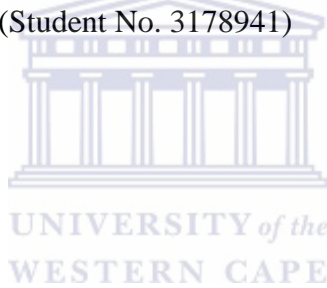# Historic Buildings, Conservation and Shifts in Social Value at Old Umtali: Contestations of Heritage in Zimbabwe

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WESTERN CAPE

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the M.A degree in History with specialisation in Museum and Heritage Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Supervisor: Professor Ciraj Rassool

Date Submitted: 13 November 2012

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my loving parents, Cambridge Chipangura and Tshidzani Dube.

Declaration

I declare that 'Historic Buildings, Conservation and Shifts in Social Value at Old Umtali: Contestations of Heritage in Zimbabwe' is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: NJABULO CHIPANGURA   Date……………………..

Signed………………………….

Abstract

The mini-thesis will examine the conservation of colonial historic buildings at Old Umtali (today Mutare) in Zimbabwe and the changes that have affected the buildings in terms of use and maintenance of their architectural character. There has been a shift in heritage management priorities in Zimbabwe and all heritage linked to colonialism has been supplanted by archaeological and liberation war heritage. The result is that the category of colonial heritage which includes historic buildings, forts and memorials have been neglected and vandalised. Various international frameworks in the conservation of buildings will be referred to in this research in examining related questions of urban heritage management. The dichotomy that exists between conservation and adaptive reuse of historic buildings as these issues have unfolded at Old Umtali, a former colonial town with historic buildings constructed in 1891 will be at the centre of this interrogation. Notwithstanding the changes in heritage management priorities in Zimbabwe, the irony is that heritage practitioners are still obliged to conserve historic buildings by legislation. This work then attempts to place back the question of conserving historic buildings on the conservation agenda for a post-colonial Zimbabwe. I argue that historic buildings should be conserved and used for different contemporary purposes and at the same time becoming the subject of interpretative work. Questions can then be asked about the experience of colonialism and the various movements of the Pioneer Column in Zimbabwe using the case study of Old Umtali. In this thesis conservation of historic buildings is not just a technical question but is also seen as an intellectual, epistemological and political question.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AWHF   African World Heritage Fund

BSAC   British South African Company

CHDA   Centre for Heritage Development in Africa

CIDOC   International Committee for Documentation

COMCOL   International Committee for Collections

ICOMOS   International Council on Monuments and Sites

NMMZ   National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe

SAHRA   South African Heritage Resource Agency

UMC   United Methodist Church.

INTRODUCTION

This mini-thesis is an attempt to examine and analyse the contestations over
Zimbabwe's colonial and post-colonial heritage by questioning priorities in funding
heritage conservation which have become controversial and politically determined. It
will start by looking at the concept of conservation and its interchangeable use with
preservation as a way of trying to problematise the conservation of historic buildings
in Zimbabwe. The dichotomy that exists between preservation and restoration as these
issues have unfolded at Old Umtali, a former colonial town with historic buildings
constructed in 1891, will be at the centre of this interrogation.

Chapter One will set in motion debates in the understanding of historic building
conservation at Old Umtali by looking at the contestations in heritage management
priorities between colonial heritage on one hand and archaeological and liberation war
heritage on the other hand. Thus this work will perform an investigation into the
contested and culturally constructed nature of heritage in Zimbabwe. The other focus
in the first chapter will be to look at heritage values, and the argument that I will
move with in the subsequent chapters of the thesis is that values are contested cultural
products that are constructed within societies. In the case of historic buildings at Old
Umtali, social value will be explored in relation to the broad cultural significance of
the heritage precinct.

In addition an in-depth discussion on the conservation of historic buildings focusing
on the genesis of the concept in European and American literature will be done in
Chapter Two of this mini-thesis. International charters such as the Athens, Venice and

Burra Charters will also be discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, I will look at the concept of conservation by focusing more sharply on heritage management and conservation in Zimbabwe. Thus a brief and short history of heritage management in Zimbabwe from the colonial to post-colonial period will be discussed in Chapter Three. In addition, an in-depth analysis of the current trends in heritage management activities and priorities by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ herein) will be presented in Chapter Three as well.

The conservation of historic buildings at Old Umtali will be examined in Chapter Four. Old Umtali is a heritage precinct that constitutes part of the original site of the colonial town of Umtali (today Mutare), established as an urban centre around 1891 and transformed into a mission school six years later.[1] Furthermore, the chapter will present the history of Old Umtali from the period that the former colonial town was shifted to a new location and the changes administered in the use of the historic buildings over time. I will also reflect on how Old Umtali heritage precinct with its set of buildings constructed by the pioneer column between 1890 and 1897, can be marshalled and utilised for the purpose of a critical heritage practice.

A huge disparity now exists between colonial heritage on one hand, and liberation/archaeological heritage on the other, with the former ranked on the periphery of heritage funding and conservation priorities. Conservation is not just a technical question but it is an intellectual, epistemological and political question. This work then places the question of conservation of the colonial built environment back on the conservation agenda for a post-colonial Zimbabwe. Questions can thus be

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[1] Phaup A.E, *The Geology of the Umtali Gold Belt*, (Salisbury: Rhodesian Print and Public Company, 1957), 20.

asked about the experience of colonialism and the various movements of the Pioneer Column in Zimbabwe using the case study of Old Umtali. The observations that I will present in this mini-thesis is supported by Graeme Aplin who argues that 'each of us sees different things as being important and worth preserving, and groups and individuals each contest their definitions of heritage, setting different priorities'.[2]

In this mini-thesis the authorised heritage discourse is a concept that I will use to analyse how built heritage and its physicality have been the central tenet in heritage management and how this authority has shifted between colonial and post-colonial times in the consideration of monuments and heritage sites.[3] The shifts in the authorised heritage discourse have had contradictory implications for historic buildings in post-colonial times marked by a change towards prioritising archaeological and liberation war heritage after 1980.

Notwithstanding, this change in the 'heritage archive', the irony is that heritage practitioners in Zimbabwe are still obliged to conserve historic buildings through legislation, while at the same time being guided by professional ethics that sometimes resist the grading and ranking of heritage. The conservation of historic buildings from the standpoint of heritage practitioners is a necessary tool that recognises the universal values in heritage without constructing binaries between different categories of heritage. Appreciation of values also implies that buildings which were constructed with unique and intrinsic architectural styles belong to everyone and must be conserved as national heritage.

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[2] Graeme Aplin, *Heritage: Identification, Conservation and Management* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2.
[3] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 12.

A proper understanding of colonialism in Zimbabwe then indicates the importance to conserve historic buildings as well. According to Rodney Harrison and Lotte Hughes, 'colonialism essentially created the modern world as we know it as well as modern ideas of nationalism and culture that underlie the entire mission of contemporary cultural heritage management'.[4] It thus implies that historic buildings can be viewed and defined as cumulative scenes for past actions produced by colonial encounters.[5] Similarly, Nathaniel Linchfield has argued that, 'a city without old buildings is like a man without memory'.[6] Thus essentially the conservation of historic buildings is premised on their architectural and documentary value as well as histories that have been constructed using these buildings as evidentiary sources. Colonialism then forms an important aspect of this history.
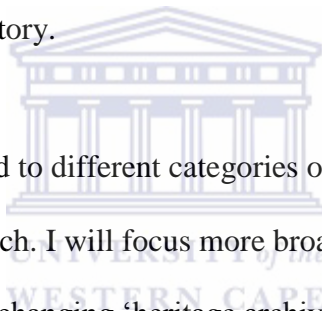
The changes in notions applied to different categories of heritage in Zimbabwe will also be looked at in this research. I will focus more broadly on the process of meaning construction in relation to the changing 'heritage archive' and how new meanings have been conveyed between different categories of heritage in the colonial and post-colonial periods. Conservation of artefacts, buildings included and the meanings with which these are endowed thus generally constitute the broad arena of heritage contestation.[7]

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[4] Rodney Harrison and Lotte Hughes, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage: Global Heritage Perspective* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 234.

[5] James Marston Fitch , *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1990), x.

[6] Nathaniel Linchfield, *Economics in urban conservation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1988), 68.

[7] Brian Graham, 'The uses and abuses of heritage' in Gerard Corsane (ed), *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An introductory reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 32.

In thinking of the whole process of changes in the construction of meaning between colonial and post-colonial heritage in Zimbabwe the term 'heritage archive' will be frequently used not necessarily denoting an archive in the sense of a building housing records. Loosely I will examine the 'heritage archive' in relation to the past rituals of systematic recordings of historic buildings that were conditioned by perceptions of historical significance and architectural value. A historic building thus represents a complex document that has passed through time and been subjected to many modifications.[8]

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[8] Ascension Hernandez Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' in Brian Graham and Peter Howard (ed), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 245-263.

<center>**CHAPTER ONE**</center>

<center>**CONSERVATION, HERITAGE CONTESTATION AND SOCIAL VALUE**</center>

This chapter will present some of the main debates circling around the conservation of historic buildings in Zimbabwe and the contestations that undergird their conservation because of the paradigm shift in the 'heritage archive'. In the conventional archive, archivability is '…the product of a judgement, the result of the exercise of a specific power and authority, which involves placing certain documents in an archive at the same time as others are discarded'.[1] Similarly I will argue that this applies to the 'heritage archive' in Zimbabwe as well where conservation and protection is selectively offered to archaeological and liberation war heritage whilst colonial heritage is marginalised and left to deteriorate.

My argument is that notions of power are central to the construction of heritage and identity in Zimbabwe and thus heritage is not given, but is made. In this case it is being made through giving top priority to archaeological and liberation war heritage which have become symbols of national identity. The effect is that colonial heritage has ceased to be a priority area of heritage conservation. This argument is supported by Harrison and Hughes who in their study of post-colonialism and heritage in Kenya argue that:
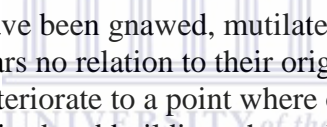
> Kenya was not alone among postcolonial states in
> standing at a crossroads in its management of national

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[1] Achille Mbembe, 'The Power of the Archive and its Limits' in Carolyn Hamilton et al. (eds), *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), 20.

<center>6</center>

> heritage. From Zimbabwe to New Zealand, the postcolony
> is striving to cast off colonial legacies and forge a national
> identity.[2]

As a matter of fact historic buildings, memorials, statues and forts in Zimbabwe have

been forgotten and increasingly vandalised over the past ten years with a growing

agitation by some sections of the society to remove them from the listing as national

monuments. Buildings have been reduced to ruins without protection. This is almost a

paradox in that sense the notion of ruin was at one point in time applied to all Zimbabwe

sites before independence. This status has however changed in the post-colonial state and

colonial heritage owing to present levels of neglect and vandalism is now 'in ruin'. As

Ashurst argues:

> Buildings that have been gnawed, mutilated and reduced
> to a state that bears no relation to their original purpose,
> buildings that deteriorate to a point where original form can
> hardly be recognised and buildings that only survive in the
> form of isolated fragments is called ruins.[3]

The field of urban heritage conservation is the focal point in this research and will be

analysed with a view of trying to understand why current scholarship in Zimbabwe has

given less attention to historic buildings. The present day trend in heritage management is

primarily concerned with the Zimbabwe culture of archaeological sites symbolised by

Great Zimbabwe and the liberation war heritage marked by the National Heroes Acre.

Other forms of heritage falling outside these two categories, particularly those linked to a

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[2] Harrison and Hughes, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage: Global Heritage Perspective*, 244.
[3] John Ashurst, *Conservation of Ruins*, (Oxford: Butterworth- Heinemann, 2007), xix-xxi.

colonial past such as historic colonial buildings, have been given less attention and are not seen part as of the Zimbabwean identity by the government.

The need to conserve historic buildings at Old Umtali

The conservation of historic buildings at Old Umtali bestows a legacy of the past which enriches and gives depth to the present. This heritage precinct therefore must be conserved in its wholeness and can subsequently be used as a reference point in understanding colonialism in Zimbabwe. Culminating from such conservation efforts the buildings can also be used for different contemporary purposes while at the same time becoming the subject of interpretative work through a critical heritage practice. Questions can then be asked about the experience of colonialism and the various movements of the Pioneer Column in Zimbabwe using the case study of Old Umtali.
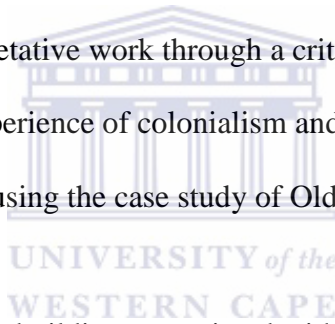
However, the neglect of historic buildings associated with colonial heritage in Zimbabwe is exemplified by marginal differences in conservation that exists between the buildings and liberation war heritage. From a heritage practitioner's standpoint, this anomaly presents huge challenges because conservation of heritage is value laden, where all heritages are supposed to be treated the same. With respect to the universal value of heritage that transcends any past colonial connotations, Aplin comments that 'many nations are willing to incorporate in their heritage aspects of history that are certainly not

pleasing memories.'[4] He goes on to argue that in some cases, these aspects might be at odds with a modern political and cultural context.[5]

Pwiti acknowledges the growing challenges that heritage managers face in the conservation of heritage in Zimbabwe with regard to politics and representation at Great Zimbabwe. He argues that 'the heritage manager has to cope with the task of satisfying sentiments from the government on the pace of conservation efforts'.[6] Heritage practitioners are thus placed in a quandary even with respect to the conservation of historic buildings, because their professional obligations are in conflict with political aspirations and perceptions of heritage by the state. In this regard, Pwiti argues that the direct political interests in heritage by the government in Zimbabwe has wide ranging implications for heritage managers and places an onerous burden on them to make sure that they are doing the right thing.[7]
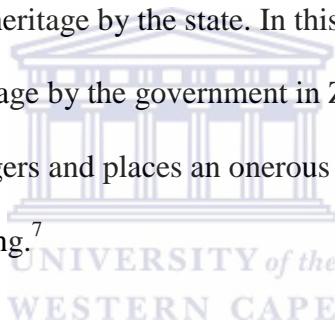
This study therefore contributes to the understanding of conservation of historic buildings at Old Umtali by looking at the transformations in heritage management priorities between colonial heritage and liberation war heritage in Zimbabwe. It grapples with issues of an obliterated heritage on one hand and a maintained and up-kept heritage on the other. In analysing the contestations that foreground heritage conservation priorities

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[4] Aplin, *Heritage*: *Identification , Conservation and Management*, 3.
[5] Aplin, *Heritage*: *Identification , Conservation and Management*, 3.
[6] Gilbert Pwiti, 'Let the Ancestors Rest in Peace? New Challenges for Cultural Heritage Management in Zimbabwe', paper presented at Centre for Africa Studies, University of Cape Town, African Seminar, 27 July 1994, 7.
[7] Pwiti, 'Let the Ancestors Rest in Peace? New Challenges for Cultural Heritage Management in Zimbabwe', 7.

in Zimbabwe I will be able to critically reflect upon an argument made by Aplin who says that:

> Hopefully, all nations see the heritage of all their citizens as important. In such an ideal world, all people are equal, respected citizens of the nation, and the heritage of each group combines to constitute the national heritage. The reality of the matter is, of course, that many national heritage lists are dominated by the heritage of the most powerful group and the heritage of the other group is subsumed or neglected. the definition of cultural heritage can serve to further enhance the power of the dominant group, while further relegating other groups to positions of subservience.[8]

Meanwhile questions have also been posed as to why we seek to conserve historic buildings at Old Umtali, after all they are a remainder of a colonial period? Drury provides some useful insights into this debate, he argues that some buildings are generally accepted as great works of art and as expressions of the spirit of mankind or of a faith.[9] Also supporting this view, Aplin argues that 'buildings can be architecturally significant because they are outstanding examples of a particular form of architecture, or a particular style, because they are representative of a major style, or because they are unique'.[10]

Furthermore historic buildings impart a sense of permanence in relation to the span of human life. They give a sense of stability and provide points of references in a rapidly changing world.[11] Another argument linked to this view is that 'heritage, through the conservation of historic buildings helps in providing a sense of time to illustrate past

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[8] Aplin, *Heritage:Identification ,Conservation and Management*, 114.
[9] Drury,*Conservation techniques: the built environment*, 197.
[10] Aplin, *Heritage:Identification , Conservation and Management*, 117.
[11] Drury,*Conservation techniques: the built environment*, 197.

stages in history'.[12] Milligan also argues that preservationists believe in respecting the people of the past through preserving the most tangible tie to their culture: the historic built environment they constructed and used. [13] Here buildings are significant as sites of historic events and experiences

Heritage contestations in Zimbabwe

I will engage the concept of dissonant heritage in providing a thorough understanding to the contestations that exist between colonial heritage and archaeological as well as liberation war heritage in Zimbabwe and thus positioning the neglect of historic buildings at Old Umtali. As Graham and Howard observe 'the quite unavoidable implication of heritage in the contestation of societies invokes the condition of dissonance which refers to the discordance or lack of agreement and consistency as to the meaning of heritage'.[14]

Graham argues that the different uses of heritage and its importance to different people for various reasons make it quite inevitable that it has emerged as a major arena of conflict and contestation.[15] Smith quoting Tunbridge and Ashworth comments that 'they acknowledge the contested nature of heritage and argue that the tensions that underlie heritage can be encapsulated and understood , and subsequently managed and mitigated , through the concept of dissonant heritage'.[16]

[12] Aplin, *Heritage:Identification , Conservation and Management*, 5.
[13] Melinda Milligan, 'Buildings as History: The Place of Collective Memory in the Study of Historic Preservation', *Symbolic Interaction*, Vol. 30, No 1, Winter 2007, 120.
[14] Brian Graham and Peter Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2008) 3.
[15] Graham 'The Uses and Abuses of Heritage', 33.
[16] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 80.

Arguing along similar lines, Aplin notes that '…it is worth stressing that heritage is both contested and culturally constructed , which inevitably makes it a highly political topic and one with a scarcity of clear-cut definitions and answers'.[17] Cementing this argument Graham and Howard further state that 'heritage can be envisaged as knowledge, simultaneously a cultural product and political resource'.[18] The natures of such knowledges are always negotiated and consequently are also fields of contestation that are neither fixed nor stable.[19] Heritage knowledge is thus a field of contestation because it is situated in particular social and intellectual circumstances, it is time-specific and its meaning(s) can be altered as text are re-read in changing times, circumstances and constructs of place and scale. [20]
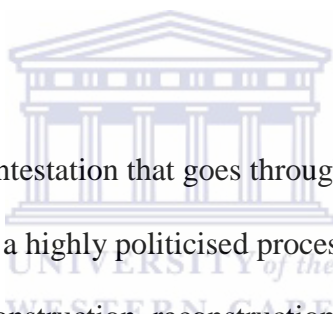
McDowell, reflecting on the contestation that goes through knowledge production from heritage argues that 'heritage is a highly politicised process that is subjected to contestation and bound in the construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of memory and identity.'[21] This mini-thesis thus problematises national identity in Zimbabwe which is constructed from archaeological and liberation war heritage and the subsequent tensions that underlie the use and conservation of colonial buildings. Thus Graham comments that 'the intrinsic dissonance of heritage, accentuated by its expanding

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[17] Aplin, *Heritage:Identification,Conservation and Management*, 28.
[18] Graham and Howard, 'Heritage and Identity', 5.
[19] Graham and Howard, 'Heritage and Identity', 5.
[20] Brian Graham et al., 'The Uses and Abuses of Heritage', in Gerard Corsane (ed), *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An introductory reader* (Routledge: London and New York, 2005), 30.
[21] Sara McDowell, 'Heritage, Memory and Identity', in Graham and Howard (ed), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 37.

meanings and uses by the fundamentally more complex constructions of identity in the modern world, is the primary cause of its contestation'.[22]

Smith also argues that the root cause of the dissonant nature of heritage lies in the observation by Ashworth and Tunbridge that heritage is created by interpretation which creates specific messages about the value and meaning of specific heritage places and the past it represents.[23] In other words the messages conveyed from heritage interpretation do not always find consensus and thus cause dissonance.[24] McDowell also contends that the visual presence of heritage reflected by monuments, buildings and memorials translates powerful ideological messages that are never apolitical and ensures that the messages they convey are open to contested interpretations.[25]

Heritage therefore becomes a selection of items that represents our individual and group histories.[26] For Aplin heritage is not something that simply exists, it is culturally constructed and frequently motivated. [27] Russell also argues that definitions of heritage elaborate on its quality as those things that are passed to future generations. However, he argues that 'the difficulty in quantifying these exchange relationships is that they are negotiated and mediated often imperceptibly, over long periods of time'.[28] Ashworth and Tunbridge thus states that 'the concept of heritage is culturally constructed, thus there is

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[22] Graham ,'The Uses and Abuses of Heritage', 34.

[23] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 80.

[24] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 80.

[25] McDowell, 'Heritage, Memory and Identity', 48.

[26] Aplin, *Heritage: Identification,Conservation and Management*, 15.

[27] Aplin, *Heritage: Identification,Conservation and Management*, 18.

[28] Ian Russell, 'Heritages, Identities, and Roots: A Critique of Arborescent Models of Heritage and Identity', in Smith et al. (eds), *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society* (California: Walnut Creek, 2010), 29.

an almost infinite variety of possible heritage, and each shaped for the requirements of specific consumer groups'.[29]

Smith also provides a similar sentiment and she argues that '… heritage is a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering, that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present….'[30] Another close argument is that heritage is '…a product of the present, purposefully developed in response to current needs and demands for it….'[31] The present determines and selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future.[32] The argument here is that heritage makes a selective use of the past which is transformed through interpretation for current use and purposes.[33] In a similar context heritage in Zimbabwe is conceptualised around notions of archaeological and liberation war heritage leaving no place for colonial historic buildings.
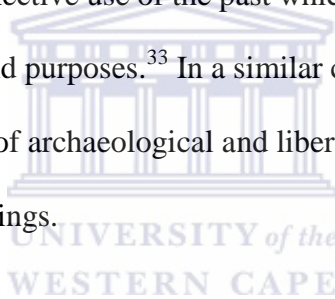
The whole system of heritage conservation of buildings in Zimbabwe created a type of 'archive of architecture', each building with its file and statement of significance, reports and conservation plans and there is seemingly no place for this any longer. Ashworth and Tunbridge argue that 'the idea that there exists a fixed quantity of a conservable past that is recognisable through objective, universal and measurable sets of intrinsic criteria underpinned the urban conservation movement.'[34] This 'archive of architecture' also

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[29] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage* (Chichester : John Wiley and Sons, 1996), 8.
[30] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 44.
[31] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 6.
[32] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 6.
[33] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 6.
[34] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 9.

included inventories of listed buildings with protective legislation framed to govern their management and conservation.

However, Ashworth and Tunbridge later noted that assumptions such as these were untenable as heritage does not exist in a fixed and once-for- ever endowed quantity that could theoretically be included in a comprehensive inventory, but was infinitely creatable in response to demands and expectations.[35] Similarly it can be argued that in Zimbabwe heritage conservation has created and constructed a new type of archive in the form of archaeological and liberation war heritage sites. What is included as a nation's heritage is always contested by various groups in a particular nation and there is a large degree of fluidity with changing fashions as well as an evolving understanding.[36] Thus Aplin argues that the definition of heritage in any particular country depends on historical, social and cultural circumstances and within any one nation the official and accepted definition is frequently that of the dominant group.[37]

This argument is also well articulated by Ashworth and Tunbridge who argue that:

> Heritage interpretation is endowed with messages which are deliberately framed by an existing or aspirant power elite to legitimise the existing dominant regime, or alternatively are developed by an opposition group with the objective of overthrowing a competitor.[38]

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[35] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 9.
[36] Aplin, *Heritage: Identification ,Conservation and Management*, 14.
[37] Aplin, *Heritage: Identification ,Conservation and Management*, 14.
[38] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 47.

They further argue that the central tenets of the dominant ideology thesis are governments and ruling elites who select a 'cultural capital' upon assuming power.[39] The key argument in the dominant ideology thesis and its relation to heritage is that:

> Each government regime upon assuming power must appropriate to itself control over this capital if it is to legitimate its exercise of such political power. Public heritage interpretation would be an obviously important target for such appropriation.[40]

Thus Holtorf also argues that heritage is about telling stories but however, not all such stories may be equally acceptable in political and ethical terms.[41] He asserts that 'suitable forms of engagement may range from openly promoting and strengthening some stories that benefit society, to problematizing and undermining others that may harm.'[42] Therefore the dominant ideology thesis in heritage conservation in Zimbabwe has entailed that the story of the nation is synonymously equated with the conservation of archaeological and liberation war heritage and the denigration of colonial heritage and its historic buildings.

Kriger argues that on the formation of the new nation soon after independence in 1980, 'Zimbabwe's ruling elite sought to enhance their political legitimacy and to foster a national identity through the discarding of colonial symbols and through attempts to

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[39] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 48.
[40] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 28.
[41] Cornelius Holtorf, 'Heritage Values in Contemporary Popular Culture', in Smith et al. (eds), *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society* (California: Walnut Creek, 2010), 51.
[42] Holtorf , 'Heritage Values in Contemporary Popular Culture', 51.

establish their own heroes as national symbols'.[43] The new nation-state saw it befitting to remove statues and monuments of the colonial past and this has continued to affect colonial heritage conservation priorities. Aplin has also argued that 'national heritage is sometimes used by a government or dominant group in a society as a concept to legitimise the state, to help define it, and to advance individuals identification with it'.[44] In this regard he thus argues that heritage is a political concept that the state appropriates and uses to reinforce its power.[45]

Accepting that heritage in Zimbabwe is a highly political process, malleable to the needs of power and often subject to contestations, forms the basis of my main argument in this mini-thesis. I further argue that Old Umtali and its set of historic buildings instead of being vandalised can be utilised for the purpose of a critical heritage practice. Questions about the experience of colonialism in Zimbabwe can then be answered using Old Umtali as a key reference point.

Ascribing social value to historic buildings

I have so far discussed in this chapter the contested nature of heritage in Zimbabwe and how it has been constructed around notions of giving identity to a nation. The identity markers are symbolised by archaeological and liberation war heritage leaving no space for the conservation of colonial heritage and its historic buildings. Russell argues that in articulating the concept of heritage values in contemporary life emphasis is more often

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[43] Norma Kriger, 'The Politics of Creating National Heroes: The Search for Political Legitimacy and National Identity', in Ngwabi Bhebhe and Terrence Ranger (eds) *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War* (London: James Currey, 1995), 139.
[44] Aplin, *Heritage:Identification, Conservation and Management*, 16.
[45] Aplin, *Heritage:Identification, Conservation and Management*, 16.

given to the importance of heritage for "protecting our identity".[46] He further argues that 'such a conceptual basis for asserting and conflating heritage values and national identity marks the heritage sectors role as caretaker for an inalienable human right -identity'. [47]

However, it is important to note that heritage values and identity are manifested and performed through interpersonal relationships and behaviours. [48] In the same light, Graham and Howard argue that 'values are placed upon artefacts or activities by people who, when they view heritage, do so through lenses.'[49] They further argue that the validity of a particular lens may be situationally determined and is not a constant and consequently, it is meaning that gives value to heritage.[50] This explains why certain artefacts, traditions and memories have been selected from the near infinity of the past.[51]

In thinking about the changing values of the historic buildings at Old Umtali, I will briefly explore the concept of heritage values before zeroing in on to the specifics of social value. Smith provides a good insight into the issue of heritage values in contemporary society, by noting that:

> In exploring the concept of values, a number of common themes have emerged with direct underlying questions of how to define heritage values in contemporary society. The themes include supposition that value is assigned and influences the quality of life for individuals, communities, and nations and that choosing whether or not to value the past has important consequences. As such, the quintessence of heritage values could be defined in terms of freedom and responsibility as expressed in more

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[46] Russell, 'Heritages, Identities, and Roots: A critique of Arborescent Models of Heritage and Identity', 31.
[47] Russell, 'Heritages, Identities, and Roots: A critique of Arborescent Models of Heritage and Identity', 31.
[48] Russell, 'Heritages, Identities, and Roots: A critique of Arborescent Models of Heritage and Identity', 32.
[49] Graham and Howard, 'Heritage and Identity', 2
[50] Graham and Howard, 'Heritage and Identity', 2.
[51] Graham and Howard, 'Heritage and Identity', 2.

of duty, honor, personal responsibility, fairness, inclusiveness, stewardship, social obligations and an extensive array of similar ideals.[52]

Davison also argues that 'social value is not about the past or about social history, but about people's attachment to places in the present'.[53] He explains that in Australia for example, the preservation of early colonial buildings is not just for themselves but for the conservative aesthetic and social value that they represent.[54] Questions about social value of historic buildings at Old Umtali will be explored in relation to the broad cultural significance of this heritage precinct. In dealing with cultural significance one looks at the aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations.[55]

According to Jokiletho the modern conservation thought of historic buildings was born out of the identification of values and consequently the significance of heritage to the society.[56] He concludes that the relativity of cultural and social values is fundamentally dependent on human beings as members of society.[57] Values are therefore a product of the society and Jokiletho puts it that 'the identification of heritage and its safeguarding fundamentally depends on the awareness of values and significance'. [58] Smith et al. also assert that '… heritage values underpin the basis for management and policy formation relating to our collective cultural heritage'.[59]

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[52] George Smith, *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society* (California: Walnut Creek, 2010), 16.
[53] Davison, The *Use and Abuse of Australian History* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 2000), 129.
[54] Davison , *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, 112.
[55] Aplin , *Heritage : Identification , Conservation and Management*, 68.
[56] Jukka Jokiletho, 'Conservation Concepts' in John Ashurst (ed), *Conservation of Ruins*, (Oxford: Butterworth- Heinemann, 2007), 3.
[57] Jokiletho , 'Conservation Concepts', 3.
[58] Jokiletho , 'Conservation Concepts', 3.
[59] Smith et al., *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*, 16.

As such, my argument is that the social value of historic buildings at old Umtali exists in relation to the context in which they exist. Historic buildings have significant landscape or streetscape value which gives a place its distinctive character and help residents and visitors identify it with.[60] Seven historic buildings at Old Umtali all of which have individual heritage value and historical significance will be referred to in this mini-thesis as the Old Umtali heritage precinct. Precinct is a term that is increasingly being used in the field of urban heritage conservation to describe more extensive areas around historic buildings which may contribute to its heritage value.[61]

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[60] Aplin, *Heritage:Identification , Conservation and Management*, 122.
[61] Aplin, *Heritage:Identification , Conservation and Management*, 123.

CHAPTER TWO

CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS AND INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORKS.

'The ways which people view their past are to a considerable extent reflected in those objects that they choose to preserve as reminders of themselves, much as individuals retain faded snapshots as symbolic reminders of early triumphs'. [1]

This chapter draws on looking at the genealogy of historic building conservation and the advent of international frameworks that were enlisted to ensure that historical epochs' of the buildings were protected and respected in conflict situations. It will address the long-contested interconnections between the concepts of conservation and restoration with a view of understanding conservation efforts at Old Umtali and its set of historic buildings. Some of the earliest protagonists of the conservation-restoration debate and their contributions will also be looked at in this chapter. Furthermore the concepts of social value and authenticity will also be discussed in detail, as a way of trying to look at how the adoption of new use impacts on the significance of historic buildings.

Moreover, the chapter aims at discussing the formulation of various charters which proclaimed a 'common responsibility' to the respect of historic buildings in their full richness as having been propelled by the exigencies of time such as the cataclysm of

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[1] Robin Winks, 'Conservation in America: national character as revealed by preservation', in Ane Fawcett (ed), *Attitudes to Conservation 1174-1974: The Future of the Past* (Thames and Hudson, 1976), 14.

the Second World War.[2] I will thus briefly look at the conceptualisation of the Athens Charter, the Venice Charter and most importantly the Burra Charter which has become a flagship document in historic buildings conservation. The debates that have been expounded with regards to conservation as opposed to the administering of complete changes to historic buildings will also form the core elements of this chapter.

Defining and debating conservation and restoration in historic buildings

Probably as a way of trying to deeply probe the conservation of historic buildings, I will look at the different angles that the discourse of conservation is viewed from in the discipline of urban heritage conservation. In many literatures concerning historic building 'conservation' the concept is not easily distinguishable from 'preservation' and subsequently the two are used interchangeably. While I appreciate this difference, and show this here, I also understand how discussions and literatures tend to use them interchangeably. I will engage with bodies of literatures from various regions where the concepts have substantial variations but carrying an almost similar meaning.

Fitch argues that 'preservation implies the maintenance of the artefact in the same physical condition as when it was received by the curatorial agency'.[3] He adds that 'nothing is added or subtracted from the aesthetic corpus of the artefact and that any interventions necessary to preserve its physical integrity are to be cosmetically unobtrusive'.[4] Aplin also views preservation as 'maintaining the fabric of a place in

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[2] Randolph Starn, 'Authenticity and historic preservation: towards an authentic history', *History of Human Sciences*, Vol.15, No 1, 2002, 8.
[3] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 46.
[4] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 46.

its existing state and retarding deterioration'.[5] He states that preservation is closely allied to maintenance which is the continuous protective care of the fabric, contents and setting of a place.[6]

Conservation on the other hand describes physical intervention in the actual fabric of the building to ensure its continued structural integrity.[7] It encompasses all processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance. In the words of Aplin it 'includes maintenance and may according to circumstances include preservation, restoration, reconstruction and adaption…commonly a combination of more than one of these'.[8] The Burra Charter also explicitly states that 'conservation means all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance.[9] Cultural significance entails looking at the aesthetic, historic, scientific or spiritual value for past, present or future generations.[10]
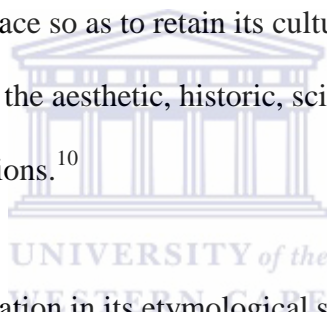
On the contrasting side, restoration in its etymological sense implies to bring back to a former, original or normal condition.[11] Restoration ought to be understood as a scientific discipline that is very different from the artisanal practices of the past.[12] In his own words Martinez puts across the argument that:

> It has a rigorous methodology that employs instruments from other scientific disciplines such as archaeology, chemistry and history and is based on the conviction that historical architecture represents a complex document that has passed through time and has been subjected to many modifications.[13]

[5] Aplin, *Heritage: Identification ,Conservation and Management*, 71.
[6] Aplin, *Heritage: Identification ,Conservation and Management*, 71.
[7] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 46.
[8] Aplin, *Heritage: Identification , Conservation and Management*, 71.
[9] The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 2.
[10] The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 2.
[11] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 246.
[12] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 247.
[13] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 247.

At Old Umtali, of the seven buildings that comes under spotlight in this research, all of them have been restored at one point or another.

Restoration also describes the process of returning the artefact to the physical condition in which it would have been at some previous stage of its morphological development.[14] Any intervention then, must involve a critical analysis because when a building is restored it is transformed and as a result some parts will disappear with new structures being added.[15] The Burra Charter however emphasises that restorations must only involve reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material.[16]

Restoration is thus more than just a simple technique, rather it is a sophisticated cultural act that reveals the tastes of the restorers. In the words of Martinez 'it reflects the societal values of the time'.[17] However, one must not confuse restoration with reconstruction or reconstitution. Reconstruction 'describes the recreation of vanished buildings on their original site'.[18] The Burra Charter describes reconstruction as '…returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material into the fabric'.[19] A close analysis of the historic buildings at Old Umtali which will be done in Chapter Four will reveal that this heritage precinct has undergone so many reconstructions over the past years.

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[14] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* , 46.
[15] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 247.
[16] The Burra Charter, 2.
[17] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 253.
[18] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 47.
[19] The Burra Charter, 2

Reconstructions to the historic buildings have been done to accommodate new uses that have seen the buildings being converted into a mission school. Other arguments in the debate points out that adaptive uses are often the only economic way in which such buildings can be saved.[20] In this regard , Bonnette consent that 'historic cities are living bodies and if we do not allow them to change and adapt to new lifestyles and new standards of living , then we are sentencing them to die, to be disregarded as artefacts of an old age, an exhibit of objects from another era, a museum'.[21]

Starn seemingly concurring argues that, use value entails upkeep and adaptation to the functional requirements of the present and that for existing historic buildings, unless they are consolidated and repaired they end up in ruins.[22] Some of the historic buildings at Old Umtali are now in a state close to ruins owing to their present levels of neglect and vandalism. Ashurst has thus argued that:

> Buildings that have been gnawed, mutilated and reduced
> to a state that bears no relation to their original purpose,
> buildings that deteriorate to a point where original
> form can hardly be recognised and buildings that only
> survive in the form of isolated fragments are called ruins.[23]

It has then been argued that one way to guarantee the conservation of historic buildings is to keep them in use because they are innumerable examples of buildings that are in ruins due to abandonment.[24] Linchfield also argues that 'the heritage quality which is the object of conservation may co-exist in particular buildings with an internal space which is outmoded for contemporary use, even with expensive

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[20] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 47.

[21] Michel Bonnette, 'Strategies for Sustainable Urban Preservation' in Ismail Serageldin et.al (ed), *Historic Cities and Sacred Sites: Cultural Roots for Urban Futures* (Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2000), 131.

[22] Randolph Starn, 'Authenticity and historic preservation: towards an authentic history', *History of Human Sciences*, Vol.15, No 1, 2002, 6.

[23] John Ashurst, *Conservation of Ruins*, (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007), xix-xxi.

[24] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 245-263.

adaptation'.[25] He goes on to argue that insistence on protecting such buildings could lead to the retention of white elephants which are uneconomic to operate and maintain.[26] In addition to this, too much protection to historic buildings can lead to the sterilisation of important sites for new development. Adaptation then means modifying the historic building so that it suits use or a proposed use.[27]

On the whole, 'new use of a place should involve minimal change, to significant fabric and use; should respect associations and meanings; and where appropriate should provide for continuation of practices which contribute to the cultural significance of the place'.[28] One of the main objectives of restoration is to ensure that the building continues into the indefinite future in the form in which it was originally created.[29] Acceptable restorations must therefore involve fairly radical changes especially in the internal organisation of space.
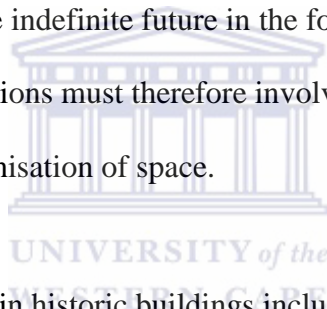
Other technical consideration in historic buildings includes the implementation of reconstitution and replication. With the former, a building can be saved only piece-by-piece reassembly, either in situ or on a new site.[30] Normally the building is dismantled and reassembled on the same site and such a process is ordinarily the consequence of disasters associated with wars or structural failures.[31] Reconstitution is a recognition that restoration in the original form is neither practical nor desirable having regard to contemporary pressures, so that some adaption of that original structure or use can be

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[25] Linchfield, *Economics in urban conservation*, 69.
[26] Linchfield, *Economics in urban conservation*, 69.
[27] The Burra Charter, 2.
[28] The Burra Charter, 4.
[29] Linchfield, *Economics in urban conservation*, 70.
[30] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 46.
[31] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 46.

accepted.[32] Replication on the other hand '…implies the creation of a mirror image of an extant artefact; in the case of architecture, it implies the construction of an exact copy of a still-standing building on a site removed from the prototype'.[33]

Social value and historicity

The conservation of cultural property is reaching a point where large numbers of people and the majority of governments have begun to think the subject important enough to warrant their serious consideration.[34] For example in the past, the conservation of historic buildings was regarded as an impediment to the development of town centres. In this regard Fitch argues that the idea of conserving historic buildings was dismissed as romantic or sentimental because it was against the special brand of progress.[35]

However, as Jokiletho argues the conservation of historic buildings has gradually became accepted as the modern approach to the care of historic buildings and the works of art.[36] He further argues that 'modern conservation is principally characterised by the fundamental change of values in contemporary society, a paradigm based on relativity and the new concept of historicity'.[37] Historicity builds on the theory that social and cultural phenomena are historically determined and that each period in history has its own value. Chakrabarty argues that it is a mode of

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[32] Linchfield, *Economics in urban conservation*, 70.

[33] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 47.

[34] Bernard M.Feilden, 'Architectural and urban conservation: A review of the state of the art', *Town and Planning Review*, Vol.56, No 2, April 1985, 199.

[35] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 23.

[36] Jukka Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1999), 174.

[37] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 295.

thinking that 'tells us that in order to understand the nature of anything in this world we must see it as a historically developing entity…'[38]

To cement this view, Martinez observes that 'what differentiates the contemporary approach to heritage is a consciousness of historicity that was absent in previous centuries'.[39] In this regard the absence of consciousness to historicity is the reason why throughout the centuries many valuable buildings were demolished or transformed beyond recognition.[40] The new historicity has thus manifested itself in a growing criticism of stylistic restorations, and in the emphasis on the need to preserve the genuine and original, the different layers and transformation of history, as well as the patina of age.[41]

Modern conservation of historic buildings thus reflects historicity and values in relation to a specific culture. Sorkin adds that 'what distinguishes conservation from maintenance is a special supplement of value, something beyond the everyday necessity of ensuring the safety and integrity of a structure'.[42] He further argues that values are cultural and conservation is always an investigation into a system of beliefs and desires.[43] Moreover, in the words of Jokiletho '…the modern conservation

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[38] Chakrabarty, *Provincialising Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, 23.
[39] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 245.
[40] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 245.
[41] Jokiletho, A History of Architectural Conservation, 303.
[42] Michael Sorkin 'Protecting Architectural Heritage in Expanding Metropolises' in Ismail Serageldin et.al (ed), *Historic Cities and Sacred Sites: Cultural Roots for Urban Futures* (Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2000), 59.
[43] Sorkin 'Protecting Architectural Heritage in Expanding Metropolises', 59.

thought of historic buildings was born out of the identification of values and consequently the significance of heritage to the society'.[44]

Values can simply be defined as socially assigned property or attribute to an object or place.[45] They are thus social constructs and are relative because different people see or perceive values differently depending on how they compare or relate things to each other.[46] The relativity of cultural and social values is therefore fundamentally dependent on human beings as members of the society. Supporting this view, Graham and Howard argue that '…values are placed upon artefacts or activities by people who, when they view heritage, do so through lenses…..'[47] Their argument is that the validity of a particular lens maybe situationally determined and is not a constant and thus it is meaning that gives value to heritage.[48] In this respect, changing social values in this mini-thesis will be analysed with regards to the de- proclamation of colonial sites from the monuments register at independence and the continual neglect of the sites in favour of liberation and archaeological monuments. Social value is not about the past or about social history, but about people's attachment to places in the present.[49]

Jokiletho also states that 'applying conservation policies to large territories means integration of heritage values into the planning process; this requires that the

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[44] Jukka Jokiletho, 'Conservation Concepts' in John Ashurst (ed), *Conservation of Ruins*, (Oxford: Butterworth- Heinemann, 2007), 3.
[45] Paul Mupira, ' Managing the Archaeological Landscapes of the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe', Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2007, 205.
[46] Antrop, 'The concept of traditional landscapes as a base for landscape evaluation and planning. The example of Flanders Region', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 38, 105-117.
[47] Graham and Howard, 'Heritage and Identity' 2.
[48] Graham and Howard, 'Heritage and Identity' 2.
[49] Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 2000), 129.

population is ready to recognise the values, and is favourable to the process.'[50] He goes on to note that this valuation process is not without conflicts of interests resulting from different value judgements and often to the detriment of historic features in urban fabric. Thus he argues that 'in any case values depend on the community and need to be continuously regenerated as part of a learning process'.[51]

Of heritage values and 'authenticity'

Authenticity has been defined as the original as opposed to the copy, the real as opposed to the pretended and the genuine as opposed to the counterfeit.[52] In the words of Jokiletho 'being authentic refers to acting autonomously, having authority, being original, unique, sincere, true or genuine'.[53] Milligan also views the call for authenticity to be the ultimate justification in choosing to conserve historic buildings. In her own words she puts it that 'the more authentic or intact a historic resource is seen as being, the more worthwhile it is for saving'.[54] Thus she argues that in the end emphasis is often on justifying preservation through arguing that resources with integrity or authenticity should be protected.[55] Moreover, being authentic is seen as a representation of universal value in humanity, discrediting the most faithful restorations that were content with the reproduction of ancient forms.[56] From this Starn argues that 'consideration of authenticity came relatively late and quite

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[50] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 292.
[51] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 292.
[52] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 296.
[53] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 296.
[54] Milligan, 'Buildings as History: The Place of Collective Memory in the Study of Historic Preservation', 110.
[55] Milligan, 'Buildings as History: The Place of Collective Memory in the Study of Historic Preservation',110.
[56] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 303.

unevenly in the wake of salvage or restoration'.[57] He sees authenticity as having been plotted as a progressive change in the course of the 19th century from aggressive restorations thus aiming at making the building look historically consistent to the motto 'conservation not restoration.'[58]

Authenticity was therefore used to make sure that even when restoration was granted it should only happen when the repairs could be made original as possible.[59] Starn thus regards authenticity as the keyword of the great majority of documents enunciating either a theory or criteria of choice with respect to safeguarding cultural heritage.[60] He further asserts that 'it is no exaggeration to say that this concept lies at the base of all modern doctrine on the conservation and restoration of historical monuments'.[61] Fitch also notes that 'the battle of the preservation movement has always been centred upon saving the original, the authentic, the prototypical so that future generations would be able to see what the past was really like'.[62]

Within the same vein Ashworth and Tunbridge also argue that a commonly encountered justification for preserving surviving artefacts and sites relating to the past is an appeal to authenticity.[63] Historic buildings at Old Umtali exhibit some high levels of authenticity because all the effected changes have managed to respect all the previous historical associations in the structures.

[57] Starn, 'Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic History', 4.
[58] Starn, 'Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic History', 4.
[59] Starn, 'Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic History', 4.
[60] Starn, 'Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic History', 2.
[61] Starn, 'Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic History', 2.
[62] Fitch , *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, x.
[63] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage* 10.

However, it should be noted here that authenticity is a highly vexed concept and is often used as a cudgel and is a subjectively determined characteristic .[64] Authenticity is a slippery and problematic determinant when it comes to prioritising it in heritage conservation issues. Aplin posed interesting questions about this concept, he writes that 'how original is originality? How authentic is authentic?'[65] It is also no exaggeration to say that the concept of authenticity is fuzzy and an easy target for criticism. Lowenthal is a leading critic of authenticity and inauthentic truth in everything from art, architecture, to musical performances, ethnic cookery, and identity politics and clothing labels.[66] MacCannell has also states that authenticity is a socially constructed concept and that its connotation is negotiated.[67] Some have thus argued that authenticity is a shared value and the power to assess it is a shared authority.[68]
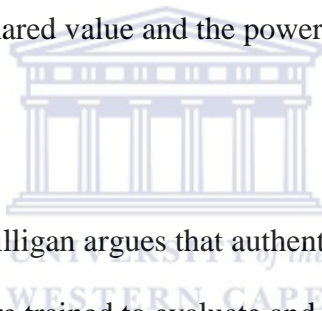
To cement the view above, Milligan argues that authenticity requires experts to discern and thus individuals are trained to evaluate and identify the authentic. Thus '…authenticity remains a subjective determined characteristic'.[69] She goes on to argue that " it is a shared set of belief rather than an objective quality , yet it involves a belief in the authentic object as being somehow more sincere or more real than those

[64] Sorkin 'Protecting Architectural Heritage in Expanding Metropolises' , 60.

[65] Aplin, *Heritage:Identification,Conservation and Management*, 130.

[66] Starn, 'Authenticity and historic preservation: towards an authentic history', 4.

[67] Dean MacCannell, 'Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings', *American Journal of Sociology*, 595.

[68] Allan Gordon, ' Heritage and Authenticity :The Case of Ontario's Sainte-Marie-among-the-Huron's.', *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol.85, No 3, 2004, 507-531.

[69] Milligan, 'Buildings as History:The Place of Collective Memory in the Study of Historic Preservation', 110.

closer to inauthenticity". [70] Starn further critiqued the concept of authenticity by stating that:

> Depending on the critical lexicon, the idea of restoring or even conserving an 'authentic cultural heritage' could be attacked as a sign of false consciousness, cultural imperialism or bad faith, a marketing ploy or a metafication, a postmodern mix of fact and fiction or simply muddled thinking. [71]

He emphasised the issue of credibility and truthfulness of sources and cultural diversity as a fundamental reference to the definition of authenticity. In historic buildings, authenticity can be best experienced as the atmosphere originally built into the building, a certain kind of unchanging characteristic of the building. [72] Jokiletho also argues that 'the use of the word 'authentic has, in fact become a fashion in the late twentieth century-possibly due to a desire for truthful references in an otherwise increasingly fragmented world'. [73] The overuse of the word therefore results in the obfuscation of its meaning and thus some conservation specialists tend to look for other expressions to avoid using the word authentic such as identity or integrity. [74]

The conservation-restoration debate: early theorists

The first theory of restoration known as 'stylistic restoration' was formulated by the French architect Eugene Emmanuele Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79) and it dominated the international panorama for most of the nineteenth century. [75] It is the view of Martinez that Viollet-le-Duc 'believed that the value of a monument was in its form or style and

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[70] Milligan, 'Buildings as History:The Place of Collective Memory in the Study of Historic Preservation', 110.
[71] Starn, 'Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic History', 4.
[72] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 298.
[73] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 304.
[74] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation* 304.
[75] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 247.

restoration should therefore be concerned with the recovery of that form'.[76] This was

achieved by studying the history of art, the classification of building by schools or

epochs, and through analogical-comparative analysis. Martinez goes on to argue that

'underpinning these ideas was the belief that contemporary architecture could

improve and perfect the historic building'.[77] Restoration of monuments was thereafter

reduced to a simple process as each building had to conform to a style which was well

understood due to the comparative study of monuments of similar chronology and

origin.[78]

On the opposite end of the spectrum, John Ruskin (1819-1900) championed the anti-

restoration movement by criticizing restoration architects for the destruction of

historical authenticity of the buildings and fought for their protection, conservation

and maintenance.[79] Accordingly, he denounced any kind of restoration and the word

'restoration' came to indicate something negative until it was replaced by the word

'conservation'. In the words of Jokiletho, 'Ruskin did not write a theory of

conservation but he identified the values and the significance of historic buildings and

objects more clearly than anyone before him, thus providing a foundation for modern

conservation philosophies'.[80] Adding on to this observation, Martinez also argues that

'although misunderstood at the time, some of the ideas put forward by Ruskin and his

disciple, William Morris, are today considered fundamental to modern cultural

heritage conservation'.[81] He further argued that the material truth of historic

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[76] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 247.
[77] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 247.
[78] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 247.
[79] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 174.
[80] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 175.
[81] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 249.

architecture was important and that a genuine monument not its modern replica was the nation's real heritage and the memorial of the past.[82]

One of his greatest contributions to the debate on the definition of the qualities and values of architecture was the identification of the *seven lamps of architecture*. Jokiletho identifies the lamps or the guiding principles as: sacrifice truth, power, beauty, life, memory and obedience and further argues that they had an accent on historicity.[83] Much of his work was premised on the need to respect authenticity in historic buildings. He criticised restoration as the most total destruction that a building can suffer out of which no remnants can be gathered and accompanied with a false description of the thing destroyed.[84] Ruskin therefore believed in minimum intervention and that the buildings do not belong exclusively to us but also to our ancestors and descendants.[85]
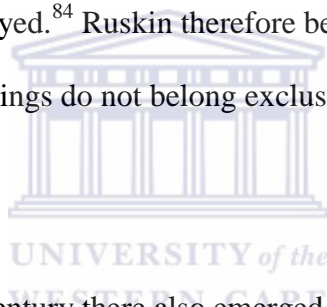
At the end of the nineteenth century there also emerged another school of thought which avoided both the style-obsessed excesses of the restorers and the radicalism of those that preferred to see the disappearance of a building rather than intervention.[86] This theory of 'philological restoration' was advocated for by Camillo Boito (1836-1914) who emphasised conservation over restoration.[87] He argued that restoration should only take place when the monument is in danger of disappearance and the

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[82] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 175.
[83] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 175.
[84] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 175.
[85] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 249.
[86] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 249.
[87] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 249.

intervention should be kept to the minimum avoiding any kind of stylistic

reconstruction.[88]

Furthermore, Boito believed in preserving the authenticity of the monument and in

respecting its epochs and modifications.[89] Thus it was necessary that the parts that

were added in a restoration should be visually different from the original materials.

His belief was that the monument deserved scrupulous respect and that it should be a

faithful reflection of its own history. Jokiletho quotes Boito as having asserted that:

> Considering that architectural monuments from the past are
> not only valuable for the study of architecture but contribute
> as essential documents to explain and illustrate all the facets
> of the history of various peoples throughout the ages, they
> should, therefore, be scrupulously and religiously respected
> as documents in which any alteration, however slight, if it
> appears to be part of the original could be misleading and
> eventually give rise to erroneous assumptions. [90]

Boito's principals were later adopted and meliorated by Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-

1947) who was to become the most important voice in the restoration debate at the

1931 Athens Conference.[91]

International frameworks in historic buildings conservation

The end of the First and Second World Wars ushered in a lot of new changes in the

conservation of historic buildings. Townsend argues that the conservation of historic

buildings is rooted in the aftermath of the Second World War.[92] Jokiletho also states

that 'destroyed buildings were to be replaced by equivalent structures and historic

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[88] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 249.
[89] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 249.
[90] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 201.
[91] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective, 250
[92] Stephen Townsend , 'Conservation and Development in Cape Town: The Question Of Height',
seminar paper presented at the Centre for Humanities and Research, 25 February 2007, 2.

monuments were to be rebuilt to their pre-war appearance'.[93] For example in Italy,

damage inflicted by the war on buildings forced the integration of architectural and

urban conservation and town planning.

Townsend further argues that urban conservation in historic centres of Italy became

synonymous with town planning and largely reliant on records of the existing fabric,

typologies and urban morphology.[94] During this period of time there were some

debates and firm opposition to reconstructions by those who wanted to keep the ruins

as memorials of destruction. Martinez positions the evolution of restoration as an

arena of international concern in the twentieth century as having been inspired by

Giovannoni's ideas.[95]
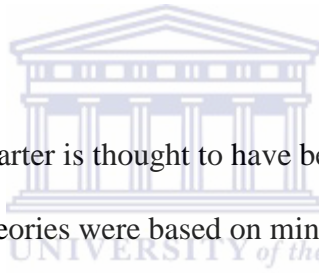
The drafting of the Athens Charter is thought to have been heavily influenced by

Giovannoni's thinking. His theories were based on minimum intervention; minimum

addition and he vehemently rejected stylistic intervention.[96] The Athens meeting of

October 1931 moved in to regularise the restoration and conservation of buildings in

the aftermath of wars. It was '…the first international document that marked the

transformation of the concept of restoration as a process of re-integration to the

concept of restoration as a process of conservation'.[97] The charter recommended that

the occupation of buildings which ensures the continuity of the life should be

maintained but that they should be used for a purpose which respects the historic or

artistic character.[98] In the case of ruined structures original fragments could be

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[93] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 282.
[94] Townsend ,'Conservation and Development in Cape Town: The Question Of Height' ,2.
[95] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 250.
[96] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 250.
[97] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 250
[98] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 284.

reinstated using the method of anastylosis in which any new material should be distinguishable from the original.[99]

On the other side, the works of Cesare Brandi (1906-1988) is also recognised as the cornerstone of modern conservation and restoration and the inspiration behind the Venice Charter of 1964.[100] His primary and original contribution was in defining restoration as more of a critical act than a technical one. Brandi forwarded through the concept of critical restoration without renouncing the historical and documentary values of a work of art however, arguing that restoration should be fundamentally based on aesthetic value.[101] A modern definition of restoration was then postulated by Brandi from these arguments as he argued that:

> Restoration must be directed at the reestablishment of
> the potential unity of the work of art, as long as this is
> possible without committing an artistic falsification or a
> historical falsification and without eliminating any trace
> of the work of art's passage through time.[102]

Brandi's thinking can be encapsulated in three fundamental principles, the first one state that 'any reintegration should be easily recognizable at close distance but, at the same time, it should not offend the unity that is being restored'.[103] The second principle states that 'the part of material that directly results in the images is irreplaceable so far as it forms the aspects and not the structure'.[104] The third principle

[99] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 284.

[100] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 251.

[101] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 251.

[102] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 251.

[103] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 251.

[104] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 251.

suggests that 'any restoration should be made that it will not be an obstacle for necessary future intervention…..'[105]

The Venice Charter

The Venice Charter of 1964 was conceived as a revision of the 1931 Athens Charter and it continued to reflect upon the debate between conservation and restoration. Jokiletho argues that while still placing major attention on buildings, the concept of historic monument was extended to cover historic urban and rural areas in the Venice Charter.[106] Martinez also states that 'the charter's great achievement is that it definitively sets out the contemporary criteria for heritage restoration'.[107] Whitbourn regards the Venice Charter as having set the pace for historic buildings conservation by defining several approaches and guiding principles to the conservation of monuments.[108] He argues that 'article 11 of the charter states the importance of respecting valid contributions of buildings of various periods and made it clear that the intention of conserving was to safeguard them as historical evidence for future generations'.[109]

Starn also notes that the Venice Charter '…had if anything, the peculiar ring of a newly minuted universal value'.[110] Jokiletho further puts it that 'the congress gave clear attention to architectural integrity, but also emphasised an aspect for historical authenticity and integrity considering that there had been an overwhelming emphasis

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[105] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective' 251.
[106] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 289.
[107] Martinez, 'Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', 252.
[108] Phillip Whitbourn, 'International standards and charters', in Michael Forsyth (ed), *Understanding Historic Buildings Conservation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publication, 2007), 123.
[109] Whitbourn, 'International standards and charters', 124.
[110] Starn, 'Authenticity and historic preservation: towards an authentic history', 8.

of stylistic reconstruction since the war'.[111] However, the Venice Charter was accused of pegging universal standards of authenticity to stone constructions and a western fetishism of the monument and the material trace.[112]

Starn thus argues that '… the criterion of authenticity thus became an open sesame and a pandora's box, the Venice Charter was censured as inauthentic.'[113] This charter was later adopted as the principal doctrinal document by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in the following year.[114] The Burra Charter is one of the best known documents to have been inspired by the Venice Charter drafted by Australia ICOMOS in 1979, and revised in 1981, 1988, and 1999.[115] The Burra Charter introduced the concept of place instead of monument and site.

The Burra Charter and cultural significance

The charter was first adopted in 1979 at the historic South Australian mining town of Burra and subsequently revised with minor changes in 1981, 1988 and 1999.[116] It was crafted by the Australia International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS herein) and its main line of focus was looking at places of cultural significance.[117] The term cultural significance was used to denote aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations.[118] In the charter, cultural

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[111] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation* , 289.
[112] Starn, 'Authenticity and historic preservation: towards an authentic history', 9.
[113] Starn, 'Authenticity and historic preservation: towards an authentic history' , 9.
[114] Whitbourn, 'International standards and charters', 125.
[115] Jokiletho, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 289.
[116] The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 2.
[117] The Burra Charter, 2.
[118] The Burra Charter,12.

significance is therefore a concept which helps in estimating the value of place which gives an understanding of the past or enriches the present.[119]

The Burra Charter provides guidance for the conservation and management of places of cultural significance and is based on the knowledge and experience of Australia ICOMOS members.[120] It states that 'conservation is an integral part of the management of places of cultural significance and is an on-going responsibility'.[121] Moreover, places of cultural significance enrich people's lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape and as such these places must be conserved for present and future generations.[122] It is also important to note that the Burra Charter advocates a cautious approach to change and it states that 'do as much as necessary to care for the place and make it usable, but otherwise change as little as possible so that its cultural significance is retained'.[123]According to the charter thus cultural significance entails aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations.[124]

This chapter has made an attempt to address the history of conservation in historic buildings. Also forming part of the discussions in this chapter was an analysis of valuation in historic buildings. Values were seen to be influenced by the historicity of the buildings and it was argued herein that an assignment of values to a historic property is always subjective. It is within the same line that I have argued that the

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[119] The Burra Charter,12.
[120] The Burra Charter, 1.
[121] The Burra Charter, 1.
[122] The Burra Charter, 1.
[123] The Burra Charter, 1.
[124] The Burra Charter, 2.

shifts in social value at Old Umtali are to a large extent determined by the present need of the society and their attachments to the buildings.

The problematic concept of authenticity and its application in the context of historic buildings was also dwelt with in this chapter and again its subjective and deterministic nature was noted in the discussions. The chapter ended off by looking at international frameworks that were ushered in to protect the historic and aesthetic value of the buildings that was a result of the major conflicts in Europe which decimated a lot of buildings. In the next chapter, I will narrow down to look at the specific histories of conservation with the view of understanding the discourses that undergird heritage management in Zimbabwe.

<div align="center">**CHAPTER THREE**</div>

<div align="center">**HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND CONSERVATION IN ZIMBABWE: A SHORT HISTORY.**</div>

'When Zimbabwean politicians talk about cultural heritage conservation and preservation, more often than not, they have in mind Great Zimbabwe, the national shrine'.[1]

This chapter takes off by examining the general process of heritage management in Zimbabwe, its historiography and the relationship between the state and heritage management. It looks at the genesis of heritage management and conservation and how it has changed between the colonial and the post colonial periods. As such, the chapter will try to establish a short history of heritage management in Zimbabwe from 1890 up to present day with a view of positioning colonial memorials and monuments in the discourse of heritage and its seemingly uneven levels of prioritisation.

One might assume that at Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, the natural reaction would have been to establish more inclusive forms of heritage that merges the complex mixes of the post-colonial state. However, this was never attained as the need to establish national identity as a 'post-colony' has led to the suppression of colonial heritage and its alternative or competing histories. A huge disparity now exists between colonial heritage on the one hand, and liberation/archaeological heritage on the other, with the former ranked on the periphery of heritage funding and conservation priorities.

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[1] Pwiti, 'Let the Ancestors Rest in Peace? New Challenges for Cultural Heritage Management, 7.

In Zimbabwe, heritage as a concept has evolved and changed according to the contemporary societal context of transforming power relationships and emerging nascent national identities.[2] In analysing the history of heritage management and conservation in Zimbabwe I will argue that heritage is a cultural process which is never inert but rather people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it. The dissonant nature of this heritage will be shown in this work using the case study of a set of dilapidating historic buildings at Old Umtali where values attached have changed between the colonial and post colonial periods.

In the words of Harvey heritage is 'part of the way identities are created and disputed, whether as individuals, group or nation state'.[3] A deep understanding of the historically contingent and embedded nature of heritage will allow me to go beyond treating heritage as a set of problems to be solved but to engage with debates about the production of identity, power and authority in Zimbabwe.

Heritage as a symbol of national identity

Heritage plays an important role in helping people to identify both who they are as individuals and collectives to which they belong.[4] As such, it shapes people's imagined belief of a nation as a sole unitary system. Heritage is used as a rallying point in building certain national identities in which people come to identify themselves as part of a nation. It has been argued that post-colonies are connected in terms of their heritage by the need to forge new national identities in the wake of

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[2] David Harvey, 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 7, no.4, 2001, 14.
[3] Harvey, 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', 15.
[4] Harrison and Hughes, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage: Global Heritage Perspective*, 238.

decolonisation.[5] The identity of Zimbabwe as a nation state is pictured here within the frame of archaeological ruins of the Zimbabwe tradition with Great Zimbabwe seen as the pinnacle for this identity.

In addition there has been a new paradigm shift in the heritage management and conservation in Zimbabwe which has seen the emergence of memorialisation of the *Chimurenga[6]* wars forming a core aspect in this discourse. In this respect this chapter will also problematise the politics of memory and commemoration in Zimbabwe in relation to heritage management and conservation priorities by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ hereafter). A recent commemorative project which has focused on the identification, reburial, ritual cleansing and memorialisation of the human remains of the liberation war dead in Zimbabwe and across its borders[7] has completely obscured the conservation of colonial heritage.

I have argued in the preceding chapter that the notion of value and values themselves are always dynamic and their assessment is subjective as the analysis of observations is heavily influenced by our socio-political contexts. Furthermore I positioned heritage as a value-loaded concept meaning that in whatever form it appears, its very nature relates entirely to present circumstances.[8] Mupira argues that in Zimbabwe at one time, sites were proclaimed National Monuments, at another deproclaimed, and

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[5] Harrison and Hughes, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage: Global Heritage Perspective,* 237.
[6] A Shona word which refers to the liberation struggle and the wars launched by the people of Zimbabwe against colonial rule. The first Chimurenga was fought between 1896 and 1897 spearheaded by the famous spirit medium, Mbuya Nehanda and the second Chimurenga was fought between 1966 and 1979.
[7] Joost Fontein ' The Politics of the Dead: Living Heritage, Bones and Commemoration in Zimbabwe' *The Association of Social Anthropologists of the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth* , 2009, 3.
[8] Harvey, 'Heritage pasts and heritage presents: Temporality , meaning and the scope of heritage studies', 6.

removed from the National Monuments Register.[9] In his own words 'thirty-two colonial memorials were removed from the monuments register at independence'.[10] This view is supported by Norma Kriger who argues that at Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 the ruling elite sought to enhance their political legitimacy and to foster a national identity through the discarding of colonial symbols and through attempts to establish their own heroes as national symbols.[11]

I will also show in this chapter that much of the literature on heritage management in Zimbabwe relies more on the post-colonial theory in trying to set out how individuals and societies deal with the aftermath of colonial rule. My main line of thought will reveal that colonial heritage and its associated histories makes up a painful past that has not been easy to reconcile with. As such the system of heritage management and conservation has adopted an exclusionary policy towards colonial historic buildings and memorials. Harrison and Hughes tries to explain post-colonial theory as primarily concerned with unveiling, contesting and changing the way that colonialism structured societies and the ideologies associated with colonialism.[12]

Contestations have thus emerged in heritage management decisions within NMMZ which is the administrative body that looks after heritage sites. Colonial heritage in particular historic buildings have been left to deteriorate and this will be clearly illustrated in the next chapter where I will look at the conservation of buildings at Old Umtali. Priority has been given to archaeological and liberation war heritage and my argument is that the conflicts arising from this dialectic have affected heritage

[9] Mupira, 'Managing the Archaeological Landscapes of the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe', 205.
[10] Mupira, 'Managing the Archaeological Landscapes of the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe', 205.
[11] Kriger, 'The Politics of Creating National Heroes: The Search for Political Legitimacy and National Identity', 139.
[12] Harrison and Hughes, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage: Global Heritage Perspective,* 237.

practitioners who have a mandate to manage and conserve all forms of heritage without grading. Historic buildings should be conserved and used for different contemporary purposes and at the same time becoming the subject of interpretative work through critical heritage. Questions can then be asked about the experience of colonialism and the various movements of the Pioneer Column in Zimbabwe using for example the case study of Old Umtali heritage precinct.

The inception of heritage management and conservation in Zimbabwe

In their analysis of the advent of heritage management in Southern Africa, Pwiti and Ndoro argue that '…the tendency has been to think that heritage management started with the European colonization of the subcontinent.'[13] On the contrary, they argued that the fact that Europeans found so many archaeological sites intact means that these sites could have survived because of some kind of management that preceded all scientific management systems.[14] In any case scientific research made these sites accessible to a wider and larger audience which lead to their desecration and hence cultural debasing.[15]

Mupira also concurs and added that '….in fact , colonial heritage management practices somewhat disrupted existing pragmatic management systems that to a large extent allowed some change, at the same time preserving certain core values and the

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[13] Webber Ndoro and Gilbert Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse' in Gerard Corsane (ed), *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 141.
[14] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 142.
[15] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 143.

essence of social identity whether material or symbolic'.[16] He further pointed out that in Zimbabwe, heritage (*nhaka*) and the landscape (*nyika*), are fundamental components of the Shona conception of heritage and have always been under some form of management.[17]

The development of heritage management in Zimbabwe can be linked to changes occurring in the early settler society.[18] According to Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Carl Mauch's 'discovery' of Great Zimbabwe and, more importantly, his discovery of gold objects at some sites reinforced the notion of Zimbabwe as the source of gold for the biblical King Solomon'.[19] It has also been argued that in these early days what was happening can best be described as antiquarianism and plunder.[20] Thus for the greater part of the time conservation and preservation at such monuments were usually ill informed and largely unscientific, even though well meant.[21] The Rhodesia Ancient Ruins Company was formed specifically to search for gold at stone ruins. In this light, it is thus clear that the development of heritage management in Zimbabwe was linked to the potential economic value of the ruined structures.

Sinamai in his discussion on the earliest mechanisms put in place by the settler government to protect Zimbabwe sites argues that the Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance was passed in 1902 mainly to protect Zimbabwe sites against vandalism by

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[16] Mupira, 'Managing the Archaeological Landscapes of the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe' 41.

[17] Mupira, 'Managing the Archaeological Landscapes of the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe', 41.

[18] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 148.

[19] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 149.

[20] Seke Katsamudanga, 'Consuming the Past: Public Perceptions Towards the Discipline of Archaeology in Zimbabwe', Archaeology Unit, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 4. (no date)

[21] Gilbert Pwiti, 'Taking African Cultural Heritage Management into the Twenty-First Century: Zimbabwe's Master Plan for Cultural Heritage Management', *African Archaeological Review*, Vol.14, No2, 1997, 1.

treasure hunters.[22] In this ordinance ancient monuments and relics were defined as any material predating 1800.[23] However, Ndoro and Pwiti regard the passing of this ordinance as not in anywhere close to giving ancient ruins protection but rather a means to cover up the mounting criticism from the academic world on the activities of the company.[24] However, it is also important to mention that the 1902 ordinance laid foundation to the present heritage management system in Zimbabwe. Sinamai adds that 'this ordinance was later supported by the Bushmen Relics Ordinance which was passed to protect rock art sites and prevent them from being hacked off the rock and displayed in homes'.[25]

Concurring to this is Ndoro and Pwiti who put it that the Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance did not cover rock art sites in its definition of ancient monuments and that this anomaly was amended in 1912 with the proclamation of the Bushmen Relics Ordinance. This ordinance was influenced by large scale exploitation of rock art sites.[26] On critically looking at these ordinances, one can detect that they only offered Zimbabwe ruins ceremonial protection and that the implementation of conservation activities was on an ad hoc basis depending on the need to safeguard certain interests of the settler state. Another hallmark development in the history of heritage management in Zimbabwe came with the establishment of the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo in 1902.

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[22]Ashton Sinamai, 'Contested Heritage: A Socio-political study of Zimbabwe Sites in African Context', Unpublished M.A thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2003, 42.

[23] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 149.

[24] Ndoro and Pwiti, Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 149.

[25] Sinamai, 'Contested Heritage: A Socio-Political Study of Zimbabwe Sites in African Context', 42.

[26] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 149.

As Pwiti and Ndoro argue, 'its mandate was research and public presentation of the natural heritage, with specific reference to geology'.[27] They noted that the influence of gold mining was very much in the minds of the people who established this museum to protect the nation's heritage.[28] Both the 1902 and the 1912 ordinances were repealed in 1936 and replaced by the Monuments and Relics Act. According to Ndoro and Pwiti this move was necessitated by the realisation that the previous ordinances had not differentiated the status of ancient monuments.[29] The new act then ushered in the concept of ranking sites by affording some of them the prestigious status of national monuments.

This act also brought into existence the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, better known as the Monuments Commission.[30] In an analysis of the formation of the Monuments Commission, Ndoro and Pwiti demonstrate how this commission was later to become precursor to the National Museums and Monuments when they argue that:

> For the first time, an administrative organisation
> was being proposed. Thus it was felt at this early
> stage that protective legislation was not enough and
> that there was need for some effective physical
> protection in the form of regular inspection of the
> sites. Apart from undertaking maintenance and
> excavation, the commission was also tasked with
> documenting and keeping a register of all ancient
> monuments and relics in southern Rhodesia. From
> this national register, the Commission could recommend
> some to the Minister of Internal Affairs for proclamation

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[27] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 149.
[28] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 149.
[29] Ndoro and Pwiti 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 149.
[30] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 150.

as national monuments.[31]

The commission designated seventy-nine sites as national monuments by 1954. Buildings that were deemed to have special architectural designs and to be of historical interest were protected by the commission. Most of these buildings were found at the earliest forts established by the pioneer column on its route to Salisbury. Buildings at Fort Tuli, Fort Victoria, Charter and Fort Hill were amongst the protected heritage of the settler colony.[32] Greater emphasis by the commission was put on monuments commemorating European history than on aspects of indigenous history. Mupira thus argues that '…despite a short history of colonial occupation in Zimbabwe, pioneer memorials dominated the National Monuments Register.'[33]

In addition there were investments in heritage construction linked to colonial state building which saw new towns and imposing monuments being designed and constructed deliberately intended to foster white national pride.[34] During that same period sites like Great Zimbabwe were appropriated by the colonial state as a preventive measure because it had been important in the early struggles against colonialism.[35] Sinamai argues that 'Zimbabwe, sites were only protected because they were purported to have gold and the British South African Company (BSAC) did not want to lose their investment."[36]

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[31] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 150.
[32] Allistar McMillan, *Rhodesia East Africa: Historical and Descriptive Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures and Resources* (London: Collinbridge Ltd 1931), 170.
[33] Mupira, 'Managing the Archaeological Landscapes of the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe', 207.
[34] Joann McGregor and Lynn Schumaker, 'Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and history', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32, 4, 2006, 651.
[35] Sinamai, 'Contested Heritage: A Socio-Political Study of Zimbabwe Sites in African Context', 12.
[36] Sinamai, 'Contested Heritage: A Socio-Political Study of Zimbabwe Sites in African Context', 42.

The next major development in the history of heritage management and conservation in Zimbabwe was the passing of the 1972 National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia Act Chapter 313. This act effectively repealed the 1936 act and its main contribution was to bring about the amalgamation of the Monuments Commission and the various city museums in the country.[37] Ndoro and Pwiti argue that 'the 1972 Act led to the creation of five administrative regions and at present all the regions have the capacity to protect and present archaeological heritage'.[38] From their accurate observations they further consent that it is at Great Zimbabwe that a lot of experimentation in terms of preservation and presentation has been made. In their own words they thus note that 'the heritage management system at Great Zimbabwe in part reflects the general thrust of the system in Zimbabwe'.[39]

Management and conservation after independence; the archaeological phase

With the advent of political independence on 18 April 1980, the new nation of Zimbabwe was confronted with challenges of establishing a national identity and political legitimacy.[40] The name Zimbabwe which is derived from the Great Zimbabwe national monument, an archaeological site had been agreed upon two decades before independence with the formation of early trade union movements and subsequently their transformation into political movements. However, as Terrence Ranger argues, the decision of giving an identity to the new nation that was synonymous with the Great Zimbabwe was not unanimously agreed upon because there was some early resentment to the idea. He states that in August 1960 the

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[37] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 150.
[38] Ndoro and Pwiti, 'Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 151.
[39] Ndoro and Pwiti, Heritage Management in Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', 151.
[40] Kriger, 'The Politics of Creating National Heroes: The Search for Political Legitimacy and National Identity', 139.

Matabeleland Home Society, for instance publicly rebuked Salisbury leaders of the NDP for unilaterally choosing the name 'Zimbabwe' for the projected nation.[41] Thus Ranger further argues that this name was a name they objected to because it was regarded as promoting tribal feelings. The Matopos made a better symbol of national unity [42]

From the onset therefore the national identity of a yet to be born nation had been established and symbolically represented by the Great Zimbabwe archaeological site. On this Gatsheni wrote that 'the making of nationalism and the imagination of a post-colonial nation involved the politics of naming and renaming, beginning with the country itself'.[43] He argued that nationalists chose the name of the country from the prehistoric site of Great Zimbabwe and it became a symbol around which people were persuaded and mobilised.[44]
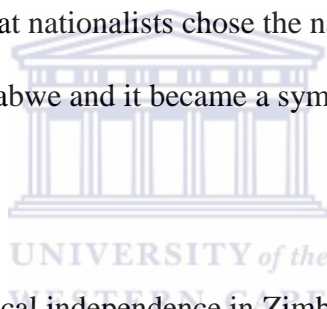
Likewise, the coming of political independence in Zimbabwe also ushered in a new period in which people would not only be in touch but also be able to use their heritage.[45] Katsamudanga concurs with this view and quotes Garlake as having argued that on attaining independence in 1980, the then Minister of Education in Zimbabwe, Hebert Ushewokunze suggested that archaeology had a significant role to play in the decolonisation process of Zimbabwe and that even the Prime Minister of

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[41]Terrence Ranger, *Voice from the Rocks* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), 212.

[42] Ranger, *Voice from the Rocks*, (Oxford: James Currey, 1999) 212.

[43]Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Do 'Zimbabweans Exist?, Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Post- Colonial State* (Bern: Peter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers, 2009), 45.

[44] Gatsheni, *Do 'Zimbabweans Exist?*, 45-47.

[45]Sinamai, 'Contested Heritage: A Socio-Political Study of Zimbabwe Sites in African Context', 86.

the young republic , Robert Mugabe , anticipated a new past.[46] Similarly, Sinamai

agreed that Great Zimbabwe lay 'at the heart of Zimbabwe's history and culture'.[47]

According to Pwiti, in the post-colonial state Great Zimbabwe is no longer just an

archaeological site but a national symbol which implies that whatever work is

undertaken there is potentially subject to political manipulation.[48] It is now a national

symbol and therefore part of the country's political scenario.[49] Thus I will argue here

that a particular notion of heritage is used to legitimate a national consciousness or a

communal memory akin to an early nation state.[50]

Figure 1: The conical tower, a part of the Great Zimbabwe archaeological site, an epitome of national identity and also the epicentre of all heritage management activities. (Photo by N. Chipangura)

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[46] Katsamudanga, 'Consuming the Past: Public Perceptions Towards the Discipline of Archaeology in Zimbabwe', 6.
[47] Sinamai, 'Contested Heritage: A Socio-Political Study of Zimbabwe Sites in African Context', 87.
[48] Pwiti, 'Let the Ancestors Rest in Peace? New Challenges for Cultural Heritage Management in Zimbabwe', 4.
[49] Pwiti, 'Let the Ancestors rest in Peace? New Challenges for Cultural Heritage Management in Zimbabwe' 7.
[50] Harvey, 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality , Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', 9.

Artefacts from Great Zimbabwe feature as national emblems and these as well as parts

of the site feature as symbols of national identity.[51] Sinamai concurs with this view

when he tries to establish the history of nationalistic feelings at Great Zimbabwe as

having emanated long before independence in 1980. He argues that:

> Independence came after a prolonged anti-colonial
> and military war between the settler state and African
> nationalists. The struggle was also a cultural war in
> which zimbabwe sites played a major role. Zimbabwe
> sites were a terrain which saw the production of
> interpretations for the citizens and tourists in which
> the sites were not attributed to local populations.
> the nationalists on the other hand used the same
> sites as sources of cultural identity.[52]

Sinamai further argues that the new nation of Zimbabwe was led by a party that had a

logo that featured the Great Enclosure with the conical tower announcing that the

citizens would help the state to rebuild Zimbabwe.[53] In addition, the new nation's

flag, the coat of arms as well as the currency, all had symbols from Great Zimbabwe.

He goes on to argue that almost all state enterprises took one of the zimbabwe birds as

logos, the most prominent and most public being Air Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe

Broadcasting Corporation, Zimbabwe Revenue Authority, Zimbabwe United

Passengers Company and the National Railways of Zimbabwe.[54]

Matenga also states that 'by 1990 there were over a hundred private companies and

government institutions using symbols from Great Zimbabwe and Khami as logos.'[55]

It can be argued here that soon after independence there was a tilt in the balance of

power in regard to heritage management and conservation. As Sinamai accurately

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[51] Pwiti, 'Let the Ancestors Rest in Peace? New Challenges for Cultural Heritage Management in Zimbabwe' 7.
[52] Sinamai, 'Contested Heritage: A Socio-Political Study of Zimbabwe Sites in African Context', 30.
[53] Sinamai, 'Contested Heritage: A Socio-Political Study of Zimbabwe Sites in African Context', 91.
[54] Sinamai, 'Contested Heritage: A Socio-Political Study of Zimbabwe Sites in African Context' 91.
[55] Edward Matenga, *The Soapstone Birds of Great Zimbabwe: Symbol of a Nation*, (Harare. African Publishing Group, 1998), 3.

notes 'the thrust of conservation was targeted towards zimbabwe sites, Great Zimbabwe and Khami.'[56] Pwiti sees this as problematic when he noted that '…direct political interest in the sites has wide ranging implications for heritage managers, and places an onerous burden on them to make sure that they are doing the right thing'.[57]

It is within this new emerging narrative of a nation ascribed to archaeological heritage that the colonial past with all its 'heritages' has been relegated to the peripheries in terms of heritage conservation and management. Colonial buildings, memorials, statues and forts have been increasingly vandalised over the last thirty years with a growing agitation by some sections of the society to remove them from the listing as national monuments. Preponderance in heritage management and conservation activities has been given to archaeological heritage and of late, a relatively new category of liberation war heritage has completely supplanted colonial heritage.

Moreover, training of staff has also been targeted as part of the preservation and research at Zimbabwe sites and liberation war heritage with no efforts being equally put for historic buildings. Nobody in the employ of NMMZ has had expert knowledge on urban heritage conservation since 2010 when the responsible curator resigned from the organisation.[58] Also conspicuously absent within the structures of heritage conservation are historic building committees which used to oversee issues in conserving urban townscapes.[59] Moreover in the recent past declarations and

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[56] Sinamai, 'Contested Heritage: A Socio-Political Study of Zimbabwe Sites in African Context', 91.
[57] Pwiti, 'Let the Ancestors Rest in Peace? New Challenges for Cultural Heritage Management in Zimbabwe', 7.
[58] Interview with Esther Chipashu, Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences, 03.10. 12 Esther Chipashu is a curator of Ethnography working for NMMZ. She once undertook an ethnographic study at Old Umtali Mission School in 2011.
[59] Interview with Paul Mupira, Mutare Museum, 6.03.12. Paul Mupira is an archaeologist who has researched extensively on the cultural landscapes of Eastern Zimbabwe and is the Regional Director at Mutare Museum.

proclamations of national monuments have not been inclusive of any historic buildings, rather focus has been on archaeological and liberation war heritage.[60]

Katsamudanga also observes the inundation of literature on Great Zimbabwe when he argues that '…the dominant literature is on Great Zimbabwe due to its significance as a rallying point of nationhood'.[61] Also observing the emerging different levels of prioritisation in heritage conservation, Pwiti argues that '…the heritage manager has to cope with the task of satisfying sentiments from government on the pace of the conservation efforts'.[62]

Liberation war heritage; a new identity to the nation

Control of heritage and the use of power in making up heritage narratives in Zimbabwe form part of what Richard Webner has termed the memorial complex. In this complex the memory of the dead liberation war fighters has been remembered through the construction of a national Heroes Acre. The monument began to be constructed by the government in 1981 with the assistance of North Koreans to bury, celebrate and commemorate the gallant sons and daughters who paid their sacrifices for the liberation of the country from colonial domination.[63] However, the process has created huge disparities and contradictions because burials at the national heroes' acre

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[60] Interview with Paul Mupira, Mutare Museum, 6.03.12.

[61] Katsamudanga, 'Consuming the Past: Public Perceptions Towards the Discipline of Archaeology in Zimbabwe' 8.

[62] Pwiti, 'Let the Ancestors Rest in Peace? New Challenges for Cultural Heritage Management in Zimbabwe' 7.

[63] Mataga, Who Speaks for the Dead? The Grave, the Cemetery, the Shrine, the Stage? cited on the Archival Platform Discussion: http://www.archivalplatform.org/blog/entry/who speaks for the dead.html accessed on 25 May 2011.

have been reserved to an elite class of government official thereby excluding the common warriors of the struggle.[64]

Liberation war heritage in Zimbabwe has been heavily politicised especially in terms of conferment of this hero status which has become inclusively reserved for loyalist of the ruling party. Thus the construction of this form of heritage in Zimbabwe is vested in the power of the ruling party which makes the overall decision over the burials, and it can be argued that the memorial complex in post independence Zimbabwe has been constituted by an elite group of people at the expense of the common guerrilla fighters.[65] Analysing it more broadly, the memorial complex constitutes a part of the heritage complex which Rassool, Minkley and Witz posit as a convergence of heritage narratives of the people in post-independence societies and the use of such narratives to foster citizenship and national consciousness.[66]
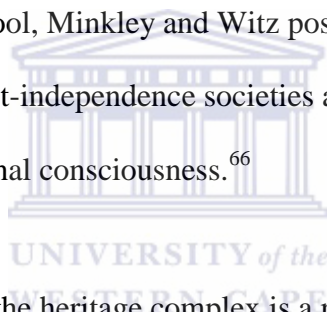
The production of the past in the heritage complex is a result of negotiations and conflicts over what elements should constitute this past. Contestations of heritage in Zimbabwe and the popularisation of heritage drawn from the archaeological and liberation war past can be thought along the same circles of the heritage complex. In this complex the inclusion of the people mirrors a public history popularised into

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[64] Richard Werbner, 'Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun', in Richard Werbner, ed, *Memory and the Postcolony*, (London , Zed,1998), 54.

[65] Blessed Magadzike, 'An Investigation of Zimbabwe's Contemporary Heritage Practices of Memorialising War: A Case Study of the Heroes Acre in Matebeleland South Province', Unpublished M.A thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2011, 22.

[66] Gary Minkley, Leslie Witz and Ciraj Rassool, 'South Africa and the Spectacle of Public Pasts: Heritage , Public Histories and Post Anti-Apartheid South Africa', paper presented at Heritage Disciplines symposiums, University of the Western Cape, 8-9 October 2009, 20.

national narratives but in essence the people are made spectators and audiences while at the same time including them as shared voices.[67]

Just like in the exhibitionary complex as expounded by Tony Bennett, the subjects' and objects' position can be exchanged in which the crowd comes to the ideal and ordered view of itself as seen from the controlling vision of power.[68] In a similar context it can be argued that in the heritage complex in Zimbabwe, while seemingly based on inclusivity and belonging, power and knowledge are the determining factors on what should be included and excluded in the heritage narratives of the nation. It has thus been officialised that colonial heritage has no place in these narratives and that archaeology and liberation heritage are the authorised components in the discourse.

Figure 2: The National heroes' acre in Harare is at the centre of all forms of liberation war heritage in Zimbabwe. (Photo by Blessed Magadzike)

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[67] Minkley, Witz and Rassool, 'South Africa and the Spectacle of Public Pasts: Heritage, Public Histories and Post Anti-Apartheid South Africa', 20.
[68] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 69.

New sites of memory in the form of memorials, monuments, public holidays, national symbols, commemorative events and civic rituals were created or established so as to forge a national consciousness in Zimbabwe soon after independence. The construction of a national identity has become one of the core purposes of heritage management in Zimbabwe. Reflecting on the use and appropriation of heritage by emerging nations, Davison argues that their existence is coalesced with the notion of 'national heritage' as that 'body of folkways and political ideas on which new regimes find their identity'.[69] In Zimbabwe this involves the mobilisation of memories, myths, monuments and producing a history that centers on achievements of the past and at the same time denigrating and repudiating a colonial past.

Obliterating a colonial past by discarding colonial heritage

There is a departure from the history that is associated with the colonial past and the result has seen an upsurge of vandalism and destruction of colonial heritage soon after independence. The photographs on the next page shows a colonial war memorial located in Mutare before and after independence and the argument of neglecting this type of heritage in contemporary heritage practices is substantiated by such evidence.

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[69] Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, 110.
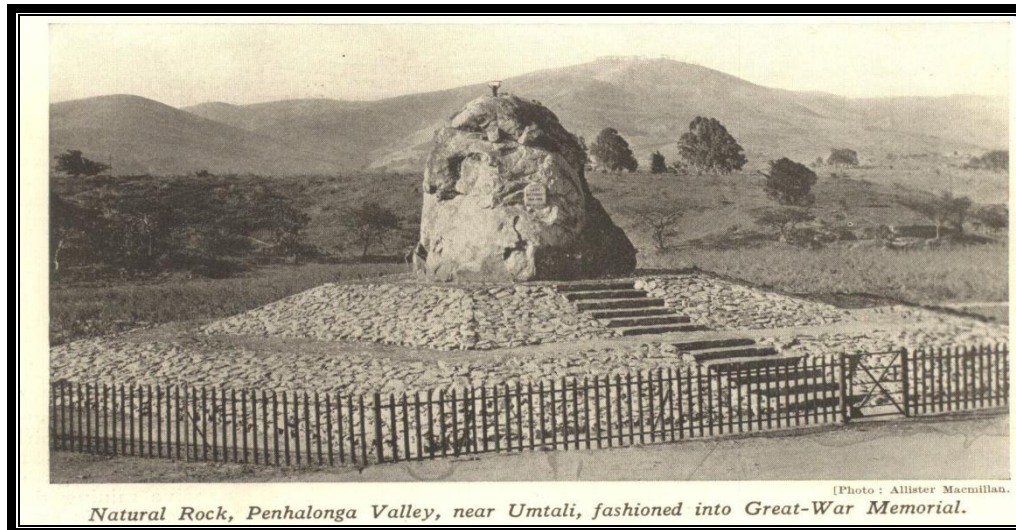
Figure 3: The Great War Memorial in Penhalonga, Mutare before independence, adapted from the book Rhodesia and Eastern Africa.[70]

Figure 4: The Great War Memorial photographed after independence. (Photo by N. Chipangura)

In this light, it can be argued that national identity is produced through a process of negation and the creation of a coherent sense of self through explicit rejections and denials.[71] The rejecting of colonial history and its monuments in Zimbabwe means that national identity has been aligned with archaeological and liberation war heritage.

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[70] Allister MacMillan, *Rhodesia and Eastern Africa* (London: W.H & L. Collingridge Ltd, 1931), 8.
[71] Phillip Spencer and Howard Wollman, *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 60.

I will trace here the genesis of the process that ushered in the dismantling of colonial heritage and its symbols. Kriger argues that in July 1980 the Cecil Rhodes's statue in Harare was removed and the then Minister of Information, Nathan Shamhuyarira declared that '…government would order the removal of only those colonial statues and monuments which by their presence raised political controversy'.[72]
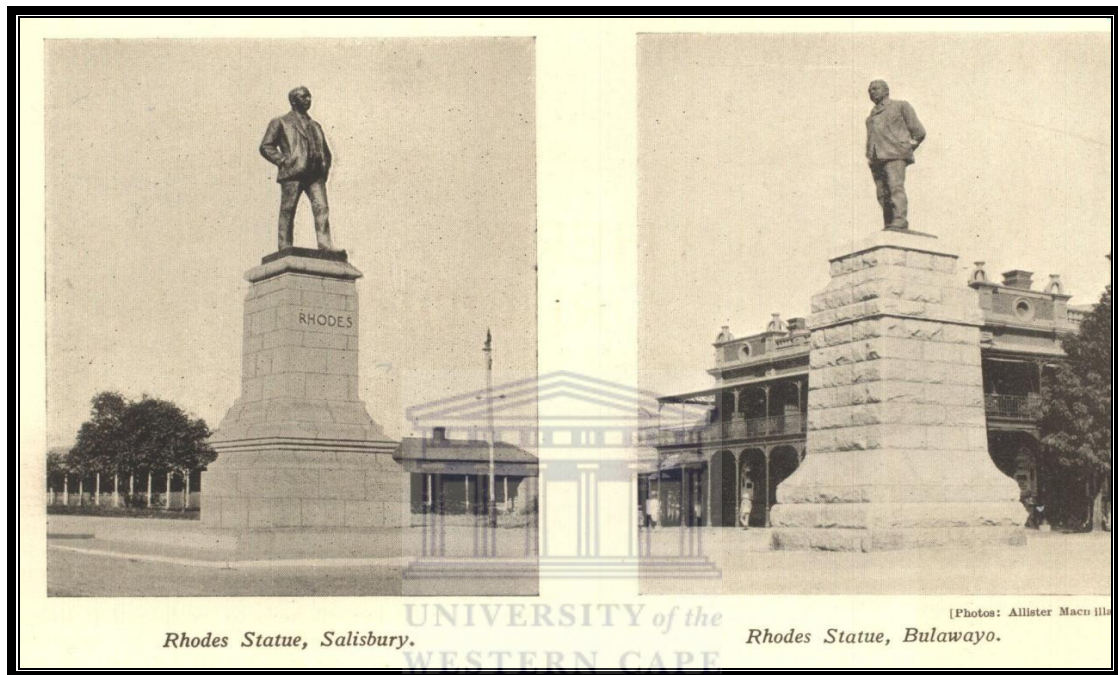
Figure 5: Pictures showing the two statues of Cecil John Rhodes that were pulled down in Harare and Bulawayo soon after independence. Adopted from the book Rhodesia and Eastern Africa.[73]

In this regard it can be then be argued that the removal of colonial monuments at the advent of independence in 1980 was at the heart of the new nation-state's quest for political legitimacy and a national identity which was to be created from symbols drawn on the recent liberation struggle. In the Eastern Region, the Trek memorial in Chimanimani was also deproclaimed and subsequently destroyed by NMMZ. Initially the memorial was reported to have been pulled down by members of the youth league

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[72] Kriger, *The Politics of Creating National Heroes*, 141.
[73] MacMillan, *Rhodesia and Eastern Africa,* 1931, 8.

of Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF hereafter) party.[74] In an interview Chief Muusha, who is a traditional leader in the area, said that the Trek memorial was destroyed because it did not have any significance whatsoever to the indigenous populace but rather it celebrated colonialism and was an offence to the people.[75]

Figure 6: The Trek memorial which was in Chimanimani before it was destroyed. (Picture extracted from the Memorial Trek file at Mutare Museum)

Two metal plaques were removed from the memorial and the national monument notice was also destroyed in the process. Later on the wagon on top of the memorial was destroyed using picks by between forty and fifty young men and women singing revolutionary songs.[76] The monument was eventually deproclaimed in June 1983 and demolished by the monuments inspector from NMMZ with the aid of labour force from the District Administrator's office.[77] Again this also points out to the inadequacies that exists within heritage management and conservation frameworks in

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[74] Interview with Chief Muusha, Chimanimani District, 19 .04 .12.

[75] Interview with Chief Muusha, Chimanimani District, on 19.04.12.

[76] Correspondence Letter from the Trek Memorial File, 1983, Mutare Museum. This file has been deaccessioned since the monument was also deproclaimed from the national list of monuments.

[77] Correspondence Letter from the Trek Memorial File, 6 June 1983, Mutare Museum

Zimbabwe which I argued earlier on, that they have become politically determined to the exclusion and obliteration of all forms of colonial heritage. Heritage is thus a concept that is marked by severe contestations and what is conserved is subjectively determined by the powerful groups.

The desire to discard a painful past also manifested itself in escalating calls by the veterans of Zimbabwe's war of liberation and their demand to have the grave of Cecil Johns Rhodes removed from Matopo Hills. Ranger argues that in 2002 war veterans in Matabeleland launched a campaign for the removal of Rhodes's grave from Matopo Hills and demands were continuously made to have the exhumed bones returned to England.[78] In the same year, another war veterans leader, one comrade Andrew Ndlovu declared that 'we cannot find peace when we are keeping a white demon in our midst', making reference to Rhodes' burial.[79]

The debate about exhuming the remains of Rhodes has extended in contemporary heritage forums in Zimbabwe with one organisation called Zimbabwe Heritage Trust championing the cause.[80] In one of the symposiums held by the Zimbabwe Heritage Trust, some youths vehemently challenged the government to have the grave removed from Matopos saying that the hills were sacred and thus must be venerated as such.

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[78] Terrence Ranger, 'Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: the Struggle Over the Past in Zimbabwe', *Journal for Southern African Studies*, Volume 30, Number 2, June 2004, 227.

[79] Isadore Guvamombe 'Keeping Rhodes in Our Midst', *The Herald*, 23 June 2002, 11.

[80] Zimbabwe Heritage Trust is a Non Governmental Organisation formed in 2010 to preserve and present Zimbabwe's heritage from a patriotic history point of view. The term patriotic history is borrowed from Terrence Ranger who argues that it is a history intended to proclaim the continuity of the Zimbabwean revolutionary tradition to all the youths who are blamed of forgetting the core values of the liberation struggle.

Burying Rhodes among the spirits of the country was said to be an act of committing a sacrilege against our forefathers who were once enslaved by the same figure.[81]

Ranger also argues that ' in June 1961 Robert Mugabe told one meeting that Cecil Rhodes had stolen the country from the Africans and that he would dig up Rhodes grave and send it to England'.[82] However, a contradiction arose during the 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium of the International Council on Monuments and Sites held at Victoria in 2003. Robert Mugabe now the president of Zimbabwe sang a different tune altogether. He was quoted as having said that '…Zimbabwe valued heritage so much that even the graves of the country's colonialists such as Cecil John Rhodes were being preserved and that we accept history as reality'.[83]
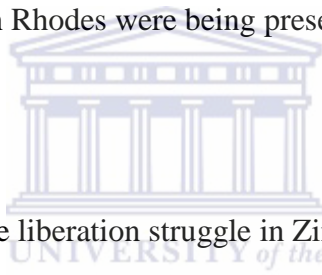
In 2000 the war veterans of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe also staged protests demanding that the statue of David Livingstone in Victoria Falls should be removed from Zimbabwean soil, they defaced the plaque on the statue claiming that it was an insult to the country.[84] It is against this background that I will argue that heritage management in Zimbabwe is symbolised by disparities that exists in the conservation of the discussed different categories. As such heritage practitioners in Zimbabwe are presented with an onerous challenge in attempting to strike a balance in managing all categories of heritage.

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[81] A presentation by Donald Zhou on the heritage of Zimbabwe at Mutare Museum, 17 February 2012. Donald Zhou is the National Director of Zimbabwe Heritage Trust.

[82] Ranger, *Voice from the Rocks*, 213.

[83] Tafataona Mahoso 'Land Greatest Heritage', *The Herald*, 30 October 2003, 3.

[84] McGregor and Schumaker, 'Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History', 656.

However, it's not in all cases where NMMZ has left colonial heritage to deteriorate. The only ambiguity is that where full protection is seemingly offered, those buildings are conserved because they have sort kind of economic value to the organisation. In the Eastern region for example, Utopia house museum and Kopje house which are located some three kilometres from the city centre of Mutare are good examples of this case in point.[85] It can then be argued here that in spite of their obvious colonial associations it is encouraging to note that, with the changed political circumstances in Zimbabwe, the museum's preservation continues with official sanction as part of the indisputable facts of the history of the country.[86]

Utopia was the name given to the first modest home in Umtali (now Mutare) constructed soon after the relocation of the town from Old Umtali in 1897 by Rhys and Rosalie Fairbridge and their family.[87] Rhys Fairbridge arrived in Manicaland in the early 1890's and was employed by the British South African Company administration as a government surveyor.

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[85] Interview with Pauline Tapfuma, Mutare Museum, 29.08.12. Pauline Tapfuma is a curator in the Archaeology Department at Mutare Museum.

[86] P.G Locke, 'The Restoration and Furnishing of Utopia House Museum', Mutare, (Unpublished, Mutare Museum, 1983), 2.

[87] Utopia House File, Monuments Department, Mutare Museum.

Figure 7: The first modern house to be built in Mutare in 1897, Utopia house under the care of NMMZ. (Photo by N. Chipangura)

Kopje house on the other hand is a historic building constructed in 1898 and was the first hospital in Mutare. The whole complex has four buildings that have been converted into a cultural centre and is being leased out to various tenants by the NMMZ. The state of conservation on this historic complex is good compared to other such buildings that are under the care of NMMZ. There is a regular inspection and maintenance programme that is run by the monuments and maintenance department from Mutare Museum.

Furthermore, the historic component of this cultural landscape is still being respected in that all alterations to the buildings are prohibited unless undertaken under the expert guidance of the curator of archaeology at Mutare museum. One of the reasons why I identified Kopje house as enjoying a sizeable degree of sound conservation in relation to the other buildings, is that the complex is bringing in a lot of money for NMMZ through leasing. Part of the money that is being generated is therefore used in

its conservation programmes and it important to emphasise here that NMMZ does not directly fund such conservation activities.

On the contrary, funding in the region is directly injected into the maintenance and upgrading of liberation war memorials in the form of the provincial heroes' acre and the Chimoio shrines in Mozambique. The Public Sector Investment Project (PSIP hereafter) is an initiative by the government that has rolled out funding specifically for the management and conservation of liberation war sites both in the country and outside the boarders.[88] Historic structures at both Utopia and Kopje house are not covered in the conservation grants that are doled out by the government through the PSIP initiative.

Figure 8: The Manicaland Provincial Heroes which is part of liberation war sites that receives annual grants for maintenance purposes. (Photo by N. Chipangura)

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[88] The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe Mid Term Strategic Plan (2010-2012). In this plan, PSIP's that receives an annual funding are clearly stated as liberation wars sites that is to include the national heroes acre, provincial heroes acres and other liberation shrines of guerrilla fighters killed outside the country.

I have traced in this chapter the history of heritage management in Zimbabwe starting off from the colonial period transcending into the post colonial period. In doing this I have revealed that heritage as a discourse that is authorised has changed responding to the needs of those who are in power. Colonial heritage at one point in time was once at the zenith of heritage management and conservation priorities of the then colonial government up to until 1980 when the balance of power shifted to the other end.

I argue that the history of heritage management and conservation in Zimbabwe is one that is typified by contestations on the meta-narratives produced by a specified type of heritage to suit the machinations of the dominant group. As a result the post-colonial period in Zimbabwe brought with it some intense hostility towards colonial heritage and its associated histories. A number of colonial memorials that have been neglected vandalised and destroyed formed part of the main discussions in this chapter as I tried to establish the place colonial heritage in contemporary heritage practices of NMMZ.

In doing this, I also argue that funding in heritage conservation has exclusively been earmarked towards archaeological and liberation war heritage and that it is in exceptional cases where colonial heritage has been well taken care of. The separating line was shown to be defined by the existence of economic values which have guaranteed the conservation of colonial monuments and not their historical significance. Some contradictions emanating from the dialectic that exists between the management and conservation of the said categories of heritage in Zimbabwe were also analysed in this chapter.

<div align="center">**CHAPTER FOUR**</div>

<div align="center">**HISTORY AND CONSERVATION AT OLD UMTALI: SHIFTS IN USE AND CHANGING VALUES.**</div>

'Thus stand the record of pioneer beginnings in Umtali, the heritage of those who beheld a new country and envisioned what it might be for those who would follow.'[1]

The chapter will critically engage with the changes in the 'heritage archive' in Zimbabwe between the colonial and post colonial periods. At the centre of this analysis will be an investigation into how historic buildings at Old Umtali have been conserved in the period after independence in relationship to the other categories of heritage. I have argued in the other chapters that heritage production in Zimbabwe is politically determined to which I said it is against the universal principles of conservation. This chapter then will attempt to place back the question of conserving historic buildings on the conservation agenda for a post-colonial Zimbabwe.

The chapter uses Old Umtali to argue that this heritage precinct must be conserved in its wholeness as a historic landscape and be used as a reference point in understanding the process of colonialism in Zimbabwe. I have already mentioned and argued that the focus on Great Zimbabwe and liberation war heritage only serves a certain kind of politics. I take my argument further in this chapter by looking at how the Old Umtali heritage precinct with its set of buildings constructed by the pioneer column between 1891 and 1897 can be marshalled and utilised for the purpose of a critical heritage

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[1] The Historical Statement Regarding the Old Site of Umtali and the Transfer to the New, 1908, unpublished manuscript, National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare, 14 August 2012.

practice. The historic buildings should then be conserved and used for different contemporary purposes and at the same time becoming the subject of interpretative work. Questions can then be asked about the experience of colonialism and the various movements of the pioneer column in Zimbabwe using the case study of Old Umtali.

Changes in the 'heritage archive' of Zimbabwe

The archive according to Achille Mbembe basically places materials, traditional documents into 'a system that facilitates identification and interpretation'.[2] The materials that are placed in the archive are those which are selected from among the majority others, because of their particular 'worth'. In this regard, Mbembe asserts that 'archives are the product of a process which converts a certain number of documents into items judged to be worthy of preserving and keeping in a public place, where they can be consulted according to well-established procedures and regulations'.[3]

This suggests that there are certain systems of power, authority and knowledge that influence the decisions with regards to what materials are 'archivable' and 'not archivable'. In the same context, I will argue here that the 'heritage archive' in Zimbabwe is constituted by a selective system of conserving national monuments with historic buildings of a colonial period deemed unworthy to preserve. Whoever is in government, determines what is heritage and this is what is really happening when

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[2] Mbembe, 'The Power of the Archive and its Limits', 20.
[3] Mbembe, 'The Power of the Archive and its Limits', 20.

one looks closely at how colonial heritage is being managed.[4] These relations of power, at different levels, to a large extent underpin the inclusions into and the exclusions from, the archive. Hence, it can well be argued, as Mbembe does, that 'the heritage archive' in Zimbabwe is primarily the exercise of a specific power and authority, which involves conserving archaeological and liberation war heritage and at the same time discarding colonial monuments'.[5] The exercise of power and authority with regards to the 'heritage archive' may be hinged on particular meanings that are assigned to the 'archivable' materials. Conservation of past artefacts, buildings included and the meanings with which these are endowed thus generally constitutes the broad arena of heritage contestation in Zimbabwe.

Carolyn Hamilton et al, for instance, have argued that 'what constitutes an archive, what form it takes, and what systems of classification signal at specific times...are the very substance of the politics of the times'.[6] Heritage conservation and management in Zimbabwe is therefore dictated by the state government which has allowed the destruction of colonial heritage because it does not fit into its discourse of national identity. The Zimbabwean government deliberately adopted an exclusionary policy towards the management of all forms of colonial heritage soon after independence.[7] Generally the archive may thus be regarded as one of the mediums through which particular readings and/or understandings of societies are produced.

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[4] Interview with Pascal Taruvinga who is a former Director of Research and Development with NMMZ and he is now working as an independent heritage consultant specialising in the nominations of cultural properties onto the World Heritage List, Mbale, Uganda, 20.10.12.
[5] Mbembe, 'The Power of the Archive and its Limits', 20.
[6] Carolyn Hamilton et al, *Refiguring the Archive*, (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 2002), 15.
[7] Interview with Pascal Taruvinga, Mbale, Uganda, 20. 10.12.

Tracing the beginning of a settlement at Old Umtali

The settling of the British at Old Umtali in 1891 should be viewed as a responsive action by Cecil John Rhodes to halt the escalating influence of the Portuguese in Manicaland.[8] According to Sells, a treaty had been signed between the Portuguese and Chief Mutasa who was the paramount leader of Manicaland in 1873. The treaty established friendly relations between the Mutasa people and the Portuguese and the latter were given the right to mine gold in the area.[9] A Portuguese flag was later raised at Bingaguru the capital of Chief Mutasa to authorise this friendship.[10] In 1877 the Portuguese went a step further and declared that the country of Mutasa was a part of the Portuguese territory thus establishing direct rule over Mutasa and Manicaland. Thereafter preparations for extensive mining operations were made by forming a Chartered company known as the Mocambique Company with full right of occupation and mining.[11]

Cecil Rhodes became interested in this new move by the Portuguese and was disturbed that English and Afrikaans speaking people were not joining in the new adventure. He realised that he must move into Manicaland quickly to counter Portuguese influence.[12] Subsequently, on the 15th of September 1890 Achibold Ross Colquhoun under the instruction of Cecil Rhodes secured a concession of mineral and trading rights with Chief Mutasa who also agreed to put himself under British protection.[13] What is quiet interesting to note here is that Chief Mutasa denied ever signing an agreement with the Portuguese and is quoted as having said, ' I allowed

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[8] Ernest Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia 1832 -1897', unpublished manuscript, National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare, 14 August 2012.
[9] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia 1832 -1897'
[10] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[11] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[12] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[13] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'

them to live here and they sometimes gave me presents but I never gave them my country nor or ever concluded a treaty with them'.[14]

With this new agreement, the British South African Company (BSAC hereafter) agreed that under the chief's supervision and authority, it would aid and assist in the propagation and establishment of Christian religion, educate and civilise the native subjects of the chief.[15] In addition, the company undertook and agreed to pay the chief and his successors in perpetuity an annual sum of one hundred pounds or the equivalent thereof in trading goods.[16] The first settlement by the BSAC after the signing of the treaty was at a place called Fort Hill. Sells argues that 'because of the controversy between the British and Portuguese over the occupation of Manicaland and the loyalty of Chief Mutasa , an excavation was made in the side of the hill to serve as a fort in case it was necessary to retreat'.[17] Its main purpose seemed to be to provide a place for retreat in case the Portuguese forced them to retreat.[18]

However, after some time it was realised that a village providing for a settlement could not be established on the elevation around the fort in that there was no level ground.[19] Furthermore the excavation made on the side of a hill did not provide a place for buildings and thus expansion on this hill would have been most difficult. Sells argues that 'the fort established on the site of the ridge was so located that it was not possible to establish a town in that vicinity'.[20] On the arrival in Manicaland on the 11th of October 1891, Cecil Rhodes went to see Bishop Knight Bruce who lived in a

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[14] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[15] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[16] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[17] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[18] The Historical Statement Regarding the Old Site of Umtali and the Transfer to the new.
[19] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[20] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'

hut near the site where the Old Umtali was to be moved later on.[21] Bishop Knight

Bruce had received this site from headman Saungweme who was the local

representative leader of Chief Mutasa.

According to Sells, the Bishop and Rhodes then proceeded to see headman

Saungweme and it was then that Rhodes requested permission to move the Pioneer

Column from Fort Hill to an open space called Chiremba which was more suitable for

starting and developing some settlements.[22] Because headman Saungweme was given

the area by the paramount Chief Mutasa he sent messengers for the approval of this

request to Mutasa. The messengers returned with the approval of Chief Mutasa who is

reported here to have said, 'I gave the area to you and you are authorised to give it to

Mr. Rhodes, a friend of Bishop Knight Bruce.'[23]

Arrangements were thereafter made for preparing the second site of Umtali with the

immediate erection of huts for the police and a pole and mud building for a hospital.[24]

These were ready for occupation within a few months and the nurses, preceded by the

police moved to the site from the Hill Fort in December 1891 marking the beginning

of what was again going to be another short lived settlement of the Pioneer Column at

Old Umtali.

The shift from Old Umtali to new Umtali and the transformations

Old Umtali possessed amongst other structures the following core colonial and civic

structures: a hospital, post office, bakery, butchery, church, four hotels, two banks, a

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[21] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[22] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[23] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'
[24] Sells, 'The History of Manicaland, Rhodesia1832-1897'

Meikles Brothers shop, a library and a cemetery by 1895.[25] The number of buildings

swelled over the years and in 1897 there were at least twenty five permanent

buildings.[26] Through the exploitation of mining concessions, the colonial town

experienced a boom in its development resulting ultimately (with the development of

a railway system) in a shift in town centre from the present day site of Old Umtali to

the site of contemporary Mutare, then 'Umtali'.[27] Sells thus argues that when the

railway line was surveyed from Beira it was realised that it could not be taken to the

old site.[28] This was because the distance from the surveyed line with the mountain

between was so great that it was decided to move the township to the railway line.[29]

On March 26th 1896, an agreement was signed between the property owners at Old

Umtali and Cecil Rhodes representing the BSAC to move the township to a suitable

site along the surveyed line.[30] A committee consisting of five property owners and

two stand holders was appointed to select a healthful site for the new town along the

surveyed line. Property owners at the old site were paid a compensation of fifty

thousand pounds each by the BSAC which then became the owner of the old site and

the remaining buildings.[31] The BSAC also committed itself that an exactly similar

plan as the existing township of Umtali be laid down on the site for the new township

when selected, so that all the present owners of stands in Umtali will have an exactly

[25] Sells, 'Umtali-Old and New: First Days in Umtali 1897-1957', manuscript, National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare, 14 August 2012.

[26] Sells, 'Umtali-Old and New: First Days in Umtali 1897-1957'

[27] Sells, 'Umtali-Old and New: First Days in Umtali 1897-1957'

[28] Sells, 'Umtali-Old and New: First Days in Umtali 1897-1957'

[29] Sells, 'Umtali-Old and New: First Days in Umtali 1897-1957'

[30] Phaup, *The Geology of the Umtali Gold Belt*, 20.

[31]C.K Cooke, 'Kopje House, Umtali: The History of a Building Site from Hospital to Cultural Centre, 1897-1977', Occasional Papers of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia, Series A, Human Sciences, Vol.4 Part 5, 1979, 151.

corresponding commonage and water be available for the new township.[32] In addition, as part of the agreement the BSAC was to erect suitable government buildings and hospital in the new township and to provide a sum not exceeding three thousand pounds for water supply if required.[33]

Figure 9: A picture of the original Old Umtali Settlement taken in 1894. (Photo courtesy of the Library and Archives Section, Africa University)

In March 1898 an agreement was reached with the BSAC between Mr. Rhodes and Bishop Hartzell for the taking over of the old site and the 13, 000 acres of land for the establishment of the Hartzell industrial mission. This also included certain grants of land in the new township and an agreement with the Methodist Church for conducting a school for European children.[34] Reverend Hunter Reid was subsequently sent to the new site for the purpose of starting a school for European children. It was opened in October, 1898 and the mission was officially opened on October 7 1899. This composite structure with all the buildings mentioned above is still standing, however,

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[32] Cooke, 'Kopje House, Umtali: The History of a Building Site from Hospital to Cultural centre, 1897-1977', 152.
[33] Sells, 'Umtali-Old and New: First Days in Umtali 1897-1957'
[34] Sells, 'Umtali-Old and New: First Days in Umtali 1897-1957'

structural problems coupled with vandalism and neglect has resulted in some

buildings collapsing.

Old Umtali as a mission school today

Of the whole complex which has about twenty five colonial buildings only seven have

in recent times been used in ways deemed proper in heritage terms.[35] There are some

measures that have been put in place by the United Methodist Church (UMC

hereafter) to protect the historical components of the buildings. Shepherd Machuma

argues that in 2012, the General Assembly of the UMC worldwide identified Old

Umtali as a historic landmark and this implies that it will receive some funding

towards the upkeep of the buildings.[36]

He added on that the initial approval of recognising Old Umtali as a historic landmark

was done in 2009 by the church headquarters which is in New York as a way of trying

to preserve the historicity of the site.[37] The commitment of the church in conserving

and at the same time using the buildings in a way deemed suitable enough is also

exhibited in that it has an established fund that is being used to take care of the seven

identified historic buildings.[38] The buildings are maintained departmentally by the

mission school with each responsible department ensuring that their authenticity is not

compromised during use.[39] Thus the archivist also said that over the forty four years

that he has worked, first at the mission school, and then at African University he does

not remember witnessing any drastic alterations to the buildings because a special

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[35] Interview with Shepherd Machuma who is an Archivist at Africa University on 30.09. 2012. Africa University is an institution that belongs to the United Methodist Church and has a repository that houses some historical records about Old Umtali.
[36] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09.12.
[37] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09.12.
[38] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09.12.
[39] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09.12.

permission must be obtained first from the NMMZ.[40] On paper this is true because

section 26 of the NMMZ Act implicitly states that:

> Any person who propose to alter or demolish any building
> erected before the 1st January, 1910, shall give written notice
> of such a proposal to the Executive Director so as to be received
> by him at least fourteen days prior to the commencement of such
> alteration or demolition.[41]

However, the practicality of this clause has been severely compromised by the lack of

attention being given to the same historic buildings by NMMZ. As such, most

occupiers and users of historic buildings in Zimbabwe are taking advantage of this

slackness to alter and even demolish the buildings. I have already mentioned in the

other chapters that in as much as the NMMZ wants to apply conservation ethos to all

categories of heritage in the country, it has been severely curtailed by the political

aspirations of the ruling government which prioritises archaeological and liberation

war heritages. Taruvinga thus argues that there is nothing wrong with the policy in

Zimbabwe as it has a provision for the protection of the buildings and he sees the

problem as emanating from a failure or a reluctance to implement such a policy.[42]

Conversions and compatible use of historic buildings at Old Umtali

The changing needs of society have meant that a large number of historic buildings

have become redundant or obsolete and such buildings if they are architecturally

attractive are often ideal for redevelopment.[43] Barker argues that 'the conservation of

historic buildings and places involves a more dynamic relationship with their context,

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[40] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30 .09.12.
[41] National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe Act, Chapter 25:11 of 2001.
[42] Interview with Pascal Taruvinga, 20. 10.12
[43] David Highfield, *The Construction of New Buildings Behind Historic Facades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1.

and a presumption that broadly favours change in order to ensure viable economic or social use'.[44] The argument is that conservation and development must coexist and be mediated to add value to the buildings because an insistence on conserving alone can lead to the retention of white elephants which are uneconomic to operate and to maintain.[45]

A good example of contestations between conservation and development can be drawn from Cape Town, where there have been public debates over development proposals of the Lutheran Church complex, which has a number of historic buildings earmarked for face-lifting.[46] The public strongly opposes the development proposals of restoring the historic buildings and also of constructing new buildings within the precinct of this historical landscape.[47] The significance of these buildings has been alluded to as an important factor to consider before making any changes.

The 'museum' approach to historic building conservation thus aims at freezing things as they are now or as they were at some previous time. However, historic buildings at Old Umtali must undergo a certain degree of evolution in use and it is possible to preserve heritage values without preventing development. Aplin argues that adaption means 'modifying a place to suit proposed compatible use, one involving no change to the cultural significant fabric; substantially reversible changes; or minimal impact change'.[48]

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[44] David Barker, Context for Collaboration and Conflict in Gill Chitty and David Barker (ed), *Managing Historic Sites and Buildings : Reconciling Presentation and Preservation* (London: Routledge , 1999), 6.

[45] Linchfield, Economics in Urban Conservation, 69.

[46] Robinson and Makeka, 'Balancing History and development', *Cape Argus*, 3 August 2011, 3.

[47] Robinson and Makeka, 'Balancing History and Development', *Cape Argus*, 3 August 2011 3.

[48] Aplin, *Heritage: Identification, Conservation and Management*, 134.

The conversion of the buildings from their functions in the old town into becoming a mission school was compatible with the history of the site because the buildings were converted into uses that were not so much different from their original use.[49] In the same light, the Burra Charter states that:

> New use of a place should involve minimal change,
> to significant fabric and use; should respect associations
> and meanings; and where appropriate should provide for
> continuation of practices which contribute to the cultural
> significance of the place.[50]

Adaptive use is therefore the only economic way in which historic buildings can be saved and this may involve fairly radical interventions, especially in the internal organisation of space.[51] One of the converted buildings at Old Umtali is the town house where Rhys Fairbridge the surveyor who surveyed the present location of the City of Mutare used to stay. The building is now used as a staff quarters for teachers and other general staff members working at the mission.[52] Thus there are similarities with its old use in that sense.
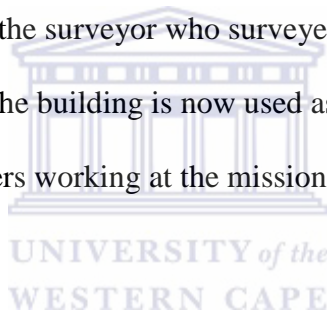
A jail that used to house prisoners has been turned into a dormitory and the stable where Cecil Rhodes used to keep his horses has also been turned into a dormitory for students as well.[53] The building that used to house offices of the BSAC has been converted to a similar compatible use and is still being used as an administrative office by the mission school.[54] Next to it is the old court which has been converted into an administrative block and the Rhodes Hotel has also been turned into an accommodation space. The first church to be constructed at the old town was also

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[49] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09.12.
[50] The Burra Charter, 4.
[51] Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*, 47.
[52] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30 .09.12.
[53] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09. 12.
[54] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09.12.

converted into a student's chapel.[55] The archivist also added that the first school to be established at the old town for pioneer children in 1896 called the Umtali Academy has also been turned a girl's students dormitory.[56]

In a related interview with the matron at the mission, Rachael Banda on how they regard the use of the historic buildings at Old Umtali noted that she was well aware of the historical value of the buildings.[57] She said she heard that the girl's dormitory used to be a jail during the existence of the colonial town. During the eight years that she has worked at the mission school she also said that there has not been fundamental change to the structure of the dormitory that she has witnessed.[58] However, she said they have been doing minor repairs to the former jail, for example replacing doors when they fall off.[59] She also mentioned that at one point a wooden floor in the former jail collapsed and they wanted to replace it. However, they were barred by church authorities from making any changes and were told to apply for permission from NMMZ.[60] Thus the repairs were never effected and up to now nothing has been done and she was not sure whether NMMZ was informed or not.[61]

This dormitory houses about one hundred and twenty one girl students. She also mentioned that NMMZ must install a plaque at the jail with detailed information

[55] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09.12.
[56] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09.12
[57] Interview with Rachael Banda at Old Umtali, 30.09.12.
[58] Interview with Rachael Banda, 30.09.12.
[59] Interview with Rachael Banda, 30.09.12.
[60] Interview with Rachael Banda, 30.09.12.
[61] Interview with Rachael Banda, 30.09.12.

about the historical significance of the jail and this might make people aware of its value.[62]

A general worker at the mission school, Tsitsi Nyatsanza also concurred with Banda and said that she was aware that the buildings that she constantly cleans have a historical value. She argued that the buildings must be well conserved in order for the future generations to learn about the history of the country.[63] Neglecting the buildings is tantamount to the destruction of our history and certain colonial encounters. She said that 'the historic buildings at Old Umtali serves the purpose of historical evidence for future generations, our children must be able to know where we came from as a nation'.[64] In her view, she suggested that as a way of preserving the historical components of the buildings, a maintenance programme must be put in place by the mission school under the supervision of NMMZ.

Maintenance will include minor repairs such as floor and window fittings, attending to broken ceilings, cracking walls and other fixtures of the buildings.[65] Her same views were also cemented by Agnes Dube who also works at the mission school as an administrative assistant.[66] She said that there is need for a proactive engagement between NMMZ and the church and most importantly, she pointed out that the conservation of the historic buildings at Old Umtali must be given top priority.[67] This

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[62] Interview with Rachael Banda, 30.09.12.
[63] Interview with Tsitsi Nyatsanza at Old Umtali, 30.09.12.
[64] Interview with Tsitsi Nyatsanza, 30.09.12.
[65] Interview with Tsitsi Nyatsanza, 30 .09.12.
[66] Interview with Agnes Dube at Old Umtali, 30 .09.12
[67] Interview with Agnes Dube, 30.09. 12.

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she said is because in the whole of Zimbabwe there is no other cultural landscape with a large concentration of historic buildings as at Old Umtali.[68]

By virtue of this Dube raised an interesting point on the uniqueness of this heritage precinct and with regards to this and many other views that came out during the research that, NMMZ was seen not doing enough in terms of conserving historic buildings at Old Umtali. This is very true when one looks at how much money has been invested in conserving liberation war sites for example, and again this brings me back to the question of seeing heritage production in Zimbabwe as heavily politicised with a certain degree of vindictiveness being exhibited towards heritage of the colonial period. Old Umtali should therefore be considered in its totality through a nomination by NMMZ as a historic landscape.

It is also particularly interesting to observe that it is not only at Old Umtali where the evidence recovered during this research points out to a marginalised kind of picture for colonial heritage. Pauline Tapfuma concurs with much of the views presented above and also pointed out that 'colonial heritage' is not being given weight by NMMZ because much attention is being placed on Zimbabwean heritage as a sort of correction against colonial imbalances'.[69] Henry Chiwaura also adds his voice to these assertions by arguing that 'what is of importance within NMMZ is the issue of selective protection and more emphasis is now being given to heritage of an African descent and placed within the context of post-colonial politics of African

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[68] Interview with Agnes Dube, 30.09. 12.
[69] Interview with Pauline Tapfuma, Mutare Museum, 29.08.12.

renaissance'.[70] With regards to this he goes on to say that 'in as much as the past hurts it is part of our history and as such we ought to preserve it so that we can learn where we came from to be a nation'.[71]

However, he also argued the contrary by stating that vandalism is not unique to colonial heritage alone. In his own words he puts it that 'during my stay with NMMZ I experienced quite a lot of vandalism with all typologies of heritage in the eastern region and so there is nothing new about this particularly when one can actually see destruction of other indigenous heritage sites'.[72] Seemingly concurring with this view, Blessed Magadzike also argues that, what we need to understand is the motive behind the so called vandalism.[73] He also went on to say that whilst it is true that some colonial monuments were vandalised during the height of the third Chimurenga, there are a number of other monuments that fell victim to other forms of vandalism such as theft and graffiti.[74]
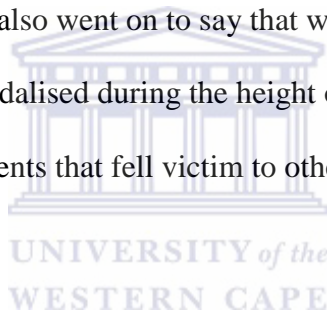
Going back to Chiwaura, he argues that the question of destruction and vandalising of heritage sites is a cancer in the Zimbabwean society because most people do not respect heritage sites.[75] Responding to the contentious issue of deproclaiming some of the colonial sites on the monuments register, Chiwaura noted that 'the Fairbridge statue was de-proclaimed soon after independence because people were acting out of reason and were immersed with the euphoria of independence'.[76] Moreover, he added

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[70] Interview with Henry Chiwaura, Great Zimbabwe University, 02.09.12. Chiwaura is former curator of Archaeology who worked at Mutare Museum for ten years before joining the university where he is teaching in the Archaeology, Cultural Heritage and Museum Studies Department.
[71] Interview with Henry Chiwaura, 02.09.12
[72] Interview with Henry Chiwaura, 02.09.12
[73] Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences, 3.10.12.
[74] Interview with Blessed Magadzike, 03.10.12
[75] Interview with Henry Chiwaura , 02.09.12
[76] Interview with Henry Chiwaura, 02.09.12

that de-proclamation is sometimes necessarily done when a site loses its significant

values and this is so because values change over time and are contested cultural

products within societies.[77]

A close reading of the NMMZ Act and the place for historic buildings conservation

The NMMZ Act Chapter 25:11 on subsection 26 under the heading Notice to

Alterations and Demolitions to be given to executive director explicitly states that:

> Any person who proposes to alter materially or demolish any
> building erected before the 1st of January, 1910, shall give
> written notice of such a proposal to the executive director so as
> to be received by him at least fourteen days prior to the
> commencement of such alteration or demolition.[78]

Even before this amendment of the act in 2001, the then Monuments Commission of

Rhodesia was given power by parliament to delay the destruction of buildings

constructed between 1890 and 1910 before photographs and plans were made.[79]

Picking up on the last argument Cooke argues that 'by this it was hoped to maintain a

permanent record of all worthwhile buildings of a historic or architectural merit in the

country'.[80] The act goes on to state that any person who contravenes this shall be

guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding level four or to imprisonment

for a period not exceeding three months or to both such fine and such imprisonment.[81]

While the act has a well defined place for historic buildings and their conservation,

the irony is that this is just cosmetic as can be signified by the apparent lack of care

exhibited by NMMZ on Old Umtali and other historic buildings in the country.

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[77] Interview with Henry Chiwaura, 02.09.12
[78] NMMZ Act.
[79] C.K Cooke, 'The Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics: A History'.
[80] Cooke, 'The Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics', 47.
[81] NMMZ Act.

Because the act has a defined position on historic buildings, heritage practitioners in Zimbabwe have tried to extend conservation effort to include them but with minimal support from the government. This argument can be reflected from a circular that NMMZ sent in September 2012 to all its five regions for onward transmission of the information to the users and occupiers of historic buildings.[82]

In the circular it was stated that ' the organisation through its research staff is mandated to make periodic conservation status inspections on all historic buildings and in this instance tenants are urged to give their cooperation.'[83] What is also particularly interesting is that the letter also makes provisions for owners and tenants to use and convert historic buildings for heritage related business such as urban tourism for the benefit of the nation. In such a development, NMMZ will give expert advice on how the tenants can use the buildings in a way that will not affect their integrity.[84] However, as I have mentioned earlier, these are just cosmetic initiatives that have been put in place but in terms of their implementation NMMZ has failed to give historic buildings such protective measures. Subsequently, Old Umtali with a number of historic buildings that can be used as useful resource in tracing the various movements of the Pioneer Column across Zimbabwe has suffered from this fate.

Zimbabwe has several historic buildings in all its major towns some of which were built as far back as the late 19th century. One would advocate for their conservation because they constitute an important aspect in the history of Zimbabwe as they are a

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[82] A circular letter from Godfrey Nyaruwanga a newly appointed curator of historic buildings to all users and occupiers of historic buildings on 20.09.12
[83] A circular letter from Godfrey Nyaruwanga.
[84] A circular letter from Godfrey Nyaruwanga.

form of tangible evidence on how colonialism impacted on the country.[85] While most of these buildings have remained the property of the owners, Old Umtali for example, the values inherent must be preserved for both the present and future generations.[86] Godfrey Nyaruwanga cemented this by also pointing out that the act provides for the preservation of buildings which conveys outstanding universal values such as historic association with people or events whether cultural, ethnic, political or religious.[87] Again a close reading of the act also revealed that it mentions that:

> The building should be of a particular architectural style and an example of the work of a notable architect or builder, uniqueness, unseen material, breaking new architectural ground, stylistic and whether the building possess symbolic sentimental, aesthetic or even entertainment value to the public in general.[88]

What this is supposed to mean then, is that buildings at Old Umtali must be accorded the protection as enshrined by the act because the buildings satisfy the underlying criterion. Since Old Umtali is owned by the mission school, NMMZ must be directly involved in offering expert knowledge in documenting and conserving the site something which it has not been able to do inspite of the stipulations by the act.

As mentioned earlier, heritage practitioners in the country have been making efforts to cascade heritage conservation to all categories of heritage and a bit of emphasis has been put on these historic buildings. Evidence drawn from the September 2012 letter circulated to all regions by the curator of historic buildings also shows this commitment and one can then argue that practitioners in general are against the obliteration of the conservation value on historic buildings. The circular served to advise occupiers and owners of historic buildings that they also have an important

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[85] Interview with Godfrey Nyaruwanga, Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences, 03.10.12.
[86] Interview with Godfrey Nyaruwanga, 03.10.12
[87] Interview with Godfrey Nyaruwanga,03.10.12
[88] NMMZ Act.

role in the preservation of the city's history.[89] Another important aspect that came out of the research was the issue of forming historic buildings advisory committees that would help NMMZ identify historic buildings that need conservation.[90] Such committees used to exist in the past but were abandoned with the paradigm shift to archaeological and most importantly liberation war heritage.

Analysing the state of conservation of historic buildings at Old Umtali

A condition assessment survey and inspection of the Old Umtali historic precinct was conducted as part of this research as I tried to look at how contestations have been framed between colonial heritage on one hand and archaeological and liberation war heritage on the other. At least seven buildings were analysed in terms of their state of conservation and how their conversions to new use have remained compatible with their historical and social values. These were the jail which was constructed in 1891, the town house built in 1892, the Umtali academy of 1894, the magistrate's court of 1891, Rhodes stable constructed in 1893, the Rhodes hotel of 1891 and the Anglican Church of 1891.

Given the historical integrity of this heritage precinct, I elected to view the site, for assessment and analysis purposes as an entire historic landscape, analysing the precinct in its totality against six criteria that I devised for assessing the historic buildings. The first criterion I used was based on the measuring the quality of architectural styles and workmanship exhibited by the seven historic buildings. On this, I noticed that the quality is variable, however buildings like the magistrate court,

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[89] A circular letter from Godfrey Nyaruwanga.
[90] Interview with Farisai Utete, Harare, 03.10.12. Utete is a former curator of historic buildings, she resigned from NMMZ in 2010.
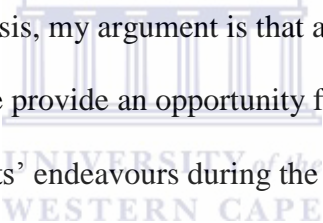
the jail, the Umtali academy, the Rhodes hotel and the church displays a remarkable achievement of architectural style and workmanship measured against their construction period of time. (see figure 12, 15, 17, 19 & 20). Typological uniqueness was the second assessment criterion that I used and I observed that the building display a very high level of uniqueness which is outstanding particularly owing to their early nature of construction. Again under this criterion, the jail, the town house and the Rhodes hotel are particularly noteworthy. (see figure, 15, 16 & 19)

The third criterion I used was based on measuring the innovativeness exhibited by the seven historic buildings. From this analysis, I came to the conclusion that it is relatively low probably because at that period of construction, the focus was largely on making core houses with no emphasis on designs being implemented. However, the Rhodes hotel displays a bit of innovativeness though not really of a higher order. (see figure 19) At the same time, the Umtali academy also shows some form of innovativeness. (see figure 17) Symbolic and sentimental value to particular communities was the forth criterion used during this assessment. I noted that it is high because the buildings have a direct bearing on the UMC community and certainly on some sections of the white community in Zimbabwe who still trace their roots to the Pioneer Column.

Closely linked to this, was an assessment based on the historical association of the buildings with people. Here again I observed that the associations are high because the history of the Pioneer Column with its various movements across the country can be well understood if one uses the buildings at Old Umtali as a tangible form of evidence. Criterion number five during the assessment focused on looking at the level of authenticity and integrity of the historic buildings. My conclusion here was that it

is variable because although amendments have been made over time this has only been limited to fittings and repairs of windows and doors which do not fundamentally affect the truthfulness and completeness of the buildings.

The last criterion I used was derived from measuring the state of conservation of the seven historic buildings. The conservation standards are very low and I argue here that although UMC is cognisant of the need to conserve the buildings it has not been able to receive expert support from NMMZ. Due to this lack of support and advice on how to proceed with conserving this heritage precinct, a number of buildings have been left to deteriorate. (see figure 13)

Drawing from the above analysis, my argument is that a complete conservation of this heritage precinct will therefore provide an opportunity for people to observe firsthand the results of colonial architects' endeavours during the early twentieth century. Nowhere else in the country is there such a large concentration of historic buildings as at Old Umtali. Moreover, nowhere else in Zimbabwe has a complete colonial urban master plan from the early 21st century existed without much alteration .What this means is that NMMZ has to try to actively maintain and conserve Old Umtali and its exceptional history for the benefit of the population and for present and future generations.

A pictorial analysis of the condition of the seven buildings

The condition of buildings selected for analysis measured against their state of conservation and compromises effected on their authenticity although variable is relatively still okay. This is because the external and internal changes made to the

structures are largely limited to alterations and fittings over time and these changes notwithstanding, the unique historicity of the place are relatively well maintained. The NMMZ Act actually states that 'no changes are to be allowed to the external as well as to the internal structure and elements other than routine but carefully supervised maintenance'.[91] Limited change can however be allowed to the interior while maintaining the exterior. The fact that the majority of the structures at Old Umtali are an example of an early colonial architecture that has survived for long is an exceptional attribute that must be conserved and presented for the educational needs of students on the history of Zimbabwe.

Figure 10: The seven historic buildings more pronounced in this picture taken at Old Umtali in 1895 before the shift. (Picture courtesy of the Library and Archives section, Africa University)

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[91] NMMZ Act Chapter 25:11of 2001.

Figure 11: A plaque erected on the building that was formely a magistrite court constructed in 1891 and has since been converted into office space. (Photo by N. Chipangura)

It is visibly noticeable from Figure 11 that the building shows some structural problems as evidenced by emerging cracks on the walls and the attempt to arrest them through plastering. The wooden floors of the same building have also been severely attacked by termites and hence there is an urgent need for interventive work by NMMZ if this building is going to last and used as evidence that it was the first court at Old Umtali.

Figure 12: A full view of the building that was constructed in 1891 and now used as an adminstrative block by the mission school.(Photo by N.Chipangura)
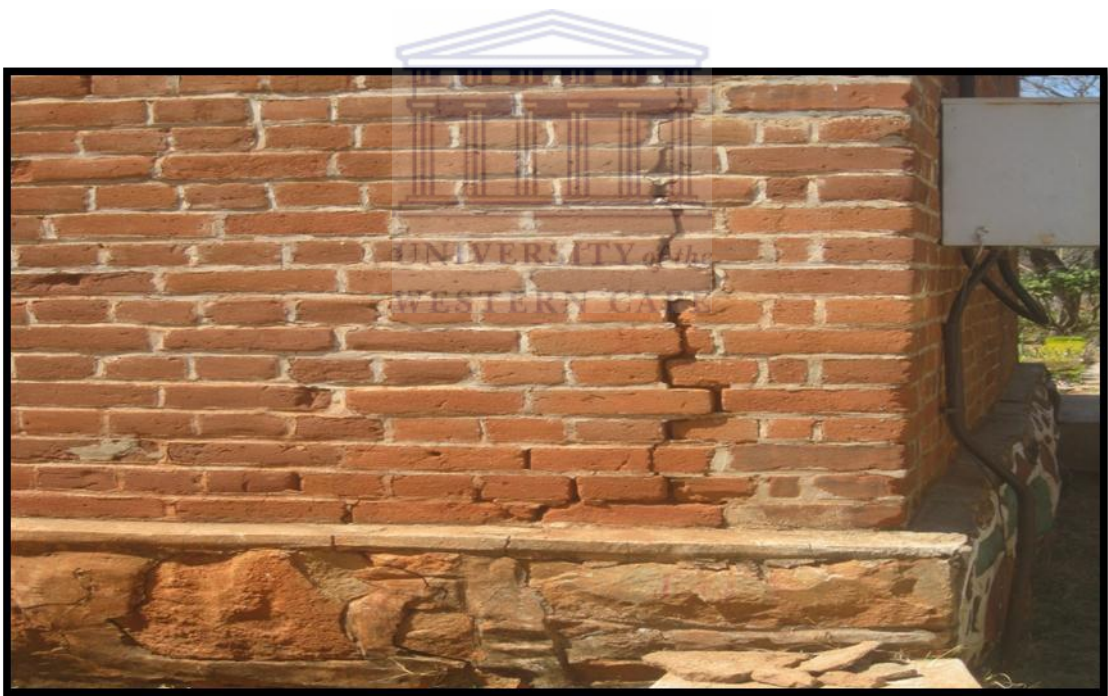

Figure 13: A big crack seen here to be developing from the foundation of the former court building. (Photo by N.Chipangura)

In terms of conservation, as can be easily discerned from the photographs I presented above, Old Umtali faces some challenges which as I have argued in this thesis are a

result of a deliberate management policy by NMMZ that does not recognise the

historical value of these buildings.
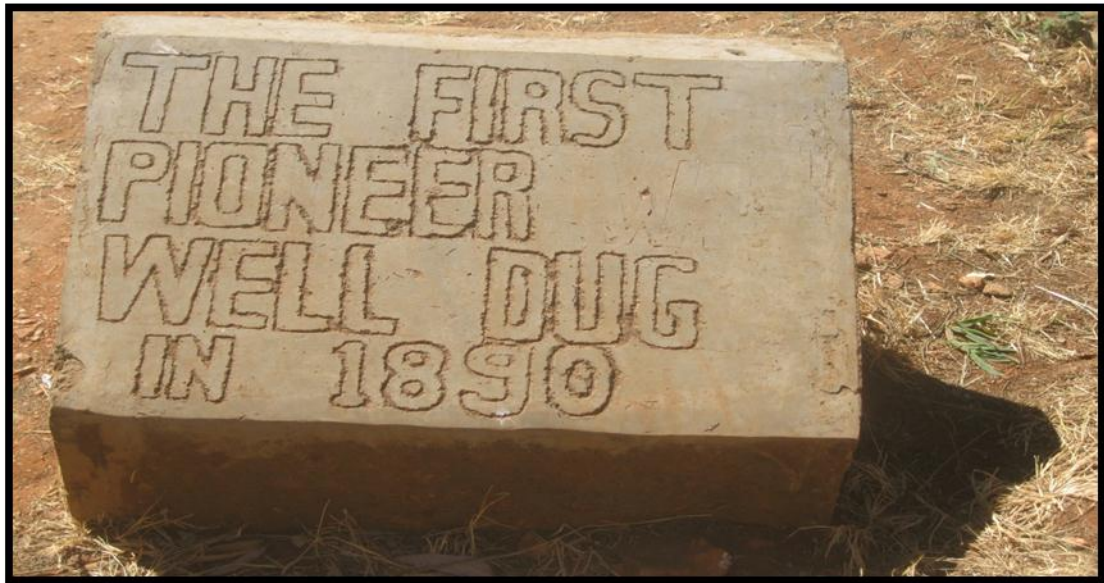
Figure 14: The first pioneer well dug in 1890 and is situated close to the adminstrative offices.(Photo by N.Chipangura)

Figure 15: The old jail constructed in 1891 which is now being used as a dormitory by female students at the mission school. (Photo by N.Chipangura)

The old jail has its own set of conservation problems which I identified during the

survey and I observed they are a result of the active use of the buildng and that

attention has to be given to the interior of the building. This building has undergone a number renovations which however have managed to maintain its façade as authentic as possible.[92] Compared to the adminstrative offices, I observed that the old jail although it needs to be renovated in some sections, its status of conservation is still better.

Figure 16: The town house that was constructed in 1892 and was converted and now being used as a staff accommodation space by the mission school. (Photo by N.Chipangura)

The town house has undergone numerous changes over the years to suit contemporary uses but its original structure has remained the same. The building was once occupied by Rhys Fairbridge who surveyed the current set up of the city before the shifting of the old town.[93]

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[92] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09.12
[93] Interview with Shepherd Machuma, 30.09.12

Figure 17: The Umtali Academy constructed in 1894 and has been converted into a dormitory.(Photo by N.Chipangura)

Figure 18: The Rhodes stable which was constructed in 1893 and is now being used as a dormitory. (Photo by N.Chipangura)

In terms of conservation, both the Umtali academy and the Rhodes stable are not in a bad state of conservation. However, the only noticed problem is that there is no standardized way of carrying out either renovations or restorations by the mission school. As a result there is no uniformity in some of the restored sections for both the academy and stable. The argument I will present here is that renovations are being

done on ad hoc basis without the instruction of any experts because as has already

been argued elsewhere NMMZ is preoccupied with archaeological and liberation war

heritage.

Figure 19: The Rhodes hotel built in 1891 and has been converted to become a staff accommodation space in its contemporary usage. (Photo by N.Chipangura)

The Rhodes hotel is unique in its own sense because according to Machuma, it was

the first to be constructed among all the historic buildings that constitutes the precinct,

which makes it the oldest building of all.[94] In terms of conservation, the building

appears to be the most neglected amongst all the other analyzed buildings. The

wooden ceiling of the building is progressively collapsing and if it is not urgently

attended it will completely collapse. The aluminum roof sheets have also become very

old and in some sections they are becoming porous and thus exposing the whole

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[94] Interview with Shepherd Machuma,30.09.12

building to rains. Several misguided intervention activities like plastering, crack filling and stabilizations of foundations were done without expert advice hence compromising the authenticity of the building.

Figure 20: The first church to have been constructed at the site in 1895. (Photo by N.Chipangura)


Figure 21: An inscription of the year that the first church of the Old town was constructed. (Photo by N.Chipangura)

It can therefore be argued that although some of the historic buildings at Old Umtali are facing some conservation challenges associated with active usage, misguided

reconstructions and some degree of neglect, NMMZ should be actively involved in conservation efforts at this important historic landscape.

Changes in social value attached to the Old Umtali heritage precinct

Values are socially assigned properties or attributes to an object or place.[95] They are social constructs and are relative because different people see or perceive values differently depending on how they compare or relate things to each other.[96] The relativity of cultural and social values is therefore fundamentally dependent on human beings as members of the society. The interviews carried out at Old Umtali with different people showed that the historic and social significance of this place have existed for over a century now.
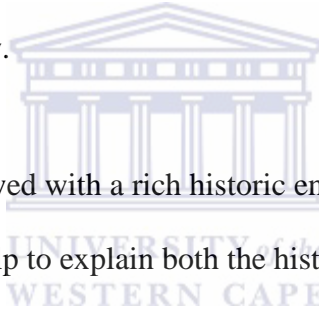
The heritage precinct is endowed with a rich historic environment complemented by colonial structures that can help to explain both the histories and experiences of colonialism on one hand and the history of missionaries in Zimbabwe on the other hand. Using Old Umtali as a historical document can enable the country to reflect as far as the 19th century when the pioneer column arrived in Manicaland in November 1890 and the subsequent establishment of colonial structures that later gave birth to Old Umtali mission under the leadership of Bishop Hartzell.[97]

Most of the buildings at the mission school are now used for different purposes as I have already alluded to elsewhere in this discussion. Thus, there is no doubt that the changing and subsequent modification of such a historic environment might

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[95] Mupira, 'Managing the Archaeological Landscapes of the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe', 205.
[96] Antrop, 'The concept of traditional landscapes as a base for landscape evaluation and planning.105-117.
[97] C.M Hulley, 'Buildings of Historic Interests: Some Umtali Buildings', *Rhodesiana*, No.24, 1971, The Rhodesiana Society, Salisbury, 21.

perpetuate distortion and destruction of history and the intangible values attached to the site.[98] According to Esther Chipashu, 'the Old Umtali heritage precinct is a symbol of religious and cultural significance'.[99] This is because she sees the importance of this historic landscape as lying more in the spirituality and symbolic values which have been nurtured over generations. [100] She therefore argues that subsequent changes in the present have lead to desecration of such a holy and sacred mission school.[101]

The Old Umtali Mission has remained a pilgrimage site where people from across the world still travel to pay last respects and conduct rituals. A number of missionaries have been buried at this site.[102] This cemetery if well preserved will help address colonial stereotypes and overtures by depicting some of the good work done by missionaries in Africa. It thus remains vital and critical to preserve this historic environment that has helped connecting people better to their locality. If local communities know about and value the history of their neighborhood they are likely to care about its future.[103] In the end she argues that ' the religious and cultural values associated with Old Umtali Mission must be captured and documented fully , instead of prioritizing the need to only document and conserve the historic landscape'.[104]

It was also recommended that buildings such as the 'Rhodes Hotel' could in fact, ideally, be used for a public purpose such as for accommodation and as a site gallery. The gallery while adding value to the mission centre would then permit access to the

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[98] Interview with Esther Chipashu, curator of ethnography at the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences, 3 October 2012.
[99] Interview with Esther Chipashu, 03.10.12.
[100] Interview with Esther Chipashu,03.10.12
[101] Interview with Esther Chipashu,03.10.12
[102] Interview with Esther Chipashu,03.10.12
[103] Interview with Esther Chipashu,03.10.12
[104] Interview with Esther Chipashu,03.10.12

site by members of the public with an interest in the unique historicity of the site.[105] Such a gallery could then ideally house both contemporary and archival photographic display of structures on the Old Umtali Mission Centre, and historic displays of key figures who occupy roles in the historic narratives of the site.[106] In addition an urban tour programme for the site can be prepared and managed by NMMZ (Mutare Museum) working in tandem with the property holder, the United Methodist Church, could be undertaken for tourist visiting the Mutare area as part of a packaged tour arrangement in relationship with other cultural sites.[107]

In this chapter I have attempted to look closely at the conservation of historic buildings at the Old Umtali heritage precinct with a focus on seven buildings that are being used in ways deemed compatible with their authenticity. I also traced the beginning of a settlement at Old Umtali and showed that it was the desire of Cecil John Rhodes to halt the penetration of the Portuguese in Manicaland that resulted in the establishment of a pioneer column at this site. After the abandonment of the old town and the setting up of a mission school by the United Methodist Church, the buildings were introduced to a completely new use.

My main argument drawn from the interviews I conducted and the condition assessment of the buildings was that the buildings must be conserved by NMMZ as an important aspect that can help interpret the history of colonialism in the Zimbabwe. As such, instead of sidelining this heritage precinct in its conservation effort because of its associations with a colonial past, the organisation was urged to at least assist

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[105] Interview with Farisai Utete, 03.10.12
[106] Interview with Farisai Utete, 28.09.12
[107] Interview with Farisai Utete 28.09.12

with technical advice that will ensure that the status of conservation of the buildings is improved.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to investigate and analyse the systems of power and authority that constitute and undergird the conservation of colonial buildings in Zimbabwe and the present waning of this approach in favour of other types of heritage. Using the Old Umtali heritage precinct, I have argued that conservation of historic buildings is not just a technical question but rather an intellectual, epistemological and political question. Throughout this thesis I have also viewed heritage as a political concept susceptible to the appropriation of the state for use to reinforce its power. Accepting that heritage in Zimbabwe is a highly political process, malleable to the needs of power and often subject to contestations, forms the basis of my main argument in this mini-thesis.
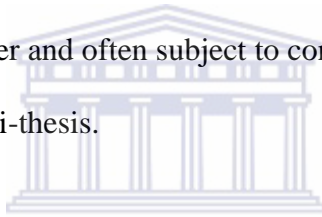
I presented this by analysing the authorised heritage discourse as having had contradictory implications for historic buildings in post-colonial times, marked by a change towards prioritising archaeological and liberation war heritage after 1980. This work then placed the question of conservation of the colonial built environment back on the conservation agenda for a post-colonial Zimbabwe.

Therefore by analysing the state of conservation of historic buildings at the Old Umtali heritage precinct, I presented the argument that a proper understanding of colonialism in Zimbabwe can also be attained through conserving historic buildings as well. Historic buildings at Old Umtali are documentary sources that can be used as a reference point in explaining both the histories of colonialism and early missionary work in Manicaland and Zimbabwe at large. Old Umtali heritage precinct has a set of

buildings constructed by the Pioneer Column between 1890 and 1897 which I argued that they can be marshalled and utilised for the purpose of a critical heritage practice. By doing this, the research has ensured that questions can then be asked about the experience of colonialism and the various movements of the pioneer column in Zimbabwe using the case study of Old Umtali.

Chapter One has presented some of the major debates circling around the understanding of conservation in historic buildings and how the concept has evolved over time. An attempt was also made in this chapter to clearly set out the difference between conservation and preservation and also to show how the two concepts have been used interchangeably in different literatures. The contested and culturally constructed nature of heritage in Zimbabwe was also alluded to in this chapter. It was argued here that heritage can be envisaged as knowledge and by virtue of this it is always negotiated and consequently a field of contestation that is neither fixed nor stable. The relativity of cultural and social values was also discussed in this chapter and I argued that ascribing value to historic buildings at Old Umtali is a product of the society and in many ways is a certain type of performance.

Chapter Two has discussed and presented the history of conservation in historic buildings from an international perspective. The underlying debates between the concepts of conservation and restorations were revealed in this chapter as I tried to understand historic buildings at Old Umtali and their conservation need in a broad picture. The problematic concept of authenticity and its application in the context of historic buildings was also dwelt with in this chapter and its subjective and deterministic nature was addressed. Most importantly, Chapter Two looked at the international conventions that were ushered in to protect the historic and aesthetic

values of buildings as a culmination from major conflicts in Europe that had decimated a number of historic structures.

Chapter Three has traced the history of heritage management in Zimbabwe starting off from the colonial period transcending into the post colonial period. In doing this the chapter revealed that heritage as a discourse that is authorised has changed responding to the needs of those who are in power. Colonial heritage at one point in time was once at the zenith of heritage management and conservation priorities of colonial government up to until 1980, when the balance of power shifted to the other end.

Another argument made in the chapter was that the history of heritage management and conservation in Zimbabwe is one that is typified by contestations on the meta-narratives produced by a specified type of heritage to suit the machinations of the dominant group. As a result, the post-colonial period in Zimbabwe brought with it some intense hostility towards colonial heritage and its associated histories. A number of colonial memorials that have been neglected, vandalised and destroyed formed part of the main discussions in the chapter.

At the centre of Chapter Four was an investigation into how historic buildings at Old Umtali have been conserved in the period after independence in relationship to the other categories of heritage. In doing this, the chapter traced the beginning of a settlement at Old Umtali and showed that it was the desire of Cecil John Rhodes to halt the penetration of the Portuguese in Manicaland that resulted in the establishment of a pioneer settlement at this site. After the abandonment of the old town and the setting up of a mission school by the United Methodist Church, the buildings were

introduced to a completely new use. The main argument presented in the chapter and drawn from the interviews and the condition assessment conducted was that the buildings at Old Umtali must be conserved by NMMZ as an important aspect that can help interpret the history of colonialism in the Zimbabwe. As such, instead of sidelining this heritage precinct in its conservation effort because of its associations with a colonial past, the organisation was urged to at least assist with technical advice that will ensure that the status of conservation of the buildings is improved.

As I was writing this work, it suddenly appeared that in the midst of my fieldwork the heritage authority started attending to conservation matters with circulars being sent to all regions emphasizing the need to conserve historic buildings. Perhaps this occurred as an effect of this project. It remains to be seen whether the fate of the contestation is one that will create greater inclusiveness of colonial heritage. The future of colonial heritage in Zimbabwe is yet to be decided.
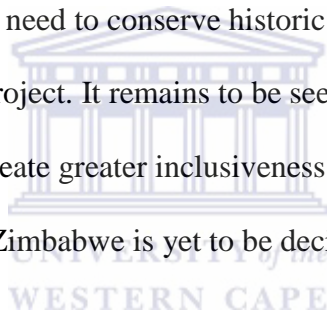
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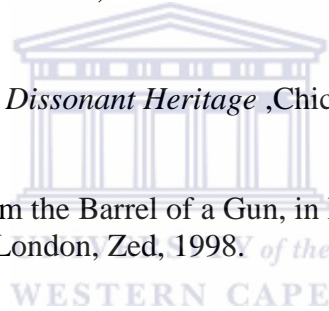
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