities, geography and dog

ecologies in seeking to situate Harare's history within the growing Western and Middle Eastern literature about dogs. It argues that in both colonial and post-colonial Harare creolized or hybrid dog keeping practices contributed to a spatial re-imagination of the city and that this availed opportunities for writing more-than-human histories of the city of (Salisbury) Harare. The third subsection speaks to the second subsection in that it merges Zimbabwean crisis literature that focuses on the city of Harare with its dog-keeping practices. In doing this, the dissertation shows that there is a global south urban dog history that is comparatively different from those of the Western and Middle Eastern regions. The fourth subsection of the literature review engages with studies that focus on canine and ecological imperialism in seeking to show that Africans were not uncritical imbibers of western ideas about dog keeping. This study is one of the first full-length dissertation in African studies, social studies and history that uses dogs as the central unit of analysis. It does so not to reject or trivialize the dog histories of the Western and Middle Eastern regions. Rather, it aims at enriching them from the periphery by showing that there were other human-dog relations that developed in different settings, contexts, times and parts of the world. It argues that Zimbabwe avails a previously untold dog history of the global south that takes the motivations, practices and cultures from the global south seriously. Overall, the thesis brings significantly new empirical evidence to older historiographical debates about epidemics, early agrarian struggles, animal husbandry, veterinary discourses, cattle ranching, conservation ideologies, taxation, urban control and social life that southern African historians have been debating about. In its engagement with Zimbabwean and southern African historiography as well as with the broader Global North and Middle Eastern historiographies, the dissertation contributes to Zimbabwe's 'more-than human' history that has hitherto been lacking.

Southern African animal histories have come of age having been around for almost two decades. According to Swart, there has been a re-wilding of the academe as academics have begun to seriously engage with the place of animals in African history.⁶⁶ African historians have begun exploring the historiography of the region by writing 'animal sensitive history' that seriously considers the place of animals in the past.⁶⁷ This new movement is adding species to African history's preoccupation with race, class, ethnicity and gender in seeking to understand

⁶⁶ Swart, 'Writing animals into African history,' 106.

⁶⁷ Swart, 'Writing animals into African history,' 106.

African's complex past. These historians have admitted dogs,⁶⁸ sheep,⁶⁹ insects,⁷⁰ donkeys,⁷¹ bird,⁷² locust,⁷³ horses,⁷⁴ 'vermin',⁷⁵ trout fish,⁷⁶ rhinos,⁷⁷ baboons,⁷⁸ crocodiles,⁷⁹ and rodents⁸⁰ into their considered views of the past in academic books, journals and academic conferences. They have shown animals' changing interactions with southern African environments, humans and other animals. Some animals were classified as pests, vermin, and pathogens: which in some cases resulted in the application of knowledge and programmes of rational management.⁸¹ As Morris argues, in the case of Malawi, 'humans and animals have long shared the same life world, and the relationship between humans and animals has always been one that is complex, intimate, reciprocal, personal and crucially ambivalent.'⁸² For this reason, animals elicit both strong positive and negative emotions in human beings. However, classifying animals into the above named categories was at times based on a superficial understanding of the environment by leading state official or on selfish reasons and some such animals (such as wild dogs) that were 'demonized' have joined the ranks of endangered species.⁸³ These case studies call for the need to challenge existing environmental knowledge and discourses championed by both the ruling and ruled continuously. For instance, Maoist

⁶⁸ Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*; Wylie and Barendse, *Dogs in southern African literatures*,

⁶⁹ W. Beinart, 'The Night of the Jackal: Sheep, pastures and Predators in Cape,' *Past and Present*, 158 (1998), 172-2016.

⁷⁰ K. Brown, 'Political Entomology: the Insectile Challenge to Agricultural development in the Cape colony,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29 (2003), 529-549.

⁷¹ Jacobs, 'The great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre,' 485-507.

⁷² N. Jacobs, *Birders of Africa: History of a Network*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

⁷³ S.N. Chipungu, 'Locusts, peasants, settlers and the state in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), 1929-1940,' *Transafrican Journal of History*, 15 (1986), 54-80; P. Uledi and G. Hove, 'A War of Man Against Locust'! Locust Invasions and Anti-locust Campaigns in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940s,' *South African Historical Journal*, 70, 4 (2018), 689-707.

⁷⁴ S. Swart, *Riding High—Horses, Humans and History in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2010).

⁷⁵ C.C. Mavhunga, 'Mobility and the making of Animal Meaning: The Kinetics of 'Vermin' and 'Wildlife' in southern Africa,' in G. Montgomery and L. Kalof (eds), *Making Animal Meaning* (Cambridge: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 17-43.

⁷⁶ D. Brown, 'Native, natural, indigenous, indigenised? Trout in the postcolony,' *Critical African Studies: Writing Animals into African History*, 8 (2016), 179-195.

⁷⁷ K. McKeown, 'Rehoming rhinos in southern Africa: animal indigeneity and wildlife translocations in the 1960s and 1970s,' *Critical African Studies: Writing Animals into African History*, 8 (2016), 196-215.

⁷⁸ S. Swart, 'Lucas's Story – The Invention of the South African Baboon Boy', in W. Speitkamp and S. Zehnle (eds.), *African Animal Spaces* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2014).

⁷⁹ J. McGregor, 'Crocodile crimes: people versus wildlife and the politics of postcolonial conservation on Lake Kariba, Zimbabwe,' *Geoforum*, 36 (2005), 353- 369.

⁸⁰ G.C. Mazarire, 'The Burrowed earth: Rodents in Zimbabwe's environmental history,' *Critical African Studies: Writing Animals into African History*, 8 (2016), 109-135.

⁸¹ Jacobs, *Birders of Africa*, 8.

⁸² B. Morris, *Animals and Ancestors: An Ethnography*, (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 19-20.

⁸³ M. Gusset et al, 'Efforts going to the dogs? Evaluating attempts to re-introduce endangered wild dogs in South Africa,' *Journal of Applied Ecology*, 45 (2008), 100-108.

China discovered that the sparrows— which they had placed into the bracket of pests during their campaign to ‘Wipe out the Four Pests (rats, sparrows, mosquitos and flies)’ during the Great Leap Forward—were farmers’ natural allies in controlling some other pests (and not farmers’ enemies as perceived). This was after the epidemic reproduction of other pests caused successive famines in China following the eradication of sparrows.⁸⁴ Hughes, in the case of Zimbabwe, argues wild animals and nature provided white commercial farmers with a form of escapism from the country’s social reality after the attainment of independence.⁸⁵ Thus, Zimbabwean white commercial farmers developed a kinship with nature, animals and plants in their attempts to self-segregate and in doing this, they were determining the manner in which they wanted to belong to the country. Thus, whiteness was defined by the manner in which white Zimbabweans invested in wildlife conservation, environmentalism and nature. In doing so, they constructed their identity in relation to the keeping of wild animals, which they ironically placed conceptually (physically) between themselves and black people in post-colonial Zimbabwe.⁸⁶ Thus, animals were deployed in human discourses that resulted in the altering of some ecologies and landscapes in Zimbabwe and other parts of the world and in the enactment of passive aggressive politics.

Increasingly historians are showing that human beings and other causes (or things), and other beings (animals) have collectively contributed to the physical make-up of the region, its economic, political, environmental and social histories and changing ecologies.⁸⁷ This dissertation contributes to this growing trend in southern Africa by focusing on African dog-owners in the country now known as Zimbabwe. It is in dialogue with ethnographers, zooarchaeologists, scientists and fellow historians regarding the types of pre-colonial dogs (that were kept in the region) and it assesses their changing histories over a long period of time.⁸⁸ It

⁸⁴ J.N. Krupar, ‘Review of J. Shapiro, *Mao’s War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China*,’ *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 7, 4 (2005), 174-176.

⁸⁵ D.M. Hughes, *Whiteness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape and the Problem of Belonging*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 3-12. He further argues that white farmers in both Southern Rhodesia and Zimbabwe constructed what he calls the ‘hydrology of hope’ by building dams and lakes. These dams and lakes were instrumentalized by commercial white farmers in construction of whiteness, white identity and their sense of belonging to the land and the country. He argues that such a sense of belonging insulated white commercial farmers from mingling with the majority black African population.

⁸⁶ Y. Suzuki, *The Nature of Whiteness: Race, Animals and Nation in Zimbabwe*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017).

⁸⁷ S. Swart, *Riding High*, 202 and 217; S. Swart, ‘Dogs and Dogma: a discussion of the socio-political construction of Southern African dog breeds as a window on social history,’ *South African Historical Journal*, 48, 1, 2003.

⁸⁸ J.H. Soga, *The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1905), 376-378; R.M. Blench, ‘African minor livestock species,’ in R.M. Blench and K.C. MacDonald (eds.), *The Origins and Development of African Livestock: Archaeology, Genetics, Linguistics and Ethnography*, (London, UCL Press, 2000), 317-320; S. Hall, ‘Indigenous domesticated dogs of southern Africa: an introduction,’ in Blench and

challenges the practice in the historiography of pre-colonial dogs of exporting and simply directly applying terms and concepts that had currency in the western world. Rather it calls for the need for students of this topic to pay attention to local contexts.

There have been two collections of essays, one a historical one and the other a literary one that were published in 2008 and 2018 respectively, that focus on dogs in southern Africa.⁸⁹ The historical collection focuses on the identity (types) of the pre-colonial dogs, early colonial rabies outbreaks, dog taxations, dog racing, cases of bestiality that involved dogs, the connections between dogs and colonial policing histories, dogs and the ordering of colonial urban spaces, and the connection between African-owned dogs and conservation of the natural environment. Lastly, it focuses on the ideologies that have come to be associated with three southern African dog breeds.⁹⁰ This dissertation is in dialogue with some of the essays in this collection. However, with the exception of colonial Namibia (then known as South West Africa), most of the essays in the collection focus entirely on South African cases studies. This dissertation extends this pioneering collection by adding another case study (Zimbabwe) and exploring its ideographic differences from those case studies that have been written about. Moreover, the editors of this suite of essays, Van Sittert and Swart, acknowledge that their collection surveys ‘the region’s shifting canine geography from the vantage point of the settler/white middle class and there is still no social history of African hunting that would reveal the changing place and meaning of the dog in African cultures across the region.’⁹¹ This dissertation strives to fill this lacuna using the case of Zimbabwe. It also incorporates African ideas about rabies, their negotiations with colonial veterinary authorities regarding rabies and the extent to which African cultural and traditional ideas about animal diseases control were used during rabies outbreaks.⁹² Another important study is Hall’s *Dogs of Africa*.⁹³ Hall’s study

MacDonald (eds.), *The Origins and Development of African Livestock: Archaeology, Genetics, Linguistics and Ethnography*, 302-311 .

⁸⁹ Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*; Wylie and Barendse, *Dogs in southern African literatures*.

⁹⁰ Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*; see also L. Green, ‘Apartheid’s wolves: Political Animals and Animal Politics,’ *Critical African Studies: Writing Animals into African History*, 8 (2016), 146-160.

⁹¹ Van Sittert and Swart, ‘*Canis Familiaris: A Dog History of Southern Africa*’ in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 32; see also J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka, ‘Canid-Human relations, speciesism, and overlooked interlocking systems of oppression,’ in J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka, *Dog’s Best Friend? Rethinking Canid-Human Relations*, (London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 357.

⁹² In fact, the current historical studies in Africa have ignored African ideas about the disease. See R. Pankhurst, ‘The History and Traditional Treatment of Rabies in Ethiopia,’ *Medical History*, 14, 4 (1970), 378-389; C.L. Briggs and C. Martini-Briggs, *Tell Me Why my Children Died: Rabies, Indigenous Knowledge and Communicative Justice*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 1-17.

⁹³ S. Hall, *Dogs of Africa*, (Colorado: Alpine, 2003).

focuses on the origins of many African dog breeds, histories of the domestication of dogs and the roles that dogs played a part in several African contexts. As a pioneering study, this book focuses on the whole of the African continent and thus leaves many issues about dog owning, the role of dogs in environmental and agrarian discourses.

Beinart and Brown have encouraged historians to study biomedicine and local knowledge systems not as separate entities but as systems that fed into each other symbiotically, especially as Africans and colonial veterinary scientists negotiated the day to day enforcement of veterinary interventions in African areas.⁹⁴ Moreover, Beinart, Brown and Gilfoyle have argued that veterinary scientists in new African areas met new animal diseases and experimented with African local knowledge and contributed to new knowledge about animals and animal diseases in the process.⁹⁵ These veterinary scientists grappled with local traditions that they did not understand and this pushed them into researching about the animal diseases that they encountered in Africa. They also found themselves competing with other colonial departments that based their interventions in African areas on different forms of rationality.⁹⁶ Similarly, this dissertation also examines issues such as dog taxation and brings new local situations, reasons and contexts for taxing African-owned dogs. In addition, Africans in Southern Rhodesia delayed taking an active role in resisting dog taxation and thus offer an interesting counterpoint to existing models about dog taxation in southern Africa.

Zimbabwe's Agrarian historiography

Compared to cattle, whose position in the agrarian historiography of Zimbabwe is firmly established, dogs have yet to claim their place. Although dogs were central to both settler communities and to Africans in the country, historians of Southern Rhodesia have not yet accorded them the importance that they had in the past in debates about agriculture in a country that was teeming with wild animals that destroyed both livestock and crops.⁹⁷ This dissertation,

⁹⁴ W. Beinart and K. Brown, *African Local Knowledge and Livestock Health: Disease and Treatments in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Wit University Press, 2013), 17.

⁹⁵ K. Brown and D. Gilfoyle (eds), *Healing the Herds: Disease, Livestock Economies and the Globalisation of Veterinary Medicine*, (Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 2010); W. Beinart, K. Brown and D. Gilfoyle, 'Experts and Expertise in Colonial Africa Reconsidered: Science and the Interpretations of Knowledge,' *African Affairs*, 108 (2009) 432.

⁹⁶ Beinart and Brown, *African Local Knowledge and Livestock Health*, 3-17; H. Tilley, 'African environments and environmental sciences: The African research survey, ecological paradigms and British Colonial Development,' in W. Beinart and J. McGregor (eds), *Social History and African Environments*, (Oxford: James Currey, 2003) 112-116.

⁹⁷ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, 162.

thus, endeavours to broaden Southern Rhodesian animal histories that currently focus on the setting up of the beef industry, on milk production, animal breeding, and cattle diseases by showing that dogs mattered in colonial discourses about animal husbandry and agrarian histories (as is shown in Chapters Three and Four).⁹⁸ This dissertation argues that dogs were intimately connected to struggles aimed at setting up livestock farming in the country in debates surrounding the eradication of rabies and in colonial correspondences about pasture management and conservation of natural resources. It maintains that the earliest acts of colonial conservationist intrusions into African communities and animal betterment policies were first introduced in connection to African-owned dogs before they targeted other domestic animals in Southern Rhodesia.⁹⁹ Thus, this dissertation contributes to southern African historiography that focuses on ecological struggles on the land and on animal (species) histories. This is because animals owned by the politically weak and the poor (race, class, ethnicity and gender) were often at a disadvantage because the politically powerful often took decisions that disadvantaged both the poor and their animals.¹⁰⁰ Because livestock farmers and the state couched their interventions in African areas in conservationist discourses, the thesis draws from the on-going southern African debate involving Beinart, Phimister, McGregor and Van Sittert over the development of conservationist ideologies in the colonies, by showing a different aspect of the racialized aspects of some colonial endeavours.¹⁰¹ Although dogs are missing in Southern Rhodesian agrarian historiography, they actually have a place and deserve to be

⁹⁸ R.M.G. Mtetwa, 'Myth or reality: The Cattle Complex in South East Africa, with special reference to Rhodesia,' *Zambezia*, VI, 1 (1978), 23-35; A. Shutt, 'The Settlers' Cattle Complex: The Etiquette of culling Cattle in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1938,' *Journal of African History*, 43 (2002), 263-286; W. Mwatwara, 'The Tick was not slow to take advantage: Conflicts in the Struggle against East Coast Fever in Southern Rhodesia (1901-1920),' *South African Historical Journal*, 65, 2, 2013, 249-270; W. Mwatwara, 'A History of State Veterinary Services and African Livestock Regimes in Colonial Zimbabwe,' PhD Thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2014; I.R. Phimister, 'Meat and Monopolies: Beef Cattle in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1938,' *Journal of African History*, 19, 3 (1978), 391-414; G. Hove, 'The State, Farmers and Dairy Farming in Colonial Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), c.1890-1951,' PhD Thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2015.

⁹⁹ Phimister, 'Meat and Monopolies: Beef Cattle in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1938,' 391-414; N.W. Samasuwo, 'There is Something About Cattle: Towards an Economic History of the Beef Industry in Colonial Zimbabwe, with Special Reference to the Role of the State, 1939-1980,' PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2000; Hove, 'The State, farmers and dairy farming in Colonial Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), c.1890-1951.'

¹⁰⁰ Jacobs, 'The Great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre: Discourse on the Ass and the Politics of Class and Grass,' 485-507.

¹⁰¹ W. Beinart, 'Soil Erosion, Conservationism and Ideas about development: A Southern African Exploration, 1900-1960,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15, 1 (1984), 52-83; I.R. Phimister, 'Discourse and the Discipline of Historical Context: Conservatism and ideas about development in Southern Rhodesia, 1930-1950,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 12, 2 (1986), 263-275; J. McGregor, 'Woodland Resources: Ecology, Policy and Ideology: An Historical Case Study of Woodland Use in Shurugwi Communal Area, Zimbabwe,' PhD Dissertation, Loughborough University, 1991; J. McGregor, 'Conservation, Control and Ecological Change: The Politics and Ecology of Colonial Conservation in Shurugwi' *Environment and History*, 1, 3 (1995); L. Van Sittert, 'The nature of power: Cape Environmental history, the history of ideas and neo-liberal historiography,' *Journal of African History*, 45 (2004), 304-313.

footnoted in the histories of early settler farmer-state relations, farmer-tenant relations and studies that focus on the peasant option, as Chapters Three and Four demonstrates.¹⁰²

Urban histories, dog ecologies and geography

The dissertation is in conversation with histories of other metropolises that grapple with the animal presence in the cities.¹⁰³ These histories acknowledge the material and cultural contributions of animals in the growth of cities, urban economies, institutions, and identities.¹⁰⁴ Philo argues that cattle, sheep and pigs were only recently defined as belonging to rural areas in large western cities such as London, Chicago and Paris due to the interventions of medical, sanitary and moral ideologists who opposed the noises, pollution and other nuisances (such as mating in public) that they brought.¹⁰⁵ That way, these animals were defined as belonging to rural areas while other animals such as dogs and cats were said to belong to the cities. The animal presence in southern African cities has largely been acknowledged by way of memorials such as the one in Gweru (mentioned above) and statues such as that of Just Nuisance, a Great Dane, that is in Simon's Town (South Africa).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² J.K. Rennie, 'White Farmers, Black Tenants and Landlord Legislation: Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5, 1 (1978), 96; T.O. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); A. Mseba, 'Land, Power and Social Relations in Northeastern Zimbabwe from Pre Colonial Times to the 1950s,' PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 2015, 7.

¹⁰³ H. Kean, 'Traces and Representations: Animal Pasts in London's Present,' *The London Journal*, 36, 1 (2011), 54-71.

¹⁰⁴ F.L. Brown, 'Cows in the Commons, Dogs on the Lawn: A History of Animals in Seattle,' PhD Dissertation, University of Washington, 2010, 1-17.

¹⁰⁵ C. Philo, 'Animals, geography and the city: notes on inclusion and exclusions,' *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, 13 (1995), 655-681.

¹⁰⁶ 'Just Nuisance's cap and collar to be replaced on Heritage Day,' *News24*, 24 September 2019, <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/just-nuisances-stolen-cap-and-collar-to-be-replaced-on-heritage-day-20190924>, accessed on 25 September 2019; 'A barking mad version of SA's Canine History,' *IOL News*, 22 September 2003, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/a-barking-mad-version-of-sas-canine-history-113317>, accessed on 27 September 2019; see also the Statue of Kingsley Fairbridge, Jack and his dog, Vic, at Utopia House, Mutare, 'Kingsley Fairbridge-who was he? Zimbabwe Field Guide,' <http://zimfieldguide.com/manicaland/kingsley-fairbridge-%E2%80%93-who-was-he>, accessed 25 September 2019; K. Fairbridge, *The Autobiography of Kingsley Fairbridge*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), 25-27; There are many other public histories and heritage memorials that was worth mentioning such as the horse memorial South Africa that celebrates the horses that participated in the South African war of 1899-1902, which was unveiled in February 1905. See, 'Horse Memorial, junction of Cape and Russell Roads, Port Elizabeth,' South African History Online, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/horse-memorial-junction-cape-and-russell-roads-port-elizabeth>, accessed on 26 September 2019.

Not all dogs, however, were accepted as belonging to the city. The dog fancy, which began in Britain in the nineteenth century, introduced a distinction between purebred dogs kept by the upper classes and stray dogs that were regarded as pollutants and semi-wild savage dogs.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, stray dogs came to be seen as not belonging to urban areas. The operations of the dog fancy placed dogs in a hierarchically ordered structure which had stray dogs—the dogs that did not deserve to live (in the thinking of dog fanciers)—at the bottom.¹⁰⁸ Such a structure permitted the wholesale extermination of stray dogs because they threatened the purity, value and place of purebred dogs that came to stay in the home with their owners.¹⁰⁹ Conversely, stray dogs came to be seen as dogs that had digressed from the dog's key aim and purpose in life.¹¹⁰ Cities such as New York, Paris, London and many other regularly embarked on massive operations to remove stray dogs from their streets using dog-catchers and by slaughtering them on a massive scale because they had branded them as dirty canine criminals.¹¹¹ Scholarship focusing on dogs and the city is heavily dominated by western studies and this dissertation, in a small way, seeks to contribute to new studies that emphasize southern African ideographic contexts. More crucially, the study of human-dog interactions in Harare show that, despite the fact that western ideas of the dog fancy were in operation, there were other kinds of human-animal relations that developed due to local reasons, cultures and traditions. More so, western ideas of keeping dogs were not totally understood or even accepted in their entirety by Africans.

Similarly, 'stray' or pariah dogs destruction campaigns in Middle Eastern cities such as Istanbul, between 1908 and 1912, and Bombay in 1832 met with resistance due to local traditions, customs and religions that revered (and even worshipped) animals.¹¹² These local issues prevented western ideas of dog-keeping, of keeping cities clean and sanitary from having a dominating influence in Middle Eastern cities. These examples provide an interesting comparison with the history of African dog-keeping in Harare. The dissertation argues that the

¹⁰⁷ Howell, *At Home and Astray*; M. Worboys, J.M. Strange and N. Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog in Victorian Britain*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018).

¹⁰⁸ H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian age*, (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1987), 93.

¹⁰⁹ Howell, *At Home and Astray*.

¹¹⁰ 'The separation of strays from pets,' Pet Histories, <https://pethistories.wordpress.com/2017/09/14/the-late-nineteenth-century-separation-of-stray-and-pet-dogs/>, accessed on 26 August 2019.

¹¹¹ 'Killing stray dogs in early 19th century New York,' Sniffing the Past, <https://sniffingthepast.wordpress.com/2016/03/29/killing-stray-dogs-in-early-19th-century-new-york/>, accessed on 26 August 2019.

¹¹² P. Brummett, 'Dogs, Women, Cholera, and Other Menaces in the Streets: Cartoon Satire in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-11,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 27, 4 (1995), 433-460; J.S. Palsetia, 'Mad Dogs and Parsis: The Bombay Dog Riots of 1832,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 11, 1 (2001), 13-30.

history of dog-keeping in Harare was similar to Middle Eastern dog histories in so far as the culture of free-roaming dogs was tolerated. However, that culture rested on different traditions and histories. While religious ideas held sway in the Middle East, they did not play a crucial role in Harare. While most dogs in Harare had owners and homes to which they returned to, the same cannot be said about the majority of dogs in the Middle Eastern cities. Moreover, some cultural baggage that Africans came with from rural areas into the city contributed to some of the local peculiarities that obtained in Harare. Thus, the dissertation compares Harare to Cape Town and Port Elizabeth (South Africa) in assessing conflicts between the subordinate classes, the middle class, city authorities and the state over the regulation of dogs. In these cities ‘stray dogs’ owned by subordinate classes were seen by authorities as environmental pests.¹¹³ It shows that Harare developed hybrid dog keeping practises that combined working class cultures, middle class modernity and the ideas of the SPCA as well as those of the Zimbabwe Kennel Club (ZKC).

The Zimbabwean Crisis: the city and canines

There is a growing body of literature that focuses on the Zimbabwean crisis (that began around 2000). The literature analyses how a humanitarian crisis, political repression, the water crisis, and administrative disasters occurred in the country due to the manner in which the ruling ZANU PF party determined the course of political events in the country. Indeed, the ruling ZANU PF party occasionally resorted to maintaining a zero-sum contest with the opposition (the MDC) while repressing the population and causing both internal and external migrations.¹¹⁴ The FTLRP, which the Zimbabwean government embarked upon in 2000—ostensibly to correct historical inequalities caused by colonial land alienation—also contributed to the worsening of the Zimbabwean crisis by causing a fall in food production, creating food shortages and causing economic collapse.¹¹⁵ These events have received a preponderance of

¹¹³ K. McKenzie, ‘Dogs and the Public Sphere: The Ordering of Social Space in Early Nineteenth-Century Cape Town,’ *South African Historical Journal*, 48, 1 (2003), 235-251; L. Van Sittert, ‘Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemic,’ *South African Historical Journal*, 48, 1 (2003), 207-234.

¹¹⁴ L.M. Sachikonye, ‘Whither Zimbabwe? Crisis & Democratisation,’ *Review of African Political Economy*, 29, 91 (2002), 13-20; B. Raftopoulos and I.R. Phimister, ‘Zimbabwe Now: The Political Economy of Crisis and Coercion,’ *Historical Materialism*, 12, 4 (2004), 355 – 382; A. Hammar, B. Raftopoulos, and S. Jensen (eds), *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking land, state and nation in the context of crisis* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2003), J. McGregor and R. Primorac (eds), *Zimbabwe's New Diaspora: Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival*, (New York: Berghahan, 2010), J. McGregor, ‘Surveillance and the city: patronage and power sharing and the politics of urban control in Zimbabwe,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39, 4 (2013), 783-805.

¹¹⁵ J. Alexander, ‘Squatters’, Veterans and the State in Zimbabwe,’ in Hammar, Raftopolous and Jensen (eds), *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*, 83–117; C. Chakanyuka, ‘Heritage, Land and Ancestors: The Challenges Of Cultural Heritage Management in the Face of the Fast Track Land Redistribution Programme in Zimbabwe 1999–2007,’ MA Dissertation, University of

academic attention as academics debated the various aspects and dimensions of the crisis in Zimbabwean cities. Despite their extensive nature, these studies are yet to grapple with the animal presence in Zimbabwean cities. The dissertation joins some few studies that have begun to tell the histories of all these events in a way that is sensitive to species.¹¹⁶ This thesis contributes to the writing of histories that are accommodative of other species by focusing on dogs in the city of Harare. It asks what the crisis meant for dogs in the city that was reeling from the crisis, food scarcity, criminality, rampant joblessness, and informal dealings. Evidence from other parts of the world show that spending ‘on pets remained almost unaffected’ during the 2009 financial crisis despite the erosion on incomes that happened during these times.¹¹⁷ With changing family structure and marriage choices, many people have come to substitute pets for children in the western world. Although different contextual reasons prevailed, Harare also experienced a booming dog population during the Zimbabwean crisis that was caused by deliberate breeding and keeping of dogs, as Chapter Five will show.¹¹⁸ A dog history of the city of Harare that takes local contextual reasons, during the period of the crisis, has been long overdue. This dissertation argues that the inordinate focus on humans in Zimbabwean cities creates an artificially anthropocentric account of the past, which removes other beings such as animals from the city. It draws on Howell in showing that there was a conflation of a complexity of actors, agents and things in the city in seeking to move beyond conventional and anthropocentric histories of the city. Dogs contributed to a spatial re-imagination of the city¹¹⁹ and, unlike dogs in Victorian Britain, elicited different top-down interventionist measures and bottom-up responses due to periodic and shifting official toleration of free-roaming dogs. In doing this, the dissertation brings a global south dog history into a productive conversation with Global North and Middle Eastern dog histories. The aim is

Zimbabwe, 2007; J. Chaumba, I. Scoones, and W. Wolmer, ‘From Jambanja to Planning: The Reassertion of Technocracy in Land Reform in Southeastern Zimbabwe?’, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41, 4 (2003), 533–554; G. Mkodzongi and P. Lawrence ‘The Fast Track Land reform and Agrarian change in Zimbabwe,’ *Review of African Political Economy: Agrarian Change in Zimbabwe: Where Now?*, 46, 159 (2019), 1-13.

¹¹⁶ C. Buckle, *Innocent Victims: Rescuing the Stranded Animals of Zimbabwe's Farm Invasions—Meryl Harrison's Extraordinary Story*, (London: Merlin Unwin, 2009); D. Wylie, ‘‘They’ve killed the dogs!’: Land, literature and canines in contemporary Zimbabwe,’ in Wylie and Barendse, *Dogs in southern African literature*, 186-199; ‘Sad final days for Zimbabwe vet as farmers have pets put down,’ *The Telegraph*, 28 September 2002, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/1408583/Sad-final-days-for-Zimbabwe-vet-as-farmers-have-pets-put-down.html>, accessed 20 August 2019.

¹¹⁷ ‘Pets have been changing the course of human evolution for 50,000 years,’ <https://www.bigissue.com/opinion/pets-have-been-changing-the-course-of-human-evolution-for-50000-years/>, accessed on 12 September 2019.

¹¹⁸ ‘Animals pay the price of life in Zim,’ *Sunday Times*, 6 July 2008. In its recent past, Harare residents have been known to rear *Zvihuta* (Quail birds), domestic fowls like broiler chickens in their yards or houses in order to mitigate the effects of the crisis.

¹¹⁹ Howell, *At Home and Astray*, 11.

to show that there were other human-human and human-animal relations that occurred in other regions of the world. The dissertation is also in conversation with recent literature that challenges speciesism—a biased view that privileges one species over other species. A recently published collection of essays edited by Sorenson and Matsuoka entitled *Dog's Best Friend?* relooks at ancient Greek and Roman societies, sixteenth century Japan, eighteenth century England and contemporary Asian societies in tracing the different and varying instances of speciesism that happened across time and space (even during the period in which these societies self-proclaimed their love for dogs and other canids).¹²⁰ The book shows that human-canine relations across time and space have been unstable and were constantly changing, negotiated and renegotiated. The dissertation welcomes this argument and brings another case study from southern Africa that confirms that human-dog relations were complicated and different in different parts of the world. In doing this, the dissertation succeeds in getting Zimbabwean historiography to have an intercourse with these historiographies that it had previously not been in conversation with.

Dogged histories: Canines and ecological imperialism

This dissertation engages with scholarship that focus on the relationship between animals and imperialism. Crosby's classic book, *Ecological Imperialism* [1986], which focuses on how environmental damage wrought by western empire builders, plants and animals in the colonies (Americas, Asia and Africa) led to the extinction of some indigenous human, plant and animal species and altered ecologies, is important for this study.¹²¹ Crosby was concerned with the species eradications and ecological erosions following in the wake of imperialism, the effects of the animals (brought into the colonies)—livestock and the concomitant pathogens and the diseases that they brought with them into the colonies. Similarly Ritvo has examined the cultural aspects of imperialism by focusing on animals, farmers, pet-keepers, sportsmen, and zoologists while MacKenzie focuses on big-game hunters in the colonial peripheral areas.¹²² Thus, these pioneering historians have written about animals and imperialism focusing on diseases, zoos, animals welfare, hunting and conservation. According to Skabelund, these

¹²⁰ J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka (eds), *Dog's Best Friend? Rethinking Canid-Human Relations*, (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019).

¹²¹ A. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900*, (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

¹²² J. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); and Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*.

historians showed that animal bodies ‘fueled,’ and ‘funded’ imperial ventures across the world.¹²³

While Ritvo and MacKenzie paid less attention to the actual animals (and focused more on discourses about them and while Crosby grouped livestock together with crops, weeds, and diseases as the full package of European biological expansion responsible for causing environmental change and domination in the colonized world), studies that came after them were more particularly fixated on the actual animals. Historians, such as Anderson and Swart began to pay much closer attention to the actual animals, especially as they acted as the vanguard of settlers and forced the indigenous people to move off the land in America and Africa.¹²⁴ Anderson shows that ‘creatures of empire’—such as sheep, cattle and pigs—interacted with both white settlers and indigenous peoples. Swart argues that initially equine ecological imperialism provided military, transport and draft power for empire builders in Southern Africa. She, however, cautions that the Basuto, an indigenous southern African society, appropriated not only horses but other enabling paraphernalia of empire and literally galloped back at it.¹²⁵ It is generally accepted that animals not only altered human environmental ideas, histories and politics but that the animals themselves changed in the process.¹²⁶

Building on the work of these scholars, Skabelund focused on both the actual animals and the symbolism that humans made of them in studying the connection between animals and imperialism. Skabelund draws from many perspectives such as gender, literary studies and post-colonial studies in his recent 2011 *Empire of Dogs: Canines, Japan, and the Making of the Modern Imperial World*.¹²⁷ He came up with the concept of ‘canine imperialism,’ that entailed that dogs that came from the imperial centres in Europe and Japan assisted their owners in subduing people and dogs in the colonies. Skabelund argues that imperialism, capitalism and war took some dog breeds to other parts of the globe and introduced the classification of dog according to the western dog fancy in the colonized parts of the planet. Such dogs became part of the technology used by imperial and (later) colonial armies and police in patrolling the divide

¹²³ Skabelund, ‘Animals and Imperialism,’ 801-807.

¹²⁴ V.D. Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Swart, *Riding High*.

¹²⁵ Swart, *Riding High*, 77-136.

¹²⁶ Swart, *Riding High*, 171-193.

¹²⁷ A.H. Skabelund, *Empire of Dogs: Canines, Japan, and the Making of the Modern Imperial World*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2011).

between the colonizer and the colonized and between the rulers and the ruled.¹²⁸ Skabelund, however, concedes that ‘the topic needs more histories that place less emphasis on the Western imperial powers, more that are focused on colonized areas and shed light on the perspective of the colonized (both human and animals), and even better, that are comparative, examining both the metropole and the empire, in a transnational and transimperial sense.’¹²⁹ This thesis takes up this challenge and extends Swart’s point about redeploying the creatures of colonialism by focusing on the histories of African dog-owners in Zimbabwe, who in some cases bred and trained dogs of empire for their local needs. It is part of a new scholarship that studies how the people in the global south made use of animals of empire for their local contextual needs.¹³⁰ The dissertation also gives a lot of prominence to local dogs and how they fared during the colonial period when colonial ideas about breeding ‘better animals’ were rigidly imposed and enforced in African areas by colonial administrators. Keeping dogs has long been regarded as central to class identity, sophistication and even some genres of nationalist politics. That way the history of the country and of the city of Harare can be studied by following the paw prints of dogs.

In the case of post-colonial Harare, Africans bred the dogs of empire for different ends and came up with new typologies (taxonomies) of dogs. African-owned dogs and their owners, in this research, present an interesting counterpoint to different genres of ecological/animal imperialism by viewing history from the perspective of colonized African dog-owners and their dogs. Southern African historians have shown that animal draft power and mobility became the technologies of colonialism in its quest to subject both the local environment and human beings who resided in it.¹³¹ Moreover animal diseases—both those that came with colonialism and those that were in the colonies—complicated the environment and human histories in Southern Africa.¹³² For these reasons, this study brings a new comparative example from the Global South in order to compare it with Global North dog histories. In doing this, the dissertation seeks to show the importance of the local context, customs and reasons in its conversation with long established dog histories from the western world (not diminish their

¹²⁸ Skabelund, *Empire of Dogs*; Skabelund, ‘Animals and Imperialism,’ 801-807; A. Skabelund, ‘Breeding Racism: The Imperial Battlefields of the ‘German’ Shepherd Dog,’ *Society and Animals*, 16 (2008), 354-371.

¹²⁹ Skabelund, ‘Animals and Imperialism,’ 804.

¹³⁰ Jacobs, *Birders of Africa*; Chipungu, ‘Locusts, peasants, settlers and the state in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), 1929-1940,’ 54-80; Uledi and Hove, ‘A War of Man Against Locust’! Locust Invasions and Anti-locust Campaigns in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 1918–1940s,’ 689-707; Swart, *Riding High*.

¹³¹ Swart, *Riding High*, 19.

¹³² S. Swart ‘But Where’s the Bloody Horse?’: Textuality and Corporeality in the ‘Animal Turn,’ *Journal of Literary Studies*, 23, 3 (2007), 271-292.

importance but to show how different human-human and human-animal relations evolved in different contexts, times and parts of the world).

On the regional front, the dissertation also crosses borders and boundaries of sorts. It joins other new research that focuses on dogs. For instance, a conference organized by those engaged in environmental humanities, including literary critics, at Stellenbosch University in 2017 that focused on dogs in southern African literature was important for this dissertation. It culminated in the publication of a book collection that focus on dogs in southern African literature.¹³³ Because it takes a multispecies and multidisciplinary perspective in following dogs across the contours of Zimbabwean history, the dissertation derived inspiration from this collection. In fact, Chapter Six of this dissertation arose out of the need to respond to the probing of students of literature in combining history and literature to more fully appreciate the place of dogs in southern Africa.

Theoretical Points of Departure and Research Questions

The thesis seeks to answer the following questions: What was the nature of dog keeping on the Zimbabwean plateau during the pre-colonial period? How did the establishment of the colonial veterinary department in the early colonial period affect African dog owning in light of the rabies outbreaks of the period between 1902 and 1913? How successful was the policy of taxing African dog owning and how did Africans respond to this policy during the colonial period? What was the nature of African dog keeping in urban areas in both colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe? The thesis also seeks to examine how dog symbolisms have been used in particular periods in the country's history and what the symbolisms tell us about the people's understanding of colonialism, nationalism and imperialism.

The thesis is informed by a multi-species retelling of the past, from an animal sensitive history perspective. Multi-species is a way of doing research in Critical Animal Studies or disciplines such as anthropology, biology, environmental science, history and technology studies. These genres have begun to move away from anthropocentrism. In the humanities, the term—anthropocentric—has also come to refer to studies that put humans at the centre of everything to the total exclusion these other species, plants and things. Thus, multi-species research

¹³³ Wylie and Barendse, *Dogs in southern African Literatures*.

methods and theories aim at removing humans from that central position in academic analysis by acknowledging that animals, plants and other beings co-produced, co-evolved, co-inhabited and co-operated with humans in mutually shaping the biosphere.¹³⁴ Kohn has argued that human beings and species interact as both selves and actors.¹³⁵ There have always been transspecies engagements and this enable historians to go ‘beyond a focus on how humans represent animals’ to appreciating the fact that animal actions can be interpreted because they ‘engage with the world and with each other as selves’: that is ‘as beings that have a point of view.’ Kohn argues that such a negotiated interaction between dogs and human beings goes beyond focusing on how humans controlled dogs.¹³⁶ Such theories reject the ‘great divide’ between dogs and humans, and between wild and domestic animals and calls for a closer scrutiny of the transspecies transactions and interactions. It also draws on post-humanism, a broad theory that encompasses different and sometimes contradictory assumptions. Basically, it refers to a new movement that seeks to go beyond human beings in studying the impact of non-human things, animals and plants in the biosphere. Indeed the current era, controversially termed the Anthropocene, refers to the new geological epoch in which human activities have resulted in the extinction of some species, in the removal of some species ‘from their natural habitat,’ the release of ‘them into new ones’ and in changing global climatic conditions on an unprecedented scale.¹³⁷ This has brought the spectre of environmental disasters and a possibility that the human dominated epoch and biosphere is tottering towards its end. These far-reaching changes have brought the realisation that ‘humans are part of a very long, deep history that is not simply theirs’ and that that ‘history is vastly older than the very existence of the human race.’¹³⁸ This perspective accepts that human beings have been entangled with other species and thus calls for the ending of the ‘dualistic partitions of minds from bodies, meaning and matter or nature from culture.’¹³⁹ Thus, this thesis derives inspiration from this call.¹⁴⁰ Another strand of the post-humanist perspective that influences this dissertation is the

¹³⁴ D.J. Haraway, *When Species Meet*, (London: University of Minnesota, 2008), 4-11, F. Trentmann, ‘Materiality in the future of history: things, practices, and politics,’ *Journal of British Studies*, 48, 2 (2009), 283-307.

¹³⁵ E. Kohn, ‘How dogs dream: Amazonian natures and the politics of transpecies engagement,’ *American Ethnologist*, 34, 1 (2007), 4-24.

¹³⁶ Howell, *At Home and Astray*, 13.

¹³⁷ N. Davidson, ‘The Anthropocene epoch: Have we entered a new phase of planetary history,’ *The Guardian*, 30 May 2019.

¹³⁸ Mbembe, ‘Decolonising knowledge and the question of the archive,’ <http://www.staugustine.ac.za/sites/default/files/ctools/13.%20Mbembe%20-%20Decolonizing%20Knowledge...%20%282015%29.pdf>, accessed on 0 October 2019.

¹³⁹ Mbembe, ‘Decolonising knowledge and the question of the archive.’

¹⁴⁰ Davidson, ‘The Anthropocene epoch.’

animal/species turn.¹⁴¹ It takes animals' lived experiences in history seriously in order to undermine discourses that do not see animals and plants as capable of changing the environment and with it the manner in which humans relate with it.¹⁴² Given the material rewards that come with breeding and keeping dogs for profit making, as guards, as status symbols and for emotional reasons, this dissertation uses dogs as an entry point into Zimbabwean historiography. In this project, I combine the need to study human-dog relationships, the roles of African dog-owners in the past, the politics and even the changing spatial geography of dog ownership in Zimbabwe. The chapter acknowledges that dogs have been changing with human beings ever since they became domesticated.¹⁴³

While acknowledging that these theories throw light onto the manner in which African dog-owners interacted with dogs, difficulties arise in interpreting animal action and communication and assigning them particular meanings. Due to these challenges, the dissertation follows Swart's example in seeking to integrate species into the much older historiographies. Its goal is to write 'animal sensitive history.'¹⁴⁴ She argues that focusing on species (or dogs in this case) 'is another way of doing history' in which animals join many other variables that southern African historians have been grappling with in the past such as race, gender, class and ethnicity.¹⁴⁵ Such histories include an examination of the place of animals in the environment, human world of work, as human symbols, the diseases that animals bring into the human world or vice versa and how animals act in connection with other forces and things affect the human world. Mitchell's study of the nexus between the two invasions of Egypt during World War II: one by mosquitoes from the south and the other by the German and Italian forces in the north is a case in point here.¹⁴⁶ It shows that the mosquitoes 'spoke' as they made use of new technologies of travel, dam construction, hydro-electricity projects, sugar cane plantations, the use of new chemicals and the war to travel and to inflict deadly malaria related deaths in

¹⁴¹ Kohn, 'How dogs dream: Amazonian natures and the politics of transspecies engagement,' 3–24.

¹⁴² E. Fudge, 'What was it like to be a Cow: History and Animal Studies,' in L. Kalof (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 258-278.

¹⁴³ 'Pets have been changing the course of human evolution for 50,000 years,' <https://www.bigissue.com/opinion/pets-have-been-changing-the-course-of-human-evolution-for-50000-years/>, accessed on 12 September 2019.

¹⁴⁴ Swart, 'Writing animals into African history,' 106.

¹⁴⁵ 'Sandra Swart: Lion's Historians: Animal Histories from the South,' Inaugural Address, Stellenbosch University 2017 and seminar, <https://www.ascleiden.nl/news/seminar-sandra-swart-lions-historian-animal-histories-south>, accessed on 27 September 2019.

¹⁴⁶ T. Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt Techno-Politics and Modernity*, (Berkeley: California University Press, 2002)19-53.

Egypt.¹⁴⁷ Thus, the many ways that animals interact with the human environment as livestock (property), pets, parasites, vermin, symbols and as animal-made objects left in the human world (after human beings killed and consumed them) allow for a much broader and inclusive way of doing history. Thus, writing animal sensitive history require that historians sometimes walk with the animals or follow their traces in the archive to gain an understanding of how they could have seen, smelled, heard or felt their world.¹⁴⁸ Although it is very difficult to understand all animal actions, some researchers such as Jacobs have shown that in few instances human beings and species such as the greater honeyguide bird (*Indicator indicator*) have, for different reasons, successfully collaborated with each other in the past.¹⁴⁹ Dogs and humans have similarly co-operated. Although writing dog histories can similarly be difficult, it is important to follow, walk along and sniff with them in order to reconstruct the history of such a co-operation.

This thesis seriously engages with the place of dogs in the history of Zimbabwe by combining insights from the species turn, multi-species studies and subaltern studies. Subaltern histories express concern for the marginalised, and the subordinated classes, identities and races in society. This thesis embraces the subaltern inspiration in analysing ‘species’ as a new subaltern category in challenging dominant and hegemonic narratives of the past. Thus, focusing on dogs has the capacity to show the underbelly of hegemonic meta-narratives and historiographies of the country from a different and liminal vantage point. The intention is to widen the range of perspectives on and about the Zimbabwean past by coming up with histories that go beyond analysing dogs ‘as being more than backdrops to, and props in, human affairs.’¹⁵⁰ Dogs provide an opportunity to analyse other human beings, places, issues and subject matters that normally escape the gaze of established and hegemonic historiographies of the country. As the thesis will demonstrate, dogs also afford an unusual gaze into the well-trodden debates about early colonial agrarian struggles, colonialism, Afro-centricity, indigeneity, autochthony, creolisation of cultures, nationalism, decolonialism and urban animal presence. The thesis will demonstrate that there is a previously unexplored more-than-human perspective to these issues and

¹⁴⁷ Mitchell, *Rule of Experts*, 19-53.

¹⁴⁸ Fudge, ‘What was it like to be a Cow?’, 258-278, A. Lönngren, *Following the Animal: Power, Agency, and Human-Animal transformation in Modern, Northern-European Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 1-22.

¹⁴⁹ Jacobs, *Birders of Africa*, 1-6.

¹⁵⁰ Fudge, ‘What was it like to be a Cow?’, 261.

discourses in the Zimbabwean past that before this thesis had remained inconspicuous in Zimbabwean historiography.

Sources, Research design and Methodology

The decision to study human-dog histories arose partly from my interests in both the rural and urban histories of Zimbabwe. My BA honours dissertation, which I wrote in 2005, focused on changing oral memories, boundary disputes and on chieftainship struggles in the Makoni District of Manicaland Province, and my MA dissertation, written in 2015, focused on the passenger transport history of Salisbury (now Harare) between 1950 and 1980. Pursuing dogs presented opportunities for combining my research interests in both urban and rural histories of Zimbabwe. Growing up in rural Chendambuya (in Makoni North), where managing human-baboon relations occupied much of my childhood made the keeping dogs in my family mandatory. Consequently, my father regularly brought dogs from Harare to our rural home. I only learnt after 2000, when some of my Harare friends began breeding dogs, that most of the ‘greyhounds’ that he brought home were in effect ‘mongrels.’ However, they were ‘physically’ different from other rural dogs and we at times fed them on some commercial dog feeds and bone meal (when they were available). This made my family to feel as though we were better off in the village compared to our neighbours. Despite bestowing on my family a feeling of being ‘better off’ compared to our neighbours, these dogs at times caused friction between my family and our neighbours who kept goats. While leaning on my childhood experiences of keeping dogs in rural Chendambuya and those of some of my friends who kept dogs in Harare, I generally prevented these experiences from overriding my sources. I leashed my experiences with what the sources were telling me. This was because the archival and oral sources that I used made me to become aware of the fact that class, gender, race and geography complicated dog owning in the Zimbabwean past. While these reasons played a role in my decision to study human-dog relations, I must admit that the real impulse came from my lecturers at the University of Zimbabwe. They had researched about several socio-environmental aspects of southern African history. Thus, choosing to work on human-dog relations for my PhD was not only influenced by my childhood experiences, my experimentation with both urban and rural histories but was also cemented by my formative years of university education.

The dissertation relied mainly on archival sources collected from the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ). It used monthly, quarterly and annual reports of the Native Affairs Department (NAD) that were generated from as early 1900 up to the mid-1960s. It also relied on Veterinary records. Moreover, it used sets of correspondence between the NAD and other government department such the Veterinary Department, the Health Department and the British South Africa Police (BSAP). These government departments generated information about African dog owning in the various commissions of inquiry and conferences that they conducted and through the correspondences that they made. Since the NAZ has not yet processed many of its documents produced between 1965 and 1980, the author managed to get permission to use its unprocessed records that are housed in the National Archive of Zimbabwe Records Office (NAZ RO). These records largely consisted of veterinary records that focused on the rabies outbreaks between 1950 and the 1960s.

The dissertation also made use of the Harare City Council Archive (HA) to cover the period between 1950 and 2017. This archive consists of the minutes of both the Salisbury and Harare City Councils. The Harare Archive also included correspondences between the city council and the SPCA, the Health Department and the Veterinary Department. There were also letters from residents that were written in connection with dog licensing, dog taxation, African-owned dogs and rabies outbreaks during the period under consideration. These records were utilized as a way of understanding the entities, forces and ideas that determined African dog owning in the city in the period under review. These sources were read critically and triangulated in order minimize instances of biases because various stakeholders viewed the issue from their own unique perspective.

The Zimbabwean colonial archive displays a deliberate attempt by the colonial state and its departments to induct Africans into new ways of relating with the dogs and the environment. At times, it ignored levels of differentiation that existed amongst Africans and was quick to dismiss some African views as being superstitious without seeking to acknowledge the version of 'rationality' that informed them. The archival record does not provide a continuous record of sources for one district neither does it have many archival files solely focusing on dogs. Dogs are scattered throughout the archive and can be found straying and free-roaming in the most unexpected files and places. Empirically this thesis brings new evidence linking dogs to debates about taxation, grass burning, conservation discourses, cattle ranching, droughts, peasant consciousness, early pacifist political parties, Native Councils, the breeding of 'better

animals’ and early colonial veterinary discourses to Zimbabwean historiography. However, these aspects were not found in archival documents that are specifically labeled ‘dogs.’ Dogs are scattered in several unrelated archival files and the challenge for historians is to continue to roam freely in the archive in order to find ‘straying dogs.’

Using the colonial archive to recover African voices and actions creates an epistemological dilemma regarding the extent to which such information can be used to write African histories. However, since many colonial departments—such as NAD, Veterinary Department, BSAP and Health department—offered competing knowledge and policies regarding the best methods of solving the problems caused by African dog owning, this provided the opportunity to read the colonial archive against the grain. As Merewether argues, ‘the information deposited in the archive became the authorized source of knowledge and legitimate evidence of the existence, identity and status of the individual.’¹⁵¹ He also showed that the archive perpetrates what he calls ‘archival violence’ that reproduces the views of the leading classes while underplaying those of the other classes.¹⁵² In some other cases, some historians of Zimbabwe have shown that the colonial archive does not have information on some other African areas that defiled colonial classifications and that in such cases it created new and distorted information about certain people and places.¹⁵³ However, as Mbembe argues, in a comparable context, the colonial archive ‘contains within itself the resources of its own refutation’.¹⁵⁴ Colonial departments emphasized different aspects of African dog-ownership and competed for the sole right to determine policies that affected Africans from their different and competing perspectives. Evidently, there were many voices in the colonial bureaucracy and few of which sought to understand some aspects of African dog owning. Their capacity to be heard or to influence policy were unequal and so they presented some narrative that were not fully pursued or not fully acted upon. Stoler described a similar situation as follows:

Not least, here is ... a space of ‘displaced histories,’ contrary and subjacent—but not necessarily subaltern—that hover in the archive’s long shadows. Sometimes these are emergent and awkward, sometimes suspended and unfulfilled narratives within the archive’s dominant mode. And sometimes there are stammers, what I would call

¹⁵¹ C. Merewether, ‘Introduction: Art and the Archive,’ C. Merewether, *The Archive: Documents of Contemporary Art*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2006), 15.

¹⁵² Merewether, ‘Introduction: Art and the Archive,’ 12.

¹⁵³ G.C. Mazarire, ‘A social and political history of Chishanga: south-central Zimbabwe c.1750-2000,’ PhD Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2009, 25-29.

¹⁵⁴ Mbembe, ‘Decolonising knowledge and the question of the archive.’

‘disabled histories,’ a few brief words in Malay, seized from a ‘native informant,’ not given the due of a narrative at all.¹⁵⁵

These variants were studied and followed up as competing narratives or texts that challenged or existed side by side with the dominant stories in the archive.¹⁵⁶ Stoler proceeded to argue that there are also ‘minor histories’ in the archive and that these should not be regarded as trivial because they provide a way of understanding the past without burying everything into the ‘major histories’ or making minor histories irrelevant.¹⁵⁷ This study took the same ethnographic approach to studying the archive by focusing on how it was created and what it reveals and does not. For that reason, Stoler argues the archive was a place where epistemological and political anxieties can be discerned. Tortorici has developed this concept to argue that the archive is a place where species anxieties can be detected because it is a place ‘where species boundaries are continuously reified and ruptured.’¹⁵⁸ It is a place where exactions—the registering, counting, taxing, neutering and massacring—exercised on other species by human beings can be discerned. Fudge has also developed the idea of ‘animal made objects’ to refer to objects made out of animals and to the manner in which real animals were objectified in human society.¹⁵⁹ It also refers to the ‘affective’ power of objects made out of animals in human society as historians search for traces of animal lives, and of injured and dead animals in the archive. These various concepts enhanced how animals were searched for in the archives.

When ‘species anxieties’ in the archive are read together with the contradictory and sometimes conflicting positions taken by various colonial departments, a complex picture of African dog-owning began to emerge. Variant narratives and texts that were not given much attention in the colonial archives were searched and explored for this thesis using other sources such as newspapers, oral histories focusing on who originated them, always asking why, when and how? Some officials lauded their expertise, other narratives were contradicted by confidential correspondence while some archival documents had notes written on their margins that complicated the matter by showing issues that were considered as viable alternatives but were

¹⁵⁵ A.L. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2009), 20.

¹⁵⁶ P. Brantlinger, ‘Review: The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire by Thomas Richards,’ *Victorian Review*, 20, 1 (1994), 78-80.

¹⁵⁷ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 7.

¹⁵⁸ Z. Tortorici, ‘Animal Archive stories: Species anxieties in the Mexican National Archives,’ in S. Nance (ed), *The Historical Animal*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2015), 76.

¹⁵⁹ E. Fudge, ‘Renaissance Animals Things,’ in J.B. Landes, P.Y. Lee and P. Youngquist, *Gorgeous Beasts: Animal Bodies in Historical Perspective*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 41-56.

later abandoned. The motivations that drove certain narratives were pursued from these competing voices. An effort was made to understand the context of the narratives, the reasons that fuelled others and caused some to be discarded by colonial officials. Thus, contradictions and inconsistencies in the archives were important in addressing the unequal manner in which different narratives were supported by the archives.¹⁶⁰ Since these views were generally produced by colonial bureaucrats, they were read against the grain in order to understand them from the perspective of the African dog-owners.

The research made use of *The Sunday Mail*, *The Rhodesian Herald*, the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, the *Bantu Mirror*, and the *African Weekly* in covering gaps that were found in the above mentioned archives. The *Bulawayo Chronicle* and *The Rhodesian Herald*, and *The Sunday Mail* provided some daily and weekly coverage of topical issues about dog owning, especially during the periods when such issues grabbed public attention. These newspapers were often critical of official policy, proffered alternative policy solutions and availed a platform for its readers to question policy making and to debate it amongst themselves. The *Mapolisa*, the *Bantu Mirror*, the *Moto* magazine and *The African Parade* were specifically published for Africans readers and were written and edited by African journalists and editors, who sometimes (although they mostly took a didactic approach to reporting) made some efforts to get the ‘African voice’ or ‘perspective.’

Information gleaned from all these sources was complemented by a collection of oral traditions that were collected by the National Archives of Zimbabwe Oral history section in the late 1970s and early 1980s. These oral traditions related narratives about dog keeping in the pre-colonial period. The research complemented them with select oral interviews conducted by the author between December 2018 and February 2019. These interviews focused on three different aspects (and periods). The first set of informants availed information related to some aspects of the pre-colonial past and focused on collecting information that had been transmitted in these societies across generations orally. Due to the constraints imposed by time and resources, I interviewed these informants in Manicaland province, especially in my rural district of Makoni and from the neighbouring Marange District where my mother comes from.¹⁶¹ I had previously interviewed some of these informants and their family members/friends for my BA Honours

¹⁶⁰ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 20.

¹⁶¹ It is hoped to pursue this topic more fully for post-doctoral research using extensive oral interviews from other districts in the country.

dissertation in 2005 and for my other projects in 2012 and 2015. However, some of the informants that I had interviewed before had exceedingly grown old to an extent that I decided not to bother them. Despite this challenge the informant that were chosen had some aspects about dog-owning or hunting in their traditions that had been handed down to them from past generations. Moreover, previous experience had taught me that remembering anything about the pre-colonial past in Zimbabwe is riddled with competing counter claims. As such the research went with Newbury's contention that dealing with conflicting oral traditions demand historians to desist from searching for the most authentic (or truthful) or original historical accounts.¹⁶² Newbury warned oral historians that there were contradictions at the heart of their craft and that this enabled them to account for competing versions, especially as oral traditions belong whole societies.¹⁶³ This aspect, thus, made oral traditions to be riddled with contradictory accounts. In the case of Zimbabwe, these contradictory oral traditions have been worsened by the fact that different ethnic groups and their traditional leaders have begun to actively use the colonial archives in order to bolster their histories, land and boundary claims on the ground as they deal with competing oral traditions from rival groups.¹⁶⁴ Thus, the danger of being fed traditions that would have been gleaned from the colonial archive has risen significantly. This research triangulated oral narratives gotten from these interviews with the observations of literate observers who visited the Zimbabwean plateau during the colonial period. Chapter Two utilises oral traditions and proverbs in reconstructing Zimbabwe's pre-colonial dog history. It derived inspiration from Vansina's argument that in instances where there is a scarcity of relevant sources there is need for historians to realize that 'every object we use, nearly everything we say, everything we do, and almost everything we think and feel carries the imprint of the past.'¹⁶⁵ However, the oral traditions (and proverbs) were triangulated by the use of written records that were produced by Portuguese, French and English speaking literate observers who recorded their experiences on and about the Zimbabwean plateau from as early 1500. Moreover, I also used secondary literature to verify the information that I got from oral traditions and the colonial archives. For the chapters that covered the colonial period

¹⁶² D. Newbury, 'Contradiction at the heart of the canon: Jan Vansina and the debate over oral historiography in Africa, 1960-1985,' *History in Africa* 34, (2007), 213-254.

¹⁶³ D. Henige, 'Oral, but Oral What? The nomenclatures of orality and their implications,' *Oral Traditions*, 3, 1-2 (1988), 232.

¹⁶⁴ G. Bishi, 'The Colonial Archive and Contemporary Chieftainship Claims: The Case of Zimbabwe, 1935 to 2014' MA thesis, University of the Free State, 2015; I. Dande and J. Mujere, 'Contested histories and contested land claims: traditional authorities and the Fast Track Land Reform programme in Zimbabwe, 2000-2017,' *Review of African Political Economy*, 46, 159 (2019), 88.

¹⁶⁵ J. Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests: Towards a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa*, (London: James Currey, 1990), 8.

emphasis was on gleaning community, family and individual histories in seeking to understand how colonial policies affected African dog owning. Informants for the dog taxation chapters generally relayed their family and community histories and their personal experiences (stories) as they remembered them. For the post-colonial chapter emphasis was put on gathering information about the recent past, especially gathering information about events that occurred some decades (and even years) ago. I wanted to understand contemporary events and thus extracted personal testimonies that were based on ‘very recent experiences and current views.’¹⁶⁶ I encouraged informants ‘to render (their) history in their own words, reflecting upon the connections between the present and the past by drawing from their unique perspectives.’¹⁶⁷ This enabled me to gauge how they remembered recent events in the stories that they ‘tell to themselves, and to others.’¹⁶⁸ For the Harare chapter (Chapter Five) a purposive sampling method was used. Many of the informants that I interviewed for that chapter belonged to WhatsApp groups that focused on dog breeding, keeping and selling that I had joined in 2017. These informants often challenged the assumptions that I had about dogs during interviews and this reshaped my understanding of contemporary dog-keeping in Harare. There were divisions in these WhatsApp groups based on the Harare suburb where a particular informant stayed, the breed of dogs that they kept, the length of time that a participant had been breeding dogs and on their access to enabling technologies such as *Youtube* and the internet. For many practitioners of oral history tackling such contemporary events entailed taking an activist stand in seeking to retrieve information that is held by ‘insiders’ or ‘outsiders’ in order to glean forgotten or hidden voices of marginalized groups. This activist stand thus entails that oral history researchers mine into personal narratives, interpretations, perceptions and opinions using individual interviews.¹⁶⁹ In doing this, oral history techniques provided a method of gauging both the relevance and weaknesses of official sources and a way of avoiding the pitfalls of writing elitist histories. HCC authorities, government officials and animal welfare societies largely dominate debates about the animal presence in the city of Harare. Consequently, the manner in which the archive is structured marginalizes young black breeders of dogs. In carrying out these interviews, I was cognisant of co-constructed nature of oral interviews. At

¹⁶⁶ M. Hoffman, *Practising Oral History to improve Public policies and programs*, (New York: Routledge, 2018), 4.

¹⁶⁷ S. Osterhoudt, ‘Remembered resilience: Oral history narratives and community resilience in agroforestry systems,’ *Renewable Agriculture and Food Systems*, 33 (2018), 253.

¹⁶⁸ Osterhoudt, ‘Remembered resilience: Oral history narratives and community resilience in agroforestry systems,’ 253.

¹⁶⁹ Hoffman, *Practising Oral History to improve Public policies and programs*, 8; C. Manning, ‘My memory is back!’ Inclusive learning disability research using ethics, oral history and digital storytelling,’ *British Journal of Learning Disabilities*, 38 (2009), 160.

times, I steered clear of issues that could have annoyed my informants in order to get all the information that they were willing to share about this research area. I usually moved around with my animal histories books and used them as a way of establishing a working relationship with informants in Harare. The field was complicated and my interviewees and I were both aware of each other's perceptions. Some of my informants dictated the manner in which the information had to be captured by refusing to be recorded digitally or to allow me to take notes during interviews.¹⁷⁰ Other potential informants refused to entertain me as they suspected me of being an employee of either the SPCA or the HCC. The two institutions had both been giving the young Harare dog breeders a tough time. However, most young dog breeders had purely practical concerns. They complained about the frequency and rampancy of dog thefts and sensibly tried to downplay their knowledge and the number or breeds of dogs that they kept. I was also aware of the huge problems that are associated with memory and remembering in the craft of historians. As Mouton and Pohlandt-McCormick argues, the circumstances surrounding the interview, the things that shape memory and the process of remembering are affected by the age of the narrator at the time the event happened and during the process of relating it.¹⁷¹ This means that the informants were participants as well as research partners whose narratives, perceptions, interpretations, analyses and opinions influenced my overall assumptions. Moreover, they were also gatekeepers who determined the nature of information, the extent and manner in which I got it, especially as some of them also asked me questions and expected me to understand intelligently their position.

The dissertation made use of literary sources such as novels and poems in seeking to extend its multispecies approach. Tabak notes that some novels can influence public opinion and debate and thus be important sources of history.¹⁷² For example, the influential 1852 novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe (which in turn influenced the writing of Anna Sewell's 1877 *Black Beauty*) was one of the few influential novels that have been cited by historians.¹⁷³ Recent studies have shown that many southern African literatures began as oral traditions that were later on published in written form and at times were appropriated from Africans by their

¹⁷⁰ I. Marowa, 'Forced removals and social memories in North-western Zimbabwe, c. 1900-2000,' PhD Dissertation, University of Bayreuth, 2015, 23-24.

¹⁷¹ M. Mouton and H. Pohlandt-McCormick, 'Boundary Crossings: Oral History of Nazi Germany and Apartheid South Africa - A Comparative Perspective,' *History Workshop Journal*, 48 (1999), 41.

¹⁷² E.D. Tabak, 'Science in Fiction: A brief look at communicating climate change through the novel,' *RCC Perspectives Transformations in Environment and Society*, 4 (2019), 97.

¹⁷³ See G.M. Dorré, 'Horses and Corsets: 'Black Beauty,' Dress Reform, and the Fashioning of the Victorian Woman', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 30, 1, 2002, 157-178.

white colonial masters. According to Van Niekerk, Afrikaans stories about jackals and hyena initially began as oral traditions that belonged to colonized people. They were later on appropriated into Afrikaans literature in South Africa.¹⁷⁴ This example shows the development of ideas about dogs and wild animals in the region and how these ideas transcended different cultures over a long period of time. In the case of Zimbabwe some novelists have tended to use their art to challenge hegemonic tendencies in society and in history.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, several Rwandan novels and films have used dogs as a lens to understand the 1994 genocide by inflecting different meanings to the dogs shootings that took place as soon as the Rwanda Patriotic Front got into the country in 1994.¹⁷⁶ While these Rwandan novelists have been accused of excessive dramatisation, they have shown the transspecies anxieties (to use Tortoroci's coinage) that have been happening in Rwanda ever since 1994.¹⁷⁷ These works show an other than-human account of the genocide that factor in dogs devouring dead human bodies, of dogs being massacred by the Kagame Regime thereafter, the politics of animal welfare in tragic conditions and the human-dog relations that developed thereafter in Rwanda.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, some of the work of literature used in this dissertation were written by people who participated in the events they wrote about. Others were influential members of society. In doing that, novelists and poets have been in a long conversation with historians about the past. Some novelists have actually challenged the craft of historians and the frontiers of knowledge about the past to the extent of forcing some historians to respond.¹⁷⁹ Despite the fact that novelists and poets have poetic licence, they have always responded to specific issues and debates about the Zimbabwean past. It is accepted the some historical novels may create the problem of feedback that might populate the narratives and even marginalize the actual

¹⁷⁴ J. Van Niekerk, 'Afrikaans stories of Jackal and Hyena: Oral and written traditions,' in Wylie and Barendse, *Dogs in Southern African Literature*, 81-96.

¹⁷⁵ See 'Best Friends and Worst enemies: Year of the Dog in South Africa,' *Los Angeles Review of Books*, 29 August 2014, <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/best-friends-worst-enemies-years-dog-south-africa/>, accessed on 27 September 2019.

¹⁷⁶ P.A. Cieplak, 'The Rwandan genocide and the bestiality of representation in *100 Days* (2001) and *Shooting Dogs* (2005),' *Journal of African Cinemas*, 2, 1 (2010), 49-63; M.T. Vambe and K.B. Khan, 'The violence in the spectacle of excessive signification: Shooting Dogs (1995) and the Rwandan genocide,' *Journal of African Cinemas*, 6, 2 (2014), 135-149.

¹⁷⁷ 'Why are there no dogs in Rwanda? The 1994 Genocide,' *Templeseeker*, <https://www.templeseeker.com/rwandan-genocide-dogs/>, accessed on 2 October 2019.

¹⁷⁸ J. Arseneault, 'On Canicide and Concern: Species Sovereignty in Western Accounts of Rwanda's Genocide,' *ESC*, 39, 1 (2013), 125-147.

¹⁷⁹ Terence Ranger wrote his *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City, 1893-1960* as a response to Y. Vera's *Butterfly Burning*. See T.O. Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City, 1893-1960*, (Harare: weavers Press, 2010), 1-2; Y. Vera, *Butterfly Burning*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998).

participants of the events described.¹⁸⁰ However, they are also an important source that has balancing advantages and weaknesses compared to other sources. Novels, just like the other sources mentioned above, have their flaws. However, they also present an interesting vantage with which to understand dog-owning and discourses about dogs in the history of the country.

Structure and layout

The thesis consists of seven chapters. This chapter has introduced the study, provided the scope of the study and a review of existing literature in Zimbabwe, southern Africa and the international context that focuses on dog-owning/keeping. Chapter Two provides a changing history of dog owning in pre-colonial Zimbabwe and analyses how this history is intersected with issues of power. It engages literature regarding the migration patterns taken by domestic dogs that came to southern Africa, the types of dogs kept and how they were bred during the pre-colonial era. That way the chapter focuses on the Zimbabwean case study in order to enrich the regional southern African debate about the pre-colonial dog. Chapter Three examines the 1902 to 1912 rabies outbreaks that occurred in Southern Rhodesia from an epidemiological angle. It extends existing arguments regarding late nineteenth rabies outbreaks in southern Africa by emphasizing the importance of local customs, traditions and beliefs during epidemics. It argues that studies of epizootics ought to consider local contexts in assessing the implementation of the rabies regulation policy in both urban and rural areas. In doing this, the chapter also shows the extent to which the Southern Rhodesian state failed to import rabies regulations from both South Africa and Britain. Rather this gave rise to the development of some local rabies regulations in the country between 1902 and 1912. In doing so, traditional leaders and their followers were negotiating the intrusion of colonial modernity into their lives, especially as colonial authorities wanted to force Africans to acquire new attitudes towards animal keeping, breeding and feeding.

Chapter Four focuses on the political economy of taxing dogs in Southern Rhodesia from 1902 to 1970. This policy was a continuation of the dog massacres and registration policy that flourished between 1902 and 1912. By 1912, the colonial state came to view dog taxation as the most important policy intervention capable of forcing Africans to both limit the number of their dogs and to acquire 'better' dogs. The chapter contributes to existing southern African

¹⁸⁰ F. Cooper, "Our Strike": Equality, Anticolonial Politics and the 1947-48 Railway Strike in French West Africa,' *Journal of African History*, 37, 1 (1996), 81-82.

histories of dog taxation by showing that unlike in some southern African countries, such as Namibia and South Africa, dog taxation in Southern Rhodesia was not promulgated to solve labour problems. It was implemented to protect settler cattle farmers who complained that hunting with dogs by Africans resulted in uncontrolled grass burning. As such, the chapter places dogs within the agrarian and livestock historiography of Southern Rhodesia from which they had been conspicuously missing. Settler farmers thus pressurized the government to protect their cattle ranching businesses by taxing African-owned dogs. However, dog taxation gradually encroached on some social, religious and traditional beliefs in African villages. This gradually made it a hotly debated political issue from the 1930s onwards. Dog taxation, as the chapter shows, provide a way of understanding discourses about animals, resources governance, early colonial agrarian struggles and the exercise of power over other humans and their animals.

Chapter Five examines African dog keeping in Salisbury between 1950 and 1980 and in Harare (after the city changed its name) between 1980 and 2017. It engages historiography from the global western and eastern worlds and does so by emphasising the local particularities with the aim of enriching both Zimbabwe historiography and the global historiography by showing that there were other very different human-dog relations that took place in other parts of the world. Chapter Five shows that – perhaps surprisingly, at first – some modern ideas of dog keeping, as they were developed in the western world, came to occupy an important place in Harare’s dog keeping cultures. It, however, argues that such modern ideas had to cope with working class cultures, the political views of the ruling class, African middle class modernity and the many other ideas about dogs that came into the city. These influences combined, competed and co-existed in Harare over time. Consequently, a hybrid dog keeping regimes arose in the city.

Chapter Six examines the intersection between literature and history. It analyses how novelists and poets have deployed dogs in their works of creative fiction and the extent to which their narratives can be used in writing the history of the country. The chapter addresses an existing gap in scholarship that has not engaged with the ways in which novelists and poets have dealt with dogs as animal subjects and how this changed over time. It further argues that novelists used dogs in their literary text in order to challenge the hegemonic narratives of both the colonial and post-colonial states and as such can be used in providing alternative histories of the nation that do not only include other regions, political views and ethnicities but also species.

Chapter Seven concludes the dissertation. It highlights and connects the major arguments raised in the whole dissertation. It shows that the policies of massacring dogs fed into that of registering them and ultimately the need to tax dog-ownership. This policy progression showed that measures to control and force African-owned dogs to be kept at an optimum number failed. In doing that, it demonstrates that colonialism, nationalism and even the new movements ignited by the FTLRP, such as neo-nativism and indigeneity, affected dogs not only at a symbolic level but also on a material level, through the manner in which dogs were kept, bred and sold. It thus shows that focusing on dogs allows for an exploration of some aspects of the history of the country simply unseen in some other histories. As animals that are essentially transgressive, dogs also avail an opportunity of reviewing the agrarian historiography of the country focusing on livestock (beef and milk), farmer-state relations, tenants-farmer relations and the conservation histories of Zimbabwe. This dissertation, therefore, accepts that human-centred histories are incomplete on their own. Because of that, the dissertation embarked on a journey to other historiographies, theories, methods and regions of the world in order to initiate a conversation and interaction with Zimbabwean historiography. The chapter also free-roamed in other aspect of the Zimbabwean past in order to allow it to contribute to other historiographies in the world.

Chapter Two

Top dogs and Underdogs: power, people and a canine pre-colonial past, c. 1500-1900.

Introduction

Dogs have a long history in the place we now know as Zimbabwe. There is evidence of deep canine footprints in the landscape. Dogs, as this chapter will show, were part of the shifting patterns of migration and settlement that shaped the socio-political and physical environment. These dogs, owned by black Africans, have attracted attention from both popular writers and scholars from different fields. As the following chapters will show, dogs have been depicted as victims and villains, heroes and rogues in popular propaganda in southern Africa during both the colonial and post-colonial periods. As we shall see in chapters three and four, colonial authorities dismissed them as ‘curs’, ‘strays’ and ‘pariah dogs’ that spread diseases, caused rabies outbreaks, damaged natural resources and undermined white commercial livestock farming. These dogs have been rehabilitated following the transition to democracy in southern Africa that happened between the 1960s to the mid-1990s. This necessitated the re-imagining of the region’s history using the lenses of pan-Africanism and Afrocentricity and, later, Thabo Mbeki’s notion of the African Renaissance. One such attempt to reimagine the past was through the controversial popularization and naming of the African dog in southern Africa. They (although ‘they’ were difficult to define and did not conform to a breed standard in the conventional sense) were renamed the ‘*Africanis* dogs’ in a campaign championed by a Belgian expatriate who insisted that these were the true native, indigenous breed with a long lineage embedded in the pre-colonial past. The chapter joins the lively debate on the pre-colonial history of these dogs in human society that has drawn in archaeologist, ethnographers, scientists and historians. It joins Swart in challenging the contention put forward that the *Africanis* exists as a ‘breed’ that survived from the pre-colonial to current era in a ‘pure’ form.¹ The chapter extends this challenge by reconstructing the changing history of dogs over time in pre-colonial

¹ S. Swart, ‘Dogs and Dogma: A discussion of the social political construction of southern African dog ‘breeds’ as a window onto social history,’ in L. Van Sittert and S. Swart, *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 267-287; Swart challenges J. Gallant, *The Story of the African Dog*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002); L.M. Greyling et al, ‘Genetic characterisation of a domestic dog *Canis familiaris* breed endemic to South African rural areas,’ *Acta Theriologica*, 49, 3 (2004), 369-382; T. Maggs and J. Sealy, ‘Africanis: The Pre-colonial dog of Africa,’ in Van Sittert and Swart, *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 35-51.

Zimbabwe to broaden the southern African debate about the pre-colonial dog. Moreover, this chapter argues that the culture of free-roaming (or straying) dogs, for which African domestic dogs came to be known for during the colonial era, was not ubiquitous or even the norm during the pre-colonial era.

Historiography of Africanis dogs in southern Africa

There is a long historiographical debate involving zooarchaeologists, ethnographers, and enthusiasts of the *Africanis* dog ‘breed’, geneticists and other scientists and historians about pre-colonial southern African domestic dogs. The debate focuses on the origins, migration (into southern Africa) patterns, and the impact of domestic dogs in southern Africa. More importantly, the debate examines the types of dogs that came to southern Africa and whether an indigenous ‘breed’ fashioned by the environment and human interventions developed thereafter. This debate has also focused on the degree to which such an indigenous ‘breed’ was diluted by and hybridized with the dogs that came with Islamic and European travellers before and after colonialism. In his 2015 article, Mitchell argues that the migration of domestic dogs from Egypt and Sudan into sub-Saharan Africa was halted by canine and equid diseases such as canine *trypanosomiasis*, canine *babesiosis*, African horse sickness, canine *monocytic ehrlichiosis* and visceral *leishmaniasis*.² He argues that domestic dogs only managed to cross the Sahara after they had developed immunity to these diseases.³ It is generally agreed that thereafter there was a canine revolution in southern Africa that altered hunting methods, pastoral strategies, military strategies, cultural ideas and survival strategies of hunter-gathers, pastoralists (Later Stone Age Khoe-speaking) and Bantu-speaking agricultural societies.⁴ This was not limited to Africa – after all, for example, Boyce shows that a similar revolution took place in Tasmania after the introduction of dogs in 1893 – the dogs benefited (and benefitted from) the human population and radically altered the environment.⁵

² P. Mitchell, ‘Did disease constrain the spread of domestic dogs (*Canis familiaris*) into Sub-Saharan Africa?’, *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa*, 50, 1 (2015), 92–135.

³ Mitchell, ‘Did disease constrain the spread of domestic dogs (*Canis familiaris*) into Sub-Saharan Africa?’, 92–135.

⁴ H.C. Woodhouse, ‘Dogs in the rock art of southern Africa,’ *South African Journal of Ethnology*, 13, 3 (1990), 117-124; P. Mitchell, ‘The Canine Connection: Dogs and Southern African hunter-gatherers,’ S. Badenhorst, P. Mitchell and J. C. Driver (eds), *Animals and People: Archaeozoological Papers in Honour of Ina Plug*, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008), 104-116. See, for an overview of the latest research into the migrations, T. Russell, F. Silva, J. Steele, ‘Modelling the Spread of Farming in the Bantu-Speaking Regions of Africa: An Archaeology-Based Phylogeography,’ *PLoS ONE*, 9, 1 (2014), e87854. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0087854>, accessed on 27 August 2019.

⁵ J. Boyce, ‘Canine Revolution: The Social and Environmental impact of the introduction of the dog to Tasmania,’ *Environmental History*, 11, 1 (2006), 102-129.

Early ethnographers such as John Soga wrote about southern African dogs and the roles that they played in human society from as far back as 1905.⁶ Bryant similarly published an ethnographic study that mentioned dogs among Zulu people in 1949.⁷ In 1934, Gwatkin wrote about how human migrations and trade routes permitted the dispersal of dogs from various parts of the world.⁸ He argued that this process brought the ancestors of the so-called ‘Khoi dog’, owned by Khoe/khoi pastoralists and possibly even some hunter-gatherers, that eventually became the Rhodesian Ridgeback, into the region from Asia. He used archaeology, written sources and, frankly, conjecture to make these arguments. Breuil’s 1934 study shows that early studies of the rock art, dating back to the 1840s, were at times accompanied by interpretations that estimated that the dog was introduced into southern Africa together with sheep around AD 1000 on a circuitous path from Syria.⁹ Six decades later, Woodhouse’s 1990 study similarly focuses on the depiction of dogs in the rock art of southern Africa.¹⁰ His dogcentric study contended that dogs changed the economic, religious and cultural outlook of the Bushman/San people.¹¹ Overall, it has become generally agreed that domestic dogs arrived in southern Africa some 2000 years ago after they had been domesticated in other parts of the globe. Clutton-Brock’s 1994 article argues that the history of domesticated livestock— various breeds of sheep, goats, and cattle—in Africa goes back to several thousands of years. She further argues that dogs were part of the migration of these domestic animals and that they assisted human beings in herding and tending these animals.¹² Mitchell supports this view, arguing that dogs and livestock arrived together in southern Africa from East Africa with Khoe-

⁶ J.H. Soga, *The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1905), 376-378.

⁷ A.T. Bryant, *The Zulu People as They were Before the White Man Came*, (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1949), 327-328 and 352-353.

⁸ R.D.S. Gwatkin, ‘Dogs and Human migrations,’ *Journal of the South African Veterinary Association*, 5, 1 (1934), 29-40.

⁹ H. Breuil, ‘Rock engravings in Central South Africa,’ *Nature*, 134 (1934), 679.

¹⁰ Woodhouse, ‘Dogs in the rock art of southern Africa,’ 117-124.

¹¹ The term ‘Bushman’ has historically been used to refer to hunter-gathering people of southern Africa. It is not a linguistic or biological description of these people. Together with the Khoi Khoi (Khoekhoe) people (also known in colonial narratives as the ‘Hottentots’), a group of pastoralist communities residing in southern Africa who were not foragers, the Bushmen are a non-Bantu speaking people. The herders referred to themselves as the Khoe and those who did not possess cattle were known as the *saa* (from which the name San was derived). Both the terms ‘Bushman’ and ‘Hottentots’ were derogatory terms and have been replaced by the terms San and Khoekhoe respectively, although these are contested and controversial too. The San/Bushman are also known as the Abathwa by the Ndebele, the Abakhwa by the Kalanga people of Zimbabwe and as the Basarwa in Botswana. See T. Güldemann, ‘Khoisan’ linguistic classification today,’ in T. Güldemann and A. Fehn, *Beyond ‘Khoisan’: Historical relations in the Kalahari Basin*, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014), 2; R. Vossen, *The Khoesan Languages*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 1-2; D. Ndlovu, *A New Age for the San in Zimbabwe*, (Harare, Bhabhu Books, 2017), 4.

¹² J. Clutton-Brock, ‘The Legacy of the Iron Age dogs and livestock in Southern Africa,’ *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa*, 29, 1 (1994), 161-167.

speaking Later Stone Age (LSA) pastoralist in the first millennium BC.¹³ He argues that archaeological evidence of cattle and sheep tracks, dog bite marks on bones and even dog skid marks on tracks recovered at LSA sites proved that LSA herders probably used dogs to guard and herd their livestock more than for any other purpose. There is an ongoing debate about whether hunting and gathering (by the San/Bushmen) constituted an earlier stage in the development of complex societies while keeping livestock and adopting a settled way of life constituted a developed state. McGranaghan sees both foraging (hunting and gathering) and pastoralism as constituting different positions ‘on a single spectrum of stock acquisition and loss’.¹⁴ He uses the Bleek-Lloyd archive that was generated between 1850 and 1875 (in South Africa by Wilhelm Bleek, a German linguist, and Lucy Lloyd, his sister in law), to show that the |Xam of the Cape viewed hunting and pastoralism as survival choices from which they could switch back and forth depending on their material circumstances. This argument discredits the deterministic and sometimes even evolutionary view that sees pastoralism as constituting a much more developed societal and economic ‘stage’ of development beyond the reach of the hunter-gatherers. Thus, it is unsurprising that the |Xam, for example, characterized domestic animals in strikingly similar terms to their descriptions of wild animals. Similarly hunting and herding were described using very similar words and ideas, which indicates that foraging and hunting by the Bushman did not prevent them from occasionally owning domestic animals.¹⁵ However, the |Xam structured their relationships with friends and family along the same moral lines that their relationship with their dogs were structured. This meant that dogs were supposed to behave according to set standards for good behaviour for them for the good of society.¹⁶

¹³ P. Mitchell, ‘The canine connection II: dogs and southern African herders,’ *Southern African Humanities*, 26, 1 (2014), 1-19.

¹⁴ M. McGranaghan, ‘“Hunters-with sheep”: The |Xam Bushmen of South Africa between pastoralism and foraging,’ *Africa*, 85, 3 (2015), 521-545.

¹⁵ McGranaghan, ‘“Hunters-with sheep”: The |Xam Bushmen of South Africa,’ 538.

¹⁶ McGranaghan argues that in that respect dogs were treated like children ‘who were instructed to behave in particular ways (and were partly responsible for their own behaviour).’ Like children, they were connected to particular adults who, however, regulated their behaviour in cases where they were not willing or able to act as expected. Indeed, the |Xam related with their dogs in mutualistic relations. Their dogs were at times regarded as extensions of the persona of the hunter. Thus, if a man broke the forelegs of an animal killed by his dog, his dog was also expected to also break the same forelegs during hunting. Dogs that consumed food in a manner that was considered to be inappropriate caused their owners to miss their targets or injure themselves. For the same reason, hunting men could tell a baboon that would have captured a dog that it was a girl’s dog and not a hunting dog. This would prompt it to leave it. See *McGranaghan*, ‘“Hunters-with sheep”: The |Xam Bushmen of South Africa,’ 527-528.

Archaeological studies, dating from the early 1970s, viewed the history of southern African dogs from a taxonomic perspective.¹⁷ They sought to distinguish the different types (or races) of dogs in order to ascertain where they came from and to measure the changes that might have happened to their morphology over a long period of time. This approach was championed by Hall and Blench in their separate contributions published in 2000.¹⁸ They have identified the different dogs that arrived with Early Iron Age farmers, Later Iron Age farmers, Khoi pastoralists and Bantu migrants. These two scholars used archaeology in locating evidence, delineating the differences between the various types of dogs morphologically in order to make inferences about their areas of origin. Both Hall and Blench accepted that two types of dogs—the slender greyhound and the spitz type (rather than ‘breed’, which would be anachronistic in this context) – migrated into southern Africa.¹⁹ While Blench argues that the two types came from North Africa (Egypt and Sudan), Hall argues that the ‘spitz (pariah hound)’ came from the African equatorial region because it resembled Basenji dogs.²⁰ There has been debate about whether this spitz type developed out of wolves or jackals— and if that can be read to mean that an indigenous domestic dog arose as a result. Scholars have also debated the extent to which that indigenous domestic dog crossbred with the slender greyhound originally imported from the Near East into Egypt [possibly before 6800 BP in pre-dynastic Egypt].²¹ However, in taking this taxonomic approach, these two scholars doubted whether the indigenous domestic dog survived in an unadulterated form owing to the scourge of mongrelisation that was presented by the dogs that came with the Islamic and European traders into the region after AD 900.²² For Hall, mongrelisation had far-reaching implications and can be discerned in Nguni dog types of the Eastern Cape that showed some morphological similarities with Mediterranean or Middle Eastern gazehounds that possibly came with the early Portuguese or Islamic mariners.²³

¹⁷ H. Epstein, *The Origin of the Domestic Animals of Africa*, vol. 1 (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1971), 3–184.

¹⁸ R.M. Blench, ‘African minor livestock species,’ in R.M. Blench and K.C. MacDonald (eds.), *The Origins and Development of African Livestock: Archaeology, Genetics, Linguistics and Ethnography*, (London, UCL Press, 2000), 317-320; S. Hall, ‘Indigenous domesticated dogs of southern Africa: an introduction,’ in Blench and MacDonald (eds.), *The Origins and Development of African Livestock: Archaeology, Genetics, Linguistics and Ethnography*, 302-311.

¹⁹ Blench, ‘African minor livestock species’; Hall, ‘Indigenous domesticated dogs of southern Africa.’

²⁰ Hall, ‘Indigenous domesticated dogs of southern Africa: an introduction,’ 303.

²¹ K.C. MacDonald, ‘The origins of African livestock: indigenous or imported?,’ in Blench and MacDonald (eds.), *The Origins and Development of African Livestock: Archaeology, Genetics, Linguistics and Ethnography*, 2-17; A.B. Smith, ‘The origins of the domesticated animals of southern Africa,’ in Blench and MacDonald (eds.), *The Origins and Development of African Livestock: Archaeology, Genetics, Linguistics and Ethnography*, 224-227; Blench, ‘African minor livestock species,’ 317-318.

²² Hall, ‘Indigenous domesticated dogs of southern Africa,’ 303.

²³ Hall, ‘Indigenous domesticated dogs of southern Africa,’ 303.

Gallant did ethnography in the 1990s in South Africa while searching for the ‘authentic’ African dog.²⁴ He disagrees with Hall and Blench’s taxonomic classification of southern African dogs. Moreover, he criticized the theory that mongrelisation (the idea that holds that dogs that came from outside the region both during the pre-colonial and colonial periods from Europe and North Africa diluted the DNA of the so-called indigenous domestic dog type) had a far-reaching impact in southern Africa.²⁵ Gallant insisted that it was possible to find the ‘original’ or ‘authentic’ or ‘uncontaminated’ southern African dog type in some remote rural areas. He thus dismisses the point that this dog type had been mongrelised. He uses ethnographic evidence recorded much earlier in the early colonial period (before the process of mongrelisation become deep rooted) and his own ethnographic research to provide ‘a clear picture of its (the original African (Nguni/Bantu) dog) true characteristics’. For him the challenge was to ensure that it does not become extinct as it was part of southern Africa’s heritage.²⁶ He argues that what Hall and Blench called different dog ‘types’ was in reality simply variations or ranges within the gene pool of a single dog type or a ‘land race’ of dogs.²⁷ Gallant attributed these variations to geography and human interventions.²⁸

Gallant’s call for the need to search for the ‘authentic’ southern African dog was taken up by scientists who wanted to bridge the divide between archaeological findings and ethnographic findings.²⁹ Greyling et al used archaeological findings and DNA science to search for the genetic makeup, migration patterns, origins and domestication history of this southern African dog.³⁰ They wanted to ascertain whether the variation that were seen in rural dogs—in terms of colour, size and fur—were immaterial or material in determining the existence of that original dog. They concluded that indeed this ‘original’ dog of southern Africa can be found still.

²⁴ Gallant, *The Story of the African Dog*.

²⁵ T. Maggs and J. Sealy, ‘Africanis: The Pre-colonial dog of Africa,’ in Van Sittert and Swart, *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 38.

²⁶ Van Sittert and Swart, ‘*Canis Familiaris: A Dog History of Southern Africa*,’ in Van Sittert and Swart, *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 21-22.

²⁷ Gallant, *The Story of the African Dog*, 4.

²⁸ Gallant, *The Story of the African Dog*, 4.

²⁹ Gallant, *The Story of the African Dog*.

³⁰ Greyling et al, ‘Genetic characterisation of a domestic dog *Canis familiaris* breed endemic to South African rural areas,’ 370.

Maggs and Sealy concur with Gallant and are also dismissive of Hall and Blench's taxonomic interpretation of the different dog types in southern Africa.³¹ They argued that the original Bantu (Nguni) Iron Age dog – the 'original (or real) dog of southern Africa' or the *Africanis*—could still be found in contemporary southern African villages in its ancient form. They minimized the effects of mongrelisation by stating that the 'genetic contribution' of such imported dogs 'would be the merest drop in the *Africanis* gene pool.' They similarly attribute the variations in sizes, shapes and colours of southern African dogs to regional variations, geographical isolation, to environmental conditions and to human choices.³² Like Gallant they have called for the recognition of the *graioids*—dogs that Hall and Blench argue had been contaminated by European and Middle Eastern greyhounds—as 'honourable member(s) of a canine society with branches in many parts of the world'. They aver that 'by contrast, we take the view that, at least in southern Africa, that the pre-colonial dog population was essentially 'one, albeit large and diverse, gene pool'.³³ This position allowed them to dismiss labels such as 'pariah dogs,' and '*shenzi* dogs'— a Swahili word that refers to 'wild,' 'outcast,' or 'primitive (uncivilized)' dogs—because they believed that each dog was attached to a particular homestead.³⁴ However, Gallant, Greyling et al and Maggs and Sealy's hypothesis about the so-called *Africanis* dog is challenged by this chapter as ahistorical and limited by presentism in its approach.³⁵

Swart contested the idea that there is a 'pure' or prehistoric 'original' dog of southern Africa in the villages just waiting to be discovered or rescued from extinction.³⁶ She argues that this new (well-intentioned) movement emanated from the attainment of political independence by southern African states and the new politics aimed at resuscitating African traditional knowledge based on Afrocentric ideologies, in a particular historical moment.³⁷ Many countries that similarly fell under colonialism and which had their indigenous animals denigrated in this manner during the colonial period have made similar efforts to recognize them as national breeds out of the spirit of nationalism or out of a desire for the 'exotic familiar' – a pristine 'African' dog. She argues that deciding to turn a dog into a recognized breed is not

³¹ Maggs and Sealy, 'Africanis: The Pre-Colonial Dog of Africa,' 34-52.

³² Maggs and Sealy, 'Africanis: The Pre-Colonial Dog of Africa,' 34-52, 46-50, 36.

³³ Maggs and Sealy, 'Africanis: The Pre-Colonial Dog of Africa,' 37.

³⁴ Swart, 'Dogs and dogma,' 272.

³⁵ Gallant, *The Story of the African Dog*; Greyling et al, 'Genetic characterisation of a domestic dog *Canis familiaris* breed'; Maggs and Sealy, 'Africanis: The Pre-colonial dog of Africa.'

³⁶ Van Sittert and Swart, '*Canis Familiaris*: A Dog History of Southern Africa,' 33.

³⁷ Swart, 'Dogs and Dogma.'

a ‘genetic event’ but a result of human decisions made in a particular historical moment.³⁸ Supporting her contention, new DNA research conducted on village dogs in Uganda, Egypt and Namibia in 2009 demonstrated that there was ‘a mosaic [rather than a single breed] of indigenous dogs descended from early migrants to Africa.’³⁹ Boyko et al also argue that the DNA of African village dogs were as varied as that of East Asia and they used this point to question the hypothesis that dogs began to be domesticated in East Asia. Swart’s and Boyko et al’s arguments call for the need to study the history of pre-colonial southern African dogs over a long period of time to measure their impact in human society over time.

Thus, this chapter builds on these arguments in reconstructing the changing history of dogs in human society in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Nevertheless, it aims to do much more – to get beyond arguments about origins, purity and type – to reconstruct a socio-environmental history of the human-dog relationship in southern Africa. Thus, it utilizes travelogues of European travellers, missionaries, and explorers in building a picture of pre-colonial dog keeping on the Zimbabwean plateau.⁴⁰ Moreover, the chapter uses oral interviews that were carried out by the National Archives of Zimbabwe Oral History Section in the late 1970s and early 1980s to analyse some local ideographic variations and peculiarities in the Zimbabweans case study in order to enrich the broader southern African understanding of pre-colonial dogs.

Royal Dogs, State Power and Religion, 1500-1680

This section pays particular attention to how the ruling elites made use of dogs during this period. Manuel de Faria e Sousa, a Portuguese historian who compiled the history of the Portuguese in east Africa, noted in August 1507 that the King’s (Munhumutapa, rulers of the Mutapa state) ‘attendance is more ceremonious than great; his guard two hundred dogs, and he

³⁸ Swart, ‘Dogs and Dogma,’ 267-273.

³⁹ A.R. Boyko et al, ‘Complex population structure in African village dogs and its implications for inferring dog domestication history,’ *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (USA)*, 106, 33 (2009), 13 903-13 908; J. Burns, ‘Domestic dog origin challenged,’ BBC News, 3 August 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/8182371.stm>. Accessed on 18 August 2019.

⁴⁰ In addition, the chapter uses the writings of Portuguese historians Manuel de Faria e Sousa and João de Barros, who both used material that they got from people who had travelled to southeast Africa during the same period. For the period between 1800 and 1890, German, English and French explorers, traders and missionaries recorded some of their observations about the people whom they met on the Zimbabwean plateau. However, the writings of these observers were littered with racist and preconceived ideas about the people they found on the Zimbabwean plateau and they at times sought to compare what they had observed to other cultures of the world before they had fully understood what they meant in their local context. However, their travelogues, if used cautiously, shed some light about political processes, hunting, rituals and other activities on the Zimbabwean plateau at this time.

is always followed by five hundred jesters'.⁴¹ João de Barros, another Portuguese historian who wrote the history of the Portuguese in south-east Africa, supported this assertion by stating that the defenders that Munhumutapa kept 'closest to him are more than two hundred dogs, for he says they are the most faithful servants both in war and the chase.'⁴² These Portuguese historians relied on information that they received from eye-witnesses who had travelled into the interior and created their written account thereafter. Moreover, these historians were accused of generally suffering from 'excessive credulity' as they uncritically pedalled views that were thought to be 'absurd' even contemporaneously.⁴³ However, their accounts show that there were many dogs at the royal court during this period. Apart from their guard duties, these dogs could have been deployed in royally organized hunts. Friar João dos Santos, a Portuguese Dominican (Father) priest who stayed in southeast Africa for five years and spent some time at the Mutapa court mentioned of such centrally organised hunts.⁴⁴ He further mentioned that the reigning Munhumutapa in the 1580s was given a particularly beautiful greyhound by a Portuguese official (which shows how new dog breeds were imported into Africa early on, and contaminated what Gallant believed to be a 'pure' gene pool). Friar João dos Santos commented about that dog as follows:

Dom Jorge de Meneses when captain of Mozambique sent a very beautiful greyhound to Monomotapa (Portuguese corruption of the name Munhumutapa), which he had received from Portugal. This animal was much liked by Monomotapa, who always kept it with him and trusted the care of it to no one but himself. Shortly afterwards this king died, and before his decease he commanded his people, as though by a will, to kill his greyhound immediately after he had drawn his last breath, as he loved it dearly; and also a very tame sheep that he had brought up himself, as he wished to make use of them in the other world and have them with him for his pleasure and amusement. This was carried out as soon as the king died, and his chief wife also drank poison and died with her husband, which is their custom.⁴⁵

This story showed that the Munhumutapa believed in life after death. The Mutapa people believed that after dying the Munhumutapa would become an ancestral and territorial spirit.⁴⁶ Friar João dos Santos was, however, eager to compare this incident to Chinese burials of noble men and women who practised ritual suicide.⁴⁷ Ritual suicide was occasionally practised in the Mutapa and the Sedanda states in very few instances.⁴⁸ Munhumutapa probably liked that

⁴¹ G.M. Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. 1 (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1964) 15.

⁴² G.M. Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. 6 (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1964), 272.

⁴³ Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. 1, 1.

⁴⁴ E. MacGonagle, *Crafting identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2007), 125.

⁴⁵ Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. 7, 290.

⁴⁶ G.M. Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. 3 (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1964), 358-360.

⁴⁷ Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. 7, 290.

⁴⁸ MacGonagle, *Crafting identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, 180.

particular dog because of its rarity and Dom Jorge de Meneses might have considered it a deserving diplomatic gift for the same reason. That particular greyhound ranked above the king's other guard dogs mentioned above and was treated very well.

The Teve state that broke away from the Mutapa state in the sixteenth century deployed dogs in royally organized hunts during the same period. Hunting with dogs was important in the management of forest resources and in exacting the authority of the rulers. The rulers viewed state-led hunting as important in controlling wild animal depredations on human livestock and settlements and thereby reinforcing relations of dependency with their followers. Friar João Dos Santos described one such hunting expedition with dogs in August 1586 in which animals were driven into the open by loud noises 'until they have surrounded them in the open, where tigers [possibly referring to leopards], panthers,⁴⁹ lions, elephants, buffaloes, stags, wild boars, and many other wild animals are collected'. They then set their dogs upon the animals and also killed others using arrows.⁵⁰ He further relayed that the second method involved men and dogs driving game towards flooded rivers where the other hunters used small vessels to encircle and kill the animals. He explained that 'the vessels being ready on the river, and the men in them silent and crouching down that they may not be seen or heard by the game'. Those on the land then formed a half circle surrounding the animals before cheering 'on the dogs with loud shouts, the game fleeing towards the river in order to swim across'.⁵¹ The method was effective (and Friar João Dos Santos also found it to be very entertaining) and it was aimed at catching many animals.⁵² These hunting methods had economic and social value and offered an opportunity for military training.⁵³ However, the Teve rulers prohibited the killing of crocodiles, lions and elephants without official authorization outside prescribed hunting seasons.⁵⁴ These methods exploited changes in animal habitats, the landscape, relied on understanding animal behaviour in order to use dogs effectively. The methods merely required dogs to bark and run towards

⁴⁹ It is not very clear what this refers to – it could be leopards, or cheetahs or another cat. However, it is worth noting that there is a belief that there once existed a species of black leopards or maybe only infrequent melanistic versions of normal leopards in some parts of southern Africa. See 'The Elusive African Black Leopard makes a dramatic and sudden appearance once again,' *Sabie Blog*, 14 March 2013, <https://sabie.co.za/blog/?p=912>, accessed on 23 August 2019.

⁵⁰ Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol.7, 208.

⁵¹ Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol.7, 225.

⁵² Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol.7, 225.

⁵³ N. Nyachega, 'Beyond War, Violence, and Suffering: Everyday Life in the Honde Valley Borderland Communities during Zimbabwe's Liberation War and the Renamo Insurgency, c.1960-2016,' M.A. Dissertation, Rhodes University, 2017, 34.

⁵⁴ J.G. Wood, *Through Matabeleland: Record of a Ten Month's trip in an Ox-Wagon through Mashonaland and Matabeleland*, (Cape Town: J.C. Juta & Co, 1893), 114.

animals for them to be trapped. This evidence shows that the Teve king intervened in animal habitats to push wild animals further away from human settlements. An understanding of the landscape and the habits of animals enabled them to use dogs to force animals into *cul de sacs* to trap and kill them easily. These observers did not bother to describe how these dogs looked except for the beautiful greyhound given to Munhumutapa. This suggests that many of these other dogs probably did not have any distinct characteristics that they found worth mentioning or that they varied in appearance.

The Rozvi State, which broke away from Mutapa state in the late 1680s and became the dominant political formation on the Zimbabwean plateau up to the 1820s, deployed dogs in punishing its opponents. Evidence suggests that the Rozvi trained some of their dogs solely for their viciousness and that they allegedly punished their prisoners by putting them inside a cage together with a dog. They then tortured the dog by pouring boiling water on it, working it into a rage, with the ‘usual result being that he bit the prisoner to pieces’ until they died.⁵⁵ They also trained dogs for their scent-detection skills because the Rozvi Mambo (King) is alleged to have tracked Nyakuvimba all the way to Chimanimani in the east from the south west of the country using hounds in the last half of the eighteenth century. Nyakuvimba was allegedly accused of stealing the Rozvi King’s ‘rainmaking medicines/charms.’ The tradition relates that:

The Va Rozi chief sent troops to follow up and arrest Nyakuvimba for having stolen the medicine. They followed him to Dondo and tracked him with bloodhounds,⁵⁶ and when he found he could not elude his pursuers, he gave the medicine to his sister with orders to give it to his son when he came of age; he then took to the cave where he was traced by the hounds. His captors failing to find the medicine on him, slew him and disembowelled him thinking he had swallowed it, they then took his head and were returning with it to the Va Rozi chief in Matabeleland, and on crossing the Sabi River they were swept away and drowned.⁵⁷

Several sources confirm Rozvi usage of dogs in tracking and punishing opponents.⁵⁸ Evidence used in this section show that there was no mention of these dogs as having been of any particular breed except for the greyhound pet owned by Munhumutapa. Apart from the Rozvi, who used their dogs for tracking political opponents, most of the dogs used during this period

⁵⁵ NAZ N3/33/8 History of Mashona Tribes, 3 January 1904.

⁵⁶ The bloodhounds referred to in this passage must not be understood in the modern sense of the breed. What is important is that these dogs had scent-detection skills that were comparable or similar to those of modern bloodhound dog breed.

⁵⁷ NAZ N3/33/8 History of Mashona Tribes, 3 December 1903.

⁵⁸ L.C. Meredith, ‘The Rain spirit of Mabota Murangadzwa, Melsetter District,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 3 (1925), 77-81; F.W.T. Posselt, ‘The Story of the Princess Mepo,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 2, 6 (1929), 115-117.

were barkers used to corner animals during hunts. Deploying them in large numbers was aimed at exploiting their noise—barking—to purposefully direct animals towards traps.

Breeding ‘ritually clean dogs,’ 1780-1890

This section focuses on the relatively small chiefdoms and communities that carried out ritual sacrifices of dogs in order to bring rain, to ensure good harvests and to manage the environment between the 1780s and 1890. These chiefdoms are interesting in that they purposefully bred their dogs in order to get particular colour-conformations. The Njanja and Chihota people share an oral tradition in which an important person, named Nyemba and/or Banyemba respectively, allegedly kept a favourite black dog called Muroro in the late eighteenth century.⁵⁹ The traditions of the Chihota people relate that the sons and a daughter, named Banyemba, of one Chibazwe, a deceased Chief Mutasa fled from Mutare to the headwaters of the Manyame River in present day Marondera because there was a succession dispute.⁶⁰ Banyemba allegedly assisted her brothers in hunting elephants using her magic charms. One day the brothers went to hunt and left Banyemba with her dog, Muroro. Upon their return, they discovered that Gunguwo, the chief of the area, had sexually violated Banyemba and this rendered her hunting charms useless. She killed herself and Muroro thereafter.⁶¹ Her brothers killed Gunguwo in retaliation and took charge of his territory. Beach, arguably the most influential historian of pre-colonial Zimbabwe, dismisses these traditions as myths and metaphors that signified the forcible transition of political power from one dynastic rulers to another.⁶²

In Njanja oral traditions, the name Muroro belongs to the founder of their dynasty.⁶³ Moreover, they have a slightly similar tale that dates back to the early nineteenth century. However, in their tale the violator accepted responsibility, married Nyemba and went on to establish a dynasty.⁶⁴ The Chihota and the Njanja people periodically held separate rainmaking ceremonies in honour of both Nyemba/Banyemba and her dog, Muroro, during much of the

⁵⁹ NAZ S2929/3/4 Delineation Report Chiota, 19 August 1964.

⁶⁰ F.W.T. Posselt, ‘The Banyemba Legend and Ceremony,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 2 (1924), 11-13.

⁶¹ A. Mseba, ‘Land, Power and Social Relations in North eastern Zimbabwe from Precolonial Times to the 1950s,’ PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 2015, 72.

⁶² D.N. Beach, *A Zimbabwean Past: Shona dynastic histories and oral traditions*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1994), 249.

⁶³ Beach, *A Zimbabwean Past*, 87.

⁶⁴ A.C. Hodza and G. Fortune, *Shona Praise poetry*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 235; Beach claims that the founder of the Njanja dynasty was a trader from Sena, called Muroro, who remained behind. He suggests that this name possibly links him with the Roro or Lomwe of the lower Zambezi. See Beach, *A Zimbabwean Past*, 73.

pre-colonial period.⁶⁵ The Chihota people reportedly commemorated this ceremony during the crop-planting season and sacrificed a black dog (called Muroro) for consumption at the ceremony. Traditions relate that they kept and fattened a black dog in a hut for it to remain ritually clean for the sacrifice. Hodza and Fortune describe the Njanja version of the ceremony as follows:

The name Muroro occurs in a ritual, which the Njanja observe. A black dog, which is always given this name is kept in a barn with groundnuts and fattened for sacrifice. It is killed when an offering (*bira*) is to be made and its meat is cooked and eaten with the special medicines and charms which maintain the chieftainship. Another black dog replaces the one which was sacrificed so that there is always one in readiness. This dog takes the place of the clan *mbonga* in the maintenance of its life. The Njanja have never had a *mbonga* of their own line, no doubt because of the way the clan was founded.⁶⁶

This account further explains that Nyemba kept five favourite dogs that always slept at her side and were not allowed to mate with other dogs. The other dogs that stayed outside were considered to be unclean dogs (*imbwa dzakan'ora*) compared to Muroro. These dogs were unclean because of their uncontrolled sexual activities and their unclean eating habits. These narratives show that breeding was intentionally controlled because these dogs were not supposed to mate with *imbwa dzakan'ora*. They also show that there was always a black dog that was given the name 'Muroro'. The desire to produce certain colour-conformations was the reason why they confined these dogs and this supports the idea that these people may have practised controlled small-scale breeding of dogs for ritual reasons. These traditions also support the idea that these dogs were able to reproduce desired colour-conformations in their offsprings. The idea of 'purity' of blood and mongrelisation (that became so central to western ideas of animal breeding, and later African ideas too, as discussed in Chapter Five) was not the main reason. These people wanted to avoid ritual contamination of their future sacrificial animals by controlling their mating and eating habits. For instance, Mwari Cult rituals conducted in 1872 used oxen and heifers that were 'all black and without blemish'.⁶⁷ Generally, Shona people were very particular about the suitability of their sacrificial animals and they usually used black cattle and cloths at such rituals.⁶⁸ We also know that during the last half of the nineteenth century that King Lobengula of the Ndebele divided his cattle 'amongst the posts

⁶⁵ Posselt, 'The Banyemba Legend and Ceremony,' 13.

⁶⁶ Hodza and Fortune, *Shona Praise poetry*, 235.

⁶⁷ E.E. Burke, *Journal of Carl Mauch: His Travels in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, 1869-1872*, (Salisbury: National Archives of Rhodesia, 1969), 215-217.

⁶⁸ K. Chikwira, W. Matekenya, and S. Kajuti, 'Extracts from Teerera 1973,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, IX, 2 (1975), 247.

or stations according to colour (at one station are the red, at another the black and so on) each herd is in charge of an induna of the town'.⁶⁹ At the same time, Shona ideas about breeding included the belief in their own power and capacity 'to ensure that a (human) child about to be born will be of a desired sex' by properly administering the *kajongwe* plant (flame lily/*gloriosa superba*).⁷⁰ Evidently, effort to prevent uncontrolled breeding, the keeping of dogs in confined quarters and the need to produce particular colour-conformations prove that there was a limited degree of controlled breeding of dogs.⁷¹ This evidence certainly complicates Maggs and Sealy's contention that pre-colonial societies did not have the means to prevent uncontrolled breeding due to lack of unfenced compounds and to the culture of having free-roaming dogs.⁷²

Other Zimbabwean communities replicated the tradition of selectively breeding, keeping and sacrificing spiritually significant dogs. The Chirau chiefs of Mashonaland West had rituals that similarly entailed the fattening of a white dog in a hut before consuming it as a rite of passage for claimants to their chiefly throne.⁷³ Jeremiah Sikireta, who was Chief Chirau in the 1980s, argued that his people were known as the Chirau 'of the white dog' because

A small white puppy would be kept soon after its birth. They would keep this in a granary. If a chief was to be installed, this dog would also be killed and this chief would be given the dog's meat after it had been cooked. If he ate this dog and vomited this would mean that the ancestral spirit had not approved of him. If he ate the meat and nothing happened, he would become strong. So he became the Chirau *wembwa chena* (of the white dog) and he would be given another white dog for safe keeping. So he became the Chirau with a white dog.⁷⁴

This white dog served the same ritual purposes as the black dogs referred to above.⁷⁵ What is clear is that there was small-scale controlled breeding of dogs for spiritual and ritual purposes by the pre-colonial elites. This tradition proved to be enduring in the early twentieth century because the Native Commissioner for Inyanga observed in 1902 that, 'it is well known how the Mashona dog is allowed to inhabit all native huts.'⁷⁶ Patrick Pazarangu, who came from Inyanga, also related that his ancestors fattened dogs that they kept in huts and then used them

⁶⁹ E.C. Tabler, *Zambezia and Matabeleland in the Seventies, the narratives of Frederick Hugh Barber, 1875 and 1877-1878 and the Journal of Richard Frewen*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1960), 104.

⁷⁰ F. Clements, 'The Flame lily,' *This is our Land: Stories and Legends of the two Rhodesias*, (Salisbury: Baobab Books, 1963), 109.

⁷¹ Hodza and Fortune, *Shona Praise poetry*, 144.

⁷² Maggs and Sealy, 'Africanis: The Pre-Colonial Dog of Africa,' 37.

⁷³ NAZ AOH/86 Interview with Chief Chirau Jeremiah Sikireta, by Dawson Munjeri, at Chinhoyi District, on 15 December 1982.

⁷⁴ NAZ AOH/86 Interview with Chief Chirau Jeremiah Sikireta.

⁷⁵ Beach, *Zimbabwean Past*, 249.

⁷⁶ NAZ N1/1/1/4-10 Native Department, NC Inyanga to the CNC, Salisbury, 'Rabies', 7 November 1902.

in making lightning.⁷⁷ He claimed that, ‘our ancestors used to eat dog meat. They locked them in a granary and allowed them to fatten there. It is said they were given groundnuts while in there. Towards the end of the year, they were slaughtered and eaten by the elders’.⁷⁸ Doing this was in keeping with their traditional charms that they used for making lightning and *zvikwambo* (faculty of recovering property and of punishing those who refuse to pay back debts).⁷⁹ These pre-colonial elites generally preferred black and white dogs for such rituals and they kept them in huts, barns or granaries. That some people practised small scale breeding of dogs does not mean that they understood about dog breeds as they were understood in the modern western world. Their aim was to prevent ritual contamination of their sacrificial animals and to ensure that animals with the right colour conformations were offered for the rituals. Certainly, controlled breeding might have resulted in the preservation of some animals’ bloodlines, but this was not their original aim. In any case, this practise was done by a tiny minority on a small scale and did not influence what the generality of dog-owners on the Zimbabwean plateau were doing.

Breeding the barkers, 1820-1890

Of course, the majority of the people residing on the Zimbabwean plateau in the nineteenth century did not ritually sacrifice their dogs. Rather they preferred ‘barking’ dogs largely because the country was infested with hyenas, lions, leopards, baboons and other predatory animals that plagued their fields and livestock. European observers disparagingly referred to these dogs as ‘curs of the lowest type’ during this period. We can surmise that modern ideas about dog breeding that created a canine ‘aristocracy’ or hierarchy with purebred dogs at its summit and ‘stray dogs’ at the bottom that started in Victorian England had reached southern Africa by the late 1850s.⁸⁰ As will be shown in Chapters Three and Four, these ideas resulted in African-owned dogs being described as ‘useless’ and ‘uncivilized’ dogs that potentially threatened purebred dogs with diseases and pollution.⁸¹ In fact, these dogs were regarded by

⁷⁷ NAZ AOH/56 Interview with Mr Patrick Gwara Pazarangu, by Dawson Munjeri, at No.25 Mnyanda Street, Beatrice Cottages, Salisbury, on 24 May 1979.

⁷⁸ NAZ AOH/56 Interview with Mr Patrick Gwara Pazarangu.

⁷⁹ NAZ AOH/56, Interview with Mr Patrick Gwara Pazarangu.

⁸⁰ H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 83-114.

⁸¹ In fact, African hunters, their dogs and some wild animals have been, at different times, regarded as vermin. Most southern African colonies periodically embarked on vermin destruction campaigns. See also R. Mutwira, ‘Southern Rhodesian wildlife policy (1890–1953): a question of condoning game slaughter?’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15 (1989), 250–62; J. Tropp, ‘Dogs, poisons and the meaning of colonial intervention in the Transkei, South Africa,’ in Van Sittert and Swart, *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 150 -152; L. Van Sittert, ‘‘Keeping the enemy at bay’’: the extermination of wild carnivora in the Cape Colony, 1889–1910’,

colonial authorities as animals that needed to be ‘improved’. At the same time, Ndebele Kings owned ‘favourite dogs’ that they feed with meat and they cultivated their barking nature for the greater part of the nineteenth century. In September 1857, Robert Moffat, the Scottish London Missionary Society missionary who stayed among the Ndebele, complained that ‘whether from the presence of strangers and a wagon standing in the public fold or something else, the curs—for there are few worth the name of dogs—kicked up such an incessant barking around my waggon that I had a rather short night’s rest.’⁸² Leftover meat left after slaughtering cattle, bones left after meals and meat that was hung around King Mzilikazi’s compound may have caused dogs in his compound to bark incessantly at each other. It appears that King Mzilikazi was not bothered by their noise—it created noisy dog shield against prowling wild animals. Visitors to the King Lobengula’s court were often given plates ‘piled with slabs of beef’ and most always ended up leaving some for the dogs at the king’s court.⁸³ In addition to preying on domestic animals, hyenas were regarded in Ndebele lore as witch’s familiars. In fact, G.W. Knight-Bruce, the Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland, commented that Africans were afraid of travelling at night and that they insisted that ‘only dogs and white men travel at night’.⁸⁴ The Ndebele regarded the *impisi* (hyena) and the *isambane* (ant bear) as animals that witches used – possibly because of these animals’ nocturnal habits. The Ndebele also referred to those people who drool at night during their sleep as ‘*ukukleza impisi*’, which meant that they were ‘suckling the breasts of a hyena’. King Mzilikazi, possibly due to reasons raised above, had his own pack of dogs in the 1850s and he intentionally cultivated these dogs’ barking characteristics.⁸⁵ At one time, Moffat told King Mzilikazi to give him ‘only small portions of the many animals slaughtered’ instead of giving him a whole beast to slaughter. However, Mzilikazi insisted on giving him cattle to slaughter as a token of friendship. In desperation Moffat solicited ‘men and oxen to drag my waggon to a considerable distance from my present location’ because many dogs ‘of a very insignificant character will send forth a chorus of voices enough to make thicker heads than mine crazy,’ wistfully whining that ‘I have not a very comfortable life’.⁸⁶ These dogs were attracted to his waggon by ‘so much meat hanging on the tree.’ Upon making numerous complaints, Mzilikazi told him that, ‘*that is what*

Environmental History, 3 (1998), 333–56; W. Beinart, ‘Night of the jackal’: Sheep, Pastures and Predators in the Cape’, *Past and Present*, 158 (1998), 172-206.

⁸² J.P.R. Wallis, *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat, 1829-1860*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1945), 75, 101.

⁸³ H. Vaughan-Williams, *A Visit to Lobengula in 1889*, (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1947), 105.

⁸⁴ G.W.H. Knight-Bruce, *Memories of Mashonaland*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1895), 163.

⁸⁵ Wallis, *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat*, 107.

⁸⁶ Wallis, *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat*, 97-98.

makes me sleep. If they are still I cannot sleep'.⁸⁷ Later Moffat concluded that 'noise of any description never disturbs Moselekates [Mzilikazi], be it of men or dogs'.⁸⁸

Even less powerful chiefs in the southern Shona country that was adjacent to the Ndebele state also put a lot of effort into acquiring dogs. Chief Masunda, who ruled in the Nyai country (among the southern Shona, north of the Limpopo), pressurized the PEM missionary, Coillard, in July 1877 'with demands of all sorts' because 'he wanted a dog, then he required two, then he wished to choose one himself, and so forth.'⁸⁹ For the Hlengwe, who stayed in the southern part of the Zimbabwean plateau, the dog was the most venerated animal that they regarded as 'the number one animal at home.'⁹⁰ Moffat noticed that even ordinary Ndebele people went to some length to nurse back to health dogs who had been attacked by hyenas. This suggested that they valued their barking and their capacity to confront hyenas and survive their attacks.⁹¹ Moffat also mentioned of Leuwe (Dutch for lion), the dog of one Motsamai, that 'was so like a meagre [sic]' (possibly referring to it as being in a pitiful or miserable state) (long tail excepted)' that had also been a victim of a hyena attack. Although Tau and Huisleyer, Moffat's dogs, rescued it, one of its hind legs was broken in the during the hyena attack. His master bound up 'the shattered limb'. Moffat noted that 'there is one I see daily which has been in a similar affray'.⁹² The desire to save these dogs or acquire new one showed that these societies felt that they needed more dogs in close proximity for protection and that they must have done all they could to discourage the culture of free-roaming dogs as a result. In January 1872, Carl Mauch, a German explorer and geographer, observed that the people of Tsaura among the southern Shona, who were on a hunting trip, slept in the same *scherm* (a Dutch-Afrikaans word that refers to a temporary protective shelter) with their dogs.⁹³ They seemed to be particularly interested in discouraging the culture of roaming in order to keep their barking dogs in close proximity.

In May 1885, Joseph Garbett Wood, a Cape politician who represented Albany in the House of Assembly between 1879 and 1887 and stayed with the Ndebele people at the time, observed

⁸⁷ Wallis, *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat*, 119.

⁸⁸ Wallis, *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat*, 293.

⁸⁹ F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa (1897): A Record of Twenty Years Pioneering Among the Barotsi of the Upper Zambezi*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), 26.

⁹⁰ T.H. Chisi, 'Land Dispossession: Its Impact on African economic activities and African response: The case of the Chiredzi District,' MA Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1991, 20.

⁹¹ Wallis, *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat*, 120.

⁹² Wallis, *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat*, 97-98.

⁹³ Burke, *The Journals of Carl Mauch*, 177.

that King Lobengula had ‘favourite dogs’ whose care was entrusted to servant boys and that he fed them using meat.⁹⁴ In March 1878, François Coillard, a missionary of the Paris Missionary Society, also complained that King Lobengula deliberately delayed hearing the case, in which he was accused of setting up the Banyai Mission amongst the southern Shona people without Lobengula’s permission, for five hours because he was feeding his dogs, ostriches and pigeons.⁹⁵ In fact, King Lobengula continued to complain about Europeans who interfered with his ‘dogs’—Shona people who resided close to Bulawayo—right up to the 1890s after the British South Africa Company had established the colony of Southern Rhodesia.⁹⁶ Bishop Knight-Bruce reported of one incident that happened during this period in which a trader accidentally poisoned two Shona servants of Lobengula and his dog. King Lobengula is said to have said ‘never mind the *mahoolies* (the Shona servants)...how about my dog?’⁹⁷ Bishop Knight-Bruce also complained about the culture of tolerating – even welcoming – barking dogs. That both Mzilikazi and Lobengula kept some favourite dogs that they fed with meat is significant. It is documented that the Ndebele were afraid of witches, whom they called *abathakathi*, and this may explain why Mzilikazi told Moffat that barking dogs made him sleep more peacefully.⁹⁸ Indeed the incessant barking of dogs was actually a reassuring sound for the Ndebele during the night.⁹⁹ Ndebele Kings went to great lengths to ritually fortify their towns from witches such that every time they changed their town they burnt the old town down to prevent witches from getting the medicines they would have used in ritually fortifying it.¹⁰⁰ Even in the 1890s, Bulawayo ‘was full of stray dogs’¹⁰¹ and colonial administrators complained about them incessantly.¹⁰² In addition to ritual fortifications, the capitals of Ndebele kings were surrounded by palisades and thousands of guards. Moreover, the abundance of meat left for the

⁹⁴ J.G. Wood, *Through Matabeleland: Record of a Ten Month's Trip in an Ox-Wagon through Mashonaland and Matabeleland*, (London: Richards, Granville & Co, 1893) 49; N. Rouillard, *Matabele Thompson: An Autobiography*, (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1936), 105.

⁹⁵ C.W. MacKintosh, *Coillard of the Zambezi, 1858-1904*, (London: Fisher Unwin, 1907), 263.

⁹⁶ P.R. Warhurst, ‘A history of race relations in Rhodesia,’ *Zambezia*, 3, 1 (1973), 16.

⁹⁷ C.E. Fripp, *Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland: The Mashonaland Mission of Bishop Knight-Bruce, 1888*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1949), 20.

⁹⁸ Wallis, *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat*, 119; ‘Landowner’s and Farmers’ Association Monthly Meeting,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 1 April 1905; F.W.T. Posselt, *Upengula: The Scatter*, (Bulawayo: The Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Co., 1945), 102, 106.

⁹⁹ Posselt, *Upengula: The Scatter*, 102, 106.

¹⁰⁰ Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, 14.

¹⁰¹ It is possible to infer that the destruction of the Ndebele state after 1893 could have contributed to this large number of ‘straying dogs.’ It is significant to also state that the war caused a famine and also resulted in Ndebele cattle being looted on a massive scale by the BSAC government and some settlers.

¹⁰² C.C. Mavhunga, ‘Vermin Beings: On Pestiferous Animals and Human Game,’ *Social Text*, 29, 1 (106) (2011), 157.

dogs possibly prevented the culture of roaming dogs. This meant that they were capable of curtailing the mobility of their dogs.

The fear of walking at night or of quiet nights themselves was informed by local beliefs in the use of charms, magic and witchcraft. People residing in present day Manicaland, Midlands and Masvingo between the 1850s and 1890s used a charm known as *rufimbi*. The charm allegedly had the effect of inducing sleep, drowsiness and causing both people and their dogs to fall into a semi-conscious state as cattle rustlers stole cattle. Tellingly, practitioners of this craft allegedly made it using a dog's head. It reportedly had the effect of putting everything in the village that they wanted to steal from into deep sleep for the entire duration of their rustling operation.¹⁰³ One Kupara of Gokomere in Shurugwi claimed to have stolen King Lobengula's cattle during this period using *rufimbi*.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, the Shumba Murambwi people of Chirumanzu allegedly changed their totem from being *nyonga* or *mbwetete* after migrating from Manyika in the eastern part of the Zimbabwean plateau in the nineteenth century because they had reportedly used a similar charm that they called *rukata* in cattle rustling.¹⁰⁵ Discourses about *rufimbi* were also associated with the ability to magically change the colour of the cattle that had been stolen.¹⁰⁶ The people who resided in the Lower Limpopo told Vincent Erskine, who was exploring the Gaza Territory at the time, that they had stopped keeping cattle because of such cattle thieves.¹⁰⁷ These discourses show that these people were in a critical need to either replenish or increase the number of their cattle and that owning barking dogs or using dog charms were serious considerations for both cattle-owners and cattle rustlers. Discourses about *rufimbi* tell us a lot about class struggles between people and regions that owned cattle and those that did not. Thus, having dogs capable of protecting livestock was important, especially considering that the Ndebele were largely a pastoral nation whose way of life, worldview, culture and culinary practises revolved around cattle keeping. Makoni district (in the east of the country) was famed for its cattle rustlers in the early 1900s – to the extent that Native Commissioner Ross even gave one Mwendazviya, who resided in the northern part of the district, a gun in order for him to deal with this problem.¹⁰⁸ The need to use dogs as alarm systems in order to prevent cattle rustling led many communities to possess numerous dogs—

¹⁰³ E.G. Howman, 'Rufimbi,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 1950, 31-33.

¹⁰⁴ Howman, 'Rufimbi,' 31-33.

¹⁰⁵ L.F. Seymor, 'The traditions of the VaMare of Chibi,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, (1940), 74.

¹⁰⁶ A. Livneh, 'Pre-colonial polities in Southern Zambezia and their political communications,' PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1976, 273.

¹⁰⁷ J.K. Rennie, 'Christianity, Colonialism and the origins of nationalism among the Nda of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935,' PhD Thesis, Northwestern University, 1973, 136.

¹⁰⁸ Makoni District Administrator's office, Makoni District Offices, PER6/Chendambuya, August 1972.

a fact confirmed by complaints raised by early administrators about African dog-owning. Moreover, such dogs were not necessarily completely free-roaming if they were to effectively bark and protect the properties of their owners. Using many dogs this way as guards and alarm systems was the reason why the rustlers allegedly made use of the *rufimbi* magic to put everything in the villages (including dogs) into deep slumber.

Dogs occupied a continuum in the spiritual and ritual imagination of people who resided on the Zimbabwean plateau. Although Ndebele Kings also kept their favourite dogs, theirs were more focused on creating packs of night barkers to fortify their towns from cattle rustlers, wild animals and witches. It is clear that barking, as a characteristic, was cultivated so much that most people in the southern parts of the Zimbabwean plateau valued this quality. For these people issues about mongrelisation or preserving the ritual purity of dogs did not matter. For them any dog—irrespective of the extent to which it had been exposed to mongrelisation or not—needed to be trained to bark for him or her to be useful. However, the effort that they put in preventing dogs from wandering in an uncontrolled fashion and the value that dogs had seem to suggest that mating amongst dogs was most probably restricted them to those that were in close proximity.

‘Knowing dogs’ and transmitting doglore, 1850-1900

At the turn of the twentieth century, a poor white farmer from Southern Masetter district spoke against the grain of the new colonial ideas regarding African-owned dogs when he described them as excellent guard dogs that warned their neighbourhood about the arrival of wild beasts and of humans with criminal intent. But he bought into European notions, when he further described them as ‘curs of the lowest order’ whose hunting abilities were far below that of some European dog breeds.¹⁰⁹ Despite using racialized descriptions about African-owned dogs his observations about the guard duties of these dogs are buttressed by evidence from other sources as outlined extensively above. People residing on the Zimbabwean plateau came up with hunter’s manuals that generated knowledge about dogs, the forest and wild animals and passed them down in the form of proverbs, folklores and songs, particularly in the period between 1850 and 1900. These hunters’ manuals also betrayed the fact that these people had not developed a particular dog breed specifically for hunting purposes. Rather they made use

¹⁰⁹ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, ‘Dog Tax Ordinance,’ 14 May 1912, 123-124.

of any dog type that came their way by continuous training and by applying their knowledge about hunting, the forests, wild animals and dogs.

Hunting with dogs changed from being a state-led enterprise after the 1820s. The rise the Ndebele and Gaza states contributed to this new phenomenon. Moreover, a number of European hunters and explorers who had guns also came onto the Zimbabwean plateau searching for big game and this generally solved the problem of big animals threatening human settlements and fields as was the case during the time of the Teve and Mutapa states. The Rozvi state also collapsed during this period, around the 1840s.¹¹⁰ This contributed to the coming up of new hunting laws in most parts of the country that affected hunting with dogs. Mazarire argues that although the refuge tradition debate in the pre-colonial history of Zimbabwe has tended to exaggerate the depredations caused by the Ndebele state among the Shona people and to dismiss evidence of belligerency on the part of some Shona groups, there was nevertheless a new ‘Shona security complex’ that struck a balance between security and subsistence.¹¹¹ Such a security complex also resulted in new hunting methods in concert with the new realities. Moreover, King Lobengula created a game reserve to the west and northwest of Bulawayo in the 1870s and decreed that anyone who desired to kill game animals in that area needed to get his permission first. The Superintendent of Natives, Victoria, noted that

I never heard of a white man being charged for hunting antelopes and everyone used to shoot what game he came across (I mean antelopes) for meat and was not charged for it—but if a man wished to go into what was known as the ‘hunting veldt’, ie veld where there were elephants, ostriches, giraffes, rhinoceros and sea cows, then he required permission, and as a rule had to pay—but as a general rule the payment was left to him—and he would pay a horse or a rifle or what he thought right. No doubt if he had paid, or offered to pay, what Lobengula considered inadequate he would have been asked to add something else.¹¹²

The Gaza state, under Mzila in the east of the country, also created a game reserve in the Msilizwe Valley with the aim of creating a buffer zone between human settlements and domestic animals in order to prevent wild animals and tsetse fly from getting into contact with

¹¹⁰ G.C. Mazarire, ‘The Politics of the Womb’: Women, Politics and The Environment in Pre-Colonial Chivi, Southern Zimbabwe, c.1840 to 1900,’ *Zambezia*, XXX, 1 (2003), 35.

¹¹¹ G.C. Mazarire, ‘Defence consciousness as a way of life:’ ‘the Refuge period’ and Karanga defence strategies in the 19th Century,’ *Zimbabwean Prehistory*, 25 (2005), 1-16.

¹¹² NAZ N3/24/5-7 Game laws and hunting rights, Superintendent of Natives, Victoria to CNC Salisbury, ‘game laws in Lobengula’s time,’ 6 August 1915.

human settlements. Mzila's major aim was to prevent the spread of *trypanosomiasis* in the 1860s to 1870s.¹¹³

The above-mentioned changes meant that the small political units that came about from this changed situation resorted to organising smaller hunting parties. The British archaeologists and explorer, Theodore Bent noted in the 1890s that Karanga 'game laws give rise to frequent squabbles amongst the chiefs; it is generally understood that, if a man wounds a buck and another kills it, the wounder claims the carcass, but the killer is entitled to take whatever limb he wishes'.¹¹⁴ Such squabbles support the contention that hunting with dogs and game laws for these societies had changed over time. The case of Neshuro who resided in Chivi around the 1840s and the 1850s demonstrates these changing dynamics. It is alleged that Neshuro had accumulated a lot of cattle and grain through trading game meat that he caught using his dogs. A woman who had five sons and who had previously failed to convince Neshuro to give her sons cattle to pay for bride wealth is alleged to have committed suicide in his game pits. The woman's sons accused Neshuro of hunting all game animals with his dogs such that he had begun to chase human beings with his dogs into his hunting pits.¹¹⁵ If we accept that this incident was an accident, it permits inferring that there could have been pressure between hunters and gathers over the use of forests resources in this area.

The changing game laws meant that those who remained in the trade developed specialized knowledge about dogs, hunting in the forests and even used new implements such as guns to maximize their chances of success. During this period, hunters came to be regarded as *vanhu vakafunda* ('reservoirs of knowledge' or 'people who were learned'). Early colonial administrators took up the word '*fundis*' to refer to experts arguing that 'today we speak of farming *fundis*, business *fundis* and even sport *fundis*, but since hunting is no longer a very real part of our lives, we don't hear much about bush *fundis*'.¹¹⁶ These *fundis* 'had an instinctive

¹¹³ W. Mwatwara and S. Swart, 'If our cattle die, we eat them but these white people bury and burn the!' African Livestock regimes, veterinary knowledge and the emergence of a colonial order in Southern Rhodesia, c. 1860-1902,' *Kronos*, 41, 1 (2015), 124.

¹¹⁴ J.T. Bent and R.M.W. Swan, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland: Being a record of excavation and exploration in 1891*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1896), 265-266; E.C. Tabler, *To The Victoria Fall via Matabeleland: The Diary of Major Henry Stabb, 1875*, (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1967), 161.

¹¹⁵ H. Franklin, 'The Conspiracy of the Five Sons; or How Neshuro lost the Chieftainship of the Nebghwimi Tribe,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, (1927), 45-47; NAZ S2929/8/2 MLG DDA Delineation Report, Madzivire.

¹¹⁶ F. Clements, *This is our Land: Stories and Legends of the two Rhodesias*, (Salisbury: Baobab Books, 1963), 47.

knowledge of the working of the animal brain,' of tracking animals and of catching them.¹¹⁷ Karanga people deployed their knowledge of environmental change and Stars (astrology) in understanding the migration patterns of wild animals. For instance, the Karanga named the star Orion's Sword as *Nguruve* and *Imbwa* (warthogs and the dog). The Swedish German missionary Harald von Sicard, writing about nineteenth century Shona history after conducting some oral research,¹¹⁸ related that:

The Karanga connect *Nguruve* and *Mbwa*. They say that these two constellations make a file as if driving away one another (*dzinoita mudungwe wokutandanidzana*). They know that *Nguruve* and *Mbwa* are best seen during the cold season and that they appear (*-nyura*) when the rain sets in. From the first day of the month *Kubvumbi*, a (month) corresponding roughly to our March, when the rains come to an end, the old Karanga men carefully observe the sky, looking at *Chimutanhatu* (the sixth) and *Nguruve*. When these have come close to the horizon (*kana mazuva aswika kuti dzodokufa*), grandmother is collecting heaps of firewood, and when they are 'dead', people kindle a fire for the night, because that night the cold will strike all trees and the leaves will get dry. This is the reason why people are sure that the cold season is 'called' (*chando chinodanwa*) by *Chimutanhatu* and *Nguruve*.¹¹⁹

The Karanga read the stars from a hunting perspective. They called the Milky Way stars *gwara raMukumbi* (*Makumbi's* path), or *gwara reNzou* (the elephant's path), *gwara reMwenye* (path of the Muslims traders), *gwara revavhimi* (the path of the hunters) and/or *gwara raKuruvi* (*Kuruvi's* path). *Makumbi* and *Kuruvi* were probably hunters whilst the *Mwenye* (Muslims) traded with societies on the Zimbabwean plateau before 1500. Evidently, many Shona people understood the stars and the weather from a hunting perspective.¹²⁰

Another important characteristic of this period was the use of fire to burn a part of the veld in order to make hunting with dogs easy. Chapter Four examines the complaints raised by settler cattle farmers in the early colonial period regarding this hunting method and the interventions that the colonial state implemented to address this issue between 1902 and the 1970s. An archival source reporting about the Mutoko district of this hunting method relates that:

Rudededi cave looks across a neck of the land to the big hill of Mapenenga, which no one ever sets foot upon as it is haunted by a 'man who has three dogs.' He can be seen soon after sundown lighting little fires all over the hillside, and one may hear the cry of

¹¹⁷ Clements, *This is our Land*, 47.

¹¹⁸ There has been a scholarly evaluation of Harald von Sicard's contribution to the antiquarian scholarship in the historiography of Zimbabwe's Midlands Province by Mazarire. See G.C. Mazarire, 'First steps in the historiography of the Midlands: A review of the work of Harald von Sicard,' Paper presented to the Historical Dimensions of Development in the Midlands Seminar, Fairmile Hotel, Gweru, 2001, 1-26.

¹¹⁹ H. von Sicard, 'Karanga Stars,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, IX, 3 (1966), 44-45, 51.

¹²⁰ F.W.J. McCosh, 'The African Sky,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, XII, 1 (1979), 35.

his dogs as they hunt on the hill. They (dogs) say ‘*tsui, tsui, tsui,*’ but one need have no fear of them provided one does not go onto Mapenenga itself. (This story is almost the same as that attaching to Mtemwa, but there is disagreement as to whether the man of Mtemwa has two or three!).¹²¹

This passage shows that hunting became increasingly an activity for only a few hunters and their dogs. Fire was used to alter the terrain in favour of the hunters and their dogs in the same manner that state led hunting of the preceding period had also exploited the terrain and the numbers of the hunters to their advantage in cornering animals. Similarly, the animals caught during a hunt would have become unfortunate by the mere fact of failing to comprehend the challenges stacked against them.¹²² David Livingstone observed in 1851 that hunting societies along the Zambezi River made use of ‘medicines which would give them success’ because they also believed that some animals were dangerous.¹²³ At times, these African hunters consulted some medicine men to ensure the success of their hunting trips.¹²⁴ On 1 November 1871, Mauch observed that the Karanga people in present day Masvingo consulted ‘the prophetic ‘woods’’ on the eve of the hunt to ensure its success.¹²⁵ Thus, southern African communities viewed animals as ‘spiritual equals who, in an important sense, allow themselves to be killed if the hunter is in the right mental and spiritual condition.’¹²⁶ This evidence meant that hunting had become inordinately difficult such that hunters had to placate their ancestral spirits and territorial spirits in order to become successful.¹²⁷ On top of that these hunters began to apply their knowledge about animals and dogs effectively in order to be successful.

Another important development was the increased use of dogs that were believed to have been mediums of hunting *shave* (alien) spirits. *Shave* spirits enhanced the dog’s skills, effectiveness and their lethality in their encounters with wild animals. The followers of Chief Nyachuru of Concession district believed that their great female ancestor, Anemasvu, died and that her spirit entered wild dogs and that the wild dogs ‘became like domestic dogs and chased bucks into the house of her people.’¹²⁸ The case of the Benhura chieftainship, which was one of the least powerful of the north central plateau Rozvi dynasties of the *moyo* totem in the 1850s also

¹²¹ NAZ S2583/69 Correspondence General, Commission for the preservation of Natural and Historical monuments and relics: Minutes of Meetings and annual reports, Commission, ‘List of Recent discoveries in Mtoko Reserve of caves with rock paintings,’ 20 January 1947.

¹²² Knight-Bruce, *Memories of Mashonaland*, 45.

¹²³ H.G. Adams, *David Livingstone: The Weaver boy who became a missionary*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884), 197, 228-229.

¹²⁴ Wood, *Through Matabeleland*, 121.

¹²⁵ Burke, *The Journals of Carl Mauch*, 160.

¹²⁶ B. Morris, *Animals and Ancestors: An Ethnography*, (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 19-20.

¹²⁷ Burke, *The Journals of Carl Mauch*, 161-162.

¹²⁸ NAZ 2829/2/3/1 Delineation report concession, Nyachuru chiefdom.

demonstrate this point. Benhura passed through Wedza in the 1850s before settling close to the Ngezi River.¹²⁹ The tradition relates that his ‘good hunting dog’ died and out of gratitude for its exceptional hunting services, Benhura allegedly buried it as though it were a human being, possibly because he wanted to placate the *shave* spirit that it hosted. Randazha Mamire related that:

He made a brier for his dog and he placed it on it and people were made to dig a grave for it. People asked, ‘what is this about?’ He replied, ‘my good hunting dog, *Hora* (an old dog), has died...It was an old one (*hora*). He said, ‘it did good service for me so I must bury it like a human being.’ He was told, ‘you have erred.’ It had been covered with a black cloth (*retso*).¹³⁰

The act reportedly incensed Chief Svosve. Thereafter, Benhura fled to Ngezi in Mhondoro in order to escape punishment. Generally, Shona people procured ritual cloths known as *retso*— that were black in colour for a fortune and brewed beer for their dogs— to bestow on them some special hunting abilities.¹³¹ People residing in the Makoni district celebrated through songs a dog known as Machena (the white one). In that tradition, the hunter sang that ‘*imbwa yangu Machena, yaenda yega musango, yaenda isina munhu mugwara* (my dog Machena has gone alone, alone into the forest to hunt. Machena, the lone hunter, he has gone without his owner).’ The tradition shows that the hunter and Machena had formed an exceptional hunting bond.¹³² However, the song has double meaning. Matiure argues that in another version of the song the owner tells his dog Sangodema (the dark forest) that ‘there is nothing to catch today as the forests are dry (dark).’¹³³ Another version may be read to mean ‘Sangodema, my dog, *masango machena* (the forests are bountiful).’¹³⁴ While dogs such as Sangodema or Machena were celebrated in song, dance and spirit possession, the Shona also believed that such good dogs could become useless if they lacked a good hunters. They captured this in the proverb *imbwa kudya matehwe inenge yashaiwa wekuvhima naye* (a dog eats skins because it does not have a good hunter to hunt with).¹³⁵ Dogs that resorted to surviving on carrion and hides,

¹²⁹ Beach, *Zimbabwean Past*, 86, 89-90 and 96.

¹³⁰ NAZ AOH 38 Randazha Mamire, (born 1909), Interview at Mudzimuirema Kraal, Chihota TTL, by Dawson Munjeri, 27 April and 1 June 1978, 14; D. Munjeri, ‘How chief Mudzimuirema met his death,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, XII, 2 (1980), 110-111.

¹³¹ A. Burbridge, ‘In Spirit-Bound Rhodesia,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, (1924), 25; Macharangwanda, ‘Mudzimu, Shabe, ngozi and other spirits,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 10 (1932), 9; NAZ AOH 38 Randazha Mamire, 14; H.C. Hugo, ‘The Mashona Spirits,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, (1935), 52-58; Nyachega, ‘Beyond War, Violence, and Suffering,’ 99.

¹³² Interview with Sylvester Muradzi (born 1929) by author, Tandi, Makoni District, 20 December 2018.

¹³³ P. Matiure, ‘Mbira dzavadzimu and its space within the Shona cosmology: tracing mbira from *bira* to the spiritual world,’ *Muziki*, 8, 2 (2012), 43.

¹³⁴ Matiure, ‘Mbira dzavadzimu and its space within the Shona cosmology’, 43.

¹³⁵ Interview with Chief Moses Madhafi, Harare (National Archives) by author, 18 December 2018.

instead of hunting with their humans, were generally frowned upon as bad dogs.¹³⁶ Dog-owners, thus, invested both in the spiritual capabilities of their dogs and into knowledge generation about the forest, dogs and wild animals.

Hunters regarded wild animals and the forests as actors that had the capacity to hinder their plans. They captured this in the sayings ‘if it is of the forest make an announcement after a kill,’ ‘something that has come must not be refused; a person cannot leave a limping steenbok’ and that ‘man (hunter) considers anything that comes up as meat.’¹³⁷ Good hunters studied animal behaviour, habitats and reactions in devising appropriate hunting methods in order to be successful. They also believed that ‘that which has barked has said something’ to argue that animals, including dogs ‘did not just make noise or sound—they communicated; they spoke a language to each other.’¹³⁸ That explains why pre-colonial dog-owners doctored their dogs with herbs to bestow on them some spiritual and physical hunting prowess. In view of the above, a ‘good dog’ understood its place in the broader strategy that involved the use of pits, nets, bows and arrows and traps. Hunting came to be regarded as a game of wits pitting hunters and their dogs against wild animals. Dogs that had learned the physical and behavioural traits of different wild animals were highly valued. The sayings *imbwa hora/huru haihukuri nhando* (an old dog does not bark in vain) captures the importance of such experienced dogs.¹³⁹ The proverbs ‘*inotanda yomunyepi younyerere haitandi* (the dog that chases animals is that of the one who encourages it; that of the silent one does not)’ and that ‘*taatose imbwa haishewedzwi imwe chete* (we are together, you do not call a single dog)’ showed that hunting was an interactive process between the hunter and his dogs.¹⁴⁰

The proverbs examined above provide a window into how pre-colonial Zimbabwean societies kept dogs. These sayings contributed towards these societies’ understanding of physiology of various wild animals for effectiveness in hunting. They shared such knowledge as mnemonic statements about animal behaviour, their habitats and their encounters with dogs to enable

¹³⁶ Interview with Sylvester Muradzi, (born 1929) Tandi, Makoni District, by author, 20 December 2018.

¹³⁷ L.L. Niemeyer, ‘Proverbs: tools for worldview studies: an exploratory comparison of the Bemba of Zambia and the Shona of Zimbabwe,’ MA in Anthropology, Portland State University, 1982, 447 and 449.

¹³⁸ C.C. Mavhunga, ‘Seeing the National Park from Outside It On an African Epistemology of Nature,’ in C Mauch and L. Robin, *RCC Perspectives: The Edges of Environmental History: Honouring Jane Carruthers*, 1 (2014), 59.

¹³⁹ Interview with Sekuru Edwin Mafuro (born 1934), Chipindirwe Village, Marange, by author, 23 December 2018.

¹⁴⁰ Niemeyer, ‘Proverbs: tools for worldview studies,’ 375 and 410.

hunters to train their dogs purposefully and to exploit the weaknesses of wild animals.¹⁴¹ The proverb *mhembwe inotsvutsvudzirwa yamuka* (set dogs on a duiker when it shows up) took the speed of the said animal in relation to that of dogs into consideration.¹⁴² The trickery of the hare, both in folklore and in actual hunting experiences, was well-known to an extent that the Shona people called it *ruvhunambwa* (the dog breaker). That name was derived ‘from the way a hare twists and turns when it is being pursued by dogs so that a dog might break its back while trying to catch it.’¹⁴³ In such instances, Shona people gave their dogs traditional medicine, known as *chivhuno* (the breaker), to fortify their dogs against being tricked by such devious animals.¹⁴⁴ According to McGregor, some Shona people used the bark of a tree known as *Mudzivirashuro* (to block in the Hare) (*euclea divinorum*) enhance the ability of poor hunting dogs to follow the scent of hunted animals.¹⁴⁵ Apart from also being used as an aphrodisiac and as *muti* to drive away evil or avenging spirit, the tree had some other practical hunting uses. It was used in hunting hares because ‘its dense foliage and branches make it suitable for pushing into the holes of hares that have been grounded during hunting expeditions, which can then be dug out.’¹⁴⁶ The practise of using *chivhuno* was captured in the proverb ‘*imbwa kuminya hona inodada nechivhuno* (look how the dog strives it boast of *chivhuno*.’¹⁴⁷ Shona people also held that ‘*ukaona tsuro yomisa nzeve yotsvaga mukana yokutiza* (when you see a hare raising its ears it is looking for a way to escape),’ ‘*tsuro kupeta nzeve kumbwa seasinganzwi maziso akatarira kuvana* (a hare focuses its ears towards the dogs while its eyes are on its young ones).’¹⁴⁸ That way they shared knowledge that was important in hunting the hare. Another proverb held that ‘*tsuro inobatwa nembwa ndiyo inoradzika nzeve inomisa inonzwa* (a hare caught by dogs is the one that keeps its ears down, the one that puts them up hears them).’¹⁴⁹ These proverbs were important and captured the difficulties tied to hunting hares. They warned hunters ‘not to chase a hare whilst holding salt (*rega kutanda tsuro wakabata munyu*)’ and that ‘in chasing a hare use two knobkerries because when one misses the other one hits it (*kutandinisa tsuro tandanisa netsvimbo mbiri imwe ikapotsa imwe ino*

¹⁴¹ Kamuteku, ‘Friend of Man,’ *Mapolisa*, July 1962, 37

¹⁴² Niemeyer, ‘Proverbs: tools for worldview studies,’ 442.

¹⁴³ M. Madhlozi, ‘Fauna in archaic Greek and Kalanga Wisdom Literature,’ PhD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2016, 88.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Sekuru Edwin Mafuro (born 1934), Chipindirwe Village, Marange, by author, 23 December 2018.

¹⁴⁵ McGregor, ‘Woodland Resources: Ecology, Policy and Ideology,’ 379.

¹⁴⁶ McGregor, ‘Woodland Resources: Ecology, Policy and Ideology,’ 380.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Sekuru Edwin Mafuro, Chipindirwe Village, Marange, 23 December 2018.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Nehemia Mukwada, Marange, 25 December 2018.

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Nehemia Mukwada, Marange, by author, 25 December 2018.

irova).¹⁵⁰ Shona children grew up playing the game *zvamutsana-mutsana tsuro nembwa* (the dogs are chasing the hare) in which they explored the survival driven intelligence of the hare and how it used its wits to avoid being caught. The game prepared them psychologically and physically for hunting from a tender age and gave them visual, mental and physical comprehensions of hunting hares with dogs. Before embarking on a hunt experienced hunters gave their dogs some herbs for them not to release the animals they would have caught.¹⁵¹ Even small game such as mice used deceptive tracks (*mwanza*) and tunnels in their habitat to the extent that hunters at times deployed dogs in order to be highly effective. Early colonial observers noted that ‘miles and miles of country are often burnt for the object of catching a rat’ and that ‘in this sport, they employ dogs of the lowest order’.¹⁵² Mazarire has argued that people residing in southern Zimbabwe have had a long history of hunting rodents and consuming them because rodents tended to invade different habitats and to threaten the region’s food security periodically.¹⁵³

While other societies concentrated on the genetic malleability of dogs by creating different dog breeds, the people residing on the Zimbabwean plateau concentrated more on their mental and behavioural aspects to create dogs that served their purposes. They also held that in difficult circumstances just owning a dog in hunting parties paid off by arguing that ‘it is sufficient (meat) for the one who has no dogs’ in reference to the share of game meat that those who did not have dogs got.¹⁵⁴ Such measly shares, which they sometimes likened to lean meat or skins/hides, were better off compared the ‘one who was consuming mushrooms’ in Shona proverbs. This was because the Shona held that ‘*chikara chikara chirudziyi chisingatye imbwa* (what type of a wild animal is it that is not afraid of dogs).¹⁵⁵ What that meant was that some dogs were not valued because of their special abilities but because their simple presence on the hunting field tipped the scales in favour of the hunters. Thus, owning any dog in a hunting group held some advantages compared to not having it. George Knight-Bruce, the Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland, observed in the 1890s that some poor people struggled to get meat in the following passage:

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Tobias Chatambudza Chendambuya, Chendambuya Communal Lands, by author, 21 December 2018.

¹⁵¹ NAZ AOH/28 Interview with Kwari Mazokufa (Born c. 1881), at Mhondoro Tribal Trust Lands, by Dawson Munjeri, 30 November 1977.

¹⁵² NAZ, T2/29/31 Dog Tax, NC, Y. M. Hulley, Umtali to CNC, Salisbury, ‘Confidential: Southern Rhodesia Dog Tax Ordinance, proposed,’ 25 March 1905.

¹⁵³ Mazarire, ‘The burrowed earth: rodents in Zimbabwe’s environmental history,’ 122.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Tobias Chatambudza Chendambuya.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Tobias Chatambudza Chendambuya.

They are very fond of meat, but they hardly ever get it. To give him meat is the one way that will nearly always ensure a wild Mashona working well-or, rather, as well as he can. They will husband their stock of meat by keeping a small piece in check in their cheek while they eat their porridge; and if they find an animal that has died, it is by no means despised. It was an extraordinary sight to see them fighting over an antelope. The idea of a fair division never seemed to occur to them; each hacked off as much as he could as fast as he could. Two old men, looking like heads and leaders of the tribe, would seize a piece of entrails at either end and drag against each other like two dogs.¹⁵⁶

Given the difficulties encountered in catching wild animals, people who did not have hunting dogs, a hunting *shavi* spirit, a gun and hunting patrons often resorted to hunting small game animals using simple traps or to scavenging dead animals as is shown above. Their plight was expressed in the saying ‘*murombo haarovi chine nguwo* (a poor man never kills a big animal whose skin can be turned into clothing)’. Such poor persons lacked the enabling technology or resources to be able to catch big game. They often confined themselves to catching wild birds that could not provide them with clothing (*nguwo*).¹⁵⁷ However, wives of hunters or the rich made *husha* out of wild animal skins, thus embellishing and beautifying their clothing.¹⁵⁸ Owning good hunting dogs enabled some people to become patrons, allowed them to dispense favours to followers and probably explains why most Shona oral traditions about the founding of dynasties in this period often feature a lone hunter tricking the original owners of the land using his specialized knowledge about hunting.¹⁵⁹ Nehemiah Mukwada argued that while owning dogs determined the share of game meat given to each hunter, there were often conflicts between hunters who both believed that their dogs were the ones that had done more towards catching animals and wanted to be given more meat.¹⁶⁰

This section showed that there were attempts at creating a corpus of knowledge about dogs in relation to hunting, wild animals and how owning dogs affected the fortunes of hunters in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Such knowledge does not show attempts towards the creation of a breed of dogs. It shows attempts by these people to make do with the resources at their disposal by

¹⁵⁶ Knight-Bruce, *Memories of Mashonaland*, 41; Compare with Fripp, *Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland: The Mashonaland Mission of Bishop Knight-Bruce*, 67.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Chief Moses Madhafi, Harare (National Archives), by author, 18 December 2018.

¹⁵⁸ NAZ AOH/51, Interview with Pauros Mugwagwa Musonza, at the National Archives, Salisbury, by Dawson Munjeri, on 2 March 1979.

¹⁵⁹ Mazarire argues that although narratives of lone hunters setting themselves up and deposing the original owners of the land have been regarded as clichés in studies of oral tradition, probing them reveal that some of them can be used in reconstructing pre-colonial gender relations. He argues that they used their hunting skills to marry into powerful ruling houses before peacefully overthrowing them by being the providers. See Mazarire, ‘The Politics of the Womb’, 43.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Nehemia Mukwada (born 1935), Marange, Mukwada Village, by author, 25 December 2018.

bestowing spiritual prowess on their dogs, doctoring them and investing into knowing dogs, wild animals and the hunting forests. This explains why these people were eager to acquire any type of a dog because they had the capacity to train them to suit their ideographic needs.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated and buttressed Hall and Blench's and Swart's argument that there were many types but probably no specific 'breeds' of dogs in southern African during the pre-colonial period who could have survived in 'pure' form up until the present. Indeed, this chapter has made clear that there was an ongoing admixture from external sources.¹⁶¹ It maintains that the idea that a 'pure' breed existed is teleological and reductionist imposition of western terms into the southern African past. It, however, complicated that picture by showing that in some localized contexts there was controlled and purposeful breeding of dogs with the aim of producing dogs with particular colour conformations. Such dogs were deployed for ritual purposes and for that reason were supposed to be ritually 'clean.' These dogs were bred in confined spaces and subjected to feeding regime. However, such dogs were not very useful for the generality of the population that resided on the Zimbabwean plateau. The Ndebele cultivated a culture of 'barking dogs' by the manner in which they did not consume all the meat left after slaughtering cattle because they wanted their dogs to form a security shield against malevolent spirits of the night and cattle rustlers. The majority of people on the Zimbabwean plateau purposely trained whatever type of dog that came their way to make it good at hunting. They at times doctored them or bestowed on them some spiritual capabilities. For them any dog could be trained and made to work. The idea of mongrelisation needs further probing to understand whether the people residing in the region did have ideas about it and how these differed with those from the global west. Despite showing that there were many different types of dogs in the country—coming from various sources or places (and of small scale controlled breeding in some instances) dogs were invaluable in the cultural, economic and political lives of the Africans. In fact, different dogs from several sources were systematically trained, fed and doctored to serve the various ideographic needs of the people residing on the Zimbabwean plateau.

¹⁶¹ Blench, 'African minor livestock species'; Hall, 'Indigenous domesticated dogs of southern Africa'; Swart, 'Dogs and Dogma.'

Chapter Three

Good Dogs and Bad Dogs – Rabies and the invention of a new canine order under the British South Africa Company government, 1902-1913.

Introduction

On the cusp of the twentieth century, during the famine following the 1893 Anglo-Ndebele war, starving Ndebele desperately seeking food from the British South Africa Company (BSAC) government were told to ‘eat dogs’. The Matabeleland Magistrate, Herman Heyman, told the crowds that ‘the town was full of stray dogs, dogs to dogs, we might kill those and eat them if we could catch them’.¹ Such strange ideas about killing ‘stray dogs’ preceded the 1902 to 1913 rabies outbreaks during which, as this chapter shows, African-owned dogs were massacred. At the time, the BSAC government was setting up the departments of Agriculture, Veterinary,² Health and so-called ‘Native Administration’³ whose competing visions of rational management during the outbreaks generated a suite of debates over how to manage Africans—and, by extension, their dogs. As this chapter will explore, these departments not only created lasting stereotypes of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Africans, they also created similarly enduring discourses about their dogs. They wanted to induct Africans into a new way of relating with the authority and with modernity. Part of this program was to compel Africans to abandon traditional ways of keeping and breeding animals, especially dogs in order to keep fewer and ‘better’. The ostensible aim was to control rabies outbreaks in the colony but it was also intended to change how Africans and their dogs related with the natural (and, later, the urban) environment. As this chapter will show, the rabies outbreaks provided authorities with the power to re-order African lives according to colonial ideas about the pursuit of rational management, and to control the disease and the environment in particular.

¹ C.C. Mavhunga, ‘Vermin Beings: On Pestiferous Animals and Human Game,’ *Social Text* 106, 29, 1 (2011), 157.

² The Veterinary Department was established in March 1896 when Charles Elias Gray was appointed as the acting government veterinary surgeon following the outbreak of Rinderpest. He intermittently returned to his job as a postmaster in Victoria (now Masvingo) before he was appointed as the head of the Veterinary Department, a position that he held until 1905. NAZ BE 11/9/12 Historical Manuscript: A brief history of veterinary research in Southern Rhodesia by L.E.W. Bevan.

³ It was set up in 1894. W. Mwatwara, ‘A history of state veterinary services and African livestock regimes in colonial Zimbabwe, c.1890-1980,’ PhD Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, (2014), 54.

The chapter enters a robust historiographical debate over rabies in southern Africa. It extends Van Sittert's significant study of the 1893 rabies epidemic in Port Elizabeth (South Africa).⁴ Van Sittert argues that the outbreak initially provided the middle class, who ran the Port Elizabeth municipality, the opportunity to target dogs belonging to poor whites and Africans in the rural countryside and in urban ghettos between May and June 1893, when the Cape Parliament was in recess. They implemented drastic rabies regulations that included mass massacres of dogs. Similarly, the continuance of the rabies epidemic allowed the colonial state to use the same British best practises—muzzling and canicide—against middle class dog-owners between June and December 1893.⁵ Van Sittert argues that the epidemic permitted governing authorities to use such draconian measures to change society without recourse to moral or any other considerations that held sway in normal times. While his study covers one epidemic that occurred in 1893, this chapter explores several rabies epidemics that occurred, a decade later, from 1902 to 1913 in Southern Rhodesia. Initially Southern Rhodesian authorities copied their response from the Port Elizabeth crisis but, as this chapter will contend, later modified them. In fact, the Southern Rhodesian state initially imported both the South African legislation and their drastic methods of suppressing the rabies epidemics. However, this chapter will show why such a highly interventionist approach did not survive for long in both white and African areas.⁶ In fact, state intrusions into African environments and societies often found themselves contending with stubborn local traditions, rituals and ideas.⁷

The first section situates the chapter within the global historiography of rabies. The second analyses ideas about dog breeding that were introduced to Southern Rhodesia after the 1902 rabies outbreaks. The third examines how Africans deployed tradition, rumours and religion in their struggles against the rabies regulations. The last section analyses the negotiations that the BSAC government, the NAD and the veterinary department were compelled to engage in with traditional leaders and ordinary Africans over the rabies regulations.

⁴ L. Van Sittert, 'Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,' in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanus: A dog History of Southern Africa*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 111-144.

⁵ Van Sittert, 'Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,' 111-144.

⁶ Compare with the case of Bali in 2008 when local customs and legends were used in trying to convince locals to accept western rabies control measures such as vaccinations. See K. McCreanor, S. McCreanor and A. Utari, 'Connected and Interconnected: Bali people and Bali dogs,' in J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka, *Dog's Best Friend? Rethinking Canid-Human Relations*, (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 160-175

⁷ Compare with J. Tropp, 'Locust invasion and tensions over Environmental and Bodily Health in the Colonial Transkei,' in D.M. Gordon and S. Krech (eds), *Indigenous Knowledge and the Environmental in Africa and North America*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), 113-128; J. Tropp, 'Dogs, poison, and the meaning of colonial intervention on the Transkei, South Africa,' *Journal of African History*, 43, 3 (2002), 451-472.

A world gone mad? The global historiography of Rabies

Despite being an ancient disease recorded in classical texts, historical studies of rabies only began in 1979.⁸ Studies of rabies that appeared before this date were entirely of a scientific nature and they focused on clinical, laboratory, medical, veterinary and virological aspects of the disease.⁹ This changed after Walton published his seminal article about Englishmen, pet keeping and mad dogs in late Victorian England in 1979.¹⁰ He shows that rabies and pet keeping increased in Victorian England, exploring how drastic measures intended to control a horrible but infrequent disease for common good had to be used because the aristocrats, middle class, and the working classes preferred contradictory interventions. Ritvo showed that rabies became a metaphor used to reflect on the status of the dog-owner as the wealthy refused to admit that their well-bred and well-fed dogs could be susceptible to rabies. Instead, they accused the ‘curs’ of the working class as metonymically mirroring the vices of their owners.¹¹ Such misdiagnosis that used dogs metaphorically experienced a reversal in France in the 1870s to the 1890s.¹² Kete argues that the bourgeoisie in France interpreted rabies in their dogs and hydrophobia in members of their own class as emanating from their abandonment of nature for urban modernity. They thus envied the working classes and their dogs that (they believed) lived naturally—without modernity stifling their animal atavistic instincts.¹³

Blaisdell’s study of eighteenth-century England and English North America concurs that rabies was frequently misunderstood and that this generated categories such as spurious, hysterical and spontaneous rabies that generated mass panics.¹⁴ Knowledge about rabies was still contested and the rabies virus compounded this by being highly adaptable in changing its hosts while its symptoms also resembled those of many other misunderstood human and animal diseases of the time. This was the reason why eighteenth century scientists came up with many ‘wonder drugs’ that tended to be injurious to the animal or person being treated instead of being efficacious. This compounded the fear of rabies. Pemberton and Worboy’s ground-breaking

⁸ W. Yuhong, ‘Rabies and Rabid Dogs in Sumerian and Akkadian Literature,’ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 121, 1 (2001), 32-43.

⁹ G.M. Baer, *The natural History of rabies*, vol. 1, (London: Academic Press, 1975).

¹⁰ J.K. Walton, ‘Mad Dogs and Englishmen: The Conflict over Rabies in Late Victorian England,’ *Journal of Social History*, 13, 2 (1979), 219-239.

¹¹ Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 176-177.

¹² K. Kete, ‘La Rage and the Bourgeoisie: The Cultural context of Rabies in the French Nineteenth Century,’ *Representations*, 22 (1988), 89-107.

¹³ Kete, ‘La Rage and the Bourgeoisie,’ 89-107.

¹⁴ J.D. Blaisdell, ‘A frightful, but not necessarily fatal, madness: rabies in eighteenth-century England and English North America,’ PhD History, Iowa State University, 1995.

monograph, focusing on rabies between 1830 and 2000 in England, enlarges the argument that rabies was frequently mis- or over-diagnosed because it had a multiplicity of experts – the police, veterinarians, medical practitioners, the public, politicians, magistrates and animal rights activists – that dominated the knowledge, politics and policies generated about rabies from their own vantage points.¹⁵ These authorities often opposed each other's preferred rabies control methods.¹⁶

These class-based interpretations of rabies were interpolated with race in the context of southern African colonies. As noted, Van Sittert uses an epidemiological lens in his study of the 1893 Port Elizabeth rabies outbreak in South Africa to show that the elite blamed its outbreak on poor black (and some poor white) people and their dogs.¹⁷ Between May and June 1893, the Port Elizabeth bourgeoisie used the epidemic— unhindered by either the law, or humanitarian considerations— to massacre both licensed and unlicensed dog in the Native locations (and those belonging to poor white dog-owners) on the basis that they were unmuzzled. In doing this, the Port Elizabeth Municipality allowed the bourgeoisie, which led the colonial dog fancy in South Africa, to influence it to target dogs owned by Africans and poor whites. At the time, Cape parliament was in recess. In June 1893, the Department of Lands, Mines and Agriculture (that was dominated by farmers) came to impose the same drastic measures on the dogs of the middle classes because the outbreak had not abated. The middle class interpreted state interventionism as an unwarranted attack on private property, their privacy and class values. This state intervention had far-reaching outcomes because it permanently displaced the Port Elizabeth dog fancying elites from their leading position in South Africa and changed the ecology of urban animals. This chapter extends Van Sittert's model by using a rural setting, the Southern Rhodesian NAD, and it engages with contemporary African ideas about rabies to contribute to this historiographical conversation. In essence, this chapter argues that although the Southern Rhodesian state initially borrowed the Port Elizabeth model and first used extreme and heavy-handed methods to control the rabies outbreaks, it came to realize that local politics, customs and knowledge prevented this imported approach from working. Eventually, this chapter demonstrates, Southern Rhodesian authorities were compelled to grant some concessions to both white and African people in its implementation of the rabies regulations, highlighting the importance of the ideographic context.

¹⁵ N. Pemberton and M. Worboy, *Mad dogs and Englishmen: Rabies in Britain 1830-2000*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007).

¹⁶ Pemberton and Worboy, *Mad dogs and Englishmen*, 195.

¹⁷ Van Sittert, 'Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,' 111-144.

Karen Brown's 2011 book adds a multi-disciplinary perspective encompassing medical, historical, veterinary, environmental and epidemiological perspectives in southern African rabies historiography.¹⁸ She draws attention to the range of southern African mammals that have uniquely responded to changing ecological, agricultural, economic, political and social environments to the extent of complicating the region's rabies situation by making it both an emergent and resurgent problem affecting both domestic and wild animals and urban and rural areas.¹⁹ However, Brown concedes that the perspectives of the Africans have remained absent in the rabies historiography of southern Africa, which this chapter seeks to remedy.

Brown did not include African experiences during the 1893 Port Elizabeth and the 1902 to 1913 Southern Rhodesian rabies outbreaks, and, for the possibility of earlier outbreaks, relying only on the testimonies of European travellers whose stay in the continent was transitory. It is not unusual historiographically to ignore local voices in rabies outbreaks. Pankhurst, in the case of Ethiopia, showed that medical authorities deliberately ignored indigenous knowledge about the treatment of rabies.²⁰ Briggs and Briggs, in the case of the Delta Amacuro State in Venezuela between 2007 and 2008, avers that Venezuelan medical authorities similarly ignored locally produced knowledge to the extent that they failed to diagnose the disease that had killed many people during that period.²¹ Similarly, there is an epistemological gap regarding how Africans in Southern Rhodesia responded to the 1902 to 1913 rabies outbreaks, how their responses affected the different government departments that preferred competing rabies control measures and how all this affected the government's capacity to control the disease. Thus, this chapter responds to Beinart and Brown's call to study biomedicine and local knowledge systems side by side because these separate entities symbiotically fed into each other in as much as they also competed and bastardized each other. Moreover, both Africans and colonial veterinary scientists did not have the power to enforce all their preferred remedies because of competing preferences of several government departments.²² Furthermore, Beinart, Brown and Gilfoyle, contend that veterinary scientists working in the colonies met new animal

¹⁸ K. Brown, *Mad Dogs and Meerkats: A History of Resurgent Rabies in Southern Africa*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011), 36.

¹⁹ K. Brown, 'Rapid Epidemiologies: The Emergence and resurgence of Rabies in Twentieth Century South Africa,' *Journal of the History of Biology*, 44 (2011), 81-101.

²⁰ R. Pankhurst, 'The History and Traditional Treatment of Rabies in Ethiopia,' *Medical History*, 14, 4 (1970), 378-389.

²¹ C.L. Briggs and C. Martini-Briggs, *Tell Me Why my Children Died: Rabies, indigenous knowledge, and communicative justice*, (Durham, Duke University Press, 2016), 1-17.

²² W. Beinart and K. Brown, *African Local Knowledge and Livestock Health: Disease and Treatments in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Wit University Press, 2013), 17.

diseases, experimented with local knowledge and contributed to the understanding of new, older and complex animal diseases globally.²³ It is generally agreed that colonial scientists combined insights from both indigenous knowledge and western biomedicine.²⁴ Similarly, African dog-owners also adopted a pluralistic approach that incorporated local knowledge, cultural arguments and aspects of western biomedicine and this complicated their relationships with NAD, the Veterinary Department and the British South Africa Police (BSAP). The chapter demonstrates that an examination of the conduct of Africans during the outbreak suggests that some of them might have had prior knowledge of the disease. Such prior knowledge is important in analysing how government departments used the epidemic to change African livelihoods that depended on dog keeping, the types of dogs kept in African areas and lastly the manner in which the Africans related to the colonial state.

Better dogs, Better citizens? Africans and the new canine order, 1902-1906

In order to understand the Southern Rhodesian rabies regulations and the shifting ways in which the state responded, it is imperative to analyse dominant colonial ideas about ‘better’ dogs. These were contrasted with ‘bad’ dogs variously described as ‘curs’, ‘mongrels’ and ‘scavengers’: terms that were used to describe African-owned dogs. Conversely, these discourses labelled white-owned dogs as ‘valuable’. These ideas encompassed a body of knowledge about the environment, animal diseases and the need to control African-owned dogs in order to protect game animals, the livestock industry and the whole colonial enterprise. This section derives inspiration from studies that focus on the meanings attached to ‘better’ types of dogs and their assumed effects on the natural environment.²⁵ Introducing such ‘better’ types of animals often resulted in conflicts between the aims of the colonial state and those of the Africans over rewarding ecologies. As argued elsewhere, it often ended up with powerful groupings denying the human disempowered (and their animals) access to resource-rich

²³ K. Brown and D. Gilfoyle (eds), *Healing the Herds: Disease, Livestock Economies and the Globalisation of Veterinary Medicine*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010); W. Beinart, K. Brown and D. Gilfoyle, ‘Experts and Expertise in Colonial Africa Reconsidered: Science and the Interpretations of Knowledge,’ *African Affairs*, 108, 432 (2009) 432.

²⁴ W. Beinart and K. Brown, *African Local Knowledge and Livestock Health: Disease and Treatments in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Wit University Press, 2013), 3-17; H. Tilley, ‘African environments and environmental sciences: The African research survey, ecological paradigms and British Colonial Development,’ in W. Beinart and J. McGregor (eds), *Social History and African Environments*, (Oxford: James Currey, 2003) 112-116.

²⁵ W. Mwatwara and S. Swart, ‘Better breeds?’ The Colonial State, Africans and the Cattle Quality Clause in Southern Rhodesia, c. 1912-1930,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42, 2 (2016), 333; S. Swart, ‘It is as bad to be a black man’s animal as it is to be a black man’—The Politics of Species in Sol Plaatje’s *Native Life* in South Africa,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40, 4 (2014), 697-703.

environments.²⁶ Although historians of Southern Rhodesia have shown that colonial authorities began to worry over these issues around 1912 by encouraging Africans to keep ‘bigger and better cattle,’²⁷ in reality these debates began as early as 1902 and focused on bettering the quality of African-owned dogs.²⁸ Similarly, attempts to force Africans in Southern Rhodesia to keep ‘better types’ of dogs were aimed at introducing a different relationship between Africans, the environment and the colonial economy.²⁹

Drawing on the precedent of their powerful neighbour to the south, the BSAC government adopted the Rabies Act of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope of 1893 in response to the rabies outbreak that occurred near Bulawayo in 1902.³⁰ The provisions of this Act were extended to Gwanda, Gwelo, Victoria and Salisbury in September 1902, because the disease had broken out in these areas as well.³¹ The government prohibited the movement of dogs between affected and unaffected areas, the importation of dogs into the country and made the muzzling and chaining of dogs compulsory in affected areas (both in private and public areas).³² The Veterinary Department, the BSAP and the NAD enforced the muzzling and chaining of dogs in African areas and destroyed all dogs found at large and/or unmuzzled there. The Veterinary Department and the BSAP enforced the rabies regulations in white urban and farming areas.³³

²⁶ N.J. Jacobs, ‘The Great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre: Discourse on the Ass and the Politics of Class and Grass,’ *The American Historical Review*, 106, 2 (2001), 485-507.

²⁷ Mwatwara and Swart, ‘Better breeds?’, 333.

²⁸ This was not unique to Southern Rhodesia; indeed, attempts to force colonized people (the WoDaaBe in colonial Niger in the 1930s) to adopt ‘ideal breed types’ were rooted in the colonial state’s attempts to transform their traditional economy (that was based on nomadic pastoralism) into a settled farming economy favoured by the colonial state. See S. Kratli, ‘Animal science and the representation of local breeds: looking into the sources of current characterisation of Bororo Zebu,’ in Brown and Gilfoyle (eds), *Healing the Herds: Disease, Livestock Economies, and the Globalization of Veterinary Medicine*, 232-249.

²⁹ In a different context, Parisian workers in France in the 1730s killed many cats because they saw them as proxies of their employers. This is a similar example in which a class argument among humans ended up with some humans slaughtering animals. These workers performed their anger towards their employer by targeting his cats in a 1730s Parisian printing shop in Rue Saint-Séverin. It was both a veiled protest and a symbolic attack on their boss, who provided bad food and low wages that transcended the language of the factory. See R. Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 75-106.

³⁰ SRG 1/SL Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia, ‘Declaring certain Districts under operation of Rabies Act, and promulgating certain regulations,’ No. 226, 8 September 1902.

³¹ SRG 1/SL Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia, ‘Declaring certain Districts under operation of Rabies Act, and promulgating certain regulations’.

³² SRG-1/SL Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia, ‘Regulations as to Movement of dogs,’ No. 45, 13 February 1903, 108.

³³ ‘Rabies: Government Activity,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 6 September 1902.

The Veterinary Department and the NAD collaborated in ‘teaching’ Africans about rabies, in enforcing the rabies regulations and in encouraging them to keep ‘better dogs’,³⁴ which they defined as European purebred dogs. These ideas, which were predicated on the existence of a canine aristocracy, which had purebred European dogs at the apex and ‘stray dogs’ at the bottom began to be imposed on Africans. This canine hierarchy developed in Victorian England and was taken to the colonies.³⁵ It slotted African-owned dogs into the category of ‘useless,’ ‘uncivilized’ dogs’ that threatened purebred dogs with pollution and rabies.³⁶ The NAD met with traditional leaders from the Bulalima, Insiza and Matobo districts in September 1902 to explain to them the need to tie up all uninfected dogs and to destroy all the ‘mongrels and scavengers’ they had no use for: the ‘bad’ dogs accused of spreading rabies.³⁷ In addition to being designated as rabies regulations enforcers in African areas, these traditional leaders promised the NAD that they were going to keep ‘a few favourites,’ which they agreed to tie up. They readily agreed to do this because ‘several natives have been bitten, and one has died from the effects of a bite in the Bulilima district’.³⁸ In another report a mad dog—that was strangely savaging the Mopane fence around the NC’s garden in Bulilima—bit an African ‘and three or four dogs’.³⁹ More reports that were isolated occurred in Bulawayo’s northern suburb where ‘a dog exhibited the strangest behaviour, biting at sticks, and swallowing stones and bones’.⁴⁰ These cases prompted the Bulawayo Municipality to instruct its residents to chain up or muzzle their dogs.⁴¹ Reports of rabies outbreaks that occurred in the Matabeleland districts and possibly the fact that some of these traditional leaders knew about the disease in the pre-colonial era (as will be explained in the following section) explain why they readily agreed to destroy some of their dogs. In fact, the government noted that the attitude of Africans towards

³⁴ In the same vein, African-owned dogs were described as useless beasts and ‘kaffir dogs’, see Southern Rhodesia, ‘Public Health Laboratory,’ *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1913*, 25.

³⁵ H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and other creatures in the Victorian Age*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 83-114.

³⁶ This has been a much-used colonial policy in which African-owned dogs and some wild animals have been regarded as vermin. Most southern African colonies periodically embarked on vermin destruction campaigns. See also R. Mutwira, ‘Southern Rhodesian wildlife policy (1890-1953): A Question of Condoning Game Slaughter?’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15, 2 (1989), 250–262; J. Tropp, ‘Dogs, poisons and the meaning of colonial intervention in the Transkei, South Africa,’ Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 150–152; L. Van Sittert, ‘Keeping the enemy at bay’: the extermination of wild carnivora in the Cape Colony, 1889–1910’, *Environmental History*, 3, 3 (1998), 333–56; W. Beinart, ‘Night of the jackal’: Sheep, Pastures and Predators in the Cape’, *Past and Present*, 158 (1998), 172-206.

³⁷ ‘Rabies at the kraal: an interesting case of hydrophobia,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 6 September 1902; NAZ N/3/1/1/5 Native Affairs, CNC to NC Charter, ‘Rabies: Enkeeldoorn,’ 18 June 1906.

³⁸ ‘Rabies at the kraal: an interesting case of hydrophobia,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 6 September 1902.

³⁹ ‘Rabies and Natives,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 20 September 1902.

⁴⁰ ‘Outbreak of Rabies near Bulawayo,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 30 August 1902

⁴¹ ‘Rabies: proposed regulations,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 6 September 1902.

the rabies regulations ‘which affect(ed) them considerably, has been enlightened and praiseworthy’.⁴²

Traditional leader’s ‘enlightened’ attitude either stemmed from the fact that they extracted concessions on behalf of the dogs that they owned or because they may have accepted colonial introduction of ‘better dogs.’ In 1905, Colonel Napier, the Member of Parliament for the Western Division, revealed that:

It might be argued that the natives required a certain number of dogs to keep away witches from their kraal at night; but the natives themselves, the older men with whom he had talked, admitted that two or three dogs would answer this purpose. It was the younger men of the population who kept the numerous dogs of which he complained, and they kept them for the purpose of catching steenboks and duiker and other game.⁴³

Besides being blamed for spreading rabies, dogs owned by young black men challenged colonial conservation ideas about game animals and natural resources. Similarly, NC Hartley in 1910 complained that dogs owned by women were used to cleaning up after children who had defecated (to lick ‘a child after it had had a motion’).⁴⁴ Generally, women’s dogs survived from scavenging for homestead scraps. The canine hierarchy mentioned above—consisting of dogs owned by older men, younger men and women—was about to be changed, especially as it also consisted of many so-called useless and certainly emaciated village dogs, which the Ndebele called *mgodoyi* (useless semi-feral dogs).⁴⁵

Narratives that Africans kept dogs for ‘poaching’, did not sufficiently feed their dogs, that these dogs ‘acted as scavengers,’ and were ‘a continual source of danger to all’⁴⁶ speak to a broader argument about local animals in colonial settings. In the extreme case of Peru, Spanish Conquistadors who based their ideas on Catholicism branded the Peruvian hairless dog, which

⁴² Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume. 1, First Session, Second Council, ‘President’s Opening Speech,’ 20 November 1902, 104.

⁴³ Southern Rhodesian Legislative Debates, First session, Third Council, ‘proposed dog tax,’ 28 April 1905, 12-13.

⁴⁴ NAZ N9/1/13 Native Commissioners, Hartley District annual report, 31 December 1910.

⁴⁵ It has other Ndebele or Zulu synonyms such as *umgaxa*, *umkhenkethe*, *umkhongolo*. These words are used interchangeably in Ndebele – they all refer to useless, thin and semi feral dogs. *Mgodoyi* has also been used in politics recently in Zimbabwean politics. In July 2019, Former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, is said to have said that South African must not allow people who behave as *mgodoyi* does to rule over them. ‘Former President Mbeki pays tribute to the late artist David Koloane,’ *Youtube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QgGF7mUerI4>, accessed 26 August 2019. Chapter one of this dissertation quotes Professor Jonathan Moyo, the former Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education in former President Mugabe’s cabinet referring to the ‘ugly culture of a stray dog.’ It appears that the defining characteristics of the *mgodoyi* was its uselessness and semi-feral nature.

⁴⁶ Southern Rhodesian Legislative Debates, First Session, Third Council, ‘proposed dog tax,’ 28 April 1905, 12-13.

has a wrinkly leather skin and sparse patches of hair, as a satanic, devilish and ugly beast before massacring them (Peruvian hairless dogs) on a large scale.⁴⁷ In fact, all local animals—including cattle, donkeys and horses—were said to be in need of improvement. Colonel Napier called for the ‘cleansing (of) the country, and particularly of the native stock’ during the rabies outbreaks because other cattle diseases such as East Coast Fever also broke out at the same time.⁴⁸ He described African-owned dogs as being ‘in a bad condition,’ ‘a source of danger’ and a ‘curse’ to the country that needed to be dealt with ‘in the public interest, and in the interests of adjoining states’.⁴⁹ According to Brown and Gilfoyle although colonial veterinary services were small and frequently ineffective, they nonetheless ‘constituted a significant part of the state-building process,’ as part of the move to a modern state.⁵⁰ Evidently, the aim was to increase administrative efficiency, to bolster economic development and to enhance the international prestige of Southern Rhodesia. Colonel Napier further explained that:

It would only be a matter of time before that disease spread to the Transvaal and the neighbouring states. He believed that the natives could afford to kill about two-thirds of their dogs and still the number left would be sufficient for their purposes. It was the duty of the Government to have that disease stopped at once not only because of the danger of it spreading to the neighbouring states. Another serious matter was where several animals had been bitten by rabid dogs. The Veterinary Department themselves had stated that he (the speaker) had lost seven or eight cows through having been bitten by rabid dogs. If that sort of thing continued some dog would spread it among the jackals and wild dogs, and then it would be an enormous danger to the whole country, so serious a danger, in fact, that one could scarcely realise it.⁵¹

The above quotation showed that taming new colonial lands in settler discourses moved in tandem with establishing new human-animal relations and in creating new economic opportunities for settlers in order to extend the authority of the colonial state. Thus, ‘native beasts’ needed to be cleansed or killed if Southern Rhodesia was to establish flourishing commercial livestock farming.⁵² The next chapter shows that dog taxation was imposed in the country to aid settler cattle farmers who had complained about grass burning by Africans.⁵³

⁴⁷ Although some of these dogs survived, they were subjected to a lot of propaganda and othering up until the 1990s, when they began to be viewed as part of Peru’s heritage. See ‘Masters of the pyramid: The dogs reclaiming their heritage,’ *BBC News*, 3 September 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-49471593>, accessed on 20 September 2019.

⁴⁸ Southern Rhodesian Legislative Debates, First Session, Third Council, ‘proposed dog tax,’ 12-13.

⁴⁹ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume. 1, Third session, Third Council, ‘proposed dog tax,’ 8 May 1907, 38-40.

⁵⁰ Brown and Gilfoyle, ‘Introduction,’ in Brown and Gilfoyle, *Healing the Herds*, 4.

⁵¹ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume. 1, Third session, Third Council, ‘proposed dog tax,’ 38-40.

⁵² Mavhunga, ‘Vermin Beings: On Pestiferous Animals and Human Game,’ 157.

⁵³ Similarly, in the Transkei, a similar setting, colonial authorities resorted to poisoning African owned dogs in the 1890s and 1900s to conserve forest resources for settlers. See Tropp, ‘Dogs, poison, and the meaning of colonial intervention on the Transkei.’

Thus, in this early period, the colonial state considered introducing ‘better dogs’ to Africans in order to both control rabies outbreaks and to conserve the environment for settler cattle farmers. As government departments debated the various methods—ranging from taxation, the destruction of African dogs and to selective breeding of dogs—of responding to the menace ‘caused’ by African-owned dogs, the Treasury Department proposed that:

In order to reduce the canine population, and so check the spread of Rabies: I would advance the converse as a sound policy to promote the increase of equine, bovine, ovine and porcine populations. I would suggest the taxation of stallions, bulls, ram (sheep and goats) and boars. It is a proposal which is finding much favour in other parts of South Africa. To begin with, the casual complete male roaming about a commonage, or veldt, is objectionable and sometimes dangerous. To impose an appreciable tax would ensure the castration of many animals which would otherwise be allowed to reproduce the images of their unlovely selves, and give more opportunity to their better bred and better looking congeners, who often do not get a chance, because ‘this horse, bull or ram, will do just as well.’⁵⁴

This suggested scheme shows that some colonial officials contemplated the taxation of all male human-owned animals, dogs included, in order to encourage the breeding of ‘better’ animals and to set up Southern Rhodesia as an important player in animal husbandry. The fact that the Treasury Department included other livestock shows that it believed that in general all African-owned animals needed to be ‘improved’ so as to prevent them from jeopardising settler farmers who specialized in the keeping of livestock. Such prescriptive top-down intervention in animal breeding was aimed at inducting Africans into a version of colonial modernity and to force them to abandon their traditional methods of keeping animals – ostensibly with the aim of protecting commercial farming.⁵⁵

Breeding and Blooding

Southern African historiography has shown that colonial authorities were interested in ‘blooding’ (inter-breeding) local breeds of horses, donkeys and cattle with exotic ‘breeds’ in order to improve them, control diseases and rationally manage the impact of these animals on the environment by forcing ‘subject races’ to keep fewer and better animals.⁵⁶ NC Chilimanzi reported in June 1904 that Africans had begun owning few dogs ‘of the better class’ after

⁵⁴ NAZ T2/3/1 Ministry of Agriculture Annual Reports, Treasurer to Secretary for Agriculture, Salisbury, ‘Taxation of males,’ 5 August 1908.

⁵⁵ Many colonial ideas of rationally managing livestock development, the environment and soil conservations were forcibly introduced in African areas. I. Phimister, ‘Discourse and the Discipline of Historical Context: Conservationism and Ideas about Development in Southern Rhodesia 1930–1950’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 12, 2 (1986), 263-275; M. Drinkwater, ‘Technical Development and Peasant Impoverishment: Land Use Policy in Zimbabwe’s Midlands Province’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15, 2 (1989), 287-305.

⁵⁶ Mwatwara and Swart, ‘Better breeds?’, 337.

voluntarily exterminating those that had contracted rabies.⁵⁷ Other Native Commissioners reported that ‘a better stamp of dogs’ had begun to be kept by Africans.⁵⁸ NC Gutu reported in 1913 that ‘a certain number of inferior and useless dogs have been destroyed, but not the better ones.’⁵⁹ In another report, NC Gutu commented that ‘this will be an excellent thing, as we shall be rid of a large number of useless curs, and those natives who do pay (dog tax) will be the lovers of dogs.’⁶⁰ Although Africans in the Makoni district opposed colonial attempts to improve their cattle, sheep and goats, they readily paid up to £3 or £4 each for a large dog and up to five shillings for a large colonial Rooster.⁶¹ Evidently, some Africans allowed themselves to be inducted into this new canine order either because they had their own reasons (such as protecting fields from baboons by using big European-bred dogs).⁶² However, some Africans refused to acquire ‘better cattle’ and ovine animals because they (these animals) required extra feeding, did not thrive in some local environments and for cultural reasons (such as those people who owned spirit dogs as will be shown below).⁶³ Thus, African responses to animal ‘improvement’ schemes were not uniform.

Colonial discourses about improving African-owned dogs need to be understood in the context of how white Bulawayo dog-owners and other whites in other parts of the country responded to the rabies outbreaks. White Bulawayo and Salisbury residents had begun to imitate British dog-keeping practises by forming kennel clubs from 1901 and affiliating themselves to the South Africa Kennel Union that was based in Cape Town.⁶⁴ For the whole duration of the rabies outbreaks, these kennel clubs held dog shows annually in conjunction with the Southern Rhodesia Agricultural Show Society.⁶⁵ In 1906, the Bulawayo Kennel Club (BKC) dog show attracted ‘a fairly large entry, numbering nearly 100’ and included ‘many fine specimen,’ some of which were bred in Southern Rhodesia.⁶⁶ However, its 1910 dog show was forced to curtail some of its activities ‘in certain directions through lack of funds’ and its housing for dogs was too ‘crude’ to the extent of preventing some owners of valuable animals from exhibiting.⁶⁷ The

⁵⁷ NAZ NVG 2/1/3 General, NC Gutu-Chilimanzi monthly report, 30 June 1904.

⁵⁸ NAZ N9/4/26/1 Native Commissioners monthly, NC Lomagundi’s monthly report, 28 February 1913; NAZ NVG 2/1/3 General, NC Gutu-Chilimanzi’s monthly report, June 1904.

⁵⁹ NAZ NVG 2/1/7 General, NC Gutu to the Superintendent of Natives, ‘Dog Tax,’ 13 February 1913.

⁶⁰ N9/4/26/1 Native Commissioners monthly, Report of NC Gutu, 31 January 1913.

⁶¹ NAZ N9/1/16 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Makoni’s Annual Report for 1913.

⁶² NAZ N9/4/26/1 Native Commissioners monthly, NC Makoni’s monthly report, January 1913.

⁶³ Mwatwara and Swart, ‘Better breeds?’, 345-349.

⁶⁴ NAZ BU 9/1/1 Original Minute Book: Bulawayo Kennel Club, 17 April 1922.

⁶⁵ ‘Agricultural Show: Exhibits Described,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 1 July 1910.

⁶⁶ ‘Bulawayo Agricultural Show,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 14 July 1906.

⁶⁷ ‘Agricultural Show: Exhibits Described’; NAZ BU 9/1/1 Original Minute Book: Bulawayo Kennel Club, Minutes of Committee meeting held in Mr Johnson’s office on 3 April 1910.

Bulawayo Chronicle reported that two unique dogs that were in Bulawayo in July 1910 which had ‘moved in the elite of the canine society in London, and been received favourably at the Crystal Palace shows’ had abstained from participating.⁶⁸ Moreover, the 1910 BKC dog show was dogged by allegations of cheating after two Great Danes—described as ‘really splendid dogs’—owned by Miss E.C. Steedman, were disqualified because their ears had been ‘surgically interfered with.’⁶⁹ The BKC reimbursed her ‘out of pocket expenses on the dogs’ in 1911 because it had mistakenly disqualified her dogs.⁷⁰ These developments showed that white dog-owners in Southern Rhodesia imitated the British dog-fancy and this had a bearing on how they responded to the rabies outbreaks.

White dog-owners, who kept pedigreed dogs, behaved as though the directive to muzzle and tie dogs did not apply to them. Consequently, their ‘valuable dogs’, ‘prized hounds’ and poodles—a few of which were worth £100 and which belonged to its affluent middle class—were destroyed by the BSAP during the rabies campaign between 1902 and 1904.⁷¹ Bulawayo white dog-owners thereafter complained about the BSAP’s ‘absolute inability to discriminate between ‘a valuable dog and a mongrel.’⁷² White Bulawayo residents protested in February 1904 declaring that ‘we are masters of this town and not the police’ because they believed that their well-kept dogs could not succumb to or spread rabies.⁷³ For that reason, they declared that the conduct of the BSAP was ‘unreasonable and devoid of common sense’.⁷⁴ Charles Coghlan,⁷⁵ a lawyer who defended white dog-owners who had violated the rabies regulations in the Bulawayo Police Court (and who was to become the first Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia in 1923), called for the adoption of a ‘proper plan’ to cordon off the town in order to

⁶⁸ ‘Agricultural Show: Exhibits Described’.

⁶⁹ NAZ BU 9/1/1 Original Minute Book: Bulawayo Kennel Club, J Routhwaite, Honorable Secretary Bulawayo Kennel Club, to Miss E.C. Steedman, 30 July 1910.

⁷⁰ NAZ BU 9/1/1 Original Minute Book: Bulawayo Kennel Club, Minutes of Committee Meeting held on January 26 1911 in Mr Johnson’s office; Bulawayo Kennel Club, The Kennel Club: Members Annual Meeting 13 October 1909.

⁷¹ ‘Owner of Dogs: rabies,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 22 November 1902; ‘Unmuzzled Dogs,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 8 November 1902; ‘The Muzzling Question: Ratepayers Strongly protest Against Regulations: Police Censured,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 6 February 1904; ‘The muzzling regulation suspended yesterday,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 2 July 1904.

⁷² ‘The Muzzling Question: ratepayers strongly protest against regulations: police censured.’

⁷³ ‘The Muzzling question: ratepayers strongly protest against regulations: police censured.’

⁷⁴ ‘Owner of Dogs: rabies,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 22 November 1902.

⁷⁵ These activities brought to the fore men such as Sir Charles Coghlan, who went on to become the legislator of the Western Division between 1908 and 1912 and then the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia between 1923 and 1927. Between 1908 and 1912, Coghlan pushed for the taxation of African-owned dogs in the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Council. He was also a champion of ‘poor white farmers.’ He unsuccessfully pushed in the Legislative Council to have poor white farmers exempted from the operations of the Dog Tax Ordinance of 1912.

‘capture all stray dogs’.⁷⁶ The BSAC government responded to these complaints in March 1904 by passing regulations regarding the detention and feeding of such valuable dogs in Bulawayo, Gwanda and Fort Victoria.⁷⁷

Due to the fierce opposition mounted by white dog-owners, the muzzling regulations were suspended in Bulawayo in July 1904. They were re-imposed in March 1905 because of ‘a *kafir* dog’, which was ‘believed to have bitten ten other dogs.’⁷⁸ There was, however, rampant disregard for the muzzling regulations by white Bulawayo dog-owners, who utilized the services of lawyers such as Coghlan in order to get relatively lighter sentences in the Police Court—‘the usual twenty shillings.’⁷⁹ However, Africans could not afford such legal services usually paid ‘sentences of 1 pound (fine) or 7 days’ imprisonment.⁸⁰ Conversely, white dog-owners were not given custodial sentences or labour related punishments for violating the muzzling regulations.⁸¹ Yet, white dog-owners such as one Mr Myburgh, of the Customs Department, had a dog that reportedly succumbed to rabies in the city in June 1905.⁸² In one instance, one Mr Shede admitted to keeping a ‘*kafir* dog’—because a poor white man ‘might be just as fond of a mongrel as a valuable dog’.⁸³ Yet, some white dog-owners continued to argue that:

I would respectfully suggest that a raid should be made on all *kafir* dogs, and not on dogs owned by white men, because, as a dog lover myself, my experience is that the average white man who owns a dog takes such an interest in his dog that he would at once notice any unusual behaviour in the animal and would take every necessary precaution; whereas the native, although undoubtedly fond of his own dog, lets it roam, and would not be quick to notice, or should he notice, would not appreciate, what would be at once noticeable to a white man, as suspicious symptoms.⁸⁴

Again in the case of Bulawayo, between 1902 and 1906, many white dog-owners were brought to the Police Court because their dogs were caught unmuzzled and at large, which meant that the argument that their dogs did not roam around was untrue. The conflict between the BSAP

⁷⁶ ‘Owner of Dogs: ‘rabies,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 22 November 1902; ‘New Muzzling order,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 31 January 1903.

⁷⁷ NAZ A2/2/36 Official, Chief Secretary to The Secretary for Agriculture, Salisbury, ‘Rabies Regulation: Detention of Dogs by Police: Provisions for feeding,’ 1 March 1904; Chief Secretary to The Magistrate, Victoria, ‘Rabies Regulation: Detention of Dogs by Police: Provisions for feeding,’ 2 March 1904.

⁷⁸ ‘The Muzzling regulation suspended yesterday,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 2 July 1904; ‘Muzzles again,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 18 March 1905.

⁷⁹ ‘Police Court,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 29 July 1905; ‘Police Court,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 21 October 1905; ‘Police Court,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 28 October 1905.

⁸⁰ ‘Police Court: Native Offenders,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 22 July 1905; ‘Police Court,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 5 August 1905.

⁸¹ ‘Police Court,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 5 August 1905; ‘Police Court,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 12 August 1905; ‘Police Court,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 30 September 1905; ‘Police Court,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 07 October 1905.

⁸² ‘Rabies,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 17 June 1905.

⁸³ ‘The Muzzling Question: Ratepayers strongly protest against regulations: Police censured.’

⁸⁴ ‘Correspondence: muzzling of dogs,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 18 March 1905.

and white dog-owners in Bulawayo escalated between March 1905 and 1906, as white dog-owners accused the BSAC government of autocracy and of using rabies regulations that were inconsistent with best practises done ‘in London and other towns in England.’⁸⁵ Some were moved by humanitarian grounds, real or strategic, as they insisted that the muzzling regulations were too drastic and cruel to the dogs.⁸⁶ In a few instances, their complaints made sense because the BSAP in December 1905 compiled a list of houses where dogs were kept and used it to forcibly intrude into gated properties to confiscate unmuzzled dogs.⁸⁷ Bulawayo residents also complained that ‘white burglars and the native scoundrels’ took advantage of the fact that rabies regulations had taken away ‘from many residences efficient and vigilant protectors’ to commit crimes.⁸⁸

By the end of 1905, a coalition of Bulawayo politicians, doctors and lawyers had succeeded in coming together to challenge the rabies regulations. Councillor Kerr, of the Bulawayo Municipality, stated that ‘he considered that if anyone should be muzzled it should be the officials at Salisbury who are responsible for the retention of the regulations’ and not the dogs.⁸⁹ Bulawayo city fathers argued ‘that rabies did not exist in this country’ and called for the establishment of a Medical Board to determine all suspected cases of the disease.⁹⁰ Councillor Bridal stated that the BSAC government was not concerned about the health of the town because it had refused council’s request to appoint a medical officer to examine at the country’s borders passengers coming into Rhodesia from smallpox infected areas.⁹¹ Others asked whether ‘the disease known in England as distemper is called rabies in Rhodesia?’⁹² A Plumtree resident remarked that ‘the above reminds me of the early days in this country, when everything was put down to fever, no matter how many empty bottles were found near your wagon the following morning’.⁹³ There were others who even challenged the BSAC government’s choice of the Pasteur prophylaxis system and urged it to adopt the ‘sweating system’ of treating hydrophobia patients arguing that it was unscientific and unclean to cure

⁸⁵ ‘The Muzzling Question: Ratepayers strongly protest Against Regulations: Police Censured’.

⁸⁶ ‘Correspondence: muzzling of dogs’; ‘Muzzling Regulations,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 6 February 1904; ‘Town Council: Muzzling Regulations,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 10 February 1906.

⁸⁷ ‘Police Court: Monday’s sitting: The Muzzling Order,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 16 December 1905.

⁸⁸ ‘The outrage by a native why not use Bloodhounds,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 27 September 1902; ‘Increased protection: rabies,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 25 October 1902; ‘The Bulawayo Police: Another point of view: A schoolboy’s letter to the editor,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 29 July 1905.

⁸⁹ ‘Bulawayo Town Council fortnightly meeting: rabies regulations,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 18 November 1905.

⁹⁰ ‘Bulawayo Town Council fortnightly meeting’.

⁹¹ ‘Bulawayo Town Council fortnightly meeting’.

⁹² ‘Owner of dogs: rabies,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 22 November 1902; ‘New muzzling order,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 31 January 1903; ‘The muzzling order,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 4 March 1905.

⁹³ ‘Alleged case of rabies at Plumtree,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 16 January 1904.

rabies by continuously putting small doses of poison in the patient.⁹⁴ Bulawayo white dog-owners also accused the BSAC government of deriving ‘a pecuniary benefit in keeping the muzzling order’ in operation.⁹⁵ The medical, legal and political leaders of Bulawayo came together to challenge the ‘wrongheaded methods of officialdom’ by calling the BSAC government to come back to ‘some ordinary frame of mind’ in their opposition to muzzling regulations.⁹⁶ They succeeded in forcing the BSAC government to allow them not to muzzle their dogs between 6:00 pm and 6:00 am for security reasons in 1906.⁹⁷ Moreover, culture, economics and politics determined the alliances that arose, the discourses and the stereotypes that emerged about rabies and dogs. The attitude of Bulawayo white dog-owners was very similar to that of the middle classes in Port Elizabeth that was written about by Van Sittert in his article about the 1893 rabies outbreak.⁹⁸ However, the difference was that while the Port Elizabeth middle class eventually failed to influence the rabies eradication policy in their favour, the white residents of Bulawayo had succeeded in getting concessions by 1906—some seven years before the rabies outbreak was contained. The BSAC government, unlike the Cape government, was in a relatively weak position. Moreover, Port Elizabeth livestock farmers, unlike their Southern Rhodesian counterparts, supported the government’s drastic interventions aimed at destroying white-owned dogs.⁹⁹ Southern Rhodesian cattle farmers, however, wanted such draconian interventions introduced against African dog-owners (and, as the next chapter shows, succeeded in forcing the government to tax dog-ownership in 1912).

Despite challenging whether there actually was rabies in the country, many white people such as Francis Rudolph Myburch, Member of the Legislative Council for the Eastern Division, called upon Native Commissioners to ‘impress upon Natives one thing, and that was to keep as few dogs as possible’.¹⁰⁰ He further advised that it was necessary to ‘kill animals wandering about the native kraals and roads outside the town.’¹⁰¹ The colonial idea of introducing ‘better types’ of dogs was partly responsible for the canine carnage in African areas between 1902 and 1912, as the following section will show. The white community in Southern Rhodesia either

⁹⁴ ‘The Pasteur System,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 6 December 1902.

⁹⁵ ‘The muzzling order,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 4 March 1905.

⁹⁶ ‘Owner of dogs,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 22 November 1902; ‘The muzzling question: ratepayers strongly protest against regulations: Police censured,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 6 February 1904; ‘Bulawayo Town Council fortnightly meeting: rabies regulations,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 18 November 1905.

⁹⁷ ‘Town Council: Muzzling Regulations,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 10 February 1906.

⁹⁸ Van Sittert, ‘Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,’ 133-141.

⁹⁹ Van Sittert, ‘Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,’ 133-135.

¹⁰⁰ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume. 1, Third Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed Dog Tax,’ 38-40.

¹⁰¹ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume. 1, Third Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed Dog Tax,’ 38-40.

did not have much knowledge about rabies, chose to ignore it or felt that rabies could not infect ‘good dogs’. Despite desiring to impose the same rabies regulations on both African and white dog-owners, the BSAC government was forced to pander to selfish sectional interests and biases. Government departments, as will be shown below, had competing knowledge about rabies, the types of dogs that transmitted the disease and disagreed about the efficacy of different rabies regulations.

The dog that did bark: The region that complied

This section explains the key encounters between Africans on the one hand and the NAD and the Veterinary Department on the other regarding the rabies regulations. It analyses African responses to the rabies regulations and the new canine order that the government wanted to impose. Brown uses the 1893 Port Elizabeth and the 1902 to 1913 Southern Rhodesian rabies outbreaks to argue that the disease came to southern Africa with colonialism, colonial thoroughfares and colonial capitalist ventures. She further argues that during the pre-colonial era the Zambezi River constituted a ‘formidable boundary’ that prevented the spread of rabies into southern Africa from the north.¹⁰² This is a rather environmentally deterministic argument that ignores well-documented histories of human migrations and raiding that happened across the Zambezi River during the pre-colonial era.¹⁰³ Moreover, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) are home to ‘four genotypes (of the classical rabies virus)’: arguably ‘more than have been identified in any part of the world.’¹⁰⁴ In addition, rabies has ‘the sinister nature’ that allows its virus to ‘remain undetected in fauna’ for some time before striking.¹⁰⁵ So ruling out all chance of the virus existing in southern Africa in the pre-colonial past and linking the coming of rabies to colonialism and capitalist development is perhaps too extreme. Indeed, the possibility that canine rabies did break out during the pre-colonial era in southern Africa has some slight support. In fact, some Africans in the Matabeleland and Manicaland provinces professed to have known about rabies, which they called *chimbwa mupengo* (dog madness).¹⁰⁶ Of course, another disease could be referenced here given the mutable nature of the virus and that it has been confused with other canine diseases such as distemper at times. Nevertheless, evidence used below suggests the tantalising possibility of a longer history of

¹⁰² Brown, *Mad dogs and Meerkats*, 114-116.

¹⁰³ J. McGregor, ‘Living with the River: Landscape and memory in the Zambezi valley, northwest Zimbabwe,’ in Beinart and McGregor (eds), *Social History and African Environments*, 87-97.

¹⁰⁴ Brown, *Mad Dogs and Meerkats*, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Brown, *Mad Dogs and Meerkats*, 3.

¹⁰⁶ NAZ NUE 1/1/1 Native Commissioners, NC Melsetter to the Acting CNC Salisbury, ‘Warning of Rabies in Bulawayo,’ 19 September 1902.

rabies in the region, which certainly warrants further investigation. Moreover, some veterinary literature admits that ‘dog rabies was present in Zimbabwe during the nineteenth century’.¹⁰⁷ Certainly, some traditional leaders in Matabeleland claimed to have known about the occurrence of rabies outbreaks in the pre-colonial period in September 1902.¹⁰⁸ NC Melsetter, in the same month, informed his superiors that:

My Head Messenger Mangwende informs me that Rabies is not an unknown disease in Mashonaland; he states that he has known dogs to become mad and that everything including dogs, fowls and people have been known to die from the bite of such mad dogs. He says the disease is known as dog madness or in the Native dialect ‘*dzimbga dzino penga.*’ *Mbga mupengo* (a mad dog).¹⁰⁹

Charles Elias Gray, the Chief Veterinary Surgeon in Southern Rhodesia between 1896 and 1905, wrote to the CNC in September that this evidence contradicted the theory that this disease was unknown in southern Africa and that it was first brought to Port Elizabeth in 1893 (and southern Africa) by an imported dog.¹¹⁰ Charles Edmonds, another veterinary surgeon, concurred with the idea that canine rabies predated the arrival of colonialism in Southern Rhodesia and argued that some Africans in the pre-colonial period responded to the disease by slaughtering all infected dogs.¹¹¹ In fact, the names *chimbwamupengo* (a mad dog) and *chimbwambwambwa* (dog madness) referred to mad dogs or the disease.¹¹² Messenger Mangwende, quoted above, also showed that his people understood that ‘everything including dogs, fowls and people’ bitten by mad dogs had been known to go mad and then die afterwards. Dexter Mark Chavhunduka, the first African veterinarian surgeon in the country who graduated from Edinburgh University in 1964, later described the 1902 to 1913 rabies outbreaks as *chikangiri*,¹¹³ which refers to ‘a disease that causes dogs to be mad’.¹¹⁴ These people used their pre-colonial experiences to negotiate aspects of the rabies regulations with colonial officials.

¹⁰⁷ J.R.A. Butler, J.T. Du Toit and J. Bingham, ‘Free-ranging domestic dogs (*Canis familiaris*) as predators and prey in rural Zimbabwe: threats of competition and disease to large wild carnivores,’ *Biological Conservation*, 115 (2004), 370.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Rabies and Natives,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 20 September 1902.

¹⁰⁹ NAZ NUE 1/1/1 Native Commissioners, NC Melsetter to the Acting CNC Salisbury, ‘Warning of Rabies in Bulawayo,’ 19 September 1902.

¹¹⁰ NUE 1/1/1 Native Commissioners, The Chief Veterinary Surgeon, C. Gray to the CNC Salisbury, 27 September 1902.

¹¹¹ Mwatwara, ‘A history of state veterinary services,’ 69.

¹¹² Mwatwara, ‘A history of state veterinary services,’ 69.

¹¹³ D.M. Chavhunduka, *Kuchengeta Imbwa*, (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1970), 45.

¹¹⁴ H. Chimhundu, *Duramazwi reChishona*, (Harare: College Press, 1996), 68; M. Hannan, *Standard Shona Dictionary*, (London: Macmillan, 1959), 91.

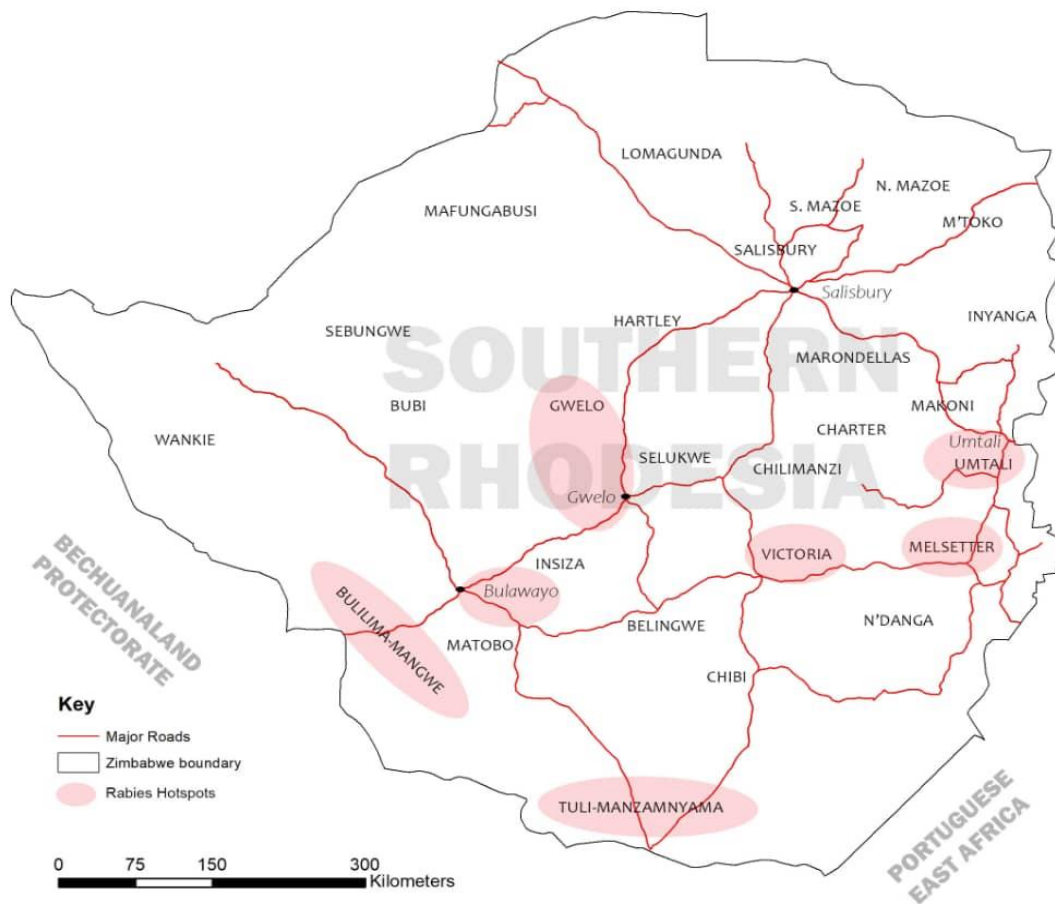


Figure 6: Map showing rabies hotspots in Southern Rhodesia.¹¹⁵

In November 1902, NC Inyanga informed his superiors that should rabies breakout in his district, the muzzling and chaining of dogs would not be efficacious because people in his district permitted their dogs to stay inside their huts.¹¹⁶ The dogs that he referred to possibly belonged to old men who used them for ritual purposes, to chase away witches and in keeping with pre-colonial chiefly traditions.¹¹⁷ Initially, as noted above, traditional leaders in Matabeleland districts such as Bulilima, Mangwe, Matobo and Insiza agreed to comply with some aspects of the rabies regulations in September 1902 because the outbreaks that had happened in their localities claimed some human victims. The *Bulawayo Chronicle* reported that these traditional leaders ‘fully realise the danger of the visitation, and are anxious to cooperate with the government in checking the disease’ because ‘several natives have been

¹¹⁵ This map was drawn by Russel Kapumha.

¹¹⁶ NAZ N1/1/1/4 Native Department, NC Inyanga to the CNC, Salisbury, ‘Rabies,’ 07 November 1902.

¹¹⁷ NAZ AOH/56 Interview conducted by Dawson Munjeri with Patrick Gwara Parazungu, Beatrice Cottages, Harare, 24 May 1979; Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Debates, First Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed dog tax,’ 28 April 1905, 12-13.

bitten, and one has died from the effects of a bite in the Bulilima district'.¹¹⁸ There was another incident in the Bulilima district in which an affected dog 'bit a native and three or four dogs'.¹¹⁹ Another African was reportedly bitten by a mad dog in the Bulawayo Native Location in the same month.¹²⁰ Due to these incidents, traditional leaders in Bulilima, Mangwe, Matobo and Insiza agreed to destroy most of their dogs except for a 'few favourites,' which they agreed to tie up. Consequently, Africans in these district bought large quantities of muzzles because they were 'fully alive to the danger of having their dogs unmuzzled.'¹²¹ While followers of traditional leaders in the above mentioned districts attributed the 'madness to supernatural cause or witchcraft' and interpreted the disease as portending 'evil and calamity to the country,' Chief Gambo of Bulilima district reported that 'his father told him that a disease similar to this one' had broken out in the country before the colonisation of the country.¹²² Pursuing the policy of forcing African dog-owners to have 'few dogs' during the rabies campaign partially succeeded in the Matabeleland districts due to the reasons mentioned above. A critical examination of the discussions that transpired between traditional leaders and colonial authorities showed that some Africans had some prior experience of rabies and that they used it to negotiate for the exemption of their 'favourite' dogs. Mwatwara argued that that African ideas about diseases control were not entirely different from those existing in Europe at the time and that Africans resisted the 'slaughter and inoculation' of their animals not because these ideas (of slaughtering diseased animals) were unknown to them.¹²³ Rather, they resisted the racialized implementation of veterinary interventions. Indeed, Africans were capable of discerning that veterinary interventions that targeted their animals were in most cases accompanied by racist ideas. As shown in the succeeding section, Africans responded to such racial and overzealous implementation of the rabies regulations by drawing from traditional religion and local knowledge about animal diseases.

'Love me, love my dog': The rabies regulations, religion and rumours, 1902-1907

The 1893 Port Elizabeth rabies outbreak was short-lived compared to the 1902 to 1913 Southern Rhodesian outbreaks and this explains why African dog-owners did little to either challenge or negotiate with governing authorities the manner in which it was implemented there.¹²⁴ Although African-owned dogs were also slaughtered in great numbers in Southern

¹¹⁸ 'Rabies at the kraal: an interesting case of hydrophobia,' *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 6 September 1902.

¹¹⁹ 'Rabies and Natives,' *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 20 September 1902.

¹²⁰ 'Rabies and Natives'.

¹²¹ 'Rabies and Natives'.

¹²² 'Rabies and Natives'.

¹²³ Mwatwara, 'A history of state veterinary services,' 68.

¹²⁴ Van Sittert, 'Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,' 133-141.

Rhodesia during the outbreak, it quickly became clear that authorities were not going to have a free hand in radically implementing the rabies regulations. Authorities soon found out that they had to contend with African traditions and religions that curtailed the effectiveness of the rabies regulations. The policy of forcing Africans to keep ‘few and better dogs’ met with limited success in the rest of the country. Africans residing in the Victoria district tied the mouths of their dogs with ‘pieces of bark’ or small nets of rope in order to comply with the rabies regulations in October 1902.¹²⁵ However, Africans in the Inyanga, Chilimanzi, South Mazoe, Mutoko, and Charter districts opposed the muzzling regulations right from the beginning just like the white dog-owners.¹²⁶ African dog-owners in the Inyanga district told NAD officials that ‘they would rather their dogs were killed as it would be impossible to keep them tied up’ in November 1902.¹²⁷ Others preferred destroying their dogs ‘rather than go to the trouble of muzzling.’¹²⁸ These communities regarded the barking, howling and other sounds made by dogs as important omens in predicting death and the presence of witches at their compounds.¹²⁹ It is highly likely that they opposed muzzling and tying of dogs because they interfered with dogs’ guard duties as well. In fact, NC Inyanga observed in November 1902 that it was difficult to persuade them to tie their dogs because ‘it is well known how the Mashona dog is allowed to inhabit all native huts, and no dog is ever seen outside the huts at night time. So that the dogs are always in reach of their owners and it will be a very difficult matter to persuade them to tie their dogs outside’.¹³⁰ Because of this opposition, NC Inyanga proposed the building of kennels to confine dogs therein rather than muzzling or tying them. In doing so, he was proposing to make the rabies regulations accommodative of African cultural ideas about dogs.

The refusal by Africans to tie and muzzle their dogs resulted in the Veterinary Department and the BSAP taking drastic action to destroy dogs in African areas. Between 1902 and 1903, the Veterinary Department and the NAD destroyed all the dogs that they found at large and unmuzzled in African areas. The canine carnage was heaviest in Chibi district where about 1600 to 1800 and 1000 African-owned dogs were destroyed in October and in November 1902

¹²⁵ NAZ N9/4/13 Native Commissioner Monthly, NC Victoria’s monthly report, 31 October 1902.

¹²⁶ NAZ N9/4/13 Native Commissioner Monthly, NC South Mazoe’s monthly report, 30 November 1902; NC Mtoko’s monthly report, 2 December 1902; NC Charter’s monthly report, November 1902.

¹²⁷ NAZ N1/1/1/4 Native Commissioners, NC Inyanga to the CNC Salisbury, ‘Rabies precautions,’ 15 November 1902.

¹²⁸ NAZ T2/29/31 Dog Tax, Acting CNC Salisbury to the CNC, ‘Proposed Native dog tax,’ 3 April 1905.

¹²⁹ Kamuteku, ‘Friend of Man,’ *Mapolisa*, July 1962, 37; W. Bozongwana, *Ndebele Religion and Customs*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1983), 13; ‘Landowner’s and Farmers’ Association Monthly Meeting,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 1 April 1905.

¹³⁰ NAZ N1/1/1/4 Native Commissioners, NC Inyanga to the CNC, Salisbury, ‘Rabies,’ 7 November 1902.

respectively.¹³¹ Barely three months after the outbreak authorities had destroyed about 9 483 African-owned dogs nationally and about 4000 of these dogs belonged to Matabeleland Africans.¹³² The heavy-handedness in enforcing the destruction of African-owned dogs reached a tipping point in February 1903 after rabies also broke out in parts of Gwelo, Tuli, Victoria, Salisbury, Umtali and Melsetter districts. Rabies further broke out in Plumtree and Gwanda districts in January 1904.¹³³ These outbreaks goaded colonial authorities into destroying about 60 000 African-owned dogs between 1902 and 1905.¹³⁴ Mutwira also points out that a further 100 000 dogs were destroyed between 1906 and 1912.¹³⁵ These figures mean that an estimated 160 000 African-owned dogs could have been killed between 1902 and 1912. While the BSAC government was taking such drastic actions in African areas it passed laws to prevent the destruction of valuable dogs belonging to whites, permitted them to import dogs into the country provided the dogs were accompanied by a magistrate's certificate showing that they were coming from rabies free territories. It also exempted owners of sporting dogs from the muzzling regulations as long as they were outside 'the limits of any municipality, village management board or sanitary board area'.¹³⁶ Although Africans opposed the tying and muzzling orders and paid a heavy price for doing that, they also destroyed their dogs in cases in which rabies outbreaks happened in their areas. Such responses were reactive to the local rabies contexts to the extent that Africans in Lomagundi and Mazoe South districts, who initially opposed the muzzling and tying of dogs in January 1903, destroyed 'a good many of their dogs' on their own accord.¹³⁷ NC Lomagundi observed that 'no dogs are to be seen at any Mashona kraals and there is no doubt that the Natives have destroyed a great number'.¹³⁸

¹³¹ NAZ N9/4/13 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Charter's monthly report, November 1902; NC Chibi's monthly report, 31 October 1902.

¹³² NAZ A2/1/16 General, Chief Secretary, Administrator's Office to the Secretary Rhodesia Chamber of Mines, Bulawayo, 15 November 1902; NAZ S2710/1/2 Veterinary Department General, Director of Veterinary Service, 'Rabies in Southern Rhodesia.'

¹³³ SRG-1/SL Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia, 'Regulations as to Movement of dogs,' No. 45, 1903, 108; SRG-1/SL Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia, 'Rabies. Notifying occurrence of cases at Plumtree and Gwanda,' No. 3, 1, January 1904, 386.

¹³⁴ Southern Rhodesia Legislative Debates, First Session, Third Council, 'Proposed dog tax,' 28 April 1905, 12-13; Mutwira also points out that a further 100 000 dogs were destroyed between 1906 and 1912.

¹³⁵ Mutwira, 'Southern Rhodesia's Wildlife Policy,' 250.

¹³⁶ SRG 1/SL Statute law of Southern Rhodesia, 'Rabies: certain districts declared infected. Regulations promulgated,' No. 57, 18 March 1904, 408; SRG 1/SL Statute law of Southern Rhodesia, 'Regulations as to the introduction of dogs,' No. 298, 27 November 1903, 216-217; NAZ A2/2/36 Official, Chief Secretary to The Magistrate, Victoria, 'Rabies regulation: detention of dogs by Police: Provisions for feeding,' 2 March 1904.

¹³⁷ NAZ N9/4/14 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Lomagundi's monthly report, 31 January 1903; NC Mazoe South's monthly report, 31 January 1903.

¹³⁸ NAZ N9/4/15 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Lomagundi's monthly report, April 1903; NAZ N9/4/14 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Lomagundi's monthly report, February 1903.

Evidently, Africans responded to rabies outbreaks on a case by case basis as opposed to indiscriminate killings of dogs conducted by colonial authorities.

The Mwari (High God) cult, a religious organization of priests and messengers that operated in the Matopo and Mambo Hills shrines near present day Bulawayo and whose authority extended into much of the Zimbabwean plateau during the pre-colonial era, came forward to challenge the blanket destruction of dogs in the villages by colonial authorities basing on religion, tradition and culture. The Mwari cult predated the formation of the Rozvi State that came up in the 1680s and it survived the coming up of the Ndebele State in the 1830s and its downfall in 1893.¹³⁹ There is a lively debate amongst historians regarding the extent to which the Mwari cult organized the 1896-1897 Shona/Ndebele uprising as a truly national response to colonialism. While Ranger argued that the Mwari cult unified the Shona and Ndebele and coordinated the uprising, some other historians such as Cobbing dismiss this argument.¹⁴⁰ The Mwari cult occupied an important role in the management of the weather, the doctoring of seeds and the making of rain in the pre-colonial history of Southern Rhodesia and it continued to occupy an important role in the spiritual lives of Africans during the colonial period. In addition, it responded to key ecological crises such as the rinderpest outbreak of 1896, the rabies outbreaks and the Flu epidemic of 1918.¹⁴¹ In the 1960s the powerful pedigree of the Mwari cult was demonstrated when African nationalist leaders such as Joshua Nkomo visited its shrines.¹⁴²

From as early as 1902, the Mwari cult opposed the muzzling, tying and destruction of dogs. Its messengers attributed the rabies outbreaks to supernatural causes and instructed followers of the religion not to kill rabid dogs because doing so would be bad for the country.¹⁴³ Consequently, some Africans in Chibi district in 1907 believed that ‘the disease has been caused by the M’wali (or M’limo) and that rabid dogs are not to be killed’.¹⁴⁴ That may have been the reason why Umtali Africans totally refused to kill their dogs in 1903 and opted to shut

¹³⁹ M.L. Daneel, *The God of the Matopo Hill: An Essay on the Mwari Cult in Rhodesia*, (Leiden: Mouton & Co, 1970), 22.

¹⁴⁰ T.O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-1897. A Study in African Resistance*, (London: Heinemann, 1967), 352; J. Cobbing, ‘The Absent Priesthood: Another look at the Rhodesian risings of 1896-1897,’ *Journal of African History*, 18, 1 (1977), 61-84.

¹⁴¹ T.O. Ranger, ‘Religious studies and political economy: The Mwari cult and the peasant experience in Southern Rhodesia,’ W. Van Binsbergen and M. Schoffeleers, *Theoretical Explorations in African Religion*, (London: Kegan Paul International for ASC, 1985), 287-306.

¹⁴² T.O. Ranger, *Voices from The Rocks: Nature, Culture and History in the Matopo Hills of Zimbabwe*, (Harare: Baobab Book, 1999), 213-225.

¹⁴³ ‘Rabies and Natives,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 20 September 1902.

¹⁴⁴ NAZ N9/4/20 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Chibi’s monthly report, 28 February 1907.

them up in holes for them to die of hunger there.¹⁴⁵ Colonial officials escalated the destruction of dogs in rural areas as they grappled with resistance to the rabies regulations that emanated from traditional religious functionaries.¹⁴⁶ A Mwari cult messenger visited Ndanga district in connection with the rabies campaign in November 1903. He chose Ndanga for a good reason. The Veterinary Department had destroyed 386, 713 and 1509 African-owned dogs in Ndanga district in April, May and June respectively.¹⁴⁷ NC Ndanga reported that:

This man's mission appeared to be that the Mlimo was dissatisfied with the Government killing all native dogs and wanted to know why the natives had not reported the matter to him. Also, that they paid too much attention to the Government and did not give him sufficient consideration and that the Government would eventually kill them as they had the dogs.¹⁴⁸

NC Gutu-Chilimanzi remembered in 1906 that all dogs in the Ndanga district had been destroyed during the 1903 rabies campaign.¹⁴⁹ NAD had begun by September 1906 to succumb to pressure exerted by the Mwari cult because it instructed district Native Commissioners to avoid deliberately offending African superstitions about 'spirit dogs'. It is inferable that the teachings of the Mwari cult regarding the rabies campaign had won some adherents in the villages.¹⁵⁰ The source did not explain what 'spirit dogs' were. Possibly this idea referred to dogs that were mediums of hunting spirits that were used by old men to chase away witches and to make goblins. It may have referred to dogs owned by chiefly houses such as the Chihota and Chirau chieftainships that were discussed in the preceding chapter in connection with rain making ceremonies and rituals.¹⁵¹ Thus, Africans spiritualized the causes of rabies outbreaks and also sought spiritual solutions to the epidemic. Consequently, they heeded the teachings of the Mwari cult messengers that blamed the rabies regulations for worsening the situation. Africans residing in the Charter district blamed the destruction of their dogs during rabies campaigns for causing the 1912 drought that resulted in a severe famine.¹⁵² The opposition of

¹⁴⁵ NAZ N9/4/15 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Umtali's monthly report, July 1903.

¹⁴⁶ NAZ NVG 1/1/3 General, NC Charter to Gutu-Chilimanzi, 'Rex vs Manyanga Mlimo Messenger,' 7 March 1904; NAZ NB1/1/19 General, NC Selukwe to the CNC Bulawayo, 'Killing of Hornless Cattle and Stock,' 19 January 1903.

¹⁴⁷ NAZ N9/4/15 NCs Monthly, NC Ndanga's monthly report, June 1903; NC Ndanga's monthly report, May 1903.

¹⁴⁸ NAZ N3/1/17/19 Interdepartmental Correspondence, Assistant NC Ndanga to the Acting CNC, 'Attitude of Natives,' 2 March 1904.

¹⁴⁹ NAZ NVG2/1/4 General, NC Gutu-Chilimanzi to Acting CNC Salisbury, 'Rabies Regulations,' 6 April 1906.

¹⁵⁰ NAZ N4/1/2 General (Native Affairs), Acting CNC to All NCs Mashonaland, 'Rabies: Government Notice No.163 of 1906,' 22 September 1906.

¹⁵¹ NAZ AOH/86 Interview conducted by Dawson Munjeri with Chief Jeremiah Sikireta, Chinhoyi, 15 December 1982; A.C. Hodza and G. Fortune, *Shona Praise Poetry*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 235; A. Burbridge, 'In Spirit-bound Rhodesia,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, (1924), 25; Macharangwanda, 'Mudzimu, Shabe, ngozi and other spirits,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 10 (1932), 9.

¹⁵² NAZ N9/1/15 NC's Annual Reports, Charter district, 31 December 1912.

the Mwari cult to rabies campaigns found support in rural areas because some Africans complained that the destruction of dogs between 1902 and 1904 had resulted in the population of vermin animals— that threatened their fields and domestic animals— spiralling out of control.¹⁵³ The cult used these complaints to reassert the position that it had lost in the political and religious lives of the Africans. Tropp, in the case of Transkei in the 1890s, argues that Africans opposed colonial locust invasion control policies using ‘rituals, therapeutic, and prophetic repertoires’ in order to heal both the environment and their bodies.¹⁵⁴ Similarly arguments that killing dogs caused famines and the warning against killing ‘spirit dogs’, mentioned above, reveal how much traditional morality governing human-dogs relations challenged the rabies regulations. Shona taboos taught to children instructed them that dogs had the capacity to ‘revenge’ those people who wronged them. They were taught that ‘*ukatasva imbwa, unozoita muroyi* (if you ride a dog you will become a witch)’¹⁵⁵ and that ‘*ukabata muswe wembwa unozoita simbe/muroyi/munyama* (that if a child plays with or pulls a dog’s tail she/he will become a lazy person/a witch or would have bad luck).’¹⁵⁶ At a basic level, these ideas showed that some Shona people believed that dogs had ‘vengeance’ power¹⁵⁷ and that they unleashed it on people who mistreated them. These ideas show that Africans believed that dogs were active agents that had the capacity to negatively affect the human environment as well as human beings and that they acted purposefully. Thus, Mwari priests used these arguments to show that the mass dog killings were going to have calamitous consequences for the whole country. While these ideas might have worked towards preventing cruelty to dogs, they also betrayed a common belief that dogs could either chase away witches at night or be used by them.¹⁵⁸ In any case, they also believed that dogs had the potential to predict death and other misfortunes. Evidently, removing ‘spirit dogs’ in African villages altered people’s religious and spiritual worldviews.¹⁵⁹ Consequently, Native Commissioners were disappointed that traditional leaders, much against their advice, continued to heed the teachings of the Mwari cult.¹⁶⁰ Despite having been defeated during the 1896/7 Shona/Ndebele uprising, being

¹⁵³ NAZ N9/1/17 NC Chibi’s annual report, December 1914.

¹⁵⁴ Tropp, ‘Locust Invasion and Tensions over Environmental and bodily Health in Colonial Transkei,’ 144-128.

¹⁵⁵ D. Masaka and M. Chemhuru, ‘Moral dimensions of some Shona taboos (*zviera*),’ *Journal of Sustainable development in Africa*, 13, 3 (2011), 141.

¹⁵⁶ L. Tatira, *Zviera zvaVaShona*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 2000), 5.

¹⁵⁷ B. Morris, *The Power of Animals: An Ethnography*, (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 4.

¹⁵⁸ Tatira, *Zviera zvaVaShona*, 7.

¹⁵⁹ N.A. Hunt, ‘Some Notes on the Names of Dogs,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 29 (1952), 67-73.

¹⁶⁰ NAZ NVG 1/1/3 Chief Native Commissioner and Native Commissioner, NC Charter to NC Gutu-Chilimanzi, ‘Rex vs Manyanga Mlimo Messenger,’ 7 March 1904; NUE 1/1/1 Secretary Native Department and Chief Native Commissioners, NC Charter to CNC, Salisbury, ‘Attitude of Native: Confidential,’ 17 February 1904.

criminalized by the government and demonised by Christian missions, the Mwari cult still had considerable authority in African lives. The Mwari cult used ‘traditional beliefs to define colonialism’.¹⁶¹ In many ways, the Mwari cult was asserting not only its socio-political but also its ecological opposition to colonial veterinary interventions and animal ‘betterment’ schemes that defined African-owned dogs as worthless (and satanic beasts as the case of the Peruvian hairless dog mentioned above demonstrates) ‘mongrels.’¹⁶² The argument made by the Mwari messenger in Ndanga in 1903 that ‘the Government would eventually kill them (Africans) as they had the dogs’ is interesting for several reasons. Moreover, Africans may have refused to acquire ‘better dogs’ because they saw through the racialization of dogs that was inherent in ‘betterment’ discourses. In the early colonial period, Kingsley Fairbridge, a young white settler who went on to form the Society for the Furtherance of Child Emigration to the Colonies in the British Empire in 1909, related how he had an altercation with Africans. He noted that:

The only point we really scored in was in the matter of dogs. Vic (Vixen, his dog) detested *Kafir* dogs as vehemently as she did their masters, and no sooner did the slinking yellow-and-white brutes appear in the clearing than she was at them. She attacked them tempestuously that they did not wait to be bitten, but fled with anticipatory howls into the undergrowth.¹⁶³

Herbert Hemans, the Native Commissioner for Sebungwe (Gokwe), made a similar observation. He noted that his dog, Nipper, behaved like a ‘human being’ and assisted him in supervising his workers—he ‘would go round inspecting everyone and would then come back to me wagging his tail, his dear ugly face one broad grin, telling me as plainly as though he spoke that everything was ready for the road’.¹⁶⁴ In one interesting case that happened in 1910 the Magistrate, Mr. Sonnenberg, convicted Willie, an African, who was accused of ill-treating W. Hazeltine’s dog by arguing that it was a case of ‘love me, love my dog’ or vice versa’.¹⁶⁵ This meant that Willie had not just attacked a dog but had attacked its owner because dogs were regarded as proxies of their owners. The subversive interpretations of this saying was that colonialists not only hated African-owned dogs but their owners also. The Mwari cult’s

¹⁶¹ K.J. Kaoma, ‘African Religion and Colonial Rebellion: The Contestation of Power in Colonial Zimbabwe’s Chimurenga of 1896-1897,’ *Journal for the Study of Religion*, 29, 1 (2016), 74.

¹⁶² Jacobs argues that this started in 1939 and intensified in the 1950s in South Africa. Colonial authorities demarcated different areas for cultivation and grazing using technical arguments about improving the environment, soil conservation, rotational grazing, and culling ‘scrub stock’. The state went on to limit the number of people who were supposed to reside on particular pieces of land (although this measure was rarely enforced). State power rested on the lack of political rights for Africans, particularly in communal lands. See Jacobs ‘The Great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre’, 493-494.

¹⁶³ K. Fairbridge, *The Autobiography of Kingsley Fairbridge*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), 27.

¹⁶⁴ H.N. Hemans, *The Log of a Native Commissioner*, (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1935), 188.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Love me love my dogs,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 14 October 1910.

opposition to the rabies regulations can also be read as a nativist and autochthonous preference for ‘local animals’ in opposition to colonial demands. In fact, preference for ‘better’ or ‘improved’ animals was part of a process in which people of ‘good’ British blood’ were brought into the colonies to replace the locals on the land or ‘poor’ white people who were regarded to be of ‘bad’ blood’ or low stock.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, the Mwari cult was criticising the racialized application of the rabies regulations and the environmental and commercial ideologies that underpinned them using traditional religious ideas.

Despite the 1903 to 1905 canine carnage, there was nevertheless a dramatic upsurge in the number of African-owned dogs by 1906. This strange pendulum swing – from the massacres to their increasing in number thereafter – tell us much about African dog-ownership and how rabies and the concomitant colonial veterinary policies complicated human-dog and human-human relations. It is unclear whether the increase can be attributed to Africans who hid some of their dogs from colonial officials or to innovative methods of ensuring constant supply of dogs. In the 1950s that some Africans resorted to keeping bitches only each time the number of dogs that they were allowed to keep was restricted to a certain number in order to breed dogs as and when they felt like.¹⁶⁷ Robinson has argued that destroying free-roaming dogs is not an effective way of controlling their population because an unsterilized free-roaming female and her offspring have been shown to be capable of statistically producing 67 000 puppies in six years.¹⁶⁸ This increase was blamed for rabies outbreaks that happened in the northeastern part of the country, in Mashonaland, Salisbury and Fort Victoria in 1906. Vigorous enforcement of the muzzling, chaining and the destruction of dogs found at large in African areas ensued in districts such as Chibi, Gutu-Chilimanzi, Charter, Marandellas, Wedza, and Hartley.¹⁶⁹ Nearly almost every part of the country was grappling with new rabies outbreaks in 1907. This situation provoked debate amongst government departments— the Veterinary Department, NAD, and the health department—regarding the best way of forcing Africans to give up their numerous dogs and to prevent further outbreaks. The Landowners and Farmers’ Association (RLOFA), some Bulawayo legislators, the Veterinary Department and the Health department called for the imposition of a punitive dog tax policy to force Africans to voluntarily destroy

¹⁶⁶ Mwatwara and Swart, ‘Better breed?’, 341.

¹⁶⁷ NAZ RO 1877 DVS Conferences, Notes for minutes of fifth Veterinary Conference held in the library of the Chief Chemist, Salisbury, 20-21 October 1954.

¹⁶⁸ C. Robinson, ‘The Canadian Animal Assistance Team: a GREAT opportunity for technicians!’, *Canadian Vet Tech*, (2012), 14.

¹⁶⁹ NAZ N9/4/9/1 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Hartley monthly report, 31 July 1906; NC Charter’s monthly report, 30 June 1906; NC Marandellas’s monthly report, 31 July 1906; NC Charter monthly report, 31 July 1906; NC Gutu-Chilimanzi monthly report, 31 July 1906; NAZ N9/4/19/2 Native Commissioners Monthly 1906, NC Chibi’s monthly report, 31 August 1906; NC Victoria monthly report, 30 September 1906.

their ‘verminous dogs’. At the same time, these departments began to view the dog massacres, the muzzling and tying of dogs as insufficient rabies eradication strategies. They suggested the need for ‘a more direct control over the *kaffir* dog’.¹⁷⁰ However, due to the operations of the Mwari cult and to other factors the NAD did not want to overly alienate Africans. It prevailed upon the BSAC government to settle for a compromise policy of registering both African and white owned dogs for a fee. Again, the Southern Rhodesian case study differs with the case of Port Elizabeth, whose authorities were confident and strong enough to force through all their preferred policy options.¹⁷¹ NAD assumed that registering dogs would be an effective veterinary surveillance tool capable of forcing Africans to limit the number of their dogs.¹⁷² Under the new policy, dog belonging to a particular district, chief’s area or village were to wear distinctive and numbered tokens for easy identification.¹⁷³ The policy gave Native Commissioners the power to determine the number of African-owned dogs kept at each kraal and to maintain it. NC Victoria imposed a one-dog per every 10 huts policy whilst NC Inyanga considered four dogs for each kraal or a ratio of 12 dogs per 100 people as a fair allowance.¹⁷⁴ The excess or those dogs found in the villages without the registration token/collar were to be destroyed. Thus, Native Commissioners continued with the policy of limiting the number African-owned dogs in the villages in order to force Africans to keep few and ‘better’ types of dogs. The policy of forcing Africans to keep few and ‘better animals’ was to be extended to the African indigenous cattle economy beginning from 1912 as a way of preventing environmental degradation. Underlying these assumptions was the need to force Africans to keep few dogs in such a way as to imitate white dog-owners.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, Barwegen argues, in the case of nineteenth century Indonesia, that veterinary interventions were at times ‘misconceived’ and ‘damaging’ to indigenous people by ignoring ‘local beliefs and practises.’¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ NAZ N4/1/2 General (Native Affairs), P.L. Moore, Acting Medical Director to the Secretary, Law Department, Salisbury, 9 March 1906; NAZ T2/29/31 Dog Tax Minutes, ‘Proposed dog tax,’ 25 April 1905; Rhodesian land Owner and Farmer’s Association to the Secretary of Agriculture, Salisbury, 4 April 1905.

¹⁷¹ Van Sittert, ‘Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,’ 133-141.

¹⁷² Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume. 1, Second Session, Third Council, ‘Rabies,’ 25 May 1906, 34-35.

¹⁷³ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume. 1, Second Session, Third Council, ‘Rabies,’ 34-35; NAZ N4/1/2 General (Native Affairs), Acting CNC to All NCs, ‘Rabies Regulations,’ 28 June 1906.

¹⁷⁴ NAZ NUC 2/3/1 Native Department Officials, NC Inyanga to CNC Salisbury, ‘Rabies Regulations,’ 5 July 1906; NAZ N9/4/19/1/2 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Victoria’s monthly report, 31 August 1906.

¹⁷⁵ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume. 1, Third Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed dog tax,’ 38-40.

¹⁷⁶ M. Barwegen, ‘For Better or Worse? The Impact of the Veterinarian Service on the Development of the Agricultural Society in Java (Indonesia) in the Nineteenth Century,’ in Brown and Gilfoyle (eds), *Healing the Herds: Disease, Livestock Economies and the Globalization of Veterinary Medicine*, 92-107.

Africans interpreted dog registration as a form of taxation and further inferred that the government was likely to extend it to their other domestic animals. They had begun from as early as 1902 to suspect that the counting/branding of their livestock by colonial officials in Bulawayo, Matabeleland and Chilimanzi district was a precursor to taxation in the future. Consequently, some slaughtered their livestock because the rumours compelled them to mitigate against the losses they were likely to incur due to such taxation in the future.¹⁷⁷ On 1 April 1904, NC Bulawayo reported that

The one (rumour) that I consider the most dangerous, because there is a certain fraction of truth at the bottom of it is that all Native Cattle, Goats, Sheep, and Dogs are to be numbered and branded. Some differ after this, one lot saying the object is to take a certain percentage of them away from the Natives –while others say that a tax is to be levied on each animal—2/6 on a goat etc.¹⁷⁸

These rumours arose from a deductive examination of colonial policies, which Africans based on their previous experiences, and from a general distrust of the motives of the BSAC government.¹⁷⁹ It is possible that debates in the colonial bureaucracy regarding the need to impose a tax on African dog owning that had started in 1902 filtered from the rulers to the ruled.¹⁸⁰ Elsewhere Africans interpreted the branding of their livestock as a ‘new form of sorcery’ practised by the colonial authorities.¹⁸¹ This was a traumatic moment in the history of the country. It had faced a brutal suppression during the 1896/7 Shona-Ndebele rebellions and barely a decade after the BSAC government had responded to the rabies outbreaks by destroying African-owned dogs on a massive scale. For that reason, the Mwari religion took the slaughter of African-owned dogs seriously while other Africans began circulating rumours that NAD officials interpreted as subversive to the colonial enterprise.

The most damaging rumours, made in connection with dog registration policy, that alarmed the NAD happened in Mazoe South in 1907. It compelled some Africans to slaughter their pigs and to sell the meat cheaply to avoid paying taxes in the future.¹⁸² Colonial officials suspected

¹⁷⁷ NAZ NB3/1/1 General, W.E. Thomas to the CNC, Bulawayo, ‘Confidential,’ 1 April 1904; NAZ NB1/1/19 General, NC Selukwe to the CNC, Bulawayo, ‘Killing of Hornless Cattle and Stock,’ 19 January 1903.

¹⁷⁸ NAZ NB3/1/1 General, W.E. Thomas to the CNC Bulawayo, ‘Confidential,’ 1 April 1904.

¹⁷⁹ For instance, the colonial regime branded some animals as valuable in Bophuthatswana in 1953 and compelled Africans to sell or slaughter those animals that were branded as ‘bad’ or ‘useless’, see Jacobs, ‘The Great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre’, 494; Tropp, ‘Dogs, poison and the meaning of colonial intervention,’ 164.

¹⁸⁰ NAZ N9/4/20 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Melsetter’s monthly report, 31 March 1907.

¹⁸¹ Mwatwara and Swart, ‘If our cattle die, we eat them but these white people bury and burn them!’, 112-141.

¹⁸² NAZ N9/4/19/2 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Charter’s monthly report, 31 October 1906; NAZ NUE 1/1/1 NC Melsetter to the Acting CNC Salisbury, ‘Natives selling and killing their stock,’ 11 March 1907; NAZ NUE2/1/6 General, Report for the Month ended the 31 March 1907; NAZ N9/4/20 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Melsetter’s Monthly Report, 31 March 1907; Similarly Africans in Transkei and Pondoland used rumours in the same manner and they also slaughtered some of their livestock that a result. They did this in response to colonial interventions that they feared would take away some of their livestock. See Tropp, ‘Dogs,

that Nyamita, the spirit medium of the Nehanda spirit, alleged to have masterminded the 1896/7 *Chimurenga* uprisings, was behind this incident. However, its investigations did not incriminate her but established a correlation between the payment of the dog registration fee and the circulation of these rumours.¹⁸³ One Chipunga, who was interviewed by NAD officials, explained that Kaari had told him that ‘your dogs are being taxed now, then will come the taxing of cattle, pigs, goats, sheep and fowls.’¹⁸⁴ Africans viewed this as an absurdity and noted that ‘the Native Commissioner had on several occasions advised us to go out and work to earn money with which we should buy stock, and now he intends to tax what we have bought’.¹⁸⁵ Kaari denied being the originator of the rumour but his testimony drew a connection between the spreading of these rumours and the dog registration payments. He emphasized that:

I had been to Muwudzgwa’s Kraal to give my dog tax token to my relations. On returning from the latter kraal I called at Munyawiri’s and went into Chipunga(‘s) hut ...there and noticed some meat. There was a large quantity of it and I thought it strange and when Chipunga came along afterwards I asked him why he had so much meat and he said we are merely killing it for food, I slept in one of Munyawiri’s huts that night and I noticed a lot more meat there and asked Munyawiri why they were killing so many pigs. I got the same answer from him, when I threatened Munyawiri that I would report the matter, he said they were killing the pigs as they had heard they were to be taxed.¹⁸⁶

Citing the 1902 rabies massacres, in which some Africans slaughtered their own dogs, Mwatwara asks if this was due to ‘their perceived smaller socio-economic value relative to cattle?’¹⁸⁷ It is possible that they slaughtered their dogs because it was their traditional response to diseases outbreaks, as Mwatwara argues.¹⁸⁸ That Africans understood that the dog registration policy was a material onslaught by their colonial masters on themselves on several fronts—the payment of a registration fee and the loss of their numerous dogs’ guard and their hunting duties—might be true too. After all, as argued by Moore, in the case of Colonial Namibia dogs were ‘a form of agricultural technology’, or, in materialist terms, ‘dogs were part

poisons and the meanings of colonial interventions,’ 170; W. Beinart, *The Political Economy of Pondoland, 1860 to 1930*, (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1982), 157-158.

¹⁸³ NAZ N3/1/13 Inter-departmental, Acting CNC to NC Mazoe, ‘Killing of pigs by Natives of the Mazoe District,’ 11 February 1907.

¹⁸⁴ NAZ N3/1/13 Inter-departmental, Native Commissioner Mazoe South to the CNC, Salisbury, ‘Meeting of Chiefs at Chiweshwi’s Kraal.’

¹⁸⁵ NAZ N3/1/13 Inter-departmental, Native Commissioner Mazoe South to the CNC, Salisbury, ‘Meeting of Chiefs at Chiweshwi’s Kraal.’

¹⁸⁶ NAZ N3/1/13 Inter-departmental, NC Mazoe South to the CNC, Salisbury, ‘Meeting of Chiefs at Chiweshwi’s Kraal.’

¹⁸⁷ Mwatwara, ‘A History of the State Veterinary Services,’ 69.

¹⁸⁸ Mwatwara, ‘A History of the State Veterinary Services,’ 69.

of the productive forces.’¹⁸⁹ Moreover, colonial officials, missionaries and white farmers often enriched themselves by confiscating African livestock in this early period.¹⁹⁰ Thus, the rumours served as a public and symbolic way used by African to blame the economic stresses and loss of livestock that they incurred on the government and white people.¹⁹¹ In effect, these people arrived at a rational conclusion that policies affecting their dogs were likely to affect their other domestic animals in the future, or processes of production that depended on dog owning and took action to mitigate future economic losses. Even though Africans called the dog registration fee a form of ‘dog tax’, the government only passed the Dog Tax Ordinance in 1912. Despite the fact that dog registration had been put in place as a compromise between competing government departments that preferred different rabies eradication policies, these rumours show that rather than achieving its intended objectives it was generally misinterpreted by Africans.

Dog registration scored some initial successes in January 1907, when the Veterinary Department and NAD traced a rabid dog they had found in the Hartley district back to its owner and village of origin in the Mhondoro reserve using its dog registration collar. They noted that this had the effect of forcing other African dog-owners to be ‘more careful’.¹⁹² However, such victories were short-lived. Some Africans in the Chibi district took ‘the badge off on the first sign of sickness of any kind’ to avoid experiencing the wrath of the Veterinary Department and NAD for not muzzling/tying their dogs.¹⁹³ It is inferable that these Chibi dog-owner may have done this in order to use the badges for some of the dogs that they had not registered. Inyanga African dog-owners responded by making counterfeit dog registration tokens in November 1909 which ‘when placed on a dog collar has to be closely examined before the imitation is discovered’.¹⁹⁴ The BSAC government’s bureaucratic shortcomings did not help the matter

¹⁸⁹ B.C. Moore, ‘“Dogs were our defenders!”: Canines, Carnivores, and Colonialism in Namibia,’ *AHA Today*, 16 June 2017, https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/summer-2017/dogs-were-our-defenders-canines-carnivores-and-colonialism-in-namibia?fbclid=IwAR1491OYjwjQZEEgPtfVvb0bcCBVd6Lz-bnmb_COZHpfzwwCTnAekJMq340, accessed on 12 September 2019.

¹⁹⁰ B. Davis and W. Döpcke, ‘Survival and accumulation in Gutu: class formation and the rise of the state in colonial Zimbabwe, 1900–1939,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14, 1 (1987), 64-98.

¹⁹¹ These rumours modified state behavior because they were a powerful way of talking about colonial relations and conveyed African ideas. See also L. White, *Speaking with Vampires Rumor and History in Colonial Africa*, Vol. 37, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); P. Israel, ‘The War of Lions: Witch-Hunts, Occult Idioms and Post-Socialism in Northern Mozambique,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35, 1 (2009), 155-174.

¹⁹² NAZ N9/4/20 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Hartley’s monthly report, 31 January 1907.

¹⁹³ NAZ NVC 1/1/7 General, NC Chibi to Superintendent of Native, Victoria, ‘Dog muzzles and rabies,’ 5 June 1908.

¹⁹⁴ NAZ N9/4/22/3 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Inyanga’s Monthly Report, 30 November 1909.

either. In December 1910 it failed to distribute registration tokens to the Umtali district for a year even though some Africans had paid for them already. Nonetheless, the BSAP proceeded to destroy dogs that did not have tokens in that district. NC Umtali was incensed and complained that:

I have heard that the police on patrols shot native dogs for being without (registration) tokens. As I have been without any tokens for nearly a year and I understood that the police have been instructed to take no steps in regard to the destruction of dogs pending the arrival of a further supply of tokens. I shall be glad to know if it was the intention to continue the practise of shooting. If this is still being done, I must appeal to the Administrator on the subject.¹⁹⁵

Due to the above-mentioned shortcomings of the dog registration policy, white farmers and some Matabeleland parliamentarians renewed their calls for the introduction of a comprehensive dog taxation policy.¹⁹⁶ Dog registration was undermined by the rumours that Africans circulated about it and the ridiculous extends to which they responded to them.

As will be shown in the following section, NAD disagreed with the BSAP, the Veterinary Department and Magistrates over the implementation of the rabies regulations. These disagreements revealed that the various departments understood rabies differently from their selfish political, economic and sectoral interests and this fragmented government's response to the disease. This also resulted in the failure of purely British inspired methods of arresting rabies using dog muzzling, tying them up and destroying mad dogs that had produced quick results in the case of the 1893 Port Elizabeth rabies outbreak. In fact, some colonial authorities in Southern Rhodesia soon found themselves negotiating aspects of the rabies regulations with traditional institutions in African villages.

Has NAD gone Native or gone to the dogs?

The global rabies historiography reveals the extent to which municipalities, veterinary organisations, parliaments and medical institutions dealt with rabies outbreaks. This section analyses how the institution of chieftainship grappled with the rabies regulations amidst the competing and shifting interests of the NAD and other institutions such as the BSAP, Veterinary Department and Magistrates. It argues that NAD's experience between 1902 and 1907 made it realize the futility of using repression in seeking to eradicate the rabies outbreaks. NAD also realized that the colonial bureaucracy was too thin, too spaced in between and resources challenged to be able to pursue a coercive policy. It also began to embrace other

¹⁹⁵ NAZ NUA 3/2/1 General, NC Umtali to the Commanding Officer BSA Police, 'Destruction of dogs,' 23 December 1910.

¹⁹⁶ NAZ NVG 2/1/5 General, NC Gutu to the Superintendent of Natives, Victoria, 'Conference of Superintendent of Natives,' 31 October 1908.

competing theories—such as the role of wild animals—in seeking to explain the recurring nature of the outbreaks and government’s failure to end the epidemic. Consequently, it became receptive to suggestions proffered by traditional leaders and in effect came to authorize local rabies regulations agreements with traditional leader that other government departments found to be galling.

Other government departments—Magistrates, Veterinary Department and the BSAP—rigidly took a legalistic approach and interpreted the local agreements made by the NAD and traditional leaders as a deliberate attempt by NAD to water down the rabies regulations. Here we must be cautious of exceptionalism while considering the ideographic contours of the southern African past. For example, Walton, using the case of Victorian England, argues that governing authorities faced dilemmas in legislating and enforcing the rabies regulations because the disease had many experts who viewed it from different angles and pushed for completely opposing corrective policies and remedies to it.¹⁹⁷ NAD occupied a similar position as it struck compromises with traditional leaders well after the rabies legislations had been passed. In the same vein it tried to reassure its sister departments that it was sticking to the letter and spirit of the rabies regulations.

The new NAD approach signalled the abandonment of heavy-handed methods in its dealings with African dog-owners from 1907 onwards. This attitude was also informed by the BSAC government’s failure to avail rabies implementing instruments such as muzzles, chains and dog registrations tokens in time in many districts. Such situations forced African dog-owners to use their resources and imagination to comply with the regulations as best as they could in order to protect their dogs. Moreover, the chains and muzzles, when they were available, were too pricy for average African dog-owners who wanted both to keep their dogs and to avoid breaking the law. Gutu dog-owners refused to buy dog muzzles from NAD for 4/- understandably preferring to buy them for 1/- in September 1907. This forced the Acting NC Gutu to seek permission from his superiors to reduce their price.¹⁹⁸ In the neighbouring Chibi district, dog-owners travelled some 60 to 70 miles to Selukwe to buy dog muzzles at a prohibitive price in June

¹⁹⁷ J.K. Walton, ‘Mad Dogs and Englishmen: The Conflict over Rabies in Late Victorian England,’ *Journal of Social History*, 13, 2 (1979), 219-239. Teigen’s study of the 1876 to 1881 rabies outbreaks in Massachusetts in the USA shows that in such cases there emerged some social and political rituals—in legislating an epidemic—because political actors tried to placate both opposing camps without annoying either of them. P. M. Teigen, ‘Legislating fear and the public Health in Gilded Age Massachusetts’ *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 62, 2 (2007), 141-170.

¹⁹⁸ NAZ NVG 2/1/5 General, Acting Assistant NC Gutu to Acting CNC.

1908.¹⁹⁹ One of the ideas suggested by traditional leaders aimed at combating the rabies outbreak was the construction of ‘enclosures’ to confine dogs therein instead of muzzling or tying them. Owing to the shortages of dog muzzles, chief Gutu negotiated with NC Gutu for his people to keep their dogs in ‘secure enclosures’ pending the arrival of affordable muzzles. In return, NC Gutu promised not to destroy dogs kept in such ‘secure enclosures.’

‘Secure enclosures’ meant any structure capable of preventing contact between dogs kept therein and any other dogs or animals that was outside of the structure. Moreover, the choice to use ‘enclosures’ showed that NAD and Africans were in agreement regarding the manner in which the disease was spread and that the intention of the rabies regulations was to prevent contact between infected and uninfected dogs. This accords with Beinart and Brown who found that ‘Africans negotiated this new medical culture, absorbing elements that they conceived as useful, rather than rejecting it or accepting its epistemology and practises in totality’.²⁰⁰ From as early 1902 some African dog-owners opposed the idea of muzzling and chaining dogs preferring to use such ‘safe enclosures.’ Accordingly, NC Inyanga suggested that ‘natives be compelled to build kennels’ in 1902 because the people in his district were known to stay with dogs in their huts.²⁰¹

The Gutu BSAP, however, interpreted the use of such ‘enclosures’ as a violation of the rabies regulations and proceeded to destroy all the dogs kept in such structures. In July 1907, NC Gutu bitterly complained to the BSAP Gutu that ‘I understand that Gutu’s dogs were not found at large, but were destroyed in the kraal, and in some cases, even in the owner’s huts.’²⁰² He requested the BSAP to cease their operation pending the delivery of cheap muzzles by the government costing 1/- each arguing that it was unfair to prosecute dog-owners before giving them a fair opportunity of obtaining the muzzles.²⁰³ This requested went unheeded. NC Gutu, in frustration, wrote to senior BSAP officers privately on 14 August 1907 complaining that:

The circumstances are such that if I write officially, friction between the Police here and myself will be the result. Soon after my arrival here, Tpr [sic] Stewart started killing native dogs, the natives reported the matter to me, and I asked Stewart if he would mind stopping operations pending instructions from Headquarters. I have really no sympathy

¹⁹⁹ NAZ NVC 1/1/7 General, NC Chibi to Superintendent of Native, Vitoria, ‘Dog Muzzles and Rabies,’ 5 June 1908.

²⁰⁰ Beinart and Brown, *African Local knowledge and Livestock Health*, 12-15.

²⁰¹ NAZ N1/1/1/4 Native Department, NC Inyanga to the CNC Salisbury, ‘Rabies,’ 07 November 1902; ‘Correspondence: Muzzling of dogs,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 18 March 1905.

²⁰² NAZ NVG 2/1/5 General, NC Gutu to the Acting CNC, ‘Supply of dog muzzles: requesting,’ 3 July 1907.

²⁰³ NAZ NVG 2/1/5 General, NC, Gutu to the Acting CNC, ‘Supply of Dog Muzzles, requesting’.

with the natives in this matter, as I certainly think that they should have muzzled their dogs long ago, but at the same time they had been informed by Fynn that a large supply of muzzles were expected in a few days' time from Salisbury, and led to believe that until they had been given the opportunity to apply for these, their dogs would not be destroyed, nor would prosecutions take place. Stewart, however, refused to stop killing dogs, until he was instructed from Headquarters on the representations of the Native Department.²⁰⁴

Despite believing that Africans should have 'muzzled their dogs long ago' and professing to have no sympathy for them, he still felt compelled to defend his agreements with chief Gutu. NAD wanted to protect Africans from overzealous implementation of the regulations by the other departments. According to Jeater, the Southern Rhodesian state had not built a well-established bureaucracy during this time and this meant that several departments (which did not adequately understand Africans and their societies) competed in controlling Africans lives.²⁰⁵ She further argues that these departments viewed African societies using skewed indices, methods, and knowledge and that this prevented them from really understanding Africans. Moreover, such deficiencies undermined the colonial state's capacity to come up with competent policies in its dealing with their African subjects. Interestingly, this case study shows that they were limitations to the extent to which such skewed ideas about Africans and African societies were applied because there was a pull back by Africans who relied on local customs and practises.

Between February 1906 and 1909, some NAD officials in Matobo and Bubi districts and African dog-owners opposed the continued enforcement of the muzzling and tying regulations in their areas because authorities kept them in place long after the disease had last occurred in those areas.²⁰⁶ NAD wrote to the Administrator of Southern Rhodesia in March 1906 requesting the suspension of the muzzling regulations pointing out that they conflated many different areas whose rabies problems differed significantly.²⁰⁷ Although rabies had last occurred in Gutu-Chilimanzi district some three years before and despite complaints of wild animals destroying crops and livestock (and of thieves taking advantage of the muzzling regulations to steal grain in the village), the government refused to review the muzzling regulations even though it had done so for whites in Bulawayo in 1906 and in the Victoria

²⁰⁴ NAZ NVG 2/1/5 General, NC Gutu to Captain William, 14 July 1907.

²⁰⁵ D. Jeater, 'Imagining Africans: Scholarship, Fantasy, and Science in Colonial Administration, 1920s Southern Rhodesia,' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38, 1 (2005), 1-26.

²⁰⁶ NAZ N9/4/19/2 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Salisbury monthly report, 31 August 1906; NAZ NB3/1/7 General, NC Bubi to CNC Bulawayo, 27 February 1906; CNC to the Secretary Administrators' Department, 'Removal of rabies regulations: Matobo District,' 10 July 1908.

²⁰⁷ NAZ NB3/1/7 General, CNC to Chief Secretary, 'Rabies regulations,' 5 March 1906.

Township in 1908.²⁰⁸ Interestingly, African complaints that the muzzling regulations exposed them to criminals and that they removed dogs from the productive process were similar to those raised by white Bulawayo residents that were dealt with in the preceding sections. Similarly, they also complained about the arbitrariness of the BSAP implementation of the rabies regulations. The CNC Bulawayo, admitted in February 1909 that Africans were ‘becoming more and more opposed to the continuance of the rabies regulations’ and that their opposition stemmed from ‘the inconsistencies with which the law is enforced’.²⁰⁹ In 1909, the government withdrew the muzzling regulations ‘owing to evasion of the order,’ especially as the BSAP was thinly spaced in the territory for it to effectively enforce them. Authorities also watered down the rabies regulations by accepting the use of ‘safe enclosures’ and the chaining of dogs in rabies affected areas only for six weeks only.²¹⁰

Pragmatism made the use of ‘safe enclosures’ acceptable to both NAD and African dog-owners. The debate about the use of ‘safe enclosures’ surfaced in Chilimanzi, Ndanga and Bikita districts in 1911. Chilimanzi dog-owners told their Native Commissioner that they were ‘being heavily fined for omitting to tie their dogs up with chains, which they are unable to purchase’ in October 1911.²¹¹ According to NC Bikita-Ndanga, ‘the natives however find great difficulty in tying up their dogs securely’ as they argued that the dogs bite through the bark ropes and escaped.²¹² That the dogs were biting the rudimentary ropes that they were tied to (or with) showed that they had agency and this complicated how the disease was being dealt with and their owners’ relationship with their colonial masters. African dog-owners in Bubi complained that ‘their dogs are suffering from being continually tied up, and the fact of the matter is, that they think that the orders have gone on long enough.’²¹³ Complaints about the unavailability and unaffordability of the chains and the irritation that dogs allegedly felt were built on the fact that Africans traditionally looked down upon the chaining of their dogs. In view of these complaints, NAD officials came to view the use of safe enclosures as important. NC Charter felt compelled to define what ‘a safe enclosure’ meant in December 1911. He explained that ‘for future guidance it is necessary to more clearly define the term ‘a safe

²⁰⁸ NAZ NVG 2/1/5 General, NC Gutu-Chilimanzi’s monthly report, 30 June 1908; NAZ N9/4/24/3 Native Commissioners Monthly 1911, Report for Victoria district, 30 November 1911.

²⁰⁹ NAZ NB3/1/13 General, CNC to the Secretary, Administrator’s office, ‘Muzzling regulations: Matobo District,’ 17 February 1909.

²¹⁰ NAZ S2710/1/2 Veterinary Department General, Director of Veterinary Service, ‘Rabies in Southern Rhodesia’; NAZ A2/1/22 General, Secretary of Administrator, 30 July 1909.

²¹¹ NAZ N9/4/24/3 Native Commissioners Monthly, ‘CNC’s review of the NC’s reports for October 1911.’

²¹² NAZ N9/1/14 CNC’s review of native Commissioner’s Reports, 31 December 1911.

²¹³ NAZ NB3/1/7 General, NC, Bubi to CNC, Bulawayo, 27 February 1906.

enclosure,' I submit that an enclosure built of poles on the principal of a hut and in which dogs are tied up, even with bark rope, is preferable to chaining up dogs on veranda posts or other accessible places'.²¹⁴ However, the BSAP prosecuted dog-owners who had used such structures and Africans were understandably 'much perturbed at having their dogs destroyed in addition to being prosecuted and heavily fined for failing to comply with the regulations to a letter'. In October 1911, the BSAP arrested Chilimanzi African dog-owners who had kept their dogs in such enclosures. The Umvuma Periodical Magistrate Court fined them £5 for not chaining their dogs securely. NC Chilimanzi accused the Umvuma Magistrate of practising racism because 'two or three Europeans were summoned at the latter court (Umvuma) for having their dogs loose and were fined 2/6 each'.²¹⁵ Furthermore, the BSAP flatly refused to accept NC Chilimanzi's directive 'to shoot all native dogs not properly secured, according to regulations, and not to arrest the owners'.²¹⁶ Left with no choice NC Chilimanzi sought help from senior NAD officials explaining that he had:

Notified all natives, as soon as the regulations came into force, and informed them that they must either tie their dogs up or lock them in their huts. I never mentioned chains as I knew it was impossible for all owners of dogs to buy them. The Natives are acting in accordance with my instructions, but it appears the police have received instructions to arrest the owners of any dogs not chained up or secured in a safe enclosure.²¹⁷

Interestingly, the BSAP and Magistrates in the Victoria district, whose jurisdiction overlapped into Chilimanzi district just like their counterparts in Umvuma district, did not prosecute any African dog-owner who used the so-called 'safe enclosures' because they believed that they were doing their best to comply with the rabies regulations. The refusal by the BSAP and by some Magistrates to accept the use of 'safe enclosures' was due to overzealous implementation of the rabies regulations on their part even though some of them were not always abreast with all the changes in the rabies regulations. For instance, the Administrator of Southern Rhodesia summoned the Enkeldoorn Magistrate to explain his continued punishing of African dog-owners for not muzzling their dogs two years after the government had abandoned that policy in December 1911.²¹⁸ There was, however, no uniformity in NAD because some Native

²¹⁴ NAZ N9/1/14 Native Commissioners Monthly, CNC's review of native Commissioner's reports, 31 December 1911.

²¹⁵ NAZ N9/4/24/3 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Chilimanzi's monthly report, 31 October 1911.

²¹⁶ NAZ N9/4/24/3 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Chilimanzi's monthly Report, 31 October 1911.

²¹⁷ NAZ N9/4/24/3 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Chilimanzi's monthly report, 31 October 1911.

²¹⁸ NAZ A3/18/4 Administrator, 'NC Charter Complains of Methods of BSAP,' December 1911.

Commissioners in February 1911 sold muzzles to Africans – two years after the government had withdrawn the policy because of its ineffectiveness.²¹⁹

In November 1911, the BSAP in the Charter district destroyed dogs kept in ‘secure enclosures’ in African villages and brought their owners before the Magistrate’s court where they paid fines that varied between £2 and £5.²²⁰ However, African-dog owners ‘were much incensed and declared that, had the Government desired the total destruction of their dogs, they would have assented, which would have been preferable to having their dogs destroyed, when making efforts to comply with the regulation, and then be subjected to prosecution and heavy fines.’²²¹ They became very suspicious of the state’s intentions and proceeded to ask that ‘whatever we did appeared wrong, what is our position? Is there some ulterior motive?’²²² They complained to the NAD that they had done their best to comply with the rabies regulations and that they did not understand why they were being punished for using secure ‘enclosures’. Basing on this incident, the NC Charter pointed out that ‘there are considerable flaws in the machinery governing the control of natives’ and that this frequently led to injustices.²²³ The debate about ‘safe enclosures’ showed that Africans had considerable negotiating powers with NAD officials and that NAD had begun to use its position to alter the rabies regulations in response to local situations. The changed attitude of NAD stemmed from the flaws that they observed in the administration of the rabies regulations in African areas. This changed attitude did not mean that NAD had begun to view African-owned dog as less inferior animals compared to white-owned dogs. They were rather pointing to the complicated manner in which rabies regulations enforcers had to take into consideration if they were to succeed or to further the interests of the government. The fact that they eventually supported the taxation of African-owned dogs, as the next chapter demonstrates, show that their attitude to African dog owning had not changed drastically. However, they preferred to pursue policies that were pragmatic and less confrontational in their engagements with Africans. Although Africans succeeded in negotiating to use their preferred or affordable rabies prevention methods, this placed them on a collision course with other rabies enforcing government department who sought an unadulterated implementation of the rabies regulations. Additionally, NCs were beginning to

²¹⁹ NAZ NB 4/1/4 General, CNC Bulawayo to District Native Commissioners, Circular No. D. 2.11, ‘Dog muzzling,’ 27 February 1911.

²²⁰ NAZ A3/18/4 Administrator, NC Charter to CNC Salisbury, 27 November 1911.

²²¹ NAZ A3/18/4 Administrator, NC Charter to CNC Salisbury, 27 November 1911.

²²² NAZ A3/18/4 Administrator, NC Charter to CNC Salisbury, 27 November 1911.

²²³ NAZ A3/18/4 Administrator, NC Charter to CNC Salisbury, 27 November 1911.

be open to several other likely factors that affected the rabies situation in the country. NC Gutu became receptive to the theory that wild animals such as jackals could have been the principal means of spreading rabies in that part of the country and noted that ‘there is quite a common belief that jackals in this part of the country are the principal means of spreading this disease and it seems to me that this is well worth investigating as every year since I have been in these parts the first sign or report of rabies comes from the Charter flats and Muteyo forest where thousands of jackals are known to exist’.²²⁴

The BSAC government passed the Dog Tax Ordinance (DTO) in 1912. The next chapter analyses the operations of the DTO in the country assessing how it affected African dog-ownership. Colonel Herman Heyman, the MP for the Midlands Division, proposed the exemption of at least 2 or 3 dogs for poor white farmers in remote districts arguing that ‘the majority of rabies cases had always been traced to the native dogs’.²²⁵ Charles Coghlan, MP of the Western Division, read a letter from ‘poor’ white farmers from Wankie district that stated that ‘I have fifteen dogs—counting the native’s dogs as well—spread over sixteen square miles, protecting some 250 herd of large and 350 herd of small stock and in spite of this, two lions killed 32 goats and sheep in one night in February and two more were killed the same month by hyenas.’²²⁶ Many such poor white farmers praised the utility of African-owned dogs. A self-identified poor southern Melsetter white farmer explained that his dogs were ‘neither for show purposes, nor for pocket’ but were as important as ‘the dipping tank’ because his area was overrun by ‘stock-destroying and crop-devouring’ wild beasts. He also wrote, ‘on behalf of the natives of this district,’ that:

These animals are, with scarcely an exception, curs of the lowest type, and are of little or no use for hunting or for the destruction of game; but they are at the same time very well capable of giving warning of the neighbourhood of wild beasts, and as such are absolutely necessary to the native with his small flocks and ill-protected gardens. It is to be feared that if the tax is to be placed upon dogs, the native would recognize that his useful, but harmless, cur was not worth the money, and he would procure for himself a good dog with which a great deal of harm could be done to game, etc, by which means he could get his money back.²²⁷

Although many colonial authorities and rich white farmers, belonging to the RLOFA, had stereotyped African-owned dogs as useless, this narrative championed them as ‘utility

²²⁴ NAZ N9/4/24/3 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Gutu’s monthly report, 31 October 1911.

²²⁵ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, 1912, ‘Dog tax ordinance,’ 14 May 1912, 122.

²²⁶ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, 123-124, 162.

²²⁷ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, 162.

animals'. The Director of Agriculture also stated that white men's dogs, cats and mules had also been a great source of danger in spreading of rabies and that 'no wild animals in a rabid condition had ever been found in Rhodesia (which contradicted the findings of NC Gutu mentioned above)'.²²⁸ Indeed the BSAC government was beginning, just like NAD had done some years previously, to move away from a racial interpretation of the rabies outbreak by abandoning the idea that well cared for white-owned dogs were unable to spread rabies.²²⁹ The journey to reaching that position began with traditional leaders negotiating for the altering of the rabies regulations in response to local situations, ideas and circumstances.

Conclusion

This chapter contributes to the global and southern African historiography of rabies by focusing on the Southern Rhodesian rabies outbreaks of 1902 to 1913. It responds to Van Sittert's argument that the 1893 rabies epidemic in Port Elizabeth initially provided the middle class with the chance to control or even destroy the dogs owned by black people and the white underclasses. Yet, ironically, the same epidemic enabled the state to intrude into middle class spaces, violate their privacy and destroy their prized dogs using authoritarian legislation and methods. The epidemic enabled first the middle class and then the colonial state to institute greater regulation and to curtail individual rights in defence of public health.²³⁰ This model appeared to have worked between 1902 and 1905 in Southern Rhodesia where a record number of dogs were massacred. In fact, Southern Rhodesian authorities initially copied the legislation, methods and approaches of their South African counterparts. However, the nascent Southern Rhodesian state that was too weak at the time for it to use draconian rabies regulation measures in a sparsely populated area that was manned by only a few administrators. The next chapter develops further the arguments about environmental conservation discourses, the cattle ranching industry, rural agrarian struggles and dog taxation that this chapter focused on. Moreover, it situates dogs in Zimbabwe's agrarian historiography by discussing farmer-tenant relations, peasant consciousness, droughts and African environmental ideas. It discourses about grass burning, African-owned dogs and the challenges that the settler cattle ranching industry faced. The next chapter connects all these issues to discourses about African dog owning and to the emotive issue of dog taxation in African areas.

²²⁸ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, 127.

²²⁹ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, 122-127.

²³⁰ Van Sittert, 'Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,' 133-141.

Overall, rabies in Southern Rhodesia elicited competing and often shifting recommendations from several government departments such as the Veterinary Department, NAD, the BSAP and the Magistrates and this made it difficult for the government to come up with a coherent rabies regulation strategy. While NAD preferred methods that did not alienate African dog-owners, the other departments preferred implementing the rabies regulations in their original, (harsher) form. According to Shona people, '*kutenga imbwa chiberebere munorwira changadzo*' (if you buy a dog secretly, you will fight over the leash), which means 'secret dealings lead to disputes when exposed.'²³¹ By the same token African dog-owners realized that colonial officials were smuggling many other ideas about animal breeds, the environment and the colonial economy into their fight against rabies outbreaks. Not unnaturally, they protested. The government had initially adopted purely British-inspired modern methods of dealing with rabies that involved destroying all infected animals and muzzling and tying dogs to minimize the prevalence of the disease. However, these methods undermined local traditions, cultures and religious beliefs. Thus, the Port Elizabeth interventionist model failed in Southern Rhodesia due to local ideographic contexts. In fact, this chapter shows that local customs and local knowledge were powerful to the extent that the epidemics, in this case, did not resolve impasses, as in the case of Port Elizabeth, but rather created them. The Southern Rhodesian rabies outbreaks of 1902 to 1913 show that although epidemics provided the ruling classes and the state with a free hand to institute far-reaching changes in society, historians should not lose sight of the doggedness of local knowledge, customs and traditions.

²³¹ Mbizvo, 'Mashona Proverbs,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 4 (1926), 29.

Chapter Four

‘Nhasi tinokama imbwa (today we will milk dogs)’ – The colonial state, African dog owners and the political economy of dog taxation in Southern Rhodesia, 1902 to 1970.

Where do you work?
 I work in Gweru.
 How much do you earn?
Chumi nechishanu (£1.50 shilling)
 50 shillings is for beer and £1 is for dog tax.
The song ‘Unosevenzepiko (Where do you work)?’ sung by Mhuri Yekwa Gwenhure in the early 1980s. This song used to be popular in African villages during the colonial period and is part of a 1980s compilation of many such Mbira songs.

At the start of the twentieth century, dogs began to matter to the Southern Rhodesian state in a new way. Suddenly key players in the colonial economy – the British South Africa Company government (BSAC), the Native Affairs Department (NAD), settler cattle farmers – began debating the advisability of taxing African-owned dogs in 1902. It took a decade, however, before the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Council passed the Dog Tax Ordinance (DTO). This chapter focuses on the debates over why and how to tax African-owned dogs, the subsequent operation of the ordinance and the shifting responses of African dog-owners in Southern Rhodesia from 1902 to 1970. It contributes to the broader historiography of dog taxation in southern Africa. The dominant narrative, shaped powerfully by Lewis, Emmett, Gordon and Moore, avers that most colonial governments imposed dog taxes on their African subjects in order to force them to work in the colonial economies during this period.¹ However, an emerging narrative pioneered by Tropp argues that colonial governments also attempted to

¹ G.L.M. Lewis, ‘The Bondelswarts Rebellion of 1922,’ MA Dissertation, Rhodes University, 1977, 62; T. Emmett, ‘Popular Resistance in Namibia, 1920-1925,’ in T. Lodge (ed), *Resistance and Ideology in Settler Societies*, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986), 6-48; R.J. Gordon, ‘Fido: Dog tales of colonialism in Namibia,’ W. Beinart and J. McGregor, *Social History and African Environments*, (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), 240-254; R.J. Gordon, ‘Fido: Dog tales of colonialism in Namibia,’ in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, (Leiden, Brill, 2008), 173-184; C.B. Moore, ‘Canines, carnivores, capitalism, colonialism: Some transformations in hunting, agriculture and labour in Southern Namibia, 1915-1930,’ MA Dissertation, African-American and African Studies, Michigan State University, 2016.

control African-owned dogs in order to preserve natural resources exclusively for settlers.² This chapter overturns the orthodox argument that colonial dog taxation was imposed in order to solve labour problems. It also provides an iconoclast view of colonial environmental control regimes. The chapter also examines how these environmental regimes affected African dog-owners. Moreover, it argues that African-owned dogs belong to the agrarian and livestock historiography of Southern Rhodesia and it does so by linking dog ownership to debates about droughts, livestock farming, animal betterment ideologies, conservationism, grass burning, droughts and farmer-tenant relations. Broadly, this chapter examines larger power struggles over animal ownership and resources control and management in a colonial setting.³ This chapter challenges the dominant narrative that ties dog tax policies to colonial labour policies. It develops Tropp's argument that South African colonial authorities in Transkei controlled and poisoned African-owned dogs in order to protect forest resources for the settlers by showing that Southern Rhodesian authorities also used dog tax to preserve the natural environment for white commercial cattle farmers. Secondly, the chapter challenges the prevailing historiographic trope that Africans always rebelled against the dog tax by showing that there was actually little active resistance to DTO in Southern Rhodesians unlike in other southern African contexts. Rather it did play a (delayed) political role, as this chapter will contend, but did not precipitate either immediate or overt resistance like what happened in South West Africa during the Bondelswarts rebellion for instance. The chapter, thus, emphasises the idiographic, showing how context matters even in these wider sub-continental attempts to control Africans (and their animals) in local landscapes of power.

The chapter draws much of its evidence from the Manicaland, Masvingo and Matabeleland provinces (see map). In challenging and extending existing historiography, the chapter explores four key themes. Firstly, it examines the historiography of dog taxation in southern Africa. The second part examines the debates raised between 1902 and 1912 by cattle farmers regarding African-owned dogs, grass burning and the need to make Southern Rhodesia 'a stock-raising country'. The third section explains the relationship between payment of rents under various

² J. Tropp, 'Dogs, poison, and the meaning of colonial intervention on the Transkei, South Africa,' in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 145-172.

³ W. Beinart, 'Night of the jackal': Sheep, pastures and predators in the Cape,' *Past and Present*, 158 (1998), 172-206; L. Van Sittert, 'Keeping the enemy at bay': the extermination of wild carnivora in the Cape Colony, 1889-1910', *Environmental History*, 3 (1998), 333-56; R. Mutwira, 'Southern Rhodesian wildlife policy (1890-1953): a question of condoning game slaughter?' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15 (1989), 250-62; N.J. Jacobs, 'The Great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre: Discourse on the Ass and the Politics of Class and Grass,' *The American Historical Review*, 106, 2 (2001), 485-507.

Private Locations Ordinance (PLO) arrangements and the payment of dog taxes for African dog-owners between 1912 and the 1920s. The fourth section analyses the strategies that Native Commissioners (NCs) in drought and famine-prone areas came up with to persuade Africans to pay dog taxes. It shows that some NCs argued for the need to treat African dog-owners leniently in respect of paying dog tax during the famine years. The chapter also examines African ideas about dog ownership to explain how the DTO, while not provoking outright rebellion at first, nevertheless became one of the most important rural grievances mobilised in African national politics between 1930 and 1970. Lastly, the chapter examines how the policies of dog taxation and of inoculating dogs against rabies undermined each other in rural areas and ignited political opposition from Africans.

The historiography of dog taxation

Histories of dog taxation predominantly focus on Britain and its former colonies. These works have shown that the first recorded attempts to tax dogs occurred in 1387 in England, yet Britain intermittently applied different variations of dog taxes in the years between 1476 and 1796 to their citizens.⁴ Staves and Blaisdell argue that dog tax measures adopted by the British revealed class conflicts between property owners on the one hand and the rural and urban poor on the other over hunting and game laws. In fact, British Local Justices of Peace regularly seized dogs ‘illegally’ held by people whose property qualifications did not allow them to own dogs.⁵ In retaliation, the poor periodically killed dogs owned by the rich and used their skins to make gloves. Tague’s study of the 1796 English dog tax debate showed that both classes used it to push for game reforms so as to regulate dog-ownership by the other class.⁶ Property-owners complained that urban arrivistes and the rural poor used dogs for poaching on their properties and further alleged that dogs owned by the poor spread rabies, that their owners wasted government food relief by feeding their dogs and starving their families at the same time. Conversely, the poor alleged that the rich overfed their dogs, depleted food reserves, and caused food shortages in the country.⁷ In the end, the 1796 dog tax law overtaxed the rich and acknowledged the critical central role of dogs in the lives of the poor.⁸ Over a hundred years later, although the Southern Rhodesian dog tax ordinance was similarly introduced to solve the

⁴ S. Staves, ‘Chattel Property Rules and the Construction of Englishness, 1660-1800,’ *Law and History Review*, 12, 1 (1994), 140.

⁵ J.D. Blaisdell, ‘A Frightful—But Not Necessarily Fatal—Madness: Rabies in Eighteenth-century England and English North America,’ PhD thesis, Iowa State University, 1995, 153, 209.

⁶ I.G. Tague, ‘Eighteenth-century English debates on dog tax,’ *The Historical Journal*, 51, 4 (2008), 901-920.

⁷ Tague, ‘Eighteenth-century English debates on dog tax,’ 903.

⁸ Blaisdell, ‘A Frightful—But Not Necessarily Fatal—Madness,’ 209.

class interests of settler livestock farmers, it also grappled with new issues about racism and ideas about breeds and species.

In fact, how a dog should be regarded was not altogether a new issue: the proponents of dog tax in eighteenth-century England debated extensively whether dogs were taxable property, things or just animals.⁹ The debate blurred the gap between human beings (the subject taxed) and dogs (the object taxed) to an extent of regarding dogs as ‘kin and not-kin, kind and not-kind’ as dogs began to be viewed as sentient beings (quasi-humans).¹⁰ Blaisdell supports this view by contending that an examination of the 1796 historical records, literary works, religious practices and even personalized dog collars of the time showed that there was a key transition in human-dog relations.¹¹ Even though dogs transitioned from being regarded as property or work animals to being regarded as companion animals, the British dog fancy had not yet begun. Other studies show the variable but similar socio-political role of dog taxes, especially in policing classed borders. For example, there is sketchy evidence of the use of dog tax in France to prevent the poor from owning dogs in the 1850s.¹² Japan toyed with both negative and positive financial incentives to discourage some people from keeping dogs in 1890, 1900, 1933 and 1944 and these campaigns largely targeted the poor.¹³ However, this thesis went with the assumption that histories of dog taxation from the metropole may be different from colonized so-called periphery because discourses about civilization, racism, and speciesism added some other dimensions to the issue of class that predominated in these case studies.¹⁴ Wallen argues that dog taxation in Europe contributed to the classification of dogs into different breeds and that this led to the naturalization of particular breeds’ appearances, temperament and aesthetics in European dog owning cultures.¹⁵ Consequently, the creation of breeds led to the destruction of dogs that Europeans considered as aesthetically unappealing as they tried to end the

⁹ L. Festa, ‘Person, Animal, Thing: The 1796 Dog Tax and the Right to Superfluous Things,’ *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 33, 2 (2009), 1-44.

¹⁰ Festa, ‘Person, Animal, Thing.’

¹¹ J.D. Blaisdell ‘The Rise of Man's Best Friend: The Popularity of Dogs as Companion Animals in Late Eighteenth-Century London as Reflected by the Dog Tax of 1796,’ *Anthrozoös*, 12, 2 (1999), 76-87.

¹² C. Pearson, ‘Stray dogs and the Making of Modern Paris,’ *Past and Present*, 234, 1 (2017), 148-149.

¹³ A.H. Skabelund, *Empire of Dogs: Canines, Japan, and the Making of the Modern Imperial World*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 81-82, 165.

¹⁴ L. Van Sittert, ‘Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemic,’ *South African Historical Journal*, 48, 1 (2003), 215.

¹⁵ According to Wallen anxiety over the canine variability contributed racism and breedism because the ruling class wanted to introduce order and legibility in society by apportioning particular canine characteristics to dogs sought by certain classes. See M. Wallen, ‘Well-Bred is Well-Behaved: The Creation and Meaning of Dog Breeds,’ in J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka (eds), *Dog's Best Friend? Rethinking Canid-Human Relations*, (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 59-83.

variability that was within their dog population. The intention was to establish order and legibility in the dog population and this became rigidified with the progression of time. These discourses meant that the application of dog taxes in the colonies was complicated by issues of class, race and species in the conceptions of the ruling white elites in the southern African context.

After all, the British took the idea of taxing dogs with them to the colonies. They introduced it in New Zealand in 1894 and the Northern Maori rebelled against paying dog tax in 1898.¹⁶ In the 1920s, the Maori adopted passive resistance to dog taxation preferring to go to prison rather than pay dog tax.¹⁷ In southern African, dog tax laws were introduced in Natal in 1875, in Cape Colony in 1884, in Orange Free State in 1891, in the South African Republic in 1892, in South West Africa (SWA) in 1907, in Southern Rhodesia in 1912 and in Northern Rhodesia in 1912.¹⁸

There is a consensus among historians in southern Africa that taxes (dog tax included) were largely designed to force Africans to work in colonial economies, especially on the mines or for settler farmers. In his study of Transvaal between 1902 and 1907, Burton argues that hut tax, poll tax, road tax and dog tax were introduced to solve colonial labour shortages. He further states that resistance to these taxes led to the emergence of the Transvaal Native Congress.¹⁹ Marks, Redding and Thompson agree that dog taxation was one of the contributory causes of the Bambatha rebellion of 1907.²⁰ They, however, attribute more weight to other causes such as poll tax.²¹ It is difficult to draw mono-causal connections between paying dog tax and the ultimate outbreak of the rebellion in Natal.

¹⁶ New Zealand, Parliamentary Debates, 'Financial Statement', 108, 22 August 1899, https://books.google.co.za/books?id=hOoLAQAIAAJ&pg=PA290&lpg=PA290&dq=dog+tax+resistance&source=bl&ots=5YdNf7Az-0&sig=ACfU3U1moRXIfLjuZdXBYW3Z_IsQE1MSug&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi3yraQ65DhAhUWRBUIHUGqChAQ6AEwCXoECAgQAQ#v=onepage&q=dog%20tax%20resistance&f=false, accessed on 8 October 2019.

¹⁷ 'Dispatches from the Maori dog tax resistance campaigns' <https://sniggle.net/TPL/index5.php?entry=11Jan15>, accessed on 8 October 2019.

¹⁸ Van Sittert and Swart, 'Canis Familiaris: A Dog History of South Africa,' 146; NAZ RC 3/9/5/15 Dog Tax, The Registration and Control of Dogs proclamation of Northern Rhodesia, 1912.

¹⁹ D. Burton, 'The Taxation of Africans: Transvaal, 1902- 1907,' *African Historical Review*, 19 (1987), 47-55.

²⁰ S. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 132-133; S. Redding, 'A Blood-Stained Tax: Poll Tax and the Bambatha Rebellion in South Africa,' *African Studies Review*, 43, 2 (2000), 37.

²¹ P.S. Thompson, 'The Zulu Rebellion of 1906 the collusion of Bambatha and Dinuzulu,' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36, 3 (2003). While Marks privileges economic interpretations of the poll tax, Redding favours the religious interpretations that Africans made of it. Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, 136; Redding, 'A Blood-Stained Tax,' 37.

The historiography of the 1922 Bondelswarts rebellion in SWA fits neatly into the labour scarcity thesis and the use of dog tax to solve colonial labour problems. It also supports the thesis that Africans immediately rebelled against such colonial incursions. Lewis, Emmett, Gordon and Moore agree on those points.²² They cite grazing laws, vagrancy laws, land alienation and the confiscation of livestock as having contributed to African political action especially after colonial authorities raised dog taxes to £1 for the first dog, £2/10/- for two dogs, £4/10- for three dogs, £7 for four dogs, and £10 for five dogs in 1921. Lewis and Emmett also add police brutality and the disappointments that Africans felt after being handed over to South Africa after 1914 (whose rule was not different from that of the Germans) instead of being given over to Britain as some long term causes of the rebellion.²³ Emmett further fingered American Garveyism, espoused by West Africans who resided in SWA, for giving the rebellion some ideological content. Lewis opposes this point and attributes the coming from South Africa of the Bondelswarts, who had played a leading role in the 1904-1906 rebellions in SWA such as Jacobus Christian and Abraham Morris between 1917 and 1921 and the failure by the SWA colonial authorities to manage their arrival, as important causes of the rebellion.²⁴ While Lewis and Emmett interpret dog tax and the Bondelswarts rebellion from a ‘nascent nationalist’ perspective, Moore views it from a materialist perspective.²⁵ Gordon, however, brings to the fore the many amendments that the dog tax proclamations went through in 1907, 1921, 1924, 1928, 1948 and the 1950s to show the pressure that authorities faced from both settler farmers and Africans over the issue of dog tax. Consequently, some members of both classes were exempted from paying dog taxes for one or two dogs intermittently during this period.²⁶ Gordon’s research reveals a situation that was characterized by negotiations, compromises and use of passive resistance. Despite the reasons for levying dog taxes being different from those in SWA, as this chapter shall show, such complicated responses also occurred in the Southern Rhodesia.

Anecdotal evidence from the histories of the Cape colony suggests that dog tax also served the purpose of protecting settler farmers from dogs owned by Africans. Settlers often complained that some Africans killed and ate their livestock and that their dogs polished off the remains,

²² Gordon, ‘Fido: Dog tales of colonialism in Namibia,’ 240-254; Emmett, ‘Popular Resistance in Namibia, 1920-1925,’ 6-48; Lewis, ‘The Bondelswarts Rebellion of 1922,’ 62. Moore, ‘Canines, carnivores, capitalism.’

²³ Lewis, ‘The Bondelswarts Rebellion of 1922,’ 153; Emmett, ‘Popular Resistance in Namibia,’ 12.

²⁴ Lewis, ‘The Bondelswarts Rebellion of 1922,’ 62.

²⁵ Moore, ‘Canines, carnivores, capitalism,’ 5.

²⁶ Gordon, ‘Fido: Dog tales of colonialism in Namibia.’

concealing evidence of criminality. Vineyard farmers in the Western Cape also complained that dogs that were at large disturbed their cultivated land, especially during the summer harvest. These complaints revealed settlers' push for greater social control, policing of the boundaries between African areas and European private property and their need to control trespassing by Africans. Consequently, dogs constituted both a symbolic metaphor and a convenient target by settlers targeting Africans.²⁷ Nevertheless, Southern Rhodesian cattle farmers based their complaints on an entirely different stance from those of Cape livestock and vineyard farmers. This chapter sets out to develop Tropp's argument that colonial authorities systematically poisoned and shot African-owned dogs in order to control (and constrain) African mobility and their use of environmental resources for the benefit of the white settlers.²⁸ However, it contends that there was still a key difference – as in Southern Rhodesia the aim was to conserve the natural environment for settler livestock farmers.

Settler cattle farmers, African dog-owners and the dog tax debate, 1902-1912

The Rhodesia Landowner's and Farmers' Association (RLOFA) began pushing for the taxation of African-owned dogs in 1902 arguing that the dogs were accessories to the wanton burning of grass by African hunters.²⁹ As Jacobs has shown in the case of the Bophuthatswana (South Africa) 'donkey massacres' in the 1980s, this was a case in which a powerful economic bloc labelled the livelihoods of a less powerful group (and their animals) as having deleterious effects on the natural environment.³⁰ RLOFA proposed that each African-owned dog paid a tax of 10/- to protect valuable grasses that livestock farmers needed badly but which African hunters burned 'recklessly.'³¹ The years between 1902 and 1912 witnessed a florescence of complaints by settler farmers about grass burning by Africans who hunted with dogs. Interestingly, these settler farmers never connected their complaints to issues about the shortage of labour. Rather, they concentrated on making environmental arguments that supported their agricultural interests and the need to tax African dog ownerships. The environmental arguments that settler farmers raised regarding African-owned dogs and grass burning were captured in

²⁷ W. Beinart, 'Settler Accumulation in East Griqualand from the Demise of the Griqua to the Natives Land Act', in W. Beinart, P. Delius and S. Trapido (eds), *Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850–1930*, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986), 289–300; Van Sittert and Swart, 'Canis Familiaris: A Dog History of South Africa,' 146.

²⁸ Tropp, 'Dogs, Poison and the Meaning of Colonial Intervention in the Transkei, South Africa,' 456.

²⁹ Gordon, 'Fido: Dog tales of colonialism in Namibia,' 240.

³⁰ Jacobs, 'The great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre', 485–507.

³¹ NAZ T2/29/31 Proposed Dog Tax, Municipal Executive council, Dog Tax, 05 May 1902; CNC Bulawayo to The Chief Secretary, Salisbury, 'Imposition of a general Dog Tax,' 18 February 1902.

1902 and 1905 NAD investigations, in 1905, 1907, 1911 and 1912 Legislative Council debates and in the various veld fires conferences that were held between 1902 and 1938.³² These arguments were clad in a conservationist garb as RLOFA accused African hunters of destroying small game animals both during and outside the hunting seasons. Yet these arguments were self-serving because settler farmers deliberately slaughtered game animals to feed their workers, control the so-called vermin and sell wildlife trophies with the permission of the government.³³ Settler ideas about human and animal ‘breeds’ propped up their environmental ideologies to the extent that they labelled (as is shown in the previous chapter) African-owned dogs as ‘useless curs’ in need of ‘improvement.’³⁴ They renewed the campaign to tax African-owned dogs in 1904 because the 1902 push had not succeeded. There is every reason to surmise that the settlers derived inspiration from the South African dog tax laws in making their proposals.³⁵ Colonel William Napier, who was a member of the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Council for the Western Division (Matabeleland), renewed the push to tax African owned-dogs in 1905. He suggested a veterinary sweetener by proposing that revenue gotten from this source would be used in compensating African livestock destroyed in eradicating any disease, in the cleansing of ‘native stock’ and in providing Africans with dipping facilities.³⁶ Despite dressing up the proposal in a paternalist pro-African manner, the suggestion of ‘cleansing’ African cattle was in reality meant to serve white commercial ranching enterprises.

Although NCs found the reasons proffered by RLOFA to be convincing, they unanimously opposed ‘class legislation’ and called for the taxation of white-owned dogs as well. They

³² NAZ S1217/12 Veld Fire Conference, Summary of the Record of the first Anti-Veld Fire Conference Held in Salisbury at the Duthie Hall on 26 April 1938; Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 1, Fourth Session, Third Council, 1907, ‘Grass Fires,’ 29; Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, 1899-1908, Vol. 1, Third Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed Dog Tax,’ 1907, 40; NAZ NB3/1/16 General, NC Essexvale to CNC Bulawayo, ‘Employment of Special detectives: Re to report on grass fires in Umzingwane District,’ 17 September 1909; Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume 1, Third Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed Dog 1907, 38-40; NAZ N6/1/1/1 Minutes of Conference of Superintendents of Natives, 3 February 1909; NAZ GF 2/1/6 Grass Fires June, A. Hodson to Director of Agriculture, Salisbury, 27 August 1912; Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, ‘Dog Tax Ordinance,’ 14 May 1912, 120-127.

³³ J.M. Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British imperialism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 121-141.

³⁴ NAZ N9/1/15 NC Charter’s Annual Reports 1913, 31 December 1912; NC Mtoko’s Annual Reports 1913, 31 December 1912; NAZ T2/29/31 Proposed Dog Tax, Y. M. Hulley, NC Umtali to CNC, Salisbury, ‘Confidential: Southern Rhodesia Dog Tax Ordinance, proposed,’ 25 March 1905.

³⁵ K. Moguerane, ‘Black Landlords, their Tenants, and the Natives Land Act of 1913,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42, 2 (2016), 251.

³⁶ NAZ T2/29/31 Proposed Dog Tax, Rhodesian Land Owner and Farmer’s Association to the Secretary of Agriculture, Salisbury, 4 April 1905; ‘Landowner’s and Farmers’ Association Monthly Meeting,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 1 April 1905; Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, 1899-1908, First Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed Dog Tax,’ 28 April 1905, 12-13.

further suggested that a dog tax of 5/- was reasonable.³⁷ Evidence suggests that African-owned dogs in the villages had begun to increase in number following their destruction during the 1902 to 1903 rabies campaigns.³⁸ However, the majority of the NCs believed that the 1905 economic depression made it inopportune to introduce new taxes not only because Southern Rhodesian taxes were the highest in the region but also because Africans were not 'readily earn(ing) wages as in former times.'³⁹ Some settler farmers had relocated to German East Africa where conditions were favourable. In addition, the BSAC government argued that 'the natives should be taxed directly, and substantially, and with certainty, and not with small supplementary additions to their taxation.'⁴⁰ The BSAC government also concluded that the proposed dog tax would be an expensive small item in the revenue hardly worth collecting because it afforded every facility for evasion and that in Britain dog tax was an object for local and not central government taxation.⁴¹ As a consolation, the government permitted settler farmers to regulate African dog-ownership on their lands.

³⁷ NAZ, T2/29/31 Proposed Dog Tax, NC Lomagundi to CNC, 'Imposition of Dog tax. Report Forwarding,' 29 March 1905.

³⁸ NAZ T2/29/31 Proposed Dog Tax, W. Edwards, NC Mrewa to the CNC, 'Confidential: Proposed Tax on Dogs,' 25 March 1905.

³⁹ NAZ T2/29/31 Proposed Dog Tax, NC Bulawayo to the Private Secretary to his Honour the Administrator, Salisbury, 'Suggested Dog Tax,' 3 April 1905.

⁴⁰ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 1, First Session, Second Council, Legislative Debates, 'Proposed Dog tax,' 28 April 1905, 12-13.

⁴¹ NAZ T2/29/31 Proposed Dog Tax, NC Hartley to the CNC, Salisbury, 'Confidential: Proposed Dog Tax,' 25 March 1905; 'Landowner's Association and Farmers Association Monthly General Meeting,' *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 27 May 1905.

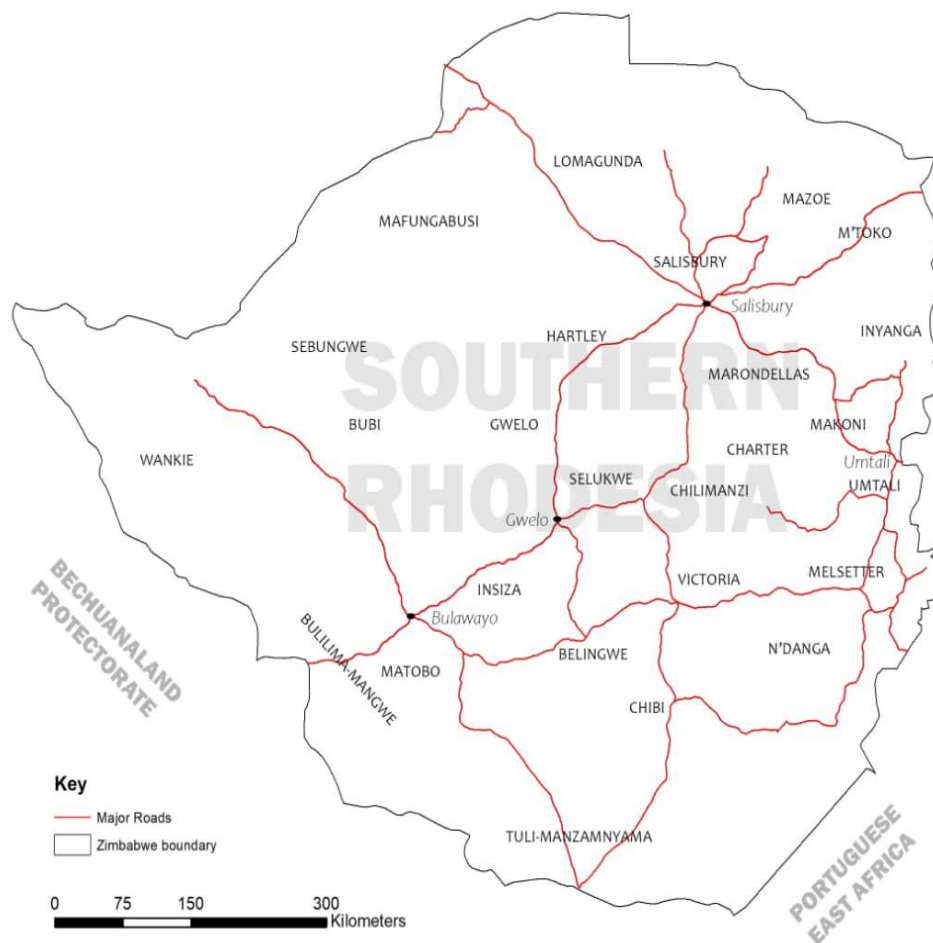


Figure 7: Map of Southern Rhodesia showing the districts in Southern Rhodesia that are used in this chapter.⁴²

The Native Affairs Department (NAD) consecutively refused to allow the taxing of African-owned dogs in 1902, 1905 and 1907 because it did not want to offend African religious sensibilities. Already traditional leaders, priests of the Mwari cult and some spirit mediums had expressed their opposition to the state veterinary policy of slaughtering African-owned dogs during rabies campaigns.⁴³ Moreover, Africans in Bulawayo, Matabeleland and Chilimanzi districts circulated rumours that the counting and branding of their livestock by colonial officials was a precursor to the taxation of their livestock (as is shown in the preceding chapter). Many of them killed off their pigs, cattle and goats to evade future taxation.⁴⁴ Mwatwara and

⁴² Drawn by Russel Kapumha.

⁴³ NAZ N9/4/15 Native Commissioners Monthly, NC Umtali's monthly report, July 1903; NC Ndanga's monthly report, June 1903; NAZ N9/4/20 Native Commissioners Monthly 1907, NC Chibi's monthly report, 28 February 1907.

⁴⁴ NAZ N3/1/13 Inter-departmental, NC Mazoe to the CNC Salisbury, 'Meeting of Chiefs at Chiweshwi's Kraal,' 22 January 1907; NAZ NB3/1/1 General, March 1904- 31 December 1904, W.E Thomas to the CNC Bulawayo,

Swart, in the case of the rinderpest outbreak in Southern Rhodesia in 1895, argued that some Africans viewed the branding of their livestock as a ‘new form of sorcery’ practised by the government.⁴⁵ These rumours coupled to government fears that the proposed dog tax was going to be difficult to enforce combined to thwart dog tax proposals before 1908.

White farmers’ influence on policy grew after the adoption of an agriculture-led economic development strategy in the country in 1908. The BSAC government had given up hopes of pursuing a mining-led economic development plan in the country after failing to find a Second Rand in 1907. Within this changed environment, the political influence of settler farmers improved significantly. Due to this change of policy, the government began instructing NCs to hold traditional leaders and entire African communities responsible for veld fires that happened in their areas. They also encouraged settlers to introduce fireguards in the form of burnt strips at their farms to impede the spread of veld fires.⁴⁶ At the same time, white farmers contributed to the growth of white Rhodesian nationalism by the manner in which they challenged the power of the BSAC government. Col Napier complained that ‘there was little wonder that the people of the country wished to do away with the commercial side of the Chartered Company’ because it was paying scant attention to the problems of white cattle farmers.⁴⁷ Matabeleland white farmers claimed that grass burning in winter months by Africans denied their cattle of pastures and necessitated the movement of cattle to prevent outright starvation. They complained that veld fires began in June and that by the end of July/August not a blade of grass was left and that this forced them to divide their herd after October. They alleged that some cattle ended up getting lost as a result.⁴⁸ While contributing to the debate in the Legislative Council, Col Napier noted that:

It was a usual custom for natives who collected on a Saturday or Sunday to burn large tracts of country in winter months, and as the areas so burnt were reduced in size the fires were stopped, and the men and dogs set to work killing everything in the radius that had not been burnt. This hunting and excessive burning had an injurious effect on both the white population and the natives. The imposition of a tax would at once

‘Confidential,’ 1 April 1904; NAZ NB1/1/19 General, NC Selukwe to the CNC Bulawayo, ‘Killing of Hornless Cattle and Stock,’ 19 January 1903; NAZ N3/1/13 Inter-departmental, Acting CNC to NC Mazoe, ‘Killing of pigs by Natives of the Mazoe District,’ 11 February 1907.

⁴⁵ W. Mwatwara and S. Swart, ‘If our cattle die, we eat them but these white people bury them and burn them! African Livestock Regimes and the Emergence of a Colonial Order in Southern Rhodesia, c.1860-1902’ *Kronos*, 41 (2015), 137.

⁴⁶ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 1, Fourth Session, Third Council, 1907, ‘Grass Fires,’ 29; Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, 1899-1908, Vol. 1, Third Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed Dog Tax,’ 1907, 40.

⁴⁷ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 1, Third Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed Dog Tax,’ 40.

⁴⁸ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume 1, Fourth Session, Third Council, ‘Grass Fires,’ 29.

diminish the number of dogs kept by natives, who would kill a great number and look better after such as were left.⁴⁹

He stated authoritatively that ‘this country was a stock-raising country and that they ought to aim at that end and fill the country with cattle, sheep, and goats.’⁵⁰ The BSAC government came to accept that the country’s tropical climate made it essentially a cattle country to the extent that cattle ranching, maize production and tobacco farming became the three most important economic development strategies that it pursued.⁵¹ Evidence shows that despite this dismissive attitude towards grass burning, Africans had their reasons for burning grass. Winter months did not require much labour, enabled them to supplement their diets by hunting and were an excellent time to prepare for the next agricultural season.

Grass burning by Africans addressed local environmental practises and was also done in competition with settler farmers over cattle, land and pastures. Moreover, they burnt grass to destroy pests and diseases that plagued them and their livestock. NC Ndanga explained that:

The natives burn the grass intentionally every year partly to destroy the fever-breeding undergrowth thus reducing the number of insects and snakes, partly to obtain fresh young grass for their cattle, and partly to clear the ground for new lands. But for veldt fires, neither man nor beast could exist in the reserves. It is true that a hunt often attends the firing of grass but it is not the only or even the main object.⁵²

While settlers preferred preserving grass during and after winter for their livestock, Africans blamed long dry grasses for causing diseases such as influenza and Quarter Evil (an infectious bacterial disease that affected cattle). In 1919, Africans told the NAD that ‘there was no disease when they were allowed to burn the grass’ because long dry grass harboured ticks, mosquitoes and provided cover for wild animals that ravaged their livestock and gardens.⁵³ African environmental reasons for burning grass were at cross purposes with the plans of settler farmers regarding the conservation of grass to an extent that the BSAC government appointed Native Detectives to investigate cases of veld fires in 1909.⁵⁴ Africans caught near a burnt veld

⁴⁹ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume. 1, Third Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed Dog Tax,’ 1907, 38-40.

⁵⁰ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Volume 1, Third Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed Dog 1907, 38-40.

⁵¹ G. Hove, ‘The State, farmers and dairy farming in Colonial Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), c.1890-1951,’ PhD Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, (2015), 2-3.

⁵² NAZ N3/6/1-2 NC Ndanga to the Superintendent of Natives Victoria, ‘Observations on the Natives Affairs Commission’s Report,’ 15 July 1911.

⁵³ Editorial, ‘Cattle Owned by Natives,’ *Rhodesia Agricultural Journal*, 11, 5 (1914), 663; NAZ N3/33/7 Grass Fires, CNC to the Secretary, Department of Administrator, 3 December 1919.

⁵⁴ NAZ NB3/1/16 General NC Essexvale to CNC Bulawayo, ‘Employment of Special detectives: Re to report on grass fires in Umzingwane District,’ 17 September 1909.

generally escaped culpability by blaming some old woman or small child to disarm the Native Detectives.⁵⁵ Some Africans ‘caught out hunting with their dogs in front of a fire’ simply asked Native Detectives for proof that they had set the grass alight.⁵⁶

African also believed that grass burning towards the end of the winter produced early October rains that they called *Bumharutsva* (rain dropping on a burnt veld). These rains signalled the start of the farming season and also led to the growth of fresh grass for domestic animals.⁵⁷ Col Napier’s complaint about young men pointed to the masculine pursuits and recreational hunting done by the young to supplement their protein diets.⁵⁸ The Shona proverb *tsuro haaponi murutsva kaviri* (the hare cannot dodge [dogs] in a burnt veld twice) bears testimony to the local perception of the effectiveness of burning strips of veld for the purposes of hunting. Little wonder that colonial authorities placed African-owned dogs in the category of vermin. Interestingly enough, Southern Rhodesian records do not show cattle farmers complaining about these dogs (or their owners) preying *physically* on their livestock.⁵⁹ They preyed indirectly through grass burning by their owners. Settlers continued to complain to the BSAC government that African owned-dogs ‘had proved for many years past to be a curse to anyone who intended to go in for farming.’ Col Napier explained that he had travelled from Bulawayo through Insiza, Blinkwater, and Victoria districts, and ‘had not seen more than a few patches of grass’ because of the scourge of grass burning.⁶⁰ A. Hodson of Beatrice moaned that the Shona people had left him ‘without a blade of grass’ and that they were ‘obsessed with the idea that the unfortunate European settler is a legitimate sport, and they are not satisfied until he has had his grass burnt off’ during the 1911 winter months.⁶¹ Cattle ranchers from Victoria, Ndanga, and Matabeleland districts made similar complaints at the 1913 Grass Fires Conference.⁶²

⁵⁵ NAZ S1217/12 Veld Fire Conference, Summary of the Record of the first Anti-Veld Fire Conference Held in Salisbury at the Duthie Hall on 26 April 1938.

⁵⁶ NAZ NB3/1/16 General, NC Essexvale to CNC Bulawayo, ‘Employment of Special detectives: Re to report on grass fires in Umzingwane District,’ 17 September 1909.

⁵⁷ NAZ N3/33/7 Grass Fires, CNC to the Secretary, Department of Administrator, 3 December 1919

⁵⁸ Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 69.

⁵⁹ Mutwira, ‘Southern Rhodesian wildlife policy (1890-1953): A Question of condoning game slaughter,’ 250.

⁶⁰ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, 1899-1908, Volume.1, Third Session, Third Council, ‘Proposed Dog Tax,’ 1907, 40

⁶¹ NAZ GF 2/1/6 Grass Fires June, A. Hodson to Director of Agriculture, Salisbury, 27 August 1912.

⁶² NAZ GF 2/1/6 Grass Fires Conference, 27 August 1912.

Africans also had political reasons for burning grass. From as early as 1893, settlers had looted African cattle and diseases had also decimated the remaining herds, while the general appropriation of land by settler worsened the situation to an extent that many Africans relied heavily on hunting with dogs. Samasuwo has shown that most settler farmers built up their cattle herds by both ‘looting’ and ‘buying’ them cheaply from Africans.⁶³ NC Insiza pinned down grass burning by Africans to the manner in which white cattle ranchers had enriched themselves by ‘looting’ African cattle.⁶⁴ Mwatwara and Swart argue that the difference between ‘Native’ and ‘European’ cattle was one of perception because there was nothing that separated them biologically during this period.⁶⁵ Moreover, these settlers were under-resourced, lacked sufficient knowledge about animal husbandry and depended on the environment heavily to set up their cattle ranching ventures. Ethel Tawse Jollie,⁶⁶ the first female member of the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Council, described early livestock farmers as men who ‘started with too little capital and has to cling to antiquated methods’ of livestock management.⁶⁷ She further blamed livestock farmers, mostly of Afrikaner extraction, who concentrated on transport riding and hunted for the pot (just like Africans) for some grass burning.⁶⁸ The BSAC government was responsible for this because it encouraged men of even moderate means to take up cattle ranching.⁶⁹ These reasons made it difficult for the Southern Rhodesian livestock industry to penetrate into the international meat markets between 1890 and 1938.⁷⁰ In view of this, a colossal struggle over the preservation of grass or its burning ensued in the competing environmentalism of the two groups. Attempts by some settlers to ‘improve’ the quality of beef produced by their indigenous cattle by breeding them with exotic breeds oftentimes produced animals that could not be supported by the quality of the natural pastures available.⁷¹ Moreover, Africans who stayed on settler farms that operated under the terms Private Location Ordinance of 1908 (PLO) that forced them to pay rent or to work for

⁶³ N.W. Samasuwo, ‘“There is Something About Cattle”: Towards an Economic History of the Beef Industry in Colonial Zimbabwe, with Special Reference to the Role of the State, 1939-1980,’ PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2000, 4-13.

⁶⁴ NAZ N9/1/21 Report of the NC Insiza for the year 1919. N9/4/37, Report of NC Insiza for September 1919.

⁶⁵ W. Mwatwara and S. Swart, ‘“Better breeds?” The Colonial State, Africans and the Cattle Quality Clause in Southern Rhodesia, c. 1912-1930,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42, 2 (2016) 337.

⁶⁶ *Ethel Maud Tawse Jollie* (1874–1950), a writer and political activist in Southern Rhodesia, was the first female parliamentarian in the British overseas empire.

⁶⁷ E.T. Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia*, (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1971), 132-133.

⁶⁸ Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia*, 132-133.

⁶⁹ Samasuwo, ‘“There is something about cattle,” 24.

⁷⁰ I.R. Phimister, ‘Meat and Monopolies’: Beef cattle in Southern Rhodesia, 1890- 1938,’ *Journal of African History*, xix, 3 (1978), 391-414.

⁷¹ Phimister, ‘Meat and Monopolies,’ 339.

settler farmers reportedly burnt grass to punish settler farmers owning their traditional lands.⁷² Scott has characterized such non-confrontational, petty and silent acts of resistance usually carried out by peasants as everyday forms of resistance in which they contested their exclusion from the means of production (land, pastures, the onerous rents and taxes demanded from them) by the landowners or the ruling elites.⁷³ Thus, the peasants made use of the weapons of the weak as they could not afford to openly rebel against the system. They preferred indirect and low-profile ways of making their voice heard. While all these events were ongoing, African-owned cattle also increased phenomenally between 1908 and 1914, recovering from the 1890s lootings by settlers and the cattle diseases that plagued them. Consequently, conflicts over grazing land with European farmers ensued.⁷⁴ Despite these others reasons that potentially explain why Africans burnt grass, white settler farmers chose to isolate African-owned dogs in the dog tax debate.

For Africans, working in towns, farms and mines, keeping a hunting dog was the easiest way of supplementing their diet by using them as tools to draw protein from the local habitat. Africans who worked at Tebekwe Mine in Selukwe (in 1908) kept some hunting dogs.⁷⁵ S Cross of the Gatooma Farmers' Association singled out the so-called 'alien Natives' as the chief culprits in towns and farms surrounding Gatooma. He urged authorities at the Veld Fires Conference of 1938 to prohibit the keeping of dogs at mine compounds.⁷⁶ Food rations given to mineworkers in this period were notoriously inadequate in both quantity and nutrition.⁷⁷ Some migrant workers who travelled from other southern African countries to both Southern Rhodesia and South Africa during the colonial period did so with their dogs.⁷⁸ Periodic and punitive tax collections by NAD officials at mine compounds generally caused a spiral of grass burning and hunting at places such as the Bush Tick Mine in Essessvale district.⁷⁹

⁷² NAZ S1217/12 Veld Fire Conference, Summary of the Record of the first Anti-Veld Fire Conference Held in Salisbury at the Duthie Hall on 26 April 1938.

⁷³ J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), XV-XVIII.

⁷⁴ R. Palmer, 'The agricultural history of Rhodesia,' in R. Palmer and N. Parsons, *The roots of rural poverty in central and southern Africa*, (London: Heinemann, 1977), 233.

⁷⁵ NAZ NB3/1/13 General, NC Selukwe, 'Circular No. 69, 1908,' 11 September 1908.

⁷⁶ NAZ S1217/12 Veld Fire Conference, Summary of the Record of the first Anti-Veld Fire Conference Held in Salisbury at the Duthie Hall on 26 April 1938.

⁷⁷ I.R. Phimister, 'The making of colonial Zimbabwe, speculation and violence, 1890-1902,' Wit University, African Studies Seminar No. 122, August 1982, 43.

⁷⁸ Brown, *Mad dogs and Meerksats*, 114-115.

⁷⁹ NAZ NB3/1/16 General, NC Essexvale to CNC Bulawayo, 'Employment of Special detectives: Re to report on grass fires in Umzingwane District,' 17 September 1909.

Although it took longer to promulgate the dog tax, the BSAC government accepted the advisability of taxing African-owned dogs to protect settler cattle farmers' interests between 1908 and 1911.⁸⁰ In 1909, the Superintendents of Natives Conference supported a tax of 10/- for bitches and 5/- for male dogs.⁸¹ NCs unanimously recommended a dog tax of 5/- at the 1911 Native Affairs Committee. They believed in the capacity of dog taxation to reduce the number of African-owned dogs, estimated to be around 90 percent of the country's canine population, and with it a corresponding decrease in the 'evil of grass burning' that often accompanied 'native' hunting.⁸² The Legislative Council debated the dog tax proposal in 1911 and passed it the following year. Members of the Legislative Council such as Colonel Herman Heyman, Charles Coghlan and Francis Myburgh asked for the exemption of poor settler farmers, who stayed in outlying areas, from paying dog taxes. Coghlan read a letter in the Legislative Council written to him by a settler farmer in the Wankie district that noted that:

The district is overrun with Carnivora and dogs are absolutely essential to the existence of stock. Taking my own case, I have fifteen dogs...counting the native's dogs as well spread over sixteen square miles, protecting some 250 head of large and 350 head of small stock and in spite of this, two lions killed 32 goats and sheep in one night in February and two more were killed the same month by hyenas. If I send a wagon anyway overnight, I have to send a dog with it for protection. The very feeding of a number of dogs is a serious item and it would be a hardship if such protective dogs were to be taxed as well.⁸³

However, authorities ignored calls for 'class legislation.' The BSAC government, unlike its counterparts in colonial Namibia, declined to support 'class legislation' arguing that all dogs regardless of the racial identity of their owners had been responsible for spreading rabies between 1902 and 1912.⁸⁴ The above quotation is one of the rare admission by 'poor' white livestock farmers of the importance of African-owned dogs to their operations despite the fact that many white people generally referred to these dogs in a pejorative way. The government favoured rich RLOFA farmers but left poor settlers such as Southern Melsetter farmers grumbling that 'the first principle of fair taxation is that absolute necessities, so far as possible, must be exempted.'⁸⁵ Southern Melsetter farmers regarded their dogs as important as the dip tank or the mealie meal grinder on their farms. This section challenged the thesis that colonial

⁸⁰ Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, 'Dog Tax Ordinance,' 14 May 1912, 120-127.

⁸¹ NAZ N6/1/1/1 Minutes of Conference of Superintendents of Natives, 3 February 1909.

⁸² NAZ A3/3/18 Native Affairs Committee Report, NC Nyamandlovu to the CNC Bulawayo, 16 August 1911.

⁸³ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, 'Dog Tax Ordinance,' 14 May 1912, 123-124.

⁸⁴ Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, 127, 162.

⁸⁵ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, 'dog tax ordinance.'

governments adopted dog taxation to solve labour shortages by showing that the major motivation for the measure in Southern Rhodesia was to protect the environment from African hunting with dogs (that they alleged went with grass burning) for the benefit of white cattle farmers.

‘Native farming’, African dog-owners and the Dog tax ordinance, 1912-1920

This section analyses the operation of the DTO between 1912 and the 1920s. It shows that African dog-owners in the country responded to the DTO with passive political actions unlike their counterparts in SWA in 1922 and the Northern Maori of New Zealand in 1898.⁸⁶ NAD had to seek the intervention of superior courts to plug off the loopholes in the DTO that Africans exploited. While NAD took some defaulters to the High Court, Southern Rhodesians were not challenging the legality of the DTO like their Bechuanaland counterparts, who took the dog tax policy to the Supreme Court in 1904. According to Moguerane, the Cape government used dog tax as an instrument to extend its control, land laws and segregation policy to Bechuanaland Black landlords who had white tenants. However, the 1895 agreement entered by Bechuanaland traditional leaders with British authorities guaranteed the territory internal sovereignty from the laws of the Cape government.⁸⁷ The Southern Rhodesian Legislative Council passed the DTO in 1912. *Section 1* of DTO stipulated that anyone who owned a dog aged six months or above was required to pay an annual tax of 5/-.⁸⁸ Failure to pay attracted a fine not exceeding five pounds or imprisonment with hard labour. Upon paying the tax, the dog-owner was given a token indicating the year in which the payment was made because the law required it to be worn by the dog on its neck throughout the year. *Section 4* of the Ordinance gave white landowners, settler farmers and traditional leaders the power to ensure that all dogs residing in areas under their control had been licenced.⁸⁹ BSAP officers were permitted by the ordinance to inspect all white dog-owners’ records directly and to approach NCs in all issues regarding African-owned dogs. In return, the DTO gave the police ‘whenever they so desire’ the right to inspect the dog registers compiled by NCs if they

⁸⁶ New Zealand, Parliamentary Debates, ‘Financial Statement’; Gordon, ‘Fido: Tales of Colonialism in Namibia,’ 245.

⁸⁷ K. Moguerane, ‘Black Landlords, their Tenants, and the Natives Land Act of 1913,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42, 2 (2016), 251.

⁸⁸ Southern Rhodesia, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council and Ordinances, Second Session, Fifth Council, 6 May 1912, 3, 6, 74.

⁸⁹ Southern Rhodesia, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council and Ordinances, Second Session, Fifth Council, ‘Ordinance No.8,’ 6 May 1912.

intended to patrol African areas.⁹⁰ The Treasury Department instructed all NCs to complete the collection of the Native Tax in December in order to collect dog taxes between January and March every year.⁹¹ The DTO became operational in January 1913. Despite experiencing initial passive resistance, the CNC concluded in February 1913 that dog tax constituted ‘quite a considerable (source of) revenue.’⁹² Districts such as Makoni (see map) that experienced the peasant option, in which Africans grew and marketed surplus crops to mines and towns for a profit (and in the process delayed being turned into workers by the colonialists), paid their dog taxes quite easily.⁹³ Payment of dog tax in Makoni district exceeded official expectations to an extent that colonial officials requested for more dog tax tokens.⁹⁴ NC Makoni reported that ‘in certain individual cases I have been surprised, as for instance, one native paid for eight dogs, all his own and said he must have them in order to save his crops from the depredations of baboons and other wild animals.’⁹⁵ Colonial officials observed that – despite showing an aversion towards ‘improving’ their cattle, sheep and goats⁹⁶ – such persons readily paid as much as £3 or £4 each for a large dog.⁹⁷ Charter district also experienced the same changes because some Africans began to ‘acquire an improved breed of dogs.’⁹⁸ They could do this because the Southern Rhodesian dog tax, unlike the Namibian one, did not increase with the number of dogs owned.

Africans who resided at settler farms under the terms of the PLO (of 1908) or those that resided in drought-prone areas had different experiences from those related above. Many Africans in Gutu, Victoria, Umtali, Chipinga, Melsetter and Bubi districts found themselves staying on farms/land that had been claimed by companies, missionaries and white farmers. PLO

⁹⁰ NAZ N4/1/5 General, CNC’s Office to All NCs in Mashonaland, ‘Dog Tax Ordinance No.8 of 1912,’ 2 April 1913.

⁹¹ NAZ N1/1/6 General, Office of the CNC Salisbury to All NCs, ‘Circular No. 4/13: Dog Tax,’ 27 November 1913.

⁹² NAZ N9/4/26/1 Native Commissioners Monthly, ‘CNC’s review of NC’s Reports for February 1913.’

⁹³ T.O. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

⁹⁴ NAZ N9/1/16 Native Commissioners Monthly, ‘NC Makoni’s Annual Reports for 1913.’

⁹⁵ NAZ N9/4/26/1 Native Commissioners Monthly, ‘NC Makoni’s Report for January 1913.’

⁹⁶ As Mwatwara and Swart argues in the case of African Cattle improvement schemes in Southern Rhodesia, Africans were generally suspicious of breeding new breeds because they felt that they needed to be provided with extra food during drought years. They also argued that such new breeds would not survive in some other environment. Moreover, they also wanted domestic animals that looked and behaved in a particular way. Lastly, some were just conservative and were also suspicious of the motives of the colonial state. See Mwatwara and Swart, ‘“Better breeds?”’, 346-349; K.B. Showers, *Imperial Gullies: Soil Erosion and Conservation in Lesotho*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 44-45.

⁹⁷ NAZ N9/1/16 Native Commissioners Monthly, ‘NC Makoni’s Annual Report for 1913.’ Please refer to the previous chapter for an analysing of how attempts to improve African-owned dogs panned out in the country.

⁹⁸ NAZ N9/1/15 Native Commissioners Monthly, ‘NC Charter’s Annual Reports 1913.’

mandated the white farmers to sign contracts with Africans residing on their farms (as tenants) for them to pay rent to the white farmers or to work for them for specified periods during the year. It discouraged settler farmers from leasing unoccupied land to Africans by imposing a fee of 1/- per tenant for an ‘occupied’ farm and 5/- for absentee landlords. It also forbade white farmers from having more than forty adult male tenants at a farm measuring 1500 morgen (about 3000 acres). Tenants were required by the PLO to sign an agreement with their landlord in the presence of their respective NCs. Its chief aim was to tie down Africans to settler farms as labourers, to distribute them equitably amongst the numerous white-owned farms and to ensure that each settler had a ready supply of labour. Because settler farmers treated their tenants in a similar manner, there was really no incentive for tenants to contemplate moving onto other farms.⁹⁹ PLO property owners and tenants practised so-called ‘*kaffir farming*’ (or sharecropping) in which farm produce was shared at harvest time with the farm owner.¹⁰⁰ Rennie and Mseba have written about the struggles that Africans residing under such PLO agreements faced focusing on the land question, tenant-farmers relations and farmers-state negotiations.¹⁰¹ Recently, Hove has shown that of the provisions PLO were used to force Africans to either sell their livestock to settlers or move them to the reserves designated for Africans.¹⁰² Settlers did this by asking for grazing fees and compulsory dipping fees from African livestock owners. Due to the outbreak of East Coast Fever in the country during that time (1910-1920) some Africans could not move their cattle to the reserves. Consequently, this forced them to sell them cheaply to the settlers with the result that they lost the draught power and milk products provided by the cattle.¹⁰³ There is also gap regarding how such PLO renting-seeking relations between property owners and tenants affected human-dog relations especially after factoring the requirements of the DTO.¹⁰⁴

From as early as 1908, NCs Chipinga and Gutu indicated that the combined effects of the proposed dog tax, native tax and PLO rents would burden Africans.¹⁰⁵ In view of these

⁹⁹ J.K. Rennie, ‘White Farmers, Black Tenants and Landlord Legislation: Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5, 1 (1978), 96.

¹⁰⁰ A. Mseba, ‘Land, Power and Social Relations in Northeastern Zimbabwe from Pre Colonial Times to the 1950s,’ PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 2015, 7.

¹⁰¹ Mseba, ‘Land, Power and Social Relations in Northeastern Zimbabwe,’ 215-254.

¹⁰² Hove, ‘The State, Farmers and Dairy farming in colonial Zimbabwe,’ 32.

¹⁰³ Hove, ‘The State, Farmers and Dairy farming in colonial Zimbabwe,’ 224; see also Swart, ‘It is as bad to be a black man’s animal as it is to be a black man’, 689-705.

¹⁰⁴ Mseba, ‘Land, Power and Social Relations in Northeastern Zimbabwe,’ 215-254.

¹⁰⁵ NAZ NVG 2/1/5 General, NC Gutu to Superintendent of Natives Victoria, ‘Dog Taxation-Location ordinance,’ 1 October 1908.

difficulties, NC Inyanga complained to the Superintendent of Natives (Umtali) in January 1912 that:

You place me in a ‘cleft stick.’ If these natives pay their rent, it is safe to assume they will not pay their tax, anyway in full. Samanga and Katerere’s people are undoubtedly short of food now (than in the last season) and will be more short in the near future as their present crops, owing to drought, are very poor. Since the above chiefs, Katerere and Samanga made their applications, Sawunyama’s people have also been in to petition. The dog tax has also to be considered. On the whole, I can only say the natives mentioned that they are not able to pay all their rent and taxes.¹⁰⁶

Attempting to fulfil these tax demands placed dog-owners in a difficult situation. Inyanga dog-owners killed some of their dogs and dispatched about 75% (about 2000) of them to Portuguese East Africa (PEA) in January 1913.¹⁰⁷ Others threatened to relocate to PEA where taxes were less burdensome.¹⁰⁸ It proved difficult to enforce the dog tax payments in districts where PLO agreements were in operation between 1913 and 1916 because Africans exploited loopholes in the DTO. The NAD had to apply to the High Court to get an authoritative interpretation of *Section 1* of the DTO. Africans agreed in principle to pay dog taxes but used the ambiguity of *Section 1* of the DTO to delay, frustrate and fight the dog tax policy.

DTO violations were numerous in districts such as Chipinga that practised ‘*kaffir farming*.’ The CNC reported that it became difficult to prosecute defaulting African dog-owners because *Section 1* of the DTO did not explicitly state the time when the tax was to be paid and pointed out that ‘prosecution failed as the wording of the ordinance allows the whole year in which to pay the tax.’¹⁰⁹ The defaulters simply postponed paying by arguing that a dog-owner could pay dog tax at any time of the year. In doing this, they openly defied NAD’s directive to pay dog tax in January annually. There also arose a difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of *Section 1* because some NCs also followed this line of reasoning. This halted both the prosecution of offenders and the effective implementation of the DTO. NC Gutu took interest in the case of *Rex v Gordon* that grappled with ‘the question whether, after W. has paid tax on a dog, and G. subsequently acquires the dog, is G. liable to pay tax’ in December 1913.¹¹⁰ His interpretation of *Section 1* was that ‘it amounts to this, that 5/- has to be paid to revenue every

¹⁰⁶ NAZ NUC 2/3/2 NC Inyanga to the Superintendent of Natives Umtali, January 1912.

¹⁰⁷ NAZ NUC 2/3/3 NC Inyanga to CNC, ‘Dog Tax,’ 28 January 1913; N9/1/16 NC Annual Reports for Inyanga District for 1913.

¹⁰⁸ NAZ NUC 2/3/2 NC Inyanga to the Superintendent of Natives Umtali, January 1912.

¹⁰⁹ NAZ NB4/1/5 General, CNC to District NCs, Circular No. B. 36, 25 June 1913.

¹¹⁰ NAZ NVG 2/1/8 General, NC Gutu to Secretary, The Law Department, Salisbury, ‘Dog Tax Ordinance No.8 of 1912,’ 10 December 1913.

time a dog over six months changes hands.’¹¹¹ He requested the Attorney General (AG) to resolve this legal conundrum quickly. The AG ruled that a person was liable for the dog tax payment for keeping a dog for ‘a year or any part of a year’ as soon as he began keeping it. He further warned judicial officers to ‘confine themselves to administering’ the DTO rather than testing it.¹¹² Despite this warning, the problem persisted because NAD requested the AG again to come up with a definitive interpretation of *Section 1* of the DTO in 1915.¹¹³ Chiefs Garidza, Chikukwa and Katerere of Melsetter in November 1915 complained to the NAD that ‘we pay our taxes and we pay the dog tax, but we have no means of earning money. We live on private land and have to work for the farmer but we get no wages.’¹¹⁴ Traditional leaders and their followers further asked that ‘how can we pay the Government for our dogs and our wives when we do not get any money or time to work for money?’¹¹⁵ NCs responsible for such districts at times supported these sentiments by highlighting the burdensome nature of the taxes in light of the incomes that Africans got. Traditional leaders and their followers also adopted the attitude of stretching the interpretation of *section 1* of the DTO to their advantage. Although the authorities did not provide figures, the narratives show that such ploys succeeded because DTO payment failed to achieve their projected targets in 1913.¹¹⁶

The Chipinga Special Justice of Peace referred the case of an African dog-owner who had not paid his dog tax in January 1916 to the High Court seeking a conclusive interpretation of *Section 1* in June 1916. Chipinga district was both special and notorious for its burdensome ‘*kaffir farming*’ practises in which settler farmers gave their employees ‘token wages.’¹¹⁷ Justice Russell of the High Court reviewed that case and reached the following conclusion:

A dog must be provided with a badge, and on the badge, the year in which the badge is issued must be stamped; and by the third section dogs found without a current badge are liable to be caught and dealt with by the Police. Now, it seems to me that if a construction of the first section which would postpone the operation of it until the end of the year were a correct one, there would be little point in putting upon the badge the year in which it is issued, and there would be still less point in referring to that badge

¹¹¹ NAZ NVG 2/1/8 General, NC Gutu to Secretary, The Law Department, Salisbury, ‘Dog Tax Ordinance No.8 of 1912,’ 10 December 1913.

¹¹² NAZ NB4/1/5 General, CNC to District NCs, ‘Circular No. B. 36 of 1913,’ 25 June 1913.

¹¹³ NAZ S138/37 Native Department Conferences: Minutes of meetings, 10 December 1915; N6/2/1 Minutes of the conference of Superintendent of Natives, Salisbury, 8- 11 December 1915.

¹¹⁴ NAZ S1561/10/1 ‘NC’s Report of Meetings of Chiefs and Headmen in Melsetter District to the Administrator,’ 20 November 1915.

¹¹⁵ NAZ S1561/10/1 ‘NC’s Report of Meetings of Chiefs and Headmen in Melsetter District to the Administrator.’

¹¹⁶ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Proceedings and Ordinances, ‘The Budget Speech,’ 21 April 1913, 266- 67.

¹¹⁷ H.V. Moyana, ‘Underdevelopment in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1923: A comparative study,’ *Journal of Eastern African Research and Development*, 6, 2 (1976), 281.

as a ‘current badge.’ It seems to me that the provisions of *Section 2*, providing for the year being stamped on the badge, and the provision of *Section 3*, that a dog must carry the current badge, point to the intention of the Legislature, otherwise carefully concealed, that the dog tax must be paid for the year 1916 as soon as 1916 commences, and that during the year 1916 dogs must carry badges for the year 1916 with the year 1916 stamped upon them.¹¹⁸

On that basis, he confirmed the conviction of that Chipinga dog-owner.¹¹⁹ This ended the ‘difference of opinion’ that existed amongst NCs regarding the interpretation of *Section 1*. It also closed this route of resistance for African dog-owners. This testing of the DTO was markedly different from the case of Bechuanaland traditional leaders who resisted paying dog tax as a way of preventing the Cape government from extending its taxes and laws in African areas that had originally enjoyed some form of autonomy before.¹²⁰ F.J. Newton, the BSAC government treasurer, noted that dog tax had become ‘a fruitful source of revenue’ in his April 1917 budget statement because it had substantially exceeded projected estimates.¹²¹ Although there is no tangible evidence showing the correlation between the High Court ruling and the rise in dog tax revenue, it is inferable that the two are correlated. Thereafter NCs began to enforce the DTO, collect dog taxes and prosecute offenders religiously. While collecting dog tax during this period NC Gutu forced dog-owners to pay to the extent that some people such as one Murgwisi, of Dondo’s kraal, tendered ‘a French 10-franc piece as payment for his dog tax’ in desperation. This forced the NC Gutu to inquire, on his behalf, if banks were willing to exchange it for Southern Rhodesian money.¹²² The experiences of dog-owners who resided under PLO arrangements broaden the scope of understanding human-dog relations in agrarian situations that worked against Africans. This case study also reveals the extent to which both African dog-owners and some NCs tested the application of the DTO between 1913 and 1916. ‘Testing’ the DTO by both Africans and some NCs mitigated the burdens of the law.

The Dog tax ordinance and the famine debate, 1912-1930s

This section examines how droughts and famines that occurred in the country between 1912 and the 1930s affected human-dog and human-human relationships and the functioning of the DTO. It argues that NCs appropriated some pre-colonial symbols in their dealings with the

¹¹⁸ NAZ N4/1/7 General, Treasury Circular No.12 of 1915 to all Civil Commissioners, ‘Dog Tax 1916,’ 3 July 1916.

¹¹⁹ ‘The Dog Tax: When is it due: High Court Ruling,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 30 June 1916.

¹²⁰ Moguerane, ‘Black Landlords, their Tenants, and the Natives Land Act of 1913.’

¹²¹ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 4, ‘The budget,’ 11 April 1917, 14-15.

¹²² NAZ NVG2/1/9 General, NC Gutu to Superintendent of Natives, ‘Foreign Money-10 Franc Piece.’

payment of dog tax, famines and that they did that to make the DTO palatable to Africans. They did so in order to avoid unduly alienating Africans.

Debates within the colonial bureaucracy about African-owned dogs did not end with the 1916 High Court ruling because the famines brought the utility of these dogs back into public debates. The 1912 famine ravaged the Charter, Mtoko, Chibi, Lomagundi and Ndanga districts and forced the NAD to suspend dog tax payments for Africans temporarily to enable them to use their surplus cash to buy food.¹²³ NAD took that decision because the government did not have the capacity to provide food relief to affected areas. Instead, it prevailed upon the government to suspend game and hunting laws to allow Africans to hunt with their dogs in these areas.¹²⁴ The NCs for the Belingwe, Gwelo, and Gokwe districts asked for the same relief 'for natives only' to allow them to hunt all classes of game using 'whatever means they possess' to stave off famines between 1912 and 1916.¹²⁵ Gokwe had received erratic rains and crops had withered before reaching maturity in April 1916.¹²⁶ Attempts to procure grain from neighbouring districts proved futile for Africans residing in Gokwe district in March 1916 because the grain they bought was 'consumed before they arrived at their destination (villages).' At the same time, the Government did not have the resources to import grain into Gokwe district.¹²⁷ In some instances, the colonial government provided grain relief to Africans on condition that they paid back their grain debts as soon as the famine ended. However, NC Inyanga observed that 'it was very difficult to recover the grain debts and especially, the Crown land rents which have been falling more and more into arrears since the famine of 1922.' Maintaining constant pressure on the grain debtors also harmed other revenue sources such as the DTO.¹²⁸ This prompted the government in May 1916 to suspend the operations of *Section 9 and 12* of the Game Law Consolidation Ordinance of 1906 to allow Africans to hunt game animals falling in Classes 'A' and 'B' in the Gokwe district for a period of eight months.¹²⁹ Class A was composed of animals such as Reed-bucks, Klipspringers, and Duikers while Class

¹²³ NAZ N3/29/3 CNC to the Superintendent of Natives Victoria, 'Dog Tax Ordinance 1912 (Confidential),' 18 December 1912.

¹²⁴ NAZ N3/29/3 CNC to the Superintendent of Natives Victoria, 'Dog Tax Ordinance 1912 (Confidential).'

¹²⁵ NAZ N3/24/5-7 Game Laws and Hunting Rights, Acting NC Gokwe to the Superintendent of Natives Gwelo, 'Season's Prospects,' 3 March 1916; NC Belingwe to the Superintendent of Natives, 19 June 1915.

¹²⁶ NAZ N3/24/5-7 Game Laws and Hunting Rights, Acting NC Gokwe to the Superintendent of Natives Gwelo, 14 April 1916.

¹²⁷ NAZ N3/24/5-7 Game Laws and Hunting Rights, Acting NC Gokwe to the Superintendent of Natives Gwelo, 'Season's Prospects,' 3 March 1916.

¹²⁸ NAZ S235/503 District Annual Reports for 1925.

¹²⁹ NAZ N3/24/5-7 Game Laws and Hunting Rights, 'Suspension of the Game law Consolidation Ordinance, 1906. Game in Classes 'A' & 'B' in Sebungwe District' 22 May 1916.

B had Bushbucks, Horse Beasts, Impala Lesche and Sable Antelopes. NAD adopted the same policy for the Lomagundi district in 1933 and in the Chikwizo reserve in Mtoko district, and in the Nuanetsi and Bikita districts in the following year.¹³⁰ These temporary policy climb-downs not only took the sting out of the game laws but also out of the DTO.

The Civil Commissioner of the Hartley district suggested the need to suspend the Game Law in April 1915 for Africans to hunt with dogs in the reserves to allow ‘some form of legitimate and healthy amusement for the youth of the kraal and for those natives who work in towns and spend their holidays at their homes.’¹³¹ He reasoned that this would discourage idle gossip and act as a ‘little compensation for the dog tax.’ As has been shown in the previous chapter, rumours (the so-called idle gossip) constituted a formidable ideological challenge and criticism of the colonial system. Other historians of southern African have shown, in comparable situations, that the rumours constituted a subversive challenge to the authority of the colonial state.¹³² These colonial officials gave some token concessions of game laws both in normal and famine years to act as a *quid pro quo* for Africans paying dog tax. Some NCs suggested that Africans considered wild animals as their source of meat because they periodically damaged their crops and hunted their livestock. They also pointed out that white people hunted in the reserves both in and out of the hunting seasons while Africans were prohibited. In fact, some colonial officials tried to justify their policies by drawing from what they made of or understood about pre-colonial ‘symbol of allegiance to the Sovereign authority’ and pre-colonial game laws.¹³³ Thus, NC Insiza proposed the killing of wild animals for Africans each time government officials visited their districts/villages and for the government to show its appreciation for satisfactory payment of dog tax.¹³⁴ However, there was no uniformity in the colonial bureaucracy because some other NCs argued that these concessions defeated the aims of the DTO. Others maintained that since the colonial state had conquered Africans societies there was need for Africans to readjust to new realities. With time some Africans, such as the

¹³⁰ Mutwira, ‘Southern Rhodesian wildlife policy,’ 259.

¹³¹ NAZ N3/24/5-7 Game Laws and Hunting Rights, Civil Commissioner Hartley to the Secretary, Department of the Administrator, 27 April 1915.

¹³² L. White, *Speaking with Vampires Rumor and History in Colonial Africa*, Vol. 37, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); P. Israel, ‘The War of Lions: Witch-Hunts, Occult Idioms and Post-Socialism in Northern Mozambique,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35, 1 (2009), 155-174; Tropp, ‘Locust invasion and tensions over Environmental and Bodily Health in the Colonial Transkei,’ 113-128; Tropp, ‘Dogs, poison, and the meaning of colonial intervention on the Transkei, South Africa,’ 451-472.

¹³³ Southern Rhodesia, ‘Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Enquiry, 1910-1911,’ Presented to the Legislative Council, Salisbury, Government Printers, 1911, 27.

¹³⁴ NAZ N3/24/5-7 Game Laws and Hunting Rights, NC Insiza to the Superintendent of Natives Gwelo, ‘Suggestion of suspension of Game laws on Native Reserves,’ 17 June 1915.

leaders of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), came up with competing symbols of legitimate traditional pre-colonial authority, as will be shown in the following sections, where they declared that King Lobengula of the Ndebele of was a better ruler than the colonial state.¹³⁵ However, the generality of African populace adopted less heroic methods of resistance that included evading paying dog taxes, lying and clandestine hunting in the farms and forests.¹³⁶ Such less heroic methods of resistance were a pale shadow of comparable armed resistance to dog taxation such as the Bondelswarts rebellion that took place in South West Africa in 1922.

NAD officials in the Gwanda, Matobo, Nyamandlovu, Wankie and Gwelo districts reported positively about dog tax payments made by Africans in 1920.¹³⁷ However, the situation had not changed much for Africans residing under PLO arrangements in districts such as Chilimanzi, where it was reported that:

Practically, the only natives paying rent are those in kraals situated on the Westdale Estate. They have just finished paying their Native Tax and they have been warned to pay their Dipping Fees in December and their Dog Tax in January next year. The various taxes work out at something like £4 per annum per adult male and as they have to pay about 100% more for necessaries. It is almost impossible for them to meet all their obligations.¹³⁸

The economic recession in the country and its combined effects with the 1923 famine caused a decrease in dog tax payments countrywide. NC Mrewa noted that out of £8.015.5.5 revenue collected from Africans in 1923 there was a decrease of £252.17.0, and that about £108.15/- of that decrease was because Africans had adopted the policy of destroying their dogs rather than pay tax.¹³⁹ Similarly, NC Victoria observed that the 1923 famine had ‘caused the Africans to look at their tax obligations with slackness.’¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ NAZ S1561 C62 ICU Conference Bulawayo.

¹³⁶ ‘The past and our culture of lying,’ *The Herald*, 9 April 2014; ‘Learning to stop the cultural habit of lying,’ *The Herald*, 25 May 2016; N. Ndumeya, ‘Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda Forest, 1920s–1979,’ *Environment and History*, 25, 4 (2019), 20; N. Ndumeya, ‘Limiting the Domination’: Anticolonial African Protests in South Eastern Zimbabwe, 1929–1940s,’ *Journal of Black Studies*, 50, 2 (2019), 116.

¹³⁷ NAZ S2076 Native Commissioner’s Annual Reports 1920, Reports of the Native Commissioners for Gwelo, Nyamandlovu, Matobo, Gwanda and Bulilima-Mangwe Districts, 31 December 1920.

¹³⁸ NAZ NVD 1/1/1 General, NC Chilimanzi to Superintendent of Natives Victoria, ‘Native Rents,’ 23 November 1920.

¹³⁹ NAZ S235-501 Annual Native Commissioner’s Reports, NC Mrewa’s Annual Report, 1923.

¹⁴⁰ NAZ S235-501 Annual Native Commissioner’s Reports, 1923,

Dog tax payments also decreased in the Chibi, Melsetter, Bulilima-Mangwe, Umzingwane and Sebungwe districts and contributed to an abnormally high number of criminal charges laid against Africans.¹⁴¹ In December 1924, NC Bulilima-Mangwe noted that:

A total of 1109 natives were prosecuted; 1091 being convicted and 18 acquitted. Dog Tax Ordinance 231 were prosecuted and all were convicted. The above totals show an increase of prosecutions over the last year of 553 and of convictions an increase of 551. It must not be gathered from this rather formidable increase that a wave of crime has swept over the district and that the natives are not just as law-abiding as formerly; the reason for the increase is shown in prosecutions under the Native Tax Ordinance, 345 in excess of last year and under the Native Dog Tax Ordinance; an excess of 185, these two totals alone showing an increase of 530; scarcity of money and a certain amount of laxity in paying up caused the prosecutions and hence the increase.¹⁴²

Struggles to secure enough food by Africans staying under PLO arrangements and those that resided in drought-prone areas affected their capacity to own dogs and pay taxes for them. The Shona proverb *'hapana chembwa tenzi wararira mangai* (there is no food for the dogs because their owner ate boiled corn for supper) capture the dilemma that historically dogged dog-owners in such situations. Generally, people in such situations fed their dogs sparingly because, as another proverb cautioned, Shona people were against 'feeding their dogs with milk because they would bite them tomorrow.' However, Shona people expressed the food scarcity they faced by the proverb *'nhasi tinokama imbwa* (today we will milk dogs)' because the proverb captured the hardness of the famine especially as they regarded the consumption of dog meat or milk as a taboo.¹⁴³ However, such proverbs could have been used to refer to colonial demands such as dog tax that aimed at bringing the number of African-owned dogs down. Dog taxation, however, not only undermined the economic and agricultural work that depended on dogs but also some social, religious and ritual practises that depended on owning dogs in the villages. For instance, traditional religious functionaries and traditional leaders wanted to protect 'spirit dogs'.¹⁴⁴ These were dogs generally believed to be mediums of hunting spirits (*shave*). As has been shown in the previous chapter, their owners kept some black hunting

¹⁴¹ NAZ S235-501 Annual Native Commissioner's Reports, NC Sebungwe's Annual Report, 1923; NC Chibi's Annual Report, 1923; NC Melsetter's Annual Report, 1923. NC Bulilima Mangwe's Annual Report, 1923; NC Umzingwane's Annual Report, 1923.

¹⁴² NAZ S235-502 Annual Reports of District Native Commissioners, NC Bulilima Mangwe's Annual Report, 1924.

¹⁴³ 'Dogs fur horror and the Shonas,' *The Sunday Mail*, 9 April 1972.

¹⁴⁴ Refer to the previous chapter for a detailed response of the Mwari Religion to colonial interventions that affected African dog-ownership; NAZ N4/1/2 General (Native Affairs), Acting CNC to All NCs Mashonaland, 'Rabies: Government Notice No.163 of 1906,' 22 September 1906; NAZ NVG 1/1/3 Chief Native Commissioner and Native Commissioner, NC Charter to Gutu-Chilimanzi, 'Rex vs Manyanga Mlimo Messenger,' 7 March 1904; NAZ NB1/1/19 General, NC Selukwe to the CNC Bulawayo, 'Killing of Hornless Cattle and Stock,' 19 January 1903.

clothes known as *resto* and brewed beer for them to enhance their hunting skills.¹⁴⁵ Shona people did this to bestow on such dogs some supernatural hunting abilities.¹⁴⁶ The Mbira song, *Machena* (the white one), was about one such dog that went unaccompanied into the forest to hunt and it was normally sung at traditional ceremonies.¹⁴⁷ Some Karanga people residing in the Victoria district made sure that their dogs were present at the *kugadzira guva* ceremony (in which a dead person's spirit was brought back into the family as an ancestor). The dogs, just like other members of the family present, were mentioned by name to the spirit and given their portion of the sacrificial food.¹⁴⁸ The Chihota chiefdom of Wedza district continued to observe the culture of keeping a black dog named Muroro after a pre-colonial practice up to the 1920s.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, the Chirau chiefs of Chinhoyi district derived prestige in keeping a white dog and calling themselves *wembwa chena* (of the white dogs) during much of the colonial period.¹⁵⁰

Older African male dog-owners, who belonged to the traditional rural governing elites, kept dogs for cultural reasons (as discussed in chapter two). Most of them believed that their dogs had the capacity to chase away witches from their homesteads at night.¹⁵¹ Moreover, the sounds made by dogs were thought to be important in predicting the occurrence of a death in the family.¹⁵² In Inyanga districts older African men kept dogs that they believed played important religious roles in making *zvikwambo* (goblins) and in strengthening their traditions of rulership.¹⁵³ *Zvikwambo* was a facility for recovering debts from defaulters. The owner was said to send a *runhare* (telephone message) in the form of a dog that relayed the message 'I want my money back'.¹⁵⁴ The terrified debtor usually paid back what they owed. Shona people

¹⁴⁵ A. Burbridge, 'In Spirit-bound Rhodesia,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, (1924), 25; Macharangwanda, 'Mudzimu, Shabe, ngozi and other spirits,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 10 (1932), 9; NAZ AOH 38, Randazha Mamire, (born 1909), Interview at Mudzimuirema Kraal, Chihota TTL, interviewed by Dawson Munjeri, 27 April and 1 June 1978, 14; H.C. Hugo, 'The Mashona Spirits,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, (1935), 52-58.

¹⁴⁶ N. Nyachega, 'Beyond War, Violence, and Suffering: Everyday Life in the Honde Valley Borderland Communities during Zimbabwe's Liberation War and the Renamo Insurgency, c.1960-2016,' M. A Dissertation, History Department, Rhodes University, 2017, 99.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Nyasha Mercy Muradzi, Tandri Communal Areas, 20 January 2018.

¹⁴⁸ Burbridge, 'In Spirit-bound Rhodesia,' 25. Macharangwanda, 'Mudzimu, Shabe, ngozi and other spirits,' 9.

¹⁴⁹ A.C. Hodza and G. Fortune, *Shona Praise Poetry*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 235.

¹⁵⁰ NAZ AOH/86 Interview conducted by Dawson Munjeri with Chief Jeremiah Sikireta, Chinhoyi District, 15 December 1982.

¹⁵¹ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative debates, First Session, Third Council, 'Proposed dog tax,' 28 April 1905.

¹⁵² P. Nyathi, *Zimbabwe's Cultural Heritage*, (Bulawayo: amaBooks, 2005), 49.

¹⁵³ NAZ N1/1/1/4 Native Department, NC Inyanga to CNC Salisbury, 'Rabies,' 07 November 1902; NAZ AOH/56 Interview conducted by Dawson Munjeri with Patrick Gwara Parazungu, Beatrice Cottages, Harare, 24 May 1979.

¹⁵⁴ M. Gelfand, 'Chikwambo (Runhare),' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 31 (1954), 60.

believed that *zvkwambo* also assisted their owners in magically increasing their wealth. Among the Shona people, dogs were believed to have both the capacity to chase away witches and to be used by witches to bewitch others.¹⁵⁵ They also used taboos about witchcraft and dogs to dissuade children from abusing dogs. One such taboo stated that ‘*ukatasva imbwa, unozoita muroyi* (if you ride a dog you will become a witch.’¹⁵⁶ These examples show that Shona people believed that dogs were animals invested with the ability to understand future events and to punish human beings. These taboos were meant to discourage children from abusing dogs and consequently from being bitten by them. While these taboos were intended to prevent children from abusing animals, they also pedalled the idea that dogs could take revenge on those people who harmed them. However, dogs also were also working animals in the villages.

The DTO and the rural canine order

Dogs served both cultural roles and utilitarian purposes in Southern Rhodesia’s rural areas. For these reasons, African dog-owners went to a lot of trouble to evade paying dog tax, to challenge the DTO, and at times sold their cattle cheaply in order to honour their various tax obligations (including dog tax). The commonest method of avoiding paying dog tax for Africans residing in districts that were close to the country’s international borders was to give their dogs to friends or relatives on the other side. However, at times these exchanges went beyond the mere logic of evasion. In fact, Southern Rhodesian Africans became commercial breeders, selling dogs to other countries such as PEA, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in the 1930s.¹⁵⁷ Some Africans stole dogs from Europeans in towns, farms and mining areas and sold them in rural areas.¹⁵⁸ In one instance, the CNC Salisbury corresponded with South African authorities regarding the property of the late Njanji Mxatule who had died in the country (accounting for the deceased’s property). He also accounted for his dogs, underscoring how significant dogs were in the lives of the Africans.¹⁵⁹ Newspapers targeting African readers occasionally wrote about owning, buying and keeping of dogs in the 1950s focusing on rural African elites such as teachers,

¹⁵⁵ A. D. Elliott, ‘Witchcraft in the Lowveld,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, IX, 2, (1996).

¹⁵⁶ D. Masaka and M. Chemhuru, ‘Moral dimensions of some Shona taboos (*zviera*),’ *Journal of Sustainable development in Africa*, 13, 3 (2011), 141.

¹⁵⁷ NAZ S2397/3 Circulars CNC, CNC Salisbury to all Native Department Stations in S Rhodesia, ‘Entry of Dogs to Portuguese Territory,’ 22 July 1930; Office of the CNC Salisbury to all Native Stations in Southern Rhodesia, ‘Importation of Native-owned dogs from Southern Rhodesia into Northern Rhodesia,’ 28 August 1933; F.W.T Posselt, ‘Life on the By-ways of Rhodesia,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 9 (1931), 25-29.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Police Court: Stealing a Greyhound,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 25 March 1910; NVC 1/1/9 General, January 1910-June 1911 NC Chibi, G. Forestal to W. J. A van Breda, Selukwe.

¹⁵⁹ NAZ N2/2/1 Miscellaneous Native Commissioners, CNC to Resident Magistrate, Grahamstown, ‘Complaint by Mxatule Soyeye. Re: Property of his late Son Njanji Mxatule,’ 13 May 1910.

master farmers and some other Africans.¹⁶⁰ Africans might have encountered the SPCA's programmes about the training, keeping and the prevention of cruelty to dogs (discussed in the later period extensively in chapter five). A report about dogs, from Kwenda Tribal Trust Lands, argued that 'kindness to animals is one of the finest qualities of any race.' It further added that 'a little more of it in the African should be seen in their dealings with domestic as well as wild animals. They are God's creatures as well as we humans.'¹⁶¹ Some NCs such as Herbert Nassau Hemans of Sebungwe, who kept a purebred bull terrier dog and hunted with it with his African messengers, also contributed to new ideas about dog keeping in rural areas. Africans, who worked under him, called his dog Nipper, *Maziqatsha* (the proud one) because it declined to be caressed and to be given food by anyone except its owner.¹⁶² Hermans wrote that his servants believed that Nipper had some human characteristics. Africans tested the old ideas in light of the new ones.¹⁶³ For these reasons, some Africans acquired large European dog breeds for amounts of money judged by colonial officials to be too much possibly because they may have imbibed colonial ideas about improving their animals or they simply wanted big dogs to guard their homesteads and farms. In very few instances, some white Rhodesians grudgingly accepted the usefulness of some domestic dogs owned by Africans. Jeannie Boggie, a Gwelo dairy farmer in Southern Rhodesia, wrote about Yellow Dog that was owned by her African gardener, Mapepana. Yellow Dog always raided the kitchen and the milking kraal because he was perpetually hungry. Mapepana told her that he could not feed it because he gave his 'ration of maize meal every week' to his sister.¹⁶⁴ Despite all these negative descriptions, Boggie grudgingly admitted at times that Yellow Dog was very useful and explained that:

About this time I wanted a live meerkat to sketch as an illustration to an article about the many pests which attacked our poultry in Rhodesia. My idea was to show a cock, hen and flock of chickens all screaming in terror, surrounded by a rat, a snake, a hawk and a meerkat (a beast like a squirrel). I tried to catch a live meerkat in a cage trap, baited with a small dead chicken, but failed. Then one day I saw one run into a hole in the bush. I knew that Mapepana had been persistently allowing Yellow Dog to follow him to his work in the garden, so I yelled: 'Mape---paana! Mape---paana! Where's Yellow Dog? Bring Yellow Dog. (My husband's pointer was useless for chasing meerkats).'¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ 'Gutu dog pulled into the river by a crocodile,' *African Weekly*, 5 September 1956; 'Imbga,' *Bantu Mirror*, 13 November 1937.

¹⁶¹ 'Care of animals,' *The African Parade*, October 1954, 21.

¹⁶² H.N. Hemans, *The Log of a Native Commissioner*, (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1971), 188-195.

¹⁶³ 'Dog killed for stealing eggs,' *The African Daily News*, 11 January 1958.

¹⁶⁴ J. M. Boggie, *A Husband and a Farm in Rhodesia*, (Salisbury: Published Privately, 1959), 106-107.

¹⁶⁵ Boggie, *A Husband and a Farm in Rhodesia*, 111.

Yellow Dog succeeded in catching the meerkat. Boggie then sketched a drawing of the meerkat and published it as ‘Experiences of Rhodesia’s First White Leghorns.’¹⁶⁶ That Yellow Dog had played a crucial role is revealed in the novel, *The Adventures of Rip, the Ridgeback* (1962), in which prize White Leghorn fowls were shown to have been vulnerable to an animal that attacked from above. That animal had not been caught with baits and had made poultry keeping an unprofitable venture.¹⁶⁷ Mrs Boggie then stated that the British Royal Family probably glanced at the illustration ‘with interests’ because her book, *First Steps in Civilising Rhodesia*, in which the illustration was published ‘was graciously accepted for the library of the Royal Train, when the Royal Family toured Southern Rhodesia in 1947.’¹⁶⁸ Although this narrative concealed the important role played by Yellow Dog, this was one of the rare admission by a settler farmer specializing in dairy and poultry farming of the utility of African-owned dogs. However, Boggie regularly wrote about how such African-owned dogs stole her eggs and about how she inserted strychnine into ‘hard boiled eggs’ in order to kill these canine criminals.¹⁶⁹ At times colonial officials reported glowingly about some African-owned dogs noting that ‘it seemed to be in very good condition for a *kaffir* dog, its ribs being well covered, which is unusual for a dog belonging to a native. Its coat being apparently well groomed. In fact, the dog was clean and in all appearances, healthy.’¹⁷⁰ Generally, in the villages men’s dogs were better catered for compared to those owned by women that subsisted on scraps and even helped their owners to get rid of their babies’ stool.¹⁷¹

There were also the gaunt, independent dogs known in Ndebele as *mgodoyi* that were allowed to roam freely despite having owners, as discussed in chapters one and three. Ndebele people used the term *mgodoyi* for useless dogs which did not do anything positive for their owners. They also transposed the term to refer to people whom they felt were not useful in society. Because such dogs did not commit themselves to their owners, their owners were consequently not obliged to feed them. Besides these categories, there were dogs described by the Shona as *hora*—old dogs celebrated in proverbs and songs due to their devotion to duty and long service rendered to their owners and those known as *chiwedeya* that were useless dogs that (that lacked

¹⁶⁶ Boggie, *First Steps in Civilizing Rhodesia*, 80.

¹⁶⁷ M. L. Arsenis, *The Adventures of Rip, the Ridgeback*, (Republic of South Africa: Randburg Printers, 1962), 23.

¹⁶⁸ Boggie, *A Husband and a Farm in Rhodesia*, 112.

¹⁶⁹ Boggie, *First Steps in Civilizing Rhodesia*, 333.

¹⁷⁰ NAZ S3023/6/28/1 Rabies, January to June 1951, British South Africa Police, Mrewa to Chief Vet Officer, Vet Research Lab, Salisbury, 13 March 1951.

¹⁷¹ Macharangwanda, ‘*Mudzimu, shabe* and other spirits,’ 9.

courage) and had not done much for their owners.¹⁷² These classifications were not according to type or breed but to training, traditional doctoring and the care given to the dog depending on its relationship with a particular owner and the character that the dog developed in and through that shared relationship.

New attitudes to dog keeping in rural areas did not completely erode traditional regimes of keeping dogs. Rather they existed side by side with traditional knowledge about ensuring the health of dogs such as the removal of the frenulum on puppies.¹⁷³ While some acquired European dog types for utilitarian purposes such as hunting, they still used traditional ways of making dogs useful by giving them hunting medicines known as *chivhuno* to enhance their hunting skills. Administration of such hunting medicines was done secretly, possibly in the forest, to prevent other hunters from knowing. The Shona believed that *chivhuno* had the capacity to render not only wild animals weak but also the other dogs (owned by other hunters) chasing the same prey animal.¹⁷⁴ Those people with bad *chivhuno* were usually ostracized from hunting groups.¹⁷⁵ Although they did not normally control breeding, at times the Shona people killed the runt of the litter to give the bigger ones the chance to feed on the mother's milk without competition.¹⁷⁶ Shona people fed their dogs on leftovers and sometimes on residues left after processing sour milk known as *mutuvi* (whey).¹⁷⁷ According to Sylvester Muradzi, the people of Tandi area of Makoni district trained their dogs not to eat their prey but to bring it home by cultivating their taste for cooked meals.¹⁷⁸ Such hunting dogs had a clay pot in which the hunter cooked for them the animals he did not eat together with some medicines to enhance their ability to smell, track animals and to ensure that they did not release the prey they would have caught.¹⁷⁹

While collecting dog tax in Chivi district in 1952, Noel Hunt observed that almost everyone—wives, husbands, women and young men—had dogs and that they gave them names that communicated their frustrations in marriages, with neighbours, with family members and with

¹⁷² M. Hannan, *The Standard Shona Dictionary*, (London: Macmillan, 1959), 113; NAZ AOH 38, interview with Randazha Mamire (born 1909) conducted by Dawson Munjeri, Mudzimuirema Kraal, 27 April and 1 June 1978.

¹⁷³ D.M. Chavhunduka, *Kuchengeta Imbwa*, (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1970), 63.

¹⁷⁴ Please also refer to Chapter two for a detailed analysis.

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Sekuru Mafuro, Chipindirwe Village, Marange, 23 December 2018.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Nehemiah Mukwada, Femberwi Village, Marange, 25 December 2018.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Nehemiah Mukwada, Femberwi Village, Marange, 25 December 2018.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Sylvester Muradzi, Tandi (Makoni District), 20 December 2018.

¹⁷⁹ J. McGregor, 'Woodland resources: ecology, politics and ideology: A historical case study of woodland use in Shurugwi communal area, Zimbabwe,' PhD Dissertation, Loughborough University, 1991, 379-380.

society. One of the dominant drivers of this practice were polygamous marriages in which core-wives used dog names to communicate with each other or with their husbands, often trading insults about witchcraft accusations.¹⁸⁰ Shona people called the practise *kurovera kumbwa* (to hit others through the dog) and it has survived into the contemporary period.¹⁸¹ Although these societies gave their cattle names that revealed the fecundity of particular animals and their children the name that expressed their hopes and aspirations, dogs were grievance, anger and dispute carriers in the communities. In polygamous marriages, female owners of such dogs often became inseparable with their dogs that accompanied them everywhere they went. Such dogs not only fulfilled the need to communicate but also became sources of emotional comfort for their female owners because of their companionship. Although some men gave their dogs names that communicated in the same manner, the majority gave them hunting names denoting their speed, courage and skills. In such instances, dogs became numerous at the villages such that those people who would not have paid taxes for them and had failed to evade the authorities ended up lying that ‘dogs at kraals have not an individual owner’.¹⁸²

In many ways, dogs carried the distinction of being the only domestic animal frequently used in folktales, proverbs, and riddles by the Shona to convey negative ideas about human beings and society.¹⁸³ However, some daring women took the use of dogs a notch higher by using their flesh to make love potions.¹⁸⁴ Colonial officials in Mazowe district charged a woman for cruelty to a dog in 1948 after she had prepared a love potion for her husband using a dog’s nose.¹⁸⁵ Although for Shona people eating dog meat was taboo, some people from Mtoko district reportedly mixed goat and dog meat and fed it to people at village working parties known as *nhimbe*.¹⁸⁶ These cultural and religious, as well as utilitarian deployments of dogs or their bodies forced most people to own dogs despite the onerous DTO obligations. Because of

¹⁸⁰ N.A. Hunt, ‘Some Notes on the Names of Dogs,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 29 (1952), 67-73.

¹⁸¹ L. Tatira, ‘Beyond the Dog’s Name: A silent dialogue among Shona people,’ *Journal of Folklore Research*, 41, 1 (2004); L. Makondo, ‘Dog Names: A Conflict resolution strategy,’ *Studies of Tribes and Tribals*, 12, 2 (2012); ‘They talk to dogs while they mean you,’ *African Parade*, August 1955, 51.

¹⁸² NAZ S235/514/2 District Native Commissioners’ Annual Reports, NC Chilimanzi’s Annual Report, 31 December 1935.

¹⁸³ Mbizvo, ‘Mashona Proverbs,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 4 (1926), 29; N.A. Hunt, ‘Some Karanga riddles,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 29 (1952); N. Jones, ‘Sindebele Proverbs,’ *Native Affairs Department Annual*, 3 (1925).

¹⁸⁴ L. Vambwe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, (London: Heinemann, 1965), 17.

¹⁸⁵ NAZ S1618/16 Native Commissioners, NC Mazoe’s Monthly Report, June 1948; People residing in the Makoni district believed that wives at times used the white discharge that come out of a puppy’s eyes before it had started seeing things to make love potions for their husbands. See I. Noy, *The Art of Weya Women*, (Harare: Baobab Books, 1992), 115.

¹⁸⁶ NAZ AOH/57 Interview with Chisandu Gumbo conducted by Dawson Munjeri, Msengezi Purchase Area, 8 June 1977.

these reasons, dog ownership and DTO obligations came to be regarded as one of the most important political grievances in the country during this period.

Dog tax and rural politics

In view of the manner in which dog tax curtailed the uses of dogs in rural areas it is easy to understand why it gradually became one of the most topical rural grievances. Worse still, the economic depression of the 1930s pushed down the value of cattle. The Shona people of Buhera district sold their cattle cheaply during periods of droughts to enable themselves to pay their taxes.¹⁸⁷ However, the practise worked against Africans because the buyers refused to buy their so-called 'scrub' livestock and this forced Africans to sell their best animals for the prices of scrub stock during the economic depression because they wanted to settle their Native tax, dip fees and dog tax obligations.¹⁸⁸ Chief Zvimba and his people found out in December 1931 that they were 'no longer able to obtain cash for their maize from traders and that the trader's offer of goods in payment of maize does not help them in meeting their liabilities to the Government in Native tax, dog tax, dip fees and school fees.'¹⁸⁹ It also became difficult in the Bulilima-Mangwe district to dispose of grain and cattle (two principal sources of income) because of the economic depression. Moreover, the economic depression restricted labour markets in 1932. Consequently, payment of dog tax fell down in the 1930s in the Mashaba, Matobo, Gutu, Gatooma, Ndanga, and Bikita districts.¹⁹⁰ In December 1932, NC Melsetter commented that although the year's native and dog taxes fell below that of the previous years, he regarded it 'at least from the point of view of the receiver, as highly satisfactory.' He mentioned that paying dog tax for Africans had 'unavoidably, been heavy, so heavy.'¹⁹¹ Accordingly, some Africans in his district contemplated emigrating to the neighbouring PEA 'where there is neither land rent nor dog tax.'¹⁹² Despite having more money than their elders, the youth in Chilimanzi District did not pay their dog tax in 1935.¹⁹³ NAD officials in Gutu district frequently received the reply from dog tax evaders that 'I thought I would pay two years tax in the coming year,' a

¹⁸⁷ NAZ S1618/16 Reports of District Native Commissioners for the quarter ended 31 March 1948; NC Buhera's Annual Report, 31 March 1948.

¹⁸⁸ NAZ S235/514/2 Annual Reports, District Native Commissioners, 31 December 1948.

¹⁸⁹ NAZ S235/510 District Native Commissioners' Annual Reports, 1932.

¹⁹⁰ NAZ S235/509 District Native Commissioners' Annual Reports, 1931, 1932, 1933.

¹⁹¹ NAZ S235/510 District Native Commissioners' Annual Reports, NC Melsetter's Annual Report, 31 December 1932.

¹⁹² NAZ S235/510 District Native Commissioners' Annual Reports, NC Melsetter's Annual Report, 31 December 1932.

¹⁹³ NAZ S235/514/2 District Native Commissioners' Annual Reports, December 1935.

ploy that had worked well between 1912 and 1916. Others paid dog tax for one dog even though they had many dogs.¹⁹⁴

The Southern Rhodesian Native Association (SRNA), an organisation that was largely composed of elites and African master farmers complained to NAD about the DTO in October 1931. They were against the humiliating methods of arresting offenders and parading them in the reserve. They directed ‘the government to take a man by order or appoint him a day to go to the office, and not to take him all around the reserves.’¹⁹⁵ SRNA requested authorities to detain the dogs for five days ‘pending the owners paying tax’ rather than summarily destroying them.¹⁹⁶ The militant Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), led by Masotsha Ndlovu that concentrated on trade union issues, used dog tax grievances to launch itself in Mzingwane, Insiza and Fort Rixon districts in 1931. At its rallies in these rural areas, the ICU directed the government to tax people according to the wages that they earned and ‘to reduce the Native tax to 10/- and 1/- for dogs 1/- for bicycles.’¹⁹⁷ His ICU colleague, Mphamba also argued that ‘the Government is not our father-I deny this-he is a trust (or trustee) man of God. He is not our Father.’ He proceeded to state that ‘before colonial rule, Africans had ‘honourable trustees such a King Lobengula, who looked after his people well.’¹⁹⁸ The ICU denounced game laws that prohibited hunting with dogs and demanded ‘a return of something for their (dog) tax.’¹⁹⁹ Although the economic depression might have played a part, it is also inferable that these activities generally encouraged Africans not to pay dog tax. While the government received £15 000 from dog tax collections in 1914, when there were rampant evasions due to the weaknesses that were in *Section 1* of the DTO, it got a paltry £14 186 in 1936.²⁰⁰ Ethel Tawse Jollie explained that the DTO contributed about £19 000 to the treasury annually in the

¹⁹⁴ There were others such as Sam Nyamurova, who came from Hartley District. He refused to pay Native Tax arguing that he ‘had promised never to be a tax-paying black man.’ The NC was shocked with such ideas and imprisoned him for six months (in addition to beating him). The NC finally accepted defeat ‘for this most unusual young man kept affirming the line that he was prepared to spend all the years of his life in goal than pay money to the Government whose founders had stolen his country and killed hundreds of his people.’ Eventually the NC agreed not to press him for his tax obligations on condition that he refrained from giving such subversive teaching to other Africans. See Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 239-241.

¹⁹⁵ NAZ S2584/73 Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Association, Z. Chirimuuta J.J Zata (President and Chairman) to the CNC Salisbury, 8 October 1931.

¹⁹⁶ NAZ S2584/73 Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Association.

¹⁹⁷ NAZ S1561 C62 ICU Conference Bulawayo, 3-6 April 1931.

¹⁹⁸ NAZ S1561 C62 ICU Conference Bulawayo.

¹⁹⁹ NAZ S138/55 Legislations Affecting Natives, Superintendent of Natives Bulawayo to CNC Salisbury, ‘Masoja: ICU,’ 16 February 1931.

²⁰⁰ NAZ S1542/L11 Literature 1933 to 1940, Secretary for Native Affairs to the Editor, *Rhodesian Publications*, 5 February 1936.

1920s.²⁰¹ This explains why NAD instructed all NCs to take suitable steps to ensure that all people paid their dog taxes.²⁰²

Chief Mutasa led his people in mounting resistance to the DTO at a local level during this period. He assembled his sub-chiefs, headmen and people residing in the Umtali and Inyanga districts in 1936 to deliberate on the financial burden placed on his people by various colonial taxes. They resolved to form the Manyika Native Association in September 1936. A letter that was allegedly written by Chief Mutasa, calling on all his followers to pay 10/- each, for each head of a kraal to pay 5/- and other 'Native people' to pay 2/6 each towards a common fund, was intercepted by the NC for Umtali in July 1937.²⁰³ The funds were to be used in calling for the reduction in the dog tax, Crown land rents and dip fees, and to call on the government to increase the areas set aside for their occupation.²⁰⁴

Dog tax also brought special challenges for rural African women because of the system of migrant labour. As the economic depression made the capacity of Africans to pay dog tax difficult, NC Makoni adopted the method of collecting it at each chief's place on a fixed day.²⁰⁵ Such methods disadvantaged female-headed households because their absentee migrant husbands at times bought dog tax licenses for the dogs they had left at home and did not have the 'means of sending the receipt or token to his kraal.' Consequently, their wives were called out to pay, sometimes charged with non-payment and some were even convicted.²⁰⁶ In a song sung in a conversational form, *Mbira* music group *Mhuri yekwa* (family of) Genhure captured the struggles that wives of migrant labourers faced in relation to DTO obligations. The song, quoted below, contributed to rural political consciousness:

Where do you work?
I work in Gweru.
How much do you earn?
Chumi nechishanu (£1.50 shilling)

²⁰¹ Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia*, 255.

²⁰² NAZ S2397/3 Circulars, CNC Salisbury Circular Minute No. 16, 'Evasion of Payment of Dog Tax,' 22 May 1935.

²⁰³ NAZ S1542 C6/3 Chiefs and Headmen, Secretary for Native Affairs to the Acting Minister for Native Affairs, 'Meeting of Manyika Headmen,' 5 July 1937.

²⁰⁴ NAZ S1542 C6/3 Chiefs and Headmen, NC Umtali to CNC Salisbury, 'Collection of money by Chief Mutasa,' 15 June 1937.

²⁰⁵ NAZ S235/507 District Native Commissioners' Annual Reports, NC Makoni's Annual Report, December 1929.

²⁰⁶ NAZ S235/510 District Native Commissioners' Annual Reports, NC Chilimanzi's Annual Report, December 1932.

50 shillings is for beer and £1 is for dog tax.²⁰⁷

This song shows that the man might have had many dogs for him to budget £1 for dog tax (or it could have been humorous hyperbole). He devoted the remainder to his recreational activities in the city and left nothing for his family residing in rural areas. Alternatively, the song referred to the period after 1970—when Southern Rhodesia stopped using the pound sterling and opted to use dollars. However, people in rural areas continued to use the pound sterling value system despite the fact that the country had begun to use dollars. During that period, the government allowed Native Councils that were presided over by traditional leaders to levy dog taxes ranging from 50 c to \$1.00 and to use the revenue for their developmental projects.²⁰⁸ In the next stanza of the song, the husband tells his wife that he sometimes contemplated committing suicide possibly because his earnings did not cater for all his financial obligations. He ended by cautioning his wife not to act out of anger.²⁰⁹ In the novel *Shadows* published in 1991, Chenjerai Hove writes of the fear that the non-payment of dog tax inspired at female-headed households that had dogs (as discussed in chapter six). A woman in the novel saw BSAP officers visiting her village and immediately volunteered information that ‘women were not responsible for the paying of dog taxes.’²¹⁰ These vignettes allow one to infer that the DTO affected men and women differently.

As the majority of Africans became politically active, the Southern Rhodesian government tried between the 1940s and the 1970s to break the political alliance between urban and rural Africans by using a part of dog tax proceeds to reconstitute rural institutions. In this period, the colonial government came up with a new policy of community development in order to give Africans a greater say in the development of their areas. The idea was to reconstitute Native Councils by giving traditional leaders a leading role in controlling community developments in their own areas in order to halt the advance of militant nationalism. Consequently, the government ceded the power to regulate dog-ownership in the rural areas to Native Councils to allow them to channel the money generated from this source to their developmental projects. In the 1970s, dog taxes ranged from 50 c to \$1.00 in the different Native Councils that had been set up. These Native Councils continued the policy of detaining dogs that were not

²⁰⁷ Mhuri yekwa Genhure, ‘Unosevenzepiko,’ Mbira singles collection. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CUL3gAppA98&t=721s>, accessed on 26 August 2019.

²⁰⁸ Chavhunduka, *Kuchengeta Imbwa*, 67-68; Southern Rhodesia began to use dollars in the 1970s.

²⁰⁹ ‘Unosevenza kupi,’ Mbira singles collection. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CUL3gAppA98&t=721s>.

²¹⁰ C. Hove, *Shadows*, (Harare: Baobab Book 1991), 26.

wearing dog tax token to force their owners to either pay taxes for their dogs or to destroy them.²¹¹ Communities that had set up Native Councils in districts such as Darwin, Mangwende and Gutu districts got half of the DTO revenue deposited into their respective council accounts.²¹² However, the government did not always live up to its promises.²¹³ The case of the Mhofu Native Council set up by the Mhofu chiefdom in Masvingo in 1968 demonstrated that conflicts between the government and the Native Councils occasionally flared up because the government did not always honour its promise to give them complete control over this source of revenue. It instructed the Mhofu Native Council to ‘double the dog tax and collect the excess charge’ to help it in its community development projects in 1968.²¹⁴ It, however, reneged on its promises and this forced many people in the Mhofu area to complain that ‘community development was not their affair.’ As has been argued elsewhere, Native Councils were generally weak political institutions that were easily manipulated by the colonial state. In many instances, militant African nationalists branded those Africans who worked with such colonial institutions as *imbwa dzewasungata* (dogs of the colonialists) and as stooges of the system.²¹⁵ However, it must not be overstated that all traditional leaders and elite Africans who joined such institutions were stooges of the colonial state always. In fact, some traditional leaders used these institutions to enhance their standing in the community, to force the colonial state to make concessions to them and to increase their following and territories.²¹⁶ This section has shown that although Southern Rhodesian Africans did not rebel against the dog tax policies as in other parts of southern Africa, theirs was a delayed political action.

Dog Taxation and Rabies control, 1950-1970

Dog taxation coalesced with the rabies outbreaks (and the concomitant rabies inoculations) between 1950 and the 1970s into radicalising rural African politics. Writing in 1962, about the causal connection between the DTO and 1902 to 1913 rabies outbreaks,²¹⁷ Shone argues that ‘the eventual control and eradication of the disease was directly ascribed to the application of the Dog Tax Ordinance which resulted in an enormous diminution in the numbers of African-

²¹¹ Chavhunduka, *Kuchengeta Imbwa*, 67-68.

²¹² NAZ S1618 Native Commissioners Quarterly, NC Darwin’s Quarterly Report, 30 September 1948; NC Mrewa’s Quarterly Report, 30 June 1948; NC Gutu’s Quarterly Report, 30 June 1948.

²¹³ NAZ S1618 Native Commissioners Quarterly, NC Marandellas’ Quarterly Report, 31 December 1947.

²¹⁴ A.K.H. Weinrich, *Chiefs and Councils in Rhodesia*, (London: Heinemann, 1971), 208.

²¹⁵ NAZ ORAL/233 Interview Lawrence Vambe, interviewed by I. J. Johnstone, Harare, 1, 8, and 13 June 1983.

²¹⁶ J. Alexander, *The Unsettled Land: State making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe 1893-2003*, (Oxford: James Currey, 2007); G.C. Mazarire, ‘A Social and Political History of Chishanga: South-Central Zimbabwe, c.1750-2000,’ PhD Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2009, 255-292.

²¹⁷ Refer to the previous chapter for a discussion of this issue.

owned dogs.²¹⁸ The fact that the DTO was first implemented in 1913 and that the rabies outbreaks ended in the same year makes this argument difficult to sustain. As has been argued in the previous chapter, the outbreak ended after authorities agreed to implement local rabies regulations agreements with African dog-owners in several parts of the country that suited particular locales. Moreover, evidence from the 1950s to the 1960s show that although the two policies were meant to be complementary, in reality they undermined each other. The Southern Rhodesian state wanted to pacify rural areas in the 1960s and 1970s by using the policy of Community Development that gave Africans a façade of autonomy under so-called Native Council that were presided over by traditional rulers. In that setup, the Veterinary Department requested to be regarded as neutral ‘technicians’ in rural areas who were apolitical.²¹⁹ However, the rabies regulations required some coercion because both white and black people disregarded them regularly.²²⁰ Southern Rhodesia began to universally inoculate dogs in 1951 using the Flurry virus strain, a new type of rabies prophylactic vaccine, and it succeeded in building immunity against rabies in dogs. Dogs began to succumb to rabies again in 1953. Veterinarians attributed this to the fact that African dog-owners had replaced about 50% of their dogs to an extent of necessitating ‘block inoculations (after) every two or three years’.²²¹ Initially authorities attributed the new rabies outbreaks to this increase in dog replacements, to the loss of efficacy by the vaccines, to the incompetency of the vaccinators, to the role of wild animals and to the poor rabies eradication policies in PEA and in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.²²² Despite the fervent belief by the Veterinary Department that dog taxation assisted in eradicating rabies by forcing Africans to keep fewer dogs, the evidence suggests that the rabies inoculation policy undermined the dog taxation policy.²²³ Similarly, dog taxation made the rabies inoculation policy difficult to implement. This policy inconsistency shows that the colonial regimes was simply muddling through in its policies regarding African dog owning. Jeater uses the early colonial period in Southern Rhodesia in showing that the colonial state did

²¹⁸ D.K. Shone, ‘Rabies in Southern Rhodesia,’ *Journal of South African Veterinary Medical Association*, XXXIII, 4 (1962), 568, 579.

²¹⁹ NAZ RO 1877 Veterinary Conference, Annual Veterinary Conference, 11 December 1962.

²²⁰ NAZ RO 1877 Veterinary Conference, Annual Veterinary Conference, 11 December 1962.

²²¹ NAZ RO 1877 DVS Conferences, Notes for minutes of fifth Veterinary Conference held in the library of the Chief Chemist, Salisbury, 20 and 21 October 1954.

²²² NAZ RO R/2/10/1 Veterinary Research Annual Reports, Report of the Assistant Director of Veterinary Services (Field) for the year ending 30 September 1958; NAZ RO V/98/2 Articles for Publication by Veterinary Department, D.A. Lawrence (Director of Veterinary Services), ‘Report of the Director of Veterinary Services for the year ending 30 September 1958’; Report of the Secretary to the Federal Ministry of Agriculture for the year ended 30 September 1958, 162.

²²³ NAZ S2710/1/2 Veterinary Department General, Secretary to the Federal Ministry of Agriculture to All Town Clerks of Municipalities, ‘Rabies Control,’ 10 May 1954.

not adequately understand Africans and their societies and that the different colonial departments competed with each other in controlling Africans lives.²²⁴ They, however, used the wrong indices, methods, and knowledge in their attempts to understand Africans. Similarly, the policies of inoculating dogs and dog taxation, that both targeted African dog owning in order to prevent and control rabies outbreaks, undermined each other even though they were meant to be complementary. However, the colonial state during this period was relatively strong because it frequently relied on force in its dealings with Africans. Nevertheless, the manner in which the colonial state understood African dog keeping had not improved. This contributed to the policy inconsistencies that this section has been highlighting.

Veterinary official observed later that ‘if a native was restricted to a certain number of dogs, it would tend to make him keep all bitches in order to ensure a constant supply of dogs.’²²⁵ In 1952, a Chibi Veterinary officer observed that:

With regards to dog licensing returns, it is interesting to note that Chibi Native Commissioner reports being £500 down in dog tax this year. We have only shot 190 dogs in the Chibi reserve, total reports in Chibi (confirmed and clinical) barely total 30, so that leaves about 1800 dogs to be accounted for and the NC Chibi swears that he is fully satisfied that these dogs are not in the reserve. This further strengthens my statement in March monthly report, that native dogs are being moved illegally to clean areas and is a further pointer to the ineffectiveness of our present system of control.²²⁶

Veterinarians estimated in 1950 that the country had about 250 000 dogs—the majority of which were owned by Africans who resided in rural areas.²²⁷ Rabies was more prevalent in African areas compared to European areas because these areas were further away from major veterinary centres.²²⁸ Africans were also unwilling to present their dogs for vaccination because the DTO and rabies inoculations policies, in their understanding, worked against each other. Some Africans went to the extent of concealing genuine cases of rabies—in which their children had been bitten—preferring to kill and burn mad dogs and this had disastrous consequences for their families.²²⁹ Mtoko district Police records showed that one Mavura of Chisango kraal sent this dog to the Mrewa district to avoid the dog tax patrols.²³⁰ Other Mtoko

²²⁴ D. Jeater, ‘Imagining Africans: Scholarship, Fantasy, and Science in Colonial Administration, 1920s Southern Rhodesia,’ *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38, 1 (2005), 1-26.

²²⁵ NAZ RO 1877 DVS Conferences, Notes for minutes of fifth Veterinary Conference held in the library of the Chief Chemist, Salisbury, 20 and 21 October 1954.

²²⁶ NAZ S3023/6/28/1 Rabies, Fort Victoria to the ADVS (Field) Salisbury, ‘Rabies Report,’ 30 April 1952.

²²⁷ Shone, ‘Rabies in Southern Rhodesia,’ 574.

²²⁸ ‘How is rabies spread,’ *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 8 October 1954.

²²⁹ Shone, ‘Rabies in Southern Rhodesia,’ 574.

²³⁰ NAZ S3023/6/28/1 Rabies, BSAP Mtoko ‘Edgar Micheal states.’

Africans hid their dogs in the fields in the neighbouring Uzumba Reserves.²³¹ Had the dogs not bitten some people in the two instances, the authorities would not have known about these incidents.²³² There was a two shillings and sixpence vaccination fee for each vaccinated dog which Africans felt was onerous. Africans in Buhera district linked rabies ‘vaccination (campaigns) with checking on non-payment of dog tax’ in 1967 and naturally refused to produce their dogs for inoculation.²³³ Thus, this explains why both policies were defied by Africans. Although paying the vaccination fee was scrapped off for African-owned dogs in the late 1950s, this did not reassure African dog-owners, as shown in the Buhera example used above.²³⁴

The African National Congress used the rabies regulations in Matobo South district in 1959 to campaign against the prohibition of Africans from hunting by the state.²³⁵ The Veterinary Department used cattle guards in the Fort Victoria, Chikore, Weya and Tanda Reserves in July 1959 to ferret out un-inoculated and unlicensed dogs that were hidden by Africans.²³⁶ These coercive measures caused a spate of civil disobedience in Bikita, Mutare, Chipinge, Weya, Chikore and Tanda Reserves in the 1960s in which dip tanks were destroyed.²³⁷ The Veterinary Department also enforced a tie-up order for dogs to complement the rabies inoculation policy. Predictably, Africans opposed this policy.²³⁸ Dexter Mark Chavhunduka, who worked in the Veterinary Department in the 1970s, referred to the tie-up order as *chisungambwa* (tie dogs up).²³⁹ The term *chimbwasungata* (those who tie dogs or dog on a leash) came into the political vocabulary of Africans during this time.²⁴⁰ Africans used it pejoratively to refer to fellow African whom they accused of working with the colonial state to undermine the cause of African nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s. The Veterinary Department tattooed vaccinated dogs and gave their owners vaccination certificate in order for them to destroy all unvaccinated

²³¹ NAZ S3023/6/28/1 Rabies, BSAP Mrewa to Chief Veterinary Officer, Salisbury, 13 March 1951.

²³² NAZ S3023/6/28/1 Rabies, BSAP Mtoko ‘Edgar Micheal states.’

²³³ NAZ RO 1835 Monthly Reports, ‘Gwelo District Office Monthly Report,’ November 1957; NAZ RO V/67/3 Rabies Vaccine, G.J. Christie (ADVS Research), ‘confidential: rabies vaccinations: deaths. Comments on the Report from Wankie,’ 13 November 1967; NAZ S3023/6/28/1 Rabies, BSAP Mrewa to Chief Veterinary Officer, Salisbury, 13 March 1951.

²³⁴ Shone, ‘Rabies in Southern Rhodesia,’ 578.

²³⁵ NAZ RO 1835 DVS and A/DVS Monthly Reports, Bulawayo to the ADVS (Field), ‘District Monthly Report,’ 13 April 1959.

²³⁶ NAZ RO 1835 DVS and A/DVS Monthly Reports, Umtali to A.D.V.S. (F), ‘Umtali Veterinary District June 1959,’ 6 July 1959.

²³⁷ NAZ RO R/2/10/1 Veterinary Research Annual Reports, 1953-1960, Southern Rhodesia Veterinary Report (Field Branch), September 1963; Veterinary Research Annual Reports, Southern Rhodesia Veterinary Report (Field Branch), July 1964; NAZ RO, NAZ RO V/35 Monthly Reports from District Vet Officers, Veterinary Department, Umtali to the ADVS (F), ‘Monthly Report: March 1965,’ 10 April 1965.

²³⁸ Shone, ‘Rabies in Southern Rhodesia,’ 577.

²³⁹ Chavhunduka, *Kuchengeta Imbwa*, 45.

²⁴⁰ Vambwe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 271.

dogs.²⁴¹ Tattooing dogs reportedly yielded ‘excellent results in the rabies vaccination campaign’ in Nkai, Tjolotjo and North Nata reserves.²⁴² However, some Africans allegedly used one vaccination certificate for many dogs in some instances.²⁴³

Rabies inoculations undermined the dog taxation in other ways. On 29 November 1966, the Bvumbura Intensive Conservation Area (ICA) called upon the Veterinary Department to investigate allegations that some African-owned dogs had died because of the rabies vaccination to bring the ‘truth’ ‘to light if people in these areas must have confidence’.²⁴⁴ The Veterinary Department, predictably, blamed these deaths on other canine diseases such as canine distemper and canine biliary fever.²⁴⁵ However, one of its officers, K.P. Lander, added credibility in October 1967 to the hypothesis that rabies vaccinations caused the death of African-owned dogs. He accused a fellow veterinarian, a Mr Newton, of causing the deaths of 21 dogs in Wankie district. Lander offered the following advice:

With regard to the action to be taken over these deaths, may I stick my neck out and say that I think government should admit responsibility for the deaths of these dogs, say that the vaccine was at fault but that it will not happen again, and pay each owner, at least, the value of the dog tax which they had to pay a few weeks before the vaccinations were carried out. In this way, we shall give ourselves an outside chance of being able to vaccinate their dogs again whereas, if nothing is done, we shall never again see a dog owned by one of these Africans. As it is the story will get around and considerable resistance may be encountered at future vaccination campaigns.²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ NAZ RO 1835 DVS and A/DVS Monthly Reports, Umtali to ADVS, Salisbury, ‘Monthly Report: February 1959,’ 10 March 1959.

²⁴² NAZ RO R/2/10/1 Veterinary Research Annual Reports, Southern Rhodesian Veterinary Report (Field Branch) September 1964.

²⁴³ ‘The past and our culture of lying,’ *The Herald*, 9 April 2014; ‘Learning to stop the cultural habit of lying,’ *The Herald*, 25 May 2016.

²⁴⁴ NAZ RO V/67/3 Rabies vaccine, District Secretary, Natural Resources Board, E Bowes, Bvumbura ICA, Gwelo to Provincial Veterinary Officer, ‘Alleged deaths of dogs due to rabies vaccines: Bvumbura ICA,’ 29 November 1966.

²⁴⁵ NAZ RO V/67/3 Rabies vaccine, Provincial Veterinary Officer to the District Secretary, Natural Resources Board, ‘Alleged death of dogs due to rabies vaccine: Bvumbura ICA,’ 5 December 1966.

²⁴⁶ NAZ V/67/3 Rabies vaccine, K.P. Lander, Senior Government Veterinary Officer (Wankie) to the Provincial Veterinary Officer, Bulawayo, ‘Rabies vaccinations: deaths,’ 21 October 1967.

R A B I E S

The following is a list of cases of vaccinated dogs having been diagnosed as Rabies either histologically or biologically or both.

No.	Owner.	Vaccination Date	Hist.	Biol.	Interval between vacc. & death from Rabies
B152	Native owned Chibisa Mine Shabani	22.7.51	22.5.52	27.6.52	298 days
M60	Stray. Silverstreams Melsetter	3.8.51	8.5.52	N.F.A.	278 days
U54	V. Bokard, Box 1, Odai	Oct. 51	23.6.51	Pending	240-250 days
5536	Mr. Perry, Olympus Mine, Moko	Sept. 51	29.4.52	Pending	225 days
U49	Roads Dept. Makoni District	Sept. 51	Neg 7/4 but inclusion bodies present	Pos. 29.5.	189-200 days
M35	Mr. Todd, Cashel	31.7.51	4.2.52	18.3.52	188 days
M34	Mr. Mildenhall, Penbridge East, Cashel	31.7.51	24.1.52	23.2.52	177 days
5481	Mrs. G.A. Cross, Helensvale, Gby.	15.10.51	5.4.52	25.4.52	172 days
G46	Mr. Evans, Lalapani (contact with G42)	30.10.51	24.2.51 -21.1.52)	Neg. 19.5.	116 days
B128	Mrs. Matthew, Little Shop, Shabani (rabid dog in yard on 22.10)	25.7.51	31.10.51	Neg.	97 days
V66	Chibi	14.8.51	16.11.51	Neg.	94 days
M20	Stray. Kinginga South, Cashel	Tattoo mark in ear 30.7.51	26.10.51	Not done	88 days
5410	Harrod, Blackfordby Farm, Beatrice Rd. Gby	17.10.51 Had fight that morning	13.1.52	Not done	88 days
B124	Grant, 42 Jameson St. Gby	26.7.51	21.10.51	Neg.	87 days
U38	Mafunga, Railway Compound, Unstall	15.9.51	26.11.51	Not done	72 days
B123	Grant, 42 Jameson St. Gby.	26.7.51	3.10.51	Neg.	69 days
5320	Mr. Atwell, Morningson, Gatoona	17.9.51	24.10.51	Not done	37 days
5424	M.A. Hawkes, Harawa Pk, Kacheke (5 days later bitten)	28.12.51	27.1.52	Neg. 25.3.52	30 days

Figure 8: Document showing vaccinated dogs that got re-infected with rabies at a time when they were expected to have developed immunity.²⁴⁷

A character in Chenjerai Hove's novel, *Shadows* (1991), expresses her disappointment at the power of Veterinary Officials who behaved 'as if someone forces him to give injections to dogs instead of giving them to people.'²⁴⁸ This fictional account shows that Africans distrusted the motives of the veterinary department. Actually, G.J. Christie, another government veterinarian, speculated in a confidential memo, that there could have been a 'harmful agent' in the vaccine or in the diluent and that the vaccinators could have mechanically transmitted canine distemper during vaccination.²⁴⁹ In fact, the table above showed that some vaccinated dogs lost their immunity to the disease within periods that they were not expected to have done so and this generally undermined the rabies vaccination policy. Lander's suggestion for the need to refund the African dog-owners their dog tax payments showed that some colonial officials understood the limitations of the rabies inoculation policy and how it undermined dog taxation. The fact that the Veterinary Department prioritized rabies—and completely ignored other canine

²⁴⁷ NAZ S3023/6/28/2, Rabies, July - December 1951.

²⁴⁸ Hove, *Shadows*, 26.

²⁴⁹ NAZ RO V/67/3 Rabies vaccine, G.J. Christie, ADVS (Research), 'confidential: rabies vaccinations: deaths. Comments on the report from Wankie,' 13 November 1967.

diseases in rural reserves—meant that chances of them unintentionally transmitting other canine disease during vaccination were high. It also justified the mistrust that they received from Africans. Conspiratorial inferences, such as the one that vaccines were responsible for the death of the dogs, were embedded in a period of political instability and coercion—which undermined both the dog tax and rabies inoculation policies in the eyes of African dog-owners. The previous chapter showed that Africans interpreted the massacres of their dogs by Veterinary Officials using religious ideas and the Mwari religion. Although the evidence does not show this in the case of the deaths of the Bvumbura dogs mentioned above, it is inferable that these religious ideas may have played a role because the authority of the Mwari cult increased in the 1960s with the advent of militant nationalism in African areas. As has been argued throughout this chapter, Africans did not rise up in open rebellion against dog taxation in Southern Rhodesia compared to other parts of the region. They only did so in the 1950s and 1960s due to the combined effects of the dog tax policy and the compulsory rabies inoculation policy, both of which undermined their interests.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the histories of dog taxation policies in southern Africa. It challenges the conventional orthodoxy that dog tax was introduced to force Africans to work in the colonial economies, particularly for the mines or settler farmers.²⁵⁰ In the case of Southern Rhodesia, such aims were addressed by other legislative measures. The measures to tax or destroy African-owned dogs were located in colonial attempts to preserve natural resources for settler farmers.²⁵¹ While in the case of Transkei, settlers poisoned and killed African owned-dogs to prevent their owners from using forest resources, in the case of Southern Rhodesia the aim was to preserve the natural environment for settler cattle farmers. Africans in Southern Rhodesia, unlike their counterparts in the southern African region, delayed their political opposition to the DTO. However, dog tax impinged on the everyday lives of Africans that depended on dog ownership and thus led to some political opposition. In highlighting how dog tax affected the ways in which Africans related with their dogs, the chapter concurs with British historiography focusing on the 1790s that showed that dogs were very valuable to poor people and that taxing them sometimes blurred the distance between the subject taxed and the object

²⁵⁰ Gordon, 'Fido: Dog tales of colonialism in Namibia,' 240-254; Emmett, 'Popular Resistance in Namibia, 1920-1925'; Lewis, 'The Bondelswarts Rebellion of 1922.'

²⁵¹ Tropp, 'Dogs, Poison and the Meaning of Colonial Intervention in the Transkei, South Africa,' 456.

taxed.²⁵² However, the Southern Rhodesian case study slightly differs from the British case study as issues of race came to be paramount compared to the class disputes that dominated in Britain. Moreover, this lent a different twist to breedism as African-owned dogs were described in more disparaging terms compared to those of the poor in Britain. The Shona proverb ‘to look after the dog of the stranger is to love its owner’ indicates widespread belief that dogs were proxies of human beings. For them loving or hating someone else’s dog translated the same emotions to the animal’s owners. In fact, they believed that it was possible to ‘beat others’ through the dog—hence they interpreted the DTO as an attack on their livelihoods, incomes, culture and way of life by the government.²⁵³ Lastly, the chapter has shown that in the case of Southern Rhodesia the dog as a transgressive animal disregarded both physical and conceptual boundaries. For this reason, the chapter has endeavoured to integrate dogs into the agrarian (farmer-tenants relations, farmer-state relations and debates about the peasant option), taxation and livestock (beef and milk industries) historiographies of southern Africa. In the final analysis, dogs provide a way of understanding much older historiographical debates from a different perspective.

²⁵² Tague, ‘Eighteenth-century English debates on dog tax.’

²⁵³ ‘They talk to dogs while they mean you,’ *The African Parade*, August 1955, 37.

Chapter 5

A city gone to the dogs? Power, tradition, modernity and canine citizens in Harare, c.1950-2017.

Introduction

In 2013, dogs belonging to a man named Michael Pazarangu strayed into his neighbour's yard – not an unusual event for a pair of insouciant suburban dogs. What made it extraordinary was that this was one of the most fiercely guarded residences in the land: the palatial Blue Roof Mansion, home of the (then) President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe. The mansion is located in the affluent Borrowdale Brook suburb in the capital city of Harare. It was generally believed that no one could break into this impenetrable fortress of paranoia and privilege. But the dogs succeeded. While trespassing on the land of the most important man in the country, these two dogged insurgents hunted and caught a bushbuck. Their human owner was fined \$50 (an amount of money far exceeding the worth of a bushbuck) for this canine transgression.¹ However, President Mugabe was not the only 'victim' of canine criminals in the capital Harare. Ordinary suburban and urban citizens also complained of roaming dogs that destroyed rubbish bins, excreted on their manicured lawns and rooted in their vegetable gardens.² These so-called 'stray dogs' also committed more serious offences like biting residents and indeed even mauling humans to death on three separate occasions.³ Citizens of this postcolonial city responded by asking why the Harare City Council (HCC) was failing to implement the old colonial era dog licensing and control bylaws. Members of the ruling ZANU PF party such as Senator Mashavakure demanded to know why the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) was not operating as it had in the past.⁴ Senator Muronzi stated that the practise of letting dogs roam freely was akin to abusing the freedoms which came with the attainment of the country's very independence – as though the dogs were an updated version

¹ 'Mugabe's neighbour fined \$50 over roaming dog,' *Daily Nation*, 1 July 2014, <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/1066-2368126-x4r0v1z/index.html>, accessed 19 October 2018.

² 'Stray dogs pose danger to communities,' *Newsday*, 18 August 2012.

³ HA TC/E/6 Dog Licences: All Correspondence, Cranbourne Residents Development Association to The Member in Charge, Braeside Police Station, 'The Removal of stray dogs in Cranbourne,' 13 November 2012; 'Man mauled to death by dogs,' *The Sunday Mail*, 8 September 1991; 'Dog menace in Marondera,' *The Sunday Mail*, 18 February 1990; 'Dogs maul owner's two year old toddler to death,' *The Sunday Mail*, 23 February 2003; 'Dogs fatally maul boy (3): Two face charges of causing death,' *The Sunday Mail Metro*, 26 November to 2 December 2006.

⁴ Parliament of Zimbabwe, The Senate, 'Enforcement of laws to protect domestic animals,' 22 March 2017, 8-11.

of the colonial oppressors.⁵ Thus, dogs are administratively controversial, dogs are economically contentious, dogs are socially provocative – in short, dogs are political. This politics has a history.

These recent charges against the city's dogs – they are free-roaming, feral, scavenging, ill-bred, overbred, and so on – all come down to one thing: the apparent failure of existing regulating authorities such as the HCC, the SPCA, the Zimbabwe Kennel Club (ZKC) and government to control canine citizens. That failure has resulted in the development of successive litters of dog – remembering that an unsterilized free-roaming female and her offspring can statistically produce 67 000 puppies in six years, as noted in chapter three.⁶ Complaints about the city's canine citizens, as the chapter will show, convinced residents that authorities had failed in the goal of modernizing the city. In explaining this, the chapter will show that the dog is more than just a dog – dogs operate (variously) as mutable metonyms and shifting symbols. The chapter examines the key discourses about how to regulate dogs, especially African-owned, in the city over a five-decade period from 1950 to 2017. This time-span was chosen because the Salisbury City Council (SCC) took an active interest in regulating African dog-ownership in the city in the 1950s following an increase in the number of African-owned dogs and reports of rabies outbreaks in the country.⁷ Progressively tougher dog licensing and control bylaws were passed successively pre-independence in 1953 and 1973, and then post-independence in 1993 and 2016. However, by 2017, Harare still had a large and poorly regulated dog population amidst worsening reports of rabies outbreaks and attacks by dogs.⁸ This chapter moves from the premise that on top of the obvious real and practical concerns about dogs, dog ownership, and the rhetoric surrounding the more practical management routines, was used to reflect competing versions and visions of politics, the city and class. These versions were offered by individuals (like ordinary dog-owners and breeders) and by national leaders, the SPCA, Kennel Clubs and city bureaucrats. As this chapter will show, attempts to impose control measures were uneven and contested and the divide was never (literally) only black and white. The chapter is located in a broader reading of urban dogs and contributes a previously neglected story of urban animal history from the global south.

⁵ Parliament of Zimbabwe, The Senate, 'Enforcement of laws to protect domestic animals,' 17.

⁶ C. Robinson, 'The Canadian Animal Assistance Team: a GREAT opportunity for technicians!,' *Canadian Vet Tech*, (2012), 14.

⁷ NAZ S3609/9 Salisbury Animals bylaws, JM Rowe, Town Clerk to The Secretary for Internal Affairs, Salisbury, 'Salisbury Dog licensing and Control bylaws,' 1953; B. Raftopoulos, 'Nationalism and labour in Salisbury, 1953-1965,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 1 (1995), 81.

⁸ 'Chimbwamupengo Chabata Harare, Bulawayo,' *Kwayedza*, 26 July 2019.

It responds to a new scholarship that challenge existing animal histories of cities in the west. Compared to western urban dog histories, there are relatively few African dog histories and this chapter seeks to fill this lacuna.⁹ Generally global north scholarship focusing on dog histories tends to focus more on the development of breeds, how humans exacted mastery over purebred dogs and urban territories and efforts that were made to rid cities of stray dogs.¹⁰ This chapter shows that although these human-dog relations were exported to other parts of the world, they were other human-dog relations that developed in other parts of the world.¹¹ It does that by giving the so-called stray dogs a positive historical evaluation. Moreover Global North animal histories tend to ignore African animal histories¹² and are disposed to tell histories of formerly colonized parts of the world solely in terms of how the colonizers and their animals assisted each other in colonizing other parts of the world.¹³ Moreover, recent scholarly interventions in Critical Animal Studies (CAS) that focus on both the global West and the global East have shown that canine-human relations across time and space have been dominated by speciesism, breedism (classifying species and breeds according to a hierarchy) and racism to the extent of deepening the exploitation of dogs, other animals and human beings differently in different parts of the world.¹⁴ There is evidently a need for more scholarly

⁹ K. McKenzie, 'Dogs and the Public Sphere: The ordering of social space in early nineteenth-century Cape Town,' in L. Van Sittert and S. Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 91-110; L. Van Sittert, 'Class and canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,' Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 111-114.

¹⁰ H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); P. Howell, *At Home and Astray The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015); M. Worboys, J.M. Strange and N. Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog in Victorian Britain*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018).

¹¹ Francis Nyamnjoh has recently popularized the theory of incompleteness that argues that all civilisations from several parts of the world are incomplete. Because of that, Nyamnjoh advances that there is a need to benefit from the untapped potential in the knowledge systems from other parts of the world and civilisation. As such, there is a need for interaction and conversations amongst the world's civilisations, theories and even historiographies. This not only aid in acknowledging 'other modes of being and becoming,' but also in complementarity between what would have previously been regarded as competing or unrelated ways of understanding a given aspect by knowledge systems from different parts of the world. That can only be achieved if all cultures, civilisations, theories and historiographies are considered to be incomplete in themselves or of themselves. See F.B. Nyamnjoh, 'Incompleteness: Frontier Africa and the Currency of Conviviality,' *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 52, 3 (2017).

¹² For example, Swart argues that although the Okapi, an animal also known as the Congolese forest giraffe or zebra giraffe, was long known to locals nevertheless Europeans regarded it as non-existent at first and then claimed it as their discovery. She argues that African animal histories resemble the Okapi in that regard. See Swart, 'Writing animals into African history,' 95-108.

¹³ A. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1-53.

¹⁴ J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka (eds), *Dog's Best Friend? Rethinking Canid-Human Relations*, (London: McGill-Queens' University Press, 2019).

interventions in this direction from the global south that show how human-canine relations evolved by paying attention to local ideographic contexts.

African animal histories have been there for some time now as they were written in discussions about pastoralism, hunting and conservation.¹⁵ This dissertation is part of a new conscious effort aimed at writing the actual animals ‘into African history’.¹⁶ Scholarly studies of human-canine relations have shown that in some cities ownerless free-roaming dogs— be they strays, *straat brak* (Afrikaans for street mutt), *shenzi* (Swahili for uncivilized strays) and pariah, depending on place and time period— have come to be accepted as ‘legitimate’ fellow citizens for reasons connected to ideographic cultures and religions.¹⁷ However, Harare developed a hybrid – or perhaps mongrelized – dog-keeping regime that combined aspects of tradition and the so-called modern regimes. As in other places in other parts of the world, as the chapter will show, Harare also pursued modernisation projects aimed at ridding the city of their canine citizens. Yet, as the chapter will explain, Harare nevertheless remained a ‘city of dogs’.

The historiography of urban dogs

Beck, an ecological biologist who studied free-ranging, stray and feral dogs in Baltimore, argued that ‘stray dogs’ engaged in ‘cultural camouflage’ in the city to render themselves indistinguishable with ‘owned straying pets’.¹⁸ Beck and others are part of a movement geared towards giving stray, feral and free roaming dogs a scholarly re-evaluation. Coppinger and Coppinger have also argued that rather than being an aberration ‘stray dogs’ are the most ‘authentic’ dogs, compared to inbred and overbred purebreds that are susceptible to congenital

¹⁵ S. Swart, *Riding High – Horses, Humans and History in South Africa*, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2010); L. Van Sittert and S. Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis – a dog history of Southern Africa*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008); S. Swart, ‘Writing animals into African history,’ *Critical African Studies: Writing Animals into African History*, 8, 2 (2016), 95-108; K. Fortuny ‘Islam, Westernization, and Post humanist Place: The Case of the Istanbul Street Dog,’ *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 21, 2 (2014), 286; N.J. Jacobs, *Birders of Africa. : History of a Network*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

¹⁶ Swart, ‘Writing animals into African history,’ 95-97.

¹⁷ Fortuny ‘Islam, Westernization, and Post humanist Place,’ 286; Y. Narayanan, ‘Street dogs at the intersection of colonialism and informality: ‘Subaltern animism’ as a post human critique of Indian cities,’ *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, 35, 3 (2017), 489; J.S. Palsetia, ‘Mad Dogs and Parsis: The Bombay Dogs Riots of 1832,’ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 11, 1 (2001), 13-30; A. Ramanujan, ‘Violent Encounters: Stray Dogs in Indian Cities,’ in K. Nagai et al (eds), *Cosmopolitan Animals*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); G. Gündoğdu, ‘The state and the stray dogs in late Ottoman Istanbul: from unruly subjects to servile friends,’ *Middle Eastern Studies*, 54, 4 (2018) 555; A. Mikhail, ‘A Dog- Eat- Dog Empire Violence and Affection on the Streets of Ottoman Cairo,’ *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Middle East and Africa*, 35, 1 (2015), 76-95.

¹⁸ A.M. Beck, *The Ecology of stray dog: A Study of Free-ranging Urban Animals*, (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2002).

problems.¹⁹ Determining which dogs are the most ‘authentic’ – or even what that might mean – is beyond the scope of this chapter, although it does engage with dog-related discourses of authenticity and autochthony in the postcolonial period. However, this chapter does take seriously the local histories of such dogs in the cities of the global south that have come to live closely with humans.²⁰

Indeed, there is a global, growing and free-roaming pack of historians working on dog histories.²¹ Increasingly historians also insist on the agency of dogs: in Moscow ‘stray dogs’ took advantage of the lax in control measures that was caused by the fall of the Soviet Union by opening up new ecologies in the city, enjoying freedom of movement and some even learning to travel in the metro train system daily.²² Some have focused on the dog in cities such as Istanbul, Cape Town, Paris, Seattle and New York.²³ Cities have responded to their canine citizens with a gamut of control measures – the most controlled bio-regime currently is in Chinese cities where surveillance tags put on dogs force owners to leash their dogs, clean after them and prevent them from barking unnecessarily. This policy reduced perceived canine ‘criminality’ by 65% in 2018.²⁴ Other cities like Bucharest see their dog population as an uncontained – perhaps uncontrollable – threat of about 60 000 stray dogs or 1 stray dog for every 31 people.²⁵ With an estimated stray dog population of 15 million (in January 2019) and

¹⁹ A.H. Westing, ‘Book Reviews: Coppinger, R., and M. Feinstein. 2015. *How Dogs work* and Coppinger, R., and L. Coppinger. 2016. *What Is a Dog?*,’ *Journal of Mammalogy*, 98, 1 (2017), 312-313; R. Coppinger and L. Coppinger, *What is a Dog*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2016) 99.

²⁰ Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 81-115.

²¹ Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*; J. Wang, ‘Dogs and the Making of the American: Voluntary association, state power, and the politics of animal control in New York City, 1850-1920,’ *The Journal of American History*, 98, 4 (2012), 998-1024.

²² S. McGrane, ‘Moscow’s Metro dogs,’ *The New Yorker*, 8 July 2013, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/moscows-metro-dogs>. Accessed on 17 August 2019.

²³ Fortuny ‘Islam, Westernization, and Post humanist Place: The Case of the Istanbul Street Dog’; K. McKenzie, ‘Dogs and the Public Sphere: The ordering of social space in early nineteenth-century Cape Town,’ in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 91-110; Van Sittert, ‘Class and canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,’ in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 111-114; C. Pearson, ‘Stray dogs and the Making of Modern Paris,’ *Past and Present*, 234, 1 (2017); J.C. Sanders, ‘Animal trouble and urban anxiety: Human-animal interaction post-earth day Seattle,’ *Environmental History*, 16 (2011), 226-261; Wang, ‘Dogs and the Making of the American State’, 998-1024.

²⁴ ‘Chinese dog-owners are being assigned a social credit score to keep them in check — and it seems to be working,’ *Business Insider South Africa*, 27 October 2018, <https://www.businessinsider.co.za/china-dog-owners-social-credit-score-2018-10>. Accessed on 5 November 2018.

²⁵ ‘The city that went to the dogs,’ *Independent*, 5 September 2013, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/the-city-that-went-to-the-dogs-with-60000-on-the-streets-there-is-one-stray-for-every-31-people-in-8800794.html>. Accessed on 5 November 2018.

around 400 000 reported cases of dog bites in 2017, Cairo faces a similar problem to the extent that authorities contemplated exporting them to dog-eating countries in 2018.²⁶

Crucial to this study, is the history of the British dog fancy that started in the nineteenth century and introduced a canine aristocracy in which the well-bred dogs, favoured by the upper classes, began to be viewed as more valuable compared to stray and feral dogs. Stray and feral dogs came to be seen as pollutants that threatened the purity of well-bred dogs and the integrity of the city.²⁷ They started to be viewed as antithetical to the idea of modernity that carried with it notions of evolutionary progress. According Ritvo ‘the institutions that defined the dog fancy projected an obsessively detailed vision of a stratified order which sorted animals and, by implication, people into snug and appropriate niches’.²⁸ Purebred dogs became status symbols that were breathing adverts for conspicuous consumption of wealth and display of status by the elite classes.²⁹ As Howell has shown, purebred dogs became enclosed in the home ‘under the aegis of the family, in the private space of the home and household, and in the human-coded world of urban society’.³⁰ Conversely, street-living strays came to be viewed as degenerates and deviants eking a ‘bare life’ at the margins of civilized society and as dogs which had departed ‘from the dog’s main purpose in life’.³¹ Moreover, purebred dogs were distinguishable from strays by their diet, their traceable ancestral histories and the conformation of their body parts to agreed breeding standards. Brown argues that classifying dogs as pets helped the middle class of Seattle to define their city as modern and to banish animals they classified as ‘livestock’ to rural areas.³² These ideas justified periodic extermination campaigns of ‘stray’

²⁶ ‘Outrage as Egypt announces plans to send 4,100 stray dogs and cats abroad where they could be slaughtered and EATEN,’ *MailOnline*, 28 November 2018, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6437741/Outrage-Egypt-plans-send-4-100-stray-dogs-cats-abroad-EATEN.html>; ‘In Egypt, stray dogs pose growing urban challenge,’ *News24*, 29/11/2019, <https://www.news24.com/Africa/News/in-egypt-stray-dogs-pose-growing-urban-challenge-20190129>, Accessed on 5 November 2018.

²⁷ Howell, *At Home and Astray*; Worboys, Strange and Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog in Victorian Britain*.

²⁸ Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 93.

²⁹ In such a setting the politics and aesthetics of dog breeding enabled human beings to articulate class and human relations by emphasizing the need to end the variability that existed in western dogs before the 1850s. The idea was to ensure that there was order and legibility in the dog population (by standardizing dog breeds) by removing strays that were seen as variable. That same system was projected onto class and human relations to an extent that breedism in dogs contributed to racial and class politics. See. M. Wallen, ‘Well-bred is well-behaved: the creation and meaning of dog breeds,’ in J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka, *Dog’s Best Friend? Rethinking Canid-Human Relations*, (London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 59-83.

³⁰ Howell, *At Home and Astray*, 11.

³¹ ‘The separation of strays from pets,’ *Pet Histories*, <https://pethistories.wordpress.com/2017/09/14/the-late-nineteenth-century-separation-of-stray-and-pet-dogs/>, accessed on 26 August 2019.

³² F.L. Brown, ‘Cows in the Commons, Dogs on the Lawn: A History of Animals in Seattle,’ PhD Thesis, University of Washington, 2010, 2.

dogs by drowning them in rivers, by using laws that criminalized their activities, by employing gangs that killed them and by slaughtering them on an industrial scale.³³ Pearson argues that ‘stray dogs’ were associated with backwardness, dirtiness and criminality to the extent of prompting authorities – public hygienists, animal-welfare organisations, and authorities in Paris between 1789 and 1914 – to periodically slaughter them on industrial scale in order to modernize the city.³⁴ As this chapter will demonstrate, western powers took these ideas with them to the colonies where they developed into new forms, affected by the shifting socio-political order.

Skabelund has used the concept of canine imperialism to show that the colonialists and their dogs collaborated in subduing the colonized people and their dogs.³⁵ They transplanted the existing canine order upon the newly settled space and consigned indigenous dogs that they found in the colonies into the unenviable status of ‘stray dogs’ that were hampering modernisation plans in the cities. Controlling dogs has long played a symbolic role in other African cities. For example, over a century before, in the 1820s and 30s in colonial Cape Town, policing the urban dog population assisted in drawing mental (social, class and racial) maps of orderly and disorderly places and inhabitants.³⁶ The crude methods of killing stray dogs engendered bourgeoisie anxiety and underscored their failure to control the so-called underclasses.³⁷ It is clear that stray dogs have widely operated as symbols of backwardness, as sources of disorder, insecurity, dirt and diseases in these cities.³⁸

In very disparate contexts, Gundogdu and Mikhail, in the cases of pre-modern Istanbul and Ottoman Cairo (1770 to 1830s) respectively, show that before the adoption of modernisation policies so-called ‘stray dogs’ cleaned up the streets by consuming garbage and that they were regarded by the residents as legitimate denizens of the two cities.³⁹ However, the modernisation projects implemented in the two cities by bureaucrats involved the deportation of stray dogs to

³³ ‘Killing stray dogs in early 19th century New York,’ Sniffing the Past, <https://sniffingthepast.wordpress.com/2016/03/29/killing-stray-dogs-in-early-19th-century-new-york/>, accessed on 26 August 2019.

³⁴ Pearson, ‘Stray dogs and the making of modern Paris,’ 137-172.

³⁵ A. Skabelund, ‘Breeding racism: The Imperial Battlefields of the ‘German’ shepherd dog,’ *Society and Animals*, 16, 4 (2008) 354-371; A.H. Skabelund, *Empire of Dogs: Canines, Japan and the making of the Modern Imperial World*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

³⁶ McKenzie, ‘Dogs and the Public Sphere,’ 91-110.

³⁷ McKenzie, ‘Dogs and the Public Sphere,’ 91-110.

³⁸ Pearson, ‘Stray dogs and the making of modern Paris,’ 172.

³⁹ Gundogdu, ‘The state and the stray dogs in late Ottoman Istanbul’; Mikhail, ‘A Dog- Eat- Dog Empire Violence and Affection on the Streets of Ottoman Cairo,’ 76-95.

remote islands to make the cities civilized and sanitary.⁴⁰ It is an enduring approach: authorities implemented the same modernisation projects in the Indian cities of Bombay in 1832 and, eight decades later, in Karnataka in 2007 – both times massacring stray dogs in the process.⁴¹ Karlekar argues that Indian religions—Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism—generally opposed the destruction of pariah dogs for several reasons.⁴² One such reason was the law of karma that demanded ‘right conduct’ from human beings towards others, plants and animals and also because some Indian deities periodically became animals. Unlike western religious and (most) humanist traditions, these religions did not place (hu)man on top of the hierarchy of beings and they also did not place pariah and stray dogs on the bottom of such an order either.⁴³ For these reasons, modernisers in these cities were convinced that an attack on ‘strays’ was synonymous with attacking local religious beliefs and folklore that stood on the path of development and modernisation. Narayanan uses these examples to argue that dogs in Middle Eastern cities had been ‘co-producers’ of urban space with humans such that in reality they were not ‘strays’ but rather better understood as ‘street animals’ – community or neighbourhood dogs—especially as these local dogs treated the neighbourhoods in which they resided as their own and attacked strangers.⁴⁴ These dogs occupied a status on continuum between nonhuman liminal animals and companion animals such as pets (human-owned dogs). Warden argues that recent legal changes in Indian cities, which accorded street dogs a unique legal status, makes the country a ‘dogopolis’—that is a society in which dogs enjoy ‘de facto denizenship.’⁴⁵ This meant that ‘street dogs’ in Indian cities have the legal right to share urban space with humans, to have their interests valued and to pursue their ‘way of life.’ Despite having the most advanced laws that protect ‘street dogs,’ Indian cities and authorities have not succeeded in bridging the big gap between what the laws say and what happens in reality on

⁴⁰ Mikhail, ‘A Dog- Eat- Dog Empire Violence and Affection on the Streets of Ottoman Cairo,’ 76-95.

⁴¹ Palsetia, ‘Mad Dogs and Parsis: The Bombay Dogs Riots of 1832,’ 13-30; Ramanujan, ‘Violent Encounters: Stray Dogs in Indian Cities.’

⁴² H. Karlekar, *Savage Humans and Stray Dogs: A Study in Aggression*, (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2008), 10-11, 115.

⁴³ Karlekar, *Savage Humans and Stray Dogs*, 115.

⁴⁴ Narayanan, ‘Street dogs at the intersection of colonialism and informality,’ 489; K. McCreanor, S. McCreanor and A. Utari, ‘Connected and Interconnected: Bali people and Bali dogs,’ in J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka, *Dog’s Best Friend? Rethinking Canid-Human Relations*, (London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 160-175; K. Hart, ‘Caring for Istanbul’s street animals: empathy, altruism, and rage,’ in J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka, *Dog’s Best Friend? Rethinking Canid-Human Relations*, (London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 233. ‘Streeties are not feral dogs,’ *The Bharcs Blog*, 17 August 2019, <https://bharcsblog.wordpress.com/2019/08/17/streeties-are-not-feral-dogs/>, accessed on 17 August 2019.

⁴⁵ L. Warden, ‘Street dogs, rights, and the pursuit of justice in India’s Dogopolis,’ in J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka, *Dog’s Best Friend? Rethinking Canid-Human Relations*, (London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 176-208.

the ground.⁴⁶ While Harare does not have such advanced laws protecting its dog population, it does share some similarities and differences with cities of the global East in that there have been periods in which authorities populistically refrained from implementing the bylaws. The major difference is that although Harare dogs were free-ranging, they had owners and homes to which they returned to after roaming. Despite the fact that traditional attitudes of keeping dogs resiliently survived in the city, Africans did not relate with their dogs on a religious level like what transpired in most Middle Eastern cities. Moreover, African dog-keeping also developed into a hybrid system that tried to harmonize both traditional and modern dog keeping attitudes. Based on these examples, this chapter tried to establish whether this was the case in Harare – did dogs enjoy more freedom of movement compared to dogs in cities of the metropole or more generally the global west. The chapter develops these arguments in the case of Harare because some dog-owners preserved the culture of keeping free-roaming dogs in the city whilst also borrowing some ideas from the western ‘dog fancy’. Consequently, they combined traditional ideas of keeping dogs with western ideas thereby coming up with a hybrid dog-keeping culture.

⁴⁶ New critical animal studies (focusing on free-roaming dogs or what others call stray studies) have begun to show how human-dog relations in Middle Eastern cities have resulted in new legal frameworks, animal protection welfare and inter-species relation that are significantly different from those of the western world. This is due to differences imposed by culture, religion, local politics, time and space. See C. Chang, ‘Gone Stray: A journey of *Gou Mama* and their Fur-kids,’ J. Sorenson and A. Matsuoka, *Dog’s Best Friend? Rethinking Canid-Human Relations*, (London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 208-229; Hart, ‘Caring for Istanbul’s street animals: empathy, altruism, and rage,’ 235-240.

Map of Harare



Figure 9: Map of Greater Harare

Changing canine citizenry of Salisbury's African Locations, 1950-1980

This section examines African dog owning in Salisbury (as Harare was known at that time), which – as will be shown – was a fusion of rural African attitudes about dogs that they took with them into urban Salisbury from the rural areas and the ideas they encountered when they arrived. The Salisbury City Council (SCC) started to take an active interest in regulating African-owned dogs in the 1950s. From the outset, it is important to state that in the rural areas although most Zimbabwean dogs did have owners, they also had a measure of freedom.⁴⁷ The culture of free-roaming dogs was (and remains) strong in the rural areas – it has long been the case that dogs can roam at will, returning to their owners at night for a meal and to guard the homestead.⁴⁸ The SCC Native Department circulated the Dog Licensing and Control bylaws (1953) to members of the Harari (as the Mbare high-density suburb was known then) Native Location Advisory Board in December 1954 in response to the 1950s outbreaks of rabies (a terrifying dog-borne disease that could easily result in human fatalities). Evictions from the rural areas by colonial officials due to land pressures caused by the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951, the post-world war economic boom, and the creation of the Federation of Rhodesia

⁴⁷ Butler, Du Toit and Bingham, 'Free-ranging dogs (*Canis familiaris*) as predators and prey in rural Zimbabwe,' 370.

⁴⁸ S. Swart, 'Limiting the impact of domestic dogs on African wild dogs, Hwange National Park, Zimbabwe,' MSc Dissertation, Oxford University, (2001), 30.

and Nyasaland contributed to the influx of the African population in Salisbury, which grew from 22 126 in 1936 to 75 249 in 1951.⁴⁹ The SCC's attempts to regulate dogs in the growing Native Locations suggest that the city's canine population had also increased. The Harari Native Location Advisory Board did not oppose the SCC's plan to establish more control on dogs in the Harari Location.⁵⁰ The SCC, the Veterinary Department, and the British South Africa Police (BSAP) immediately sprung into action to establish direct command over the dogs in Native Locations.⁵¹ The SCC Health, Housing and Native Administration Committee wrote to the city of Port Elizabeth, who had dealt with their own rabies outbreak in 1893, in November 1954 seeking policy advice upon realizing that African-owned dog in the city were increasing.⁵² The Port Elizabeth authorities attributed such increase of 'stray' dogs in the city to Africans relocating to other cities, to white employers who gave unwanted puppies and bitches to their African employees and to existing loopholes in enforcing dog licensing laws.⁵³ In short, they pressed for more control over African-owned dogs to control the rabies outbreaks.⁵⁴ This was something different to the old colonial trick of pretending to control dogs in order to police African labour.⁵⁵

In the same period, the Veterinary Department discovered that Africans in Que Que (Kwekwe), Salisbury and Bulawayo had ignored its calls to vaccinate their dogs against rabies. As has been shown in the previous chapter, the rabies inoculation policy and the dog tax policy—as rabies control measures—undermined each other in the 1950s, especially as both required payment of some fees. Africans were generally suspicious of the Veterinary Department, especially after some rabies inoculations resulted in the death of some of their dogs due to the carelessness of the vaccinators.⁵⁶ Consequently, free rabies inoculation campaigns offered by the Veterinary Department in African locations met with limited success.⁵⁷ In fact, the

⁴⁹ Raftopoulos, 'Nationalism and labour in Salisbury, 1953 -1965,' 81. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland encompassed the two Rhodesian colonies and Nyasaland.

⁵⁰ NAZ S3609/9 Salisbury Animals bylaws, J M Rowe, Town Clerk to The Secretary for Internal Affairs, Salisbury, 'Salisbury Dog licensing and Control bylaws,' 1953.

⁵¹ NAZ S3609/9 Salisbury Animals bylaws, 26 June -12 March 1953.

⁵² NAZ LG 191/11/489 Health, Housing and Native Administration Committee, 'Care of Stray Dogs in Native Townships,' letter from Mr D.L. Gous of Port Elizabeth, 8 November 1956; K. Brown, *Mad Dogs and Meerkats: A History of Resurgent Rabies in Southern Africa*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011), 38.

⁵³ NAZ LG 191/11/489 Care of Stray Dogs, etc in Native Townships.

⁵⁴ NAZ S3023/5/26 Rabies, 21 August to 28 December 1950.

⁵⁵ As discussed in chapter four of this thesis. See also R.J. Gordon, 'Fido: Dog Tales of colonialism in Namibia,' in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 178-179.

⁵⁶ NAZ RO 1877 DVS Conferences, Notes for minutes of fifth Veterinary Conference, Salisbury, 20-21 October 1954; NAZ S3609/9 Salisbury Animals Bylaws, 26 June -12 March 1953-1956; 'Dog owners show apathy to inoculation,' *The African Weekly*, 12 December 1956.

⁵⁷ 'Dogs-owners show apathy,' *The African Weekly*, 12 December 1956.

inoculation of dogs, the periodic tie up orders and the destruction of dogs contributed to African political opposition in the Bulawayo Native Location in 1959.⁵⁸ Both the SCC and the BSAP did not have the means to enforce dog licensing in the locations. They adopted the option of shooting unregistered and unvaccinated dogs in African locations.⁵⁹ There were many stray dogs in Salisbury Native Townships by the summer of 1956. This forced the SCC to simply ‘encourage’ dog-owners to comply with the regulations.

The SPCA Que Que asked the Veterinary Department in November 1954 to grant preferential treatment to white dog-owners during canine destruction campaigns (inspired by the rabies outbreaks), arguing that if every official administered regulations ‘in this colony strictly according to the letter, life would be unbearable’.⁶⁰ This request was made after a Canine Destruction Officer had gunned down a straying white-owned dog in the city. However, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture⁶¹ replied that ‘this Ministry would not countenance instructions leading to differential treatment of native and European-owned dogs’.⁶² Recent scholarly studies critical of western anti-cruelty to animals discourses have similarly accused animal welfare societies of unfairly targeting the cultural practises of subordinate or minority groups as being cruel to animals while condoning those of the powerful white majority in western countries.⁶³ While the SPCA overtly and decidedly sided with Que Que white dog-owners against the heavy-handed canine destruction campaigns, it regularly complained about some white Salisbury residents who were over-breeding dogs in the city. It argued that this frequently forced it to euthanized dogs that could not find homes.⁶⁴ Dogs abandoned by white Rhodesians

⁵⁸ NAZ RO 1835 DVS and A/DVS Monthly Reports, Gwelo Veterinary District Monthly report, March 1959; Veterinary Department, Bulawayo to the ADVS (Field), ‘District Monthly Report,’ 13 April 1959.

⁵⁹ NAZ S2710/1/2 Veterinary Department General, Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Salisbury, to the Honourable Secretary, Society for the prevention of Cruelty to animals, ‘Rabies Control: Shooting of Dogs,’ 24 November 1954.

⁶⁰ NAZ S2710/1/2 Veterinary Department General, Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia to the Hon. Secretary, Society for the prevention of Cruelty to animals.

⁶¹ Southern Rhodesia was part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland that also include Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland between 1953 and 1963.

⁶² NAZ S2710/1/2 Veterinary Department General, Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Salisbury, to the Honourable Secretary, Society for the prevention of Cruelty to animals, ‘Rabies Control: Shooting of Dogs,’ 24 November 1954; Acting Director of Veterinary Service to the Secretary, Federal Ministry of Agriculture, ‘Rabies Control: Shooting of Dogs: Complaint by Que Que Branch of the SPCA,’ 18 December 1954; Honourable Secretary, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Que Que, to the Secretary for Agriculture, ‘Rabies Control: Shooting of Dogs,’ 19 November 1954.

⁶³ M. Deckha, ‘Welfarist and imperial: The contributions of anti-cruelty laws to civilizational discourse,’ *American Quarterly*, 65, 3 (2013), 515-547; B.L. Shadle, ‘Cruelty and empathy, Animal and race in Colonial Kenya,’ *Journal of Social History*, 45, 4 2012, 1097-1116; J. Saha, ‘Among the Beasts of Burma: Animals and the politics of colonial sensibilities, c. 1840-1940,’ *Journal of Social History*, 48, 4 (2015), 913.

⁶⁴ ‘The Reluctant executioner,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 7 February 1971; ‘2600 dogs found homes,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 16 July 1972; ‘This Dog had to die,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 4 November 1973.

fed into a connected shadowy narrative of Africans' insatiable desire to own dogs and the SPCA devoted itself to opposing this. In this context, the SPCA asked the SCC to impose a limit on the number of dogs kept at each property in Native locations.⁶⁵ But this request laid the root of discord for the two institutions because the SCC saw Africans (who were willing to buy many 'ownerless dogs' in the city) in a positive light.⁶⁶

Working with the Veterinary Department, the SCC vaccinated the dogs and sold them to Africans in order to bring the number of 'stray dogs' down. They were interested in improving the lives of the urban humans, while the SPCA believed they had the best interest of the dogs at heart. Because the number of Africans seeking to own dogs kept increasing, the SPCA changed its tune. No longer did it try to deny dogs to Africans. Instead, it initiated programmes designed to make Africans 'good dog-owners' conversant with modern ways of keeping dogs. It even gave some Africans so-called 'bravery awards' for saving dogs during this period.⁶⁷ The Salisbury SPCA also conducted the first dog show for African owners in September 1971 in the Mufakose Native Location to encourage them to care for their dogs. It had stopped thinking that Africans were organically unable to care for dogs and attributed the problem of 'stray,' neglected and diseased dogs in Salisbury to lack of knowledge by Africans.⁶⁸ The Mufakose dog show consisted of the classes with a serious (and paternally didactic intent) like the 'best cared for dog', and 'fun classes' like the 'dog with the longest tail' and many other categories. Some Africans either accepted the teachings of the SPCA or perhaps adopted the aspirational symbols of upward class mobility and began to buy purebred dogs. In one telling incident, two Mufakose Africans accepted a black poodle each in October 1974 from a Lochnivar white man in lieu of their wages.⁶⁹ Shockingly but significantly for this chapter's argument, the one man's poodle puppy had its front legs broken by his envious neighbours and he took it to the SPCA for treatment. Upon failing to heal the broken legs, the SPCA decided to euthanize it and gave both men 'tough little' mongrel puppies as replacements because the other man also surrendered his dog to the SPCA thereafter because he was afraid that his dog could suffer the same fate from jealous neighbours.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ HA TC/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, J.A.J. Addenbrooke, to the Director of Works, 'Dogs licensing and control,' 5 April 1988; 'It's a dog's paradise...but for how long,' *The Sunday Mail*, 22 August 1976.

⁶⁶ '27 dead dogs stuffed into drains,' *The Sunday Mail*, 4 August 1974.

⁶⁷ 'Is he rare,' *The African Parade*, January 1955.

⁶⁸ 'Township to have first dog-show,' *The Sunday Mail*, 5 September 1971.

⁶⁹ 'Poodle victim of jealousy,' *The Sunday Mail*, 22 November 1974.

⁷⁰ 'Poodle victim of jealousy.'

At the time, from the 1950s the SPCA campaigned that Rhodesia needed to lead the world by showing the ‘depth of our compassion for our dumb and loyal friends.’⁷¹ This was in contrast to the world’s view of Rhodesia as a country that was being led by white supremacists, especially in the 1960s to the 1970s. It convinced the SCC to construct dog-drinking troughs in the white areas (of the segregated city) in August 1952.⁷² Here the SPCA did something interesting: it constructed an enduring narrative between the 1950s and the 1970s that Rhodesia was a ‘dog’s paradise’ because about 75% of white Rhodesian homes had a dog compared to 46% and 26% in the United States and in Britain respectively.⁷³ In doing this, the SPCA wanted to prove that Rhodesians were truly British and civilized – indeed more English than the English themselves.⁷⁴ Similarly, the Kenyan SPCA used such discourses to mask the relatedness of its programmes with those of the British colonial government.⁷⁵ Despite the fact that the SPCA occasionally criticised irresponsible dog keeping by white people, it at times asked for preferential treatment for the same white dog-owners during rabies inspired canine destruction campaigns (as shown above). Urbanising Africans took some of their cultural baggage about dog keeping to the cities.⁷⁶ But once in the city, they also started buying European dog breeds. Prominent trade unionist and Harari African Township resident, Patrick Parazangu, the father of Michael Pazarangu mentioned in the introduction, kept many dogs and a goat, which always followed him everywhere. He further explained that

There is nothing I like more than dogs. I like them more than I like people. I do not care very much about people. They are true friends and nothing goes wrong when you have them. In the days of civil strife (1960s) when I was working at the Post Office, all the other offices were closely guarded by the police but I was guarded by my dog, Shonhiwa.”⁷⁷

That dog was an Alsatian and it came to be called *ziso ra*Pazarangu – the eye(s) of Pazarangu – by Harari Africans.

⁷¹ ‘Licence owners not dogs,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 29 July 1973.

⁷² NAZ LG191/11/318 Dog Drinking Troughs Salisbury, Salisbury City Engineer to Town Clerk, dog-drinking troughs, Memo, 16/08/1952.

⁷³ ‘It’s a dog’s paradise...but for how long.’

⁷⁴ S. Swart, ‘It is as bad to be a black man’s animal as it is to be a black man’—The Politics of Species in Sol Plaatje’s Native Life in South Africa,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40, 4 (2014), 697-703.

⁷⁵ Shadle, ‘Cruelty and empathy, Animal and race in Colonial Kenya,’ 1097-1116; Deckha, ‘Welfarist and imperial: The contributions of anti-cruelty laws to civilizational discourse,’ 515-547.

⁷⁶ NAZ AOH/56 Interview with Mr Patrick Gwara Pazarangu at No.25 Mnyanda Street, Beatrice Cottages, Salisbury, Interviewed by Dawson Munjeri, on 24 May 1979.

⁷⁷ NAZ AOH/56 Interview with Mr Patrick Gwara Pazarangu.

Reservoir Dogs

While the elites, such as Pazarangu, bought purebred dogs in the city, working class Africans came from Tribal Trust Lands (TTL) into Salisbury with their dogs. The SPCA observed that some Africans in the Glen Norah African Township of Salisbury had brought about 300 to 400 dogs from the TTL in July 1974.⁷⁸ A follow up blitz revealed that about 27 dogs had been stuffed into the drains in the township. The SPCA speculated that those dog-owners who did not have the money to pay fines for their dogs and to pay dog taxes or to take them back to TTL had done that. It further observed that dogs coming from the TTL brought diseases such as canine distemper, rabies and venereal granuloma into Salisbury in December 1978.⁷⁹ This was because, as has been shown in the previous chapter, the rabies inoculation and dog taxation policies undermined each other in rural areas and because the Veterinary Department mainly focused on containing rabies in the TTL (and totally ignored other canine diseases).⁸⁰ In a few cases, bungling veterinarians used vaccines or dilutants that had been poisoned and they probably inadvertently transmitted other canine disease to dogs—which resulted in the death of some dogs shortly after they had been vaccinated.⁸¹

Owing to their distrust of the Veterinary Department, Africans continued to use some local vernacular knowledge and folklore to keep their dogs alive and healthy in the city. One such common – if misguided and dangerous – practice was the removal of the sinew below a puppy’s tongue. Most Africans believed it caused puppies to suffer from anorexia and then die at a young age. Dexter Chavhunduka, the first African veterinary surgeon in the country, highlighted that Africans believed that the sinew was a worm that puppies were born with and that failure to remove it caused the puppy to starve to death due to loss of appetite.⁸² The practice found purchase with some white and Indian dog-owners in the city who took their dogs to its offices to have that operation performed on their dogs.⁸³ Because such vernacular

⁷⁸ ‘27 dead dogs stuffed into drains.’

⁷⁹ ‘Distemper cases up as dogs prowl the townships,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 17 December 1978.

⁸⁰ NAZ RO 1835 Gwelo Veterinary District Office Monthly Report, November 1957; NAZ RO V/67/3 Rabies Vaccine, G.J Christie, ADVS (Research), ‘confidential: Rabies vaccinations: Deaths. Comments on the Report from Wankie,’ 13 November 1967; NAZ, S3023/6/28/1 Rabies, Mrewa British South Africa Police to Chief Veterinary Officer, Salisbury, 13 March 1951; NAZ S3023/6/28/1 Rabies, Veterinary Department Fort Victoria to the ADVS (Field), Salisbury, ‘Rabies Report,’ 30 April 1951.

⁸¹ NAZ RO V/67/3 Rabies Vaccine, K.P. Lander, Senior Government Veterinary Officer (Wankie) to the Provincial Veterinary Officer, Bulawayo, ‘Rabies vaccinations: Deaths,’ 21 October 1967; NAZ S3023/5/26 Rabies, Veterinary Department, Salisbury, ‘To all Veterinary Officers and research: Rabies,’ 14 November 1950.

⁸² D.M. Chavhunduka, *Kuchengeta Imbwa*, (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1970), 63.

⁸³ ‘Dogs dying after cutting of tongues,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 20 July 1975.

knowledge was not only wrong but actively harmful, and the SPCA felt that it had no choice but to prosecute all white dog-owners who permitted their domestic workers to perform the operation because it constituted cruelty to the puppy.⁸⁴ It also risked infection or even bleeding puppies to death. This was the only issue in which the SPCA targeted both white and African dog-owners equally. While some urbanising Africans had started to own purebred dogs and to follow the teachings of the SPCA, they also brought some indigenous knowledge about dog keeping, which spread to other urban population groups. This trend continued after the attainment of independence in 1980 as some Africans used the rhetoric of independence to argue for the place of traditional dog keeping in the city.

African dog-owning in the decade of Independence, 1980-1990

Political independence precipitated (not unexpectedly) national and local politics that tended to be supportive of African dog-owners: be they the middle or the urban working classes. Most African dog-owners in high-density suburbs (the name given to Native locations after 1980) deliberately failed to comply with the bylaws.⁸⁵ Some Africans who started to reside in formerly white-only suburbs took with them some African attitudes to dogs. In the absence of political will from the central government and the newly established Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), the Harare City Council's (HCC) Department of Works Housing Inspectorate that administered the Dog Licensing and Control Bylaws (1973) concentrated on encouraging the public to observe the bylaws. Very few people heeded these calls and this forced the HCC Department of Works Housing Inspectorate to compile a list of offenders and try to compel them to license their dogs. It submitted the names of the offending dog-owners to the ZRP for prosecution. The table below shows that the majority of the offenders were Africans who lived in the high-density suburbs and that the ZRP failed in prosecuting offenders in June 1983.⁸⁶ Ideally, ZRP was supposed to summon the offending dog-owners to comply with the bylaws and to forward those that would not have done so to the Magistrate's Court for sentencing.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ 'Dogs dying after cutting of tongues.'

⁸⁵ HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses: Deposit Fines/Admission of guilt, City of Harare Departmental Memorandum, Housing Inspectorate to Chief Assistant (Administration and Finance), 'Licensing of dogs and cycles,' 9 June 1983.

⁸⁶ Documents kept at the Harare records office indicate that some white dog-owners also committed this offence. See HA TC/CA/14 Dogs and bicycle Licenses, A.S. Sharpe to HCC Director of Works, 5 March 1996; HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses: Deposit Fines/Admission of guilt, Memo (REF 4/15).

⁸⁷ HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses: Deposit Fines/Admission of guilt, Memo (REF 4/15) from: A.A. Housing Inspectorate to C.A. (A and F), 'Deposit fines/admissions of guilt: Dogs and bicycles licenses.'

Area	Cases submitted to ZRP	Withdrawn or Processed	Outstanding
African Townships	120	51	69
Central	17	8	9
Waterfalls	27	-	27
Marlborough	25	6	19
Totals	189	65	124

Figure 10: Table showing the statistics of the violation of the dog licensing and control bylaws in October 1983.⁸⁸

Out of 189 cases of violations forwarded to the ZRP by Department of Works Housing Inspectorate, only 65 defaulters paid their licenses. By October 1983, the Department of Works Housing Inspectorate had 1 500 more cases that it wanted to hand over to the ZRP but could not do so because it had not been forthcoming. Most of the violations happened in Harare South where the black working classes resided.⁸⁹ The situation had not changed by December 1987 because the Harare Town Clerk noted that various suburban ZRP stations were not assisting in prosecuting violators of the dog licensing bylaws. Complaints about the health and traffic hazards posed by free-roaming and scavenging dogs, the nuisance of dogs mating in public and the smell of rotting dog carcasses (run over by cars) suggest that the city's dog population had increased phenomenally, especially in high-density suburbs where most black people resided.⁹⁰ Occasionally, authorities conducted feeble campaigns in the late 1980s to flush out unlicensed dogs but the offenders simply ignored the summons.⁹¹

Tarifenyika Muzanenhamo of Highfield Suburb complained of 'colonies of almost semi-domesticated dogs and cats roaming our high density suburbs.' He asked why the bylaws were not being implemented.⁹² As discussed in chapters three and four, in traditional Ndebele dog-keeping practises there were dogs known as *mgodoyi*, who roamed freely because (it was

⁸⁸ HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses: Deposit Fines/Admission of guilt, City of Harare Departmental Memorandum.

⁸⁹ HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses: Deposit Fines/Admission of guilt, Superintendent for Officer Commanding Police, Harare Central District to Director of Works and Town Clerk, Harare, 'Investigation: Harare Bylaws,' 3 October 1983.

⁹⁰ HA TC/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, City of Harare Town Clerk to the Chairman and Members, Health, Housing and Community Services Committee, 21 June 1990.

⁹¹ HA TC/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, 'Council Police to round up stray dogs,' *The Herald*, 1 February 1988.

⁹² 'Who stopped dog licences?', *The Sunday Mail*, 29 March 1992.

believed) they lacked discipline and because their owners permitted them.⁹³ The Shona proverb *fungira mumoyo rwendo rwembwa* (think in the heart, a journey of a dog) shows that the Shona believed that it was in the nature of dogs to roam freely. It shows that – at least traditionally and conventionally – many people did not think of free-roaming dogs a problem. In reference to dogs owned by Africans, one Mr Murungweni noted in 2001 that ‘dogs are perceived as animals that take care of themselves in terms of what they eat, drink and where they sleep.’⁹⁴ He also pointed out that Africans in the high-density suburbs did not allow their dogs to enter into their houses and that most of their urban properties were not walled and gated. Some Africans saw dogs as dirty quasi-verminous creatures that they abused, starved and beaten up with sticks if they stole anything. Despite this, many kept dogs as an efficient burglar alarm system by relying on their barking.⁹⁵ In view of these new developments and the new political system that was sympathetic to Africans, the SPCA resolved to construct an animal hospital to ‘cater for the demands of the public in the high density suburbs’ and to construct a much bigger dog pound in February 1988. It ran mobile clinics in Highfield, Mabvuku, Tafara and Glen View every week where it spayed and neutered dogs cheaply compared to what private veterinarians charged in order to arrest the uncontrolled breeding of dogs.⁹⁶ For these services, the HCC increased its monetary grant to the SPCA in 1987.⁹⁷

The keeping of ‘free-roaming dogs’ encroached into low-density (formerly white-only) suburbs as some middle-class Africans started residing there from the mid-1980s. Their arrival coincided with a volley of complaints from white people about the new malnourished ‘so-called watchdogs’ that barked and freely roamed the streets night and day.⁹⁸ In a representative outraged outburst, in 1988, J.A.J. Addenbrooke of Highlands Suburb argued that the Member of Parliament and the HCC deliberately ignored his letters of complaint. He then stated that ‘in today’s climate, perhaps citizens are not too happy about reporting specific cases of nuisance.’⁹⁹ By ‘today’s climate’ he was referencing the new black-led HCC municipality and African-led national government that had been ushered in by the attainment of independence in 1980. Addenbrooke also wrote about his new neighbour who owned 8 dogs that disturbed

⁹³ S. Hadebe, *Isichazamazwi Sesindebele*, (Harare: College Press, 2001).

⁹⁴ ‘Are dogs of any value to society?’, *The Sunday Mail*, 16 December 2001.

⁹⁵ ‘Our love-hate relationship with dogs,’ *The Herald*, 16 July 2014.

⁹⁶ ‘Efforts stepped up to curb births of pets,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 26 April 1992.

⁹⁷ HA TC/E/42 Municipal Dog Pound, Town Clerk to City Treasurer, ‘The Municipal dog Pound- Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals,’ 18 November 1987; HA TC/E/42 Municipal Dog Pound, Health, housing and community services committee, ‘Municipal dog pound,’ January 1988.

⁹⁸ ‘Curbing the Night barkers,’ *The Herald*, 6 July 1988.

⁹⁹ HA TC/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, J.A.J. Addenbrooke to the Town Clerk, ‘Dog Licensing,’ 18 March 1988; ‘Dogs city must act,’ *The Herald*, 13 July 1988.

‘their brothers behind fences and us too.’ He further added that the dog population in Highlands Suburb had increased because of newcomer dogs– ‘wretched animals’ – ‘that were neither pets (because they were not seen to be walked or petted) nor watchdogs (they can, and do, bark all night and all day without their owners investigating the cause).’¹⁰⁰ He added that these new canines contributed to a staggering amount of ‘fly breeding material’ in the suburb.¹⁰¹ Similarly, R.D.B. Kelly complained of ‘mongrel bitches’ introduced from rural areas that threatened the purity of breed and sexual health of his ‘well-bred male dogs’.¹⁰²

As discussed in chapter six, Zimbabwean novelists who wrote about this period concur with these complaints. They wrote about Africans who took traditional dog keeping cultures of letting their dogs roam freely, of feeding them sparingly and of using them as security dogs in low-density suburbs.¹⁰³ These novelists also wrote of white employers who left their pedigree dogs with their domestic workers after independence and how such dogs became pests in the high-density suburbs after having been subjected to African ways of keeping dogs. A few Africans who bought such dogs in Harare surprising took the culture of petting dogs to rural areas.¹⁰⁴ The novelists also used mangy dogs ‘straying’ in sanitary lanes to describe the greediness and inequality that transpired in Harare.¹⁰⁵ Editors and contributors to a number of newspapers and magazines, however, used the accumulation of pedigree dogs by politicians to argue that they were betraying their initial policy positions as captured in their party documents. In October 1988, the *Moto* magazine parodied the ZANU PF government’s Leadership Code by suggesting some 10 amendments to it. Amendment number two proposed that ‘a leader is required to display his peasant roots by buying a dog, preferably a greyhound’ while number six stipulated that leaders ‘may own or ride horses’ but were not permitted to ‘own or ride donkeys.’¹⁰⁶ The cartoon below showing a politician owning a mansion, a horse and many pedigree dogs accompanied the proposed amendments.

¹⁰⁰ HA TC/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, J.A.J. Addenbrooke to City of Harare Town Clerk, 1 March 1988.

¹⁰¹ HA TC/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, J.A.J. Addenbrooke to the Town Clerk, ‘Dog Licensing,’ 18 March 1988.

¹⁰² HA TC/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, R.D.B. Kelly to the Town Clerk, Harare, ‘Your notice in *The Herald* of the 8th-15th September 1990,’ 17 September 1990.

¹⁰³ I. Dande and S. Swart, ‘History, politics and dogs in Zimbabwean literature,’ *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde*, 55, 3 (2018), 154-175.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Gutu war veteran buys dog a watch,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 9 August 1998.

¹⁰⁵ S. Mthatiwa, ‘Faces of an African city: Versions of Harare in the poetry of Musaemura Zimunya and Chenjerai Hove,’ *Journal of Humanities (Zomba)*, 23 (2013/2014), 201.

¹⁰⁶ ‘The new gap,’ *Moto*, October 1991, 4.

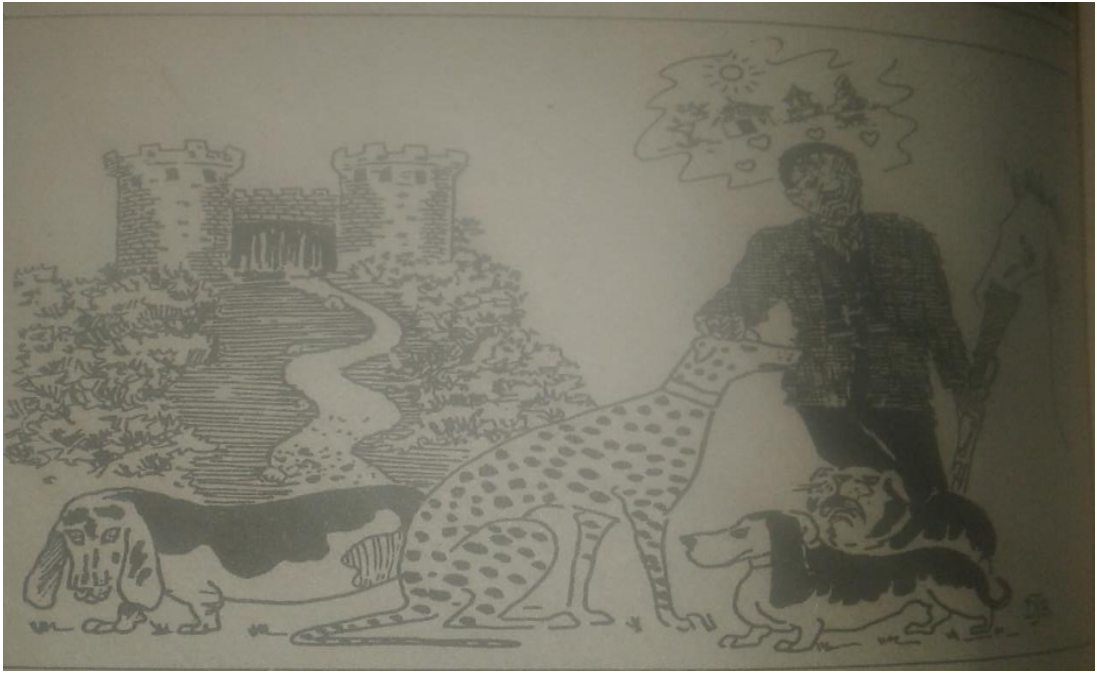


Figure 11: *Moto magazine cartoon lampooning the ZANU PF government's Leadership Code, October 1991, 4.*

Chenjerai Hove's short story *Harare' High Fences, Neighbours and Dogs* reveals that the new leaders built high walls, owned vicious dogs and erected complicated security installations to protect their newly won riches.¹⁰⁷ He also writes about the setting up of an American type of restaurant and spurs for dogs in the city. There is evidence that some enterprising people ventured into the business of grooming and bathing dogs during this period in Harare to make them (dogs) feel good, to protect them against skin infections and from fleas.¹⁰⁸

Fast Dogs, Fast money?

One of the purebred dog breeds favoured by the urban African sector – particularly men, was the greyhound. The decision to legalize greyhound racing in the country was taken by the government in 1990. Politicians populistically presented the decision by arguing that the *povo*—masses or the working class— needed cheap entertainment, work opportunities and to earn money through betting.¹⁰⁹ They also pointed out that the country was going to generate revenue and earn foreign currency by selling greyhounds abroad. Dog racing had declined in Britain and Ireland such that these countries were looking for markets to dump their greyhounds in the early 1990s.¹¹⁰ Following its banning in South Africa in 1949, allegedly for

¹⁰⁷ C. Hove, 'Harare's High Fences, Neighbours and Dogs,' *Shebeen Tales*, (Harare: Baobab Book, 1994), 19-23.

¹⁰⁸ 'Keep your dog happy and looking smart,' *The Sunday Mail Magazine*, 19 May 1991.

¹⁰⁹ R.S. Roberts, 'Towards a history of gambling in Zimbabwe, with Special reference to Betting and dog racing,' *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 25 (2007), 16.

¹¹⁰ Roberts, 'Towards a history of gambling in Zimbabwe,' 15.

causing social problems amongst the newly urbanized Afrikaner working class, greyhound racing briefly became a possibility in Southern Rhodesia before it was made illegal by the government in 1950.¹¹¹ Southern Rhodesian authorities also wanted to prevent the occurrence of similar social problems.

Kenneth Bute, the Deputy Minister of Community and Co-operative Development, moved a motion to legalize greyhound racing in parliament in 1990. Rather tellingly, he became the Vice-Chairman of the Greyhound Racing Association that was formed thereafter. Bute allied with Joe Kennedy of National Tested Seeds, a company that supplied vegetable and crop seeds in the country, in supporting this new venture. Mike Harries, Kennedy's business partner, proceeded to form the Greyhound Private Limited. Interestingly, David Kwidini, the Minister of State for Sport Co-ordination, became the owner of one of the most expensive greyhounds in 1990 that proceeded to win one of the first races in Harare.¹¹² In September 1990, the *Sunday Mail* accused working class Africans residing in the high-density suburbs of 'putting their mongrels on a diet, actually starving them in the innocent belief that there were breeding top-class hybrid greyhounds'.¹¹³ It reported that they wanted to achieve 'that lean, tight-belly' without having purebred greyhound parents following reports of plans to legalize greyhound racing. There was an escalation of reports of thefts of greyhounds in the city.¹¹⁴ An African, Kenneth Bassopo of Mbare, even accused the Harare SPCA staff of illegally selling his greyhound dog he had taken to them for veterinary attention in 1991.¹¹⁵ However, SPCA authorities claimed that his dog had been put to sleep because it had a venereal disease. Whether Bassopo's allegations were true or false, they show that greyhound thefts had become topical in Harare during this time.

Although supporters of greyhound racing had hoped to extend it to other cities in the country, the sport failed to go beyond 1993 in Harare. This was not because of the obvious corruption or because of cruelty to the dogs inherent to the sport but because of the nascent nationalism of the moment: it was labelled a white man's sport used by the powerful to steal from poor

¹¹¹ Roberts, 'Towards a history of gambling in Zimbabwe,' 14; A. Grundlingh, 'Gone to the dogs': The cultural politics of gambling —the rise and fall of British greyhound racing on the Witwatersrand, 1932–1949,' in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A dog History of Southern Africa*, 217-234.

¹¹² Roberts, 'Towards a history of gambling in Zimbabwe,' 17.

¹¹³ 'All the way to eternity...dog is man's best ally,' *The Sunday Mail*, 9 September 1990.

¹¹⁴ HA TE/E/6 Coghlan, Welsh and Guest Legal practitioners to the HCC Town Clerk, 'dog licenses,' 17 September 1990.

¹¹⁵ 'SPCA in row over greyhound,' *The People's Voice*, 7 July 1991.

Africans. The Zimbabwe Football Association also opposed it because it utilized the Rufaro Stadium and altered its layout to make it compatible with dog racing. Greyhound races sometimes interfered with football matches and this caused critics to label it as a ‘British’ sport used by elites to rob the poor.¹¹⁶ Moreover, the location of the Rufaro Stadium in the Mbare high-density suburb, that was renowned for its criminality, was deeply off-putting to bourgeois sensibilities.

Owners of greyhound dogs breeding stock sold some in 1993 to South Africa, where they most likely entered into illegal taxi hunting operations there.¹¹⁷ Illegal taxi hunting in South Africa was a phenomenon in which owners of greyhounds travelled from towns and cities in mini-bus taxis with their dogs with the aim of conducting illegal hunting in private farms. These hunters often betted and gambled on which of their fastest hounds were likely to catch animals. Many more greyhounds found their way into Harare’s high-density suburbs: in fact, this gave rise to the term ‘Chitungwiza racer’, a term used by whites to describe ‘mongrel dogs’ that resembled greyhounds years after.¹¹⁸ Chitungwiza has always been Harare’s fastest growing dormitory city and the term ‘Chitungwiza racer’ was most probably associated with its lower class character. The failure of the commercial interests of politicians and business leaders contributed another layer to Harare’s mongrelized dog breeding regimes.

‘Wives of Dogs’: Sex and the City, 1991-1996

While white people in Harare’s low density suburbs complained about ‘mongrel bitches’ from rural areas, there were narratives that claimed (waggishly, as it were) that some white-owned male dogs threatened African men, who worked as domestic workers, in several ways. These narratives were ignited by an alleged case of bestiality that happened in Borrowdale Suburb in September 1991 in which a white man allegedly paid some black women money for them to indulge in sex with his dog while he shot pornographic videos.¹¹⁹ The story began circulating in a Borrowdale beer hall that was patronized by male African domestic workers who allegedly chided one of them as *babamukuru wembwa* (senior husband or senior father to a dog), which

¹¹⁶ ‘When dog racing replaced soccer at Rufaro,’ *The Patriot*, 13 May 2011.

¹¹⁷ ‘Report illegal ‘taxi hunting’, urged wildlife watchdog,’ *News24*, 25 February 2011, <https://www.news24.com/Archives/Witness/Report-illegal-taxi-hunting-urges-wildlife-watchdog-20150430>, accessed on 26 August 2019.

¹¹⁸ Roberts, ‘Towards a history of gambling in Zimbabwe,’ 19.

¹¹⁹ ‘Inhuman sex acts: women arrested,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 29 September 1991.

meant the dogs and himself were sharing a woman.¹²⁰ This was because they ‘understood’ that his wife had allegedly had sex with a dog. They also argued that she and five other women had begun to shun their economically challenged men because they were getting ‘better’ offers ‘from dogs’.¹²¹ In the following months, black women began to complain that African men had begun to ‘bark’ at them —verbally attacking them—because of the story.¹²² Indeed, men such as Morris Chidembo (26) and Arnold Mukarati (24) assaulted Nancy Muzembe and Priscilla Bere in Mbare, whom they had just met that day on the road in October 1991, accusing them of being the ‘wives of dogs’.¹²³ Everjoy Win, of the Women’s Action Group, blamed newspaper reports and cartoons for fueling this. The *Moto* magazine sensationally published a cartoon of a woman suing ‘hot dogs’ for *puppy maintenance* (child support) at the SPCA offices. This worsened ‘anti-women hysteria’ at a time when the child maintenance law had just been introduced and was causing an emotive men versus women standoff in the country.¹²⁴

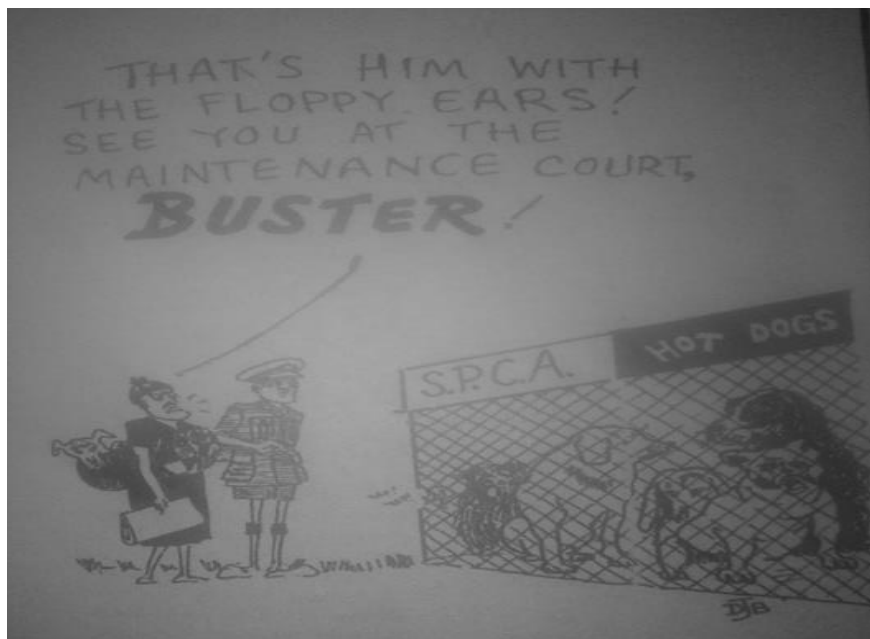


Figure 12: A cartoon (which was captioned *zvinonaka zvinodhura* (good things are expensive), that the *Moto Magazine* published in connection with the bestiality story. October 1991.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ ‘Inhuman sex acts: women arrested.’

¹²¹ ‘Inhuman sex acts: women arrested.’

¹²² ‘No reason for men to bark,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 6 October 1991.

¹²³ ‘Two women beaten ‘over dog affair,’’ *The Herald*, 30 October 1991.

¹²⁴ ‘Cartoon an insult,’ *Moto*, January 1992, 2.

¹²⁵ ‘Of beast and national dignity,’ *The People’s Voice*, 6-12 October 1991.

The *People's Voice* newspaper also published a cartoon of purebred dogs, dressed in designer label suits, proposing love to some black women.¹²⁶

Others wrote letters to newspapers arguing that the white man involved was 'in fact a racist who still (after 11 years of independence) wants to prove that blacks can still be associated with baboons or dogs'.¹²⁷ The *Sunday Mail* wrote of 'a network of perverts' prowling on Africa south of the Sahara because Tanzania had recently deported two white men for the same crime.¹²⁸ However, cases of bestiality involving men did not attract as much controversy as this one possibly because this one involved a monetary transaction and a wilful production of videos. The *People Voice* newspaper, a mouthpiece of the ruling ZANU PF party, argued that the matter had corroded 'the morality of the whole nation',¹²⁹ especially as the country was about to host the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in October 1991.¹³⁰

As the storm was raging, the ZRP shocked the nation in October by reporting that there was no evidence that acts of bestiality had been committed and that the story was based purely on hearsay.¹³¹ The *Horizon* magazine thereafter accused the *Sunday Mail* of practising shoddy journalism by 'letting some half-wits loose with a pencil and a determination to win the Pulitzer Prize'.¹³² However, it was clear that something had happened when Moven Mahachi, the then Minister of Home Affairs, argued that the women had initially cooperated with police before they had learnt that they too were to be charged and jailed for bestiality.¹³³

Morrison, an academic who studied newspaper discourses generated in connection with the Borrowdale bestiality story concluded that the story was fictional.¹³⁴ He argued that it exposed overt anti-white and covert anti-women discourses in the country that were fanned by fantastical rumours and fiction because 'neither the white man nor the dog existed'.¹³⁵ Yet in

¹²⁶ 'Two women beaten 'over dog affair.'"

¹²⁷ 'No reason for men to bark.'

¹²⁸ 'Bestiality: It's true—Mahachi,' *The Sunday Mail*, 13 October 1991.

¹²⁹ 'Of beast and national dignity,' *The People's Voice*, 6-12 October 1991.

¹³⁰ 'Revolt news,' *The Sunday Mail*, 6 October 1991; 'Editorial comment: let sleeping dogs lie?,' *The Sunday Mail*, 3 November 1991.

¹³¹ 'Dog story untrue,' *The Herald*, 10 October 1991.

¹³² 'Beware of the shaggy dog,' *The Horizon*, December 1991, 50.

¹³³ 'Bestiality man sought,' *The Sunday Mail*, 17 November 1991.

¹³⁴ A. Morrison, 'Barking up the wrong tree? Male hegemony, discrimination against women and the reporting of bestiality in the Zimbabwean press,' in C.R. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (eds), *Texts and Practises: Reading in Critical Discourse Analysis*, (London: Routledge, 1996), 244.

¹³⁵ Morrison, 'Barking up the wrong tree?', 244.

August 1993, a white man called Gary Bruce Gustave Arnold who came from Luxembourg (Germany) and who was married to a Zimbabwean woman, Vicky Musodzi Mukuna, came before the courts for producing pornographic material involving women and dogs.¹³⁶ He was subsequently deported from the country in 1994 in connection with that crime.¹³⁷ His wife, who then identified herself as Vicky Arnold, left four dogs at the Mutare SPCA boarding kennels around June 1995. Of these four dogs, one named Ashaki caused a media frenzy between March and May 1996 after the SPCA advertised it as dog that had been abandoned in the country by a German tourist because it was old (rather than that its perverted owner had to leave the country hastily because of sexual crimes).

The dog, an Alaskan Malamute breed historically used by the North American Inuit to hunt, was considered at the time to be the only one of its kind in southern Africa.¹³⁸ A legend arose around it: it was said to have participated in the famous 1 666km Iditarod dog race across Alaska, in sleigh racing at the Winter Games in Germany and had travelled to several countries, including Canada, Germany and Mozambique.¹³⁹ Dog-lovers in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Europe expressed interest in owning the dog. In the end, the SPCA's chief inspector Meryl Harrison, (who was born in London and then moved to Zimbabwe at the age of nine)¹⁴⁰ eventually decided to give it to Hans Borburg, a member of the ZKC and a registered dog breeder who owned a large property.¹⁴¹ Harrison argued that as both a dog and a wolf, Ashaki was a dominant animal that required a strong man to take care of it.¹⁴²

It was at that point that Vicky Arnold came onto the scene to claim the dog and accused the SPCA of 'telling lies' about the German tourist. The fact that she did not claim the dog for more than nine months and did not proffer any justifiable reason for the delay shows that she had something to hide. Moreover, in one of her refutations of the argument raised by the SPCA that she was not a good dog-owner, Vicky connected herself to Gustave Arnold by mentioning

¹³⁶ Cases often took long to be presided over by the courts.

¹³⁷ 'Banned porn maker jailed,' *The Herald*, 02 April 2014.

¹³⁸ 'Ashaki finds home at last,' *The Sunday Mail*, 5 May 1996.

¹³⁹ 'Looking for a home,' *The Sunday Mail*, 3 March 1996.

¹⁴⁰ 'Fearless animal rescuer defies Mugabe's mobs,' *The Telegraph*, 28 April 2002, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/1392479/Fearless-animal-rescuer-defies-Mugabes-mobs.html>, accessed on 25 August 2019. Meryl Harrison, worked as Chief Inspector at the Zimbabwe National Society for the Protection of Animals for several years. She joined the Veterinary Animal Welfare of Zimbabwe in 2010. After retirement, Harrison went to the United Kingdom.

¹⁴¹ 'Ashaki finds home at last,' *The Sunday Mail*, 5 May 1996.

¹⁴² 'Search for a home for Ashaki goes on,' *The Sunday Mail*, 31 March 1996.

that this dog had been ‘born and bred in my husband’s home in Luxembourg’—which as it turned out was Gustave’s home town.¹⁴³ Gustave Arnold came back to Zimbabwe in July 2002 and in 2014 and was jailed for entering the country illegally on both occasions.¹⁴⁴ It is unclear why the SPCA and the newspapers did not connect Vicky with Gustave Arnold and with the bestiality controversy of 1991 or trials of August 1993. Possibly the SPCA knew (and believed the bestiality story had happened) but wanted to protect the dog while the newspapers found the story of an independent African woman fighting the ‘racist’ SPCA over a dog a sensational sell in times of racial conflict. It is inferable that Vicky left the dog in Mutare SPCA boarding kennels to conceal evidence that bestiality had been committed in Harare. Moreover, the fact that she took nine months to come forward to claim the dog, and only did so after the dog had become a media celebrity, shows that her story was not consistent.¹⁴⁵ Vicky claimed that the SPCA treated her in that manner because it felt that a black woman ‘could not look after such a nice dog’.¹⁴⁶ Many Africans rallied around Vicky in accusing the SPCA of practising racism. Moreover several newspaper cartoons insinuated that the SPCA cared more for dogs than it did for ‘other human beings’¹⁴⁷ (which admittedly was its remit).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ ‘To who does Ashaki....Ah...Eh...Atlas now belong?’, *The Sunday Mail*, 12 May 1996.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Banned porn maker jailed,’ *The Herald*, 2 April 2014.

¹⁴⁵ ‘Banned porn maker jailed.’

¹⁴⁶ ‘To whom does Ashaki....Ah...Eh...Atlas now belong?’

¹⁴⁷ ‘Nothing for ‘Ashaki,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 26 May 1996.

¹⁴⁸ Similarly, President Jacob Zuma on 26 December 2012 warned South Africans not to imitate white people, who love dogs more than people arguing that doing so showed that they lacked ‘humanity.’ See ‘Best Friends and Worst enemies: Year of the Dog in South Africa,’ *Los Angeles Review of Books*, 29 August 2014, <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/best-friends-worst-enemies-years-dog-south-africa/>, accessed on 27 September 2019.



Figure 13: Cartoon parodying the activities of the SPCA in connection with the Ashaki saga. *The Sunday Mail*, 26 May 1996.

In a similar, if less sensational case, Mrs Pinto accused the SPCA of unfairly selling her Maltese Poodle to a white woman in 1995. She related that she informed the SPCA about her missing pet and that they told her that they had a dog matching her description. She claimed that upon reaching their offices, she discovered that they had given it to a white woman.¹⁴⁹ A former SPCA employee, E. Magwaya, also accused it of embezzling funds and of not submitting audited annual financial reports to the Registrar of Welfare Organisations for a decade.¹⁵⁰ These complainants labelled the SPCA as a racist institution that hid behind animal welfare issues. For our purposes, they show that perceptions about racism were significant in shaping political discourses around dogs in Harare.¹⁵¹ The following section extends the arguments (raised in this section) by showing how African middle class men complained that the ZKC rules and HCC laws unfairly punished them and rewarded white dog-owners. This issue also involved discourses about racism, nationalism, modernity and tradition in discussions about dog breeding and dog breeds in Harare.

¹⁴⁹ 'Disappointed by the SPCA,' *The Sunday Mail*, 16 June 1996.

¹⁵⁰ 'Embezzlement alleged at SPCA,' *The People's Voice*, 8 February 1992.

¹⁵¹ 'Animals are very human,' *The Sunday Mail*, 23 June 1996.

African dog-owners, the SPCA and the Zimbabwe Kennel Club, 1993-2000

As has been shown above, the SPCA and the ZKC saw the breeding of dogs by Africans in the city as a problem. Because of this, the HCC decided to make it difficult or expensive for residents to keep fertile bitches in the city. While the HCC resolved to come up with stricter bylaws limiting the number of dogs kept at a particular property, ZKC members argued that authorities were simply not implementing the existing bylaws. R.D.B. Kelly, a ZKC member who argued on behalf of dog-owners that belonged to this organisation, opposed the HCC's suggestion to make it illegal for residents to keep fertile bitches. He argued that sterilization operations subjected dogs to needless pain and that they had the capacity to change the 'nature and character' of older dogs.¹⁵² ZKC member generally opposed plans to limit the number of dogs kept at any given property and insisted that they had large and gated properties capable of accommodating many dogs. Mrs. N.M. Griffin wanted the HCC to recognize breeders belonging to the ZKC only, to exempt them from paying high licensing fee for keeping fertile bitches and from being affected by the proposed limit on the number of dogs to be kept at any property.¹⁵³ She claimed that some of her dogs had been imported from foremost kennels in the world and that her bitches go to boarding kennels to give birth. On that basis, she objected to paying high license fees to an authority that gave her nothing in return.¹⁵⁴ Evidently, ZKC members championed bourgeoisie or white interests and their demands sowed seeds of discord in the implementation of the 1993 bylaws.

The 1993 dog licensing and control bylaws required dog-owners to provide rabies inoculation certificates as a precondition for registering their dogs. It retained the prosecuting role of the ZRP.¹⁵⁵ It also precluded a person owning a property measuring less than 2000 square metres from keeping more than two dogs without the permission of the HCC and decreed that owners of larger properties could keep up to four dogs upon getting council permission.¹⁵⁶ The bylaws had been tailor made to fulfil the demands made by ZKC members. In January 1994, Malcolm Evans, a member of the ZKC, was found to be in violation of section 4 (1) and 4 (2) of the 1993 bylaws because he had 11 dogs on his property and had not applied to the HCC to have

¹⁵² HA TC/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, R.D.B. Kelly to the HCC Town Clerk, 'Your notice in *The Herald* of the 8th-15th September 1990,' 17 September 1990.

¹⁵³ HA TE/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, Mrs N.M. Griffin to the HCC Town Clerk, 'Objection to proposed amendment to dog licensing bylaws,' 2 October 1990.

¹⁵⁴ HA TE/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, Mrs N.M. Griffin to the HCC Town Clerk.

¹⁵⁵ HA TC/CA/14 HCC Departmental Memo, Town Clerk to the Director of Works, 'Draft proposed deposit fines Harare (Dogs Licensing and Control) bylaws,' 22 June 1993.

¹⁵⁶ 'Stray dogs in the city to be impounded,' *The Herald*, 21 November 1995.

a special permit to keep more than four dogs.¹⁵⁷ However, with the help of his neighbours, who wrote supporting letters to the HCC and, more importantly, because he was a member of the ZKC, which lent him a perhaps spurious legitimacy, Evans eventually convinced the authorities to grant him a permit to keep all his dogs. Despite this evidence showing that some whites violated the bylaws, the SPCA (just like the ZKC) focused all their energies on canine criminality in the high-density suburbs and this spurred some Africans to violate the bylaws deliberately.¹⁵⁸

Two years after the 1993 bylaws were promulgated, authorities began complaining that person-power constraints, lack of adaptable vehicles, nets, snares and cages rendered the catching, transporting and confining of ‘stray dogs’ impossible. Inflation also made the license fees and fines provided for in the 1993 bylaws ridiculously low.¹⁵⁹ The government had adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes in 1990 that resulted in the devaluation of the currency. This economic policy increased the implementation costs of the 1993 bylaws.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, HCC revenue collected from dog licenses declined because \$157 247.50 was collected in 1993, \$289 837.00 in 1994 and \$217 764.00 in 1995.¹⁶¹ Complaints of ‘stray dogs’ killing pedestrians, frustrating the motoring public and devouring livestock in nearby commercial farms surfaced in November 1996. This proved that the city’s canine population had become uncontrollable.¹⁶² These problems brought back debate about dog breeding in the city as Africans complained about the preferential treatment given to ZKC members by the HCC regarding the breeding of dogs in the city.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ HA TC/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, HCC Director of Works to Mr M. D Evans, ‘Control of nuisance and limit of number of dogs,’ 19 November 1993.

¹⁵⁸ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control Bylaws, A. S. Sharpe to Director of Work, 2 March 1996; Harare Dog Licensing and Control bylaws, Meryl Harrison (Mrs) General Manager, Harare SPCA Kennels to Mr Kanengoni, Town Clerk of the City of Harare, ‘Review of the Harare (Dogs Licensing and Control) By-laws, 1993 and the proposed deposits fines,’ 23 November 1995; Harare Dog Licensing and Control bylaws, Memo from Director of Works to Town Clerk, ‘Review of the Financial assistance rendered to SPCA by Council.’

¹⁵⁹ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control Bylaws, Mr Mupezeni to the General Manager SPCA Kennels, ‘Review of the Harare (Dogs Licensing and Control) By-laws, 1993 and the proposed deposit fines,’ 20 November 1995.

¹⁶⁰ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control by Law, Departmental Memo from Director of Works to Town Clerk, Mr Mudimu, ‘Review of the Harare (Dogs Licensing and Control) bylaws, 1993 and proposed deposit fines.’

¹⁶¹ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control by Law, City of Harare Memo from Director of Works to Town Clerk, ‘Review of the Financial assistance rendered to SPCA by Council.’

¹⁶² ‘Stray dogs in the city to be impounded,’ *The Herald*, 21 November 1995.

¹⁶³ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control by Law, City of Harare Memo from Director of Works to Town Clerk, ‘Review of the Financial assistance rendered to SPCA by Council.’

Controlling the sexuality and reproduction of dogs in the city fed into the politics of class, race and dog breeds. HCC authorities drew a connection between their dog breeding policy, the subsequent drop in the collected revenue and the complaints raised by Africans. Middle class African dog-owners complained that the 1993 bylaws disadvantaged them because licensed dog breeders paid less money to license their unspayed bitches compared to unlicensed breeders such as themselves.¹⁶⁴ In terms of section 11 (1), no person was permitted to breed dogs or keep an unspayed bitch in the Council area unless he/she was a licensed breeder. However, a person who was not licensed to breed dogs but kept an unspayed licensed bitch paid \$25.00 in terms of section 20 of the bylaws while licensed breeders paid \$10.00 for their bitches. The HCC Director of Work, Mr Mupezeni noted that ‘it is rather absurd that a person is not permitted to breed while at the same time he is issued with a license for an unspayed bitch’.¹⁶⁵ This discrepancy angered African dog-owners who consequently stopped paying their dog licenses.¹⁶⁶

African dog-owners complained that despite paying lower license fees for their unspayed bitches, licensed dog breeders sold their puppies at exorbitant prices – ranging from \$500.00 to \$ 3 000.00 each depending on the breed.¹⁶⁷ However, they made use of the provision that permitted ‘dog lovers to pay high licensing fees for unspayed bitches’ in order to breed their own dogs and this undermined SPCA campaigns aimed at sterilizing dogs in the city.¹⁶⁸ The African middle class also complained that ZKC rules requiring documentation for pedigree dogs and the exorbitant prices charged for puppies and dogs precluded them from joining it. Demand for security and purebred dogs increased in Harare amidst reports by the SPCA and the ZRP that there was a big ‘dog selling racket’ in the capital.¹⁶⁹ In May 1996, the ZRP was investigating the case of a man who allegedly went ‘around looking for dog enthusiasts who

¹⁶⁴ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control by Law, City of Harare Departmental Memorandum, From Town Clerk to Director of Works, City Treasurer Mr Zhungu and Mr Madimu, ‘Amendment to section 20 of the Harare (Dog Licensing and Control) Bylaws, 1993,’ 8 January 1999.

¹⁶⁵ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control bylaws, Acting Director of Works to Mr Mupezeni, The Chairman SPCA Harare Branch, ‘Sections 11 and 20 of the Harare (Dog Licensing and Control) Bylaws, 1993,’ 4 October 1996.

¹⁶⁶ HA TC/E/6 Harare Dog Licensing and Control bylaws, M. Harrison, ‘Spay your dogs,’ *The Herald*, 13 July 1994.

¹⁶⁷ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control bylaws, ‘Discrepancy in license fees: Harare (Dogs Licensing and control) bylaws, 1993,’ 26 February 1995; Harare Dog Licensing and Control bylaws, City of Harare Memo, from the Director of Works to Acting Town Clerk, ‘proposed Amendment to Section 20 of the Harare (Dog Licensing and Control) Bylaws, 1993,’ 23 February 1998.

¹⁶⁸ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control by Law, Amendment to Section 20 of the Harare (Dog Licensing and Control) bylaws 1993, 23 April 1998; ‘SPCA steps up education campaign in schools,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 28 July 1996.

¹⁶⁹ ‘Upsurge in dog thefts baffles police,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 19 May 1996.

need(ed) specific types of dogs,' demanded payment in advance before delivering the dogs and subsequently swindled most of his clients.¹⁷⁰ Dogs sold in this manner did not have clear documentation and this made it impossible for their owners to be accepted into the ZKC.

The ZKC, moreover, had a restricted range of purebred dogs that it permitted its members to own because D.A.L. Scott complained in the mid-1990s that it had influenced the HCC to prohibit the breeding of Jack Russell terriers,¹⁷¹ which they did not regard as a registered breed, in Harare.¹⁷² By adhering to 'modern dog-keeping standards' and making it impossible for Africans to join its rank, the ZKC was upholding white, western and bourgeois dog keeping cultures. Significantly, African dog-owners deployed arguments tied to tradition in refuting the colonial canine canard of *all* Africans being poor dog owners. Mr Mupezeni, observed in October 1996 that:

I am advised that the bone of contention in this matter is that the majority of black dog-owners in Harare do not qualify to become ZKC members and yet they are in fact genuine dog lovers, whose dogs are well looked after and whose properties are in conformity with the requirements of section 12 of the bylaws. Incidentally, it has come to my attention that some dog owners are contemplating establishing a Kennel Club, which caters for dog-owners who are not eligible for ZKC membership.¹⁷³

The ZKC owed its origin to the kennel clubs that were formed by white Rhodesians in Bulawayo and Salisbury at the start of the twentieth century. These kennel clubs were instrumental in coming up with the Rhodesian ridgeback breed in the 1920s.¹⁷⁴ One of their rules (during the colonial period) stipulated that members were to protect the integrity of the breed by preventing it from getting into African or 'coloured hands'.¹⁷⁵ Dog breeding moved

¹⁷⁰ 'Upsurge in dog thefts baffles police.'

¹⁷¹ Mrs J.F. Schreiber, the Chairperson of the Zimbabwe Kennel Club explained that 'the ZKC is the governing body for dogdom in Zimbabwe, as The Kennel Union of Southern Africa is the governing body for South Africa, The Kennel Club is the governing body for the United Kingdom. We deal with the registration of purebred dogs, which are recognised worldwide. Many of the breeds have traceable histories for hundreds of years. Yes, we do register cross breeds and unregistered breeds but ONLY for the working side of dogdom such as Obedience, Dog Jumping, Agility, Field Trials, Working Trials, but they are not permitted to be bred from if registered by us.' She further explained that 'we abide by international laws and this is very important to us. If we did something wrong and (are) struck off worldwide recognition anybody wishing to export a dog from this country could not get it registered in another country, our export pedigree would not be recognised.' Interview questions and answers communicated via email on 2 September 2019.

¹⁷² HA TC/E/6 Dog Licenses: All Correspondences, D. A.L. Scott to HCC Director of Works, 'Dog Licensing and Control Bylaws: Breeding of Jack Russel Dogs,' 10 March 1994.

¹⁷³ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control bylaw, Acting Director of Works to Mr Mupezeni, The Chairman SPCA Harare Branch, 'Sections 11 and 20 of the Harare (Dog Licensing and Control) Bylaws, 1993,' 4 October 1996.

¹⁷⁴ NAZ RH 5 Dog breeding-ridgebacks, 26 February 1926; NAZ BU 9/1/1 Original Minute Book: Bulawayo kennel Club, 13 October 1909- 17 April 1922.

¹⁷⁵ NAZ RH 5 Dog breeding-ridgebacks, Constitution and rules of Handbook of the Rhodesian Ridgeback Club, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 1952.

along with political racism and contributed to nationalist feelings in many parts of the world.¹⁷⁶ Interestingly some Africans wanted to establish a rival kennel club that served ‘the interests of indigenous breeds some which are reared and kept for various purposes (social, traditional and security)’.¹⁷⁷ Although the document did not state which indigenous dog types were relevant for these requests, it can be speculated that this may have been in reference to the generic dog type that has recently been renamed (at least in South Africa, by a Belgian expatriate) the *Africanis* – formerly regarded as ‘curs’ or ‘strays’ or ‘mongrels’ in colonial narratives, as explored in chapter three.¹⁷⁸ The HCC Department of Works Housing Inspectorate considered the feasibility of temporarily licensing bitches owned by Africans for them to breed one or two litters before compelling them to spay them.¹⁷⁹ This meant that the HCC had agreed to bend rules on behalf of the African middle class and that it had in principle given traditional dog keeping a foothold in the city. This gradually contributed to the ballooning dog population in the city because it became difficult to control dog breeding. The following section extends the argument (raised in this section) by showing how young black dog-owners, whose versions or visions of modernity were slightly different from those of their 1990s predecessors, used some traditional methods of rearing dogs that they found useful. In doing this, they contributed to the continuous development of ‘mongrelized dog keeping practises’ in the city.

The ghetto dog fancy? Canids, class and the Zimbabwean Crisis, 2000 to 2017

The period between 2000 and 2017 is commonly referred to in Zimbabwean historiography as the period of the ‘Zimbabwean Crisis’. Academic studies have focused on the political instability, hyperinflation, the economic decline, state sponsored violence, massive internal and external migrations and the humanitarian disasters that characterized it.¹⁸⁰ The embeddedness

¹⁷⁶ M.L. Arsenis, ‘Rhodesia’s own dog: The Ridgeback,’ *Home and Country*, April 1964, 7-8; See also Skabelund, ‘Breeding racism’, 354-371.

¹⁷⁷ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control bylaws, Acting Director of Works to Mr Mupezani, The Chairman SPCA Harare Branch, ‘Sections 11 and 20 of the Harare (Dog Licensing and Control) Bylaws, 1993,’ 4 October 1996.

¹⁷⁸ J. Gallant, *The story of the African Dog*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002).

¹⁷⁹ HA TC/CA/14 Harare Dog Licensing and Control bylaws, Memo from the Director of Works to Acting Town Clerk, ‘proposed Amendment to Section 20 of the Harare (Dog Licensing and Control) Bylaws, 1993,’ 23 February 1998.

¹⁸⁰ A. Hammar, B. Raftopoulos, and S. Jensen (eds), *Zimbabwe’s Unfinished Business: Rethinking land, state and nation in the context of crisis*, (Harare: Weavers Press, 2003); S. Chiumbu and M. Muchemwa (eds), *Crisis! What Crisis? The Multiple Dimension of the Zimbabwean Crisis*, (Cape Town: HSRC, 2012). There are competing narratives regarding what exactly caused the Zimbabwean crisis. Some scholars trace it to Zimbabwe’s colonial legacy and others to the adoption of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes in the 1990s. Others also point to its participation in the DRC war in the late 1990s and the extent to which it drained the country financially. The Zimbabwean crisis is also linked to the coming up of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)

of dogs or other animals in the lifestyles, security and economic considerations of Africans in the city and the competing discourses about how a modern African city should look is so far missing in the fledgling historiography of the crisis. Yet dogs offer a useful lens into the socio-economic and political realms. For example, young urban dog breeders effected a compromise between vernacular understanding of dogs and internationalised methods of and reasons for dog breeding and rearing regimes. Consequently, a fresh fusion came to harden into a new and idiographic regime that was recognisably different and distinctive to both rural African regimes and urban white regimes, while drawing on both.

Before analysing the activities of the new dog breeders, it is imperative to provide the political and economic context in Harare (and indeed countrywide) at the time. The ruling ZANU PF government lost most parliamentary and municipal seats to the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party in the general, municipal and parliamentary elections held between 2000 and 2018 in the city. Because it resented its electoral losses in Harare, it frequently frustrated the MDC by dismissing its mayors and councillors. Consequently, Harare lagged behind other cities in reviewing its dog license fees and fines and continued to use pre-1999 fees in August 2002 despite the fact that inflation had weakened the currency at the time.¹⁸¹ The table below shows that other cities had revised upwards their dog license fees while Harare had not by 2002.¹⁸²

City	Male dog	Spayed bitch	Unspayed Bitch
Bulawayo Municipality	\$ 70.00	\$ 70.00	\$ 263.00
Gweru	\$ 426.50	\$ 426.50	\$ 639.80
Mutare	\$ 486.00	\$ 486.00	\$ 1 662.50

*Figure 14: Table showing how Harare's dog licenses lagged behind compared to other Zimbabwean cities.*¹⁸³

party and lastly but importantly to the chaotic implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme by the ruling ZANU PF party after it lost the 2000 constitutional referendum.

¹⁸¹ HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses: Deposit Fines/Admission of guilt, City of Harare, 'proposed Dog License Fees Review,' 6 August 2002.

¹⁸² HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses: Deposit Fines/Admission of guilt, City of Harare, 'proposed Dog License Fees Review.'

¹⁸³ HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses: Deposit Fines/Admission of guilt, City of Harare, 'Proposed Dog License Fees Review.'

The Empire Breeds Back

Evidently, the HCC was ill prepared to respond to the ‘ghetto dog fancy’ – a phenomenon in which young economically pressed male African urbanites took up dog breeding as a new survival strategy.¹⁸⁴ This changing situation was abetted by the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) that was happening during this period because many white commercial farmers who had been forced off the land left their pets and livestock in the countryside.¹⁸⁵ Some of their dogs found their way into Harare through being appropriated by young male African dog-owners and breeders. At the same time, Harare was growing at the expense of other cities because it had 54% of the country’s urban human population while Bulawayo had only 20%, Mutare had 5%, and Kwekwe and Gweru had 4% each in 2002.¹⁸⁶ These changing demographic indices contributed to the increase in the city’s canine population that was estimated in 2005 to be around 300 000 dogs (a ratio of 1 dog per 5 people).¹⁸⁷ In the same year, the ZANU PF government launched Operation *Murambatsvina* (‘drive away the filthy’), ostensibly to decongest the capital city and thin out its human population by forcing some people to relocate to their villages of origin in the rural areas, like forced removals under Apartheid South Africa.¹⁸⁸ These events meant that the place of dogs in the lives of some Harare residents was undergoing some changes.¹⁸⁹ However, neither modern nor traditional

¹⁸⁴ HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses: Deposit Fines/Admission of guilt, City of Harare, ‘Proposed Dog License Fees Review.’

¹⁸⁵ ‘Sad final days for Zimbabwe vet as farmers have pets put down,’ *The Telegraph*, 28 September 2002, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/1408583/Sad-final-days-for-Zimbabwe-vet-as-farmers-have-pets-put-down.html>, accessed on 20 August 2019; C. Buckle, *Innocent Victims: Rescuing the Stranded Animals of Zimbabwe’s Farm Invasions—Meryl Harrison’s Extraordinary Story*, (Johannesburg: Merlin Unwin, 2009); I. Manase, *White Narrative: the depiction of post-2000 land invasions in Zimbabwe*, (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2016), 107-127; D. Wylie, ‘“They’ve killed the dogs!”: Land, literature and canines in contemporary Zimbabwe,’ in D. Wylie and J. Barendse, *Dogs in southern African literature*, (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 2018), 186-199.

¹⁸⁶ Parliament of Zimbabwe, House of Assembly, First Edition, Seventh Parliament, 18 June 2009, 1 725.

¹⁸⁷ HA TE/E/6 Dogs licenses: All Correspondence, Director of Works’ report to the Environmental Management Committee, 24 March 2004; Mrs C. Dean, General Manager, Friend Animal Foundation to Mr Mupezeni, HCC, 29 October 2003; HA TC/E/23 Dogs and bicycle Licenses, Director of works report to the Environmental Management Committee, ‘Subject: proposed Dog license fees review: Harare (Dog Licence and Control) bylaws, 1993,’ 1 March 2005.

¹⁸⁸ A. Kamete, ‘Cold-hearted, negligent and spineless? Planning, Planners and the rejection of ‘filth’ in urban Zimbabwe,’ *International Planning Studies*, 12, 2 (2007), 153- 171; D. Potts, ‘“Restoring Order”? Operation *Murambatsvina* and the Urban Crisis in Zimbabwe,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32, 2 (2006), 273- 291; D. Dube and I. Chirisa, ‘The Informal City: Assessing its Scope, Variants and Direction in Harare, Zimbabwe,’ *Global Advanced Research Journal*, 1, 1 (2012), 016 - 025.

¹⁸⁹ Similarly, urbanization pressure in Soweto (South Africa) caused by the end of Apartheid in the 1990s necessitated the coming up of new perceptions, roles and attitudes to dogs in the lives of Africans, who abandoned some traditional dog-keeping methods, and began to feed their dogs with expensive pet food and to control canine fertility using modern surgery. C.M.E. McCrindle et al, ‘Changing roles of dogs in urban society: A South African Perspective,’ *Anthrozoos*, 12, 3 (1999), 157-161.

attitudes of keeping dogs dominated in Harare during this period. In this context, Muchadei Bakasa of Mbare high-density suburb started breeding German shepherd dogs in 2007 because many people in his community expressed an interest in the breed.¹⁹⁰ Chrispen Machona specialized in breeding Boerboels, German shepherds and Rottweilers and sold them to security companies, to people who ran car-park businesses and security-minded individuals because these dog breeds were associated with aggression.¹⁹¹ He sold them for as much as US\$ 400 each – an astonishingly large amount in an economy where the average worker might bring home about US \$280 to 300.¹⁹² Others specialized in breeding pet dogs such as Labradors, Siberian Huskies and Toy Poms.¹⁹³ Saneliso Mpofo, a female Bulawayo fashion designer, even designed winter wear and army hats for such toy dogs (commonly preferred by young female dog-owners).¹⁹⁴ Newspapers frequently contributed to this movement by writing about exotic breeds like the Irish wolfhound, Saluki, Pharaoh hound, Akita, Tibetan Mastiff, Rottweiler, Löwchens, Chow Chow, English bulldog and the Samoyed and their probable worth in US dollars.¹⁹⁵ At the same time, there was a fluorescence of adverts on social media platforms for dog training, high-end dog food, vaccines and dog accessories such as dog harnesses, muzzles, chains, belts, collars, pet carriers, and milk supplements for puppies.¹⁹⁶ At the same time, as that market grew so did a concomitant shadow market: reports of dog thefts and dognapping became numerous as desperate owners pledged a lot of money in order to recover their dogs.

As noted earlier, Skabelund deploys the concept of canine imperialism to argue that particular dog-keeping practises and specific breeds assisted colonial powers in their projects.¹⁹⁷ However, the Harare case shows that in some local contexts young breeders experimented with the mutability of the dogs of conquest with particular focus on their physiology, temperament, intelligence and their aesthetic appeal.¹⁹⁸ Thus, the empire bred back.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Dog breeding now source of income in Zimbabwe,’ <https://bulawayo24.com/index-id-news-sc-national-byo-68550-article-dog+breeding+now+source+of+income+in+zimbabwe.html>, accessed 19 September 2018.

¹⁹¹ ‘Zimbabwe dog breeding now big business,’ <https://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/Zimbabwe-dog-breeding-now-big-business-20150217>, accessed 19 September 2018.

¹⁹² ‘2019 budget an insult to civil servants,’ *kubatana.net*, <http://kubatana.net/2018/11/23/2019-national-budget-insult-civil-servants/>, accessed on 26 August 2019.

¹⁹³ ‘Puppies from Polokwane’ fuel Zimbabwe’s illegal pet trade – Vets’; ‘Dog breeding comes to the ghetto.’

¹⁹⁴ ‘Fashion designer creates ‘dog wear’” *Newsday*, 25 January 2018.

¹⁹⁵ ‘The most expensive dogs,’ *The Herald*, 23 August 2014.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Takunda Mutswe, Dzivarasekwa, interviewed by author, 6 January 2019.

¹⁹⁷ Skabelund, *Empire of dogs*, 2.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with Takunda Mutswe.

There was consequently a shifting interaction between local and western knowledge about dog keeping as the breeders imitated international practises of breeding and keeping dogs using the limited resources at their disposal since they lacked pedigree breeding stock. They, however, improvised with breeding stock at their disposal and the knowledge that they had in order to bridge that gap. The young breeders in Harare wanted to preserve the bloodlines of the dogs that they had started breeding such that they grappled with concepts such as in-line/inbreeding and line breeding. For them in-line breeding referred to the breeding of brothers and sisters belonging to same litter. By line breeding, they entailed breeding dogs using mothers and sons or fathers and daughters or breeding a female from first generation with a male in the second but belonging to the same bloodline. Cross breeding entailed both crossing in the same breed (but not same bloodline) and across breeds to bring forth the desired dog in terms of its physical make-up. Because these breeders lacked certified breeds, they often researched on the internet and in books and magazines in order to match their desired dog's head, ears, mouth, the tail and structure as they looked for suitable female or male dogs for breeding purposes. They wanted to correct 'imperfections' in their own dogs during breeding to produce puppies that approximated the ideal breed's conformations.¹⁹⁹ The breeders also debated about whether the female runt of the litter kept all the genes of the bloodline and was therefore ideal for breeding purposes.²⁰⁰ Another dog breeder, Lawrence Hurumende, drew attention to the case of two females: one was better looking while the other was not.²⁰¹ He alleged that although many people preferred breeding their stud dogs with the better-looking female, the one that was not so appealing reportedly produced 'better' puppies. Dog enthusiasts wanted the 'true' genes of their breeds of choice to be retained in the bloodline of their dogs to an extent of being worried about the ideal age at which a female or male dog was likely to produce the ideal puppies.²⁰² Breeders of Boerboels such as Mutamba claimed that they even approached the South African Boerboel Breeders' Society (SBBS) to vet if their dogs matched the desired prototype by 75% for them to be regarded as suitable for breeding.²⁰³ The flyer below was circulated to breeders of Boerboel dogs in Harare in May 2019. Interviews confirmed that these appraisals had been going on in past the four years.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Takunda Mutswe.

²⁰⁰ Interview with Takunda Mutswe.

²⁰¹ Interview with Lawrence Hurumende, Sunningdale, Harare, interviewed by author, 10 January 2019.

²⁰² Interview with Law Mutamba (Law Kennels Dogs), Harare, interviewed by author, 8 January 2019

²⁰³ Interview with Law Mutamba.



Figure 15: Flyer advertising the services of the South African Boerboel Breeders' Society in Harare in 2019.

Those dogs that met the 75% threshold were regarded as show quality and breeding stock while those that did not fell into pet quality. Simba Kaseke admitted that whenever he met people owning a ‘good’ female Boerboel, he arranged with owners of Boerboel stud dogs to breed them in return for a puppy.²⁰⁴ However, in an environment characterized by competition, lack of sufficient knowledge and an acceptance that breeders the world over breed the same breed of dogs for different purposes, there were no universally agreed benchmark of what a ‘good’ Boerboel dog looked like in the ghetto.

Owners of stud and female dogs entered into agreements about the sharing of the litter. Alex Thomas of Arcadia rented his stud German shepherd for a fee for breeding purposes.²⁰⁵ However, allegations that owners of female dogs gave false pregnancy updates, disappeared and cheated their co-partners after the dog conceived were rampant.²⁰⁶ Some owners of stud dogs simply demanded payment for their services. This arrangement also gave rise to complaints that some unscrupulous owners of studs mated their client’s female dogs with

²⁰⁴ Interview with Simba Kaseke, Harare, interviewed by author, 12 January 2019.

²⁰⁵ ‘Dog breeding now source of income in Zimbabwe.’

²⁰⁶ Interview with Simba Kaseke.

mongrels or did not mate them at all to stifle potential future competition. Jones described Zimbabwe's economy during this period as the *kukiya-kiya* (dodgy) economy characterized by illicit, dishonest and corrupt dealings in which proper rules and morality were suspended for short-term gain.²⁰⁷ Most, if not all, dog breeders ventured into the business due to the harsh economic environment.²⁰⁸ Denise Morton of the SPCA argued that the dog breeders operated like 'ghosts' because their operations largely remained 'invisible' to SPCA surveillance.²⁰⁹ She called them 'puppy traffickers': dilettantes, desperadoes and frauds who knew very little about dog breeding despite venturing into the field and even importing dogs from other parts of the southern African region.²¹⁰ The SPCA, however, decided to follow a softer route with these breeders because it feared, in the new political dispensation, that some of them were using the language of political entitlement.

There were also instances in which owners of female dog failed to properly secure their dogs that may have resulted in uncontrolled mating with other dog types. These counter-allegations by buyers and/or co-breeders gave rise to the fixation by breeders to know with certainty whether the dogs had mated—or (in their diction) how many times the dogs had locked in sexual encounter—to make sure that fertilization had happened. Parties to these contracts often demanded pictures of the dogs locked in sexual encounter to validate that they had mated if this happened in their absence.²¹¹ Buyers of the puppies also demanded to see pictures of the breeding dogs to validate if the puppies were 'purebreds' and in extreme cases, also asked to be shown pictures of the breeding dogs locked in sexual encounter.²¹²

Cooking Dogs

The 'doggie style' pictures were not the only steamy developments: a new trajectory *kubika imbwa* or 'cooking dogs' arose. The need to circumvent disputes or possible cheating inherent in these agreements and possibly the need to experiment in order to produce 'new dog types' pushed some to cross breed different dog breeds. Takudzwa Mutswe called it *kubika imbwa* (literally 'cooking dogs' but it refers to experimental breeding) to refer to cross breeding two different breeds with the aim of building on their characteristics or genetic mix to bring forth what they called *pombi* (a machine's pump) or *simbi yembwa* ('a dog that is as strong as iron')

²⁰⁷ J.L. Jones, 'Nothing is Straight in Zimbabwe': The Rise of the *Kukiya-kiya* Economy 2000–2008,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36, 2 (2010), 285-299.

²⁰⁸ 'Zimbabwe dog breeding now big business.'

²⁰⁹ Interview with Denise Morton (58 years), Chief SPCA Inspector, Harare, interviewed by the author, 7 January 2019.

²¹⁰ 'Puppies for sale: What you need to know,' *Sunday Mail*, 20 September 2016.

²¹¹ Interview with Musa Mabhogo, Dzivarasekwa, interviewed by author, 13 January 2019.

²¹² Interview with Musa Mabhogo.

during this period.²¹³ The words *pombi* and *simbi* in Shona street lingo refer to ‘efficient machines’. The table below shows some of the most popular crossbred dogs in Harare.

Male dog	Female dog	Resultant dog name
German Shepherd	Siberian huskies	Gerberian Shepsky
Boerboel	Pit bull	Boerpit
Bull dog	Pit bull	Bullypit
Pit bull	Dachshund	The Dox Bull/bull Dach/Doxie bull/Doxie Pit

Figure 16: Table showing the new dog breeding practices in Harare.²¹⁴

Here a new nationalist nativism fed into internationalist thinking about breeds. Tendai Nyaundi wanted to create ‘our very own ZimbredMastiff’ suited to Zimbabwe’s environment: one that was not mass-produced like ‘broiler chicken’ or a ‘bling artefact’ that sacrificed functionality for aesthetic appeal.²¹⁵ Nyaundi’s argument betrayed an ancient autochthonous belief in the need for local ‘blood’ in the new dog for it to acclimatise to the country’s environment and local canine diseases. He formed the African-run ZimbredMastiff Association, codified its rules and regulations and began registering all dogs bred by members of his association.²¹⁶ Many Harare dog-breeders had a collection of overseas dog magazines and books from which they drew knowledge about dog keeping and breeding. They also drew inspiration from pioneering dog-breeders such as Von Stephanitz, who popularized German shepherds in April 1899.²¹⁷ Although he did not participate in this new vernacular ‘dog fancy,’ ZANU PF political ideologist, Tony Monda went the other way, insisting not on creolisation but purity of another kind. He wrote in 2016 about *imbwa yemadzitateguru* (the dog of the ancestors) or the so-called original aboriginal dog of the Munhumutapa Kingdom that reigned between 1400 and 1900. He argued that – in the face of all existing evidence – the Rhodesian ridgeback was the dog of

²¹³ Interview Kudakwashe Nyakuromba, Dzivarasekwa, interviewed by author, 13 January 2019.

²¹⁴ Interview Kudakwashe Nyakuromba, Dzivarasekwa, 13 January 2019; Interview with Musa Mabhogo, Dzivarasekwa, 13 January 2019; Interview with Takunda Mutswe, Dzivarasekwa, 6 January 2019.

²¹⁵ Interview with Tendai Nyaundi, Harare, interviewed by author, 9 January 2019.

²¹⁶ ZimbredMastiff code of ethics. Document given to the author by Tendai Nyaundi.

²¹⁷ Skabelund, ‘Breeding Racism,’ 354.

the ancestors and proposed renaming it as the Zimbabwe ridgeback.²¹⁸ Evidently, there was a nascent nationalistic discourse wagging the tail end of such breeding adventures.

Interestingly, purists within the ‘dog fancy’ opposed such experimental breeding of different dog breeds because they feared that this would produce *mabhinya embwa* (canine thugs.)²¹⁹ This referred to dangerous dogs—that were aesthetically appealing but were not intelligent animals—which acquired a reputation for needlessly mauling people. For some African, Coloured and Asian young men, such dogs projected their own masculinity by their viciousness, aggression and muscles.²²⁰ The SPCA alleged that these young men were imitating American ghetto cultures that involved dog fighting, drug peddling, and illegal betting in places such as Mbare, Braeside and Chitungwiza. Fellow breeders accused owners of such muscle dogs of training their dogs to be vicious by putting heavy chains around their necks regularly to force them to pull weights, of choking them and of giving them mustard to make them aggressive.²²¹ Such dogs also had their ears cropped and their tails docked. These dogs were continuously accused of harassing schoolchildren, mauling residents and of preying on other domestic animals (such as chickens and rabbits).²²² New technology was deployed in this project: the successes of the dog breeders and sellers in evading SPCA campaigns owed much to their use of social media to exchange information in closely guarded groups.²²³ These breeders, sellers and owners belonged to WhatsApp groups that dealt with toy dogs, mongrel dogs and ‘purebred’ dogs. Such WhatsApp platforms were used to debate, show off knowledge, advertise dogs and exchange information – and to evade the eyes of the authorities.

As these developments were taking place, the ZKC failed to hold dog shows between 2009 and 2014 to the extent that it anticlimactically urged those Africans who really ‘cared for their dogs’ to join it in 2015.²²⁴ Its 2017 dog show, which attracted a mere 85 dogs, was comparable to the

²¹⁸ ‘Rename Rhodesian Ridgeback Zimbabwean Ridgeback,’ *The Patriot*, 6 April 2016, ‘Closer look at the Zimbabwe Lion dog,’ *The Patriot*, 14 March 2019, https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/closer-look-at-the-zimbabwean-lion-dog/, accessed on 27 September 2019.

²¹⁹ Interview with Musa Mabhogo, Dzivarasekwa, 13 January 2019; Interview with Kudakwashe Mujuru and Nyakuromba Kuda, Dzivarasekwa, interviewed by author, 13 January 2019.

²²⁰ Denise Morton (58 years), Chief SPCA Inspector, Harare, interviewed by author, 7 January 2019.

²²¹ Interview Kudakwashe Nyakuromba, Dzivarasekwa, 13 January 2019.

²²² ‘Dog attack woman battles for life,’ *NehandaRadio*, 26 March 2019, <https://nehandaradio.com/2019/03/26/dog-attack-woman-battles-for-life/>, accessed on 20 September 2019.

²²³ Interview with Denise Morton; ‘Puppies for sale: What you need to know,’ *Sunday Mail*, 20 September 2016.

²²⁴ ‘Zimbabwe: Dog owners have been hit hard by the biting economy,’ *Youtube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BvfQXaa-T4Y>, accessed on 12 September 2018.

2008 show only.²²⁵ The Veterinary Association for Animal Welfare of Zimbabwe (VAWZ), whose other members included some former SPCA workers such as Meryl Harrison (who once worked as chief inspector of the Zimbabwe National SPCA for several years) conducted its own dog shows.²²⁶ During this period, the VAWZ held its own Annual Scruffs Dog Show that had categories such as ‘waggiest tail’, ‘happiest rescue’, best puppy, best veteran, ‘most like its owner’, ‘most handsome’, ‘most appealing eyes’, fancy dress and overall ‘best’.²²⁷ Theirs was a compromise position between the new ‘dog fancy’ and the ZKC in that they concentrated on rescuing dogs and ensured that the people who adopted them committed themselves to their adopted dogs. During the initial period of the FTLRP, Harrison rescued many domestic animals that had been abandoned as white farmers were pushed off the farms throughout the country.²²⁸

Although the dog breeders and owners religiously emphasised the importance of vaccinating their dogs against canine parvovirus, rabies and of deworming them, they also used some local and/or traditional healing remedies, especially as the economy nosedived after 2014 and medicine became expensive or simply unavailable.²²⁹ Musa Mabhogo used doom-washing powder to wash his dog and applied a mixture of used car oil and lemons to scare flies away from his dog.²³⁰ Dogs-owners who suspected that their dogs had been poisoned made a laxative using *chin'ai* (soot) or charcoal/ashes mixed with water or milk and then forced the affected dog to drink it. Mujere explained that he used a tuber produced by a plant known as *hurukuru* (*mucuna coriacea*), a climbing plant that produces dusts that irritates the skin, to enhance his dog’s ability to smell because he believed that urban dogs were not good at smelling. He did this to ensure that his property was burglary proof.²³¹ Many dog-owners shared information about homemade remedies made by mixing Listerine mouthwash, baby oil and water to cure skin rashes/diseases (mange) in dogs. Some directed colleagues to use a climber plant known as *gopo* to bathe dogs that had skin diseases. They also came up with improvised dog feeds that they made using eggshells, vegetables, chicken intestines and some starch to maintain a balanced diet. The SPCA explained that it frequently caught people travelling around Harare,

²²⁵ ‘Zimbabwe’s Biggest Dog Show,’ <https://ndeipi.co.zw/zimbabwes-biggest-dog-show/>, accessed on 30 May 2018.

²²⁶ Refer to the story of Ashaki in the preceding sections for more information about her.

²²⁷ This possibly was a tradition that they borrowed from the SPCA that held Fun Dog Shows since the 1970s for both white and African dog-owners. ‘Dog Show (Salisbury),’ *Rhodesia Herald*, 3 October 1977.

²²⁸ ‘Fearless animal rescuer defies Mugabe’s mobs.’

²²⁹ Interview with Kudakwashe Mujuru and Kudakwashe Nyakuromba.

²³⁰ Interview with Musa Mabhogo.

²³¹ Personal Communication with Joseph Mujere, Harare, 28 January 2019. See also H. Chimhundu, *Duramazwirechishona*, (Harare: College Press, 1996), 197.

Marondera, Domboshava with many dogs in their cars because they wanted to hunt warthogs in the surrounding farms in order to put food on the table.²³² Thus, these developments show that there has been a development of what has come to be known as omnibus-taxi hunting in KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa in which a group of hunters move around with many dogs. Taxi hunters in South Africa did not necessarily hunt for subsistence purposes because theirs was a form of sport in which they betted about the speediest dogs in the pack likely to make a kill.²³³ Some of those people who engaged in such hunts in Harare frequently discussed the use of hunting medicines to protect their dogs against wild animals such as warthogs and against snake bites. They also shared videos on social media that showed the hunting skills of different dog breeds and how they fared with various wild animals. Greyhounds were praised for their speed, pit bulls for their viciousness and ‘mongrels’ for their endurance and capacity to confuse and trap animals into a corner for others to finish them off. The fact that they were hunting in farming areas surrounding Harare suggests that studies focusing on the impact of the FTLR have to be broadened.

Although many people retained these hybrid (‘traditional’ meets vernacular, with strong use of social media and eclectic drawing upon various knowledge-bases) dog-keeping methods, there is also evidence that shows that some people had begun to treat dogs as valuable pets, even family members, and allow them to stay with them in their houses.²³⁴ Some dog-owners took the upkeep, feeding and living conditions of their dogs seriously. There was a gendered aspect to this, as well as class. WhatsApp group discussions frequently dwelt on how some female dog-owners buried their dogs, labelled their graves and planted flowers around them. In one instance, another female owner shared her personal experiences after her dog became diabetic about how she regularly injected it with insulin. According to Mutamba, ‘a dog is different from shoes or socks because it is similar to human beings.’ He related that his dog, Omega was as intelligent as human beings and understood many things even though it could not talk.²³⁵ This evidence shows that some residents had started to treat their dogs as pets and sentient beings.

²³² Interview with Denise Morton.

²³³ R. Grey-Ross, C. T. Downs and K. Kirkman, ‘An assessment of illegal hunting on farmland KwaZulu Natal, South Africa: Implications for oribi (*Ourebia ourebi*) conservation,’ *South African Journal of Wildlife Research*, 40, 1 (2019), 43-52.

²³⁴ Interview with Denise Morton.

²³⁵ Interview with Law Mutamba.

Kuvukura: Barking Mad?

In 2016, the government listed Harare as one of the provinces most affected by rabies. Residents of Prospect, Rydale, Whitecliff, Westlea and many other suburbs complained of dogs frothing at the mouth roaming their neighbourhoods.²³⁶ The number of recorded dog bites in the city between January and June 2016 was an astonishing 858. This was especially terrifying at a time when the Veterinary Department was no longer doing rabies vaccination campaigns in the high-density suburbs due to resources constraints.²³⁷ The HCC passed a new tougher Dog Licensing and Control bylaws in 2016 whose key provisions required residents to apply to keep dogs on their premises and it imposed a jail sentence not exceeding six months for infringement of its provisions.²³⁸ HCC authorities responded to the rise in cases of dog bites by simply gunning down stray dogs in the city, urging residents to keep their dogs on leashes, to vaccinate them and to keep them in secure enclosures.²³⁹ However, the policy of gunning down dogs backfired because some economically desperate people, whose capacity to provide for themselves had been curtailed by the Zimbabwean crisis, skinned dog carcasses from the council dump site in Bulawayo and sold the meat to unsuspecting residents.²⁴⁰ Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, a Bulawayo-based journalist, used the concept of the ‘nation’s food culture’ to argue that consuming dogs was never a part of Zimbabwe’s culinary history.²⁴¹ In doing this, he showed that dogs, in both positive and negative contexts, were easily deployed in propagating nationalist discourses.

Harare dogs barked in several other ways that the authorities found irritating. In 2015, Simba Mudarikwa, the Member of Parliament (MP) for Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe, accused young adult dog-owners in Harare of suffering from perennial childhood and observed that ‘at one house there was a dog which has nine names; this one comes and gives a name’.²⁴² The practise of naming dogs in Shona culture, with a view to communicate feelings of anger, is long established. For instance, the Ngarimo family of Chitungwiza named their dog after the first-born son of their neighbours, the Mazingonde family, in 2006.²⁴³ Some residents of Harare and

²³⁶ ‘Stray dogs pose danger to communities,’ *Newsday*, 18 August 2012.

²³⁷ ‘Harare city council to gun down stray dogs,’ *Harare24News*, <http://www.harare24.com/index-id-news-zk-46411.html>, accessed on 3 August 2019.

²³⁸ ‘Strict dog bylaws loom,’ *The Herald*, 25 July 2016.

²³⁹ HA TC/E/6 Dog Licences: All Correspondence, May 2011, *The Herald*, 30 June 2016.

²⁴⁰ ‘Vagrant sells dog meat for a living,’ *The Herald*, 7 August 2017; ‘Dog meat peddlers resurface in Bulawayo,’ *The Chronicle*, 18 June 2018.

²⁴¹ ‘Dog meat is not part of nation’s food culture,’ *The Chronicle*, 11 August 2017.

²⁴² House of Assembly, Parliament of Zimbabwe, ‘Repeal of the vagrancy act,’ 27 October 2015, 29.

²⁴³ ‘You cannot give your dog my son’s name!’ *The Sunday Mail Metro*, June 4-10 2006.

Masvingo even named their dogs after the then President of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe in 2016 and after the current President Emmerson Mnangagwa.²⁴⁴ Those people who named their dogs after these political leaders were brought before courts of law. Pictures of purebred dogs wearing ZANU PF regalia that had captions expressing feelings of disappointments with the ruling party began to circulate from as way back as 2010. For instance, ZANU PF supporters in Guruve Communal Lands made a citizens' arrest on Robson Chininga and took him to the police station where they forced him to pay an admission of guilt fine for dressing his dog with a ZANU PF T-shirt that had President Mnangagwa's face inscribed on it.²⁴⁵ From as early as 2010 there was a marked use of pictures and videos on social media that used as Pitbulls, Boerboels and poodles to convey political messages directed at the ruling elites. This phenomenon humanized these dogs as citizens but more likely animalized the people they parodied – and certainly conveyed messages showing how the satirists had lost faith in the government's economic and political policies and the state of the economy.²⁴⁶ The picture below was taken by *news24.com* during a protests in Harare in August 2016 and it shows protestors who had put a Robert Mugabe Road sign next to a dead dog during an anti-government protest.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ 'Man who named his dog Mugabe faces lengthy jail term,' *LiveMonitor*, 24 August 2016, <http://livemonitor.co.za/man-arrested-for-naming-dog-mugabe/>; 'Two Zim men charged after calling Mugabe 'a dog' – report, *News24*, <https://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/two-zim-men-charged-after-calling-mugabe-a-dog-report-20171103>, accessed on 4 August 2019.

²⁴⁵ 'Man arrested for dressing dog with ZANU PF regalia,' *The Tabloid Zimbabwe*, <http://thetabloid.co.zw/man-arrested-for-dressing-dog-with-zanu-pf-regalia/2019/12/07/>, accessed on 22 December 2019.

²⁴⁶ Professor Jonathan Moyo twitter handle, [@ProfJNMoyo](https://twitter.com/profjnmoyo/status/1069862728393723904?lang=en) <https://twitter.com/profjnmoyo/status/1069862728393723904?lang=en>, accessed on 26 August 2019.

²⁴⁷ 'As it happened: Zim's anti-Mugabe protest,' 26 August 2016, <https://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/live-zimbabwed-grand-anti-mugabe-march-20160826>, accessed on 26 August 2019.



Figure 17: Pictures showing Zimbabweans demonstrating in Harare. *news24.com*, 26 August 2016.

The above-mentioned picture generated a social media debate because people sympathetic to the MDC T linked it symbolically to the eventual downfall of President Mugabe and captioned it ‘no road through for a dead dog.’ However, ZANU PF apologists used the language of animal rights to accuse opposition MDC T supporters of killing the dog for the sake of symbolism.²⁴⁸ This incident betrayed the fact that Harare had a large population of free-roaming dogs who were frequently run-over by cars.²⁴⁹ However, pictorial evidence generated by the media during the week long January 2019 anti-government protests—that were dubbed the National Shutdown—showed that barking dogs participated in these protests alongside their owners in Chitungwiza and Harare.²⁵⁰ The fact that Zimbabweans name their dogs after ZANU PF leaders, dress them in ZANU PF regalia and circulated pictures of ZANU PF as a dog defecating at the country and citizens show that they were not only challenging its policies but also its view of the past and the country’s history. It also demonstrates that ZANU PF’s nationalist histories, Mugabeism²⁵¹—a genre that accorded to former president, Robert Mugabe, the role of prophet and seer of the Zimbabwean struggle for independence ahead of other nationalists— and patriotic historiography did not have an unassailable influence in the

²⁴⁸ ‘Hoodlums contravening the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act as they demonstrate downtown #NeraDemo,’ *The Herald Zimbabwe*, 26 August 2016, <https://twitter.com/HeraldZimbabwe/status/769119879429558272>, accessed on 2 August 2019.

²⁴⁹ ‘Are dogs of any value to society?’, *The Sunday Mail*, 16 December 2001.

²⁵⁰ ‘Zimbabweans Are Calling For Help, But No One Can Hear Them,’ *Buzzfeednews*, 17 January 2017, https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/tamerragriffin/zimbabwe-protests-whatsapp-twitter-facebook-blocked?utm_source=dynamic&utm_campaign=bfsharefacebook&utm_term=.ca5KKp2QE&ref=mobile_share&fbclid=IwAR1j9jP6VesuYX6r5Tzuuvc0oVLUT3YWOLq5tq2t24nfD_ipwWGzRjqsbxA, accessed on 3 August 2019.

²⁵¹ S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (ed), *Mugabeism? History, Politics and Power in Zimbabwe*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

country.²⁵² Rather Zimbabweans deployed dogs and their excrement in seeking to challenge the brand of politics practised by their leaders.

Tafataiona Mahoso, a ZANU PF public intellectual or government apologist (depending on one's own politics), described this new phenomenon using classical allusions by stating that 'the word cynic comes from Latin *cynicus* which in turn comes from the Greek words *kuon* (dog) and *kunikos* (snarling and dog like)' in describing the manner in which opposition MDC-T politicians and citizens (who disagreed with the ruling party's policies) verbally attacked the ruling ZANU PF party.²⁵³ Nathaniel Manheru, a government propagandist who uses that pen name and writes for the *Sunday Mail* newspaper, also complained that Zimbabweans 'enjoyed' pelting their leaders on social media 'with near absolute impunity'.²⁵⁴ In that same vein Emmerson Mnangagwa, when he was the Minister of Defence, described the opposition MDC T party in 2015 as '*kuvukura kwembwa* (the barking of dogs)' that could not stop the 'elephant (ZANU PF) from moving about.'²⁵⁵ Between 2009 and 2019 ZANU PF propagandists also upped their use of dog metaphors in fashioning new folklores aimed at dissuading the citizenry from supporting the opposition MDC T.²⁵⁶ They came up with the folktale of the *Fall of the Dog* that explained that God demoted the dog from being His favourite animal and condemned it to eating 'its own faeces' because it had sold out heavenly secrets to 'man'—*alias* the white man.²⁵⁷ The tale didactically warned that this 'will be our fate in Zimbabwe if we let those talking to the man, give back our land to the man'.²⁵⁸ They also used the tale of the dog, the snake and the hyena—the unholy trinity—that appeared before God to ask a favour.²⁵⁹ The 'unholy alliance' allegedly failed because God decided to hear their request the following day and assigned them to sleep at the places that tempted them to prove their inherent dishonesty.²⁶⁰ This prevented them from making their requests. ZANU PF used these tales to simplistically label its opponents as attention-seeking 'barking dogs'. ZANU PF leaders such as Senator Bhubho also denigrated some young Harare dog-owners in March 2017. He explained that

²⁵² B.M. Tendi, 'Patriotic History and Public Intellectuals Critical of Power,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34, 2 (2008), 379-396.

²⁵³ 'Gezi was the voice for the down-trodden,' *The Sunday Mail*, 6 May 2001.

²⁵⁴ 'Zimbabwe - Behold a Recalcitrant Reality!' *The Herald*, 28 November 2015.

²⁵⁵ 'Mnangagwa - Zanu PF is an elephant & MDC is a dog - 6 June 2015,' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RuWKriLr77Y>, accessed 26 July 2018.

²⁵⁶ 'Men's best Friend Indeed,' *The Patriot*, 5-11 July 2013.

²⁵⁷ 'Re-engagement: What are we telling whites?....Lessons from How the Dog Fell from Grace,' *The Patriot*, 31-6 June 2013.

²⁵⁸ 'Re-engagement: What are we telling whites?'

²⁵⁹ 'Making Snake, Hyena and Dog work together,' *The Patriot*, 26 July-1 August 2013.

²⁶⁰ 'Anatomy of a habitual deserter,' *The Patriot*, 26 April - 2 May 2013.

‘when you visit them they will come to the gate and entertain you outside the gate because they would not want you to see the filth in which they live in’.²⁶¹ He drew a connection between the dirty environments in which the dog-owners lived, kept their dogs, abused drugs and enjoyed dancehall music in Harare. However, Champz Mativi of Chitungwiza used dogs and dancehall to propagate a positive narrative in his song entitled ‘*Topidho* (Top dog)’ that showed *Topidho*—a mongrel dog— dressed in school uniforms going to school. Mativi wanted to encourage young people to value education, stop drug abuse and other illicit activities by using *Topidho* as a medium of instruction.²⁶² Senator Bhubho’s fixation with the filthiness at some residence where dogs were kept was also shared by some dog breeders who debated at length about the best ways to teach their dogs about where to defecate. Others suggested spraying a solution made of vinegar and black pepper at inappropriate places that dogs relieved on to force them to do this at unsprayed areas. These discussions suggested that dog-owners frequently had to deal with this unwelcome addition to the city’s pollution problem.²⁶³



Figure 18: Picture of Township mongrel dogs feeding. Taken by Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi.²⁶⁴

In a satirical story, Hurumende (one of the breeders) related that at one time he visited the kennels of a fellow breeder and discovered that they were very clean and that he looked after

²⁶¹ The Senate, Parliament of Zimbabwe, ‘Enforcement of laws to protect domestic animals,’ 22 March 2017, 17.

²⁶² ‘Musician uses dog to educate people,’ *Nehanda Radio*, 6 May 2019, <https://nehandaradio.com/2019/05/06/musician-uses-dog-to-educate-people/>, accessed on 2 August 2019.

²⁶³ Interview with Musa Mabhogu.

²⁶⁴ ‘Poverty in Zimbabwe pushes many into dog breeding.’

his dogs well. He later discovered that some dog-breeder slept in a relatively dirtier bedrooms compared to his dogs.²⁶⁵ These breeders gave their dogs that kind of attention because the dogs brought them money and enabled them to take care of most of their pecuniary needs.

The ZANU PF dog tales and the social media pictures and videos of the new dog types vocalizing protests against the status quo show the blending of some versions of traditional dog-keeping, with new but vernacular knowledge and also with the keeping of ‘modern’ dog types. Yet as has been shown in this chapter, neither versions of keeping dogs in the ‘modern way’ as espoused by those people or institutions that favoured modern dog keeping nor the traditional notions of rearing dogs remained top dog as successive litters of vigorous and mongrelised dog-rearing regimes evolved to suit their changing urban environment.

Conclusion

This chapter joins a growing global historiography of urban dogs. It develops the arguments raised by recent dog histories that challenge the tendency to universalize western or modern ideas of dog breeding that started in Britain and then spread to other parts of the globe. It shows that they do not represent the entirety of human-dog relations.²⁶⁶ As has been shown in this chapter the concept of canine imperialism entailed that the imperial and colonial powers and their dogs allied in subjecting the colonies to their projects. However, this chapter has shown that there was actually a substantial pushback to these versions of canine imperialism as was evidenced by the retention of traditional ideas and the appropriation and vernacular modification of western ideas. Recently scholarly studies of human-canine relations in cities of the global east such as Istanbul and Mumbai, where ownerless free-roaming dogs—pariah and stray dogs— abounded showed that despite facing periodic destruction campaigns these dogs have always been regarded by the majority of people residing in those cities as ‘legitimate’ denizens in the cities.²⁶⁷ Despite sharing very similar trajectories with Istanbul and Indian cities, Harare dogs in most instances had owners who, however, allowed them to roam freely and to come back home for a meal and to guard the homestead. Moreover, Harare dog-owners and breeders tried to come up with a fusion of traditional and the so-called modern methods of keeping dogs.

²⁶⁵ Interview with Lawrence Hurumende.

²⁶⁶ Skabelund, *Empire of Dogs*.

²⁶⁷ Fortuny, ‘Islam, Westernization, and Post humanist Place’; Palsetia, ‘Mad Dogs and Parsis: The Bombay Dog Riots of 1832’.

The chapter showed that some Africans continued traditional dog keeping practices in Salisbury (and later Harare). Working class Africans were accused by the SPCA and the Veterinary Department of bringing canine diseases into the city and of using vernacular knowledge to maintain the health of their dogs. By the 1960s, African nationalist politics pandered to working class Africans grievances against the SPCA and Veterinary Department using traditionalist arguments in opposing rabies vaccinations and dog licensing laws. Independence brought to power a regime that was prepared to tolerate African traditional dog-keeping in the city and complaints about free-roaming dogs wreaking havoc on the streets and in neighbouring farms abounded. Municipal authorities tolerated the yelping of the African middle classes who challenged the authority of the white-led ZKC and wanted to set up an African-led kennel club that respected traditional, social and cultural attitudes to dogs. Thus, the free-roaming nature of dogs resulted in them being talked about in discourses about nationalism, indigeneity, nativism, politics and racism. Moreover, racial perceptions shaped ideas, discourses and politics about dog keeping in Harare and eventually stymied the activities of the HCC, ZKC and SPCA in regulating dog-ownership. These developments brought up ‘crossbred’ dog rearing regime that blended aspects of western dog breeding standards and those derived from tradition, with shifting ideas from local working class cultures and from African middle class modernity.

The period between 2000 and 2017 witnessed a transformation as young African men in Harare’s high-density suburbs bred ‘purebred’ dogs relying on knowledge that they got from the internet, social media and from sharing information. They came up with some ‘new types (taxonomies)’ of dogs in addition to those that came with European colonialism. They, however, began with dogs whose lineage histories were not properly documented. Harare dog keeping practises developed along those lines due to the blending of local/vernacular and western/international knowledge about dogs. Such blending was caused by necessity, lack and innovation on the part of dog breeders and owners during the period under review. Throughout this chapter, the breeding, keeping and selling dogs often evoked discourses and debates about racism, colonialism and modernity. This chapter has contributed towards the broadening of debates about Zimbabwe’s urban histories, histories of the FTLRP, the Zimbabwean crisis and an understanding of different versions and visions of modernity that took hold in the city by moving away from anthropocentrism. Shona people say ‘*shungu dzembwa dziri mumwoyo kuhukura ndiko kududza*’ (the dog's ambition is in its heart; its barking denotes the venting of

it).²⁶⁸ This chapter has thus been using records about roaming, yelping, whining and whimpering of Harare dogs in coming up with a barking global south urban dog history.

²⁶⁸ Niemeyer, 'Proverbs: tools for worldview studies: an exploratory comparison of the Bemba of Zambia and the Shona of Zimbabwe,' 375.

Chapter Six

History, politics and dogs in Zimbabwean literature, c.1975-2015

Introduction

Dogs not only prowl Zimbabwe's urban streets and roam the rural hinterland but, indeed, the very corridors of power. In 2015 the then Zimbabwean Vice President, Emmerson Mnangagwa, responded to the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (Tsvangirai) party's claim that 'you can rig elections but you will not rig the economy' by stating that 'barking dogs will not stop an elephant from moving about'.¹ Mnangagwa's ambition to replace former President Robert Mugabe in both the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) party and government thereafter was challenged by a faction led by the First Lady, Grace Mugabe, which he initially dismissed as harmless 'barking dogs'. When a Mnangagwa presidency increasingly became ominously likely in November 2017, Grace Mugabe told her followers that 'we do not want to beat a dog whilst concealing the whip.'² The party and government promptly dismissed him from his official positions. He fled into voluntary exile and later recounted that he walked for 30 kilometres into Mozambique with President Mugabe's security detail, which he described as 'hunting dogs' in hot pursuit.³

Two weeks later, Mnangagwa bounced back as the president of Zimbabwe on the wave of a military 'coup'. At his first political address he chanted '*pasi nevanongovukura* (down with barking dogs)'. These recent vignettes show the enduring relevance of dogs as metaphors of power in the Zimbabwean political landscape. This chapter argues that such metaphors have a history and explores their usage by creative writers over the last forty years.

The chapter makes use of creative works—by Mungoshi, Hove, Mabasa, Chinodya among others—between 1975 and 2013, which have used dogs in illuminating imagined pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial experiences, with a particular focus on politics. The chapter is

¹ 'VP Emmerson Mnangagwa Speaking at a Star Rally 2 in Bulawayo-6 June 2015' *YouTube*, 12 Jun. 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?v=YnllV8whoms, accessed 21 August 2018.

² 'First Lady, Grace Mugabe's Speech at Churches' Interface Held at Rufaro Stadium #263Chat.' *YouTube*, 5 November 2017, www.youtube.com/watch?v=qCfRRRABaAe, accessed 21 August 2018.

³ 'Mnangagwa Reveals 30km Walk While Escaping Mugabe's 'Hunting Dogs'', *News24*, 22 December 2017, www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/mnangagwa-reveals-30km-walk-while-escaping-mugabes-hunting-dogs-20171222, accessed 21 Aug. 2018.

arranged in three chronological sections focusing on the different ideologies, themes and styles that writers have pursued in their quest to address the important political questions of their times. The first section examines the authorial deployment of dog allegories in literary works published during the long colonial era, which also grappled with aspects of the pre-colonial past. It shows that these works are testaments to African experiences of colonial oppression but also romantic re-imaginings of the pre-colonial past. It contends that they were also politically motivated and inflected to serve ideological purposes. The second section examines works written in the first decade of independence, 1980 to 1990, which deploy dogs in ways that speak to and sometimes challenge the triumphalist and teleological narratives of the nationalist struggle. Works of fiction written in this critical decade show that novelists are deploying animals in ways that at times pander to, but sometimes also critique, the nationalist narratives. The third section focuses on works of fiction written between 1991 and 2013, which make use of dogs as subjects and agents, actors and allegories in considering the interrelationship of canines, class and the city. A central feature of these works, as the chapter will show, is their disillusionment with the post-colonial nationalist project.

This chapter responds to works of literary criticism focusing on Zimbabwean fiction.⁴ These literary critics argue that Zimbabwean novels, short stories and poems, written during the period under review, provide ‘counter-memories and counter histories’ to monolithic colonialist, nationalist, nativist, patriotic and patriarchal versions of history.⁵ Such works of fiction offer us a subaltern alternative which challenge homogeneous histories that do not engage with the place of the ‘other’ (be it women, children and minorities or, in this case, non-human animals) in the past.⁶ Yet no one has yet engaged with these writers’ handling of animal subjects in their works.

In analysing the authors’ deployment of dogs in their works of fiction, the chapter examines the use of dogs as metaphors in human society, challenging critics to move beyond

⁴ F. Veit-Wild, *Teachers, Preachers, Non-Believers: A Social History of Zimbabwean Literature*, (London: Hans Zell, 1992); R. Muponde and T.M. Mandivavarira (eds), *Sign and Taboo: Perspectives on the Poetic Fiction of Yvonne Vera*, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2002); T.M. Vambe, *African Oral Story-telling Tradition and the Zimbabwean Novel in English*, (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2004); R. Muponde and R. Primorac, *Versions of Zimbabwe: New Approaches to literature and culture*, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2005); T.M. Vambe, and M. Chirere (eds), *Charles Mungoshi: A Critical Reader*, (Harare: Prestige Press, 2006); R. Primorac, *The Place of Tears: The Novel and Politics in Modern Zimbabwe*, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006).

⁵ P. Kaarsholm, ‘Coming to terms with violence: literature and the development of a public sphere in Zimbabwe,’ in R. Muponde and R. Primorac (eds), *Versions of Zimbabwe: New Approaches to literature and culture*, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2005), 18.

⁶ K. Muchemwa, ‘Some thoughts on history, memory and writing in Zimbabwe,’ in R. Muponde and R. Primorac (eds), *Versions of Zimbabwe: New Approaches to literature and culture*, 197.

anthropocentric readings of Zimbabwean literature. It concurs with Lönngren's notion that anthropocentric interpretations close the door to understanding subjugated knowledge about human-animal relations.⁷ She proposes the need to prioritise surface plots/meanings because it is only at that level where animal literary agency is visible as opposed to penetrating deep into the text for its 'true' and/or 'veiled' meanings.⁸ This permits the reader to 'follow' the 'tracks, traces, scents, presences and noises of animals' in the text not to kill, hunt or name the animals but to move 'alongside', 'with' and together with the animals in the text.⁹ In fact, dogs, as the chapter will show (as Kohn did in another context) 'engage with the world and with each other as selves—that is, as beings that have a point of view' and that as selves they are not just exemplified but also represent and do so in their actions.¹⁰

Four Zimbabwean novels even incorporate the canine in their very titles: Mumvumas *Imbwa Nyoro*,¹¹ Gascoigne's *Tunzi the Faithful Shadow*, Fuller's *Don't let's go to the Dogs Tonight* and Mabasa's *Imbwa Yemunhu* (You Dog).¹² This selection of novels show that dogs are so central to their owners' actions that they become protagonists, which allows these novels to question solipsistic anthropogenic narratives of the past. Most of these novels make use of traditional oral songs, poems, allegories, legends and myths useful in challenging the colonial version of the past.¹³ Some of these authors also explore vernacular knowledge about the physicality of dogs, their behavioural traits, and the complex meanings that humans attached to them. Authors such as Chikwava and Tagwira provided supporting evidence for this chapter despite the fact that they did not make dogs a central part of their narratives. However, the literary works of Hove, Chinodya, Mungoshi and Mabasa place dogs, at both the physical and symbolic levels, as key in understanding certain aspects of Zimbabwean society at the time they were writing. In fact, these authors gleaned from oral sources traditional narratives about dogs and redeployed them in their literary works. Mabasa is especially interesting in that he has been writing opinion pieces in the *Kwayedza* and the Herald newspapers that focus on the

⁷ A. Lönngren, *Following the Animal: Power, Agency, and Human-Animal transformation in Modern, Northern-European Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 1-22.

⁸ Lönngren, *Following the Animal*, 23-32.

⁹ Lönngren, *Following the Animal*, 26-27.

¹⁰ E. Kohn, 'How dogs dream: Amazonian natures and the politics of transspecies engagement,' *American Ethnologist*, 34, 1 (2007), 4.

¹¹ The title of Mumvuma's novel, *Imbwa Nyoro*, is derived from the Shona proverb *imbwa nyoro ndidzo tsengi dzematowo* (humble/meek dogs are the devourers of hides). It refers to people who appear to be humble and yet they end up doing wrong things.

¹² R. Mumvuma, *Imbwa Nyoro*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1982), M. Gascoigne, *Tunzi the Faithful Shadow*, (Harare: Quest, 1988), A. Fuller, *Don't let's go to the dogs tonight*, (New York: Random House, 2002), I.T. Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, (Harare: Bhabhu Books, 2013).

¹³ Vambe, *African Oral Story-telling Tradition*, 3.

symbolic meanings of dogs in society and about dog keeping in Zimbabwean society generally. He even wrote about how other countries and societies looked after their dogs.¹⁴ An analysis of his work show that he uses both traditional and contemporary knowledge about dogs in his novels.¹⁵ Overall, this chapter has a healthy tension with the previous chapter that focused on creolisation of dog keeping practices in Harare because it focuses on the whole country, especially rural areas, where there were not as many cultural influences compared to Harare. As such, it focused mostly on the generation of vernacular knowledge about dogs. The chapter reveals the extent to which the Zimbabwean literature shows that dog keeping in the country was complicated and non-linear. Moreover, the majority of these authors use dogs to challenge hegemonic narratives about the past. Dogs allow these authors to trespass into tabooed subjects in society, politics and in how they viewed the past.

Novels and books written by white Zimbabweans that are not included in this analysis deserve some mentioning. One notable omission is Doris Lessing's *The Story of Two Dogs*, which has recently been given a post-colonial evaluation by Pat Louw.¹⁶ Other novels and dog stories written by white women such as Arsenis' *Dog Tales and Trimmings (Ten Popular Breeds)* and *The Adventures of Rip, the Ridgeback* in also hold a treasure trove of information about dog-owning, politics, whiteness and racism in the country.¹⁷ Similarly, Jill Wylie's *Call of the Marsh* that spans the years 1958 to 1971 contains some interesting information on how middle class white families kept dogs.¹⁸ Wylie also published *Dogs to the Rescue in Wild Zimbabwe* in 2008.¹⁹ These works deserve an essay that focuses on them in order to complement the insight generated in this chapter. These books are vital sources in writing about dog owning by white Zimbabweans and they provide provide an interesting way of understanding politics, racism and discourses about whiteness, racism and animal keeping in the country. These novels and books speak to different dog keeping cultures and traditions compared to the literary works that are used in this chapter. Nonetheless, the novels that were selected in this chapter provide

¹⁴ He has been contributing to a column entitled 'imbwa haihukure sadza' in the *Kwayedza* newspaper for many years. Just like his novels, the column discusses many social ills that the country has been grappling with. He also contributes articles about contemporary issues and dogs in urban areas in the Herald newspaper.

¹⁵ I managed to conduct an informal interview with Ignatius Mabasa. I hope to pursue the interface between literary sources and history in the future.

¹⁶ P. Louw, 'Wildness and Colonialism in 'The Story of Two Dogs' by Doris Lessing,' in D. Wylie and J. Barendse (eds), *Dogs in southern African Literatures*, (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 2018).

¹⁷ M. L. Arsenis, *Dog Tales and Trimmings (Ten Popular Breeds)*, (Cape Town: Howard Timmins); M. L. Arsenis, *The Adventures of Rip, the Ridgeback*, (Republic of South Africa: Randburg Printers, 1962).

¹⁸ J. Wylie, *Call of the Marsh: Life with a Basenji*, (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1979).

¹⁹ J. Wylie, *Dogs to the Rescue in Wild Zimbabwe*, (Fishheok: Echoing Green Press, 2008).

a vantage point that focuses solely on African dog owning and they are important in that they critically dealt with issues related to colonialism, nationalism and post-colonial disillusionment.

Dogs of the pre-colonial past: the dog of the ancestors?

The earliest works of fiction, written during the colonial era from 1975 onwards, make use of canines as metaphors of power in the pre-colonial past. Mungoshi's *Waiting for the Rain*, which was published in 1975, is the most important novel in this respect.²⁰ Set in the 1970s the novel makes occasional reference to events that happened during the pre-colonial period. During that time, the country was fighting for national independence. The novel paints a pessimistic picture of both colonial power and the liberation war that literary critic Veit-Wild argues that in the novel there is 'no way out, no hope of improvement, and no way back' for Africans.²¹ She argues that the pessimistic outlook of the book works against the 'making of a history' for its characters and the country at large. Yet the use of dogs in the novel challenges historical linearity as competing versions of oral traditions rupture both colonial and nationalist histories. The story of the great wanderer, Samambwa (the man of many dogs), challenges the *ngozi* (avenging spirit) in the Mandengu family, referring metaphorically to the exactions put on Africans by colonialism and Rhodesian rule.²² During the pre-colonial era Samambwa and his dogs flee from unnamed strife in the north and together they conquer other human societies in the country. He is:

A terrible hunter, with over twenty dogs and he lived on meat which he cut into strips and hung in the sun to dry, to be eaten later without salt. For years he wandered about in the great jungles of the north, and being alone, he soon forgot how to talk, even forgot who his parents had been, or where he had come from. And so he found himself among people again, on the shores of the Great Northern Lake. They didn't like him. They were afraid of him and his dogs, so they gave him presents and asked him to leave their country. He refused the presents but left their country, travelling south, following the game, followed by his enemies-people through whose land he passed and wild animals, night and day, stopping only to drink water or to gut an animal, or only long enough for the meat to dry.²³

His dogs protect him from wild animals and human competitors, which suggests pre-colonial uses for dogs. They kill the chief 'of a nearby tribe'. The elders of the affected community

²⁰ C. Mungoshi, *Waiting for the Rain*, (London: Heinemann, 1975).

²¹ Veit-Wild, *Teachers, Preachers, Non-Believers*, 288.

²² M. Chirere, 'Pursuing Garabha in *Waiting for the Rain*,' in Vambe and Chirere (eds), *Charles Mungoshi: A Critical Reader*, 115.

²³ Mungoshi, *Waiting for the Rain*, 128.

cunningly send him a young girl and beer in return for simply calling off his dogs.²⁴ Their Trojan gift works. They force him to lead their military and to marry the young girl because they wanted to use both him and his dogs.

The novel juxtaposes the legend of Samambwa and his dogs with that of Magaba, who took the agency of his dogs for granted by following the treacherous call of the honey bird with disastrous effects:

The voice went on and on, farther and farther away from him, sweeter than ever before but fading and fading and fading till he couldn't hear it any more. With the voice gone, he realized that all his dogs had disappeared too. They were no longer with him. Maybe they were just around: so he called and called but the dogs did not come. He realized that they had deserted him and he was all alone.²⁵

Dogs, in this book, save Samambwa from war, and hunger and are instrumental in his rise to power because he understood them whilst Magaba did not. The author uses these canine metaphors to convey the instability in the Mandengu family and in the country in the 1970s as both seek new leadership. The family struggles between Garabha, a restless, unmarried and uneducated man distrusted by his father, and his educated young brother, Lucifer. Garabha is a traditionalist who plays the family drum and is the spirit medium of the great ancestor, Samambwa (the man of many dogs). He is the opposite of Lucifer who relies on colonial technologies such as books and the radio and does not identify with his people's traditions. Struggles to find leadership in this family are set in a time of drought—physically and metaphorically—as future attainment of political independence is the 'symbolic rain' suggested in the title of the novel. His deep understanding of his dogs was the only reason ensuring the success of Samambwa in subduing opponents and in hunting, thereby allowing him to perpetuate his dynasty whilst Magaba fails dismally because he does not try to understand his dogs. Metaphorically, the dogs represent the ordinary people's capacity to follow only good leaders who do not pursue illusory or selfish paths, as Magaba does.²⁶

In the short story 'The Lazy Young Man and his Dog', published in *One Day Long Ago: More Stories from a Shona Childhood* in 1991, Mungoshi uses an underdog narrative in which a dog leads its lazy master towards winning the hand of the chief's daughter in marriage. Although the dog, Dembo, is old and outwardly useless, it makes it possible for his lazy master to marry

²⁴ Mungoshi, *Waiting for the Rain*, 129.

²⁵ Mungoshi, *Waiting for the Rain*, 156.

²⁶ Mungoshi, *Waiting for the Rain*, 156.

the chief's deaf-mute daughter in a very tough competition to make her talk. Except for the chief's daughter, Miedzo, the only other characters that are mentioned are the chief, the lazy young man and the chief's wife. However, it mentions Dembo more than twenty times. The indolent young man inherits Dembo upon his father's death. Dembo thinks *for* the young man because he is a conduit through which the father transfers knowledge to his son.²⁷ Dembo realizes that 'nothing would happen if he didn't put his limbs to use' and starts bumping into his master at every turn for him 'to get a wife' as his mother becomes too old. On noticing her son's failure to comprehend the dog's message, the old woman informs her son that Dembo is telling him to get a wife. This brings a further difficulty because the lazy young man does not have decent clothes to put on to impress women. Dembo solves this problem by rubbing 'himself against his legs' to convince his master to use his coat as clothes for the journey to his mother's village of origin to find a wife.²⁸ His visit to his mother's village coincides with an annual ceremony conducted by the chief of the area in which young men compete to make his mute daughter talk in return for her hand in marriage. Many prospective young men dismally fail to make her talk. Whilst he is engrossed in their performances, Dembo comes back from the dead singing:

Give me back my coat
My summer and winter coat
Couldn't you kill a goat
And not rob me of my coat
My grey and black spotted coat.²⁹

In the ensuing struggle, Old Dembo wrestles his skin from the young man, thereby exposing his nakedness and enraging the chief. He, however, succeeds in getting the chief's daughter to vocalise her surprise at this strange spectacle of nude necromancy (and who can blame her?). Thus, Dembo manages to get his erstwhile master to marry the chief's daughter and to secure his appointment as the chief's most important councillor. Dembo then disappears for good. The old dog functions in the same manner as the drum in Mungoshi's *Waiting for the Rain* (1975), which facilitates dialogue between history and the present, the living and the dead. There is a Shona proverb that says *imbwa hora haifunhidzi/hukure nhando* (an old dog does not sniff/bark

²⁷ C. Mungoshi, 'The Lazy Young Man and his Dog,' *One Day Long Ago: More Stories from a Shona Childhood*, (Harare: Baobab Books, 1991), 53.

²⁸ Mungoshi, 'The Lazy Young Man and his Dog,' 55.

²⁹ Mungoshi, 'The Lazy Young Man and his Dog,' 56.

in vain).³⁰ Dembo epitomises this aphorism by using his knowledge and experience to influence events in his master's favour.

Interestingly, the very transgressive act of wearing dog skins—as the lazy young man did—has long been a taboo in Zimbabwe. In April 1972, Enoch Hove of Mufakose African Township in Salisbury, stated that ‘it is a curse of death for a man or woman to put [on] anything from a dog’ whilst responding to the controversy regarding the use of dog skins to make coats.³¹ Even though Enoch uses a similar fable to elaborate his point, his narratives end with an embarrassed groom committing suicide. It appears that Enoch's story works to discourage transgression of this taboo. That of Dembo and his master achieves a miraculous feat and it speaks to the Shona belief that ‘if you think of eating a dog eat the alpha male’. The two tales can be analysed from many perspectives. In one respect, they reveal young women's struggles to prevent arranged marriages. They also tell the story of moral weaklings who break time-honoured social proscriptions to achieve feats that the strong may have difficulties accomplishing. Indicative of his central significance, Dembo brings all the members of society—the dead, the living, the rich and powerful and the poor and the weak—together.

These tales are in dialogue with each other, offering a lens into a shifting Shona view of dogs. These myths provide a multiplicity of ways of imagining the binaries of the rulers and the ruled, the powerful and the weak, old and young, even the majorities and the minorities. When Mungoshi wrote these short stories he was concerned ‘about human cruelty, human failures in understanding, how people look down at the disadvantaged or disabled’.³² Mungoshi uses orality's ‘inherent elasticity, its capacity to be stretched in different directions, to be framed, to capture and represent different meanings, all at the same time’ in handling these issues.³³ Mungoshi explains that although the book, *One Day Long Ago: More Stories from a Shona Childhood*, focuses on children's literature, it also has lessons for adults.³⁴ In the two pieces analysed in this section Mungoshi acts as the old-world storyteller (*sarungano*) and uses dogs to think about power and powerlessness, and about history's role in the present by borrowing heavily from Shona oral traditions.

³⁰ A. Munjanja, *Tsumo naMadimikira*, (Salisbury: Longman, 1965), 9.

³¹ ‘Dog Fur Horror and the Shonas,’ *The Sunday Mail*, 9 April 1972.

³² Quoted in N.J. Schmidt, ‘Award-winning Children's books: The Noma Selections of 1980-1994,’ in M. Khorana (ed), *Critical Perspective on Post-Colonial African Children's and Young Adult Literature*, (Westport: Greenwood, 1998), 38-40.

³³ Vambe, *African Oral Story-telling Tradition*, 15

³⁴ Schmidt, ‘Award-winning Children's books,’ 41.

Mungoshi's use of Shona metaphors from oral myths, legends and folklores is antithetical to that of Laetitia Gutu, writing in *Shumba and the He-Goat and other Stories*, which was published in 1978.³⁵ Gutu used these oral forms and the dog metaphor to further colonial propaganda with a narrowly determinist reading of the pre-colonial past in which her protagonists are not allowed to imagine alternative realities. Gutu's short story 'Who is Most Important' deals with a man who lives with his faithful dog, a black cat and a hen in the pre-colonial period. These animals quarrel amongst themselves as each thinks that it is more valuable to their master and they agree to swap duties to prove their selfish arguments. They all fail miserably and incur the wrath of their master. The government-controlled Rhodesian Literature Bureau published it in 1978, targeting African children.³⁶ It fits into the political ideology of the colonial state by urging readers to be content with where they are. It deploys a dog as a character in an allegory buttressing the toxic taxonomies of the colonial society of the time. This allegory proffered the morality tale that each animal is important because of its unique contribution to the owner's welfare. It taught African children to accept their positions in society uncritically at the time their parents were fighting to liberate the country from colonialism. To use liberation war parlance, Gutu's dog is a *chimbwasunguta* (dog of the slavers on a leash) in that she deploys it to dilute African political consciousness.

Colonialism, dogs and the quest for independence

Chenjejai Hove's two novels, *Bones* and *Shadows*, published in 1988 and 1991 respectively, use dogs to interrogate ideas about the 1970s war of liberation and the emerging nationalist historiography.³⁷ The novels question the core values of nationalist historiography by focusing on underdog narratives written from feminist, minority and youth perspectives. These standpoints challenge nationalist historiography by championing a multiplicity of memories insisting on inclusivity in history.³⁸ The two novels make use of the dog image in engaging with the materiality of colonial rule over Africans. In *Bones*, Hove uses feminist narratives of the spirit medium of Nehanda in the 1896/7 anti-colonial uprisings, of Marita, Janifa and of the Unknown Woman in the 1970s and early 1980s. This enables him to pass an indictment on both colonialism and the first ten years of independence in Zimbabwe (after 1980). When some characters in the novel go to work for Manyepo ('falsehoods/lies/liar'), an exploitative white

³⁵ L. Gutu, 'Who is Most Important,' *Shumba and the He-Goat and other Stories*, (Gweru: Mambo, 1978), 19-23.

³⁶ R. Granqvist, 'Storylines, Spellbinders and Heartbreaks: Decentering the African Oral-Popular Discourse,' in R. Granqvist (ed), *Major Minorities: English Literatures in Transit*, (Amsterdam: Brill, 1993), 61.

³⁷ Hove, *Bones*, Hove, *Shadows*.

³⁸ Primorac, *The Place of Tears*, 81-103.

farmer, they go with their gaunt dogs.³⁹ Hove uses the physicality of these starving African dogs to exemplify the pernicious effects of colonialism on African livelihoods. His characters compare Manyepo's dogs, which are pampered, with their own dogs as a metaphor of colonial oppression and exploitation. Marume, a character in the novel, asks Manyepo in his soliloquy the following questions:

What about what you eat yourself? It must be food even God has not known how it smells. Manyepo, why don't you look at your dogs and our dogs? Your dogs are fat as hippos while ours are blown away by the wind. If you want to know how well someone is living, just look at his dog. Then you wouldn't come here and say bad things about us who work to give you a good life, Manyepo.⁴⁰

A picture of an emaciated dog illustrates the levels of poverty that Manyepo's workers find themselves in both during the colonial era and early independence period.⁴¹ Conversely, Manyepo's dogs, kept for display purposes as status symbols, eat better and live better than his employees do. Chisaga, Manyepo's cook, complains that after cooking the farmer says 'thank you Chisaga, this was a good sauce, give some to the dogs as well' and instructs him to go out to play while 'they eat hills of food, leaving some for the dogs even when I have given the dogs some good food. Sometimes I am lucky to get left-over food for my children too.'⁴² This angers Manyepo's workers, including Muringi and Chatora, who out of nascent political activism, give Manyepo's dogs human faeces and then move about the farm saying, 'a dog is a dog, give it shit it will eat and ask for more'.⁴³ They target these dogs as proxies of the white farmer and the colonial system and use the fact that they eat faeces to shatter the colonial façade that divide purebred European dog breeds from African-owned mongrels. Thus dogs, as in Mungoshi's and Gutu's novels and short stories, act as metaphors through which ideologies are conveyed and challenged.

In *Shadows*, Hove wrestles with nationalist narratives from both a feminist and minority perspective in delving into how Matabeleland and the Midlands provinces experienced first pre-colonial violence, secondly, the war of liberation in the 1970s and thirdly, 1980s post-colonial repression. An African Purchase Area farmer, Baba Johane, runs away to Salisbury from both the liberation war fighters and Rhodesian soldiers in the 1970s but is repatriated by

³⁹ Hove, *Bones*, 43.

⁴⁰ Hove, *Bones* 18.

⁴¹ Hove, *Bones*, 21.

⁴² Hove, *Bones*, 35 and 45.

⁴³ Hove, *Bones*, 45 – 46.

the Rhodesian police. A neighbourly woman mistakes the police for government veterinary officials and starts defending his wife (Amai Johane) saying:

The women were not responsible for the paying of dog taxes or for sending the dogs for injections at the *vetinari* (veterinary). No, we cannot do that, we would not know how to answer the questions of the white *vetinari* who they say speaks through the nose as if his mouth is full of water. Even when he speaks our language, he calls people as if they were sticks or dogs, all the time speaking through the nose like one already drowning. They say he is already drowned in anger as if someone forces him to give injections to dogs instead of giving them to people.⁴⁴

The 1912 Dog Tax Ordinance aimed at financially burdening African dog owners in order to force them to cull their dogs, as has been shown in Chapter four. Africans resisted dog taxation and other veterinary interventions that they felt undermined their livelihoods that depended on dog owning, by a plethora of evasive strategies like using counterfeit dog tokens and exploiting loopholes in the Dog Tax Ordinances to their advantage. Overall, the two novels question the limitations of nationalist histories by focusing on subaltern stories of peasants, rural women and marginalized regions. These narratives use underdogs and their owners to move readers away from the hegemonic nationalist histories of the elites. Moreover, they did so when nationalist historiography was still in fashion politically and academically. Thus, Hove's novels contest—albeit tacitly—prevailing Nationalist histories and politics by using vernacular understanding of the places of dogs in society to displace colonial, nationalist and ethnic histories in order to highlight 'other forms of communal memory'.⁴⁵ These novels challenge the black government's political myths about the past.⁴⁶ It is important to restate that in the early 1980s the government was in the throes of suppressing Ndebele people in Matabeleland, while actively suppressing student and worker activism. Therefore, these stories provide an alternative history sympathetic to the underdogs in the early independence period by challenging the elitist nationalism of the new rulers.

His master's voice? The state's lapdogs, power and propaganda

Perhaps the most scathing literary critic of nationalist histories of the 1980s is Freedom Nyamubaya, herself a veteran of the 1970s war of liberation. She abandoned secondary schooling in the 1970s and joined the liberation war, rising to become a field operations

⁴⁴ Hove, *Shadows*, 26.

⁴⁵ Vambe, *African Oral Story-telling Tradition*, 77.

⁴⁶ Primorac, *The Place of Tears*, 82.

commander in ZANU's liberation army.⁴⁷ In the poem, 'The dog and the hunter', Nyamubaya uses the dog as a symbol of betrayal and exploitation of the masses/war veterans by the new ruling elites in post-colonial Zimbabwe.⁴⁸ Hers is a feminist, gendered and class (workers and peasants) discourse countering the privileged status of male leaders in nationalist historiography by giving voice to the constituency of 'mangy dog': those left behind by the gravy train of independence and its attendant kleptocratic engine drivers. The poem uses oral traditions about hunting with dogs and the fact that dogs rarely benefit from bounties of hunts that were successful due to their effort. Therefore, the poem explores the unequal relationship between the dog and the human hunter in that the former hunts but does not get a reward or recognition from the hunter.⁴⁹ As a female war veteran, Nyamubaya felt that the ruling political elites in the late 1980s were side-lining the masses, especially women and rank-and-file war veterans.⁵⁰ Nyamubaya describes the exploitative relationship as follows:

In scarcity, dog and master are friends,
Tied around the neck,
the hunter drags him along,
In thick and dark forests,
Zvichapera is loose.
Behind trees and ditches,
Game dodges the dog.
With energy the dog sniffs,
searching and chasing,
Zvichapera plays it double,
Heading trees,
and collapsing on dirty rocks
With determination,
Zvichapera struggles on.⁵¹

The relationship, however, breaks down as soon as the dog catches prey due to the selfishness of the hunter in the same way that veterans of the war, workers, peasants and women were abandoned by the nationalist elites upon the attainment of political independence. The hunt creates an illusory bond between the hunter and the dog in the same way that the liberation war created fictive connections between nationalist leaders and the freedom fighters who were ordinary people. The name of the dog, Zvichapera (It will end), shows her disillusionment with

⁴⁷ 'Struggle Is Not a Destination, but a River That Runs Forever,' *The Zimbabwean*, 10 August 2015, www.thezimbabwean.co/2015/08/struggle-is-not-a-destination-but-a-river-that-runs-forever/, accessed 21 August 2018.

⁴⁸ F. Nyamubaya, *On the Road Again*, (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1986), 8.

⁴⁹ R. Musvoto, 'Tensions and conflicts in Zimbabwean society: Nyamubaya reminisces,' *English Academy Review*, 24, 1 (2007), 67-68.

⁵⁰ 'Ghosts of History in the Pages of Today's National Memory,' *Sunday News*, 25 June 2017, www.sundaynews.co.zw/ghosts-of-history-in-the-pages-of-todays-national-memory/, accessed 21 August 2018.

⁵¹ Nyamubaya, *On the Road Again*, 8.

a nationalist project which she accuses of not achieving its intended objectives. Like Zvichapera, war veterans and the masses have to contend ‘with a big stick’ whilst the ruling elites consume the fat of the land.⁵² There is a Kalanga proverb *imbwa yabulaya muka inowopiwa makuse koga*, which means ‘If a dog kills an animal it is given fur only’.⁵³ The poem echoes this proverb, but updates it by challenging nationalist elites and the narrow versions of the past they were propagating in the early 1980s.

In a very different way, Michael Gascoigne’s *Tunzi the Faithful Shadow*, conversely uses a *mangy dog*, Tunzi, as a propaganda tool for the government.⁵⁴ The way this novel relates political issues such as the 1982-87 civil war, otherwise known as the *gukurahundi* (the early rain that washes away the chaff), panders to nationalist histories as propagated by the ZANU PF ruling elite in the 1980s. Although certain government programmes were developmental in that they included progressive legislations for workers (minimum wage laws and community development) the government labelled the Ndebele-based party, PF ZAPU, which had also fought to end colonial rule, as enemies of the state and dissidents. This flattened competing versions of history.

In the novel, a boy called Temba saves a ‘mongrel’ dog, later named Tunzi, from a snare and his parents permit him to keep the dog on the condition that he teaches him domestic etiquette. The dog surpasses family expectations by saving Thoko, Temba’s little sister, from being bitten by a snake.⁵⁵ Thereafter Jabulani and Mazula, variously described in the novel as dissidents, bandits, social misfits, poachers and robbers, kidnap Temba and Tunzi in order to use them as a distraction whilst robbing a local shop. Tunzi foils the robbery and saves Temba’s father from being shot by the two robbers.⁵⁶ These impressive feats render the dog an animal hero who understands situations and acts in preventing harm to the family and community.⁵⁷ In other words, the dog acts as a medium, just like the drum in Mungoshi’s *Waiting for the Rain*, played this time by the government in propagating statist and reductionist histories of the country.

This novel glosses over the human rights abuses committed against the Ndebele-speaking minority who supported the rival PF ZAPU party by the Shona dominated ZANU PF

⁵² Nyamubaya, *On the Road Again*, 8.

⁵³ M. Moyo, ‘Fauna in Archaic Greek and Kalanga oral wisdom literatures,’ PhD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2016, 173.

⁵⁴ Gascoigne, *Tunzi the Faithful Shadow*.

⁵⁵ Gascoigne, *Tunzi the Faithful Shadow*, 20.

⁵⁶ Gascoigne, *Tunzi the Faithful Shadow*, 90-96.

⁵⁷ Gascoigne, *Tunzi the Faithful Shadow*, 11 and 17.

government in the Matabeleland province between 1982 and 1987. *Tunzi* is essentially an ersatz adventure narrative, uncritically regurgitating government propaganda and covering up these atrocities.⁵⁸ The ministry of education in the mid-1990s prescribed the novel as a Junior Secondary School English literature set book because it painted the independent government and its programmes in a good light. It included a catalogue of developmental successes achieved by the ZANU PF government such as restoring ‘peaceful order’, building roads, schools, clinics, growth points, and the enactment of progressive legislation.

Tunzi was thus a propaganda tool—a dog held on a leash by the government and directed at children—in its indoctrination discourses about nationhood, belonging, and obedience to national authorities. Labelling the people that they disagreed with as ‘sell-outs’ was common during the liberation struggle from the 1960s up to 1980. Henkin argues that both liberation wings of ZANU PF and PF ZAPU often killed villagers they suspected of supporting the colonial regime and boasted that they were killing ‘dogs’.⁵⁹ Vambe further explained that ‘violence became very rife in both the (1970s) political and trade union movement’ and that people became ‘extremely intolerant of any form of opposition or deviation, particularly from anyone of their race’.⁶⁰ Such opponents were labelled ‘*imbga dze vasungate*’ (dogs of slavers).⁶¹ Treating the Matabeleland region and its people this way shows the continuation of such narrow-minded nationalist discourses. *Tunzi* is, thus, as mangy as other African dogs deployed as a propaganda tool of the powerful.

Canids and the cities, 1991-2005

As explained above, *Tunzi* was a transitional novel showing governmental shifts from a seemingly broad nationalism to an increasingly shallow one. On the literary front, novelists upped their fight for an open public space, narratives and histories celebrating diversity—especially after 1990. The works of creative fiction analysed in this section also show novelists appreciating cities as key in questioning state power. These authors borrowed from oral sources, just as in the preceding period. They infused their writing with social commentary coming from newspapers. In this new literary tradition, writers were fixated with canines, class

⁵⁸ C. Tagwirei, ‘Fiction, Nation-building and ideologies of Belonging in Children's literature: An analysis of *Tunzi*, the Faithful Shadow,’ *Children's Literature in Education*, 44, 1 (2012), 48-50.

⁵⁹ Y. Henkin, ‘Stoning the Dogs: Guerrilla Mobilization and Violence in Rhodesia,’ *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 36 (2013), 513.

⁶⁰ NAZ ORAL/233 Interview Lawrence Vambe, interviewed by I. J. Johnstone, Harare, 1, 8, and 13 June 1983.

⁶¹ NAZ ORAL/233 Interview Lawrence Vambe.

and the city in writing about urban decay, destitution, inequality and ‘independence gone bad’ by the 1990s.

Hove’s short story, ‘Harare’s High Fences, Neighbours and Dogs’, published in 1994 mocks the new African middle class mimicry of ‘colonial’ security regimes that involve keeping vicious dogs, putting ‘beware of the dog’ signs on gates, erecting high walls and installing sophisticated security installations in residential areas.⁶² The majority of the African middle class are presented as being obsessed with protecting their newly acquired houses, properties and cars—the new consumer’s *lares et penates*. This serves as a critique of the comprador bourgeoisie by the novelists that depict them as drifting away from the masses. These new attitudes not only throw away African traditions of good neighbourliness in Harare’s low-density suburbs, they also expose children to vicious dogs, painful rabies vaccinations and high walls as they negotiate the boundaries erected to demonstrate class advancement. Hove contended that there are ‘as many dogs as there are people’⁶³ in Harare, a fact evinced by newspaper complaints of this period and amply demonstrated in the previous chapter.⁶⁴

Shimmer Chinodya’s short story ‘Strays’, published in 1998, complicates the relationship between canines, class (and race) and the city.⁶⁵ The main characters, Sam and his wife, move into one of Harare’s low-density suburbs in the 1980s and buy (from a white woman) a dog that is used to being pampered. This dog initially struggles to fit into African dog-owning regimes. Sam, a ‘hard *Mashona* type,’ grew up in a society that believed that:

A dog is a dog. The average African dog is a little less than that. The average African dog is a creature to be kicked, scolded and have missiles thrown at it—an inconvenient extra mouth that threatens precarious supplies in seasons of drought, or on rare munificent occasions such as Christmas, will efficiently devour the mounds of leftovers. For some women, the dog is still a handy convenience for quickly getting rid of the baby’s steaming stool, a reliable voice that, shut out of doors, will warn off strangers, potential intruders and creatures of the night.⁶⁶

The author uses this trope to explore differences between African and white ways of keeping dogs—useful in writing multi-species social history. For him ‘a European dog is more than a dog’. It is a family member with a traceable genealogy, medical and funeral insurance and is

⁶² C. Hove, ‘Harare’s High Fences, Neighbours and Dogs,’ *Shebeen Tales*, (Harare: College Press, 1994), 19-23.

⁶³ Hove, ‘Harare’s High Fences, Neighbours and Dogs,’ 22.

⁶⁴ City of Harare Archive TC/E/42, Municipal Dog pound, ‘Council police to round up stray dogs’, February 1988.

⁶⁵ S. Chinodya, ‘Strays,’ *Can We Talk and Other Stories*, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2018), 74-90.

⁶⁶ Chinodya, ‘Strays,’ 74.

included in one's will.⁶⁷ Sekai Nzenza's article contends that European-owned dogs are treated like persons, their food comes from the shops and they visit the doctor when they fall sick.⁶⁸ Some resource-challenged Africans envied this. These reasons, for Chinodya and Nzenza, mean that 'European dogs' in class terms are above domestic workers in white homes, an unthinkable status in African middle class families in which domestic workers are often relatives. Little wonder that Sam accuses his new dog, Sango (bush/forest), for having 'elitist tendencies' after it refuses African food.⁶⁹ Sam is, however, 'suspicious of the intimacy privileged people displayed towards their animals, seeing it as some kind of misanthropy'.⁷⁰ This worldview explains why he does not buy a kennel, bone meal, flea powder, a bathtub and vaccination shots for Sango. As a diehard traditionalist, Sam sticks to ways of the past and superimposes a Shona worldview on a formerly exclusive European residential area through his treatment of the dog.⁷¹

Sango eventually abandons his 'elitist tendencies' and strays into neighbouring yards in search of bitches on heat. He changes from being a pampered pet to being a pest:

He seemed to know whenever somebody was going out, whenever he saw somebody was wearing boots, or carrying an umbrella or getting into the car, then he would slink up quietly behind the rosebushes and the crockery and bolt for the gate. Before you could swing or shout at him he would be out, racing across the tarmac into the grass and the trees of the adjacent farm.⁷²

Initially Sam thought the dog was 'straying' but later appreciated his transgressive behaviour as liberating. The dog's 'straying' echoes Sam's own appetites for sex outside wedlock, his preference for traditional foods and for drinking beer at illegal and squalid bottle stores that betray his newly acquired middle class status.

Ignatius Mabasa's novel, *Mapenzi* (Mad/Foolish people), published in 1999, provides an interesting counterpoint to Hove's and Chinodya's short stories in its handling of canines, class and the city.⁷³ It criticizes the ruling elites for their sham democratic pretensions and their betrayal of the revolution. A white employer emigrates from Zimbabwe and entrusts Mai Jazz,

⁶⁷ Chinodya, 'Strays,' 75.

⁶⁸ 'Balancing Our Love for Our Canine Friends,' *The Herald*, 28 September 2016, www.pressreader.com/zimbabwe/the-herald-zimbabwe/20160928/281745563874912, accessed 28 August 2018.

⁶⁹ Chinodya, 'Strays,' 76.

⁷⁰ Chinodya, 'Strays,' 76.

⁷¹ Chinodya, 'Strays,' 76-77.

⁷² Chinodya, 'Strays,' 80.

⁷³ I.T. Mabasa, *Mapenzi*, (Harare: College Press, 1999).

her former domestic worker, with the responsibility of caring for her dog, named Salisbury at independence in 1980. Mai Jazz thereafter buys a house in Unit D Seke (Chitungwiza), a dormitory city of Harare. Her former employer leaves a fund and a fully paid-up two-year pet food account for the upkeep of the dog. After three months, Mai Jazz withdraws the money for herself and subjects the once-pampered dog to a new African dog-keeping regime such as that described by Chinodya above. She also renames the dog ‘Harare’ because ‘Salisbury’ is not consistent with her position as a political commissar in the ZANU PF party’s *Chimedzamabhunu* (the one who swallows Boers) Women's League Branch.⁷⁴ This book criticizes the shallowness of the new political elites whose slogans materially fail to live up to the expectations of independence: the dog, the city and the country undergo name changes but these are merely cosmetic. Black elites merely replace white elites and the city’s poor start to suffer even more. The new regime wastes resources just as Mai Jazz fritters away the ‘dog fund’. Just like Sango, Harare, Zimbabwe and Zimbabweans get a lifestyle downgrade.⁷⁵

Changing the dog’s name from ‘Salisbury’ to ‘Harare’ conveys the author’s unobvious allegorical device: that he sees both the city and the country as dogs with simply shifting masters. Salisbury/Harare is, moreover, as old as Zimbabwe since he was born in the year that the country won its independence.⁷⁶ The author writes of veterans of the war of liberation struggling with psychological trauma fighting over rubbish bins with street children— just as the dogs were doing.⁷⁷ Dogs are shown wrecking waste bins—they literally uncover that which the authorities would like to keep contained and secret. They exhibit agency their masters would prefer they did not possess. They complicate relationships between tenants, property owners and neighbours by repeatedly stealing food thereby causing quarrels about how victims are to be compensated.⁷⁸ Tenants sometimes beat their property owners’ dogs and get their leases illegally terminated in the process.

This is further explored in Valerie Tagwira's *The Uncertainty of Hope*, set in 2005.⁷⁹ It addresses the unsustainably high number of dogs in Harare’s high-density suburbs in ‘crisis’ ridden Zimbabwe—almost a century after the colonial authorities dubbed the number of African-owned dogs too high. The state cannot provide security as is shown by the increase in

⁷⁴ Mabasa, *Mapenzi*, 100.

⁷⁵ Mabasa, *Mapenzi*, 143.

⁷⁶ Mabasa, *Mapenzi*, 143.

⁷⁷ Mabasa, *Mapenzi*, 55.

⁷⁸ Mabasa, *Mapenzi*, 43, 44 and 61.

⁷⁹ V. Tagwira, *The Uncertainty of Hope*, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2008).

the numbers of burglaries. Urbanites, however, resort to keeping dogs, which they are not capable of feeding. Harare becomes a city of noise populated by barking, yelping and growling dogs.⁸⁰ Lacking adequate food provisions from owners, the dogs resort to scavenging in bins where they fight with homeless people ‘for rare bits of food’.⁸¹ Similarly, in Ignatius Mabasa’s *Mapenzi* a veteran of the liberation war struggles with dogs for leftovers in people’s bins. Mabasa, in his column in *The Herald*, declares that dogs are a ‘barometer to measure the well-being of their masters’ in the cities.⁸² His novel takes readers both to the countryside and urban areas and his verdict equally applies to the whole country. In the same article, he writes that ‘the eyes of a dog are a type of speech that says things the mouth is unable to say’.⁸³ Such speeches, as has been shown above, infuse animal-sensitive interpretations into the limitations of official discourses and histories.

Straying human beings: Dogs, demons and deprivation

A very recent intervention on the post-independence state is offered by Mabasa’s novel, *Imbwa Yemunhu* (You Dog), which was published in 2013.⁸⁴ Set in the city of Chitungwiza, the novel uses traditional worldviews in grappling with experiences of liminal human beings in society whom it accuses of behaving, thinking and acting like canines. Musavhaya, the main character, does not measure up to societal, religious and family expectations and plunges into alcoholism and various vices, which earns him the sobriquet *Imbwa Yemunhu*.⁸⁵ This phrase, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, has three competing meanings. It may refer to sentient dogs, to dogs owned by a person and to human beings who behave like dogs or a dog.⁸⁶ His name, Musavhaya, is a Shona corruption of the word ‘surveying’ and this is caused by an evil person/spirit/ancestor who uses his ‘numerous dogs’ (meaning either other people or evil spirits) to force Musavhaya into self-destruct mode.⁸⁷ He ‘strays’ into places that satisfy his hedonistic impulses, thus taking readers with him to the other human dogs in politics, churches, families and throughout the country. He surveys Chitungwiza’s sanitary lanes, beer halls, locations, brothels, the criminal

⁸⁰ Tagwira, *The Uncertainty of Hope*, 1.

⁸¹ Tagwira, *The Uncertainty of Hope*, 57 and 119.

⁸² ‘Being a Dog in Times of Economic Crunch,’ *The Herald*, 6 July 2015, www.herald.co.zw/being-a-dog-in-times-of-economic-crunch/, accessed 21 August 2018.

⁸³ ‘Being a Dog in Times of Economic Crunch.’

⁸⁴ I.T. Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, (Harare: Bhabhu Books, 2013).

⁸⁵ ‘Mabasa Blasts Spiritual Slavery,’ *The Herald*, 21 July 2015, www.herald.co.zw/mabasa-blasts-spiritual-slavery/, accessed 21 August 2018.

⁸⁶ T.M. Vambe, ‘Playing with the tension between Animal and Human Allegories in Ignatius Mabasa’s Novel *Imbwa Yemunhu*,’ *Research in African Literatures*, 48, 1 (2017), 46.

⁸⁷ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 4, 23, 30-31 and 93.

underworld, rural areas, and houses for beer, drugs and prostitutes. The surveying also takes him to Hell and Heaven.⁸⁸ He behaves like a stray dog that obeys its insatiable appetites, in the process overturns waste bins, and exposes the ugly side of society.⁸⁹

Yet his hyper-mobility and insatiable appetites are caused by the ‘man with (of) many dogs,’ who controls him and other human dogs. These include corrupt politicians, religious cheats, and loose married women who engage in extra-marital affairs.⁹⁰ They also include Richard, who has an incestuous relationship with his mother, engages in homosexuality, and uses *muti* to get rich.⁹¹ Musavhaya’s sister-in-law also practices bogus Christianity and is another ‘you dog’.⁹² Such human-dogs have intertextual connections with Brian Chikwava’s novel, *Harare North*, which is set in Edinburgh. The narrator claims that:

I walk on the white line with suitcase on my head. Nothing can hit my head. I feeling like *umgodoyi*-the homeless dog that roam them villages scavenging until brave villager relieve it of its misery by hit its head with rock. *Umgodoyi* have no home like the winds. That’s why *umgodoyi*’s soul is tear from his body in rough way. That’s what everyone want to do to me, me I know.⁹³

Chikwava’s character, just like Musavhaya and the stray dogs of the post-colonial state, survives on the margins.

The ‘man with (of) many dogs’ holds Musavhaya and drags him into all sorts of places. He signifies the presence of an alien and terrifying force—the ultimate ‘Other’ and this forces Musavhaya to swing—like a pendulum—between good and evil.⁹⁴ He is a comparable character to Mungoshi’s character in *Waiting for the Rain*, who possesses Garabha. Unlike Mungoshi’s character, this ‘man with (of) many dogs’ works against his medium by heightening his appetites for vices such that his medium behaves like ‘a dog that steals eggs’ regularly and is beaten daily for stealing.⁹⁵ Because it is held on the leash by this controlling force, it continues to ignore rules, norms and customs so that it deeply descends into *humbwa* (dogdom/ behaving filthily like a dog) and gradually loses its *hunhu* (humanness) as it is being wagged by its tail/appetites.⁹⁶ The imagery of the tail wagging the dog points to

⁸⁸ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 35-36, 124-125.

⁸⁹ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 93 and 122.

⁹⁰ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 95.

⁹¹ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 94-95, 99, 104, 114, 140 and 148.

⁹² Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 102 and 123.

⁹³ B. Chikwava, *Harare North*, (London: Vintage, 2009), 226.

⁹⁴ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 30.

⁹⁵ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 76-80 and 121.

⁹⁶ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 76-77 and 107.

the ‘invisibility’ of the leash controlling Musavhaya.⁹⁷ Garabha, in *Waiting for the Rain* (1975), also ‘surveys’ the country. There are more similarities between Musavhaya and Garabha. Both are mediums of the ‘men with (of) many dogs’. They are artistes as well as delinquents who refuse to marry.⁹⁸ They also use their art to challenge dominant statist narratives. The only difference is that the one who possess Garabha does so positively for his medium whilst the one who possesses Musavhaya does that negatively for its medium. Thus, the ‘man with (of) many dogs’ in *Waiting for the Rain* served nationalist narratives to fight colonialism whilst the one in *Imbwa Yemunhu* allows for an exploration of patriotic historiography that came after the year 2000.

Musavhaya’s ‘straying’ leads readers to other human dogs who are on the leashes of the ‘man with (of) many dogs’. These other ‘you dogs’ are found in Pentecostal churches, African Independent Churches, and more importantly political parties and government.⁹⁹ In one of his ‘straying’ escapades, a cockroach gazes at Musavhaya as he sits on the bed of one of his prostitutes and it accuses him of ‘being a dog that bites its own tail’ and that raises dust into other people’s eyes.¹⁰⁰ In another, he admires a dog that has a leash, which he meets and envies because he feels that unlike himself the dog has an owner. Ironically Musavhaya, in this case, conveniently forgets the hold that the ‘man with (of) many dogs’ has over him. The most dangerous human dogs—*imbwa dzevanhu* (dog persons or ‘you dogs’)—belong to political parties and they use violence at their gatherings. They bite ‘the tails’ of other dogs and sing at political gatherings.¹⁰¹ Unlike these violent, ‘you dogs’, Musavhaya is a dog that engages in philosophical reflection, writes books and tries to publish them.¹⁰² In doing this, he challenges official and elitist narratives of *humbwa* (dogdom/ behaving filthily like a dog/corruption/filthiness) practised by the ruling elites. Like the stereotypical appetite-driven ‘stray’ dog he overturns political, religious and social dustbins and exposes various practices of *humbwa* in his ‘surveys’.¹⁰³

The dogs in high political offices—just as Musavhaya is leashed by the evil ‘man with (of) many dogs’—placed fetters on the political consciousness of the citizens. A prominent case

⁹⁷ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 22-23, 94, 96-97 and 109-110.

⁹⁸ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 112 and 131.

⁹⁹ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 108, 113, 118 and 123-126.

¹⁰⁰ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 84-85.

¹⁰¹ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 152.

¹⁰² Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 22-23.

¹⁰³ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 3, 100 and 148.

involves how these evil ‘man with (of) many dogs’ in politics force the University of Zimbabwe Vice Chancellor Professor Kamba to enforce draconian laws on the university academic staff and students in order to limit their academic freedoms. Professor Kamba resigned from his job, refusing to be *chimbwa chawasungata* (dog on the leash) of politicians.¹⁰⁴ Trying to turn university lecturers and students into compliant ‘dogs’ of the government was aimed at putting ideological muzzles and leashes on them.

Musavhaya’s ‘straying’ as a ‘canine human being’, takes him to Hell—*gehena*— where he meets the wife of the deputy president of the country.¹⁰⁵ This encounter reveals further attempts to turn the citizenry into dogs on leashes by a corrupt and kleptocratic regime. Musavhaya’s conversation with her shows that the ruling class does not take critical scrutiny of its activities by citizens lightly. She accuses writers of being ‘careless with your so called art’ and raising unnecessary controversies, which she calls *gutukutu* (odour) in the country.¹⁰⁶ The wife of the deputy president accuses Musavhaya and other writers of ‘selling to outsiders our national problems’ to media outlets such as CNN and BBC for financial rewards and popularity.¹⁰⁷ She prescribes that writers needed to be ‘prophets’, ‘healers’, ‘doctors’ and ‘teachers’ of the country in propagating official narratives of the nation. She equates the raising of such ‘unnecessary controversies’ to defecating in the main house and not in the conveniently hidden places such as toilets. In the heated political moment of August 2016, Mahomva used Nyamubaya’s poem ‘The dog and the hunter’, to castigate journalists and writers in the same manner that the wife of the deputy president does in *Imbwa Yemunhu*. He twisted its original meaning and argued that the poem is symbolic of the dog-master colonial history of Zimbabwe and Britain.¹⁰⁸ He argues that the opposition Movement for Democratic (MDC) Party’s conduct, between 2000 and 2016, is synonymous with the unfaithful hunter attacking the ‘Mangy-Dog’: that is the country, the government, the masses and the land. He does this by importing an allusion to Luis Honwana’s *We Killed Mangy Dog & Other Mozambique Stories* into the political situation in Zimbabwe.

Another artist in *Imbwa Yemunhu*, known to Musavhaya as the Resident Poet, conversely accuses the ruling party of the crime of defecating in public.¹⁰⁹ Artists in the novel refuse to

¹⁰⁴ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 41.

¹⁰⁵ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 4-9.

¹⁰⁶ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 10-12.

¹⁰⁷ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 12.

¹⁰⁸ ‘The Game of Dogs and Masters’.

¹⁰⁹ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 91.

bow to government pressure to produce conformist art, insisting that ‘writing is a government on its own.’¹¹⁰ This enables them to challenge the narrowmindedness of government narratives. Such a stance is the reason why the post-colonial government does not support the publishing industry and this downgrades some artistes to pauperized critics feebly opposing government propaganda in beer-halls. In one instance, Musavhaya recites his poem, ‘*Tsapo yeminzwa*’ (A heap of thorns) that captured the struggles of people who reside in urban ghettos that range from shortages of water and electricity to many others. It alarmed the government.¹¹¹ It appears that the role of an inebriated and possibly mad artist who criticizes government excesses in the novel is moulded after Dambudzo Marechera, one of the leading Zimbabwean novelists, who refused to write in the service of the government in the early 1980s.

Government efforts to put leashes on the population—like the evil ‘man with (of) many dogs’—and to manufacture consent, disarmed some artistes by confining them to beer halls as drunken armchair critics. It also forced some leading artistes into exile. The novelist Chenjerai Hove, one of the writers examined in this chapter, and *chimurenga* (liberation) musician Thomas Mapfumo, began living in exile after the year 2000. Thus, the new narrative of the nation propagated a narrow ideology of the past and its politics that has come to be known as patriotic historiography. Ironically, Hove’s novels, short stories and poems written between 1988 and the 1990s, and Mapfumo’s songs sung before 1998, fit neatly into the nationalist historiography of the 1960s up to the 1990s. The critical difference between nationalist historiography and patriotic historiography was the absence of artists such as Mapfumo and Hove and many others. During the era of patriotic historiography, government spin doctors—acting like the evil ‘man with (of) many dogs’—used schools, radios, newspapers, songs and even violence in pedalling historical distortions. The divorce between these leading artistes and the new historiography accompanied the growing excesses of toxic nationalism that witnessed the abandonment of worker’s rights, trade unionism, and fundamental human rights. Another defining characteristic of patriotic historiography was the central position accorded to former president Robert Mugabe ahead of all the other liberation fighters as the leader, historian, prophet, icon and visionary of the black people’s struggles against colonialism, imperialism

¹¹⁰ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 11.

¹¹¹ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 11-12.

and neo-colonialism.¹¹² He thus becomes like the ‘evil man with (of) many dogs’ seeking to put everyone else onto the leash.

Terence Ranger argues that from 2000 ruling elites in Zimbabwe narrowed nationalist historiography of the early 1980s (discussed above) still further by dissociating it from its developmental, socialist, human rights and welfare state policies of the past.¹¹³ Although it now included—indeed, championed—war veterans and Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People’s Unions politicians, whom it had previously incarcerated between 1980 and 1987, it further alienated other regions, ethnic minorities, trade unions, youth and women. Such patriotic history was a polarising genre based on a Manichean model: dividing patriots from traitors, enemies of the state from friends, and gave excess legitimacy to the state and national leaders. It was opposed to academic history, and offered a simple, monolithic alternative from the first *chimurenga* to the second *chimurenga* and then to the fast track land reform programme—dubbed *jambanja* because of its violent nature—which was code-named the third *chimurenga*. In between these *zvimurenga* was nothing of historical interest for the connoisseurs of the new patriotic historiography.

Vambe argues that Musavhaya and Resident Poet challenge these official narratives of history, because they suppress individual freedoms, is autocratic, corrupt, and aggressively ‘barks’ and ‘bites’ at the citizenry.¹¹⁴ These artistes challenge those ‘official barks, bites, muzzles and leashes’ with counter-narratives that are full of sadness, ugliness, narratives of the decay in the country, filthiness, vomit, odours, wounds and pus to displace patriotic half-truths.¹¹⁵ At one point Musavhaya wrote the poem ‘*Tsapo yeminzwa*’ (A heap of thorns), and whilst Resident Poet wrote ‘*Gutukutu*’ (Odour), questioning the democratic and governance deficits of the leaders.¹¹⁶ These oppositional artists question, challenge and mock official histories of the liberation struggle, on which the ruling elites base their legitimacy. They accuse these leaders of being political dogs.¹¹⁷ The Zimbabwean economy plunged into a crisis during this period, some of the indicators being the failure by high school and university graduates to find employment. In the novel, Musavhaya fails to get a job and ends up teaching at an unregistered

¹¹² S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, ‘Making Sense of Mugabeism in Local and Global Politics: ‘So Blair, keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe’, *Third World Quarterly*, 30, 6 (2009), 1139-1158.

¹¹³ T.O. Ranger, ‘Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: the Struggle over the past in Zimbabwe,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 2 (2004), 220.

¹¹⁴ Vambe, ‘Playing with the tension between Animal and Human Allegories,’ 52-53.

¹¹⁵ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 111, 115 and 120.

¹¹⁶ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 11 and 91.

¹¹⁷ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 103 and 152.

college and also works at Colcom on a part-time basis because he knew someone working there. Chitungwiza, the setting of the novel, is plagued by rampant corruption.¹¹⁸ According to Vambe, ‘in the novel’s allegory of the nation as a corrupt and rotten country, Chitungwiza takes on the role of metonymically standing in for that country’.¹¹⁹ On the same metonymic level, Chikwanha bar in Chitungwiza, ‘our bar’ as Musa calls it (*kubhawa redu kwaChikwanha*), becomes the ‘nest of rebellion where writers meet and oppositional poems are written.’¹²⁰ The Resident Poet sees writers as dip tanks that produce knowledge about the kind of ticks that are sucking the country to forestall its demise.¹²¹ ‘Patriotic editors’ reject these artistes’ manuscripts to force them to conform and to practise self-censorship. In one instance, Musavhaya receives a letter rejecting his book manuscript with the comment that he needed to consider writing books ‘telling stories of the children of the soil’ using nativist plots, narratives and themes. By so doing editors are also portrayed as the evil ‘man with (of) many dogs’ stifling other ways of seeing and dampening the new *sarunganos* (storytellers) of the nation.¹²²

Dogs in Zimbabwean oral lore patrol the grounds between loyalty and rebellion in the human world.¹²³ There are vernacular ways of speaking to power, known as *kurovera kumbwa* (to hit others on/through the dog), in which a dog may be beaten and be told unpalatable truths that are in reality directed at people within hearing distance.¹²⁴ Even the less powerful in society made use of such dog metaphors. In August 2016, Misheck Kaguru of Masvingo province was brought before the courts of law for naming his dog after then president Robert Mugabe.¹²⁵

Dogs exist as both passive metaphors and as active agents (variously villains and heroes), in Zimbabwean literature. They enable writers to take readers to the most unexpected places, and their actions—silence or barking, obedience or straying—complicate political analysis. Moreover, novelists capitalize on both the physicality of dogs and on their shifting symbolic meanings (including indigenous knowledge about dogs which society has acquired over a long

¹¹⁸ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 58, 93 and 101.

¹¹⁹ Vambe, ‘Playing with the tension between Animal and Human Allegories,’ 51.

¹²⁰ Vambe, ‘Playing with the tension between Animal and Human Allegories.’

¹²¹ Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 89-90.

¹²² Mabasa, *Imbwa Yemunhu*, 89, 120 and 151-2.

¹²³ ‘They talk to dogs while they mean you,’ *African Parade*, August 1955, 37.

¹²⁴ ‘A dog’s conference,’ *The African Parade*, December 1953, 51.

¹²⁵ ‘Man Who Named His Dog Mugabe Faces Lengthy Jail Term,’ *LiveMonitor*, 20 November 2017, livemonitor.co.za/man-arrested-for-naming-dog-mugabe/, accessed 21 August 2018.

period). These writers particularly play with the idea of dogs as mediators between wild and tame, healthy and filthy environments, as pets or work animals, and as animal or almost-human.

Conclusion

There have been three different epochs in the use of dogs in Zimbabwean literature. The first one is represented by Mungoshi's *Waiting for the Rain* and the 'The Lazy Young Man and his Dog' in which the author uses precolonial-era dogs in dealing with questions of the deployment of power. Hove's two novels, *Bones* and *Shadows*, use dogs as metaphors to examine the materiality of colonialism for both Africans and Europeans. Nyamubaya's 'The dog and the hunter' and Gascoigne's *Tunzi, the Faithful Shadow* introduce the dog as the symbol of both lower class oppression and as a propaganda tool of the ruling class respectively.

The third era was a key turning point in which issues of inequality begin to be dealt with, focusing on the triad: canids, class and the city. Dogs changed hands from whites to Africans (or vice versa) and readers are taken through the different social, racial and class constructions about dogs (and how these affect the dogs themselves, in some cases). In doing so, readers are shown that dogs as actors have their own point of view. A critical reading of the uses of dogs in the novels considered above show that these authors mined their ideas from vernacular knowledge (especially proverbs and oral tradition) in discussing human-dog relations in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial epochs. Historians generally look down on novels as tainted sources. This is because they sacrifice chronology, dates and are therefore extremely difficult to subject to the rules of evidence in the craft of historians. However, Vansina encourages historians to use their evidence creatively. He argues that,

In consequence, much of what these oral testimonies have to say is often wholly discounted as evidence. Yet the same situation prevails for written narratives about the past as well, be they novels, reminiscences, or memoirs. Should such texts also be discounted as evidence to the same extent? Should written and oral data not be treated in exactly the same way on this point? Actually, the correct solution is again to assess each individual source separately on its own merits, rather than dismiss all of them out of hand as tainted merchandise.¹²⁶

This is what this chapter has done with some selected novels. It has shown that, despite their shortcomings, novels can also be a source of insight into the meanings and metaphors about

¹²⁶ J. Vansina, 'History in novels and memoirs: Alfons Vermeulen on Rural Congo (1899-1904),' *History in Africa*, 39 (2012), 136.

dogs in the history of Zimbabwe. Be that as it may, this chapter was careful in adhering to the rules of reliability and credibility by triangulating its findings with oral information, newspapers and archival material. It was mindful of the fact that creative fiction normally sacrifices chronology and omits crucial information. However, as Vansina's has mentioned all these sources have to be interrogated, triangulated and assessed on their merit and must not be accepted or rejected solely because of the category in which they belong. As has been shown in this chapter literary sources challenge the silences in the historical record. Despite this advantage, it must be acknowledged that for purist (in the historical fraternity) literary sources can be viewed as being capable of contaminating narratives about the past. This is because novelists have poetic license in creating of their stories. Because of this point, this chapter should be read in conjunction with key sections of Chapters One, Four and Five that address issues related to colonialism, nationalism, racism, the city and the Zimbabwean crisis. Thus, this chapter has shown the liminal characteristics of dogs and the rich metaphorical imagination of Zimbabwean oral literature that have been deployed in order to understand canines by creative writers. As has been demonstrated in this chapter Zimbabwean novelists have largely deployed such rich dog metaphors at particular epochs in the country's history in order to challenge hegemonic narratives about the past. Considered together with the myths, legends, proverbs and oral traditions upon which they draw, the creative works constitute a significant body of knowledge available to scholars working on human-dog relations.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion: ‘Dogs are good to stray with’

The thesis embraced the idea that animals are good to think with and followed their tracks into the archives and field. This thesis examined the social history of African dog-ownership in Zimbabwe from the pre-colonial era up to the contemporary period. It focused on the histories of canine and human migrations, the place of dogs in environmental discourses of the past, the shifting symbolism attached to dogs in some African societies over time, the mutable place of dogs in vernacular cultures (traditions and religions) and the changing ideas of what ‘purity’ has meant in dog breeding since pre-colonial times and into the contemporary period. In grappling with these ideas, the dissertation has been in conversation with the ‘animal turn’ in the historiography or what Swart has called ‘animal sensitive history’, and especially with southern African dog histories.¹ It is in keeping with Darnton’s argument that some animals occupy an ‘ambiguous ontological position’ and straddle many ‘conceptual categories.’² Because of that, these animals offer a unique vantage point that affords a gaze into the past from an unfamiliar angle, as Darnton argues:

That is why Jews do not eat pigs, according to Mary Douglas, and why Englishmen can insult one another by saying ‘son-of-a-bitch’ rather than ‘son-of-a-cow,’ according to Edmund Leach. Certain animals are good for swearing, just as they are ‘good for thinking’ in Lévi-Strauss’s famous formula. I would add that others—cats in particular—are good for staging ceremonies. They have ritual value. You cannot make a *charivari* with a cow. You do it with cats: you decide to *flaire le chat*, to make *Katzenmusik*.³

The idea that animals are ‘good to think with’ was formulated by the French Structural Anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss, in his 1963 study of animals and totems. Lévi-Strauss explained that animals were not only ‘good to eat’ or ‘good to prohibit’ because their value (as totems) was not solely based on economic considerations.⁴ Lévi-Strauss further argued that animals are ‘good’ to think (with) about power and inequality in society because differences amongst animals in different contexts, cultural settings, environments and situations have

¹ S. Swart, ‘Writing animals into African history,’ *Critical African Studies: Writing Animals into African History*, 8, 2 (2016), 95-108.

² R. Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and other episodes in French Cultural History*, (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 89.

³ Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and other episodes in French Cultural History*, 89.

⁴ B. Babcock-Abrahams, ‘Why frogs are good to think and dirt is good to reflect on,’ *An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 58, 2, (1975), 167-170.

variously been used to effect, deepen, naturalize and rigidify ‘social differentiation and classifications’ in many human societies across time and space.⁵ This is because animals ‘are like us in many ways, yet not like us in other ways’⁶ and this enables an understanding or questioning of what it means to be human (or grappling with the idea of the human condition) and of how humans classify things. Evidently, animals are ‘good’ in thinking through human hopes, fears, stereotypes and even their compensatory behaviours depending on each society’s history, culture and changing relationship with animals.⁷ Placing human hopes, fears, and stereotypes in a particular geographical space, time and cultural milieu has the potential to yield not only human but animal histories as well. For Clifford Geertz, who studied the Balinese Cockfight, Balinese men self-identified with their cocks that fought in the cock ring because they believed that cockfighting represented the narratives, ideas and stories that they told ‘themselves about themselves’.⁸ Studying the more-than-human or using an animal-sensitive perspective can review what it has meant to be an animal or a human being in a particular historical epochs over time in the Zimbabwean past.⁹

I would also argue that dogs are a ‘good’ way with which to think about the past. In using the metaphor of stray dogs, the dissertations showed that the relationship between dogs and humans is complicated and that it changes across time in a way that is non-linear. It thus followed the barking, howling, yelping and whining of dogs in both the archive, the field and in secondary literature in seeking to tell the past history of human-dog relations in Zimbabwe.¹⁰ The dissertation has drawn from Critical Animal Studies, especially multispecies ethnographic studies that have been deployed in disciplines such as anthropology, biology, environmental science and technology studies. All these disciplines share a common trend in that they seek to do away with anthropocentric biases—human centred ideas—and to decentre human beings from academic studies because they view animals, plants and other beings as co-producers that have co-evolved with human beings. Consequently, Haraway made a call for academics to end the idea of ‘human exceptionalism’ because companion species have been co-constituting, co-evolving, co-habiting and co-operating in the world mutually with human beings.¹¹ According

⁵ M.H. Mullin, ‘Mirrors and Windows: Sociocultural studies of human-animal relationships,’ *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 28, 1, (1999), 208.

⁶ A. Arluke, ‘Ourselves,’ *Contexts*, 9, 3 (2010), 34-39.

⁷ Arluke, ‘Ourselves’ 34-39.

⁸ C. Geertz, ‘Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight,’ *Daedalus*, 101, 1 (1972), 1-37.

⁹ Mullin, ‘Mirrors and Windows: Sociocultural studies of human-animal relationships,’ 209.

¹⁰ R. Feinberg, P. Nason and H. Sridharan, ‘Introduction: Human-Animal Relations,’ *Environment and Society: Advances in Research*, 4 (2013), 1-4.

¹¹ D.J. Haraway, *When Species Meet*, (London: University of Minnesota, 2008), 4-11.

to Haraway ‘becoming is always becoming with –in a contact zone where the outcome, where who is in the world, is at stake.’¹² Similarly, Latour called for the reassembling of ‘all the constituents of our world—including nonhuman life forms, forces and entities—within a radically expanded conceptualisation of the social.’¹³ According to Landes, Lee and Youngquist animals ‘dismantle old beliefs and also challenge humans to devise new ways of living in concert with and among easily overlooked or undervalued species.’¹⁴ Having dismantled ‘old beliefs’ multispecies studies then focus on ‘creatures previously appearing on the margins’ such as animals, plants, fungi, and microbes—not to place them in the realm of ‘bare life (in the killable realm)’ but in the realm of things that deserve to live and to be known about.¹⁵ These insights were important in thinking about human-dog relations in the history of the country.

There were aspects that were beyond the scope of this study due to constraints placed by time and resources. The connections between the breeding of Rhodesian Ridgebacks and the rise and decline of Southern Rhodesian white nationalism and the current online memorialisation about Rhodesia would have been an interesting perspective on the country’s history.¹⁶ There has also been attempts to sculpt a nativist account of the history of this dog breed by some nationalists in the country— with others (at the extreme end) arguing that the Ndebele used to call it *simba inja* (*shumba imbwa*) meaning Lion Dog(s).¹⁷ It would be profitable to focus on the period from the 1920s up to the contemporary period in analysing the changing fortunes of the Rhodesian ridgeback in the country. The history of the Rhodesia Kennel Club and later of the Zimbabwe Kennel Club and of the SPCA remain some of the fascinating histories of the country’s dogdom that are yet to be written about. The uses of dogs in the liberation struggle by the Rhodesian authorities and later by the Zimbabwean police services (in the post-

¹² Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 11.

¹³ B. Latour, *The Politics of Nature: How to bring the Sciences to Democracy*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); ‘Into Latour,’ <https://theparliamentofthings.org/into-latour/>, accessed on 17 September 2019.

¹⁴ J.B. Landes, P.Y. Lee and P. Youngquist, ‘Introduction,’ in J.B. Landes, P.Y. Lee and P. Youngquist (eds), *Gorgeous Beasts: Animals Bodies in Historical Perspective*, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 2.

¹⁵ S.E. Kirksey and S. Helmreich, ‘The emergence of multispecies ethnography,’ *Cultural Anthropology*, 25, 4 (2010), 545-576.

¹⁶ See ‘Rhodesian Commentary: A contemporary archive of Rhodesian history,’ <https://www.rhodesia.me.uk/rhodesian-commentary/>; M. L. Arsenis, ‘Bred to meet a need – the Ridgeback’s adaptable history made him hunter and guard,’ <http://www.roseridge.se/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Mylda-Arsenis.pdf>, accessed on 15 September 2019.

¹⁷ ‘Closer look at the Zimbabwe Lion dog,’ *The Patriot*, 14 March 2019, https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/closer-look-at-the-zimbabwean-lion-dog/, accessed on 27 September 2019.

independence period) is also another potential area of study that offer some compelling vantage points with which to understand the history of the police, the country and of dogs.¹⁸ There are other important aspects such as the artistic representations (pictures, images and cartoons) of dogs on social media that became prevalent after 2009 as Zimbabweans used social to pass protests messages of a political nature that have not been included in this thesis. In addition, these pictures also use dogs and their excrement in gauging the extent to which the political establishment had failed Zimbabweans. Studying these discourses about dogs and their excrement would have provided an interesting way of understanding how Zimbabweans viewed and understood dogs, politics and the manner in which the country is being governed. Another important aspect relates to discourses about Chinese foreign nationals who were periodically accused of consuming dog meat by Zimbabweans between the late 1980s and the contemporary period. Studying these discourses will be revealing of how ordinary Zimbabweans deployed dog metaphors in commenting about the changing nature of Sino-Zimbabwean relations. Lastly, but not least, Zimbabwean historiography is seriously lacking a competent appreciation of the historical place of dogs in country's history of repression and war. The relationship between dogs and repression is an important aspect that deserves serious attention from historians of Zimbabwe. These gaps in our understanding of the place of dogs in the Zimbabwean past and in the country's political discourses deserved to be filled by future research. This is because 'dogs are invested with human identity, both individual and national, and thus serve as proxy in reflecting on human society.'¹⁹ The centrality of dogs in human society was used to understand the Zimbabwean past with a particular bias towards African dog owning in this dissertation.

There are other regional avenues that can be explored in extending the frontiers of dog and animal histories in Africa.²⁰ One case that stands out and that can be placed in dialogue with this dissertation is that of Rwanda. While Zimbabwe can be viewed as a place where the dog population has historically been on an upward trajectory, Rwanda has since 1994 become a country where there are very few dogs.²¹ Dogs force Rwandans 'to confront a difficult part of

¹⁸ 'Counter-insurgency in Rhodesia,' http://selousscouts.tripod.com/counterinsurgency_in_rhodesia.htm, accessed on 27 September 2019; 'Animals of the BSAP,' <http://www.bsap.org/hisanimals.html>, accessed on 27 September 2019.

¹⁹ 'Of breeds, braks and boer dogs,' *News*, 16 September 2003, <https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2003-09-16-of-breeds-braks-and-boer-dogs>, accessed on 27 September 2019.

²⁰ J.M. Ong, "I'm only a dog!": The Rwandan genocide, dehumanization, and the graphic novel,' *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 51, 2 (2016), 211–225.

²¹ 'Learning to love dogs in Rwanda,' *National Geographic*, 29 June 2018, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2018/06/dogs-kigali-rwanda-pets-culture/>; 'Killing dogs in Rwanda

their past’ because of a sad episode of transspecies violence that accompanied the 1994 genocide. As the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) army got into Rwanda it found ‘unusually large and fierce dogs’ feeding on dead bodies of Tutsi and moderate Hutus who had been killed during the genocide.²² They were shocked. Thereafter, the RPF (and the United Nations troops) sanctioned another genocide—only that this time it was a transspecies one—of dogs. This scenario ignited a huge backlash with western animal rights movements and interestingly resulted in contradictions in local and international narratives about the genocide, human rights and dogs. Here African and western ideas about dogs met, barked and howled at each other. Thereafter, Rwanda cultivated a covert anti-dog policy—indeed they have renegotiated and reimagined human-dog relations ever since.²³ However, there have been dissenters, who however, have had their dogs being poisoned and/or stoned by people who claimed to have lost relatives to both the génocidaires and dogs in 1994.²⁴ Evidently, Rwanda has, in its past, undergone several human-dog relations that (if researched will not only enrich the arguments made in this dissertation but also other Global South case studies) deserve to be brought into the gaze of the academy. It would be interesting to examine how Rwandan human-dog relations changed from pre-colonial times right into the contemporary period. Such a project would also provide an account of how east African human-dog relations have been evolving over a long period of time. Thus, while Zimbabwe demonstrated its claim to be the place of many dogs, preliminary evidence shows that Rwanda may be the place of noticeably very ‘few’ dogs.²⁵ Already, some of its human-dogs stories, narratives and histories have been told in novels, films and newspaper articles. This example demonstrates that global dog histories need more histories from different contexts, times and areas. This is important not only to enrich and to get into a conversation with Global North narratives but also to place different Global South animal narratives in a conversation with each other.²⁶

(Updated),’ *Marianna in Africa*, 5 April 2017, <https://mariannainfrica.wordpress.com/2017/04/05/killing-dogs-in-rwanda/>, accessed on 3 October 2019.

²² J. Arseneault, ‘On Canicide and Concern: Species Sovereignty in Western Accounts of Rwanda’s genocide,’ *ESC: English Studies in Canada*, 39, 1, (2013), 125.

²³ ‘Why are there no dogs in Rwanda? The 1994 Genocide,’ *Templeseeker*, <https://www.templeseeker.com/rwandan-genocide-dogs/>, accessed on 2 October 2019.

²⁴ ‘Owning a dog in Kigali,’ *Living in Kigali*, 24 March 2014, <http://www.livinginkigali.com/information/pets-information/owning-a-dog-in-kigali/>, accessed on 3 October 2019.

²⁵ ‘Staring at skulls for far too long,’ *Huffpost*, 3 February 2013, <https://www.huffpost.com/entry/rwanda-genocide-b-2239105>, accessed on 3 October 2019.

²⁶ ‘Rwanda’s Khashoggi: who killed the exiled chief,’ *The Guardian*, 15 January 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/jan/15/rwanda-who-killed-patrick-karegeya-exiled-spy-chief>, accessed on 3 October 2019.

Other African dog histories exist between the continuum where Rwanda and Zimbabwe straddle opposite ends. They also deserve academic attention. In Chapter Six the dissertation focused on dogs, Zimbabwe's political history and on literature and this compares very well with Cameroonian literature about dogs and politics. Patrice Nganang's *Dog Days: An Animal Chronicle*, which satirizes Cameroonian politics in the late 1990s using the perspective of a dog is a case in point.²⁷ The novel narrates the rumours, stories about urban decay and the economic crisis that Cameroon faced in the 1990s. Similarly the political cartoons of Godfrey Mwampembwa (popularly known as Gado), a Tanzanian cartoonist who works in Kenya that depicted dogs and politicians offer opportunities for a comparative study.²⁸ There is scope for a comparative study of the manner in which pictures, images and jokes about dogs, politics, sexuality and defecation have been circulated on social media platforms by Zimbabweans since 2009. A scholarly evaluation that focuses on these aspects of Zimbabwean history, on dogs and on social media activism will be a welcome and necessary intervention. Moreover, such work would have the advantage of speaking to a multiplicity of African settings that compare favourably with Zimbabwean examples.

The dissertation challenges anthropocentric narratives in Zimbabwean historiography. It has shown that southern African history is much richer and complex when considered from a multispecies approach. Although understanding the agency of animals is difficult because animals do not leave written accounts, the dissertation acknowledged that the active presence of dogs in human society 'construct(s) and constitute(s) the so-called human world, society and identities in a myriad of ways.'²⁹ Because the dog is both an invasive animal and one that was not sufficiently captured in the archive it forces researchers from the archive into other spaces. For that reason, the study took a multidisciplinary approach by utilizing literary sources, online sources, folklore and vernacular knowledge in seeking to understand human-dog relations in the Zimbabwean past. The research followed dogs in their tracks, sniffing, barking and straying in the places that they roamed. Although animals have appeared here and there in Zimbabwean historiography, these histories did not put them at the centre of analysis. However, the dissertation has shown that although dogs are important and need to be integrated into historiography and although they bark, whine and yelp, the interpretation of their actions

²⁷ P. Nganang, *Dog Days: An Animal Chronicle*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006).

²⁸ 'Gado, the political cartoonist who satirises Kenya's president,' <https://www.ft.com/content/67491ade-3ae2-11e7-ac89-b01cc67cfeec>, accessed on 19 December 2019.

²⁹ E. Fudge, 'Renaissance Animal Things,' in J.B. Landes, P.Y. Lee and P. Youngquist, *Gorgeous Beasts: Animal Bodies in Historical Perspective*, (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2012), 44.

remain what humans make of them. However, adding an approach that is sensitive to animals and to other categories such as race, class, ethnicity and gender that have been used by historians can be productive of good results. In doing this, the dissertation agrees with what Swart has recently called ‘animal sensitive history’, which bring into African history the ‘little studied and elusive’ creatures as well as the popular ones such as cattle and the hated rogue and criminal animals also known as vermin in colonial narratives.³⁰ This helps in not only understanding the place of animals in the past but also understanding how they related with humans in changing and diverse contexts. The dissertation is thus part of a growing movement aimed at populating African histories with more-than-human narratives.

The dissertation has also been addressing two central issues in southern African dog histories. The first one is the heavy preponderance of South African dog histories in southern Africa. With the exception of colonial Namibia (then South West Africa), which has received some historiographical attention with regard to dog taxation policy, dog histories have overwhelmingly focused on South African case studies in the region. Up until this study, Zimbabwe has been ignored despite – as this thesis contends – dogs being important in local ideas about politics, oral literature, in the agrarian, environmental and political histories, discourses and struggles of and about Zimbabwe.³¹ Thus, this study rehomes dogs to their rightful place near the hearth of Zimbabwe’s historiography.

The history of the pre-colonial dog has been one of the most highly debated aspects of African dog owning. Zooarchaeologists, geneticists, ethnographers and historians have variously debated the areas of origin from which these dogs came from, their types, and their roles in foraging (San), pastoral (Khoikhoi) and Bantu speaking societies and economies. While dismissing the notion that a ‘pure’ southern African dog breed existed in the region (ostensibly from the pre-colonial period) as a teleological imposition that uses western ideas about dogs that came with colonialism in the southern African context and also asserting that there were different types of dogs that came from various sources, the dissertation availed a history of the

³⁰ Swart, ‘Writing animals into African history,’ 96.

³¹ B. Raftopoulos, ‘Problematizing nationalism in Zimbabwe: A historiographical review,’ *Zambezia*, 26, 2 (1999), 115-134; I. Phimister, ‘Narratives of Progress: Zimbabwean historiography and the end of history’ *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30, 1 (2012), 27-34; T. Nyamunda, ‘Insights into independent Zimbabwe: Some historiographical reflections,’ *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 36, 1 (2014), 72-89; I.R. Phimister, ‘Zimbabwe economic and social historiography since 1970,’ *African Affairs*, 78, 311 (1979), 253-268; Ranger, ‘Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the history of the Nation: The Struggle over the past in Zimbabwe,’ 215-234; G.C. Mazarire, ‘Oral traditions as heritage: the historiography of oral historical research on the Shona: Some methodological concerns,’ *Historia*, 47, 2 (2002), 421-445.

changing place of dogs in the migration, environmental and political histories of pre-colonial southern Africa. The aim was to move beyond debates about types of dogs to reviewing what these dogs did over time in the region. The dissertation has shown that dogs were transgressive animals that transgressed both spatial and conceptual boundaries. They also existed in the spiritual realm in African folklores, religions and beliefs in witchcraft and spirit possession. In the long pre-colonial era from the 1780s to the 1890s, black (and whites ones in some cases) dogs were ritually sacrificed by pre-colonial ruling elites, as the oral traditions of the Njanja, Chirau and Chihota chieftainships demonstrate. Some Zimbabweans still believe that dogs are associated with occult powers even though some also brand them as the dirtiest animal. Zimbabwean dogs were thus not only good to hunt animals and guard livestock, homes and fields with, but they are also good to freely roam with into the country's several historiographical contours. As animals whose relationship with humans changed and shifted over time according to changing cultural traditions and vernacular knowledge, dogs embodied the shifting contradictions that occurred in Zimbabwean society and history over time.

The dissertation showed that for certain African people and at certain times, owning dogs was important in society, and significant in their cattle economies. It was argued in Chapter Two that dogs and dog *muti* and charms were important in protecting cattle from cattle rustlers at certain times in the pre-colonial period, including in 1893, some three years after the country got colonized.³² This is not to say it was thus throughout the period, neither to argue that all African societies in the region deployed them thus. Dogs are a salutary reminder not to generalise, as their meaning and usage was highly diachronic and ideographic. They help offer a useful revisionist corrective to synchronic and static historiographies of the pre-colonial past that homogenise and flatten.

This thesis is also in a conversation with the global and southern African historiographies of rabies. It uses the Southern Rhodesian rabies outbreaks of 1902 to 1913 to extend Van Sittert's arguments about the 1893 rabies epidemic in Port Elizabeth (South Africa). Van Sittert showed that the 1893 rabies epidemic permitted first the middle class and then the colonial state to introduce far-reaching changes in society.³³ In doing this, the dissertation has been challenging the larger southern African historiography that focuses on epidemics. Historians of southern

³² E.G. Howman, 'Rufimbi,' *Native Affairs Department Annual*, (1950), 31-33.

³³ L. Van Sittert, 'Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemics,' L. Van Sittert and S. Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 111-144.

Africa have generally argued that epidemics provide governing authorities with the opportunity to use state resources to implement comprehensive changes in society to the detriment of weakly placed classes, races and genders.³⁴ However, Chapter Three of this dissertation showed that in some cases local issues, traditions and culture were used by some traditional leaders and their followers to push back some authoritarian and intrusive state epidemic control policies. With time, the Southern Rhodesian state came to appreciate the need for local rabies regulations that took cognisance of local customs, traditions, religions and politics. In ventilating these issues, the dissertation brought African perspectives about rabies into a conversation with those of the colonial ruling elites and with the findings of the global rabies historiography.

The dissertation also demonstrated that the Veterinary Department, the NAD, the BSAP and the Magistrates pursued different and competing policies regarding African dog owning. Because of this, traditional leaders and their followers found a lacuna that enabled them to negotiate aspects of the rabies regulations to their advantage. While the colonial state was not a homogenous entity that single-mindedly favoured the same policy input— even though they preferred the same outcomes—the same can also be said of the African community. While some Africans (for obvious reasons) defied some colonial demands, the African society was also fissured between the traditional elites, women and young men who kept dogs for different and sometimes competing reasons. In such a situation, even vernacular knowledge about dogs became adaptive and syncretic as it took cognisance of the new colonial demands, the changes that were taking place in African society and the import of colonial modern knowledge into consideration.

Although showing that colonial officials focused on the role of African-owned dogs negatively, Chapter Three and Four situate African-owned dogs into the major historiographies of both the southern African region and of Southern Rhodesia. African-owned dogs were described as ‘curs’ or ‘mongrel’ that hindered the setting up of Southern Rhodesia as a modern state by spreading rabies and preventing the establishment of cattle ranching and farming industries.

³⁴ C. Van Onselen, ‘Reactions to rinderpest in southern Africa 1896–97’, *Journal of African History*, 13, (1972), 473–488; M. Swanson, ‘The sanitation syndrome: bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape Colony, 1900–1909’, *Journal of African History*, 18 (1977), 387–410; T.O. Ranger, ‘Plagues of beasts and men: prophetic responses to epidemic in eastern and southern Africa’, in T.O. Ranger and P. Slack, *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 241–268; Van Sittert, ‘Class and Canicide in Little Bess’, 111–144.

The colonial state thus instituted dog registration and taxation. In dealing with these issues, the dissertation has shown that animal ownership, environmental control and resources management in southern Africa were heavily politicized. It drew inspiration from the work of Swart, Jacobs and Tropp that focus on environmental struggles over natural resources involving Africans and the colonial state. In the case of the Bophuthatswana Bantustan in 1983, the African ruling elites that were allied with the colonial South African state masterminded the massacre of donkeys that belonged to the poor. These struggles ended in the organized massacring of animals owned by the weakly placed identities, classes and races. They also manifested themselves in the enforcement of forced culling of animals owned by the poor classes and races.³⁵ Just as in these studies, the dissertation foregrounded its analysis on understanding competing politics over environmental control that often resulted in the powerful othering and labelling animals owned by the poor and the weak as environmental pests.

In addition, dog taxation affords an opportunity for the Southern Rhodesian case study to broaden the southern African dog taxation histories. The importance of the Southern Rhodesian context is that it refreshes southern African historiography by showing that the orthodoxy argument that dog tax was introduced to force Africans to work in mines and for settler farmers does not universally apply in the region.³⁶ While this was generally true for most southern African case studies, especially that of (the then) South West Africa, the case of Southern Rhodesia showed that this policy was pursued in order to protect livestock farmers from African hunting with dogs. The other major difference between African dog-owners in Southern Rhodesia and in other southern African contexts was that while the imposition of dog tax was usually followed by immediate acts of rebellion, Africans in Southern Rhodesia delayed their political action. They took indirect action—using weapons of the weak—in responding to the dogs tax ordinance and other colonial interventionist policies.³⁷ It was only in the 1950 to 1960s that some Africans used armed resistance in refusing to pay dog tax. This change was ushered in by the inception of militant nationalism in the country that came with young radical (mission educated) nationalist politicians who took over from old politicians in

³⁵ J. Tropp, 'Dogs, poison, and the meaning of colonial intervention on the Transkei, South Africa,' in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 145-172.

³⁶ G.L.M. Lewis, 'The Bondelswarts Rebellion of 1922,' MA Dissertation, Rhodes University, 1977, 62; T. Emmett, 'Popular Resistance in Namibia, 1920-1925,' in T. Lodge (ed), *Resistance and Ideology in Settler Societies*, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986), 6-48, R.J. Gordon, 'Fido: Dog tales of colonialism in Namibia,' in Van Sittert and Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa*, 173-192; C.B. Moore, 'Canines, carnivores, capitalism, colonialism: Some transformations in hunting, agriculture and labour in Southern Namibia, 1915-1930,' MA Dissertation, Michigan State University, (2016).

³⁷ 'The past and our culture of lying,' *The Herald*, 9 April 2014.

the country during this period.³⁸ Moreover, this dissertation joins the broader southern African socio-environmental history, which has consistently focused on African agency, the agrarian question and struggles over rewarding ecologies between various classes and races.³⁹

In analysing dog registration and taxation in Southern Rhodesia, the dissertation was also grappling with issues related to the diffusion and sharing of knowledge—both African and European (or white) knowledge—about animals, the environment and conservation between Empire and the colonies and between the different races. Such diffusion entailed the exercise of political power over people, their animals and over the environment. As has been shown throughout this dissertation, African dog-owners were not uncritical recipients of western knowledge, colonial modernity and/or white ideas about dogs. Neither were they homogenous. Rather some of them tried—even succeeded—in convincing some Europeans in particular contexts and times to make use of African knowledge about dogs and maintaining their health. However, the colonial state had the political power to force its own version of rationality (knowledge) on Africans by insisting that they kept ‘better and fewer’ dogs. Because certain types of dogs, how they were bred, kept and used undermined some colonial economic and farming ventures, this resulted in the labelling and othering of African dog owning and of African-owned dogs as ‘bad animal subjects.’⁴⁰ Such politicization of dogs was caused by various colonial departments who created ‘criminal animal subjects’ deserving to die out of African-owned dogs. Conversely, those African-owned dogs that got registered or had dog taxes paid for them temporally acquired a quasi-legal status.⁴¹ However, these colonial classifications of dogs at times conflicted with everyday usage of dogs, traditions and rituals about dogs in African villages. Here a different kind of rationality that made sense in African worldview and which they used in criticising and rolling back colonial interventions held sway. Thus, dogs are interesting animals to follow in the Zimbabwean past because they were presented in some narratives as sacred animals—having been God’s favourite animal at one

³⁸ Raftopolous, ‘Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury, 1953-1965,’ 79-93; T. Scarnecchia, ‘The ‘sellout logic’ in the formation of Zimbabwean nationalist politics, 1961–1964,’ in S. Chiumbu and M. Musemwa (eds), *Crisis! What Crisis? The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwe Crisis*, (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2012), 225-240.

³⁹ N.J. Jacobs, *Environment, Power and Injustice: A South African History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); S. Swart, “But where is the bloody horse?: Textuality and corporeality in the ‘animal turn’”, *Journal of Literary Studies*, 23, 3 (2007), 271-292.

⁴⁰ Lewis, ‘The Bondelswarts Rebellion of 1922,’ 62. Emmett, ‘Popular Resistance in Namibia, 1920-1925,’ 6-48; Gordon, ‘Fido: Dog tales of colonialism in Namibia,’ 173-192; Moore, ‘Canines, carnivores, capitalism, colonialism: Some transformations in hunting, agriculture and labour in Southern Namibia, 1915-1930’.

⁴¹ Compare with P. Howell, *At Home and Astray: The Domestic dog in Victorian Britain*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015), 178-182.

time—and in some colonial narratives as vermin. Consequently, there were shifting and changing categories of ‘bad’ and ‘good’ dogs in the African villages. In local narratives there existed both ‘good stray dogs’ and ‘bad stray dogs’ as Zimbabweans often drew from different languages, traditions, folklores and even western ideas in developing and embellishing their own ideas about dogs.⁴² Such ideas (at times) challenged, contested and went along with colonial classifications. Nevertheless, they were also revealing of conflicts within African society.

The dissertation also roamed into the country’s urban dog history focusing on the period between 1950 and 2018 using the case study of colonial Salisbury and Harare. The aim was to come up with a Global South urban history of dogs in order to address the dominance of the Global North in animal histories.⁴³ Although the culture of wandering dogs that was paramount in Harare existed in the cities of the Global Middle East such as Istanbul and Mumbai, in many instances Harare dogs, unlike those in the Middle East, belonged to some owners and homes where they returned in the evening to perform guard services and for meals.⁴⁴ Harare dog-owners and breeders came up with an admixture of traditional and the so-called modern methods of keeping dogs while also infusing the two with vernacular ideas.

By focusing on African dog-ownership in Salisbury and in Harare respectively, the dissertation grappled with the effects, impacts and outcomes of African ways of keeping dogs that they carried into the city. There were contestations between various versions of modernity that were pursued by the SPCA, city councils and kennel clubs on the one hand and various ideas about tradition that some Africans held for various reasons in the period between 1950 and 2018 in the city. However, this story was never an African versus whites, modernity versus tradition, men versus women issue only. It differentiated dog-owners by race, class, gender and also by

⁴² Some Ndebele people have protested against the marginalisation of the Matabeleland province by the ZANU PF government and the silence surrounding the 1980s gross human rights abuses that the ZANU PF government committed in the region. The disturbances were said to have resulted in the killing by government forces of an estimated 20 000 civilians in Matabeleland. Some Ndebele activists at times referred to ZANU PF leaders as dogs.

⁴³ A.H. Skabelund, *Empire of Dogs: Canines, Japan and the making of the Modern Imperial World*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

⁴⁴ Y. Narayanan, ‘Street dogs at the intersection of colonialism and informality: ‘Subaltern animism’ as a post human critique of Indian cities,’ *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, 35, 3 (2017), 489; J.S. Palsetia, ‘Mad Dogs and Parsis: The Bombay Dogs Riots of 1832,’ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 11, 1 (2001), 13-30; A. Ramanujan, ‘Violent Encounters: Stray Dogs in Indian Cities,’ in K. Nagai et al (eds), *Cosmopolitan Animals*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); G. Gündoğdu, ‘The state and the stray dogs in late Ottoman Istanbul: from unruly subjects to servile friends,’ *Middle Eastern Studies*, 54, 4 (2018) 555; A. Mikhail, ‘A Dog-Eat-Dog Empire Violence and Affection on the Streets of Ottoman Cairo,’ *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Middle East and Africa*, 35, 1 (2015), 76-95.

geography. Moreover, all these various and varied identities at times came up with creolized and hybrid way of keeping dogs by borrowing from various versions of modernity and traditions that held sway at various times.

The period between 2000 and 2017 witnessed a transformation as young African men in Harare's high-density suburbs bred 'purebred' dogs and pursued the kind of 'purity' in dog breeding that colonial official forced Africans to adopt in the early colonial period. They relied on knowledge that they got from the internet, shared through social media and gleaned from books and magazines in coming up with 'new types (taxonomies)' of dogs in addition to those that came with European colonialism. Here ideas from African rural areas—that were inspired by vernacular folklores and those that grew out of urban working class cultures also combined with ideas that African middle class modernity generated. They were also infused with what the breeders made of both western ideas of dog breeds and from what they imitated in Global Western ghetto cultures. In addition to using dogs that did not have traceable lineage histories, these breeders experienced peculiar difficulties about how to authenticate their 'puppies' as purebred. They came up with their own methods of authenticating the 'purity' of breeds that were context specific such as the 'doggie style pictures' which—though highly questionable and contentious—recorded parentage and bloodlines of their dogs. This was their breed quality control measure. It was less onerous compared to those of the western world that this dissertation is in conversation with. Moreover, in breeding these dogs, the breeders were influenced by ideas about tradition, nationalism, nativism and indigeneity and they attempted to breed dogs that fitted particular needs and ideologies. However, others focused on functionality and tradition while other were driven by the desire to sculpt out new dog types as they grappled with their lack of purebred breeding dogs, necessity and with their desire to innovate. In doing this, the dog breeders bred back dogs of empire and came up with new dogs of the Global South. Yet, these events had a bearing on the cleanliness of the urban environment, on human relations in the city and led to the creation of lasting ideologies about dogs, politics, human beings and the city. Dogs were talked about in discourses about nationalism, indigeneity, nativism, politics and racism in the history of the country. They were presented as both symbols of oppression and as creatures that symbolized politicians who were accused in Zimbabwe's toxic nationalist discourses of collaborating with the colonial state,

colonialism and imperialism. Such Africans were described as *zimbwasungata* (dogs of the colonisers).⁴⁵

Dogs also symbolized the sexualities that were frowned upon in mainstream Zimbabwean discourses such as bestiality, pornography, and adultery, including (in some cases) homosexuality.⁴⁶ Moreover, dogs have always been mutable symbols deployed in critiquing those in power by making reference to their physicality – often at two poles of a continuum dependent (tellingly) on their relationship to humans— ranging from skeletal emaciation or corpulent sleekness. Even their free-roaming characteristics, their eating habits and their potential readiness (eagerness even) to submit to humans have been cannon fodder in the country’s ever changing political discourses. Thus, dog metaphors and metonyms were used by both the ruling classes and the generality of Zimbabweans in different ways and at different times during the period under review.

This thesis has shown that dogs were central to thinking about power, criticizing it, expressing it and exercising it on others—be it in colonial, post-colonial, in racial, and in ethnic (or even in terms of class and gender). Discourses that used dogs to challenge and to protest the narrower nationalism of ZANU PF show the extent to which dogs have been deployed in Zimbabwe’s recent past. They have recently invaded a new subaltern terrain of written literature (they have always existed in oral literature) and social media as Zimbabwe’s national leaders accused Zimbabweans of barking, howling, growling and pooping at them. They have done this to challenge narrower discourses of nationalist and patriotic historiographies and what other have recently been called Mugabeism. All these are whiggish narrative of the Zimbabwean past that distorts it to serve the interests of the ruling ZANU PF party.⁴⁷ Because scholarship focusing on these teleological narratives have not been able to stray with dogs in Zimbabwean political narratives, they have largely presented the above toxic historiographies as having had an

⁴⁵ Y. Henkin, ‘Stoning the dog: Guerrilla mobilization and violence in Rhodesia,’ *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 36 (2013), 503-532; ‘What brings this dog business?’, *Sunday Mail*, 5 February 1995; ‘It’s possible for a human being to earn the dog title,’ *The Herald*, 1 September 2015.

⁴⁶ M. Moyo, ‘Fauna in archaic Greek and Kalanga oral wisdom literatures,’ PhD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2016, 219-220; Zimbabwe parliamentary debate, ‘homosexuality and lesbianism,’ 28 September 1995, <http://www.qrd.org/qrd/world/africa/zimbabwe/parliamentary.debate-09.28.95>, accessed on 15 September 2019.

⁴⁷ T.O. Ranger, ‘Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the history of the Nation: The Struggle over the past in Zimbabwe,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 2 (2004) 215-234; B. Tendi, ‘Patriotic History and Public Intellectuals Critical of Power,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34, 2 (2008), 379-396; S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (ed), *Mugabeism? History, politics and power in Zimbabwe*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

unassailable hold onto the country.⁴⁸ However, dogs permit Zimbabwean historiography to grapple with contesting and competing ideas about the city, the country, colonialism, nationalism, corruption, imperialism, and decolonialism.⁴⁹

Overall, the dissertation has placed dogs in the much older historiographies of the country that focus on the peasants, agrarian and nationalist historiographies of the country. By focusing on dogs in the environmental, political and social histories of the country, the dissertation has shown that the anthropocentric biases in these historiographies makes the country's history poorer. Species deserve as much attention as other categories of analysis such as race, class and gender in Zimbabwean historiography. The specific focus and centring on 'stray dogs' in this dissertation sets it in deliberate conversation with Global North Animals histories that placed their focus on purebred dogs.⁵⁰ It is also a response to scholars such as Coppinger and Coppinger who have argued that 'stray dogs and pariah dogs' are the most 'authentic dogs' that deserve some scholarly attention.⁵¹ Although discourses about authenticity played a part in dog breeding ventures in Harare's recent past, the dissertation does not limit itself to this one strand of analysis only. By giving stray dogs this kind of historical attention, the dissertation seeks to show that there were other human-animal relations that happened in other parts of the world that served different purposes and existed for different reasons with different outcomes (for both humans and dogs) in other parts of the world. In doing that, it emphasizes local contexts and peculiarities so as to converse with the Global North Animal Histories that so far dominate this sub-discipline of history. While dog histories in the Global North valorise purebred dogs and denigrate stray dogs, this has not been entirely the case in the context of the Global South as presented in this dissertation. Some sections of the Zimbabwean community at certain times saw nothing wrong with the phenomenon of straying dogs. This attitude at times, turned down the assumptions that underpinned the western dog fancy and that have been

⁴⁸ See for instance Mazarire who criticizes Patriotic Historiography by arguing that 'none of the converts to the 'patriotic history' thesis worked out a credible instrument to gauge the response of Zimbabweans to the concept, preferring to make declarations and draw conclusions based on their readings of the online press. Terry was warned about the press by his colleague and friend Ngwabi Bhebe, and I repeatedly impressed upon him in many a conversation that Zimbabweans, like anybody else, do not necessarily believe everything they see or hear on national television or read in the press.' G.C. Mazarire, 'Doing Zimbabwean History with Terence Ranger: A Personal Note,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41, 5 (2015), 1119.

⁴⁹ 'The Game of Dogs and Masters,' *Sunday News*, 7 August 2016, www.sundaynews.co.zw/the-game-of-dogs-and-masters/, accessed 21 August 2018

⁵⁰ H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); Howell, *At Home and Astray*; M. Worboys, J. Strange and N. Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog in Victorian Britain*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018); Skabelund, *Empire of Dogs*.

⁵¹ R. Coppinger and L. Coppinger, *What is a Dog*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 99.

emphasized in dog histories that come from that part of the world. However, such attitude existed uneasily with many competing and contradictory human-human and human-dog relations. In doing this, this dissertation has brought Zimbabwean historiography into a productive conversation with Critical Animal Studies. Resultantly, these two formerly unrelated historiographies have started to bark, growl, whimper and bite at each other in a productive way. But in doing this, the dissertation does not reject, discard or trivialize Global North Animal histories but does that as a way of enriching animal histories⁵² by factoring in the plural, diverse, varied and contested experiences that took place in other cultures, practises and parts of the world.⁵³

⁵² D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Post-Colonial Thought and Historical Difference*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 16.

⁵³ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 16-22.

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