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*The Victoria Falls 1900–1940: Landscape, Tourism and the Geographical Imagination**

JoAnn McGregor
(Department of Geography, University of Reading)

This article is about the politics of landscape ideas, and the relationship between landscape, identity and memory. It explores these themes through the history of the Victoria Falls, and the tourist resort that developed around the waterfall after 1900. Drawing on oral and archival sources, including popular natural history writing and tourist guides, it investigates African and European ideas about the waterfall, and the ways that these interacted and changed in the course of colonial appropriations of the Falls area. The tourist experience of the resort and the landscape ideas promoted through it were linked to Edwardian notions of Britishness and empire, ideas of whiteness and settler identities that transcended new colonial borders, and to the subject identities accommodated or excluded. Cultures of colonial authority did not develop by simply overriding local ideas, they involved fusions, exchanges and selective appropriations of them. The two main African groups I am concerned with here are the Leya, who lived in small groups around the Falls under a number of separate chiefs, and the powerful Lozi rulers, to whom they paid tribute in the nineteenth century. The article highlights colonial authorities' celebration of aspects of the Lozi aristocracy's relationship with the river, and their exclusion of the Leya people who had a longer and closer relationship with the waterfall. It also touches on the politics of recent attempts to reverse this exclusion, and the controversial rewriting of history this has involved.

Introduction

The Victoria Falls is one of Africa's most well known geographical features. Its international fame has depended crucially on notions of natural form and beauty rooted in European romantic and natural history traditions, which gained it a pre-eminent position in a global lexicon of 'natural wonders'. But the growth of a tourist resort around the waterfall from 1900, did not depend on scenery alone. It was the product of the material interests and marketing of a tourist industry, whose increasing geographical reach was very much an effect of imperialism and the extending transport networks that accompanied it.[1] The resort celebrated this imperial expansion into the 'heart of central Africa'. In the popular imperial geographies of the nineteenth century, the Victoria Falls had been imagined on a riverine

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1 For a discussion of tourism in the wake of the development of an overland route to India, see J. Barrell, 'Death on the Nile: Fantasy and the Literature of Tourism, 1840–1860' in C. Hall (ed) *Cultures of Empire: A Reader* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 187–206.

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conduit from the East coast, but by 1900 it was securely placed as a stop over on the Cape to Cairo axis.[2]

However, the Falls has a much longer history of being placed in a very different geography of connections and associated with identities and memories other than those of the British empire or Southern African settler culture. It has long been – and continues to be – a source of inspiration for small groups of 'river people', particularly for those who now identify themselves as Leya, and who claim their connection with the place goes back to the first Bantu settlement of the area. They regard the waterfall as a religious site and associate it with rain, fertility, cleansing and specifically female authority. The waterfall was also long known by African groups less closely connected with it, for whom its towering columns of spray, visible for tens of miles around, constituted a useful geographical marker and orienting device.

This article contributes to existing studies of landscape in various ways. In much of the body of 'postcolonial' literature on European travel writing, the focus has been on the development of metropolitan ideas. Here, in contrast, I keep both European and African ideas within my frame of reference, with the aim of showing a more complex interaction with ideas on the periphery than is often assumed, revealing the accommodations as well as the exclusions of dominant colonial ideas, and exploring the impact of these representations on the places that helped to shape them.[3] I also hope to contribute to a body of literature that has endeavoured to broaden discussions of landscape and tourism away from a focus on the visual, emphasising a broader range of embodied experience and public spectacle, and stressing the importance of tourism as a tool in cultural production.[4] The tourist industry was particularly important in the promotion and endurance of the Cape to Cairo idea, although this has not received the attention it deserves.[5] My focus here is on the period between 1900 and 1940, when the landscape was appropriated and turned into a playground for whites, which celebrated colonial science and modernity and commemorated a past generation of explorers.

The existing literature on southern African landscape ideas, particularly on the region's national parks, has underlined the importance of landscape to settler nationalisms in southern Africa.[6] Terence Ranger's study of the Matopos has shown how different readings of the same landscape were annexed, on the one hand, to a cult of Rhodes and white Rhodesian nationalism and, on the other, to a powerful counter-narrative celebrating traditions of anti-colonial resistance and black African cultural nationalism.[7] But the

2 This transition is explored in greater detail in J. McGregor, 'The Great River: European and African Ideas about the Zambezi', presented to the conference 'A View of the Land', Bulawayo, June 2000.

3 See M. L. Pratt *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, Routledge, 1992); Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2001); Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith, *Geography and Empire* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1994). For writing aiming to show the interconnections between ideas in the metropole and the colonial periphery see F. Cooper and A. L. Stoler (eds.) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley and London, University of California Press, 1997); A. Lester, 'Historical Geographies of Imperialism' in Brian Graham and Catherine Nash (eds), *Modern Historical Geographies* (Essex, Pearson Education, Prentice Hall, 2000), pp. 100–120.

4 On the importance of tourism, see Tim Oakes, 'Eating the Food of the Ancestors: Place, Tradition and Tourism in a Chinese Frontier River Town', *Ecumene* 6, 2 (1999) pp. 123–145; David Gilbert, 'London in All its Glory – or How to Enjoy London': Guidebook Representations of Imperial London', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25, 3 (1999) pp. 279–297.

5 Merrington ignores the tourist industry in his explanation of the persistence of the Cape to Cairo idea. See P. Merrington, 'Cape to Cairo: Africa in Masonic Fantasy' in G. Harper (ed), *Comedy, Fantasy and Colonialism* (London, Continuum, 2002), pp. 140–157.

6 Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History* (Durban, Natal University Press, 1995); for an overview of Southern African studies of landscape and various strands of white identity see William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor, 'Introduction', *Social History and African Environments* (Oxford, James Currey, 2003)

7 Terence Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture and History in the Matopos Hills, Zimbabwe* (Oxford, James Currey, 1999)

Victoria Falls reveals the role of landscape in collective identities on rather different scales – both international, transcending newly established colonial boundaries and intensely local. Historical struggles over the symbolic appropriation of the landscape of the Victoria Falls cannot be contained in a national frame of reference, nor can they be seen only as a conflict between white and black in which African ideas are cast in terms of resistance.

Local cultural meanings were, of course, overridden as the scenery of the Falls was naturalized, as people were evicted and as tourism popularised racialised imperial and settler identities in which Africans often featured as a generic exotic or servile other. But this is only part of the story, which also depends on fusions and exchanges between coloniser and colonised, and on interactions within and between different African groups as these changed under colonial rule. New symbolic appropriations of the river in the early twentieth century depended on the mutual admiration of colonial administrators and Lozi royalty, and their mutual disregard for the Leya. New public spectacle at the Falls incorporated symbols of status derived from exchanges between British and Lozi (but not Leya) traditions. Local Leya connections to the waterfall were easily ignored as they were only partly in the public domain and involved no pomp or display for onlookers, and because the colonial administration's exclusively male idea of chieftaincy and the chiefs they recognised downplayed the importance of the female authorities most closely associated with the waterfall.

My reconstruction of this period draws on archives and oral histories on both banks of the river. I pay particular attention to popular writing about the Falls, such as press coverage of events that took place there, tourist guides and a body of widely publicised scientific research undertaken in the vicinity. On the Zambian side, oral histories relating to Leya connections to the Falls were particularly elaborate thanks to the revival (or invention) of defunct ritual as a spectacle for tourists on the part of the Leya chief Mukuni and an influential group of elderly female advisers. They were also particularly controversial, as they involve not only the promotion of Mukuni's ancestral links with the landscape of the waterfall, but also a version of history that elevates one chief above others in the Falls area, and makes claims to the landscape of Livingstone town and beyond.

Society and the Falls before 1900

In order to understand the struggles over the physical and symbolic landscape of the Falls as it was turned into a tourist resort, it is necessary to outline local ideas about the waterfall before its appropriation. In this section, I shall describe the landscape of the waterfall and its surrounding as it is portrayed in the oral histories and myth of the small groups of people who lived most closely with it and claim long historical connections to the place.

The people who claim the closest and longest connection with the waterfall now identify themselves as Leya.[8] Their society was relatively decentralised, and they lived in small groups, the most prominent of which were led by chiefs Mukuni and Sekute. These two chiefs lived on islands in the middle of the Zambezi river, and their people congregated along the river's banks and around the gorges below the waterfall. Migrants and refugees from further afield also gathered around the waterfall, mingling with the people of the river, the most influential of whom were under the leaders Musokotwane and Hwange.[9] These

8 Ethnic identities in the late nineteenth century were fluid. Leya people also identified themselves, and were identified as Tonga and Toka. In the colonial period and since, the Leya (or the Toka-Leya) have been considered part of the Ila-Tonga group. See E.W. Smith and A.M. Dale, *The Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, Macmillan, 1920); M.A. Jaspan, *The Ila-Tonga Peoples of Northwest Rhodesia* (London, IAI, 1953).

9 Chief Mukuni lived on Siloka Island (now Long Island) and chief Sekute lived on Kalai island. The Toka chief Musokotwane also lived on the North bank by the Falls. Below the waterfall, where the gorges widen out, the

many chiefs and their small groups of followers were on the unstable, raided and tribute paying margins of the two major African polities in the vicinity – the Lozi/Kololo[10] to the north and the Ndebele to the south – each of which regarded the Falls and this part of the Zambezi River as a boundary, each of which saw the small groups around the Falls as inferior.

These small groups living around the Falls were able to use and exploit their geographical niche to maintain a degree of independence from the Lozi and Ndebele states (though they paid tribute to the former, and suffered raiding from both). They could do so due to their command of crossing points on the river and close knowledge of the landscape. The Zambezi in this section was a formidable barrier to those who did not know it intimately. Immediately above the Falls the river was 2 km wide and crossing required knowledge of the sandbanks and currents, as well as a familiarity with the habits of crocodiles and hippos. An unskilled boatsman risked being swept over the edge of the waterfall. Though much less wide below the Falls, the river flowed with such a force through narrow gorges and rapids, that crossing in unstable dugout canoes was a highly skilled affair. The people who lived around the Falls and who regarded themselves as river people, however, crossed repeatedly and maintained strong links across the river.

When the Ndebele wanted to raid the Lozi/Kololo (or vice versa), they needed the assistance of the Leya who commanded the crossing points on the river around the Falls. The island just above the Falls, known to some as 'Ndebele island' provides a reminder of the power this gave those who knew the river in relation to those who did not. The island is named after marooned Ndebele raiders, whom the Leya had promised to carry across, but had left stranded on the island to die.[11] The treachery of the ferrymen around the Falls was infamous amongst powerful African groups away from the river who had to depend on them. Nineteenth century travellers such as Livingstone, recorded tales of such maroonings from their guides and interpreters, who were not generally drawn from amongst the ranks of the river people themselves.[12]

Commanding the river's crossing points may have given the Leya people of the Falls a degree of independence, but their position was precarious and, at times, the Leya chiefs were expelled from their islands either by Kololo/Lozi warriors seeking revenge for attacks made possible by Leya ferrymen, or in disputes among themselves.[13] The landscape of the Falls itself evokes memories of this insecurity. Its extraordinary geomorphology, particularly its gorges, clefts and fissures provided places of refuge. When pursued by hostile others, the people of the Falls area could escape not only by crossing the river or running

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Footnote Continued

Nambya (or Kalanga) chief Hwange lived on the north bank: those living under him were of diverse ethnicity and included Tonga and Leya (also called Dombe). See K. Mubitana, 'The Traditional History and Ethnography' in D. Phillipson (ed), *Mosi-Oa-Tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region* (Harare, Longman Zimbabwe, 1990 [first edition 1975]); J.D. Clark, 'The Native Tribes', in J.D. Clark (ed), *The Victoria Falls* (Livingstone, Monuments Commission, 1952).

10 The Lozi state was centred on the floodplains upstream from the Falls. Their rule was overthrown in the 1830s by Kololo invaders from the South. By the late 1860s the Lozi had re-established control.

11 Interview, Maxon Musaka Ndlovu, Chidobe 27 March 2000.

12 Livingstone's guides and intermediaries were Kololo: they told of the marooning of Bamangwato warriors, D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, Ward, Lock and Co., 1875 [first edition 1857]), pp. 74–76; I. Shapera (ed), *David Livingstone's African Journal 1853—56* [Vols 1 &2], (London, Chatto and Windus, 1963), p. 326. See also J.D. Clark, 'The Native Tribes', *The Victoria Falls*, p. 71, Smith and Dale, *The Ila Speaking Peoples*, pp. 9–10.

13 Sekute assisted an Ndebele attack on the Kololo, following which he was expelled from his island in 1836; Sekute and Mukuni fought repeatedly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with Mukuni generally being the victor. By the late nineteenth century, they had made peace, and Mukuni had enabled Sekute to re-establish himself on Kalai island, cementing the relationship by giving his daughter in marriage. K. Mubitana, 'The Traditional History and Ethnography' in D.W. Phillipson, *Mosi-Oa-Tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region* (Longman Zimbabwe 1990), chapter 6. J.D. Clark' The Native Tribes', p. 71.

to its islands, but by hiding around the waterfall. One place of refuge was 'at the very end of the basalt spur extending between the third and fourth gorges', accessible via a 'knife edge', the ascent of which was possible only at one, very easily defended, place.[14] An evocative description of a second hiding place was given by Frank Sykes, first Conservator of the Falls, when exploring the gorges below the waterfall in the company of an old Leya man.

> ... We descended by a zig zag path the towering face of the gorge wall. Huge masses of overhanging rock, seemingly on the verge of toppling over were passed during the descent. When about three parts of the way down, Namakabwe, the Old Man of the Gorge, pointed out a cave partly hollowed out by nature and partly by hand. During a portion of the year when the water is low, he occupies this place, living on the different varieties of fish to be found in the still pools adjoining the main stream below. Descending into the gorge bed we clambered over huge basalt boulders worn by the action of the water to a glassy smoothness, across patches of fine white sand finally reaching the edge of the river. Here it comes rushing down at a great pace, swerving off at a tangent on meeting an opposing wall, thence, after swirling, eddying and boiling, in a couple of hundred yards it is forced back in an opposite direction to its original course, and finally disappears round the corner of a perpendicular wall towering upwards nearly 500 ft. This locality was a favourite place of refuge in the old days.[15]

However, it was not only the hiding places, islands and crossing places that were important to the people of the Falls. The waterfall itself was a 'place of power' in the landscape.[16] The Leya name for the waterfall was 'Syuungwe na mutitima', which can be translated as 'the heavy mist that resounds', although the term 'Syuungwe' itself also implies rainbow, or the place of rainbows.[17] The better known vernacular term for the Falls, is the Kololo/Lozi phrase 'Mosi-oa-tunya' or 'the smoke that thunders', which was popularised by Livingstone who recorded it from his Kololo guides and companions. Yet the Kololo term reflects the perspective of those who did not live closely with the Falls, and who knew the waterfall as a geographical marker, imagined primarily as seen from afar, like the smoke from a fire, and useful in locating oneself in a landscape that was unfamiliar.[18]

The Leya term for the waterfall, however, lacks any association with fire. 'Syuungwe' is associated with water, rain, rainbows, moisture and fertility.[19] This association is reinforced by other Leya names for aspects of the Falls' landscape: the rain forest that thrives in the spray of the Falls, for example, was known as 'the place where the rain was born'.[20] Leya myth associates the resounding noise of the waterfall with falling water (rather than fire or thunder): it tells of how chief Sekute's chiefly drum fell over the edge of the waterfall in battles between Sekute and Mukuni, and lodged itself under the water at the foot of the gorge such that the falling water beats down upon it, making it sound like a beaten drum.[21]

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14 J.D. Clark, 'The Native Tribes', p. 72. Here Clark found large numbers of grain and water pots. He describes another hiding place ten miles downstream in the gorge, where a deep fissure opened from the southern wall, which had been visited and described by Livingstone.

15 Unpublished report by F. Sykes, cited in G.W. Lamplugh, 'The Gorge and Basin of the Zambezi Below the Victoria Falls, Rhodesia', *Geographical Journal* (1908), pp. 133–152. See p. 145.

16 E. Colson, 'Places of Power and Shrines of the Land', in A. Van Oppen and U. Luig (eds), 'The Making of African Landscapes' special issue of *Paideuma* 43 (1997), pp. 47–58.

17 Syuungwe was translated as 'mist' in interviews. J.D. Clark translates Syuungwe as 'rainbow', based on D. Livingstone's translation of the term as 'rainbow' or 'the place of rainbow', in D. Livingstone and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries* (London, John Murray, 1865, p. 250, see also I. Shapera *African Journals*, editors note p. 326. The Lozi version of the word is 'Shungu'.

18 Frank Sykes, describes a 'native song' with the lyrics, 'how should anyone lose his way with such a landmark to guide him?', *Official Guide to the Victoria Falls* (Bulawayo, Argus Co., 1905), p. 2.

19 Interview, chief Mukuni, Mukuni Village, 14 September 2001; interview Inafoyi Muzamba and Margaret Sivani Muzamba, Mukuni Village, 12 September 2001.

20 Frank W. Sykes *Official Guide*, p. 5.

21 Interview, chief Mukuni, Mukuni Village, 14 September 2001. A similar story is told in Mubitana, 'The Traditional History', p. 70.

This was not the only way in which the landscape of the Falls was humanised. For Mukuni's Leya, the most meaningful northern aspect of the waterfall is known as 'Syuungwe mufu' or 'mist of the dead', because it is associated with the memory of ancestors and played 'a central part in the life of the people'.[22] These 'mists of the dead' are now said to include three key places of particular significance. The first is at the foot of the Falls, and is called 'katolauseka' or 'make offerings cheerfully' and is now known as the Boiling Pot. This was a place of mystery, associated with the spirits of past communities. It is said that a light used to be seen there, or that one could hear the sound of drumming, of children playing, women stamping grain and cattle lowing. Offerings could be hurled into the boiling pot over the lip of the falls from one of the islands perched on the edge, but people also clambered down to the pit itself. As one old man recalled:

> On a special day, food would be prepared and carried down in clay pots. We would creep down and down until we reached the water point. There we would get water and all the food would remain untouched. So the spirits of the parents, if they could hear us, they'd take the food... When you go down the gorge for fishing, if you go at night, you can see lights. Then you would clap, persuading the spirit to be calm The following morning you would return home with a good catch.[23]

Myth also told of an invisible monster that lived in the boiling pot. It was not regarded as a River God (as nineteenth century explorers assumed).[24] Rather, the boiling pot was associated with powerful ancestral and other spirits that needed appeasement, and was a place where God (Leza) – who had no fixed place in the landscape – could be approached.[25]

Another important ritual site was at the top of the waterfall and was known as 'Sambadwazi' or 'cleanse disease'.[26] It was on the upper lip of the Falls by the eastern cataract where the water swung round and over the edge of the gorge, but in doing so created a pool where the water did not move swiftly, making it possible for people to immerse themselves. The diseased and afflicted jumped into this pool in a cleansing ritual in which they allowed their clothing to be washed away over the waterfall, carrying infection and ill health with it. The final site with special meaning was known as 'Chipusya', and was the place where water was drawn for rainmaking and other rituals. The location was known only by some elders and the individual responsible for drawing the water, who did so alone and unobserved in the hours before daylight.[27]

The powers of the Falls were associated by some with specifically female authorities. The matrilineal Leya of the Falls area shared language and forms of kinship with the more decentralized Tonga groups further down the Zambezi valley, but they differed in their political and religious institutions.[28] Although they were small groupings, the Leya appear to have had chiefs as well as an important institution of female authority. For Mukuni's

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22 Interview, chief Mukuni, Mukuni Village, 12 September 2001.

23 Interview Maxon Musaka Ndlovu, Chidobe, 27 March 2000.

24 Elaborated in J. McGregor, 'Living with the River'.

25 On Leza, See Muntemba, 'The Political and Ritual Sovereignty Among the Leya of Zambia', *Zambia Museum Journal*, i, (1970) pp. 28–39; on changing ideas about Leza among the Gwembe Tonga, see E. Colson 'Leza into God – God into Leza' (unpublished paper, Religious Studies Unit, University of Zambia, 2001).

26 Also described in M. Muntemba 'The Political and Ritual Sovereignty' and Chief Mukuni (Siloka II), 'Short History of the Baleya People of Kalomo District' (unpublished manuscript, 1957). Held at Livingstone Museum, Zambia.

27 Interviews, Mukuni Village, September 2001; Maxon Musaka Ndlovu, Chidobe, 27 March 2000. This 'secret' is now public knowledge: its location is described in D.C. Chikumbi, 'Specialist Study on Archaeology and History Issues: Part of the Environmental Impact Assessment on the Proposed Sun International Hotel Development at Victoria Falls, Zambia', November 1998. Available from National Heritage Conservation Commission, Livingstone.

28 The formalised system of chiefs and headmen described by Muntemba in 'The Political and Ritual', pp. 29–30, and by Mukuni, 'Short History', almost certainly reflects administrative hierarchies developed as a result of government recognition.

Leya, the latter was embodied in the individual bearing the title 'Bedyango', said to mean 'gateway to the chief', and associated with a myth of an original female leader.[29] Bedyango was a title that could only be held by a woman, and implied ritual powers over the land, rain and fertility. During rainmaking ceremonies, Bedyango was in charge, and oversaw the collection of water from the secret site. In times of epidemic disease, she led the infected to the waterfall for cleansing. When the young men prepared for war, they crawled though her legs before leaving the village. During the installation of a new chief, she handed the new incumbent the symbolic soil and chiefly paraphernalia and was the only person with powers to dispose of a bad chief (by poisoning).[30] Bedyango is said to have been the original leader of the indigenous Leya people of the Falls area, who claim to have been the first Bantu people to have occupied the site. When chief Mukuni's forebears arrived at the Falls after a long series of migrations from elsewhere (his arrival has been dated as early eighteenth century), they did not usurp power from Bedyango, but agreed to rule together. The original meeting is remembered in a recently invented ritual known as 'kuzyola bami', 'the receiving of the chief', in which the chief is stripped of his powers and his migration to the Falls area from distant lands is re-enacted. In the ceremony, Bedyango receives Mukuni hesitantly saying, 'are we doing the right thing to take our mother to meet the stranger?' before finally welcoming him and offering to share the land.[31]

As society around the Falls was not centralised, however, there was not only one spiritual authority who drew powers from the waterfall, and there were other prominent mediums who had close spiritual and biographical connections with it.[32] The most important of these were also Leya, though not all were female. They had particular sacred places of their own, in addition to visiting the boiling pot. All the chiefs around the falls – not only Mukuni – used different parts of the waterfall.[33] Even the groups of refugees who had fled to the Zambezi came to respect the place and the Leya religious leaders who appropriated its powers.[34] One such – called Jelekuja – was associated with sacred sites in the gorges. He had the reputation of jumping into deep pools during rainmaking rituals only to emerge hours later laden with agricultural produce; his successor was held to have disappeared under the water after birth, emerging after several days, unharmed in the reeds.[35]

Those who lived around the Falls had longstanding connections to both East and West coasts through long distance traders dealing in slaves, ivory, beads and other goods. From the 1860s, they found themselves centrally placed on the new trade networks that were

29 Interview, chief Mukuni, Mukuni Village, 14 September 2001; interview Bedyango, 15 September 2001; Muntemba, 'The Political and Ritual Sovereignty'. Mubitana notes Sekute's Leya have a similar institution in the title Ina Sing'andu, 'The Traditional History' p. 70. Hwange's Nambya also have a powerful female authority figure called Netenje. In these instances, the women were not associated with the waterfall particularly, and their memory was more thoroughly eclipsed in the colonial era.

30 Siloka II, who was chief Mukuni from 1943, described himself and Bedyango as equally powerful. See Mukuni, 'Short History', p. 3.

31 Interview, Bedyango, 15 September 2001; chief Mukuni 14 September 2001.The chief's weakness in relation to the indigenous Bedyango is also remembered in a revived (or invented) annual scolding of the chief by old women, led by Bedyango, in which 'each in turn reminds him of all his wrongdoings, to reduce him to nothing. Because power corrupts, once a year we have to remind him he's human and can be got at'. Interview, Inafoyi Muzamba and Margaret Sibani Muzamba, Mukuni village, 12 September 2001. Muntemba noted that all ritual other than (poorly attended) rainmaking and some seasonal ritual had been abandoned by 1968, 'The Political and Ritual', pp. 38–39.

32 See descriptions of Dombe/Nambya mediums intimately connected to places just below the gorges in J. McGregor 'Living with the River: Landscape and Memory in Northwest Zimbabwe' in Beinart and McGregor *Social History and African Environments*.

33 See Chikumbi, 'Specialist Study', pp. 24–26.

34 Hwange's Nambya, for example, visited the Falls and respected the Leya spirit mediums most closely attached to it, despite retaining a central attachment to ceremony associated with the graves of their former leaders, and the ruins of their former capitals, some 80 km south of the river.

35 Described in McGregor, 'Living with the River'

expanding northwards from South Africa. European hunters and traders moved northwards in increasing numbers, and semi-permanent trading posts were established from the 1870s. The central position of these small groups around the Falls in relation to movement and trade and the increasing importance of the route from the south, meant that they appear frequently in nineteenth century travel writing. This does not mean that these texts reflected their perspective. To the extent that the texts reflect any local perspectives at all, they tend to bear the imprint of the more powerful others with whom Europeans were centrally preoccupied, and who often acted as their guides and intermediaries. Perhaps for this reason – although the Leya name for the waterfall is described in passing in nineteenth century travel writing and some early tourist guides as the older term – more attention is paid to Kololo/Lozi perceptions, and their (derogatory) opinion of the people who lived around it.

The Leya, like other marginal peoples, were not players in the concession-making, treaty-signing and conflicts leading to British occupation – these were negotiated with the Ndebele and Lozi aristocracy. In the wake of the British defeat of the Ndebele in 1893 and 1896, and the negotiation of Protectorate status for the Lozi, colonial administrations were set up on either side of the river by the British South Africa Company. The Zambezi river came to be the boundary between the new colonial states of South and Northwest Rhodesia, and the Leya communities, as well as the waterfall, were divided between them. Although the Leya, by virtue of being 'ancient', had already been written out of an active historical connection to the place in nineteenth century texts, they had not yet been physically prevented from using it.

Colonial occupation changed the relationship between the people around the Falls and what were the major nineteenth-century African powers. As raiding ceased, chiefs Mukuni and Sekute moved off their islands onto the mainland on the north bank, and their people lived on both banks of the river. Hwange moved south, back to the ruins of the former leader's capital. On the south bank, there was little ongoing Ndebele political influence as the administration saw its role as liberating 'slave and refugee tribes', and appointed Hwange and other Nambya chiefs under whom the Leya fell.[36] On the north bank, as we shall see, Lozi political influence was also undermined, although cultural influences persisted. New freedom from raiding was rapidly overshadowed by new demands from the colonial administration in the form of taxation, new restrictions on uses of the waterfall, and competition for the lands in its vicinity.

Creating a Tourist Resort, 1900–1940

Existing studies of landscape ideas of the Victoria Falls have emphasised the importance of perspectives derived from European romantic and natural history traditions, which postcolonial critics have cast as inherently colonial and masculine.[37] I am not denying the importance of such traditions, and continuities are everywhere apparent – from the ongoing popularity of reproductions of Baines paintings of the waterfall, to aspects of the tourist itinerary and its emphasis on views and panoramas. However, a focus solely on continuities in a singular landscape way of seeing is narrow and decontextualised. It undervalues

36 CNC Taylor, 'A Short History of the Tribes of the Province of Matabeleland', 11 January 1904, National Archives of Zimbabwe [NAZ] A3 18/28. E. Worby, 'Maps, Names and Ethnic Games: The Epistemology and Iconography of Colonial Power in Northwestern Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20, 3 (1994), pp. 371–392.

37 On continuities in visual representations, see Neville Smith, 'Thomas Baines Landscape Art' (unpublished, ms., 1996). M.L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, Routledge, 1992), pp. 201–227 and Jane Carruthers and Marion Arnold, *The Life and Work of Thomas Baines* (Fernwood Press, South Africa, 1995) argue the nineteenth century representations of the landscape were inherently masculine and pointed towards imperialism. See the latter's description of Baines' 'Bird's Eye View of the Falls', p. 39.

divergences and tensions between different landscape ideas, and ignores shifts that are particularly significant if one wishes to explore the role of landscape in relation to the formation of colonial and subject identities. The fact that the resort commemorated nineteenth century explorers (and remembered their way of seeing the landscape) was significant in establishing a lineage stretching backwards, but it also reflected a new sense of distance from, and progress since, the age of the Victorian pioneers. The early twentieth century resort celebrated modernity, the achievements of colonial science and command over nature, epitomised by the railway, the bridge over the Zambezi, and the new conventions of seeing introduced by camera and film. The landscape was experienced not only visually, but also bodily though various forms of sport and leisure activity. It was centrally important to an expanding tourist industry (as well as colonial settlement) that the environment was tame and safe (even if it was marketed as remote and wild), and suitable for women as well as men. Although the landscape was recreated as a white playground, spectacular events organized there involved fusions and exchanges with African traditions. All of these changes contributed to the experience the resort offered, and to the ways in which landscape and identity were linked after 1900 – whether to Edwardian notions of Britishness and empire, to whiteness and southern African settler identities or to the subject identities accommodated or excluded.

The development of a tourist resort at the Victoria Falls was a by-product of imperial economic interests in the regions north and south of the waterfall, and the decision – taken in 1900 – to route the railway to 'the North' via the Hwange coalfields. By this time, the tourist potential of the Falls was already evident. The waterfall had become increasingly accessible from the south following the defeat of the Ndebele, especially after a direct road had been cut from Bulawayo and a regular wagon service initiated in 1898.[38] Traffic up the road increased dramatically as miners and prospectors, administrators, traders and missionaries crossed into the newly created Northwest Rhodesia by way of the Falls, and as visitors came up the road specifically to see the waterfall itself. Colonial settlement initially took the form of a handful of pioneer traders and others grouped at Sekute's old crossing point on the river above the Falls, now known as the Old Drift, where new ferry services were run by Europeans.

The prospect of the arrival of the railway provoked fantasies of economic growth, and global comparisons. It was confidently assumed that urban and industrial developments would be on the scale of Niagara City and Bufalo, which had grown up on the basis of power generated from the Niagara Falls. The African Concessions Syndicate Ltd, was not unusual in considering it 'a fairly safe prophecy' that such cities would develop, and 'an obvious fact that the industrial future of a large portion of Rhodesia and even of South Africa' would depend on electricity from the Falls.[39] The *South Africa Handbook* of 1903 noted that thanks to the proximity of coal, minerals and water power, the site possessed 'all the factors for the creation of a great manufacturing centre. A new Chicago, let us call it *CECILTON*, will spring up near the banks of the Zambezi.'[40]

Such expectations of growth following the railway also spurred the conservation of the landscape, and a body of scientific research that went beyond the immediate practical concerns of engineers and prospectors. The British South Africa Company decided to reserve the immediate Victoria Falls area in 1894, in response to a rumour 'that some

38 D. Phillipson, 'The Early History of the Town of Livingstone', in D.W. Phillipson (ed), *Mosi-Oa-Tunya*, chapter 8.

39 See African Concessions Syndicate Ltd. *The Victoria Falls on the Zambezi River* (London, 1902). On power at the Falls, which was not generated until 1938, and then only on a small scale, see NAZ S 246/278 and S 482 134/48–9.

40 *South Africa Handbook*. No. 6. [n.d. ca.1903]. Held in Rhodes House, Oxford.

enterprising individual was going to "peg out" the land around the Falls and charge gate admittance', an initiative the Company was keen to 'forestall'.[41] The Company wanted 'immediate action' to protect the Falls – and particularly its timber resources – from 'disfigurement at the hands of transport riders, traders and others.'[42] Niagara's precedent was invoked again in debates over conservation, this time offering a negative example. Lord Curzon was not alone in feeling that the Victoria Falls were more sublime than Niagara on the grounds of the 'lack of signs of civilization', and it was widely believed that new industrial prosperity in Niagara had spoilt its aesthetic appeal.[43] A park was designated around the waterfall itself, and a Conservator was appointed in 1900.

Frank Sykes, who filled this post, was also Civil Commissioner for the Livingstone area.[44] His vision of the Falls was influential, as he designed the modifications of the landscape that made it more amenable to visitors and wrote the first 'official' guide, published in 1905. Sykes felt the landscape needed to be manipulated to 'excite the wonder of the onlooker' and to maintain its 'primitive charm'.[45] He felt it necessary to 'open up views of the river by judiciously cutting down trees', 'to fill up gaps by plantations' and to enlarge hippopotami tracks which were 'the only means of approach to some of the best points of view'.[46] He also wanted to charge admission, a proposal that was dismissed by the Company as impractical and 'undignified'.[47] Sykes was assisted by a Curator, Mr Allen (Forester to the Rhodesia Railways and former employee of Kew) who was appointed in 1904. The perspective of both Conservator and Curator reflected their enthusiasm for natural science as well as their desire to commemorate a previous generation of pioneers.

The rush of scientific investigation that accompanied the preparations for the bridge over the river, provoked new understandings of the landscape. The networks of collaboration and dissemination that were used and developed in these investigations underlined the role science could play both in strengthening imperial ties and in contributing to emergent settler identities.[48] Geological and archaeological research was particularly significant. It challenged previous interpretations of the Falls landscape by explaining the formation of the chasm through fashionable gradualist ideas of the daily power of erosion, and rejecting the outdated catastrophist (often biblical) notions held by Livingstone and others, who had attributed it to a sudden mighty crack resulting from 'awful convulsions of the earth's crust'.[49] Geologists provided potent evidence of the antiquity of human settlement at the Falls, when newly discovered archaeological remains were shown to predate the physical

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41 *The Directory of Bulawayo and Handbook for Matabeleland 1895–1896* (W.A. Richards and Sons, Cape Town, 1896), citing government notice of 22 September 1894.

42 Letter from Hugh Marshall Hole to BSAC Administrator, S. Rhodesia, Siloh, 18 July 1903. NAZ A 11/2/17/2.

43 Lord Curzon, *The Times*, 14 April 1909. See NAZ S 142/13/21.

44 He had been a trooper in the British regiment which helped BSAC forces put down the Ndebele uprising in Matabeleland in 1896, and was author of *With Plumer in Matabeleland* (London, Constable, 1897).

45 F. Sykes, 'Suggestions for the Conservation of the Falls', 8/07/03. See H. Marshall Hole to Administrator, Southern Rhodesia, 18/07/03, NAZ A 11/2/17/2.

46 Letter from Hugh Marshall Hole to BSAC Administrator, S. Rhodesia, Siloh, 18 July 1903. NAZ A 11/2/17/2

47 See F. Sykes 'Suggestions' and H. Marshall Hole to BSAC Administrator, S., Rhodesia, 18/07/03. NAZ A 11/2/7/2.

48 For an excellent discussion of these tensions, see Saul Dubow, 'A Commonwealth of Science: The British Association in South Africa, 1905–1929' in S. Dubow (ed) *Science and Society in Southern Africa* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000)

49 Edward Mohr, *To the Victoria Falls of the Zambezi* (London, Sampson Low, 1876), p. 145. Mohr, who visited the waterfall in 1870, was repeating the ideas of earlier travellers. Livingstone had attributed the waterfall to a sudden crack across the river, contrasting it explicitly with the formation of the Niagara Falls, which was already understood to have been formed by the gradual wearing back of the rock. Baines, Chapman, Mohr and Selous did not challenge Livingstone's view. See A.J.C. Molyneux, 'The Physical History of the Victoria Falls' *Geographical Journal* (January 1905), pp. 44–63; G. W. Lamplugh, 'The Gorge and Basin of the Zambezi below the Victoria Falls, Rhodesia', *Geographical Journal* (February 1908), pp. 133–152 and *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* 73 (1907), pp. 62–79.

retreat of the waterfall, which had cut back through the gravels in which the relics were situated.[50] These new scientific understandings infused visual appreciations of the landscape. Thus, the President of the Rhodesian Scientific Association considered 'the mighty spectacle of the Victoria Falls becomes the more sublime when we think that the forty miles of deep and narrow chasm are the result of the incessant action of water for at least 100,000 years'.[51]

The scientific networks developed in these endeavours were of mutual benefit to regional and metropolitan scientific communities, and important in building both settler and imperial identities. Botanical 'discoveries' provided new means of appreciating tropical splendour in situ, as well as new garden plants for the 'horticulturalists at home'.[52] Ornithologists collected dead birds for the South African Museum at Cape Town as well as British museums.[53] Local settler enthusiasts and Company employees gained the status of membership in metropolitan scientific associations for their assistance to eminent visiting scientists. Thus, the photographer and local entrepreneur Percy Clark was made Fellow of the Royal Geological Society for helping Henry Balfour find stone-age axe heads close to the Falls, exhibited his photographs of the views of the waterfalls that Baines had painted at the Royal Geographical Society and was elected Associate of the Royal Photographic Society in 1925.[54] Frank Sykes' exploration of the gorges below the Falls reached professional audiences when it was cited in scholarly articles by the geologist and geographer George Lamplugh. But the body of research not only added to the pages of metropolitan journals. It also enriched the *Proceedings of the Rhodesian Scientific Association*, founded in 1901. It reached a broader audience still as summaries of natural history research were reproduced in the first 'official guide' to the Falls, compiled by Frank Sykes.[55] The new technologies of camera and later film allowed representations of the landscape to reach an increasingly global public – postcards were mass produced and a cinematograph produced in 1906 was said to have reached an audience of 6 million within six months of the filming.[56]

These new scientific understandings of the Falls were one way in which, by being better known, the landscape was tamed. But the growth of tourism demanded taming of a different sort. It required the recasting of a place known for the discoveries of intrepid (male) pioneers as a site of genteel leisured activity, where women were not out of place. The tourist literature achieved this in a range of ways, even as it commemorated the achievements of predecessors. All guides emphasised the comforts and amenities of the Victoria Falls Hotel, completed in June 1904. Though much less grand than it later became, this first hotel helped cast the Falls as a modern, luxurious resort, deploying symbols of a global tourist industry and of empire. The hotel's logo was the Lion of Africa and the Sphinx of Egypt, the first owner was Pierre Gavuzzi, who had worked at the Carlton and Savoy hotels

50 Leslie Armstrong and Neville Jones 'The Antiquity of Man in Rhodesia', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute [JRAI]*, 66 (1936), outline the history of archaeological discovery and interpretation at the Falls. The idea that the relics predated the Falls' geological retreat was first suggested by H.W. Fielden in 1905 in a letter to *Nature*, and was elaborated and supported by G. W. Lamplugh, 'Notes on the Occurrence of Stone Implements in the Valley of the Zambezi and Around the Victoria Falls', *JRAI*, 36 (1906), pp. 159–60 and Henry Balfour, *JRAI*, 36 (1906) p. 170.

51 Presidential Address, *Proceedings of the Rhodesian Scientific Association*, 4 (1903).

52 C.E.F. Allen, 'Notes on the Falls Botany', in Sykes *Official Guide*, section xiii.

53 W.L. Sclater, Director of the South African National Museum, 'Ornithological Notes', in Sykes *Official Guide*, section xiv.

54 Percy Clark, *Autobiography of an Old Drifter: The Life of Percy M. Clark of Victoria Falls* (London, Harrap, 1936), p. 240, p. 245.

55 Sykes, *Official Guide*, sections xi to xiv.

56 *Livingstone Mail*, 23 June 1906.

in London: the chef was French, the barman an American from Chicago and the first waiters were Arabs.[57] This first wooden structure had been modified from the original railway employees' quarters and was equipped with electric lights and fans, hot and cold water. The British travel agent, Thomas Cook and Sons, as official passenger agent for the Cape Government and Rhodesia Railways, followed the progress of the railway and construction of the hotel in its magazine, *The Excursionist* (renamed the *Travellers' Gazette* in 1903), and began offering excursions from Cape Town in the same year. The company anticipated a rapid expansion of business at 'Nature's greatest spectacle' when the traveller could 'enjoy European luxury even here in the heart of Africa.'[58] The Falls was a suitable destination for the royalty and others who arrived on the 'trains de luxe' from Cape Town.

The amenities and activities offered by the hotel and other local entrepreneurs, and the itineraries promoted in the guides, represent a profound transformation of the way the landscape could be experienced. The islands, which ten years earlier had provided places of refuge and were associated with Leya chiefs, were now renamed after European discoverers, visiting royalty and others, and were considered in terms of their suitability for taking tea and picnics, or for sunset views of the river, accessible by Canadian canoe or motor-powered launch. The visitor was invited to visit 'Livingstone Island', to see views of the 'Leaping Water' (so named by Thomas Baines), to walk through the 'Rain Forest' (so named by Thomas Mohr). He or she could imagine him or herself in a lineage of pioneers, in which the first *white* woman to visit the Falls (in 1882, Mrs Francis, born in Grahamstown), and the first *English-born* woman (in 1884, Mrs Ralph Williams) were also remembered.[59] There were opportunities for sport fishing and shooting (for men), and details of walks of varying degrees of effort for men and women. Guides offered clothing tips to women as well as men, in addition to listing local suppliers.

This modern leisured experience of the landscape offered by the resort evoked the empire in many ways. Not only was the natural wonder made accessible by potent emblems of modernity in the form of the railway and the 'engineering wonder' of the bridge over the Zambezi, but the route itself provided reminders of imperial ambition and the figure of Cecil Rhodes. The bridge was planned, controversially, to pass in full view of the Falls, as Rhodes had wanted. It was designed by the British engineer Sir Douglas Fox and was constructed by the Cleveland Bridge Company of Darlington.[60] The striking combination of symbols of the power of nature and of triumphal British science along an important imperial axis gave an excessively jingoistic flavour to understandings of the Falls landscape. When the first train pulled into the Victoria Falls in April 1904, driven by the daughter of engineer Harold Pauling, it flew a Union Jack and bore a board below its headlamp reading 'We've got a long way to go'[61]

The opening of the bridge the following year, in July 1905, reinforced this imperial triumphalism. *The Financier* declared the bridge 'one of the greatest engineering marvels of modern times and a most important link in the Cape to Cairo Railway',[62] and *South Africa*'s journalist could see 'the mosques of Cairo... already rising on the mental horizon'.[63] *The Globe*'s journalist celebrated this 'interesting event in the heart of Central

57 John Crewel *A History of the Victoria Falls Hotel: Ninety Glorious Years* (Zimbabwe, 1994).
58 *Traveller's Gazette,* 9 April 1904, 'By Rail to Victoria Falls', *pp. 12–14.* Available in the Thomas Cook archive, Peterborough
59 Sykes *Official Guide*, p. 2–3 (emphasis in original list)
60 D. Phillipson, 'The Early History', p. 97. The construction of the bridge is described in greater detail in Duncan Watt, 'Thesis on the Town of Livingstone', undated ms held at Livingstone Museum, G5 2/1, pp. 32–33.
61 A.H. Croxton *Railways of Rhodesia. The Story of the Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways* (Newton Abbott, David and Charles, 1973), p. 91.
62 *The Financier*, 22 July 1905.
63 *South Africa*, 15 July 1905.

Africa', important because the bridge could 'claim the distinction of being the highest in the world, has been erected in the heart of the Dark Continent and furthermore, represents the forging of another link ... in the great scheme proposed and started by Cecil John Rhodes.'[64] Guide books promoted the bridge as the place where the best views could be gained, and some entertained the visitor with technical details about its construction, including measurements (of south and north end spans, the centre arch and height in different places) and long lists of the names of consulting and contracting engineers.[65]

The festivities organized at the Falls for the opening of the bridge were significant for their jingoism, their celebrations of the railway, colonial science and new symbolic appropriations of the river. Most prominent among the eminent people brought to the Falls in the many special trains arranged for the occasion were a delegation from the British Scientific Association, whose president – the astronomer Professor George Darwin (son of Charles) – gave the opening address. As the BSAC noted in a telegram, it was 'Very fitting that foremost representative of science should be associated with inauguration of modern engineering. Regret the founder of country is not alive to witness realization of part of his great ideal.'[66] For Thomas Cook and Sons the opening was 'an event second only in importance to the completion of the [Cape to Cairo] line itself, and their magazine described 'the memorable scene' of the five special trains carrying Professor Darwin 'through trackless, uninhabited tropical bush to the renowned falls'.[67] Cook chose the Falls as their emblem for tourism in the southern African region: the image they used showed the waterfall superimposed with images of 'newstyle' transport in the form of a train counterposed to the old-fashioned discomforts of the wagon. Audiences in Britain knew of the event not only through the press and tourist industry: a new set of postage stamps was issued in Britain displaying the Victoria Falls.[68]

Although the propaganda surrounding the opening of the bridge celebrated empire and the taming of an African wilderness by European science, the festivities surrounding the event were also revealing of the way in which colonial culture selectively accommodated aspects of African tradition. The one-day regatta that was part of the opening celebrations, offered a glimpse of such incorporations. The regatta set Rhodesian crews against South African crews, using 'clinker built fours' which had been imported from Oxford especially for the event, and also featured 'native races'.[69] There were many reminders of boating events and leisure back home. The Administrator at Livingstone had a punt imported from England, which had been launched on the Thames and which he used for the first time at the regatta.[70] Local entrepreneur Percy Clark recalled how the rowing course was lined with 'the usual "joints" – poker tables, "Under and over", "Crown and Anchor" canteens and side shows.'[71] *The Evening News* declared the Zambezi, 'Our New Henley. The finest rowing waterway in the world.'[72]

But Britain and the Thames were not the only reference points in these celebrations on the river. It was, of course, significant for colonial identities constructed in terms of race, that European and African crews raced separately rather than competing against each other. The 'native' crews were mostly made up of the employees of European-owned launches on

64 *The Globe*, 13 September 1905.
65 Sykes, *Official Guide*, pp. 7–8.
66 Cited in Dubow, 'A Commonwealth of Science', p. 72.
67 *Travellers Gazette*, October and November 1905.
68 Croxton, *Railways of Rhodesia*, p. 97.
69 For descriptions of the opening, see A.H. Croxton, *Railways of Rhodesia*, pp. 93–99; 'Opening of the Zambezi Bridge', *Travellers' Gazette*, November 1905; Percy Clark *Autobiography*, pp. 202–204; D. Ward, 'Thesis', pp. 35–6
70 *Livingstone Mail*, 7 November 1908.
71 Percy Clark, *Autobiography*, p. 212.
72 The *Evening News*, 15 July 1905.

the river (one comprised BSAC employees, the other workers of local trader and self appointed 'mayor' of the Old Drift, Mopane Clarke). But notions of African subjecthood were not undifferentiated. The regatta was attended by the Lozi paramount (Lewanika) and included a race of Lozi royal barges, which was won by the crew of Letia (Lewanika's son).[73] Tonga and Leya people, in contrast, though they had a more intimate connection with the regatta course, which traversed their old fords, had no public role in these displays on the river. Their invisibility in relation to Lozi aristocracy and Lozi traditions of display on the river is revealing.

There was a mutual admiration among settlers/administrators and Lozi royalty, each of whom was fascinated by the other.[74] Such admiration had been both reflected and reinforced following Lewanika's visit to England for Edward VII's coronation and his audience with the King in 1902. On his return, Lewanika often appeared in public events wearing the British Ambassador's uniform he had been given in London, which was highly ornate and heavily decorated with gold braid.[75] Tours at the Falls that were organised for visiting dignitaries always included a reception by Lewanika, and he played the role of aristocratic host remarkably well, by all accounts. The Lozi royal barges themselves, particularly the huge Nalikwanda or 'national' barge, were spectacular, especially as they moved with accompanying fleets and pomp instantly recognisable to European audiences. As Jalla described in 1928: the Nalikwanda had

> a handsome awning of mats surmounted by a [large] carved wooden animal – elephant, giraffe, etc. – occupied the centre of the barge, over a white awning where the king was installed with all his equipage and served from his kitchen. The cook could even make a fire on board. This barge was propelled by fifty paddlers chosen from among the Barotse princes and councillors. They were tricked out for the occasion in special costume, with animal skins on their backs and lion manes on their heads.[76]

The barges were described and photographed repeatedly in the early twentieth century.[77] The Kuomboka crossing received particular attention, and continued to do so as its ceremonial aspects were elaborated over the course of the colonial period. It was the most important event in the Lozi calendar, when the Lozi aristocracy led people out of the rising flood waters surrounding their homes in the wide Zambezi flood plain, onto higher ground.[78] This display, and the crowds accompanying the Lozi aristocracy's movement on the river more generally, were incorporated into events at the Victoria Falls and Livingstone, even though this was some 300 miles away from the Lozi heartland (although other royal centres were nearer).

At the 1910 regatta, for example, when the resort hosted the finals of the world sculling championship (pitting Richard Anst from New Zealand against Ernest Barry from England),[79] the Lozi aristocracy attended as usual. Letia appeared dressed in a black frock coat

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73 Phillipson, 'The Early History', p. 103.

74 See also Terence Ranger, 'Making Northern Rhodesia Imperial: Variations on a Royal Theme, 1924–1938', *African Affairs* (1981) pp. 349–373.

75 Gervas Clay, *Your Friend Lewanika: Litunga of Barotseland 1842–1916* (London, Chatto and Windus, 1968), p. 127.

76 Vincent Turner, *The Luyana Peoples of Barotseland* (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, London, Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1951), citing the description of L. Jalla, *Sur les Rives du Zambeze: Notes Ethnographiques* (Paris, Societe des Missions Evangeliques, 1928), pp. 90–91.

77 R.A. Luck described the Nalikwanda as 75 yards long [though he surely meant feet], 5 ft deep and 10–12 ft wide, made of several planks sewn together with fibre. R. A. Luck, *Visit to Lewanika* (Simpkins, Marshall, Hamilton Kent and Co. Ltd, 1902), p. 62. See also note 79.

78 Descriptions of the Kuomboka can be found in Jalla, *Sur Les Rives,* pp. 90–91; D.W. Stirke, *Eight Years Among the Barotse* (London, John Bale Sons and Danielsson Ltd, 1922), p. 121; M. Gluckman, 'The Lozi of Barotseland in Northwestern Rhodesia' in E. Colson and M. Gluckman (eds) *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa* (London, Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 11.

79 *Livingstone Mail* 20 August 1910.

suit and a cocked hat with white and red feathers.[80] Lewanika arrived in a royal barge accompanied by 60–80 large canoes and 600 African paddlers with paddles raised in salute.[81] Later the same year, during the Royal Tour of Victoria Falls and Livingstone, Lozi royalty came in full display to the town once again: it was reported that Lewanika and Letia had an entourage of 2000 Africans.[82] The tour was testimony to the fusing of local and British symbols of status in cultures of colonial authority. Just as administrators' receptions incorporated the Lozi aristocracy and celebrated their royal traditions, so Lozi receptions of visiting royalty came to incorporate British costume and other material artefacts. (Lewanika's dining room had a large gilt-framed landscape painting hung on the wall, and visitors were often received in a London cab drawn by ox and donkey.) But the exchanges of riverine symbols were perhaps particularly interesting. Lewanika had a model 'Nalikwanda' barge sent to the King, which was displayed in an imperial exhibition in 1907,[83] whilst British royalty sent Lewanika a Putney barge around the same time (though being made of soft Norwegian pine, it did not survive the journey up the Zambezi rapids intact).[84] As the Lozi royal barges incorporated hulls of European manufacture, the Livingstone Administrators developed their own tradition of barges, with some aspects of their design borrowed from those of the Lozi aristocracy.[85]

The Lozi aristocracy had received tribute from the small subordinate Leya groups around the Falls in the nineteenth century. As Livingstone was the capital of the Protectorate of Northwest Rhodesia, whose boundaries supposedly reflected the limits of Lozi influence, it was to be expected that the Lozi aristocracy should have a presence in the town. Thus, when Livingstone town was laid out in 1905, away from the swampy malarial margins of the river Zambezi, Lozi authority was reflected in the naming of the open park which occupied the centre of the new town's grid plan – the 'Barotse Centre'.[86] The Lozi presence in the capital persisted even as the colonial administration gradually undercut Lozi powers and greatly restricted their territorial jurisdiction to the confines of the Lozi reserve (which did not include Livingstone and its surrounds). After 1904, for example, the tribute the Lozi had collected from the Leya and others was replaced by taxation to the Administration, although for the first three years, the Lozi continued to station an induna at the administrative centre who helped collect dues (a proportion of which still went to the Lozi aristocracy), and Lozi indunas initially continued to sit on courts in the Falls district (and other places outside the Lozi reserve).[87] In both Livingstone and Victoria Falls, Lozi was the most widely spoken vernacular, and the Lozi and English names for the Falls came to be the most widely used. The Lozi were an 'obvious elite' amongst African workers in Livingstone, and filled most posts requiring education, quite aside from the aristocracy's ceremonial presence.[88] The Lozi also dominated the early curio trade and carving business, as they had a more elaborate carving tradition than the Leya,

80 *World Wide Magazine* October 1910.
81 *Livingstone Mail* 12 November 1910.
82 *Livingstone Mail* 12 September 1910
83 Clay, *Your Friend*, p. 129
84 Clay, *Your Friend,* p. 129.
85 Turner, *The Luyana,* notes that Nalikwanda came to be of European manufacture. On DCs adoption of aspects of Lozi barge design, see the photo of DC on his barge at the Kuomboka taken by Gluckman and the caption in L. Schumaker, *Africanizing Anthropology*: *Fieldwork, Networks and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa* (Duke University Press, 2001), p. 50.
86 Phillipson, 'The Early History' p. 98.
87 E. Stokes describes the undercutting of Lozi political power outside the reserve over the period 1889–1911 in 'Barotseland: The Survival of an African State' in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds), *The Zambesian Past: Studies in Central African History* (Manchester University Press, 1966), pp. 261–301. See also Gerald Caplan *The Elites of Barotseland 1878–1969* (London, Hurst, 1970).
88 Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland, p.*94.

which was more quickly adapted to tourist demands.[89] Lewanika himself owned one of the first curio shops in Livingstone, and was reported to make £200 a year in 1910.[90]

The Lozi aristocratic presence in Livingstone and the inclusion of displays of Lozi command over the river in public events show how settler culture as well as ideas of empire in the metropole involved symbolic exchanges with local African royalty. But these inclusions were limited, and were also compatible with ideas about white superiority characteristic of southern African settler culture and promoted through the tourist experience at the resort. Percy Clark's guide to the Falls, for example, includes not only the usual itineraries, but also appends stories of his own pioneering experience. In them he adopts the manner of an old Africa hand informing the visitor not only of his meetings with individual Lozi royalty, but also drawing on stereotypes of the native as 'instinctively dirty' and 'a curious animal, but very useful to a superior race, after living in the country a few years they know all his little idiosyncrasies ... .'[91] Furthermore, Lozi cultural presence was less well established on the south bank. The south bank managed to maintain a dominance over the tourist trade – much to Livingstone settlers' chagrin – and it was the representations of the waterfall and resort on the south bank that came to be most important.[92] The divisions between the two banks became more pronounced as Company rule ceased and the two sides of the river were drawn into the respective – and very different – colonial administrations of Northern and Southern Rhodesia.[93]

The resort on the south bank remained dominated by its position on the imagined Cape to Cairo axis and the reputation of the Victoria Falls Hotel, which was rebuilt in the 1920s to its current scale and grandeur. The resort retained its associations with empire and luxury, and was marketed as an exclusively white playground amidst wilderness, where Africans were presented as an undifferentiated servile force. The tourist industry kept alive the imagined geography of Cape to Cairo long after it had lost its significance in the world of realpolitik. Several travellers attempted the journey in the first decade of the twentieth century, including a woman, the novelist Charlotte Mansfield.[94] But the first commercial Cape to Cairo tour was organised by Thomas Cook and Sons in January 1922, for which the appeal was that 'the spirit of wild places can only be grasped on trek', and in which the Victoria Falls was a notable stopover.[95] But if such treks appealed to the adventurous, Southern Africa was increasingly being marketed as a tame environment with a climate suited to healthy winter breaks, and as a fashionable destination. Alongside the natural wonder, Thomas Cook emphasised in 1930, 'There is a splendid and comfortable hotel at the Falls and during the season the fashionable throngs in the grounds and on the verandas are more reminiscent of a European spa than of a retreat in the interior of Africa.'[96] Tourist marketing continued to build on the image of Niagara and successfully created the Victoria

89 Sekwaswa notes that the Lozi who flocked to Livingstone for work 'taught local natives basket-making, trays and mats – stool bowls and woodwork'. Government messenger Sekwaswa, 'History of Livingstone District' (unpublished ms, n.d., ca. 1936), Livingstone Museum, G102, p. 16.

90 Per Rekdal, 'Traditional Carving and the Curio Trade', in D.W. Phillipson (ed) *Mosi-Oa-Tunya*, pp. 108–115.

91 Percy Clark, 'A Native in the Wilds of Rhodesia', in *Guide to the Victoria Falls* (4th edition, ca. 1920), p. 25.

92 Livingstone settlers' complaints over the dominance of the South bank are regular in the *Livingstone Mail*, see for example, 21 April and 6 June 1906. See also Watt, 'Thesis', chapter 7.

93 From 1938, research conducted from the Livingstone Museum under the guidance of J. Desmond Clark led to a very strong emphasis in north bank guides, which came to incorporate considerable archaeological and ethnographic content. J.D. Clark, *Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia* (Cape Town, 1950) and D. Clark, *The Victoria Falls* (Livingstone, 1952).

94 This unsuccessful attempt is described in Charlotte Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia: A Journey Through Southern Rhodesia* (London, Stanley Paul and Co, 1911).

95 Because of Cook and Son's long-standing presence in North Africa, the trips were organised from Cairo to the Cape rather than the other way round.

96 *Travellers Gazette*, November 1930.

Falls as a place of romance for lovers and honeymoons, as well as a venue for international scientific conferences. One south bank guide appended a list of suicides and accidental deaths at the Falls (of white people), playing on the relationship between danger and the erotic so successfully exploited at Niagara.[97] Unlike the increasingly detailed historical, archaeological and ethnographic content of the north-bank guides, most Southern Rhodesian guidebooks continued to concentrate exclusively on natural history and European explorers.

One of those who visited the place at this time was Agatha Christie, whose archaeologist husband attended one of the scientific conferences at the resort in the early 1920s. Her mystery, *The Man in the Brown Suit*, was first published in 1924 and is partly set in the Victoria Falls.[98] It is perhaps the ultimate representation of a white playground. The intrepid heroine, Anne Bedingfield, sets out for Southern Africa in search of adventure, and ends up heading for the Falls on a train from Cape Town caught up in a plot encompassing two murders, a revolt on the Rand, diamond smugglers and a global criminal network. Having discovered who is at the apex of the network, Anne is tricked into slipping over the edge of the Falls, only to be rescued from the cliff face by the man she loves, who takes her to one of the islands above the waterfall to recover. The couple reject his wealthy inheritance and society life in London, and escape back to their tropical island wilderness. The only African who features (briefly) as part of the background in this white playground, is an old Lozi woman servant on the island.

We have seen how the resort created at the Victoria Falls promoted landscape ideas that could celebrate and reinforce Edwardian metropolitan notions of imperial authority in the periphery, but was flexible enough also to support local settler identities. It is significant that the statue of David Livingstone erected on the South bank in 1934 was funded by the South African (not the Rhodesian or the British) Caledonian Society. This underlines the appeal of the resort to different strands of white, colonial identity that transcended colonial borders.[99] We have also seen how Lozi aristocracy could have a place in this landscape and in the colonial identities annexed to it, at least at times, even as Africans were also cast as a racialised, inferior other and even as the landscape of the waterfall itself was naturalised. However, we have lost sight of the Leya people with whom the waterfall was historically associated; they had no place in the landscape ideas promoted through tourism. In this final section of the paper, I turn to their experiences of the resort, and the impact of its development on their relationship to the landscape and their landscape ideas. I shall use their perspectives to explore the exclusions of dominant ideas more generally.

What is notable about the tourist images of scenery, leisure and luxury at the Victoria Falls, particularly on the South bank, is the exclusion of all Africans (other than the occasional glimpse of Lozi royalty or 'dusky servants'), and the failure to mention those who bore the costs and laboured to build the resort. Heroic accounts of the arrival of the railway and boasting that the construction of the Victoria Falls bridge involved the deaths of only one European and one African (and one large leopard) ignore the terrible working conditions of the railway workers and the much greater number of deaths that accompanied the extension of the railway in the vicinity of the Falls.[100] The former workforce of the hotel

97 See the collection of Victoria Falls guides held in Bulawayo Reference Library, including the Department of Publicity, Salisbury, *The Victoria Falls of Southern Rhodesia* (S. Rhodesia Gvt printer, 1936), Jonah Woods and Stuart Manning, *A Guide Book to the Victoria Falls* (Bulawayo, 1960).

98 Agatha Christie, *The Man in the Brown Suit* (Bodley Head, 1924). Thanks to Elizabeth Colson for drawing this book to my attention.

99 David Livingstone Unveiling Ceremony, *The Address* and *Programme*, August 1934. Both held in Rhodes House, Oxford.

100 In May 1903 alone, as the railway was being constructed between Hwange and Victoria Falls, eleven railway workers' deaths were reported by the Hwange NC. NAZ Monthly Reports, Wankie, 1903–5. NAZ NB 6/4/5–6. On abysmal conditions at Hwange mine in the same period, see I. Phimister, *Wangi Kolia: Coal, Capital and Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe 1894–1954* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1994).

remember that salaries were reasonable and food plentiful, but that it was degrading being expected to eat leftovers from the table, being insulted or hit by young white female guests, and having to keep off the few pavements that existed in the resort.[101]

The Livingstone and Victoria Falls workforce was cosmopolitan. Migrant labourers from a broad swathe of Central Africa were drawn into the towns themselves, and also moved through, as recruitment centres were established to funnel migrants to the labour markets to the South. The local Leya were amongst these workers from the outset, and pressures to work mounted as taxes increased and they began to be moved from the lands they had occupied around the waterfall. The process of physical exclusion was most dramatic and most total on the south bank, from which the Leya population was completely removed between 1900 and 1940. Over this period, conserved land in the immediate vicinity of the Falls expanded along the river to form a mosaic of game reserves, safari and forest areas, creating the desired image of a wilderness around the resort. The Leya on the south bank had initially been encouraged to move across the river to the north bank on their own accord, as taxes were more onerous and were implemented earlier south of the river. Evictions gathered pace in the 1920s and the last vestiges of Leya settlement on the south bank were totally cleared in the 1930s, when the Administration ordered them to 'return home' to the north bank, from which officials held they originated (although, as we have seen, they had a long history of living on both banks of the river).[102] Those who tried to resist were forced out by threats and the burning of their homes. The former Leya inhabitants are still remembered in place names in the Victoria Falls National Park. Jafuta, for example, was an important Leya man who lived in what became the Park, and his name still appears on signposts to the luxury 'Jafuta Lodge'. He farmed a fertile vlei just south of the Falls at Chamawondo and owned a canoe and a sizeable herd of cattle. The village he headed was split by the evictions, some members went to Zambia as the state instructed, others moved onto the infertile lands of the increasingly crowded Hwange native reserve to the east and south of the Falls. Jafuta's brother's son remembered how the state broke up this Leya community: 'The white people came to tell us to go across the river to Chief Mukuni, they didn't want us here ...'.[103]

Africans remaining in the vicinity of the Falls on the south bank in the wake of the 1930s evictions – most of whom were working at the resort itself and who included many Leya and Lozi – were 'removed to a central village away from the river' in 1940.[104] This second round of removals into the village was justified in terms of malaria control, which involved protecting white visitors by 'reducing the human pool of infection by removing the large majority of natives from that area'.[105]

On the north bank, land alienation was also severe, and evictions also proceeded apace

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101 Interview John Nicholas Mlamba Gumbo, Monde 27 March 2000; Dorcas Ndlovu, Monde, 28 March 2000.

102 Old people claim there were several rounds of evictions starting in the 1920s and continuing in the 1930s and 1940s. This seems plausible, although the archival record is scant, even at the height of the evictions in the 1930s. In 1935 the NC Wankie noted: 'Most of the natives who resided in the Victoria Falls Game Reserve were removed in July to Northern Rhodesia'; in 1936 removing people 'from whence they came' is reported as almost completed; in 1937, a further 41 people were sent back to Northern Rhodesia. See Annual Reports Wankie, National Archives of Zimbabwe [NAZ] S235/513. People were also moved from outside the Victoria Falls Game Reserve (which is not clear in the archival record): from land to the west then being discussed as an 'Extension' to the Reserve, from the Kazuma Pan Reserve and what subsequently became the Zambezi National Park. They were also evicted from land to the east and south of the Falls which is now part of the Hwange Communal Land and from the Fuller Forest and from commercial farms South of Victoria Falls.

103 Interview, Mafikizolo Silus Ngwenya, Monde, 30 March 2000, and other interviews with elderly Leya conducted in February and March 2000 in Hwange and in September 2001 in Mukuni Village, Zambia.

104 Annual Report, Wankie, 1940, NAZ S 1563.

105 Extract from the Medical Director's memo reproduced in Sec. Dept of Agriculture and Dept. of Lands to Director of Public Works, 10 October 1938. NAZ S 1194/1614/1/3.

as Livingstone town grew, and as farms were pegged out along the river frontage and the line of rail, and as other prime sites for tourist development were reserved as crown land. Mukuni and Sekute's people were forced into the Leya and Toka reserves respectively, along with others, where soils were poor and where they lacked access to the river for gardens, fishing and grazing cattle.[106] The justification for these restrictions was that African settlement and land use spoilt the view and undermined the area's tourist potential: 'the future prosperity of the district depended on the Victoria Falls and the river, which forms part of the attraction to tourists and for protection purposes its banks for some distance upstream should remain crown land upon which settlement, if allowed at all, should be strictly limited. Certainly no native settlement shall be permitted.'[107]

The Land Commission of 1946 considered that 'a great injustice' had been done to the Leya people who had lived around the Falls: 'Quite apart from [water for their cattle], the natives in question are a riverine people and though not many of their villages used to be actually on the banks of the river, they used to have cattle and fishing posts there, and also a certain number of gardens.'[108] Before they had lost access to fishing grounds, the Leya of the Falls area had a profitable trade in dried fish with the labour force of the railways and Hwange mines, but this was banned in 1909. Trade in cattle across the river (which had enabled raided people on the south bank to rebuild their herds) was outlawed in the same year. Although there were opportunities for work at the resort and profits from the sale of curios, this was not necessarily seen as adequate compensation for lost access to favoured lands and the resources of the river.

Oral historical accounts of this process of exclusion do not only dwell on the material effects of lost access to land and resources. The waterfall and river had been a religious site, and the waterfall itself was strongly identified with Leya ancestors, and Leya female spiritual leaders. Oral histories of the colonial era also tell of the desecration of religious sites and the undermining of female powers. Such desecration began early in the history of the resort. The building of the bridge over the river, for example, had defiled one of Mukuni's religious sites, as the supports for the bridge reached down into the sacred place of the boiling pot.[109] The generation of Hydro-electric power, which began in 1938 on a small scale, producing electricity for the town of Livingstone, provided another such intrusion, as the canals and concrete pipes and part of the generator passed through the Sambadwazi cleansing site.[110] On the south bank, tourists monopolised access to the Big Tree, associated with the ancestors of important Leya spirit mediums.[111] Participation in traditional ritual was undercut not only by reduced access and engineering works, but also by the penetration of Christianity, education, modern medicine and so on. Particularly around Livingstone, the Watchtower movement attracted workers and the young in the early part of the twentieth century.[112] Yet physical intrusions and reduced access have retrospectively proved potent symbols of desecration. Old Leya people recall that ceremonies at the boiling pot ceased as the resort grew and people lost access to the waterfall: the light in the boiling pot was said to have gone out, and the sounds of past communities in the form of drumming, cattle lowing and children playing could no longer be heard.[113]

However, the gradual loss of access to the waterfall and river frontage on the part of

106 Report of the Land Commission, 1946, entry for Livingstone District. Available in Rhodes House, Oxford.
107 Report of the Land Commission, 1946, entry for Livingstone District.
108 Report of the Land Commission, 1946, entry for Livingstone District.
109 Interview, chief Mukuni, Mukuni Village, 14 September 2001.
110 Interview, chief Mukuni, Mukuni Village, 14 September 2001 (and other interviews Mukuni village).
111 Interview, Esinath Mambaita Kasoso, Milonga, 11 April 2000.
112 On Watchtower in Livingstone, see Muntemba 'The Political and Ritual', p. 39.
113 Interview, Maxon Munsaka Ndlovu, Chidobe, 27 March 2000.

the local Leya communities does not in itself wholly explain why the associations of the waterfall were so totally obscured in the resort's early history, when some people still visited the sites for religious reasons, and Leya chiefs were appointed, who were independent of the Lozi. One reason why the new Leya chiefs appointed under the colonial administration did not initially stamp their cultural presence on the public life of the resort was undoubtedly that they lacked the status of Lozi royalty. Furthermore, although there were Leya chiefs in the reserves, the Leya workers in the cosmopolitan town of Livingstone were simply one of a large number of ethnic groups, and in colonial classifications as well as in urban politics, they were often identified as part of a larger Tonga block. Moreover, much Leya ritual at the Falls was not in the public domain: water was collected from a site that was kept a secret from most Leya themselves let alone anyone else, whilst cleansing rituals involving immersion in the water were designed for the participants rather than observers. Even the more public aspects, such as throwing offerings into the boiling pot, involved little display, and were not intended for onlookers.

However, there is one further explanation of why Leya ritual and historical connections with the landscape remained hidden from view. This was because the male chiefs recognised by the administration, and whose powers were shored up by their official role, lacked close connections to the landscape, as such relationships were upheld by female authorities. As chiefs Mukuni and Sekute elaborated traditions for the administration, they publicised their own genealogies, which led away from the landscape of the waterfall to a mythical first ancestor from somewhere else. They developed stories of how they came to the Falls through a long series of migrations from elsewhere. They elaborated battles between chiefs and controls over war medicines, and of magic drums and ritual stones that founding ancestors had brought with them on their travels. Thus, Mukuni claimed to be originally of Lenje origin from Kabwe District and Sekute claimed Subiya roots.[114] Mukuni's ritual stone was said to have been brought from Kabwe, whilst Sekute's magic drums came with him from Nqui. In these colonial era histories, Mukuni gained the reputation of having arrived first in the Falls area, and became the more prominent of the chiefs close to Livingstone. The influence of the female Leya authorities was undercut in this period, particularly in the case of Sekute.[115] Mukuni, in contrast, noted in 1957 that the chief 'ruled his country together with a woman called Bedyango', whose duties were the distribution of land.[116] However, unlike the stories told today, in which Bedyango represents the indigenous people, the then Mukuni emphasised her relationship to the chief's lineage. He mentions in passing her responsibility for cleansing at the Victoria Falls, but otherwise does not dwell on the symbolism, religious values and links to the landscape of the Falls that I described in the first part of this article.[117] Now, however, the physical desecration of religious sites around the waterfall and ancestral connections to the locality have an elevated importance. The promotion of male chiefs is told as a narrative of the undermining of female power in the colonial period, and is presented as an important aspect of the distortion of tradition. As the current chief Mukuni and his elderly female advisors told me: 'all these changes destroyed the influence of Bedyango on the people, they created the imbalance of [male and female] powers from which we still suffer today'.[118]

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114 See Mukuni, 'Short History', p. 1; Sekwaswa 'History of Livingstone District', p. 5.
115 Sekwaswa, 'History of Livingstone' does not mention a female authority for Sekute.
116 Mukuni, 'Short History', p. 2.
117 Mukuni, 'Short History', p. 2.
118 Interview, chief Mukuni, Mukuni Village, 14 September 2001; interviews Inafoyi Muzamba and Margaret Sivani Muzamba' 12 September 2001.

Conclusions

In this article, I aimed to explore the relationships between landscape and identity through the history of tourism at the Victoria Falls, emphasising how ways of seeing and experiencing the landscape reflected and shaped different strands of colonial and settler identity that transcended colonial borders. Such colonial identities both naturalised the landscape and also accommodated Lozi royalty, even though Lozi symbolic appropriations of the river historically focused on sites several hundred miles upstream. The most dramatic exclusions from the landscape, promoted in the course of its appropriation to tourism, were those of the Leya people who had historically lived with the waterfall.

The links between landscape and identity promoted in the early twentieth-century tourist industry have left their legacy in the resort of today, in its monuments, architecture and in aspects of the tourist literature and itineraries. However, such linkages and associations are not fixed. People and memories excluded can be re-incorporated and re-inscribed in the land. Such re-shaping of the public associations of the landscape is no less political than the colonial era exclusions it seeks to reverse. It involves recasting the relations between different African groups, and new interpretations of history. For example, on the north bank, chief Mukuni has found opportunities to promote his own ancestors' relationship to the landscape, to insert his name on tourist maps and to assert the moral right of Mukuni's Leya to a greater proportion of tourist revenue. This has involved reinventing rituals not formerly in the public domain as a spectacle for tourists, in so doing borrowing from Lozi traditions of display and symbolic controls over the river.[119] It has also involved recasting Leya history, such that Mukuni ceases to be one of a number of small groups of river people, all of whom had a relationship with the waterfall and river, and all of whom paid tribute to powerful Lozi rulers.

This version of history ignores past Lozi authority and presents Mukuni as 'Monarch of the Victoria Falls' with claims to authority not only over other Leya chiefs, but also over a number of Toka, Tonga and Ila chiefs.[120] It involves emphasising not only Mukuni's ancestral links with the landscape of the waterfall, but also connections to the landscape of Livingstone town and a broad swathe of Zambia's Southern Province. As a product of these assertions, the Barotse Gardens were controversially renamed after Mukuni in the late 1990s.[121] This elevation of one Leya chieftaincy's relationship with the landscape threatens to work against endeavours to promote inclusive versions of the past, which incorporate all current local chiefs in Livingstone's vicinity, and celebrate the cosmopolitanism of the town. Such inclusiveness has been a central strategy of government bodies promoting cultural tourism, and involved in the creation of public displays of local history and culture.[122] It is important in a context of potential tensions along ethnic and other lines. The politics surrounding recent attempts to redefine the relationship between landscape and identity, and the controversy they have provoked, however, belong to a different historical period, and a very different context than the one detailed in this article.

JoAnn McGregor
Department of Geography, University of Reading, Whiteknights, PO Box 227, Reading, RG6 6AB, UK. E-mail: J.McGregor@reading.ac.uk

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119 Other chiefs' revivals are less elaborate than Mukuni's. See Chikumbi's descriptions of Sekute and Musokotwane's ritual, 'Specialist Study', pp. 19–27.

120 Friday Mufuzi, personal communication, August 2002, Livingstone Museum.

121 See discussions in *The Livingstonian*, 5 (1999) and 12 (2000).

122 Such inclusiveness is an important principle for government bodies in the region, such as the Livingstone Museum and the National Heritage Conservation Commission.