HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

PUBLICATION NO. 28 2009

HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 28 — 2009

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe
July 2010

MEMBERSHIP OF THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

☆ The Society encourages all readers and their friends and colleagues to enrol as members.

☆ The Society aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Zimbabwean history.

☆ Members of the Society are not, by any means, all historians. Among our members are collectors of Africana, libraries and learned institutions wishing to acquire background knowledge of one of Africa's key areas whilst the majority are Zimbabweans interested in the story of their own country.

☆ Outings to sites of interest with talks on related subjects and a national annual dinner are part of the organised activities offered to members.

☆ The society encourages historical study and research; and endeavours to record in interesting form the story of Zimbabwe in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* the only publication devoted exclusively to this purpose.

☆ Membership is open to everyone.

☆ *Heritage of Zimbabwe* is published once a year and copies may be purchased by members from the Society. The articles will appeal to Zimbabweans as well as people beyond our borders who seek to understand our country.

☆ Each issue of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* contains a wide variety of articles on Zimbabwe's historic background: pioneering, military, transport, agricultural, political, biographical, literary, cultural and so on.

☆ History creates a sense of common purpose that develops into a healthy national consciousness. An active historical society can thus exert a tremendous influence for the good of our country.

☆ Your support would, therefore, be both welcome and worthwhile. Do join the Society now.

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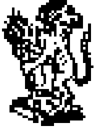

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

The Society exists to promote historical studies and to encourage research. It also aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of the history of Zimbabwe and neighbouring territories.

For further information and particulars of membership please write to the National Honorary Secretary at P.O. Box CY35, Causeway, Zimbabwe or e-mail her at <denjostephens@gmail.com>.

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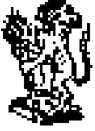
HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE is the journal of The History Society of Zimbabwe. It replaces *RHODESIANA* which was the journal of The Rhodesiana Society which Society absorbed the National Historical Association and Heritage of the Nation, and later became the History Society of Zimbabwe.



Edited by

MICHAEL J. KIMBERLEY

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ISSN 0556—9605

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COVER DESIGN — *Front:* Zimbabwe Bird, from a cast in the National Archives of the soapstone original which was removed from Great Zimbabwe by the archaeologist Theodore Bent in 1891; masonry from a passage wall in the Great Enclosure, Zimbabwe (photograph *c.*1904). *Back:* Masonry with chevron decoration, from the outer wall of the Great Enclosure (photograph *c.*1894); Conical Tower (photograph *c.*1930) National Archives.

Origination and printing by PacPrint (Pvt.) Ltd, Harare, Zimbabwe.

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(40 issues published from 1956–1980)

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No. 19, 1968	No. 25, 1971	No. 32, 1975
No. 21, 1969	No. 26, 1972	No. 33, 1975
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No. 24, 1971	No. 31, 1974	

B. The Journal **NADA**
(Published annually from 1923–1980)

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C. The journal **HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE**

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Foreword

This is the twenty eighth issue of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* since the first issue appeared in 1980, following on from our previous journal *Rhodesiana,* forty issues of which appeared between 1955 and 1980.

As always we offer articles on a wide range of subjects so that each and every reader will find something to his liking.

Some of the articles comprise the text of talks given to Members of the Society during the year and these include Bush Doctor by Colin Saunders and Schools Expeditions by Alex Siemers.

Likewise the paper on Early Days in the History Society is the text of a talk given by Mike Kimberley to members at the Society's national dinner held in Harare on 16 October 2009.

Well known archaeologist Rob Burrett contributes three well researched articles and former professor of history at the University of Zimbabwe, Dr Ray Roberts, writes on the history of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe.

There are two biographical articles, the first about George Nolan who mined lithium near Bikita and Victor Robinson who was Federal Attorney General and had a long and successful career in the Government of Southern Rhodesia and the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

Fraser Edkins writes on some early laws, Richard Seward on Wild Life Research, and Christopher Milburn on school boy reminiscences.

The issue ends with the Chairman's report on the proceedings of the Society in 2009 and several book reviews.

As always the Society expresses its grateful appreciation to the sponsors, all of whom are listed on page v. In this regard special mention is made of the sponsorship of TextPertise (Private Limited) and its Directors, Cheryll and Roger Stringer, who have done the formatting of this issue without charge. I express my personal thanks to my wife Rosemary whose expertise in the English language makes her an ideal Editor's sounding board.

Michael J. Kimberley, Honorary Editor, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*

Early Days in the History Society of Zimbabwe

by Michael J. Kimberley

THE SOCIETY IS FORMED

In 1949 two civil servants based in Fort Victoria, Harry Archie Cripwell in the Native Department and Brendan Lloyd in the Native Education Department, discovered that they shared a common interest in books on Rhodesia in particular and Africa in general, and they met together from time to time to exchange views on that common interest.

Both were later transferred to Salisbury where they continued to meet to discuss Rhodesiana and Africana, and during those exchanges the possibility of founding a Society on the lines of the Van Riebeeck Society in South Africa was mooted.

Their thoughts crystallized and became a reality in 1953 when they invited those whom they knew to be interested in Rhodesiana to attend a meeting in Salisbury. Those attending were Archie Cripwell and Brendan Lloyd, Tony Tanser, Father Hannon a Jesuit priest, Jan van Heerden a Salisbury architect, Rhoda Ellis and Mary Lloyd (wife of Brendan). They agreed to form a Society and appointed a Committee to draft a Constitution.

On 12 June 1953, the Rhodesia Africana Society was formally established to further the interests of collectors of Rhodesiana and to assist in the preservation of books and documents relating to the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. The first Committee comprised Archie Cripwell as Chairman, Brendan Lloyd as Secretary together with Tony Tanser, Jan van Heerden and Father Hannon. Annual subscriptions were one guinea and by the end of 1953 there were 19 paid-up members.

Subsequently, the Society's name was changed in 1958 to the Rhodesiana Society, in 1980 to the National History Society, and in 1981 to the History Society of Zimbabwe. Likewise, the Society's objects were widened in 1969 and its emphasis changed from book collecting to history, with the main thrust being the publication of a journal and historical talks.

MY ASSOCIATION WITH THE SOCIETY

I have had a very long association with the Society probably longer than anyone else dead or alive though one or two youngsters like Tim Tanser might eventually overtake me.

I joined 54 years ago in 1955 while a student at the University of the Witwatersrand and because I was an impecunious student the then Committee waived my subscription of one guinea per annum. In those days a guinea was real money and it took a long time for a series of politicians in this country to emasculate our currency and torpedo our economy.

I think I am the only person still living who is listed as a member in the Society's first publication *Rhodesiana* No. 1, 1956.

Whilst working in the Federal Attorney General's Office in 1962 I responded to a plea from the Society which was desperately seeking an Honorary Secretary (having lost between 1954 and 1960 half a dozen on the trot). I duly became Secretary in 1962 and joined the National Executive Committee and have now been a member of that Committee in various capacities continuously for 47 years. I will retire when I have served for 50 years.

Michael J. Kimberley, National Chairman, Rhodesiana Society

EARLY OFFICE BEARERS

Cripwell

The National Chairman when I joined the Society and also when I became a member of the National Executive Committee was Harry Archie Cripwell. He was born in Ilkeston, Derbyshire, England in 1897 and arrived in Bulawayo with his parents in 1898. His father joined the British South Africa Police in December of that year.

Archie attended St George's Public School in Bulawayo before the school was relocated to Harare, matriculating in 1915. He joined the Native Department in that year but soon enlisted in the BSA Police Service Company serving with that unit and with the Northern Rhodesia Police Service Battalion in Germany and in Portuguese East Africa, from 1917 to 1919, being mentioned in dispatches (5 June 1919). He was at Abercorn when the German General von Lettow Vorbeck surrendered to the British. Upon demobilization in 1919, A313 Sergeant H.A. Cripwell rejoined the Native Department retiring after more than 40 years service in 1959 as a Provincial Native Commissioner.

As far as the Society was concerned he served as Chairman from its inception in 1953 until his death on 30 May 1970 at the age of 73. That was too long an unbroken innings in the chair and certainly in the last few years when his heart problems increased he should have retired, because his suffering caused him to become grumpy and unreasonable and sometimes downright rude and unpleasant to members and committee members.

I can think of someone else in this country who has soldiered on continuously at the top from 1980 to now even though he has long since passed his sell by date.

In 1970 we changed the Constitution of the Society to ensure that no one held the National chair for more than 2 years in succession and we have strictly enforced that decision ever since.

Archie had a very wide knowledge of African history and tribal customs and traditions

H. A. Cripwell, Founder Member and first National Chairman, Rhodesiana Society

and was fluent in Shona and SiNdebele. He also knew this country and its people intimately through having served in many districts during his long service with the Government. .

It is unfortunate that despite his wide historical knowledge he only wrote three articles for our journal *Rhodesiana*.

He was awarded the Society's gold medal posthumously in 1971 for his outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of this Society.

Lloyd

Co-founder of the Society with Cripwell in 1953, Brendan Lloyd was born in 1904 in Dublin, Ireland, and educated at Warwick School in England and Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated with a Master of Arts degree.

He taught in South Africa from 1931 to 1937, when he emigrated to the then Southern Rhodesia, working as a school inspector in African Education and a history teacher and teacher educator in schools and colleges all around the country.

During the Second World War he served in the West Africa Frontier Force from 1939 to 1944 and in 1945 became Headmaster of a British Council School in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

He was a collector of Africana and Rhodesiana, specializing in books on David Livingstone. He was the author of a monograph entitled *Men of Livingstone* and edited

a book of essays to mark the centenary of Livingstone's death entitled *Livingstone 1873 to 1973*. He also produced a bibliography of books on Livingstone.

He was well known for his love of books and also for his work in African education, particularly the latter because he travelled with a "bioscope" and a generator and was known to show Laurel and Hardy and Charlie Chaplin films to school children once the school inspection was completed.

B. W. Lloyd, Founder Member and first Honorary Secretary, Rhodesiana Society

Hickman

Selwyn Hickman succeeded Archie Cripwell as National Chairman of the Society in 1970 following Archie's death.

Selwyn was a Cornishman born in 1900 and came to this country in 1924 to join the British South Africa Police. He rose from the rank of Trooper in 1924 to Commissioner on retiring in 1955.

He joined our Society in 1956 becoming a Committee member in 1957 and serving continuously until his death on 22nd July 1976. He was Deputy Chairman from 1967 to 1970 and National Chairman from 1970 to 1972.

He was a prolific writer and his first of many articles published in the BSAP magazines *Outpost* and *Mapolisa* appeared in *Outpost* in September 1928 and was entitled "Murder on the Tuli Footpaths." One of his most significant articles was an account of the life of Randolph Nesbitt V.C., hero of the Mazoe Patrol.

In 1956 following his retirement and with financial assistance from the BSA Company he started work on a register of all those young men who had joined the BSA Company's Police between 1889 and 1892. This was a formidable project and Selwyn tackled it with determination and the precision of a well trained investigator. The resultant book, *Men who made Rhodesia* was published in 1960 and forms a permanent tribute to the early members of what used to be a fine force. He commenced work in 1960 on the compilation of a similar account of the members of the Pioneer Corps.

In 1966 he was commissioned by the Army authorities to write a history of the part played by the Rhodesian forces in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902. This history appeared in two volumes: the first, entitled *Rhodesia Served the Queen,* was published in 1970 and the second in 1975.

Selwyn was an excellent researcher and had those qualities which a researcher must have, namely: determination, an eye for detail, and a refusal to accept anything as proven unless supported by facts. He wrote eleven articles for our journal between 1957 and 1976 and gave several historical talks to our members. He was awarded the Society's Gold Medal in 1971 for his outstanding contribution to the aims and objects of the Society.

A. S. Hickman, Commissioner of BSA Police, 1954–55

Selwyn was a great humanitarian, deeply interested in his fellow human beings and anxious to help them whenever he could. He stands out as a man who was always prepared to share the fruits of his work with other people. There was nothing selfish or restrictive in his approach to historical research.

I enjoyed working with Selwyn and found him to be a real gentleman.

Tanser

George Henry Tanser, known to many as Tony, was born in Leicester, England, at the beginning of the 20th century. He served in the Leicestershire Regiment and the Royal Air Force during World War I and qualified as a teacher at the University of London, teaching in the East End before emigrating to South Africa.

In 1927 he saw the light and came to Rhodesia, joining the staff of Prince Edward School. He was later headmaster of Hartley, Chaplin Junior and Jameson Schools and in 1944 was transferred to Head Office in Salisbury as Administrative Officer, and later served as an Inspector of Schools. During Federation he was Regional Education Officer for Rhodesia and retired in 1960 as Chief Education officer.

While he was teaching be became aware of the lack of knowledge and interest in the history and geography of Rhodesia which led him to write *Founders of Rhodesia* and *Geography of Southern Rhodesia* as primary school textbooks. He wrote *History of Nyasaland* and other textbooks for schools in the Federation.

He used to tell the story that his interest in the history of this country was awakened soon after his arrival. Walking through Cecil Square he saw the statue of Alfred Beit in its original place and asked a passerby who Beit was. The passerby did not know so Tony decided

to find out for himself. This was the beginning of a long career of finding out and publishing the results of his inquiries.

After his retirement he concentrated his research on the early history and growth of Salisbury. Two books came out of this work, *A Scantling of Time*, the history of Salisbury from 1890 to 1900, and *A Sequence of Time*, the story of Salisbury from 1900 to 1914. Both books were well received and are mines of information. At the time of his death he was busy on the third volume of the Salisbury saga.

G. H. Tanser

Members of this Society will remember him as one of its mainsprings. He was elected to the national executive at the inaugural meeting on 12 June 1953, and he served continuously till his death in July 1979. He was national chairman from March 1973 to March 1975 and from March 1979 till his death. He was awarded the Society's gold medal in 1972 for his outstanding contribution to the aims and objects of the Society. He was a polished speaker and gave many talks to members of the Society. He was also a very courteous and gentlemanly person and it was a pleasure to work with him.

In 1955 he started a one-man campaign to save Rhodesia's historical buildings from demolition; while generally unsuccessful in saving buildings he made people aware of the loss they are sustaining and helped to form "Heritage of Rhodesia", a society to deal with the problem. On several occasions he led members of the Society on interesting walks through the central business district of the city with stops at historic buildings where talks were given.

Turner

Though not a Founder or Foundation member, Robert William Sheriff Turner made an enormous contribution to the Society during his 36-year continuous service on the National Executive Committee.

Robert Turner was born in Lahore, India in 1917. He was at Aberdeen University studying engineering when he volunteered for the army at the outbreak of World War II. He served in the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) and the 1st Punjab Regiment, leaving the army with the rank of major.

He joined the staff of the National Archives of Rhodesia in 1947, and was one of the two officers who set up what is now the National Archives of Malawi in Zomba. In 1956 he visited the main archival institutions in the USA under a State Department Fellowship. On his return from America he installed the present system of records management in the National Archives which has remained virtually unchanged over the years, and became the Director.

He had a fertile imagination and conceived the idea that the permanent home for the Archives should be built by private rather than public funds. This resulted in the setting up of the National Archives Building Board in terms of an Act of the Federal Parliament. As the board's first secretary he played an important role in the fund raising campaign that resulted in the present building on the Borrowdale Road.

The 1978 Gold Medal Presentation. L–R: The National Chairman, Mr. M. J. Kimberley; Sir Humphrey Gibbs; Mr. R. W. S. Turner, the recipient

He is a former National Chairman of the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Rhodesia. One of his many innovative ideas was the staging of an aloe congress and he was convener of Aloe 75, the highly successful First World Aloe Congress which attracted visitors from many countries.

Apart from numerous articles in various journals he was co-author of the best-seller *Rhodesian Epic*.

He was a former Chairman of the Mashonaland Branch as well as a former National Chairman of the Society, and was at one time the longest serving member of the Society's National Executive Committee, having held office from 1961 until his retirement in 1997. During this period he saw the Society's membership grow from 187 to about 1200, and as Chairman of the Membership sub-committee he played a leading part in the phenomenal growth of the society. For over ten years he personally sold all the advertisements numbering nearly 100 that appeared in the Society's journal. His ideas and enthusiasm contributed much to the development and success of the Society.

In 1978 the Society awarded its Gold Medal to Robert Turner for his outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

There are others who have served on our National Committee for a long time and made significant contributions; they include Bert Rosettenstein and Tim Tanser, both of whom are here tonight, and Richard Wood and the late Richard Franks. Perhaps they are a subject for another talk in the future.

OUTSTANDING EARLY FUNCTIONS

The Society has become well known for hosting many exceedingly interesting functions since 1953. Nowadays functions are arranged by the Society's branches. Sadly the Matabeleland

and Manicaland branches have gone the way of all flesh, although the former is in the process of being reborn, but the Mashonaland branch continues full steam ahead and is now in its 42nd year.

A few very successful national functions are worthy of mention. In 1978, during my chairmanship, the Society celebrated its 25th anniversary and we organized a week of functions and events culminating in an historic steam train trip from Salisbury to Marandellas and back with talks given at Marandellas by the Mayor of that town and by Tony Tanser. The train was absolutely full with our members and their guests, most of whom were in Edwardian type attire, so much so that our own member who acted as train conductor, railway enthusiast Hugo Rosettenstein, resplendent in a 1920's Rhodesia Railways conductor's uniform, was seriously concerned that we had overloaded the train by accommodating 600 passengers. This was by far our best attended function ever. We produced a numbered souvenir brochure for the occasion and also souvenir beer mugs which were sold out in no time at all.

The Rhodesiana Society Silver Jubilee (1953 to 1978) Special Train 14 May 1978 en route to Marandellas

His Worship the Mayor of Marandellas and the Town Clerk of Marandellas at Marandellas Station on 14 May 1978

Christopher Kimberley and Rosemary Kimberley 14 May 1978 en route to Marandellas

Hugo Rosettenstein
our Rhodesiana Society member
as Conductor of our chartered
steam train on 14 May 1978

Mike Kimberley at
Marandellas station
14 May 1978

Members of the Society take a stroll at Bromley on 14 May 1978

His Worship the Mayor and Mayoress and the Deputy Mayor and Mayoress of Marandellas 14 May 1978

Apart from 1978, we chartered steam trains to travel from Salisbury to Glendale in 1972 and again in 1985. The trains were fully booked and thanks to our Committee member Robert Smith, who was Deputy Postmaster General, a special date stamp was made to frank special first day covers commemorating the "Mazowe Special" train trip. These are today quite valuable philatelic items.

The Rhodesiana Society Mazowe Valley Special 29 October 1972

Mike and Rosemary Kimberley
on 29 October 1972
at Salisbury station

Colonel Selwyn Hickman and
Mrs Molly Hickman
at Concession on
29 October 1972.

The Mazowe Valley Special is welcomed at Selby siding on 29 October 1972

The Rhodesiana Society members at Selby Siding on 29 October 1972

At Concession station on 29 October 1972

A group of farmers on horseback meet the train at Selby Siding on 29 October 1972

Other memorable and noteworthy functions were the series of excellent home made films produced and presented by committee member Ronnie Howland on various subjects including Salisbury, Mazowe heroism, the Pioneers and several others.

Our most popular talks were during the Salisbury/Harare City walks from 1968, when Tony Tanser, Ronnie Howland and Selwyn Hickman talked at various historic buildings in the City.

In May 1976 a very significant gathering took place when the Society's Matabeleland and Mashonaland Branches travelled to Shangani for a joint meeting at the site of the Battle of Bonko on the Shangani River.

Finally, mention should be made of the several national functions to celebrate the award of the Society's gold medal to distinguished members for their outstanding contributions towards furthering the objects of the Society.

Some of our outings were not without humour and I quote Tim Tanser's amusing description of an outing in 1990 to Melsetter when the participants stayed at the local hotel.

> How clearly I recall the initial consternation and the humour when, having organized an outing to the Chimanimani/Melsetter area in 1990, we all settled down to have dinner at the Chimanimani Hotel. Six months' notice had been given to the hotel of our arrival and precise numbers had been conveyed. Shortly after ninety of us sat down for dinner, the kitchen doors opened and some rather delicious looking soup was placed in plates before eight of our members. The remainder of our number looked on enviously as the soup was drunk and obviously thoroughly enjoyed. Shortly after the last of the eight fortunates to have received the soup consumed his, the kitchen doors opened once again and the waiters reappeared to remove the eight soup plates.

Presentation of the first Gold Medals on 5 August, 1971. The Hon. Sir Vincent Quenet with the recipients and members of the Medal Sub-committee.

L–R: Mr R. W. S. Turner, Mr M. J. Kimberley (Member of the Medal Sub-Committee), Lord Malvern, Sir Vincent, Mrs H. A. Cripwell, Col. A. S. Hickman and Dr. R. C. Howland (Member of the Medal Sub-Committee)

Presentation of Gold Medals 1972. L–R: Mr R. W. S. Turner, (Chairman, Medal Committee), Clr. G. H. Tanser, Mrs O. N. Ransford, Dr O. N. Ransford, Mrs G. H. Tanser, The Hon L. B. Smith, I.D., M.P., Col. A. S. Hickman, (National Chairman, Rhodesiana Society), Mrs L. B. Smith, E. E. Burke (Director of National Archives)

I went into the kitchen to enquire when the remaining eighty-two might be fortunate enough to obtain soup to be told that that was all the soup plates which were available! Having explained the position to all present, the meal inevitably spilled well over the conventional time a dinner should take but the availability of local wines and other cheer-making beverages ensured that the dinner was fun and never forgotten.

After the meal, I addressed the manager of the hotel and indicated that whilst the dinner had been most enjoyable we had a very tight schedule to adhere to the following day, therefore, by breakfast it was necessary that there were adequate respectable, crockery and cutlery to enable us to get on our way by the appointed time. How the hotel did it, I shall never know, but the next morning we had an array of fine bone china mixed together with plastic, chipped enamel and all other manner of receptacles. Once again this was a cause of tremendous humour amongst all our members and is merely an example of how much these outings have meant to members than just learning about the history of the country.

NAME CHANGE

In 1980 we felt it necessary to change the Society's name – then the Rhodesiana Society – for what we in Harare thought were good reasons. At the time we believed strongly that the Society's name should focus on the new name of the country and should not incorporate the old name of this country in any way. Accordingly members were notified of a meeting to amend the Society's Constitution by changing the Society's name. The proposal to use the word Zimbabwe was anathema to our friends in the Matabeleland Branch who, true

The Gold Medal Presentations. L–R: Mr. H. A. B. Simons (Gold Medal recipient); The Hon. B. H. Mussett, I.D., M.P. Minister of Internal Affairs; Mr R. W. S. Turner, National Chairman Rhodesiana Society; Sir Athol Evans, K.B.E., Chairman National Gallery of Rhodesia; Mr M. J. Kimberley (Gold Medal recipient)

to the Bamba Zonke/Kala Maningi Syndrome, which we in the highveld knew so well, dispatched a couple of car loads of vociferous Matabeles to oppose the name change. In the event as a compromise the name was changed to the National History Society, a rather meaningless change! Within a year we changed to the more appropriate History Society of Zimbabwe and that has been our name for the past 28 years.

ANNUAL DINNER

An important function in the Society's annual calendar used to be a national annual dinner which rotated between Harare, Bulawayo and Mutare or Nyanga. I organized the first such dinner in Harare in 1967. The dinners were always well attended and the talks given thereat usually interesting.

I very well remember the dinner held in 1972 at Nyanga at the Montclair Hotel (formerly called Dannakay and then Inyanga Mountains Hotel). The speaker was a well known civil servant and one of a number of Federal Civil servants who received a Knighthood for their efforts in the ill fated Federal regime here. He was a polished speaker but perhaps his subject was too erudite for those present. In any event, the reason I mention the occasion is that half way through the speech quite loud snores were heard by all present. They emanated from two brothers who were well known former Norton tobacco farmers, both of whom had served in Garfield Todd's Southern Rhodesian Cabinet at the time of the palace revolt when Todd was forced to resign as his colleagues had allegedly lost confidence in him.

JOURNAL

The Society's Journal was, and always has been, a very important part of the Society's

work. The first issue appeared in 1955, two years after the Society's establishment. Initially an annual publication, *Rhodesiana* later became biannual. In 1980 for obvious reasons we changed the name of the journal to *Heritage of Zimbabwe* and have published a single volume every year since that date under that name.

A past Editor deserves mention, namely Vernon Brelsford who served as editor from 1967 to 1979 and was responsible for twenty four volumes.

So much then for early days of our Society. I now ask you all to charge your glasses and to rise for a toast.

Ladies and gentlemen, "The History Society of Zimbabwe, its Founders and all its members".

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Some Early Laws Following The Royal Charter

by Fraser Edkins

In 1889 a petition was presented to Queen Victoria by the Duke of Abercorn, the Duke of Fife, Lord Gifford V.C., Earl Grey, George Cawston Esquire (Barrister at Law) and Messrs Alfred Beit and Cecil John Rhodes. The petitioners advised the Queen:

a. that they were associated, with others, for the purposes of forming a company to be called The British South Africa Company (BSAC);
b. that the existence of a powerful British company (controlled by "British subjects in whom the Queen could have confidence") operating in the region to the north of Bechuanaland, to the north west of the South African Republic and to the west of Portuguese East Africa, would be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of her subjects;
c. that they intended making agreements, with chiefs and tribes inhabiting the region in question, with the view of promoting therein "trade, commerce, civilization and good government" (not forgetting what the Queen made a condition of the grant of a Charter, viz. "the regulation of liquor traffic with the natives", a subject, as the petitioners well-knew, in which the Queen had a particular interest);
d. that they believed this would "materially improve the condition of the natives" and "advance their civilization" and "the suppression of the Slave Trade" in the territory, and would open up the region to "the immigration of Europeans" and to "lawful trade and commerce" by British subjects, and with other nations;
e. that the success of the enterprise would be "greatly advanced" if a Royal Charter was granted to them, with powers to carry out their purposes;
f. finally, that "large sums of money" had been subscribed by them and others for the purpose of the intended company and that more money would follow if a Royal Charter of Incorporation was granted.

The petitioners duly got the nod from Queen Victoria on 29 October 1889. (She felt their intentions were "praiseworthy and deserve encouragement" and that the enterprise might well be "productive of the benefits described" in their Petition).

The chartered company raised a pioneer column and had occupied Mashonaland by September 1890 and the venture appeared headed for success.

A system of laws was necessary for the territory.

In June 1891 the British High Commissioner for South Africa was authorized by Queen Victoria to provide for the administration of justice in the territory by Proclamation, including the appointment of judicial officials. His Proclamation of 10 June 1891 stipulated that the law of the Cape Colony on that day should be the law of the new territory with effect from the date of the occupation. Then followed further Proclamations, Orders in Council, Regulations and Ordinances which also had legal effect.

The legislative power (in part and with restrictions) was transferred in 1898 to the Administrator and the Legislative Council for the defined territory, (which territory was "for the time being" to be known as Southern Rhodesia).

What follows is a light-hearted look at a small selection of laws made one hundred years ago and more, which readers will hopefully find diverting and illustrative of the somewhat "Wild West" nature of the new territory being opened up, and of some of the problems the early administrators faced. Names in use at the time have been retained.

1. 1891 CAPE COLONY LAWS

A select few of the many Cape laws affecting the early settlers included the use in a public place of abusive language, (the term "liar" of an employer, but not "monkey" of a policeman, qualifying as such in two actual cases), failing to inoculate cattle against Rinderpest, manufacturing counterfeit British coin (in one case from a composition of tin and antimony) the prohibition of fishing with dynamite, selling liquor in an insecurely-corked bottle, selling "charms" to natives and, the forerunner of reckless driving, "Furious Riding", i.e. riding one's horse at a reckless gallop in the vicinity of people, (of which, incidentally, the husband of Madame Curie was a victim in France).

2. THE 1896 DELIVERY OF ASSEGAIS TO NATIVES PROCLAMATION

This somewhat "coals to Newcastle" type Proclamation prohibited the sale or delivery of assegais to natives.

3. THE 1895 LIQUOR REGULATIONS

Liquor for sale had to be kept in an entirely separate room to that containing other general goods (with no door or other opening between the two rooms). The intention of the lawmakers was obvious.

Employers were prohibited from physically handing over wages to their employees on licensed premises (in a valiant attempt to limit the temptation for the employee to spend it immediately on drink). The mere presence of a member of the public in a bar outside licensed hours was deemed proof that liquor was being sold illegally in that bar during prohibited hours. Five convictions for drunkenness in the preceding twelve months made one liable to imprisonment for up to one year.

Corruption is nothing new, it seems, because 1897 regulations made the payment to, or acceptance of, any "fee, advantage or reward" by Liquor License Inspectors an offence, with a maximum fine of £100 (and dismissal for the Inspector).

4. THE 1895 MAGISTRATE'S COURTS PROSECUTOR'S REGULATIONS

A sign of the times, these regulations provided that no criminal charge could be dismissed simply because the Prosecutor did not turn up at Court on the day of the trial (and the Clerk of Court was authorized in such circumstance to "assist in the conduct of the trial ….. in such manner as shall be in his power").

5. THE 1895 MATABELELAND CATTLE PROPRIETARY REGULATIONS

All cattle in the possession of any "native resident" in Matabeleland, and which cattle were in Matabeleland on or before the last day of 1893 (the year of Lobegula's defeat) were declared the property of the BSAC, (including the offspring of such cattle).

This obviously did not go down well, as later events demonstrated, (even if the warlike Matabele appreciated it to be a natural consequence of conquest).

6. BSAC GOVERNMENT GAZETTE 12 OCTOBER 1894

This contained a notice by The Loot Committee advising "all those entitled to participate in the distribution of the loot taken during the late war" (against Lobengula in 1893) to register their right to a share by 31 October 1894, if they expected the Committee to recognise it.

7. THE 1895 TOWNSHIPS SANITARY REGULATIONS

These particular regulations were made for Salisbury (the extent of the development of which town in the 1890s is illustrated and described in detail in *A Scantling of Time* by G. H. Tanser).

Amongst other stipulations:

a. employers with resident employees had to provide suitable latrine accommodation with "proper seats and pails" (with at least one pail for every ten persons using the latrine); and
b. the contents of the pail had to be covered daily with dry earth or ashes and the pail removed for emptying at least weekly (!), to places set aside by the Sanitary Board, (details of the locations of which places would be given by public advertisement).

BSAC Municipal Police (who were required to be "smart young men of good character and able to read and write") could expect to earn between 8/– (3rd Class Constable) and 15/– (1st Class Sergeant) per diem.

8. THE 1896 PRICKLY PEAR REGULATIONS

This plant was a considerable menace (and is deserving of a separate article by one of our members). Introduction of the plant attracted a fine of £10 or 2 months imprisonment.

Every occupier of land was required to destroy it, and had 6 months from May 1896 to do so. If it was found growing on any land by November 1896 the owner or occupier was deemed guilty, (although this law was probably not enforced in respect of those living in outlying areas due to the outbreak of the First Chimurenga in 1896).

9. THE 1897 POSSESSION OF ARMS BY NATIVES AND ASIATICS RESTRICTION REGULATIONS

"Natives" meant those aboriginal of Africa (and their descendants) and "Asiatic" meant Chinese, Indians and Malays.

Following the First Chimurenga of 1896, the written permission of the Administrator was required if any such persons were to lawfully possess arms or ammunition (the maximum penalty being a fine of £50 or 2 years' imprisonment with labour).

A magistrate could authorize restricted persons in special cases to carry one gun, and up to 20 rounds of ammunition, for protection or self-defence whilst "employed in service". Asiatics (perhaps because they too had been victims in the uprising in the year before) could also receive exemption by means of a letter from the Administrator.

Anyone who supplied arms or ammunition to "natives or Asiatics" faced a fine of £100 or 2 years' imprisonment with labour. The regulations did not apply to weapons supplied to restricted persons "for purposes of defence in time of war or rebellion".

Following the declaration of Martial Law by Earl Grey on 20 June 1896 all weapons (save one personal weapon which could be kept for self-defence) were to be handed in to the O.C. Rhodesia Horse (and pubs were to close at 6 p.m.).

10. 1898 CIVIL SERVICE REGULATIONS

Regulations were published on 11 January 1898 to "establish and define the Civil Service of Rhodesia".

Many amending regulations were to follow but the initial draughtsman contemplated, *inter alia*:

a. the need for a probationary period of at least 1 year;
b. the habitual use of "intoxicating liquors to excess" (which led to dismissal);
c. insolvency or imprisonment for debt, which led to forfeiture of office (but reinstatement was possible if one could prove it did not arise from "fraud, extravagance or dishonourable conduct").

Appointment as a Magistrate required the candidate to have passed the Cape Colony Civil Service Law Examination or, regardless of qualifications, to have put in at least 5 years service with the BSAC, (i.e. at least back to the time of the war with Lobengula and the occupation of Matabeleland).

11. 1898 RAILWAY REGULATIONS

These important regulations provided for the construction and/or maintenance of lines of rail between Bulawayo and the "northern border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate" and "the border of the Portuguese possessions, near Umtali, and Salisbury".

Prior to the completion of the line from Beira to Salisbury, travellers to Salisbury would undergo a 6-hour journey by steamboat from Beira up the Pungwe river to Fontesvilla (cost £1) then 118 miles by train to Chimoio (cost £3) then by coach to Salisbury and points between.

12. 1898 OUTSPAN REGULATIONS

Owners of land that was "subject to the (public's) right of outspan" could ameliorate this often highly inconvenient encumbrance by applying to the Administrator for a particular portion of their land to be set apart "for the purpose of outspanning and for no other purpose whatsoever".

Then followed inspections, diagrams, provision for objections, the placing of beacons and, if successful, the posting by the owner of a conspicuous notice advertising the location of the outspan on a tarred post at least 9ft high, (clearly legible at 10 yards distance).

Outspanning was obviously a considerable sore point with landowners (as the regulations run on for several pages covering every apparent eventuality).

13. THE 1898 TOWN LOCATION REGULATIONS

This applied to "native locations" or what today have developed into high-density suburbs.

Permits were required to live in them.

Inspectors were authorized to search houses without warrant for the purposes of apprehending (again without warrant) "idle or disorderly persons" or those intoxicated or in possession of liquor, (all of whom faced imprisonment, "with or without spare diet").

One was deemed "an idle or disorderly person" if found "wandering or loitering" within the township without reasonable excuse.

14. THE 1898 SETTLEMENT OF COLONIAL NATIVES IN KRAALS PROHIBITION REGULATIONS

Any "native" who was not a descendant of an "aboriginal native" of Rhodesia (including Zulus, Bechuana, Cape and Zambesi tribesmen) faced a £5 fine if found within the limits of any kraal in the country (and the headman's duty was to report their arrival if they did not depart his kraal the same day).

15. THE 1898 SECOND-HAND GOODS' REGULATIONS

Amongst other prohibitions, pawnbrokers and second-hand dealers faced 12 months imprisonment if found with a smelting pot on their premises.

16. ORDNANCE 2 OF 1891

It is of interest that on 8 September 1891, when this Ordnance was promulgated, the area lying between the Shashi (now Shashe) and the Macloutsie (now Motloutse) rivers was "Disputed Territory" and is today within the borders of South Africa and Botswana, save for the Tuli area.

In 1891 "Mashonaland" was defined as "Fort Tuli, and an area ten miles around that Fort, and the Territories north of the 22nd parallel of South Latitude", but excluding land belonging to Chief Khama (as well as the District of Tati to which reference was made in the Charter).

17. 1893 PRISONS REGULATIONS

These limited corporal punishment of prisoners to a maximum of "36 lashes" and no doubt came as a great relief! Incidentally, a warden at Salisbury Gaol could expect a uniform, rations and a wage of £8 per month.

18. THE 1894 TOWNS' MANAGEMENT REGULATIONS

The right to vote on town affairs was available to adult males owning or occupying immovable property within the town to the value of £75 or more (such value to be assessed by the local Magistrate).

Problems with which the town sanitary boards were expected to deal included the isolation of animals and persons suffering from contagious diseases, impounding stray animals, the removal of night soil, the "mischievous" use of gunpowder, noise from "trumpets, drums or whips" and ferocious dogs.

Notices in the Government Gazettes of the time advised of the intended sale, if unclaimed, of a dark, stone-coloured donkey and three black and white pigs, and of Mr Ali Khan's "certain prevention for horse sickness" developed, he claimed, after "4 years successful experience and trial" and in respect of which he could be "consulted at his stables at Salisbury Street at any hour". (He was to be declared insolvent in 1905).

19. THE 1894 SALE OF LIQUOR BY AUCTION REGULATIONS

The auction of intoxicating liquor required a Magistrate's permit.

One such liquor was Perry, (a cider made from pears). Is it still produced?

In any case, "intoxicating liquor", as defined in these regulations, included "eau-de-cologne"!

20. THE 1899 JURY REGULATIONS

Criminal cases were to be before a jury of nine (men only between the ages of 21 and 60), with seven concurring votes sufficient for a verdict.

If nine qualified men could not be found, (obviously a real prospect at the time) the Judge could hear the case alone (with up to 4 Assessors if he chose).

Disqualification as a juror followed if one could not read and write or had previous convictions.

Those exempt from jury service included newspaper editors and reporters.

A detailed history of the jury system in Zimbabwe will appear in a future edition of *Heritage*.

21. THE 1899 WITCHCRAFT REGULATION

Laws dealing with witchcraft exist to this day. In 1899, amongst other things, the witchdoctor's "boiling water test" (involving the immersion in hot water of certain bodily extremities in order to detect a crime) was prohibited.

22. THE 1900 BRANDS' REGULATIONS

One was deemed prima facie guilty of stock theft if found in possession of an animal bearing another's registered brand. All brands had to be registered.

A directory of brands was maintained (and branded stock included ostriches).

Frederick Courtney Selous' brand was "FS", that of the Count de la Panouse was "AD", Colenbrander's was "xz" , that of Dunbar Moodie an arrow in a heart, that of the Salvation Army "SS" (in a circle), van Praagh had "MTC", Meikle Brothers were "ME", "SI" was registered to "Skulpad (Zulu)" and "H" (in a triangle) to "Harry No. 2 (Indian)", (not to be confused with Harry No. 1).

23. THE 1900 SUPPRESSION OF IMMORALITY REGULATIONS

Fourteen was the age of consent for girls. Penalties for consensual sexual intercourse with girls under the age of 12 were severe but less so (a fine) if the girl was aged between 12 and 14 (and it was a complete defence for the male if he was under the age of 15).

Detaining a girl in a brothel was obviously an offence. The brothel-keeper was deemed to be detaining her "with intent to compel her to remain therein" if any "wearing apparel or other property" belonging to the girl was withheld from her, or if she was threatened by the brothel keeper with legal proceedings should she take away any wearing apparel supplied to her.

Pimps faced 12 months in jail or 25 lashes or both.

24. THE 1900 OCCUPATION OF LAND REGULATIONS

In all cases in which any title deed to land contained a condition requiring occupation of the land, "occupation" meant actual and bona fide farming of the land by cultivation or with stock and this could be deemed proved:

a. by the erection of buildings worth at least £250 on each 1500 morgen of land (up to 15000 morgen); or
b. by the maintenance for at least 3 years on each 1500 morgen of land of at least 20 cattle, horses, mules or asses (or otherwise at least 150 sheep, goats or pigs); or

c. by the planting of not less than 500 fruit or 1000 timber trees on “sufficient land” (and the enclosure thereof).

25. THE 1901 INDEMNITY FOR ACTS DURING WAR REGULATIONS

This country was actively involved in Her Majesty’s war with the Transvaal Republic and Orange Free State between 1899–1901 (the Boer War). What might be termed “war-crimes” were indisputably committed by both sides. Indemnity was granted for any act done “in good faith” for the “suppression of hostilities” or for the “public safety” of the territory during the Boer War (with the burden of proving the absence of good faith falling on the complainant).

26. THE 1901 NATIVE MARRIAGE REGULATIONS

“Lobolo” (the stock or cash or other property delivered on behalf of an intended husband to the parent of an intended wife) had to be delivered by the date of the marriage if the marriage was to be valid.

Lobolo given more than 12 months before the date of the marriage was “not recoverable” if the marriage did not go ahead.

Limits were placed on lobolo, viz 5 head of cattle (or equivalent) for daughters of chiefs and 4 head of cattle (or equivalent) for everyone else. The cash “equivalent” of one cow could not exceed £5. Penalties were in place for demanding “excessive lobolo”.

The bride and groom and the girl’s father and the chief (or deputed headman) were required to appear before the Native Commissioner, who had to satisfy himself that lobolo had been paid and that the girl freely consented to the marriage, whereafter the marriage was recorded in a register. Failing fulfilment of those conditions the girl remained under the guardianship of her parents.

There were also penalties for inducing a girl to leave her parents without complying with the lobolo and marriage registration conditions.

27. THE 1901 EXPORT OF WAR MATERIAL REGULATIONS

These followed the recent end of the Boer War and prohibited the export from Southern Rhodesia of materials of war, including “searchlights, heliographs, limelight and Marconi apparatus”, and even “torpedoes and submarine mines”.

28. THE 1901 PRESERVATION OF PEACE REGULATIONS

The Administrator could issue a warrant for the apprehension of any person if “such person’s proceedings (endangered) the peace of the territory,” in particular if such person intended leaving Southern Rhodesia to take up “military service with any native chief beyond the borders” of the territory or to “stir up strife between native chiefs” in other territories.

(Readers are requested to throw light on why this regulation became necessary – it may have been intended for mercenary activities by local settlers in neighbouring countries in the unstable times following the end of the Boer War.)

29. THE 1901 MASTERS’ & SERVANTS’ REGULATIONS

These would have warmed the cockles of the heart of a stressed modern day human resources manager with their provisions for fines and imprisonment of a servant or apprentice who

failed to commence service on the contracted date or absented himself without leave or became intoxicated or performed work carelessly or disobeyed orders or insulted his employer (let alone losing stock in his care or using his master's horse without permission, or "brawling" when "desired to desist" from doing so by his employer).

In fairness, the regulations also provided against employers who assaulted their staff or who withheld their wages and property, or who did not supply food and bedding.

A father could contract out the services of his child under the age of sixteen but, at sixteen, the child was free to decide whether to continue with the apprenticeship.

Interestingly, an employer giving a false reference of good character was liable "for any loss or damage caused thereby to any third person" who was induced by the reference to hire the employee in question.

30. THE 1903 ANCIENT RELICS' REGULATIONS

These were intended for the better protection of ancient monuments and relics predating 1800, including "Bushmen's paintings, stone circles, tombs, tumuli and phalli".

31. THE 1903 EDUCATION REGULATIONS

The shortage of white women in the territory over the preceding 13 years had its natural consequences so that, by 1903, it was necessary for grants to be made of £90 per annum for each teacher at "Schools for Coloured Children"

Readers will recall that, unlike the case for their womenfolk, male settlers faced no sanction for forming intimate relationships with the local black women.

32. THE 1903 CORPORAL PUNISHMENT REGULATIONS

Sentences of flogging, before being carried out, had to await a Judge's certificate that the sentence accorded "with law and real and substantial justice".

Past experience had obviously shown that it was cold comfort for the convict to be told, after having received his "lashes", that the sentence was being set aside.

33. THE 1903 IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS

These sought to restrict the arrival of undesirables (including "idiots", prostitutes and pimps, those with criminal convictions, those "without visible means of support" and those unable to complete an immigration application form "in the characters of any European language").

The language test had been informally in place for some time. Members of our Asian community, (Vijay Patel MBE, is one), recall stories from their forebears (who mostly arrived in the territory from India via Zanzibar and thence down through P.E.A.) of the enterprising individuals at Umtali who ran "crammers" specially for the purpose of ensuring their "students" passed the language test at Forbes Border post and were allowed entry into Southern Rhodesia.

34. THE 1903 POLICE REGULATIONS

The oath of allegiance was now, of course, to King Edward VII.

Promotion required the successful passing of exams approved by the Attorney General. Resignation was not an option and military service was mandatory in times of war. One's pension could be forfeited for a host of reasons. Any association with the sale of liquor was

forbidden. Deserters' goods were sold by auction. Offences included "offering violence" to a superior officer, making reports "calculated to cause alarm or despondency", committing any offence "of an indecent or unnatural kind", fighting and malingering or "feigning infirmity".

A notice in the Government Gazette of 30 December 1896 warned "innkeepers", amongst others, that Government would not be responsible for debts incurred by members of the BSAC Police.

35. THE 1904 GAMING REGULATIONS

Gaming houses were prohibited. The police were authorized to seize all instruments of gaming including money, I.O.U.'s and "good-fors" (all of which would be duly forfeited). Cheating at cards, dice, etcetera constituted theft by false pretences of any winnings, (even if the game itself had been illegal).

36. THE 1904 POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS' REGULATIONS

These established the P.O.S.B. savings banks in this country.

37. THE 1904 DESERTED WIVES' & CHILDREN'S REGULATIONS

The rough and ready, hard-drinking times led to numerous social ills taking grip in the new territory, including fathers going "walkabout".

These regulations introduced maintenance orders, but not for children of 15 years or older and not if the wife had committed adultery.

38. THE 1905 FUGITIVE CRIMINALS REGULATIONS

Many "characters" turned up in the territory in its early days, some of whom were on the run from diverse parts of the world.

The Administrator was required to honour any extradition treaty concluded between Britain and "the Ruler of a foreign State" (where the "wanted" subject of the foreign state turned up in Southern Rhodesia,) but: –

a. not if the offence in respect of which the fugitive's surrender was demanded was "one of a political character"; and
b. not without a guarantee that he would not be detained for any other offence once surrendered; and
c. once detained locally, he would be released if not deported from Southern Rhodesia within 2 months.

39. THE 1906 PRESERVATION OF GAME REGULATIONS

The wholesale slaughter of game in the region in the second half of the 19th Century is well documented. These regulations were a further effort to close the stable door after the horse had bolted. Mandatory game licenses were introduced, as was the concept of "Royal Game", (now called "specially protected animals").

£1 got you a Class "A" permit to shoot game birds and antelope not listed under Class "B". Class "B" animals included bushbuck, hartebeest, impala, lechwe, pookoo, roan and sable antelope, sitatunga, tssessebe, waterbuck and wildebeest. The cost was £5 or £25 depending on whether or not you were domiciled in Southern Rhodesia.

Special permits could be issued for the capture of certain species for "breeding or farming purposes" (including eland, zebra and ostriches).

"Royal Game" (Class "C") were initially eland, elephant, giraffe, gemsbok, hippo, nyala, koodoo, ostrich, rhino, springbok, zebra and quagga. The list was amended from time to time thereafter. The Administrator's written permission was required to capture or shoot any of these and was only granted for purposes of farming or breeding or for expressly approved "scientific purposes". Notwithstanding this, the fine for a first offence was a relatively modest £25 and the possibility of being barred from hunting for the remainder of the "current shooting season".

Some of these animals have clearly survived better then others over the years and are no longer specially protected. Many Class B animals are now protected. Closed seasons were to be enforced, as was the sale of game. Trespass penalties were increased. The export of animals and eggs was restricted. Restrictions were placed on the sale of eggs and chicks of game birds.

Shooting in protection of crops and gardens was permitted in prescribed circumstances.

The development of these laws is an article in itself. Are there any volunteers out there?

40. THE 1906 PRECIOUS STONES REGULATIONS

Prospecting permits were introduced and all finds had to be reported to the Mining Commissioner (after which the BSAC could expropriate the land in question). False declarations, as to where finds had been made, were treated as fraud for sentencing purposes.

"Salting" areas with precious stones, (to induce the unwary to invest or take over a claim) was not unknown, and also attracted the penalties available for fraud.

Diggers were prohibited from even possessing diamonds, let alone dealing in them, without a permit. Forfeiture followed. There were controls on the import and export of loose diamonds with wide powers of search and seizure (including the opening of suspicious parcels sent via the Post Office).

41. THE 1908 STOCK THEFT REGULATIONS

Cattle are dear to the hearts of most Zimbabweans. Protection of one's livestock one hundred years ago was a matter very important to both settlers and the local population, (as it is today with a mandatory minimum sentence for stock theft, in the absence of special circumstances, of 7 years imprisonment, as opposed to the 12 months maximum sentence in 1908, albeit that up to 15 lashes might also be imposed).

Proving the intention to steal could be problematic hence:

a. the burden lay upon the accused of proving that he was unaware that he had purchased stolen stock;
b. entry into a farm or kraal enclosed by a fence (other than along the road) gave rise to a presumption that stock theft was in mind (and was an offence in itself even if the accused could prove an innocent purpose in entering);
c. search and arrest by the landowner, without warrant, was permitted;
d. rewards were paid to informants from the Administrator's funds;

e. the sale of produce and stock for less than £50 between sunset and sunrise was an offence (as presumably it was felt that thieves would not be dealing in such large sums);
f. hides of slaughtered animals had to be retained, with the brands visible, for at least 5 days;
g. when spoor of stolen stock was traced to "any kraal or locality", but the stock was not found:
    i. the stock-owner could search the kraal and locality;
    ii. the kraal-head was responsible for its value;
    iii. anyone refusing to permit a search also became responsible for the value of the stolen stock;
    iv. equally liable were those who obliterated any spoor or who refused to help in following up the spoor as a result of which the spoor was lost;
    v. the kraal-heads of all adjacent kraals were all liable if the spoor did not lead to a specific kraal and became lost or obliterated in a general locality.

Perhaps needless to say, "fraudulently creating a spoor with intent to injure another" was an offence!

42. THE 1908 EXPORT OF ANGORA GOATS & OSTRICHES REGULATIONS

The export from Southern Rhodesia of Angora goats and ostriches (save to a territory which itself banned their export) was prohibited.

Whatever became of the Angora goat industry?!

43. THE 1908 SATURDAY HALF-HOLIDAY REGULATIONS

Local authorities were empowered to order that shops were to close by 1:30 p.m. on Saturdays. The regulations were designed "to secure a Saturday half-holiday for Shop Assistants".

They did not apply to any Saturday immediately preceding either Christmas Day or New Year's Day nor where the following Monday was a public holiday, nor did it include caretakers, domestic workers, cleaners, firemen nor "those not employed indoors", (nor did "shop" cover chemists, hotel and barkeepers, restaurants, tobacconists, barbers, fruiterers, butchers, bakers or news agencies).

We don't know how lucky we are!

44. THE 1909 COLOURED LABOURERS REGULATIONS

Perhaps a reader can enlighten us as to why it was felt necessary, but these regulations introduced a monthly tax on miners of one shilling a head for every "coloured labourer" in their employ.

45. THE 1910 CENSUS REGULATIONS

These introduced procedures and rules for a national Census of people and of livestock (for the year 1911). When was the last Census held in Zimbabwe? The 1907 Census had found something over 14 000 whites in the country. Bulawayo's white population exceeded that of Salisbury, (and females were outnumbered about two to one).

46. THE 1910 COMPENSATION FOR INJURY TO STOCK BY TRAINS REGULATIONS

Refreshingly unlike the modern approach, these regulations made it clear that (in the absence of gross negligence or willful act by stock-owners) the owners of railways were liable to pay compensation for stock killed or injured on unfenced lines in daylight hours. The owner had to keep the carcass and report the incident to his nearest station master within 3 days.

Knowing the proclivities of some farmers, fraudulent claims, (i.e. attributing to the train death from another cause), attracted heavy penalties. Compensation was capped at £50 for horses down to 30/– for goats.

47. THE 1923 SOUTHERN RHODESIA HABIT FORMING DRUGS PROCLAMATION

Those of you who mentally associate the illicit use of marijuana, opium, heroin and cocaine with modern rock bands and dissolute Hollywood types, should be aware that by 1923 the High Commissioner (Arthur Frederick) felt that the "surreptitious consumption" of these drugs warranted this law restricting their import, production and use in Southern Rhodesia.

48. THE 1912 ADMINISTRATOR'S BOX SYSTEM ORDINANCE

And finally the author's favourite.

The Box System Ordinance, published on 5 July 1912, was intended to provide for the supervision of "a certain system of Credit to Natives commonly called the 'Box System'".

The "Box System" was the practice by which a general dealer kept boxes (or other receptacles) in order that "natives" might deposit therein their goods for safe keeping, "or as security for the payment of amounts due for goods supplied (to them) by such dealer upon credit".

Prior to these regulations, unclaimed boxes were often sold "without further notice to defray expenses" following publication of a notice to that effect in the Government Gazette, (such as that placed by Messrs Turner & Hamilton of Eldorado and Ayrshire on 19 May 2009 addressed to 72 named "boys").

The new law provided that any person practising the system was to be known as "the Box-keeper". He was first required to register his name as a Box-keeper with the nearest Magistrate.

The Box-keeper was to maintain a list of all persons on whose behalf he held any boxes and of the sums due by each (and any payments made) and a description of all goods placed in the box from time to time.

This list and the box was to be available for inspection by any police officer at all times. No box could be sold without the consent of the debtor although a Magistrate could give such consent after an inquiry if the box was inactive or not redeemed for 6 months, or if the Box-keeper wanted to sell it to satisfy an overdue debt. Any surplus was paid to the debtor, or to the Magistrate on behalf of an absent debtor.

The would-be customer therefore had a choice between paying cash or opting for a box to be opened in his name. If he was keeping clear of his creditor, the debtor would have to remember exactly what was in his box.

When it became time to pay he had a choice between settling his debt or losing the contents. The Box-keeper was required to keep a duplicate key for inspection purposes. This suggests that the Box was kept locked with a key retained by the debtor.

We are all aware of the popular television game-show by the same name, but was this system perhaps the true origin of the well-known expression "Money or the Box"?!

Whilst we are sure that none of them were guilty of "furious riding", some of our members may still recall the impact on their parents and grandparents of certain of these prohibitions, and feedback will be welcome (for example, concerning the problems created by outspanning and prickly pears and jury duty and the language test for immigration and six-day working weeks and the Box System).

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My grateful thanks to Felicity Naidoo for her typing of the many drafts of this article.

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George Nolan of Lithium Lodge (1909–1980)

by Wendy Lapham

If you happen to have your roots in or around the Eastern district of Fort Victoria, particularly in the days when we knew the country as Southern Rhodesia you would then be counted as an 'old timer' and be familiar with the name George Nolan.

George was one of countless prospectors who roamed the Bikita Tin Fields in the1930s. They were familiar figures this breed. Clad in khaki trousers and wide brimmed hats – a hunting knife and revolver hanging from a belt, they would set off with their donkey or mule, which carried all the 'accoutrement' of the trade: a tent, a pick, hammer and shovel, along with a few simple supplies. . . . Most of them were 'down and out' – they were poor and lived in huts, but the lure of the bush, with its tantalising promise of wealth drew them like magnets in their obsessive hunt for gold and other precious minerals. It was bait, as hard to resist as the gaming tables – although not nearly as facile, superficial or glamorous. The prospectors wandered and roamed around the wilderness digging far and wide, working very often on sites of old workings, pegging and staking their claims – making their mark upon the country long before there was much interest in tilling the soil. George Nolan, driven by this very hope was no different from others of the same persuasion. It was a hard rough life of deprivation with neither comfort nor ease. It was the boredom and loneliness that sometimes undid a man exposing his vulnerability and driving him to the unaccustomed and a life of unconventionality. But the prospector could no more have rid himself of his overriding drive at uncovering the hidden assets of the earth, than stop breathing.

George Nolan was born in Krugersdorp, South Africa in 1909. He was one of fourteen siblings born to his parents who had been raised in the Cape Colony. At some stage the family had emigrated from Ireland – no one really seems to know exactly when. They were, however, of good Irish stock – his mother, in particular, stemmed from nobility.

As a youngster he went to the Kimberley Diamond mines to work for his uncle, and it is probably this experience that gave him the ground knowledge which was to stand him in good stead as a prospector in Rhodesia. On arrival in Kimberley his uncle, obviously keen on instilling some enthusiasm into him, gave him incentive by telling him that he could keep the first diamond he found. With the luck of his far distant Irish ancestry he discovered a fairly large rock, which once cut and polished he had fashioned into a matching set of jewels for his mother: a ring, a pendant and a pair of earrings. So here we have the first indication of a man with strong feelings of sentiment and an appreciation of fine things rather than a practical mind. It was also apparent that he had a kind and generous spirit.

It was the early 1930s that saw George Nolan, accompanied by his widowed mother, cross the border into Southern Rhodesia. Having become a widow it seems as if his mother was now dependent on him. He was clearly very fond of her and those who knew her said that she was a very fine woman. George came across the Bikita Tin Fields, as they were known in 1934. It was a vast area which held other huge deposits such as tantalite, beryl, lithium and petalite. George began pegging and working these claims for years according to the law and obviously made a modest living out of them.

Long standing residents of Fort Victoria, would remember names such as Osbourne, Pluck, Moonie, Miller, McCormack and Goddard. Add George Nolan's name to this band of men and you would be acknowledging the local prospecting fraternity of the district. They knew each other well and had become good mates. Those who remember George Nolan spoke well of him. He was liked by those he came into contact with most – they found him an interesting character full of lively and varied conversation and sociably very acceptable.

My father-in-law, the late Frank Lapham, who was manager of Meikles in Fort Victoria for many years, knew George Nolan during the lean, and affluent times. George would pitch up out of the blue to buy his meagre provisions, more often than not needing credit during those years of depression, promising to settle his debts when he had worked more claims and there was money to spare. Meikles were happy to oblige and happily never let down.

The late Cecil Bouchet, lawyer and amateur prospector of Fort Victoria had himself pegged three claims on Bikita Minerals in the 1930s. Years later when war started Mr Bouchet joined up, sadly never to return. Now widowed, Mrs Bouchet found herself in dire financial straits. George Nolan heard of her situation and offered to buy the three claims from her, for which he paid five pounds each – a good sum in those days. However he never did anything with them until after the war.

At some stage during the 1940s George acquired the farms 'Pastures' and 'Petalite' which stand along side Bikita Minerals, owned originally by Doug Laurie.

George Nolan as a young man

"The current story about lithium being a recent discovery is completely inaccurate . . ." said Mr Crawford Nish, a Director of Bikita Minerals. "The deposits have always been known and are far larger than at first supposed."

George Nolan's fortunes, or luck, have it as you like, changed after the war when in about 1952 he struck it rich, with the discovery of huge lithium deposits on Bikita Minerals. Suffice to say the money rolled in and he became a very wealthy man.

(For the ignorant such as myself it should be explained that lithium mixed with steel produces a hard metal. At the time it was a relatively modern amalgam, much prized and used in the production of bombs and computers, etc).

George Nolan began to travel the world, mostly on business trips to America where he sought out orders for the lithium. It was on one of these trips that he visited Washington and set eyes for the first time on the 'White House.' Impressed, he immediately fell in love with the look of it – its prominent architecture and fresh colour, the imposing and distinctive columns at its threshold, and he determined then to build a replica for himself in Bikita. . . . Questioning him later his children asked him why he had built his new house in such a place as Bikita – why not somewhere civilized, such as in the city? The sentimental reply should not surprise anyone. . . . During his impoverished younger days when he would take to the bush for weeks on end, prospecting with nothing but hope and expectations in his heart, his evening path would always take him to a spot next to a beautiful big tree, and there he would set up camp. With his tent and fire beside him he would gaze across the valley at the spectacular view it afforded him and dream of the house he would one day build there.

As his grandiose ideas escalated so did his spending. . . . George became the Master of Expenditure.

Other trips took him to Europe and Ireland. In Ireland he discovered his roots. Delving into the past he found he could lay claim to a family crest. In Italy he ordered quantities of Carrara marble with which to clad the floors and walls of his 'White House'. He bought 'objets d'arts' in several different forms, statuettes and paintings by lesser-known artists, and whilst in Britain he ordered replicas of Louis XIV furniture, upholstered in sumptuous materials into which was woven the family crest. What pleasure it must have given him to have 'carte blanche' on his orgies of spending. He would have been the envy of every woman that I ever knew. . . . His days of 'roughing it' were over.

The roof of his new house was to be slated. The load came up from South Africa in twenty R.M.S. trucks and weighed 40 tons. There was to be a library and a billiard room with the dining room becoming the 'pièce de resistance'. These rooms were panelled in exotic woods – hard woods imported from all over the world such as Japanese sandalwood, red woods from America, teak from Burma and African mahogany – woods which are impossible to purchase now. The kitchen, of which he was inordinately proud, was tiled from floor to ceiling, unusual for those days.

Once complete, the Nolan white house was christened 'Lithium Lodge'. It took seven years to build and finish, although the family moved in after the fifth year. There was a grand opening party to which George invited his prospecting mates and several local dignitaries from Fort Victoria.

The children were never allowed into the state rooms. They were show pieces – only used when there were guests. The billiard table was magnificent, housed in a room to the side. There was also a bronze statue of an eagle which seemed to be admired and coveted

The entrance to Lithium Lodge
(Photo of illustration in the South African Garden and Home*)*

by many in the district who actually saw it. Some said that guests were served off silver salvers but daughter Pat Nolan denies this. All guests were asked to sign the visitor's book that rested on a plinth in the hall. Two of the names in it were Janet and Ian Smith. George Nolan was a staunch Rhodesian Front supporter – to his cost.

Another memorable occasion at Lithium Lodge was Mabel's wedding – spoken about derisively by some and in awe by others. Whatever one thought, it was a spectacular affair

The interior of the sitting room
(Photo of illustration in the South African Garden and Home*)*

with no money spared. As a mere prospector people liked him but others said the money went to his head. However, by then, George had begun to sift out the chaff from the corn, particularly after some of his guests had helped themselves to crates of booze when they left the wedding.

Having been entertained by an abundance of American customers during his travels in the States he wasn't a bit surprised when four 'yanks' turned up to visit him one day. George always hospitable and genial took them in and royally wined, dined and lodged them for the night. Next morning after breakfast they asked where they should pay the bill. . . . It turned out they had just been ordinary tourists who thought that Lithium Lodge was a B & B.

Doug Hill, resident of Fort Victoria since 1949, who has been a keen amateur dramatist for many years remembers making several trips out to Lithium Lodge to borrow furniture from the house for his period stage sets.

Let's turn now to George's complicated private life. It was anything but proper, although by which standards do we measure this. Certainly by the customs of the day, his behaviour was not only irregular, it was down right audacious and not surprisingly kept very much apart from the public life he later lived. The children, with the possible exception of Mabel, who many Fort Victoria residents remember, seemed to be kept in the background.

Due probably to the close proximity of the two families the life of the Finch's have been very much interwoven with that of the Nolan's.

Native Commissioner Finch, of Scottish descent, lived on Socera Farm in Bikita. He lived there simply because, as yet, a residence had not been built for the incumbent N.C.

'Ol'Finchie', as he was known, had a liaison with a local black woman which resulted in a son, David. David had three daughters – he may have had more, but three of them were Sarah, Martha and Elizabeth.

George's daughter Caroline Nolan-Pullen tried to unravel the confusion for me. Here we have shades of the Old Testament readings.

George "took to himself" Sarah Finch and had Mabel. Then he had Francis with Martha Finch, sister of Sarah Finch, . . . before he and Sarah had had their second child. George then married Martha who was the daughter of David and Dorothy Finch (who, I might add, is still alive at 102). Martha and George had six children together. They are Francis, Michael, Maureen, Norah, Patricia and George.

He then "took to himself" Elizabeth Finch, sister of Sarah and Martha, and their issue was Marilyn, Caroline, and David.

Then George had a liaison with a Miss Charlotte Titterton which resulted in a son, Eugene. Apparently and not surprisingly, there were "complications" concerning Eugene but Caroline said, "We all knew that he was my father's child".

Following this, there came Peggy, Sharon, Debbie and Regina from Erina. After which George divorced Martha and married Teresa who bore him the last two children, Henry and Kevin.

So it seems that there were two lawful wives and a few common-law wives as well.

The list of children, in order are: Mabel, Francis, Michael, Maureen, Norah, Patricia, David, Caroline, George, Eugene, Peggy, Sharon, Debbie, Regina, Kevin and Henry. Sixteen in all.

Speaking to Pat Nolan about her childhood she said that she was no more than eight when her mother moved out and it was left to Mabel to bring up the children. "She was

more like a mother than a sister to me", she said. She also added, tongue in cheek "There were a lot more of us before, in between, and after, as well"!!

Suffice to say that on one of his pastoral visits the local Roman Catholic priest who was also a household friend critically declared one day, "George, there are just too many children and not enough wives around here".

George, though far from acting in a responsible manner, didn't however neglect his responsibilities once they were evident. The Irish part of him manifested itself as he surrounded himself with a multitude of children whom he clearly loved for they said he was kind and generous and there was nothing he would not do for them.

He sent his first two children, Mabel and Michael, to a convent in Switzerland to be educated. On their first visit home after being there for sometime they returned home speaking only French. George couldn't see any point in this so decided that the rest of them would not go the same way. As Pat Nolan pointed out…" the first two messed up the future chances for the rest of us". Subsequently the other children attended the Salisbury Convent and St George's.

Today, due to several vicissitudes which have overtaken the country during the past thirty two years, the dynasty that George began has now been scattered and is widely spread throughout the globe. Of this union there are forty-seven grandchildren . . . that we know of.

George Nolan was one of the few in life who struck it lucky. Luck in part maybe. But the prospector cannot rely on chance alone. Geological knowledge is imperative – it enables him to recognise the signs of a worthwhile presence. Added to this, he needs tenacity and perseverance and then perhaps, you will have the makings of a true prospector. He can be likened to a blood hound which sniffs for truffles.

Just before U.D.I. (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) George sold his Lithium claim to Bikita Minerals and the money was put into a trust. This he did with the sound

George Nolan

knowledge that he had a weakness for spending and that the trust would keep the money safe.

The 1970s were clouded with war and financial problems – sanctions were in place and trade slowed down. Time after time George would run into debt but due to the trust could not extricate himself from the situation. Boredom led him to continue with his prospecting, sometimes as far as Botswana but this used up even more money.

As the Lancaster House talks were taking place in 1979 George received a letter, sent by the Terrorists or Freedom Fighters, call them what you will, in which they warned him that if he did not supply them with money, food and shelter he would be murdered and his home burned down. He had been harassed by them for a long time but this was the second of such warnings sent in writing. The first he had ignored but this he took to the police because the threat "from the boys" had given him only twenty four hours to provide the help they needed before they made their move. The police sent along some "bright lights" as guards. George, in preparation, took out his own rifle – there was an accidental discharge and he found that he'd been shot through the thigh. Bleeding copiously he was taken to hospital in Fort Victoria and Michael was left to hold the fort.

Trek Removals answered an immediate call to clear the house of its furnishings and effects so that when the Terrorists did strike Lithium Lodge was almost empty. That night saw one man's dream coming to an end, reduced to ashes around him. George himself had narrowly escaped being murdered but he was as good as dead for he was a broken man.

He was also insolvent and his splendid imported possessions had to be auctioned off.

George had laid great store by his Lodge, it was his pride and joy. It had given him prestige and standing locally – even beyond the boundaries of Rhodesia people had heard and read about Lithium Lodge. He died grief-stricken and dejected, broken in spirit, a short time later in the February of 1980, aged 71 years, in Fort Victoria Hospital unable to recover from – his family said – a botched up operation.

George Nolan was a Living Legend. He flouted convention and lived a life which didn't conform to that which was expected of him at the time. The choice was his – he did it with dignity. At odds with himself he exercised his own discretion and took on responsibilities which gave him pleasure. Starting off his adult working life in a rough and humble dwelling only to end it in a creation suited more to his family's hitherto, noble roots, is the stuff that fairy tales are made of.

We don't find too many of his kind these days.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge help from the following: Pat Nolan; Caroline Nolan Pullen and Robert Pullen; Denese (Carritt) Hind, née Power; Simon Bouchet; Crawford Nish; Hennie Geldenhys ; Mike Lapham; Doug Hill.

The Fort Tuli Cemetery Reconsidered

by Rob S. Burrett and Geoff Quick

For several years the Fort Tuli (now known as Fort Thuli) cemetery, Fig. 1, has been the focus of a detailed programme of research. This article summarises the information gathered to date. It highlights problems with current markings in the Pioneer Cemetery, which is part of Zimbabwe National Monument No. 94. We also summarize the individual histories of the people who died in that lonely place, once a thriving community and for a while the largest colonial settlement in this part of Africa. (Shinn 1974:24).

Previously there has been a tendency to acknowledge as the virtual truth all conclusions made by learned authors, such as the late Lt.-Colonel Arthur Selwyn Hickman M.B.E. It was necessary, therefore, to return to primary sources and investigate further, before accepting what has already been published. This is not to denounce the pioneering work of those that have gone before us, nor do we imply that we are entirely correct. What we offer is all the data collected. Where certain assumptions have been made, these are documented as such.

BACKGROUND

The cemetery was located a respectable distance from the original buildings, given the prevailing Victorian beliefs of miasma – decay and disease. The graves were dug in the deep alluvial soil north of the Masgure Stream. This was important as most places at Tuli consist of hard basaltic bedrock with only shallow patches of soil. Currently there are 25 marked graves all of which, except one, are aligned east to west as is usual with Christian interments (Ayers 1987: 13). The cemetery is surrounded by a deep concrete and stone trench constructed in 1954 as a means of deterring elephants from damaging the tombstones. At about the same time a stone obelisk was built with a locked recess holding a scroll, compiled

Fig. 1. Location of Fort Tuli (Thuli)*

* Tuli changed to Thuli after independence in 1980. To remain consistent we have employed the original name.

Fig. 2. General view of main cemetery at Fort Tuli, 2005. *(Courtesy Paul Hubbard)*

by Hickman in April 1954 identifying those buried at the site (Hickman 1970: 161; Shinn 1974: 24), Fig. 2. Hickman's list and plan have generally been accepted as correct, Fig. 3 & associated Text Box A.

Our story, however, begins with the Guild of Loyal Women (Salisbury Branch). This group was formed not long after the 1899–1902 Anglo-South African War, with the aim of locating and marking the graves of those who fell in that conflict. They were under the overall control of the Guild in Cape Town and were supported with monies raised in Britain by the Victoria League, as well as local fund raising activities (NAZ A3/28/10; NAZ GU 1/1/1). In 1908 the Rhodesian Branch made the decision to extend their work to the marking of all early Settler graves in the Rhodesias and Bechuanaland (NAZ GU 1/2/1).

Although across the country many graves were marked, surprisingly those at Tuli, which included members of the British South Africa Company Police (BSACP), British South Africa Police (BSAP), Bechuanaland Border Police (BBP) and Rhodesia Regiment (RR) remained untouched; possibly because of the remote location. In September 1909 the Guild received a report from the BSAP on the Tuli cemetery indicating its poor state. The Guild requested more details, but no further correspondence is known (NAZ GU 1/2/1 & GU 1/4/1). A further police report was made in 1912 (NAZ A3/28/10) and the Guild funded the erection of a boundary fence round the cemetery, consisting of mopane poles and wire (NAZ S3183).

In 1915 BSAP Trp. John Logan[1], who was stationed at Tuli, visited the cemetery and

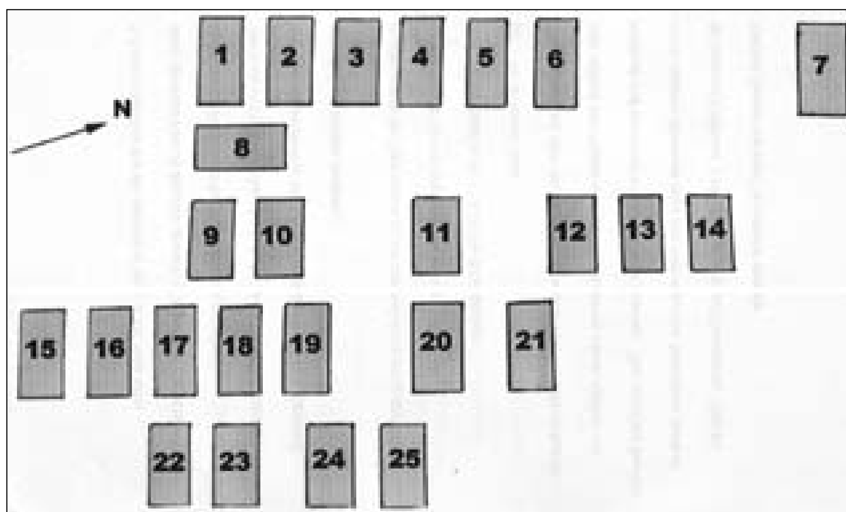

Fig. 3. General plan of graves according to Hickman 1954 and as the cemetery is now organized. Not to scale.

TEXT BOX A According to Lt.-Colonel A.S. Hickman

Grave Number	Name	Date of Death
1	George Herbert Hepper BBP	27.10.1891
2	A.T. Pullen 12.3.1899	
3	Ernest Kays Prentice	18.10.1897
4	Trooper C.C. Agar BSACP	8.3.1891
5	Trooper E. Rile BSAP	1898
6	unknown	
7	Trooper F. Woenestroun RR	11.12.1899
8	Trooper A.W. King BSAP	27.11.1899
9	unknown	
10	Trooper Murphy BSAP	15.5.1898
11	Trooper T. Searle BSAP	1899
12	Trooper G. Cook RR	18.11.1899
13	Trooper G.H. Perrett RR	18.11.1899
14	unknown	
15	Trooper G.P. Cook RR	18.11.1899
16	Trooper L. McSherry RR	28.10.1898
17	unknown	
18	Captain Leslie Dewing Blackburn (Imperial)	23.10.1899
19	unknown	
20	unknown	
21	Trooper H.V. Reis BSAP	23.5.1899
22	Trooper A. Sheppard RR	13.9.1900
23	Mrs E. Nell 6.9.1894	
24	Trooper Theodore Cumberlege Fenton BSAP	11.11.1899
25	Patrick Brown Russell (Imperial)	31.12.1900

recorded details from the markers present (NAZ–GU 1/1/1). It is important to note that Logan recorded 25 graves, as well as one memorial for Reis, who was buried elsewhere (i.e. 26 entries). It was the practice at the time for all district police stations to maintain a "General Records Book" (GRB). This would have recorded details of historical sites, including cemeteries and isolated graves in the station's patrol area. The Tuli GRB was probably the source of some of Trp. Logan's information. A problem with Logan's Report is his repeating of the names of three individuals on different graves, something of which he was aware although he mentions only one instance, Perrett, in his accompanying letter. Logan's findings were sent to the Guild by Police Headquarters in Salisbury (NAZ GU 1/1/1). This report is the earliest record found and is the basis for our discussion. A copy of Logan's sketch map and notes are shown in Figure 4 and associated Text Box B. It must be iterated that Logan's numbering is not the same as used by Hickman in 1954 (Fig. 3 & Text Box A).

In response to a later BSAP Tuli Report, dated July 1920, from Trp. Albert Gornall[2] that the crosses were deteriorating (NAZ GU 1/1/1), District Headquarters Gwanda requested further comment, specifying that details of the deceased were to be taken from the markers themselves rather than relying on the Tuli GRB. Gornall visited the site and seems to have taken some time over his report. (Fig. 4 but in this case using Text Box C) He seems to have used the same map as Logan but Gornall provides details on the actual markers present on the graves at that time. Of importance he too records 26 entries: 25 graves and the Reis memorial. He also corrected the misreading of the markers which appeared in the 1915 Logan Report, e.g. Agar as listed by Logan was in fact O'Hagan.

Gornall furthermore stressed that he was unable to support the three repeats made by Logan in 1915. For each, Cook, McSherry and Perrett, there was only one marked grave and the other records were found in the station GRB. He adds there was nothing to identify the

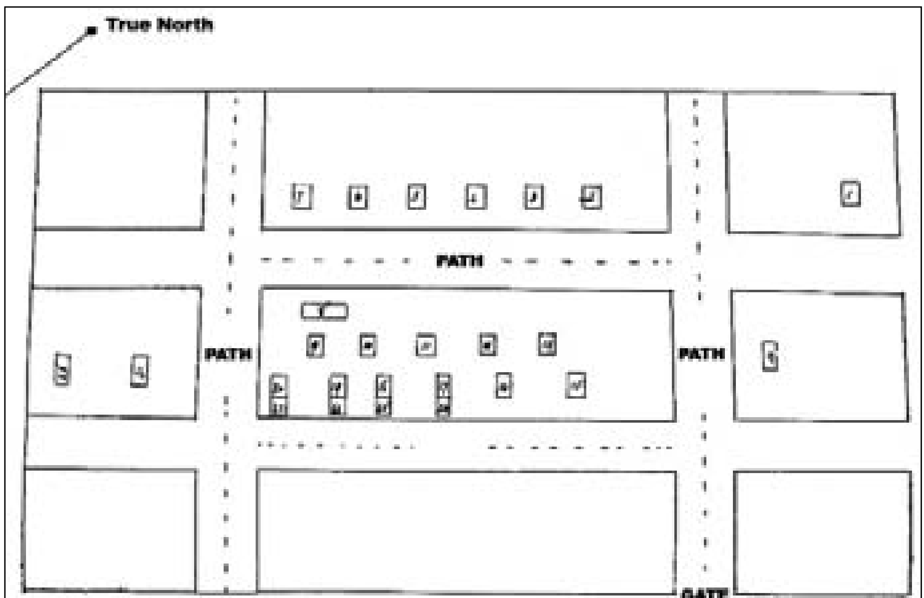

Fig. 4. Logan & Gornall Map, 1915 & 1920. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

TEXT BOX B	According to BSAP Trooper J. Logan 6.12.1915	
Grave Number	**Name**	**Date of Death**
1	Mrs E. Nell	6.9.1894
2	unknown	
3	Trooper E.E. Rile BSACP	1888
4	Trooper C.C. Agar BSACP	8.3.1891
5	Ernest Kays Prentice	18.10.1897
6	Sergeant J. Seale BSAP	1899
7	George Herbert Hepper BBP	27.10.1891
8	Trooper A.W. King BSAP	27.11.1898
9	unknown	
10	Trooper G.H. Perrett RR	18.11.1899
11	Trooper G. Cook RR	18.11.1899
12	S.D. Pullen ANC	12.3.1899
13	Trooper Murphy BSAP	15.5.1898
14	unknown	
15	Trooper H.V. Reis Tuli–Victoria Convoy	23.5.1899
16	unknown	
17	unknown	
18	Trooper G.P. Cook RR	18.11.1899
19	Captain Leslie Dewing Blackburn Scottish Rifles	23.10.1899
20	Trooper McSherry RR	29.10.1899
21	Trooper G.H. Perritt RR	18.11.1899
22	Trooper L. McSherry RR	28.10.1899
23	Corporal A. Sheppard RR	13.9.1900
24	Trooper F. Woenestroom RR	11.12.1899
25	Theodore Cumberlege Fenton BSAP	11.11.1899
26	Patrick Brown Russell Imperial Yoemnary	3.12.1900

occupants of unmarked graves. Otherwise the reports of Logan and Gornall are similar and can be combined to produce what we believe to be the best-fit option. Gornall's report was subsequently forwarded to the Guild of Loyal Women, but by this stage the Organization was winding down their work so it was probably forgotten and not the subject of further correspondence.

The next relevant work appears in the National Archives Pioneers and Police Graves Register (PPG), dated 25 February 1923 (NAZ S152). It was a register of all known early graves throughout the country. It is clear that entries under Tuli derive almost entirely from the 1915 Logan Plan. It follows the same logical sequence of graves and repeats many of the errors made in that report. The 1920 Gornall report was not used.

In compiling this 1923 Register the unidentified author made a few corrections of his own based on the evidence before him. Two of the three repeats in the 1915 Logan plan, McSherry and Perrett, were removed and one each shown as unknown. The author also added two new entries for Tuli, which had been left out in the earlier reports – Maginnes from 1907 who was buried near the Police Camp and Mead who was interred somewhere on the "bank of the Shashi River". Unfortunately we do not know how the additional information was obtained. Looking at the way the entries are written – the latter comment was added in pencil – it would seem that the author assumed that Mead was one of the unknowns at the main cemetery. Later rereading of this report has been problematic.

TEXT BOX C	According to BSAP Trooper A. Gornall 26.8.1920	
Grave Number	**Name**	**Date of Death**
1	Mrs E. Nell. From GRB only	6.9.1894
2	unknown. Big wood cross.	
3	Trooper E.E. Riley BSACP. Inscription worn.	1898
4	Trooper O. O'Hagan BSACP. Inscription worn.	8.3.1891
5	Ernest Kays Prentice. Small headstone.	18.10.1897
6	Sergeant J. Searle BSAP. Inscription worn.	1899
7	George Hurbert Hepper BBP. Iron headpiece.	27.10.1891
8	Trooper A.W. King BSAP. Tin plate.	27.11.1898
9	unknown. Big wood cross.	
10	Trooper G.H. Perritt RR – KIA. Damaged tin plate.	18.11.1899
11	Trooper G. Cook RR – KIA. Damaged tin plate.	18.11.1899
12	S.D. Pullen ANC. Damaged ton plate.	12.3.1899
13	Trooper Murphy BSAP. Damaged tin plate.	15.5.1898
14	unknown. No marking.	
15	Trooper H.V. Reis Tuli–Victoria Convoy. Memorial only	23.5.18…..
16	unknown. No marking.	
17	unknown. No marking.	
18	Trooper G.B. Cook RR. From GRB only.	18.11.1899
19	Captain Leslie Dewing Blackburn Scottish Rifles. Headstone	23.10.1899
20	Trooper McSherry RR. From GRB only.	29.10.1899
21	Trooper G.H. Perritt RR. From GRB only.	18.11.1899
22	Trooper L. McSherry RR. Damaged tin plate.	28.10.1899
23	Corporal A. Sheppard RR. Damaged tin plate.	13.9.1900
24	Trooper F. Woenestroom RR. Damaged tin plate.	11.12.1899
25	Theodore Cumberlege Fenton BSAP. Stone present.	11.11.1899
26	Patrick Brown Russell Imperial Yeomanry. Stone present.	3.12.1900

In 1954 Hickman, by then acting Police Commissioner[3], began a life-long interest in Tuli and related issues. He drew up his first map of the cemetery dated 5 April 1954, showing 25 graves and importantly no separate memorial for Reis. (Fig. 3 & Text Box A) (NAZ HI 5/1/6/1/1). In the same year, together with the local Native Commissioner, Hickman arranged for the clearance of the bush around the cemetery, as well as the construction of the elephant-proof trench. This was conceived and constructed by Cornelius Jacobus van Rooyen, a descendant of one of the early frontiersmen, who settled in the area even before colonization (Hickman 1970: 161; NAZ S3183; NAZ HI 5/1/3/1/4, Tabler 1966: 162–163).

It is likely that at this time the various graves were "tidied up', and this may have modified some of them significantly. The original mounds of basalt cobbles shown in an early photograph (NAZ–HI 5/1/2/4/13) were rebuilt as rectangular outlines with smaller stones placed inside. All the graves were built to approximately the same size, including that of a seven-month child (Prentice). It is probable that the restorers also incorrectly moved the memorial for Reis, which had been rolled over and severely damaged by elephants, to the head of a neighbouring grave.

Hickman (BSAP Outpost Magazine July 1954:23; NAZ HI 5/1/6/1/1) indicates that his plan was derived from material at Police General Headquarters, although we have not had access to any such records. It does not look as if Hickman consulted the files in the then

Central African Archives in Salisbury. It is clear, however, that his facts and interpretations were drawn from the 1923 PPG Register. He repeats all the errors made in that document, although he made two changes from BSACP to BSAP to take into account the apparent dates given – Rile and Searle.

To be fair one of the biggest problems he faced was the destruction of all the files from the old BSAP Tuli Station. These had been removed to Gwanda when the station was closed in 1941. They were held in one of the Gwanda storerooms until 1951, when the store was required for an office and the material was removed and burnt (BSAP Outpost Magazine June 1977; email Alan Rich to GQ, 10/6/1999). We know, therefore, how Hickman got his names, but as to the number and layout, we are unclear. He seems to have grasped the fact that Mead was not buried in the Main Cemetery as is the entry in the 1923 PPG report. Removing this name he came to 25 graves, which seemed to be correct on the ground given that Reis' memorial had been moved.

From this time the figure of 25 graves has been taken as correct, but we believe there should, in fact, be 26 entries. As to the layout, Hickman does not follow the sequence of the 1923 PPG report. While he may not have seen the 1915 Logan plan, it is interesting in that the differences are not random. There are direct swaps of two pairs of graves, while one whole row (3rd) is reversed north south. Once Hickman's 1954 plan was drawn it became an unquestioned establishment. It was entered into the new Tuli GRB (NAZ S3183), when the police station was reopened in 1955; it is the key to the site held by the Pioneers' & Early Settlers' Society in Bulawayo; it is the basis of the modern plaques erected over the graves; and it has been reproduced by later authors such as Shinn (1974), although she makes additional errors in transcribing it.

Hickman having retired from the BSAP, again visited Tuli in 1958 with Cran Cooke from the Historical Monuments Commission of Rhodesia (HMC) and again in 1959. During the latter visit he undertook a detailed examination of the site in his capacity as leader of a Rhodesian Schools' Exploration Society expedition. Based on this work, Hickman compiled a report for the HMC. This facilitated the declaration of the Fort, the Main Cemetery and the inscribed Baobab near Bamboo Spruit as a National Monument (Hickman 1970: 158–9; NAZ HI 5/1/6/1/1). Interestingly in his report Hickman admits he was having second thoughts about some of his earlier identifications of those buried in the cemetery and suggested that more research was needed (NAZ HI 5/1/6/1/1). Yet nothing further seems to have been done and his errors remained unchallenged.

The last substantive record, and one widely read and quoted, is an article by Alison Shinn (1974: 16–26). She used the 1954 Hickman plan with all its errors although it is clear that she visited the cemetery, changing some of the information based on the gravestones. Inadequate proof reading of the published text, however, resulted in additional errors that deviate from the earlier 1954 work.

In 1975 the Matabeleland Provincial Maintenance Officer (PMO) wrote to the Pioneers' & Early Settlers' Society in Bulawayo detailing the Tuli Cemetery restoration work that the Government had paid for that year. Where necessary gravestones were repaired and previously erected Society markers repositioned on graves (Pioneers' & Early Settlers' Society Tuli File, letter dated 10 October 1975). When these Pioneers' & Early Settlers' Society markers, Fig. 5, were originally placed on the graves is currently unknown but what is clear is that they were based entirely on Hickman's 1954 report with all its errors.

Fig. 5. Riley's incorrect Pioneers' & Early Settlers' Society Marker, 2005.
(*Courtesy Paul Hubbard)*

THE DEAD – POSSIBILITIES AND BACKGROUND
The following are the entries located as to people recorded as having died at Tuli and buried in the main cemetery according to the Logan Plan (Fig. 4 & Text Box B) and Gornall Report (Text Box C).

Grave 1.

NELL, Petronella died of as the result of a wagon accident 10 miles from Tuli on 6 September 1894 (NAZ JG 7/1/2/12). Logan and Gornall both record the name as Mrs E. Nell, but this is probably wrong.

Grave 2.

Unknown.

Grave 3.

RILEY, Ernest Edward BSACP Trp. 639. Previously a Lieutenant in the 2nd Dragoon Guards he died of fever at Tuli on 8 May 1891 (Hickman 1960: Leonard 1896: 226–227; Sutton n.d.: 53). His name appears in the Death Register as a member of E Troop in the BSACP, who died at Tuli (NAZ JG 7/1/1/249). The Deceased Estate file (JG 3/3/20/249) is missing. The 1920 Gornall Plan indicates that Grave No. 3 was marked with a small wooden cross, although the name was faint. It was for Trooper E.E. Riley BSACP 1898. Clearly by then the date was already obscure and Gornall may have used the 1915 Logan Report for the date, while visually correcting the name entry. Logan incorrectly recorded the name as Trp. E.E. Rile, who died in 1888; a date which is wrong. The PPG (NAZ S152) gives the date 1898, which is also not possible as the BSACP ceased to exist in July 1893. The name RILE does not appear in the Death Register at the National Archives. Fig.

5 shows the typical Pioneers' & Early Settlers' Society plaque as well as the current errors on Riley's marker.

Grave 4.

O'HAGAN, Owen BSACP Trp. 648. He died Tuli on 20 February 1891. (Leonard 1896: 192; Sutton n.d.: 53 and NAZ JG 7/1/1/212; JG 3/3/13/212). He does not appear in PPG and is also missing from Hickman's list. Elsewhere Hickman (1960) indicates O'Hagan was a member of the BSACP, who died at Tuli on 20 February 1891, but does not seem to have made any connection with the omission in his 1954 report. O'Hagan is buried in Grave 4 according to Gornall's report (NAZ GU 1/1/1). His poorly preserved name plaque seems to have been read in error as AGAR on several occasions, e.g. the 1915 Logan report, The name Agar does not appear in any of the relevant Death Registers or Deceased Estate files. Agar did not exist and should be eliminated from the records. Sources that cite Agar are repeating the original misreading (NAZ HI 5/23/3/21).

Grave 5.

PRENTICE, Ernest Kays. The Death Register states that he died at his father's residence on 25 October 1897 (NAZ JG 7/1/4/360; NAZ JG 3/3/60/360). The headstone reads "In loving memory of our beloved child Ernest Kays Prentice who died 18 October 1897 aged 7 months." "Safe in Heaven". It is hard to account for the two dates of death, although the second may be when the death register entry was recorded.

Grave 6.

SEALE, H. BSACP Sgt 587 died on the 8 February 1891 and is the first person recorded as having been buried at Tuli. (Leonard: 1896: 186; Sutton: n.d. 48; NAZ JG 7/1/1/268). The Deceased Estate file was prepared, but is missing from the Archives (NAZ JG 3/3/16/268). His surname is sometimes written as Trp. T. SEARLE (Hickman and PPG) which is incorrect. There is no record of the name Searle in the Death Registers at the Archives. Leonard adds a few personal details worthy of inclusion: "I have just returned from the funeral of one of our poor fellows, Sergeant SEALE, of the Commissariat, who died yesterday, after lingering for some weeks from paralysis." Logan shows him as Sgt. T. Seale who died in 1899 but this was changed to Sgt. T. Searle BSACP in Gornall's Report. Clearly the name of the deceased and his particulars were difficult to read on the grave marker.

Grave 7.

HEPPER, George Hubert BBP Cpl .1049. Although based at Macloutsie, he died at Tuli on 27 October 1891 (BBP Memorial St. John's Church, Mafeking; NAZ JG 3/3/7/120 and PPG). The Death Register records that he was a Trooper who died in the Tuli Hospital on 28 October 1891 (NAZ JG 7/1/1/120). It may be that his last breath was late on the evening of the 27th and his death only recorded on the 28th. His grave is marked with an iron headpiece in good condition with the inscription "IHS, In Memoriam, George Hubert Hepper BBP Died Fort Tuli 27 October 1891 aged 22", Fig. 6.

Grave 8.

KING, Alfred William BSAP Trp. 489 died in the Gaol Hospital, Tuli on 27 November 1898 (NAZ JG/7/1/5/341; NAZ JG 3/3/65/341). He was formerly a member of the BSACP (No. 541) and one of those who accompanied the 1890 Pioneer Column into Mashonaland. He took his discharge on 3 December 1891 and went to work in Johannesburg (Sutton undated: 44.) His grave is at a complete angle to all the others. This is unusual in a Christian cemetery (Ayers 1987: 13) and may be making a statement about the person. Was he a

Fig. 6. Hepper's cast iron grave marker, 2005. Typical of BBP graves.
(*Courtesy Paul Hubbard)*

criminal, a suicide or a confessed atheist? We cannot establish the truth behind his alignment, but the first suggestion is a possibility as there was a serious problem with theft, gunrunning and smuggling at Tuli at that time (NAZ DJ 2/1/1).

Grave 9.

Unknown.

Grave 10.

PERRETT, George Henry Trp. 244 D Squadron RR was killed in action on 18 November 1899 (Hickman 1970:160; NAZ JG 7/1/6/205; SAFFCL: 114). The PPG incorrectly gives the date as 1898 and his first initial is given as C not G. The fact that in 1954 Hickman (Fig. 3 & Text Box A) made these same errors makes us suspect that this document was his main source of information. The RR Nominal Roll records that he was killed in action on 18 November 1899 (NAZ B 4/6/2; NAZ JG 3/3/77/205). Other files relate that Perrett was a scout in D Troop, who was "killed in action" in company of Trp. George Cook somewhere between Bryce's Store and Tuli on the Rhodes Drift Road (NAZ AM 4/1/1; NAZ LO 7/1/1; Burrett 1999:46–7).

Grave 11.

COOK, George Trp. 59 D Squadron, RR killed in action near Rhodes' Drift. PPG incorrectly gives 18 November 1898 as date of death, but this is impossible as the RR was only raised in 1899. All other sources show that G. Cook was killed in action on the 18 November 1899 while lead scout in his troop. He was shot through the head and his body was recovered and returned to Tuli for burial (NAZ B4/6/2; NAZ JG 3/3/77/206; NAZ JG 7/1/6/206; NAZ JA 4/1/2; SAFFCL: 114–115; NAZ LO 7/1/1 and NAZ AM 4/1/1).

Grave 12.

PULLEN, Anthony Thomas. The Death Register shows that he was an Assistant Native Commissioner, who died aged 32 years in the Tuli Police Hospital on 12 May 1899 (NAZ JG 7/1/6/63; NAZ DJ 2/1/1). The Deceased Estate file indicates he was from Middleburg in the Transvaal (NAZ JG 3/3/72/63). Logan and Gornall both reported the date of death as 12 March 1899, but this seems to be the result of misreading of the weathered memorial. Hickman also recorded the date of death as 12 March 1899.

Grave 13.

MURPHY, Patrick is described as a Trp. in the BSAP who died on 15 May 1898. Both the date and Regiment are questionable. His name appears in the Death Register, where it is recorded that he was about 60 years of age and a retired soldier, who died of excessive drink and starvation at Tuli on 18 March 1898. The Death Register entry does not show that he was a member of the BSAP (NAZ JG 7/1/5/125; NAZ JG 3/3/63/125), nor does the name appear on the BSAP Nominal Roll for the period. The name of Trp. 1830 Patrick Murphy is included on the BBP 1893 Matabele War Medal Roll. A letter from the High Commissioner in South Africa dated 19/2/1896 (No. 8), and from the War Office to the Colonial Office dated 2/5/1896 (No. 9685) both indicate that Murphy was a deserter from the 11th Hussars and requested that he should not be granted the 1893 Matabele War Medal (Forsyth 1980:80; NAZ DJ 2/2/1). The source of the confusion about the BSAP seems to originate from Logan changing BBP to BSAP.

Grave 14.

Unknown.

Grave 15.

REIS, Harry H.V. Trp. A number of sources name him as N.V. Reis and indicate that he died on the 23 May 1899 and is supposedly buried at Tuli (PPG). The Death Register records that he was a Trp. on the Tuli–Victoria Convoy, who died of fever on 23 May 1896, while he is given as H.V. Reis (LG 5/4/1898: 2199; NAZ JG 7/1/4/76). The Deceased Estate file supports this and categorically states that he died on the road and not at the settlement, although it is admitted that his name from taken from the "official list of casualties issued on 11 September" and that they had not been notified otherwise. (NAZ JG 3/3/52/76; DJ 2/2/1). Letters from Cape Town, dated 5/7/1897, confirm the name as Harry Reis and another, of the same date, suggests that a memorial should be placed at Tuli, although Reis had in fact died on the Umzingwane River (NAZ DJ 2/2/1). A note on the 1915 Logan Plan records "Tpr. H.V. Reis Tuli Victoria Convoy 23/5/1899: memorial tablet only – grave at Sevali", while the 1920 Gornall report confirms that grave 15 is a memorial tablet only, and REIS' grave was at Sivuli's Store, Umzingwane (NAZ GU 1/1/1). Another report under the heading Tuli reads "REIS H.V. Trooper memorial tablet, believed to be buried at Jerouli's" (NAZ S153). He appears in the official record of those killed in the 1896 Uprisings, although the name is

incorrectly spelt Ries. The date, however, is confirmed as 23 May 1896 (LG 5/4/1898: 2199; Grey/Hole: 41). It seems that most of this confusion is because the marker was damaged early on and the vital date was missing. It should read: "H.V. Reis of Tuli–Victoria Convoy died near this spot May 28 1896". His marker has been incorrectly moved onto an adjacent grave number 16, the occupant of which is unknown.

Grave 16.

Unknown.

Grave 17.

Unknown.

Grave 18.

COOK George Paul Trp. 51 D Squadron RR. He supposedly died 18 November 1899 (PPG). Earlier authors would not have picked up the error as they incorrectly had G. Cook (Grave 11) dying a year earlier, so it appeared as if there were two different people. There is no record of G.P. Cook in neither the Death Registers nor Deceased Estate files. The RR Nominal Roll records that G.P. Cook attested on 12 August 1899 and was discharged on 31 October 1900 (NAZ B 4/6/2). He received the Queen's Chocolates on 25 April 1901. What is important is that he is not recorded as dead and there is only one entry, not two, with this name. Trp. G.P. Cook (RR) was reported as missing in action (LT 31/10/1899; 1/11/1899 and 16/11/1899; NAZ LO 7/1/1), whilst elsewhere he was recorded as having been taken prisoner by the Boers near Tuli on 21 October 1899. (SAFFCL 114–115). A list of members of the RR released from the Prisoner of War Camp in Pretoria on 6 June 1900 includes the name Trp. G.P. Cook (LT 12/7/1900). These reports indicate that G.P. Cook is not the same as George Cook (Grave 11). The former was not killed, but was taken prisoner and later released. Why he should have been recorded as killed and buried at Tuli is unknown. The mistake, however, dates back to the 1915 report and subsequent writers have merely perpetuated it. The actual occupant of this grave is unknown.

Grave 19.

BLACKBURN, Leslie Dewing Captain Scottish Rifles & RR who was wounded in action on 21 October and died on the 23 October 1899, while being removed from the Rhodes Drift Camp to Fort Tuli (NAZ JG 7/1/6/190; NAZ JG 3/3/76/190). The grave is marked with a memorial stone, Fig. 7.

Grave 20.

McSHERRY, Louis Trp. 212 A Squadron, RR who died as a result of a shooting accident on 29 October 1898, although the death certificate gives 28th (NAZ JG 7/1/6/195). The RR Nominal Roll records that he was "struck off the strength" on 29 October 1899 (NAZ B 4/6/2). An Inquest, held on 16 November 1899, concluded the death was accidental (NAZ JG 3/3/77/195). We have no information about his background, although he may have come from a family of some importance for his picture was included in the *London Illustrated Times* (6/1/1900).

Grave 21.

Unknown.

Grave 22.

Unknown.

Grave 23.

SHEPPARD, Arthur Cpl 472 E Squadron RR, who died on 13 September 1900 (PPG).

Fig. 7. Blackburn's memorial stone, 2005. (*Courtesy Paul Hubbard)*

Elsewhere it says that Trp. A. Sheppard died on an unspecified date of self-inflicted wounds near Tuli (SAFFCL III–90). The RR Nominal Roll indicates he committed suicide on 13 September 1900, although no rank is given (NAZ B 4/6/2). The Death Register, however, says that he was a Corporal in the RR, who died from a gunshot to the head at Tuli on 13 September 1900 (NAZ JG 7/1/7/130; NAZ JG 3/3/87/130). The Gwanda (Tuli) Court Register records that Sheppard was charged on 3 September 1900 and found guilty of using abusive language towards one J.A. Chennels. He was bound over to keep the peace for six months (NAZ D 4/19/1). It is unknown if the court appearance precipitated his subsequent apparent suicide.

Grave 24.

WENNESTROM, Ernst Trp. 364 D Squadron, RR was a Swedish student, who died of dysentery at the Tuli Hospital on the 16 December 1899 (NAZ JG 3/3/77/223; NAZ JG 7/1/6/223). He was struck off the RR roll on 17 December 1899 (NAZ B 4/6/2). There are a variety of spellings of his name, but the Swedish Consul General in Cape Town identified the deceased (NAZ JG 3/3/77/223). Both Logan and Gornall spell the deceased's name incorrectly and for unknown reasons record the date of death as 11 December 1899, errors that have been perpetuated since that time (PPG).

Fig. 8. Russell's memorial stone, 1989

Grave 25.

FENTON, Theodore Cumberlege BSAP Trp. 915 died on 11 November 1899 (NAZ JG 7/1/6/278, but this entry is cancelled with comment "killed by lions see 293", i.e. JG 7/1/6/293; NAZ S153; and PPG). Of all the subtle ironies his estate included a lioness skin (NAZ JG 3/3/80/293; NAZ JG 7/1/6/293). His grave is marked with a white stone cross and red stone.

Grave 26.

RUSSELL, Patrick Brown Sharpshooters he died on the 3 December 1900 of enteric fever. (Gilbert 1901:304; Hickman 1970:160–1; LT 8/12/1900; PPG). It is interesting to note that he does not appear in either the Death Register or the Deceased Estate file. Obviously his death, as an Imperial man in this remote part of the country at this time of conflict, was simply overlooked by the BSACo authorities. His grave is marked with granite kerbing, cast iron decorative rails and a large upright marble slab, Fig. 8.

OTHER EUROPEANS RECORDED AS HAVING DIED AT FORT TULI

The following persons are recorded as having died at Tuli and may be buried in one of seven graves listed as "unknown" or in the other two where the identification of the deceased is wrong:

BARKER, Mrs. Died 13 November 1891 at Tuli Hospital from hardships and exhaustion (NAZ JG 3/3/2/24; NAZ JG 7/1/1/24).

COATES, John. A mason, who died of natural causes in Piries' hut at Tuli on 6 March

1892, aged about 40 years (NAZ JG 7/1/1/41; Pioneers' & Early Settlers' Society records dated 10/7/1975; NAZ JG 3/3/3/41).

CRAVEN, William. Died of natural causes at Tuli on 10 May 1891 (Leonard: 226–7; NAZ JG 7/1/1/40; NAZ JG 3/3/3/40). The Deceased Estate files indicate that he was a prospector whose property was sold together with that of his late partner Charles Jobson.

EBDEN, Fred Bradwell. Previously a BBP trooper, he died, aged 25 years at Tuli on 6 April 1892 from convulsions and general exhaustion induced from alcoholism (NAZ JG 3/3/4/65; NAZ JG 8/1/1/65). His name, date of death and age are confirmed in the Register of St. Thomas' Church Cemetery, Rondebosch, Cape Town. (From SA National Archives web site <www.national.archsrch.gov.za>.)

GREY, Lily. She was one year, two months old when she died of fever at her father's house at Tuli on 19 May 1899 (NAZ JG 3/3/75/135; NAZ JG 7/1/6/135). It is possible her father may have been Henry Willoughby Grey, who was the local Native Commissioner about 1894–5.

HARTMAN, Andries Hendrik. He was a transport rider awaiting trial as a prisoner at Tuli and died of heart failure, aged 49 years, on 9 March 1900 (NAZ JG 7/1/6/292). The Deceased Estate file records that he died in the RR Hospital, Fort Tuli. He had no goods and was survived by four children (NAZ JG 3/3/80/292). The Gwanda (Tuli) Register of Cases for 1900 indicates that Hartman, together with Andries Hendrik Hartman Jnr. and three others were, on 22 January 1900, charged with contravening section 21 of Act 2/1853 "illegal export of firearms". Subsequent Court appearances extend over a considerable time, but there is no indication of final sentences, if any (NAZ D 4/19/1). We do know that there was a group of Boers held as POWs and it is assumed that they were finally treated as such (Gilbert 1901: 301).

JOBSON Charles was also known as Henry and died not long after his partner William CRAVEN (NAZ JG 3/3/3/40). A copy of JOBSON's birth certificate (dated 1 December 1855) is included in the Archives' records (NAZ JG 7/1/1/140). The Deceased Estate file (NAZ JG 3/3/9/140) adds that his goods were sold, together with Craven's, at Tuli on 15 May. Previously Jobson was misidentified as Smith by the Officer Commanding Fort Tuli, Major Leonard, who appears not to have known Jobson's real name, so he simply used a common name in writing up his diaries that were subsequently published (Leonard 1896: 227). There are no Death Notice or Deceased Estate files for anybody named SMITH at this time only for JOBSON, who died at Fort Tuli on 15 May 1891 (NAZ JG 7/1/1/140).

JONES, E.C. He was a prospector who died at Tuli Hospital on 23 December 1891 (NAZ JG 3/3/9/137, NAZ JG 7/1/1/137).

PONTON, Alexander James Benjamin. He died of fever at Fort Tuli on 23 May 1892 (NAZ JG 7/1/1/235). He was said to have been a former member of the Police (NAZ JG 3/3/15/235). The BSACP Nominal Roll includes the name of Trooper 764 A.J.B. Poulton or Pouton who attested on 3 April 1891 and was discharged on 14 January 1892 (Sutton, undated: 63). There are a number of spellings of his surname, probably more of a product of the difficulties of the hand-written nature of many of these early documents, than of substance. The name used here is clearly printed in the Deceased Estate file.

TRUSTED, Wilson. Chaplain to the BBP. He is the first recorded death at Tuli (NAZ HI 5/1/3/1/2; Shinn 1974:24). Leonard 1896 (113–4) adds that Trusted had been ailing for some time and had gone up to Tuli for a change, where he died of dysentery on an

unspecified date in November 1890. Born in 1857 at Stoke on Trent, England, Trusted arrived at Kimberley in about February 1890. He was appointed the BBP Anglican Chaplain, with the rank of Captain, serving in June 1890 in Mafeking, but then moving northward, probably to Macloutsie (St John's Anglican Church, Mafeking Parish Baptismal Register; 1881 British Census). It is important to remember that Tuli was not a BBP camp, but that of the British South Africa Company and Trusted was simply visiting. The location of his grave is unknown, but it is possible his remains were taken back to the BBP cemetery at Macloutsie. At the time there was no cemetery at Tuli. There are no entries in the Death Register or Deceased Estate file at the National Archives.

VAN AARDE, Elsje Maria. The family lived on the Transvaal side of the Limpopo close to Pont Drift and were refugees who had crossed over into Rhodesian territory during the Anglo-South African War. She died on the 3 November 1901 in her husband's house, Tuli (NAZ JG 3/3/99/65; NAZ JG 7/1/8/65).

WHEALON, Samuel B. He was a destitute "trader", who died from fever at Tuli on 30 December 1891. An attempt was made to contact next-of-kin in Port Elizabeth, but no reply was received (NAZ JG 7/1/1/339; NAZ JG 3/3/20/339).

WHITNEY, John Robert. He was a surgeon who died on 7 April 1891 as a result of strychnine poisoning, taken by accident at his dwelling at Tuli. (NAZ JG 3/3/20/338, NAZ JG 7/1/1/338).

OUR CONCLUSIONS

This report reflects our current state of knowledge about the Main Cemetery at Fort Tuli. On the basis of the primary evidence presented here we contend that the current layout of the Main Cemetery at Tuli is sometimes incorrect. We believe that Hickman's 1954 report upon which it is based should be replaced by the 1915 Logan plan, with relevant modifications drawn from the 1920 Gornall document. These are closer to the historical events and are based on on-site reconnaissance rather than secondary sources.

Further work is now needed to put names to the unknown graves, while there are other isolated graves present in the area as well as three smaller clusters of unmarked graves which we have not discussed here – on the Police Camp hill, on the flank of the same hill and separate from the previous group and on the east bank just north of the Zimbabwe Parks & Wildlife Management offices. These could contain some of those listed in this paper as died but unknown; they may be unrecorded or they may be graves of the many non-white Settlers, who also came this way but whose demise was not recorded. The work on the graves and cemeteries at Fort Tuli is far from complete.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thanks many people who have assisted us with this work over the years giving freely of their time and knowledge – Eric Birrell, Jim Elson, Ken Hallock, Paul Hubbard, Karl Hurry, Paul Naish, Cliff Rogers, Dave Sloman, John Sutton, Brian Taylor, Paddy Vickery, Dave Willis, Peter Penning and Alan Stock, as well as the late Alan Rich and Mike Leach.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Throughout this report abbreviations are used for the various organizations whose members have touched in some way the history of this area. BSACo is the British South Africa Company, while LG is the *London Gazette* (date and page number given for entries); LT is the *London Times* (as dated for each entry); SAFFCL = South African Field Force Casualty Lists.

(ENDNOTES)

[1] BSAP Trooper 1476 John Innes Logan attested on 15/7/1911 and retired on 28/9/1942 (Brian Taylor pers. comm.).

[2] BSAP Trooper 2032 Albert Gornall attested on 26/4/1919 and retired on 31/10/1939. (Brian Taylor pers. comm.).

[3] Regimental No. 2622 Arthur Selwyn HICKMAN attested as a member of the BSAP on 1/8/1924 and retired as the Commissioner of Police 31 years later in November 1955. He was a noted historian on the early colonial era. We need to remember, however, that he was an amateur historian and he did make mistakes. Nevertheless this should not detract from the very real importance of his work. We therefore argue against his ideas and not the man.

If you are about to make a new will,
or to amend your existing will,
please think of the History Society of Zimbabwe.

Victor Lloyd Robinson

by Felicity Rooney

I regard it as a honour in my 75th year and as the daughter of the late Sir Victor Robinson to be asked to write about him for the *Heritage* journal. I will first of all give a brief summary of his life, before I reminisce about the personal aspects from my point of view.

Victor was born in 1899 in Matabeleland, Rhodesia, the son of Leo Robinson and Mabel Robinson (née Lloyd). Leo Robinson was one of three and his parents were Archdeacon Frederick and Mary Emily Robinson. Leo was born in Durban on 2 July 1872, educated at Hilton College and, after leaving school, worked in the Durban Post Office. He arrived in Rhodesia as a trooper in the police in 1896. He travelled by train to Mafeking where the railway ended and walked to Bulawayo. He was only in the Police force for a few months and then transferred to the Native Department.

In 1897 he married Mabel Lloyd, whom he had known in Natal, and they lived at Umzingwane where he was Assistant Native Commissioner. Victor's mother died in 1902 and so for a while he was left to be brought up by his father. Leo had bought a farm, called Ntabenende (meaning small kopje), for 800 pounds. It was a Selous pioneer grant originally and he bought it from Selous through the Colenbrander Development Company. As Leo was soon to marry again and have two children by his second wife, Victor grew up playing with the black children on the farm and learnt to speak Sindebele fluently as his first language. His grandmother at first and later her daughter (also named Mary Emily Robinson) arrived in Bulawayo from Natal, and started to look after Victor, beginning by teaching him English.

My father told me how much he respected his grandmother and admired her wisdom. He related how as a small boy he remembered journeying from Bulawayo with her to the

Victor Lloyd Robinson

Motopos in clouds of dust in a cart pulled by mules to witness bearers carrying Cecil Rhodes' coffin through the bush veld to be placed to rest amongst the boulders at World's View.

For a time he went to Milton School in Bulawayo and was then sent to Hilton College in Natal and passed the Oxford Preliminary Examination first class at the age of eleven. His name appears in Hilton prize lists in the years before the First World War. During the First World War he first joined the Artists' Rifles in 1917 and then was commissioned in the 7th City of London Regiment. He served in France for a year. He was caught up in the big retreat of March 1918 and saw action at Villers Brettaneaux and on the Somme, where he was wounded. In 1920 he went to Keeble College Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, which scholarship he had won before joining up, and obtained a BA. He married Marguerite May Beck on 13 December 1923 in South Africa. They had two children, Denis Anthony Beck, and myself, Felicity Ann. My father started his working life as a Clerk in the Native Department in Southern Rhodesia, working there until 1925. As an external student with the University of South Africa he passed his LL.B in l926 and was called to the Bar in 1927.

He was appointed public prosecutor at Bulawayo from 1927–29, Legal Assistant in Southern Rhodesia 1930–34, Legal Adviser 1934–42, Senior Legal Adviser 1942–44 and Solicitor General October 1944. He became a KC in 1945, and in 1949 became Attorney-General. On the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953, he became the Federal Attorney General.

Victor retired in 1959 on his sixtieth birthday on 19 March. He was awarded the OBE in 1953, a CBE a year later and was knighted in May 1959, shortly after his retirement. That year he was appointed a member of the Monckton Commission and became the first chairman of the Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Council in November 1962.

(This appointment is said to have been fortuitous, because the original intention of Sir Edgar Whitehead had been to make Victor Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, but Sir Edgar arrogantly told the then leader of the opposition that this was his intention, instead of politely consulting him. Stewart Edward Aitken-Cade took offence and refused to support the proposal.)

Victor was an accomplished cricketer and played for Rhodesia against the Transvaal in 1923 and in 1931 and 1932 was a member of the Rhodesian Currie Cup side. In 1929, he was Secretary of the Rhodesian Cricket Union. He died in South Africa at the Cape on the golf course at Fish Hoek on 23 March 1966.

Victor was cremated in Cape Town and later a memorial service was held in Salisbury's Anglican Cathedral attended by the Chief Justice Sir Hugh Beadle, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles and several Cabinet Ministers. Many tributes were paid to Victor after his death. A packed courtroom in Harare consisted of Sir Vincent Quenet the Judge President, seven High Court judges, a former Federal Chief Justice Sir Robert Tredgold, the Minister of Justice Desmond Lardner-Burke, senior members of the Civil Service and BSA Police, magistrates and members of the Bar and Side Bar.

Sir Vincent Quenet said

> In war he served his country and in peace his many gifts were placed at its disposal. No greater contribution could any man make. He will be remembered as one of this country's most distinguished sons. He possessed in a high degree those attributes which among men are most dearly prized. His generous spirit, integrity and a strong sense of justice were there for all to

> see. Indeed he was greatly blessed; throughout his life he remained young in heart. His going is a grievous loss to the country and to all who knew him.

Telegrams from people of all races and colours poured in from both the distinguished to simple African labourers still living on the farm Ntabenende at Essexvale (now Esigodini). The letters our family received are deeply moving and it was brought home to me again and again how much my father was admired, respected and loved. For months after his death we had people coming to our home to pay their respects particularly the Ndebele as they had remembered how well he had always spoken their difficult language and a chief once told my mother that if you put a curtain up and my father behind, you would never have known that he was a white man. In fact when he was a prosecutor in court he would become very angry when the interpreter gave the magistrate the incorrect meaning of what a witness was trying to say; and would shout out, "No, no, that was not said at all"!

Reading all the above puts my father on a high plane but of course to me he was just my dearly loved Dad.

There being only my brother and myself, I grew up with the feeling that I was greatly wanted particularly by my father, who after the first born was a son wanted a daughter. He always called me "baby" which was passable as a little girl, but it caused me some embarrassment that as a young married woman with babies of my own I was still "baby" to my father!

My first recollection of my father was when I must have been about three as I was still in a cot with bars. Waking up from an afternoon sleep, I stood shaking the bars, screaming my head off and my father rushed into the room and stuffed a piece of chocolate cake into my mouth to keep me quiet! He must have been quite desperate as he had a phobia about anything being sticky. He was also obsessive about turning off electric lights whenever we left a room and hated waste, possibly due to a frugal upbringing.

As a very small child we used to have yearly holidays in South Africa where we stayed at a windy sea side resort called the Strand. I hated the food and my father used to stand up for me and whip my uneaten plates of food away before my mother noticed and then later would take me to the corner café for bars of chocolate.

As a civil servant my father used to stop work at 4 p.m., cycle home and our family would have tea together in the sitting room where a brass tray on a little table was laid out with delicate tea cups and a madeira loaf cake. After devouring a few slices of cake and drinking two cups of tea my father used to say, "Come on, baby, we are off". Our home at No. 1 Deary Avenue was off Second Street and the Salisbury Golf course ran adjacent to the street. My father and I used to lift the wire fence and crawl underneath and were then on the golf course. We spent an hour or so on the nearest green; he putted and I collected the golf balls. I must admit I found this tedious at times but the real treat was often at the end of the session, when, if time permitted and my parents were not going out that evening to one of their numerous sundowner parties, we used to walk to the Club House and I was given a lemonade and a bowl of peanuts while my father played dice and chatted to his golfing friends. They never came to our home as my mother regarded them as rather rough and loud. However, I thought they were exciting as they always made me laugh and teased me kindly.

My father was a great Latin scholar and at the age of eight I remember sitting on the arm of his chair as he taught me "amo, amas, amat" and the various declensions. At aged

ten together we were reading Ovid, Vergil and Livy in Latin and my father would translate these brilliant stories into English for me. I never understood why so many of my school mates hated Latin. I always thought it a first class language to learn.

My father also enjoyed reading epic poems to me. His favourite was "The Ancient Mariner" by Samuel Coleridge and he could recite by heart many verses of this poem. He also recited passages from "The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam" and often used to quote to me when I felt the going was tough: "The moving finger writes; and, having writ, moves on: nor all thy piety nor wit shall lure it back to cancel half a line, nor all thy tears wash out a word of it", in other words he was saying, "baby get over it – what's done is done"!

My father was a great reader of books but mainly non fiction. However, there was one book called "The Narrow Street" which he always wanted me to read but sadly I never did, and I have never been able to find a copy or to discover who wrote it. He loved reading about civilisations of long ago and "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" by Edward Gibbon was a tome he read again and again. Together we read Sir Percy Fitzpatrick's "Jock of the Bushveld", Daniel Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" and many other such enthralling tales.

He taught me about the fauna of Africa – the acacia Karroo (mimosa thorn), the baobab, the matamba (elephant apple tree) and the flamboyant were his favourite trees. He loved the wild life of Africa and would relate their habits to me when we were in the bush. I also was fascinated by the stories of witchcraft and African customs he knew and only wish he had written these into a book.

We lived in a Cape Dutch House with a wide veranda which faced north and in the evening we used to sit on old riempie chairs and watch the sun go down as the sunsets were magnificent. My father loved astrology and the mysteries of the universe held a great fascination for him. We used to watch the stars and he could name many of them and made me realise how insignificant we were on earth.

As my brother at a young age was packed off to boarding school at Hilton College in Natal to follow in my father's and grandfather's footsteps, I was like an only child and was hardly ever scolded. My brother and I did many mischievous things together in the holidays and I always felt bad that my brother was spanked and I never was, as my father was always of the opinion my brother, being the older and a boy, must have started it!

My parents used to go on holidays to South Africa about once a year as civil servants had very good leave conditions. We travelled by train and sometimes went to Durban staying at the Empress Hotel and to Capetown where we stayed at the Esplanade and the Bordeaux. Although my parents used to meet many old friends, my father always had time to give me treats, like taking me to the cinema (bioscope) and I always thought of him as a friend and ally.

We used to spend school holidays at Ntabenende, where his old father who terrified me, lived with his third wife. My brother and I used to climb out of the windows at night and run off to the workers' compound and eat sadza with them as they sang, and in the distance we were able to hear the lions roaring. My father loved the farm and used to enjoy hunting with the pointers but unfortunately he would never let me go with him. I have often felt that my father would have liked to have been a farmer, as these visits were very happy times for him. He had two half brothers and a half sister and after my grandfather's death the farm

was managed by my half uncle Douglas and then later his son William. Sadly the farm was taken over by war veterans and William and his family are now living in Australia.

My half aunt, that is my father's half sister from Leo's second marriage, was Leonie Castle who was married to Bill Castle and they had a tobacco farm at Hartley (now Chegutu). If my father had work in Bulawayo, he and I used to go on the train from Salisbury and I was dropped off at Hartley to spend a few days on the farm with the relatives. I will never forget how, on one of these trips, when I was about 11, our little black maid called Anna Mlambo who was from Ntabenende (from whence all our servants hailed) had given my father a letter to take to her father, a labourer at Ntabanende. As we sat in the train I said to my father, "Let's open Anna's letter to see if she has said anything about us". My father looked at me intently, lent from his seat opposite mine and took my two hands in his and said with the utmost seriousness, "There are a lot of lessons you still have to learn in life. You must never open mail which is not addressed to you. We have been entrusted with this letter and are only the bearers and to open it would be dishonest". I have always remembered that and to this day I do not open mail, if addressed to my husband.

My father was an exceptionally tidy man and I loved looking into his cupboards seeing the shirts neatly stacked to one side, the socks on the other and ties hanging up on a rail. He would never let anyone put his laundry away, preferring to do it himself. I never remember him sitting down to a meal without a tie and jacket except at the weekends. I loved his neat and analytical mind and have a memory of him each Saturday morning sitting at our dining room table with a large black exercise book in front of him with columns of figures, writing up the expenses of the week. He had a little daily note book and everything he bought was jotted therein and then later transferred to the big black exercise book. To this day I do the same and keep a record of everything I spend! My father was never a rich man and every penny he made was what he himself had earned. One might get the impression he was a mean person but certainly not. He sent money to his old father and wrote off any debts he was owed.

My father often took me to his office on Saturday mornings as civil servants did not work on Saturdays and he used to go through various papers on his desk while I drew on scrap paper and examined the various office gadgets. One particular day a man appeared at the door and my father looked up and said, "Yes, I have something for you". He proceeded to take some paper money out of his pocket and gave it to this person. After this rather dishevelled man had shuffled off my father said to me sternly, "Not a word to your mother. That man is an old golfing friend who is going through hard times and this is between him and me". It was only years later that I realised my father was a soft touch for many people.

He was not a hoarder and I felt totally bereft after he died when my mother and I cleared his room as it took us only two hours to go through his clothes and all his worldly possessions. He did not collect stamps, books, papers or letters. I was fortunate in finding a pair of gold cuff links in a little box which my mother said I could have. These have been made into ear rings and are deeply treasured. My brother received his watch.

Unfortunately, my father was a smoker and each morning he used to fill a cigarette case with the strong Gold Leaf cigarettes for the day. In those days smoking was not the scourge it is now but I am sure the heart attack, which killed him, was caused by his smoking all his adult life.

As a little girl, I loved to watch my father shave in the mornings in our bathroom. I

used to sit in my pyjamas on the bath edge fascinated by the soapy lather he put all over his face and how expertly it was removed with the razor.

My father loved opera and also music from the shows. Having a very good voice, he loved to sing from "Oklahoma" and "Annie Get Your Gun". His records were usually played first thing in the morning as he stood shaving in his dressing gown and every now and again he would join in whatever was being sung. Every time I hear "Your Tiny Hand is frozen" from La Bohème I think of him.

My father's Aunt Mary was a deeply religious person and all her life gave him bible instruction and even though I never felt my father was deeply religious himself he did believe in God and enjoyed High Church, the incense and pomp and ceremony. He saw to it that I was confirmed in the Anglican Church and used to take me to church for communion.

I once went with my father by train overnight from Salisbury to Bulawayo to stay with my Aunt Mary in her little cottage in Fife Street. My father enjoyed the lumpy mealie meal porridge and door steps of white bread spread with dripping we had for breakfast and hunks of meat in a stew with boiled potatoes for supper. I thought this was vile tasting food but he loved it and said it reminded him of his youth.

This great Aunt Mary never married and enjoyed having my father to stay whenever he was on circuit and had to prosecute in that town. He preferred to stay with her than in a hotel. He loved the stark little room he was housed in and said it had happy memories.

My father did not express emotion easily. I remember when news came of his father's death we were on holiday at Sea Point in Cape Town and a telegram came announcing the death of Leo. We were standing in the foyer of the hotel as my father read the telegram and for a moment he seemed considerably shaken, then stood up straight and pulled at the edge of his pullover with both hands, saying, "Well the old man has gone". He never went to the funeral and we continued on our holiday and no more was said.

My parents went to many social engagements which my father, even though he was by nature gregarious and enjoyed good conversation, found at times tiring and would rather have been at home reading a good book. He loved to laugh and found the strangest things amusing. One holiday in Cape Town we went to a matinee of a film called "The Fifth Chair" which featured a scene of a moose's head on the wall and there were some strange sequences. My father found this movie hilarious. He and I went three successive afternoons to see it and my real enjoyment was hearing how much he laughed!

I also saw my first "grown up" film with him. It was called "My Foolish Heart" starring Susan Hayward and Dana Andrews. I wept copiously when the heroine was rejected and my father explained that that was what happened when a girl "got into trouble", which expression I did not understand until years later!

In Salisbury on Saturday mornings my father took me to the Prince's theatre to see classic movies like "Robin Hood", "Treasure Island" and the classics of Charles Dickens. Even though the theatre was full of teenagers munching chips and sucking boiled sweets my dear Dad sat through it all. I guess he thought I was being educated in good literature.

My father was very diplomatic regarding the various boys I formed associations with as a teenager and never forbade me to see anyone. Some of these characters I now realise were quite scary but he encouraged them to come to our home and let me see these leather jacketed motor "bikies" with their big boots and greasy hands in our environment. He always treated them with politeness and respect.

In spite of the fact that my father had a very childish sense of humour at times he did not tolerate fools easily and could become very irritated with people. There are many incidents which amused our family. He worked a lot with Sir Hugh Beadle and once we asked him what Sir Hugh was really like. He replied: "He is one of the most offensive people you could meet. He lies and he cheats. He is rude, selfish and utterly ruthless and has tried to kill every four-legged creature in Rhodesia with his rifle and every two-legged creature with his motor car; he is a most unlikeable person" and my father then paused and added "and I am one of his friends . . . !"

My father had a lot to do with his friend as he worked for him when Sir Hugh was Minister of Justice. The story is told that a protracted disagreement arose over a specific bit of legislation that Victor wanted enacted and Beadle kept rejecting for one reason or another. Several meetings had taken place with my father and a whole retinue of his officials had tried patiently to persuade the Minister to agree to their proposals. Finally, Victor had had enough, he threw down his pen and shouted: "Agh, Hughie man, don't be such a bloody fool." Beadle, to his credit, replied: "Oh well, if you put it like that . . ." and promptly signed the bill.

Victor did, at times, possess a "short fuse". On one occasion, he had an appointment with a doctor and, as so often happens, was kept waiting. After about twenty minutes Victor started pacing up and down and, finally, to placate him, the receptionist said: "You must remember, Mr Robinson, that doctor is a very busy man. "Well so am I!" replied my father, as he grabbed his hat and stormed out. Needless to say, I don't think he was kept waiting again.

My father was against UDI and when this was declared said to me with foresight: "This is the beginning of the end". UDI placed a great strain on my father, as he had friends on both sides of the political divide and could appreciate their views. What particularly upset him was that not only was it an illegal act, it was a stupid one.

My father told us that he had been consulted by Ian Smith prior to the event and told him not to declare UDI, but to agree to all the conditions that the British laid down for their granting Rhodesian Independence and then, when it had been granted, to ignore any specific conditions he did not agree with. Ian Smith's retort was, "But that would be dishonest". My father was standing in our drive way as he related this story and threw his hands up and shouted: "And the man calls himself a politician!" He was deeply disturbed at the way the Rhodesian Front were behaving and felt that if they had just bided their time independence would have been granted. UDI filled him with despair and I am sure led to his untimely death. I am relieved he never did see what happened to the country in the aftermath of independence.

When I had my first child, a daughter, my father was overjoyed as he always said: "Little girls are much less trouble and you have been my heart's delight"! My father did not write me many letters when I left home and went to University in South Africa as he left that to my mother who did so every week.

On starting at the University of Capetown at 17, I was taken by my father to the Rondebosch Standard Bank, introduced to the Bank Manager and given a cheque book. My father then proceeded to teach me how to use it and how to keep records of money spent, explaining how he would deposit an amount into the account each term and I could either spend it all at once or eek it out. In this way I learnt to budget.

When Maurice and I became engaged my father was concerned at the difference in our ages of 13 years, but said the main thing was for me to be sure that as a husband he would be kind to me. My father held this as the greatest attribute a man could have.

Even though my father watched the pennies he was generous towards our family and one morning he phoned me to make sure I was at home instructing me not to go out. In those days Maurice and I shared one car which meant I was always on the road driving him to work and the children to school so it was with great delight that I heard a toot outside our home in Mount Pleasant and a young man alighted saying, "I have a present for you from your father" and there was a white mini minor – my very first own car!

It was impossible to give my father gifts as he would always say "I would like a handkerchief and nothing more" and every day he made sure he had a clean handkerchief in his top pocket.

It has been a great regret of Maurice's and mine that our children did not know their grandfather as they were 3 and 5 when he died but as toddlers they called him "Pom Pom" and when our youngest Victoria (named after my father) was in hospital with a kidney illness he used to visit her every day with little trinkets he had bought at the OK bazaars – a new one for each day. He also wrote in to the Children's Hour asking for a music request to be played for her with the message: "To Victoria from Pom Pom". The announcer at the time was a well known personality who, after he had read the message, said, "I wonder who Pom Pom is Victoria, I guess he is your little dog"! This caused much amusement to my mother who told the radio station that "Pom Pom" was in fact Sir Victor and this became a news item in *The Herald* the following day!

My father suffered from lumbago but it was difficult to get him to go to a doctor. He swore by rubbing Brasso into his joints and I have the memory of him with the old family cook, Milk, rubbing his shoulder with Brasso after dinner at night.

I tried to find out about my father's war experiences but realised this was one subject he did not care to talk about. However, he had been shot in the leg during one battle and as a child I was wide eyed when he showed me his scar and the bullet was kept in a little tin box in his cupboard.

In fact my father suffered in silence when he felt ill and I found it incredibly sad coming across a letter he had written to a family member on the day he died 23 March 1966 which he wrote while on holiday "I still feel sick as when I left Salisbury – can't throw off my cough". Shortly before he had gone on holiday, he had been for a complete medical check-up, but nothing untoward was found. We did not know this at the time, but have always thought that the strain he had been living under after UDI was a contributory factor to his heart attack. He was playing golf with an old friend, Jock Reynolds, in Fish Hoek and hit a beautiful drive. Turning to Jock, he said, "If I say so myself, that was a magnificent shot!" and with that he fell down dead.

His death was an enormous shock to me as he was only 66 but he had always said: "We all have to die one day and I hope I can die on the golf course as that is where I am happiest", so, even though his death was far too soon, his wish was granted.

Now that I am an Australian I remember my father saying that he felt that this would be a good country for Maurice and me and our daughters to emigrate to. He had been here on business for 3 months before the Federation in Rhodesia, which was later abolished, to confer with the Australian Attorney General and see how federation had worked in Australia,

and he came back with many tales. My father had always been brought up with servants to wait on him and could only make a cup of tea himself, so, on arriving for dinner at the well appointed home of a high ranking official in Canberra, he was taken aback when his hostess thrust a bowl in his hands saying, “Here you go, peel these potatoes and your wife can shell the peas”.

Since my father’s death I have realised over the years how important it is as parents and grandparents that we teach our children and grandchildren the wise lessons of life, as only by example can we hope to leave them a good legacy to follow.

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Yellow Jacket Ruin, Chinamora

by Rob S. Burrett and Adele Hamilton Ritchie

Just north of Harare in Chinamora Communal Lands there is a small Zimbabwe-type stone ruin. Although a minor site compared to other such structures in the region this structure attracted considerable attention during the late Nineteenth Century. It was visited by most of the early European travellers and prospectors who went this way and descriptions and illustrations are found in many contemporary publications. The purpose of this note is to bring together some of these reports and to consider the ruins in the light of current thought.

THE RUIN TODAY

Yellow Jacket Ruin is a small oval structure built on the crest of a low, detached granite kopje overlooking one of the main tributaries of the Pote River. It takes its name from a nearby colonial gold mine, Yellow Jacket, that was situated on the flanks of the Iron Mask Range. The ruin is however, considerably older than these early colonial workings, probably by centuries. It is a typical Zimbabwe Period dry-stone structure being constructed of blocks of locally quarried granite. The walls show both Q (quality) and PQ (poor quality) walling styles which, on the basis of national data (Figs 1 & 2), suggest a date of between fifteenth to sixteenth centuries A.D. Unfortunately, there have been no official archaeological investigations of this site, although a nearby and more extensive ruin, Nhunguza, was excavated by Peter Garlake (1970, 1973b). This yielded a radiocarbon estimate which correlates to a calendar date of somewhere between A.D. 1434–1485[1].

At Yellow Jacket Ruin granite blocks have been used to create a single, central, raised area joining and passing over a number of natural granite boulders on the crest of the kopje. The central raised area is not level as there are a number of *in situ* boulders, most especially in the southern portion. The northern half, on the other hand, is relatively flat and consists of archaeological deposit – purposefully laid sediment and stratified remains of collapsed pole and dhaka structures. It is likely that the original entrance was at this northern end. The use of exposed platforms is reminiscent of later Khami-type architecture and suggests that it may be somewhat more recent than Nhunguza with its more characteristic Zimbabwe-type construction style. At Yellow Jacket many of the stone walls have collapsed and it is only its eastern flank which remains impressive; this section invariably shown in its various historical depictions. Figure 3 is an old map of the site dating from 1943.

Below the ruin on its north-eastern flank there is an extensive ashy area representing the eroded remains of a midden and/or cattle byre. There are also many broken sherds (pottery fragments), a couple of which are from graphite burnished jars that are characteristic of this archaeological phase. On the eastern base of the hill there are several smaller ashy patches as well as iron smelting debris (slag and tuyere[2] fragments). These industrial activities may have been associated with the original occupation of the ruin but they could as easily be

[1] Radiocarbon dates are estimates, not facts, and they need to be calibrated to take account of fluctuations in the natural composition of the earth's atmosphere through time. Best practice is to take the variation with a one sigma range as a reasonable margin for error.

[2] Clay pipes that were inserted into the furnace to introduce a forced draft of air to facilitate the smelting process.

Fig. 1. "Q-type" walling. Northeast inner wall

Fig. 2. "PQ-type" walling. Southeast inner wall

later, the smiths taking advantage of a sacred location to access the attentions of the ancestors so as to ensure a successful smelt.

West of the ruin is an extensive area of archaeological debris – traces of a typical village site including pottery sherds (fragments), grindstones and large pieces of pole-impressed dhaka representing housing structures. This evidence may represent the general habitation loci of the original Zimbabwe Period settlement but it may as easily be un-associated, signifying a more recent settlement of the Shona Dynastic Period post-dating the collapse of the centralised Zimbabwe-type society (cf. Beach 1994a). Beyond this, stretching to the Iron Mask Range, there are extensive plains undoubtedly cultivated at the time of the ruin's occupation, Fig. 4.

Two unofficial excavations seem to have been undertaken in the ruin. On the eastern side of the platform there is a large hole up against the wall. This was probably made by someone seeking hidden treasure. Unfortunately, it is quite common to find that such ruins were "investigated" in this manner and in fact in the closing years of the Nineteenth

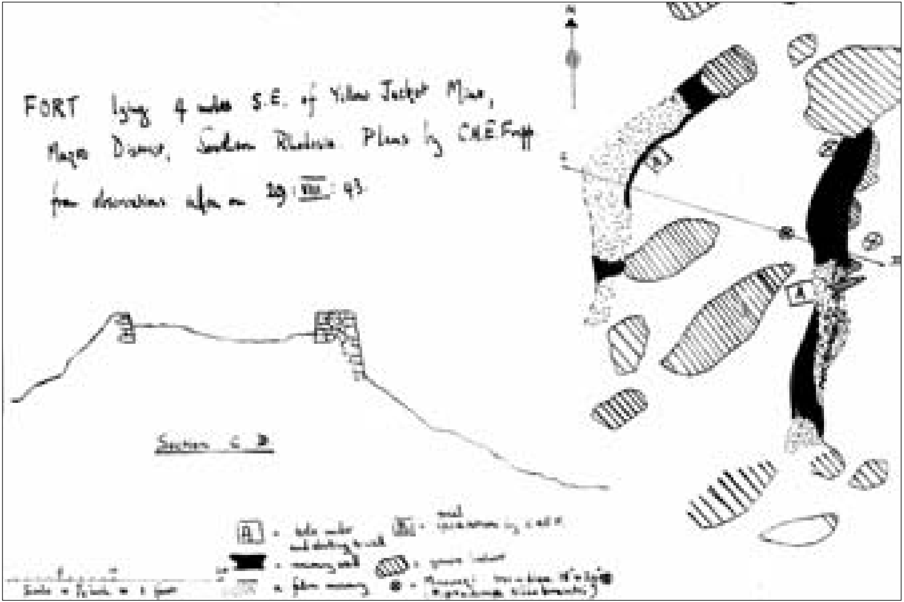

Fig. 3. 1943 map of Yellow Jacket Ruin showing walls and excavations by C. H. E. Fripp
(Archeological Survey of Zimbabwe, Museum of Human Sciences, Harare.)

Fig. 4. View from ruin looking northwest towards Iron Mask Range showing likely cultivated lands during the site's occupation

Century there was an officially registered company, the Rhodesia Ancient Ruins Company Limited, whose company objectives were to mine such sites in search of gold. The ensuing public outcry as to the damage wrought forced an ailing Cecil Rhodes to intervene and the company was dissolved shortly after his death. Interestingly this event marks the origin of modern heritage management in this country (Garlake 1973a).

The other hollow in the northwest portion of the platform was dug by an amateur archaeologist C. H. E. Fripp, some time in the 1940s. A report of what she located seems not to have been submitted to the heritage authorities, although there are two undated plans of the site in the files of the Archaeological Survey of Zimbabwe, Museum of Human Sciences, Harare. One could have been donated by her.

Early treasure seekers are not the only ones to blame for the destruction of the original stone walls. More recently stones have been removed to build nearby two impressive, rectangular grave-mounds. This is unusual as it goes against general indigenous heritage practice where such sites are linked to the ancestors and are left alone. The structure of these graves suggests that they were either non-indigenous Africans or fervent Christians for whom the wrath of the traditional ancestors, madzimu, was considered trivial. On the basis of what we have seen elsewhere around Harare, more especially at Domboshava Hill and Jumbo Mine near Mazowe, we tend to favour the former interpretation and suspect that they are Malawians, possibly of Islamic background.

Yellow Jacket is not the only Zimbabwe-type ruin in the area. In the granites between Harare and Bindura there is a tight cluster of such sites, at least six others of various size have been recorded (Unpublished Records of the Archaeological Survey of Zimbabwe, Museum of Human Sciences, Harare; Pikirayi 1993: 61; Swan 1994: 51). Most of these ruins are more extensive, and one, Chisvingo, was visited by the Mashonaland Branch History Society in 2006. Extending further to include the greater Harare area there are many more ruins and it is likely that they were all once part of a large political organisation characterised by a hierarchy of sites and persons of importance. At this stage we are however not certain just how this cluster operated. Were they a regional province of larger Shona polities based elsewhere – from Great Zimbabwe to the southeast or the Mutapa State to the north; were these the predecessors of the Mutapa State; or were they an independent Shona mini-state founded in competition, but along the margins of, their larger and more powerful neighbours? The last would account for the clustered spatial pattern and would conform to the regionalist structures of latter Shona Dynastic polities. Not that the configurations recorded in the Nineteenth Century were the same as those several centuries earlier – disruptions caused by the Portuguese, roving and socially disruptive bands of Hiya groups as cited by the historian Dave Beach, the collapse of the Mutapa State and the rise and fall of the Rozwi State would have altered the political structures of these later Shona communities quite considerably (cf. Beach 1994a, 1994b).

These sites are all confined to the granites but common to all is their close proximity to gold deposits in the neighbouring Greenstone Belts. While not actually located on the red-soils, these ruined sites would have been sufficiently near enough for their resident élite to exert an influence over the exploitation and trade of the associated gold deposits. The location of gold deposits would not have been an overriding factor in the choice of settlement locations. This area has always been known for its excellent agricultural and pastoral capacity and Yellow Jacket ruin was probably surrounded by cultivated fields,

some of which would have provided tribute in the form of food to maintain the political élite. Given the relatively small size of the ruin it is likely that it was the residence of a lesser member of this ruling élite; some local member of the political class who oversaw regional production and taxation thereby ensuring the state's continued social and economic dominance. Central control was likely to have been located elsewhere.

EARLY COLONIAL RECORDS

It is not surprising that Yellow Jacket Ruin of all the stonewalled complexes that exist in northern Mashonaland should often feature in the early colonial travelogues of the region. It lies in the Mazowe-Pote Catchment in what was then a relatively accessible location from Fort Salisbury. The area was densely populated in the precolonial era and these people and their gold mining activities attracted many travellers, explorers and missionaries.

Our earliest known record of Yellow Jacket Ruin is that of the Scottish-Natalian trader Andrew Arthur Anderson. He visited the region in 1878. Unfortunately, he was not specific about his "old fort on the Mazoe River" and all we have are his simplistic sketch and very generalised comments on the ruins in the country in general (Anderson 1888). However it is clear that what is portrayed is the Yellow Jacket Ruin, Fig. 5. Unfortunately, Anderson was no artist and his rendition of the structure reflects his personal interpretations and early Victorian conventions rather than a real representation. He believed that the ruins and adjacent gold workings were contemporary, representing evidence of human activity and political power in the not so distant past (Anderson 1888: 386). However his interpretation of their origins is wrong attributing them to the biblical characters of Solomon and Sheba (1888: figure opp. 386).

Twenty years later Yellow Jacket Ruin again features in several early colonial books and academic journals. Again the interpretations were wrong suggesting some lost civilization

Fig. 5. A. A. Anderson's sketch of "old Fort" (Yellow Jacket) on the Mazoe River, 1878
(Anderson 1888)

such as the Phoenicians, Sabæans, Arabs or Indians. This was the creation of the "Zimbabwe Myth" whereby local initiative was denied in favour of external forces. This was to become a key element of subsequent Rhodesian identity and is still believed by some contrary to all archaeological, historical and ethnographic evidence to the contrary. In 1891 the English traveller and antiquarian J. Theodore Bent supported the idea of an Arabian origin (Bent 1893). This is probably not surprisingly given his previous experience in the Middle East (Braddock 1999). Bent wrote of the Yellow Jacket Ruin:

> We reached the ruin in good time, and halted by it for a couple of hours. It is a small **ancient** fort, built, as usual, on a granite kopje, and constructed with courses of wonderful regularity, equal to what we term the best period of Zimbabwe architecture. Not much of the wall was standing; enough, however, to show us that the fort had been almost twenty feet in diameter, and to cause us to wonder where the remaining stones could have gone to, as there are no buildings or Kaffir (sic) kraals anywhere near it. This is another of the many mysteries attached to the Mashonaland ruins; where the walls are ruined the stones would seem to have entirely disappeared. This difficulty confronted us at several places, and I am utterly at a loss to account for it.
>
> The fort, as it stands now, is exceedingly picturesque, in a green glade with mountains shutting it in on all sides; fine timber grows inside it and large boulders are enclosed within the walls. It was obviously erected as a fort to protect the miners of the district, and is a link in the chain of evidence which connects the Zimbabwe ruins with the old workings scattered over the country. (Bent 1893: 292–293, emphasis mine)

Bent's book also provides us a simplified sketch of the ruin, Fig. 6 (compare to a modern

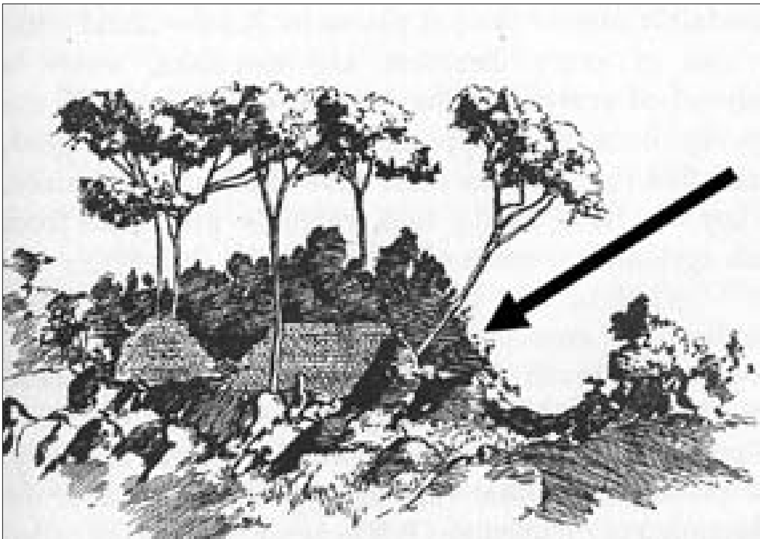

Fig. 6. J. T. Bent's sketch of Yellow Jacket Ruin, 1981.
Note the rocks indicated and compare with Fig. 7.
(Bent 1893)

**Fig. 7. "Q-type" walling. Northeast outer wall.
Note rocks indicated and compare with Figs. 5 and 8.**

photograph in Fig. 7). It is shown as overgrown and is a little narrower than it is in reality. This is in marked contrast to that of Anderson a mere twenty years earlier.

A decade later Hall & Neal (1904: 345) in their summary of the ruins of the country include a reference to Yellow Jacket Ruin while in error they also include the Posti Ruins (1904: 345), these are probably one and the same ruin described by different informants.

> YELLOW JACKET RUINS
>
> *Situation*. – Four miles east of the Yellow Jacket Reef, Mazoe district, on the east bank of a running stream, tributary of the Mazoe River, on a low granite kopje.
>
> *Period*. – Believed to belong to first Zimbabwe period. Elliptical plan of building, foundations on bed-rock, excellent workmanship, true courses and batter-back on both sides of walls.
>
> *Importance*. – Minor. No traces of gold-smelting operations or temple remains discovered.
>
> *Extent*. – Thirty feet in diameter.
>
> *Ornamentation*. – None in walls now standing.
>
> *Description*. – Width of walls at base between four and five feet, at present tops three feet, height of walls still standing six feet. The debris heaps are small. Gold-dust obtainable by panning the soil. Pottery of all Zimbabwe periods.
>
> *Note*. – These ruins were discovered in May, 1891, by Mr. Neal. Mr. Bent, who was Mr. Neal's guest, subsequently visited and described them. (Hall & Neal 1904: 345)

Their reference to panning may explain some of the damage to the ruin, reflecting the mining interests of the Durban-born gold prospector, W. G. Neal who had worked on the Barberton Gold Fields of the Transvaal before arriving in Fort Salisbury in 1891. He then headed north to the Mazowe District and was the first to register the Yellow Jacket claims. Possibly he, or the Rhodesia Ancient Ruins Company that he helped co-found,

were responsible for the damage to the archaeological deposit at the site. We are fortunate that this site proved poor as far as gold artefacts were concerned so the structures were not wrecked as were many other ruins in Matabeleland and Midlands Provinces.

As with Bent there is the continued suggestion of a non-indigenous origin with an increasingly racial slant. Their so-called Phase One builders were designated as the "Ancients"; a mysterious group of migrants, possibly Sabæn or Phoenician, who came to mine gold in the distant past. Through time with intermarriage and the "mixing of blood", these peoples were said to have assimilated into the existing African communities. As the offspring were less racially pure, Hall and Neal argue that they were less capable of building thus construction styles degenerated. The fact is that Hall and Neal got the sequence of building styles wrong. More recent and well documented research has shown convincingly that the poorer walls were in fact earlier. Construction style and ability developed *in situ* and there is no need to invoke an outsider element (Whitty 1961).

While not actually discussed in his text F. C. Selous illustrates the ruin in his book *Travel & Adventure in south-east Africa* (Selous 1893: 264), Fig. 8. The fact that Selous refrains from discussing the origin and significance of the Zimbabwe-type structures probably reflects his ambiguous attitude to them. He was of the opinion that they were of Shona origin but was unwilling to express this view point openly given what seemed to be accepted mainstream academic interpretation of the time.

After this initial flurry of interest Yellow Jacket Ruin faded from collective memory. The main road north shifted westward to more or less its present course and our awareness of the landscape and its features has been conditioned as a result. The old Yellow Jacket Mine proved unsustainable and its nearby ruins were soon forgotten. Instead it was the other larger ruins elsewhere in the country that captured the public imagination; most especially Great Zimbabwe which dominated all thoughts and consumed the lion's share of research money and academic investigation.

Fig. 8. F. C. Selous sketch of Yellow Jacket Ruin, early 1890s.
(Selous 1893)

In 1943 C. H. E. Fripp, an amateur archaeologist, sought it out and at the time she conducted an unofficial excavation. Unfortunately, all records of what was found and any artefacts that may have been recovered have been lost. They do not seem to have been lodged with the National Museum which at that time was still headquartered in Bulawayo. Fripp's sketch maps seem to have simply been filed away and the site was again forgotten. It was relocated by Mr. John Ford of the Prehistory Society of Rhodesia and a party of Boy Scouts, despite the stated scepticism as to the existence of these ruins on the part of the archaeologists employed at the Queen Victoria Memorial Museum, Salisbury (Ford pers. comm. 2004).

The ruins now appear in most maps of the archaeology of the country although they are rarely visited. The road access is poor and the local people are understandably wary of directing outsiders to them. This is not a racial thing but reflects local concerns to protect their own unique identity and heritage. Outsiders cannot always be expected to treat the site with the necessary respect due as they presumably have no real attachment to the ruin. Rather it is better in many local people's eyes that the place, as with many such ruins across Zimbabwe, are held secret for the ceremonial purposes and the veneration of their ancestors. The fact is that many of these ruins are actively used in rain making ceremonies and this is something that we as visitors would do well to remember.

Notwithstanding this problem a thorough study of small ruins such as Yellow Jacket is urgently required. Unlike the massive and better-known national capital sites such as Great Zimbabwe and Khami ruins, small settlements such as these are bound to reflect more local concerns and their study would provide us a deeper and broader insight into the economy and social organisation of the early Zimbabwe Culture. How did the local élite articulate with the people living nearby? Were they imposed leaders or local people who copied the authority structures from nearer the national capital? All these questions require reflection but to date far too much focus has been on the larger sites.

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A Brief Résumé of Forestry and Wildlife Research in the Indigenous Forests of Matabeleland

by Richard Seward

A *Brief History of Forestry in Zimbabwe* by Lyn Mullin, appeared in The History Society of Zimbabwe's *Heritage* publication No 25 of 2006. This concluded by stating that it was not until 1948 that a forest officer was appointed specifically to undertake research work. Lyn was a previous head of research, and his untimely death in 2003 precluded any further follow-up to the specialist field of forestry research which he intended undertaking.

The present contribution therefore, is an attempt to place on record some of the research endeavours and achievements from 1948 to 1990 in the indigenous forests of Matabeleland. As a follow-up to this brief insight, it is intended to attempt to record the personnel and achievements in the softwood and hardwood tree breeding and management research programmes in this country that gained international recognition. The author took early retirement in 1988 as deputy head of research. Consideration could be given by subsequent forest researchers to maintaining a continuum of relevant achievements and, more importantly, their results.

Although the appointment of the first forest officer specifically to undertake research only took place in 1948, some basic research in the form of sample plots had previously been established, where measurements and data collection had been undertaken in both indigenous and plantation forests. Additionally, some softwood and hardwood species introductions had taken place and, among the eucalypts, an arboretum had been established.

A. A. Pardy was the first research officer to be appointed, in 1948. Until 1954, he operated almost single-handedly in the embryo research branch, as it was in the early days, although field station staff continued to provide measurement data from sample plots. Pardy will be remembered for his notes on indigenous trees, which appeared as a regular feature in the *Rhodesia Agriculture Journal*. He retired in 1957 and was succeeded by a series of Research Heads thereafter, who will be recorded in a future record on forestry research.

Dick Barrett, originally from the U.K., but who had also served in the New Zealand forest Service, joined Pardy in 1954. His appointment, together with others shortly afterwards, marked the first real expansion in formal research projects that could be statistically analysed – a progression from what had previously been a largely simplistic focus.

Sequential measurements on individually numbered trees in the earlier sample plots within the indigenous forests established in the 1920s, were beginning to show the slow growth rates within structured diameter classes of some economically important species, particularly teak and mukwa *(Baikiaea plurijuga* and *Pterocarpus angolensis,* respectively). It was these early incremental growth rates that provided the initial data on which a theoretical, sustainable, exploitable rotation age of 80 years was initially set, and later amended to 130 years. By the mid 1950s, it was realised that, while basic measurements enabled increment values and growth curves to be constructed, they provided little or no information in a larger ecological context, especially for those factors related to exploitation and fire.

The term ecosystem is a comparatively recent concept, having only been introduced by Tanser in 1935, and has had, even until recently, ambiguous connotations among many early ecologists.

It is now generally accepted that the implications and interactions of biodiversity, a pivotal function of any ecosystem, requires greater emphasis to be placed on the broadest-based holistic considerations possible.

Historians and a number of early writers on Zimbabwe before and after the turn of the 20th century have recorded some interesting observations, which provide the only empirical ecological evidence on which to draw. These reveal very small human but exceedingly large wildlife populations in the forested areas of the west and northwest of the country where the teak forests were so well grown in places as to form a genuine forest of the dry semi-deciduous type, with an almost completely closed canopy.

These early observations provide an insight into at least some of the prevailing conditions that contributed to the ecology of the teak forests prior to any significant disturbance and interventions by sizeable human populations.

Periodic natural fires caused by lightning must have occurred, but as these are associated with the rainy seasons, and are unlikely to have affected the same areas year after year, their occurrence could be regarded as a natural phenomenon in the overall evolutionary processes.

Uncertainty exists as to whether the teak forests, as they appeared shortly before any major human interventions took place, were sub-climax, climax or in a state of decline. While minor fluctuations or oscillations in many of the interacting components of ecosystems may take place without too great an impact on their long term stability, major changes can precipitate a geometrically progressive and harmful chain reaction.

Before the Ndebele people moved into the western part of the country in 1838 under Mzilikazi, the first king of the Matabele peoples, the Kalahari sand areas were very sparsely inhabited by San Bushmen. Being nomadic hunters and gatherers, it is unlikely they contributed to frequent man-induced fires in the same areas year after year. In any case, where the bow and arrow were the principal weapons used for hunting, it would not have been in the hunters' interests to burn the vegetation cover need to stalk wild animals, or to damage many of the food or medicinal plants on which they relied.

Pressures of human population in the 1930s and 1940s resulted in some of the river and vlei areas – those in the non commercial forest areas that were incorporated within demarcated forests – being settled by tenants. Additionally, both uncontrolled and controlled exploitation had been in progress for a number of years over large areas. Forest canopies had thus been opened up, giving rise to greater masses of annual inflammable plant material, compounded by all the slash "lop and top leftovers" of non-exploitable material. Together, these two exploitation interventions within a largely unworkable system of complete protection, had a major negative impact on the frequency and ferocity of numerous uncontrolled fires at the hot, windy and dry time of the year. Efforts to address this devastating problem resulted in a major policy decision to introduce early burning in the entire forest area. It presented its own set of complex problems outside the scope of this paper. Suffice to say it only represented the lesser of two evils.

In 1956 Dick Barrett and myself laid out one of the earlier scientifically formulated research projects that comprised 28 plots in four replicates of seven 1 acre (0.4ha) plots.

Treatment in 2 complete replicates were deferred, other than complete protection for 5 or more years. Prescriptions in two remaining replicates (i.e. 2 × 7 plots, one of which was a no-burn control) were designated to be burnt in each month commencing in May through to October every year over time. The deferment of treatments in the two replicates was to allow for other burning regimes to be prescribed later; based on complete protection for a varying number of years followed by burning at different times of the year. Permanently identifiable one yard (.91 metre) wide, accurately partitioned transects were randomly laid out in each of the 14 treatment plots. All woody vegetation was measured and recorded in their respective spot positions within every partition.

Measurements were initially undertaken on an annual basis, and some emphasis was given to track small seedling development in every transect partition, as was coppice development of the major commercial species in relation to fire frequency and intensity. It was conceded that the project had certain limitations in that the burning of limited sized plots was not representative of the heat and kinetic energy of large fires on a wide front,

Nevertheless, 35 years of measurements within the range of burning treatments, provided some statistically acceptable, albeit interim, research results. Some were used by Farquhar in 1970 in a University of Zimbabwe *Field Ecology Dissertation,* and more recently by Calvert and Timberlake in a paper presented at an international Symposium in 1992 on *The Ecology and Management* of *indigenous Forests in Southern Africa.* All the indications from these earlier results tended to confirm what up to now had been based purely on observations and assumptions, namely that teak with its thin bark, particularly in its juvenile stages of development, is very susceptible to fire damage. This largely answered the question, "How could teak have survived, let alone become a dominant species in a dry forest ecosystem, with a history of frequent, damaging fires"?

Information on coppice, which in the case of teak is the re-growth emanating from a live rootstock system after the stem or stems above ground have been burnt, confirmed observations that frequent burning resulted in an escalation of degenerate, multi-stems that were unlikely to develop into a reasonable tree. This could in time, result in the whole root system dying.

Most of our indigenous trees are generally slow growing, particularly in their early years, and this is largely due to the root development that takes place during that time. It is believed that this is a survival mechanism that enables the trees to withstand drought and fire, and teak is no exception. I was instrumental in carrying out an experiment of sowing teak seed in a nursery type bed at the beginning of a rainy season, where the only water it received thereafter was during the subsequent rainy seasons. Six years later, a 3.5 metre trench was dug alongside the nursery bed, not difficult in the Kalahari sand, and the thin threads of the tap root tips had still not been exposed, while the seedling growth above ground remained almost static.

Early exploitation in the teak forests that took place prior to 1920 when the first forest officer was appointed that signified the birth of a Forest Service in this country, was completely uncontrolled. It could be termed as "a creaming operation" where all the best trees, including valuable genetic material were removed. Both early and later controls made no or little provision for the retention of "genetically" superior trees as seed bearers for future generations. The importance of preserving valuable genetic material was only realised in the 1940s when a long-term exploitation agreement was drawn up with the Rhodesia

Native Timber Concessions (R.N.T.C.). By the late 1950s, it was realised that it was not necessarily the largest, and possibly the oldest trees of exploitable size that were the best genetic material. Subjective assessments were initiated in yet to be exploited areas to select and mark some apparently vigorous, well formed younger trees as future seed producers. This was carried out as an ongoing operation, with the object of retaining at least one tree to every 2 acres.

Early recordings of wildlife in the Kalahari sands vegetation indicated large herds of animals, whose diversity can be attributed to the diverse habitats that existed within the forest areas, thereby contributing to the broader, overall spectrum of biodiversity in these areas. Unlike cattle, some species of wildlife can go without water for considerable periods, obtaining part of their moisture requirements from plants, while others can travel long distances to water. Trampling and the reduction of certain of the potential inflammable plant material that formed part of their food requirements, minimised, and in some cases even eliminated, potential fire damage.

Other than legislative considerations, a latent recognition of the role of wild life in the indigenous forest areas was manifest in the policy of complete protection, which did however provide for the destruction of what were then considered vermin. In the case of the Gwaai forest, the destruction concentrated almost entirely on wild dogs, which almost decimated the reedbuck population in some years, and caused high mortality among young eland and sable calves soon after their respective calving times. As an aside, it is not generally known that Wankie Game Reserve was, in the early days of its existence, under the umbrella of the Forest Division, (later a Department), within the Ministry of Lands.

The 1950s and early 1960s heralded the first concept and implementation of wildlife management on any scale in this country, most interventions of which were conducted within a multiple land-use system. Logically, management of a wildlife resource requires management of both their populations and their habitat, and it was this appreciation in the early 1960s that led to Allan Savory, at that time still an employee of the Game Department, being engaged to advise the Forestry Commission on wildlife management on Gwaai Forest. He was later to become a well established ecologist in his own right.

Two prominent vleis, the Amandundamella and the Insuza, provided the valley and valley margin habitats for large and diverse concentrations of game. While the Amandundamella vlei had limited permanent water, the Insuza, the larger and more prominent of the two, only held seasonal water. Savory soon realised that while a wide range of substantive food was available, a more permanent water supply would be needed if any form of wildlife management was to be successfully implemented. Accordingly, it was agreed that the Forestry Commission be given a permit to shoot up to 50 eland, preferably old bulls and cows, where the proceeds from the sale of meat and hides were to be used to provide water for the game. The shooting was to be done in such a way as to cause the least possible disruption to the population. In practice this was confined almost entirely to lone animals.

By the time I'd shot 30 animals, we had made enough money to sink a borehole and have a windmill erected in the Insuza vlei at a dry seasonal pan site, in an area favoured by a wide range of animals, attracted by natural calcium deposits that had been exposed through the diggings of some of the animals. Marketing of the meat was facilitated by the fact that the timber concessionaires, R.N.T.C., were relatively close by and employed a large labour force who could afford the one shilling a pound for some very good meat.

Accurate records were kept of each animal killed, where, at the end of the exercise, it had been established that eland dressed out at just over 52% of their live weight, higher in fact than that of cattle.

Once an additional reliable permanent water supply had been established, which hitherto was considered to be the major limiting factor in terms of our localised wildlife dynamics, Savory returned to carry out sex and age classifications relative to the major species populations.

Traditional census techniques were used as one method to arrive at species population figures by the counts conducted over full moon periods at water points during a hot time of year. Because the two vlei systems were used as internal fireguards, cleared fireline traces existed on either side of both, and by dragging old tyres in a "V" formation behind a tractor, we were left with a clear strip of ground on which spoor counts could be made. Total spoor counts by species were halved on the basis of an entry and exit to and from the vleis, it being accepted that it was sometimes difficult to identify some species with small spoor. Following on the advice of Fulbright research ecologists, instead of the entire vleis being burnt annually as internal fireguards, they were split up into sections, which, in the case of the insuza, meant that individual sections were only burnt every six years.

As sex and age classification structures are critical in any management system entailing the harvesting of game on a sustainable basis, it was important that these had to be accurately conducted. Problems were encountered with eland, mainly because they tended to move around frequently, splitting up into small groups at certain times, and then coming together in large herds at other times. Many small and large herds of sable tended to be more sedentary, and because the numbers, sexes and ages within each group or herd were unlikely to be identical, it ensured that the same group was not being counted more than once. The method used by Savory was to accurately scan each herd with binoculars, while at the same time talk into a tape-recorder to classify each and every animal in the herd or group into its respective classification, namely: adult bull; adult cow; sub-adult bull; sub-adult cow; juvenile bull; juvenile cow; and, calf (unsexed).

One very interesting phenomenon to emerge from this exercise was the very significant drop in calves reaching sub-adult status within a period of 3 years, from an almost 80% calving rate among adult females, the juvenile population had dropped to approximately 55%, while that of sub-adults was slightly less than 30%. While predators – leopard, hyenas and wild dogs – may have accounted for some of the losses, it was the destruction of wild dogs in particular that led to the sable becoming very sedentary. This in turn resulted in a build-up of parasites, confirmed by some post mortems on a few animals.

Based on Savory's sustainable cropping figures, the harvesting of the wildlife on Gwaai commenced in 1963, but was partially terminated in 1965, mainly due to a change in the Commission's policy at that time.

The Commission started to re-introduce species of game back into the Gwaai forest. A partial account of this programme is given in June Farquhar's book, *The Mukamba Tree*. These were known to have been among those originally there, but for one reason or another, no longer existed there. A small nucleus of white rhino (a donation from the Natal Parks Board) were also introduced. The re-introductions were part of a broader policy to commence safari activities that combined the wildlife resources of Gwaai with those of Ngamo and Kazuma Pan Forest areas into both hunting and photographic safari areas. The

operations on Gwaai were mainly confined to photographic safaris although some of the plains game and leopard were included in hunting quotas of the larger animals – buffalo and elephant – that took place on Ngamo. These activities were broadened even further by the inclusion of the Sijarira forest area, part of which bordered on lake Kariba, which offered fishing in addition to photographic safaris.

The integration of the complementary roles of forestry and wildlife research gave credence to the concept of the symbiotic relationship that exists between the two, and enabled a step forward towards more holistic resource management. Revenues from wildlife operations also made significant contributions towards improved fire protection measures in the indigenous forest areas and, by extension, to their own wildlife habitats right up to 1990.

In conclusion, the period from 1948 to 1990 is the only one on which I can provide but a brief insight, but subsequent indications regrettably indicate a steady decline in both the management of wildlife and fire protection measures needed to avert a potential holistic ecological disaster.

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An Essay into the History of the Professions in Zimbabwe: The Founding of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe

by R. S. Roberts

Specialized professional bodies such as the Institute (created by statute in 1917 as the Rhodesia Society of Accountants[1]) are not the sort of subject to have figured in the historiography of Zimbabwe, but this will probably change as objective requirements of the present and the future, rather than the adventures or injustices of the past, come to shape the interests of the next generation of historians.

For nearly eighty years the Institute legally enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the appellation 'accountant' and of the practice of auditing; and by its traditional insistence on articled service and training it claimed, in effect, a higher standard of practice. Whether a body such as this did represent the best form of regulation and education for a developing country is a question that was raised many times, but in a partisan manner, by Mr Alexander Katz, an American graduate in accountancy practising in Zimbabwe as a member of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries.[2] It was his strictures[3] on the privileged status of the Rhodesia Society of Chartered Accountants (as it had by then become) that led to my being asked by Mr Basil Hone, the Registrar of the Society in the mid-1970s, to discover the origins of the Society, in view of its own lack of records before the first enrolment of members on 11 January and its first meeting on 9 February 1918. This was done and I published a brief report for the Society's sixtieth anniversary in 1978.[4]

What now follows is the full explication of that founding which was so troubled that success was often in doubt.

When the British South Africa Company set up its administration north of the Limpopo in 1890, accountancy as a discipline and as a regulated profession was in its earliest days

[1] A member of the Society became known as 'Chartered Accountant (Southern Rhodesia)' or 'C.A. (S.R.)' by virtue of the Chartered Accountants Designation (Private) Act (No. 14 of 1928), but, strangely, neither 'Chartered' nor 'Southern' was added to the Society's name—the addition of 'Chartered' had to wait until the passing of the Accountants Amendment Act, 1969 (No. 47 of 1969). The final change, to its present form, came after Independence, as part of a general up-dating of the names of institutions; see Zimbabwe, *Gov[ernment] Gaz[ette]*, 27 June 1980, Statutory Instrument 362/80, Part VI.

[2] Most professional organizations and recognized qualifications in this country were British (or modelled on British equivalents). The Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators, as it is now named, was founded in 1891 in Britain and will be more fully described in a later article on the more recent history of accountancy in this country. Suffice it to say now, that it had a presence in Southern Africa from 1909 and later in Southern Rhodesia where it established a full Branch in Salisbury in 1950. Legal recognition was granted by the Chartered Secretaries (Private) Act (No. 35 of 1971), which is discussed further in fn. 22, below. Its activities and examinations have always comprised accountancy and today about 13 per cent of the accountants registered in Zimbabwe as Public Accountants by the Public Accountants and Auditors Board are qualified by virtue of their membership of The Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators.

[3] A. Katz, 'The disabilities of chartered secretaries in Rhodesia', *Zambezia* (1973–4), III, 109–12; 'Aspects of the history of the Rhodesian Accountants Act', *Rhod[esian] Hist[ory]* (1976), VII, 91–5; 'Act has chequered history', *The Rhod. Financial Gaz.* (16 Sept. 1977); 'Monopoly that should end' [letter], *The Her[ald],* 15 July 1980. See also his 'Who is an accountant?', *Business Guide* (Feb. 1996), 1–3, which was a criticism of the Public Accountants and Auditors Act (No. 13 of 1995) which, while permitting wider use of 'accountant' as a designation than hitherto, did not in his opinion go far enough in removing restrictive features of the original legislation that forms the central part of this article.

[4] R. S. Roberts, 'Early history of the Society', *Newsletter of the Rhod. Society of Chartered Account[ants]* (Mar. 1978), LXVI, [1–2].

of development in Britain and the Empire; furthermore there was little need in the early days of Southern Rhodesia for highly qualified accountants or for their regulation. But, as mining, commerce, banking and railways developed, so the need for skilled accountants inevitably grew. Little is known of the early accountants in the country, however, for by the very nature of their calling they tend to work behind the scenes and not be greatly in the public eye. Consequently there are hardly any references to them in the literature on the period[5] and the only sort of reference to them in the newspapers of the day comes from the fact that the Municipal Law of 1897[6] required that auditors of a municipality's accounts be elected annually by the voters at the same time as the councillors; and at times, for reasons of personal rivalries probably, these elections were keenly contested and attracted public interest, as in Salisbury in 1911 and Bulawayo in 1914.[7]

In the absence of a clear or legal definition of the appellation of 'accountant' in Southern Rhodesia, however, it is difficult to know how many 'real' accountants there were in the country in these early days. In the first census of Europeans in Salisbury in 1897 there were 14 men and 1 woman who described themselves as 'accountant' compared to a mere 2 men who called themselves 'bookkeeper'[8]—the reverse of the ratios one would expect. After that the only general, though not comprehensive, source of information that can be used to determine occupations is the list of voters drawn up for each constituency for elections to the Legislative Council. In the first such registration in 1898 there were some 86 accountants of various styles (of whom only 2 were Chartered), as can be seen in the Table;[9] and by 1916 this figure had risen to 152 (of whom 8 were either Chartered or Incorporated). There figures still look very high in comparison to the 28 and 84 bookkeepers in these two years, respectively—ratios of 3 and 1.8 accountants to each bookkeeper whereas one would rather expect as many bookkeepers to each accountant. Therefore, it appears that many who would have had lesser designations elsewhere arrogated to themselves in Southern Rhodesia the more prestigious title of accountant. This is borne out by the fact that, when the newly founded Rhodesia Society of Accountants began enrolling members, more than 60 applicants were rejected in the first three years (1918–20) and only about 150 were registered; and in the electoral registers of April 1920 there were about 30 more (than the 150 admitted) who still described themselves as accountants.

The accompanying Table gives the full detail of this situation and links it to the size of the European population that the accountants/bookkeepers served. In this respect the first notable feature is that the numbers of accountants and bookkeepers seem high in relation to the population; and this no doubt is a reflection of the speculative nature of the early Rhodesian

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[5] The only two passing references so far discovered are in the Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants, *Fifty Years: The Story of the Association . . .* (London, The Association, 1954), 24; and A. R. W. Stumbles, *Some Recollections of a Rhodesian Speaker* (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1980), 32–3—both, in fact, to the subject of this article.

[6] [British South Africa Company,] *Gov. Gaz.*, 7 July 1897, Gov. Notice 101 and Supplement.

[7] *The Rhod. Her.*, 4 Aug. 1911; *The Bulawayo Chron[icle]*, 6 Aug. 1914, and *The South African Account. and Auditor* (1914–15), I, 93–4.

[8] Nat[iona]l Arch[ives of Zimbabwe, Harare], C/2/1/1, I–II. These 15 accountants are out of an economically active total population aged over fifteen years of 541, that is nearly 3 per cent of the workforce; as there were only 29 other 'professionals' (medical, legal etc but excluding the church), these 15 'accountants' constituted 34 per cent of the total professionals. Clearly some considerable inflation of title was at work in a situation where there was no legal definition of 'accountant'.

[9] On the value of voters rolls as a source and their detailed citation see R. S. Roberts, 'An historical bibliography of voters' lists in Southern Rhodesia, Part I: 1899–1922', *Rhod. Hist.* (1977), VIII, 111–14; and 'A neglected source of Pioneer history', *Rhodesiana* (1979), XL, 11–13.

Numbers Engaged in Accountancy Work by Self-Designation

Year	*Chartered or Incorporated**	*Accountants*	*Other Accountants***	*Bank Accountants*	*TOTAL*	*Book-keepers*	*Accountants per Bookkeeper*	*European Population 000*
1898	2	80	1	3	86	28	3.1	
								(1901) 11
1902	2	72	2	3	79	24	3.3	
1903	1	82	6	3	92	38	2.4	
								(1904) 12.6
1904–5	4	91	3	2	100	46	2.2	
								(1907) 14
1908	4	89	–	–	93	47	2.0	
								(1911) 23.6
1910–11	4	104	1	3	112	60	1.9	
1913	8	135	2	5	150	91	1.6	
1916	8	120	10	14	152	84	1.8	
1920	7	146	7	17	177	92	1.9	
								(1921) 33.6

Notes:

*Some of these are sometimes described simply as accountants, but are otherwise known to have been chartered or incorporated.

**These are usually more specifically described as 'mine accountant' or 'railway auditor', or are combined with another calling.

Sources:

Voters' Rolls for the years indicated, as fully described in Roberts, 'An historical bibliography of Voters Lists in Southern Rhodesia. Part I: 1899–1922', 111–14.

Censuses for the years indicated, as fully described in Roberts, 'An historical bibliography of Rhodesian demographic data: Part I, Non-African census returns . . .1901–61', *The Rhod. Librarian* (1977), IX, 44–50.

economy. As a consequence of this fact, coupled with the inflation of self-designated title in the early days, the rate of increase in the number of accountants is only two-thirds of the rate of increase in the population as the socio-economic structure matures. The more prosaic bookkeepers, however, increase at about the same rate as the population; and so the unusually high ratio of accountants to bookkeepers falls by about 40 per cent.

In these years of unregulated practice, before 1918, therefore, it was inevitable that standards of knowledge and the probity of self-styled accountants would vary enormously and some of the better trained began to think that the time was approaching for some organization and regulation. Thus an anonymous accountant practising in Southern Rhodesia wrote in August 1914 to a new South African journal of accountancy as follows:

> It is regrettable that at a time when the interest of the accountancy profession throughout the world is largely concentrated on attempts to restrict the practice of auditing to duly qualified men no steps have been taken in Rhodesia . . . The time to close a profession is when those practising are few . . . [because] no hardship would be inflicted on anyone, provided all those in bona-fide practice at the time were admitted to the register. The effect would be to protect the public and ensure a certain standard of skill as the country expands and the necessity for a greater number of practising accountants arises.[10]

How this was to be done, however, was not so clear, because the history of attempted reform elsewhere was discouraging. In Britain there had been a score of Bills presented to Parliament which had all failed because of disagreements between different accountancy organizations. In South Africa some successful regulation had been achieved in the Transvaal and Natal, but challenges and disputes were continuing and becoming more complicated because of the intervention of members of British organizations; and as recently as 1913 these rivalries had prevented the extension of such regulation to the whole Union. Some explication of all this is now necessary in order to understand what faced would-be reformers in Southern Rhodesia and what opposition their proposals were in fact to meet in 1917.

THE ACCOUNTANCY BACKGROUND

The first organizations of accountants in Britain were established between 1854 and 1888, when five accountancy bodies (three Scottish, one English and one Irish) received royal charters. These Chartered Accountants insisted upon service under articles (in addition to examinations) in order to qualify and were generally held to be of a higher standard of skill and conduct than others; they certainly strove to be so and have continued to flourish, predominately in fact, to this day.[11]

Very similar to (and indeed ultimately, in 1957, dissolved into) these chartered bodies

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[10] 'Notes from Rhodesia', *The South African Account. and Auditor* (1914–15), I, 93–4.

[11] The measure of their success is that the designation 'chartered accountant' (or C.A. as letters after one's name) became synonymous with the highest standards of training and practice; and so it became the ambition of many other bodies of accountants in different parts of the Empire, despite their not having royal charters in the main, to adopt that designation. Quebec, Ontario and Nova Scotia were the first to do so (1880–1900) followed by its adoption at the national level in 1902 and in the other provinces over the next twenty years or so; the four provincial societies in South Africa obtained a statute to that effect (Chartered Accountants (Private) Act (No. 13 of 1927) and this similarly obliged Southern Rhodesia to quickly follow a year later, as already indicated in fn. 1, above. Australia followed in 1928 and the New Zealand Society of Accountants created in 1908 with legislation based on the Transvaal Act of 1904 (see fns 15 and 31, below) changed its name as recently as 1996. In all about twenty Commonwealth countries have now adopted the designation of 'Chartered'.

was the Society of Accountants and Auditors formed in 1885.[12] This body was incorporated as a company but allowed to dispense with the usual suffix of 'Limited' on the condition of having its liabilities guaranteed by its members and being conducted not for profit, with any assets on dissolution going to a similar body. By virtue of these onerous conditions the members became distinguished from others by the appellation of 'Incorporated Accountants'; and indeed, for reasons that will be explained later, their organization changed its name in 1908 to The Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors.[13]

This body was always been well regarded and, although it basically aimed at articled service for the future of its membership, it was more flexible than the chartered bodies in its admissions policy, and its examinations were widely accessible. Thus, whereas articled service in Britain itself became the only means of entry to the chartered bodies, service, experience and examination in the colonies did become a route into the Society of (Incorporated) Accountants and Auditors when and where emigrant members had been able to set up branches of the Society—as in two Australian colonies from 1886, in the Cape in 1894 and in Johannesburg in 1902, and in Canada in 1905. The importance of this fact for the history of accountancy in Rhodesia was that some Incorporated Accountants in South Africa were behind The Transvaal Accountants Ordinance of 1904 which created the Transvaal Society of Accountants with sweeping legal powers to regulate the practice of accountancy there[14]—the first such national regulation in the Empire, a widely desired objective, which was soon followed in New Zealand in 1908,[15] and in Natal, after two failed attempts, in 1909[16] (also with the help of Incorporated Accountants in South Africa). Encouraged by their success in establishing these regulatory bodies in the Transvaal and Natal, to which they themselves enjoyed automatic entry because the new bodies were based on the standards and methods of their home society (and of the chartered ones), the South African Branches of the Incorporated Accountants and the four provincial societies there then attempted to extend this system to the whole Union in 1913. Their Bill was rejected, however, because of the strenuous objections by members of newer accountancy bodies in Britain which also had members in South Africa.

These newer Scottish and English bodies constituted a 'second wave' of accountancy organizations. This had begun in a small way in 1891 in Glasgow with a Corporation of Accountants in Scotland which was followed by several other bodies, but suddenly took off after the Revenue Act of 1903 (3 Edw. 7, c. 46, section 13), which recognized as an accountant for purposes of income tax work anyone belonging to an incorporated body. This brief description was presumably intended as a shorthand reference to the six bodies of Chartered and Incorporated Accountants; but, as the Companies Act allowed any company to be incorporated by a minimum of two persons, the way was suddenly opened for any two accountants acting together to obtain statutory recognition by incorporating themselves. And this they did in a big way; to name only the most important, the Institution of Certified

[12] This body had absorbed in 1896 the Public Accountants of Liverpool (formed in 1894) and in 1899 the Scottish Institute of Accountants (formed in 1880).

[13] The last part of its title, 'and Auditors', was dropped in 1954.

[14] Transvaal, The Transvaal Accountants Ordinance (No. 3 (Private) of 1904).

[15] New Zealand, New Zealand Society of Accountants Act (No. 211 of 1908).

[16] Colony of Natal, the Natal Accountants Act (No. 35 of 1909). Elsewhere in southern Africa there was the Society of Accountants and Auditors in the Cape Colony (formed in 1907) and the Society of Accountants and Auditors in the Orange Free State (formed in 1908 as of the Orange River Colony), but they were voluntary bodies with no legal powers.

Public Accountants was formed in 1903, and the Central Association of Accountants and the London Association of Accountants were formed in 1905. To make matters worse for The Society of Accountants and Auditors members of these new bodies then began to advertise themselves as 'Incorporated Accountants', as if on a footing with members of the Society. To stop such passing-off the Society successfully applied to the High Court in 1907 for an injunction against a Mr Goodway, of the London Association of Accountants, and then for safety's sake the Society changed its name to The Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors.[17]

Nevertheless these 'second-wave' bodies were successful as they filled a need for a less onerous means of becoming accountants, and their opposition to any proposed regulation that did not meet their interests was one of the reasons for the successive failures to legislate on the subject in Britain. Also as their members emigrated to the colonies (where the senior bodies were less well entrenched than at home) so their views and interests carried even more weight than in Britain. Thus the Corporation of Accountants in Scotland and the Central Association of Accountants were behind the opposition in 1913 to the South African Bill[18] that, as already mentioned above, was promoted by the four provincial societies led by that of the Transvaal and by the two Branches of the Incorporated Accountants and Auditors, in order to replace the Transvaal Ordinance of 1904 and the Natal Act of 1909 with a similar statutory control of the practice of accountancy throughout the Union on a unified basis.

This opposition was successful and the Bill was never proceeded with; and this encouraged fifteen members of the London Association of Accountants working in the Transvaal to come together to form a Branch in Johannesburg in July 1913. They hoped to build on the success in Parliament to exert pressure on the Transvaal Society of Accountants to recognize their Association for the purposes of recognition under the Ordinance of 1904.[19] But all that this achieved was to earn them the enmity of the Transvaal Society which already had had some trouble with their Branch Vice-President (effectively their leader), Arthur Landau, who had failed the Society's entrance examinations several times and so had made accusations of abuse of their powers.[20] Something of a feud then developed and, as will be seen, was later

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[17] [1907] I Chancery 489; appeal against this went to the House of Lords, but without success; A. A. Garrett, *History of the Society of Incorporated Accountants 1885–1957* (Oxford, Univ. Press for the Society, 1961), 49–51; and *Fifty Years: The Story of the Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants 1904–54,* 8–9.

[18] There appears to be no study of this important episode in the development of accountancy in South Africa; the full details can, however, be found in Union of South Africa, *Reports of Select Committees, 1913,* I, S.C. 3: *Report . . . on the Accountants' Registration (Private) Bill.* The Bill (A.B. 9 of 1913) is in the Parliament of South Africa, Cape Town, Papers Office, Annexure 63 of 1913.

[19] Parl[iament of Zimbabwe, Harare, Papers Office], Pap[ers of] Select Comm[ittee on] Account. Ord[inance] 1917 (Sess[ional] Pap. 71, 1917), Exhibits, P. F. Derry, No. 4, Landau to Derry, 28 Oct. 1916; The London Association of Accountants (South African Branch), *Year Book 1915* [Johannesburg, The Association, 1915], *passim.*

[20] Parl., Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, Exhibits, P. F. Derry, No. 4, Landau to Derry, 28 Oct. 1916; and 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 60–71, A. Landau. Not much is known of Landau beyond what is presented in this article. He was probably of Rumanian Jewish descent and before coming to South Africa trained and/or practised in France and Belgium where he belonged to various accountancy organizations. In 1920 he was awarded the cross of Chevalier de l'Ordre de Leopold II for his services to Belgian interests in the Transvaal and about three years later he was similarly decorated by the French government with membership of the Ordre des Palmes Académiques, letters to author from the Vice President of L'Association des Membres de l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques, Paris, 20 June 1985, and from the Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy of Belgium, Harare, 12 July 1985.

The body that he represented, London Association of Accountants, was, however, to become well known as the nucleus of one of today's leading accountancy bodies, the Association of Chartered Certified Accountants, which will be more fully described in a later article on the more recent history of accountancy in this country. Suffice it to say now that it raised its standards over the years and absorbed the other 'second-wave' organizations, including those involved in the opposition to the 1913 Bill in South Africa (the Corporation of Accountants in Scotland in 1939 and the Central Association of Accountants in 1941 (the latter indirectly

to be aggravated by Landau's opposition to legislation in Southern Rhodesia that was based on the Transvaal Ordinance and offered reciprocity to the Transvaal Society.

THE FORMATION OF THE RHODESIA SOCIETY OF ACCOUNTANTS

In view of what has just been explained of the background those accountants in Southern Rhodesia thinking of regulation can have had no doubt that it was going to be difficult to push what they wanted through the Legislative Council. Indeed one of the leading accountants, Edward Coxwell of Salisbury (who was to become one of the fourteen promoters of the accountants' Private Bill) had first-hand experience of how easy it was to block legislation; in November 1911 he had obtained the signatures of 130 accountants, agents and merchants in Salisbury for a petition to the Legislative Council formally objecting to the Legal Practitioners Bill (C.O. 9 of 1911). Opposition had already been delayed progress on the Bill since May because it would have restricted certain types of work, such as memoranda and articles of association of companies, to members of the Incorporated Law Society. Finally in December the Bill was deferred to the next session so that amendments and concessions to accountants could be made[21] (and in the event the matter did not reach the legislature again until 1938 and even then was not as restrictive as the Bill of 1911 had been![22]).

On the other hand, it was equally clear to those interested in reform that more delay in the regulation of the practice of accountancy would not be advisable. The 'second-wave' organizations were buoyed up by their success in defeating the 1913 Bill in South Africa, and as they became stronger they would inevitably build up a membership in Southern Rhodesia; so the longer regulation was deferred, the more vested interests would there be entrenched in public practice.[23] Then in August 1916 any lingering doubts about the need for action were resolved by an accounting scandal. The details of some highly unprofessional conduct by two Salisbury accountants are lost, unfortunately for historians but fortunately

through a prior merger). Its South African Branch came to an end in 1952, when the new Public Accountants and Auditors Board (created by Act No. 51 of 1951) recognised its existing practising members as Public Accountants, but once for all and not for the future (since then, however, a Branch has been re-established, in 1994).

A Branch was established in Salisbury in the 1950s, and gave the Rhodesia Society of Accountants more trouble when legislation for the whole Federation was being negotiated—reminiscent of the battles over the South African Bill of 1913 and the Southern Rhodesian Bill of 1917. Today it is a very different organization and flourishes as one of the five constituent bodies of the Public Accountants and Auditors Board—along with its old enemy, the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe, and three other constituent bodies of accountants.

[21] [Southern Rhodesia,] *Debates [in the Legislative Council during the First Session of the Fifth Council] 8th to 19th May, 1911* (Salisbury, reprint from *The Rhod. Her.,* [1911]), 12 May, 40; 16 May, 65; idem, *11th to 20th December, 1911,* 15 Dec., 103; 18 Dec., 124–55; 19 Dec., 167–8. The main proponent of the accountants' interests, now and later as will be seen, was Col. Raleigh Grey, member for the Northern Electoral District since 1899 and friend of the Administration.

[22] Attorneys, Notaries and Conveyancers Act (No. 30 of 1938); *Debates [of the Legislative Assembly],* XVIII, 27 Apr. 1938, 229, 239, D. Macintyre. He said that 450 people had signed a petition against parts of the Bill, even though a reservation to lawyers in an earlier draft had been dropped in respect of memoranda and articles of association of companies. This particular subject was still causing friction twenty to thirty years later; see *Debates,* XXXIX, 7 May 1957, 1474–5, Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs (in connection with the Attorneys, Notaries and Conveyancers Amendment Act (No. 21 of 1957); and *Debates,* LXX, 25 Jan. 1968, 185; and 1 Feb., 395, Minister of Justice (in connection with the Notaries and Conveyancers Amendment Act (No. 10 of 1968) which was now regarded as a threat not so much by the accountants as by the Chartered Secretaries, to whom concessions were made in return for a promise to put their organization under Rhodesian statutory control—hence their Private Act in 1971 that has been mentioned in fn. 2, above.

[23] Later events in the Union were to demonstrate this danger, as ten more Bills between 1924 and 1940 were defeated. There appears to be no study of this on-going professional débâcle which is without parallel in the history of accountancy in the Dominions (although in Britain, where there were more and better entrenched accountancy bodies, the situation had been even worse); the Bills (all designated A.B.) are: Nos. 26 and 58 of 1924; 30 of 1925; 17 of 1927; 40 of 1934; 20 of 1936; 26 of 1938; 12 and 38 of 1939; and 11 of 1940.

perhaps for those involved; all we know is that the matter was taken to Mr George Upton, the Chairman of the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau, who as an accountant not in practice was considered to be independent. Upton's advice was that only a long-term solution could prevent such abuses, for in the absence of regulation men without training and accountants who had been expelled from reputable organizations elsewhere and/or were undischarged bankrupts could all continue to call themselves accountants and practise. Thus, in the words of the first chairman (president) of the Rhodesia Society of Accountants two years later, Upton thereupon 'conceived the idea of protecting the profession by the formation of such a society'.[24] In Upton's own, modest, account given to the Select Committee of the Legislative Council which investigated the proto-Society's Private Bill in 1917, it was 'from that moment [that] the scheme went ahead' for the foundation of a society and for legislation to give it regulatory and disciplinary powers.[25]

Thus a meeting of accountants in Salisbury was held on 7 August 1916 to discuss the formation of a 'Society of Accountants and Auditors'. The anonymous correspondent of the *South African Accountant and Auditor* emphasized that this was not for personal or pecuniary gain but, mindful no doubt of the recent scandal, was for the elevation of the profession of public accountants by compelling the observance of strict rules of conduct as a condition of membership . . . [in order to] promote the efficiency of and usefulness of accountants . . . by the exclusion of the unfit [and to] ensure that membership will carry with it a certificate of undoubted merit'. [Consequently the Salisbury meeting decided to] resolve ourselves into a committee to approach accountants practising in other centres of the country with the object of joint action in the formation of a Society of Accountants practising in Rhodesia, and the subsequent attainment of legislative recognition.[26]

The chairman of the meeting was Percival F. Derry, a chartered accountant in practice in Salisbury since 1905;[27] and by October 1916 he and the committee had made considerable progress. A voluntary body calling itself The Rhodesia Society of Accountants was soon created; and by February 1917 William Brown of the Salisbury Board of Executors was conducting official correspondence as Secretary of the Society, and a Provisional Council of

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[24] Inst[itute of] Chart[ered] Account[ants of Zimbabwe, Harare], Minute Book, I [9 Feb. 1918–24 June 1926], 26, Meeting of Members, 31 Aug. 1918.

[25] Parl., Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 53, G. Upton.

[26] 'Notes from Rhodesia', *The South African Account. and Auditor* (1915–16), II, 170.

[27] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, Exhibits, P. F. Derry, No. 4, A. Landau for the South African Branch, The London Association of Accountants, Johannesburg, to Derry, 28 Oct. 1916. As will be seen, Derry later became chairman of the Provisional Council of the Rhodesia Society of Accountants and a leading promoter of the Bill. Once the Rhodesia Society of Accountants was legally established in 1918 he was elected the first chairman, a title changed to president for his second term in 1919. He had a brief falling out with the Rhodesia Society of Accountants in 1927 and resigned from the Council but the problem at issue, the designation or title of members, was soon settled (this episode will be the subject of a later article); and Derry went on to become president again in 1940.

He was born in England in 1879 and had come to Salisbury as a chartered accountant to join his brother Bernard G. Derry, also a C.A., in practice. Later he practised independently and sometimes in partnership, as in 1912 when he and his partner, C. J. MacNaughtan, a Scottish C.A., were elected auditors for the forthcoming year for the Municipality (see *The Rhod. Her.,* 31 July 1912). In 1946 he formed the partnership, Derry, Ellman-Brown, Fraser (which in 1982 became part of the Coopers & Lybrand international practice. This in turn was merged in 1998 to form the present PricewaterhouseCoopers internationally, but the partners of the Zimbabwe practice did not follow the merger and instead formed a Zimbabwe branch of another international practice, Ernst & Young).

Long before these developments Derry had retired, in 1951, and he died in 1966. He was very different from the Monty Python's 1969 stereotyping of an accountant as an 'appallingly dull fellow'—charming, courteous, outgoing and light-hearted, Derry was something of an actor who also served as chairman, vice-chairman and treasurer of Reps; see *The Rhod. Her.,* 14 Oct. 1966, and R. Cary, *The Story of Reps* (Salisbury, Galaxie Press, 1975), 209, 232.

Mr Percival F. Derry, the first president of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe.

Derry, Upton and R. H. Everett, the Auditor-General, was meeting to handle business.[28] We do not know exactly how many accountants supported this new venture, but there appears to have been a core membership of just over forty: the three acting as the Provisional Council, just mentioned, who were to become promoters of a parliamentary Private Bill, and eleven others (which fourteen in all were later named in the Bill to constitute the Provisional Council), and another twenty-seven or so who joined the fourteen in providing guarantees for the expenses involved.[29]

The primary task of this group of self-appointed but dedicated men was to draft a Private Bill[30] to give their fledgling society legal powers and to restrict the use of the designation 'accountant', for they were convinced that a voluntary society (like those in the Cape and the Free State, and in Britain, especially the 'second-wave' ones) would be of no value in a new and developing country like Southern Rhodesia.[31] They naturally turned for advice to Johannesburg, not only because of the close business contacts through the mining-houses but

[28] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, Exhibits, H. H. Phear, No. 8, W. Brown, Secr. The Rhodesia Society of Accountants to Messrs Honey and Blanckenberg, 22 Feb. 1917; *The Rhod. Directory, 1915* (Salisbury, Argus, [1915]), 100.

[29] Natl Arch., RC/3/1/30, 1134, Resident Comm[issioner] to High Comm., 26 Aug. 1917, encl. Adm[inistrator] to Resident Comm., 12 May 1918, encl. memo. by the Attorney-Gen[eral], 9 May 1917. The fourteen making up the Provisional Council when the Society was legally established in 1918 were thus to be the first registered members; most of the twenty-seven were the next to be registered *en bloc* as members; for more detail on this see fns 40, 81 and 86, below.

[30] It emerged a decade later that Everett, the Auditor-General, was 'largely instrumental in working up the terms' of the Bill, and no doubt he would have taken the advice of his colleagues in the Administration in order to ensure that the Bill was acceptable; Parl., Pap. Select Comm. The Chartered Accountants Designation (Private) Bill, 1928 (Sess. Pap. 69, 1928), 'A Copy of the Proceedings of the Select Committee . . . together with the Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Said Committee', '. . . Second Day's Proceedings', 11 June 1928, 36, R. H. Everett.

[31] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 16–20, H. T. Guerrier, A.C.A. New Zealand was cited as a similar case where the government itself had felt obliged to introduce statutory regulation in 1908 after a decade or so of voluntary organizations; see A. W. Graham, *1909 to 1959 . . . The Story of the New Zealand Society of Accountants* (Wellington, The Society, 1960), 14 ff.

also because the Transvaal Society of Accountants had faced similar problems and had gone through the same procedures in obtaining a private ordinance some thirteen years earlier.

News of this contact and the proposed Bill leaked out in South Africa and two members of the Corporation of Accountants in Scotland (the earliest of the 'second wave' of organizations) who practised in Cape Town wrote in haste to the Administration to protest. One of them, William Hay, had in fact led the opposition to the Bill of 1913 in the Union Parliament which had been very similar to what was now being proposed for Southern Rhodesia; and he explained to the Administrator in some detail his reasons for objecting to such legislation.[32] Even more concerned was the South African Branch of the London Association of Accountants in Johannesburg, where Arthur Landau was still locked in battle with the Transvaal Society of Accountants. He was determined to ensure that the Southern Rhodesian legislation would not repeat the features of the Transvaal and Natal legislation that he objected to, notably that his London Association was locked out and now would be again, because of the ambition of the proposed Southern Rhodesian society to enjoy reciprocity with the Transvaal and Natal Societies.

As the proposed Rhodesian Bill was in fact closely modelled on the Transvaal Accountants Ordinance (No. 3) of 1904 (which was also the basis of the Natal Accountants Act (No. 35) of 1909 and the failed Bill of 1913), it is necessary to explain in more detail the procedure then adopted in incorporating a society of accountants with sole powers to register accountants. Very briefly the Southern Rhodesian Bill provided that for six months after the establishment of the new society, there would be three ways of joining the society and becoming registered: i) by being a member of recognized societies which were named; ii) by being in public practice as an accountant at that time; and iii) by satisfying the Provisional Council of the new society of fitness to practise. At the end of the 'provisional' period of six months, however, admission would become subject to bye-laws that the Society would make, and of course could change from time to time, which would provide only two basic routes of qualification: examination of some sort by the Society, or membership of another organization of accountants recognized for that purpose—whether called a society, an institute, or an association was immaterial provided the standards were similar and reciprocity desirable and possible.

What Landau and the London Association wanted was that 'admission to the [Southern Rhodesian] register [should] remain . . . open to duly qualified persons at all times'; and what he meant by this was that membership of his and other 'second-wave' bodies of accountants made one a qualified person and that, being so qualified, an applicant should not be examined.[33] Derry and the Provisional Council of the new Rhodesia Society of Accountants were naturally anxious that their Bill should not suffer the fate of the South African Bill of 1913, and so informed Landau that they were prepared to add the name of the London Association to the list of bodies, membership of which gave automatic admission during the six-month provisional period, and admission thereafter as long as the Association was held to be sufficient according to the bye-laws; but they were unable to give the London Association recognition for all time, entrenched as it were, in the Ordinance itself.[34] This

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[32] Natl Arch., A/3/21/5, W. Hay to Adm., 4 Apr. 1917, encl. in G. McDougall to Adm., 7 Apr. 1917. For the defeat of the South African Bill of 1913, see above, pp. 5–6

[33] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, Exhibits, P. F. Derry No. 4, Landau to Derry, 28 Oct. 1916.

[34] Ibid., Exhibits, H. H. Phear, No. 8, W. Brown, Secr., The Rhodesia Society of Accountants, to Honey and Blanckenberg,

offer was in fact no different from what was proposed for the leading accountancy bodies (the five British chartered bodies and the Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors), and the societies of the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape; and this proposal was acceptable to them, as indeed it had been to the British Chartered and Incorporated Accountants when the Transvaal had made the same sort of provision in 1904.

But this was not satisfactory to Landau and his branch of the London Association, because he feared that the leading Southern Rhodesian accountants, with their close ties to the Transvaal Society and their need for reciprocity with it, were inherently hostile to his Association and, having obtained their ordinance, would draw up, or soon thereafter change, their bye-laws to exclude the London Association from the list of acceptable bodies.[35] This intransigence on his part seems to have aroused or confirmed suspicions about the London Association; and so the Rhodesian accountants decided to change their placatory attitude and not to recognize the Association at all, even for the provisional period.[36] The result of this, almost inevitably, was that Landau would oppose their Bill, but a worse alternative was by then apparent—that the Transvaal and Natal Societies might not give reciprocal recognition to the new Rhodesia Society if it did recognize the London Association and similar 'second-wave' bodies which were easy to join.[37]

Preparations for the bill were by now reaching finality. On 2 March 1917 the Society's attorney and Parliamentary Agent, H. W. Bolus, published in the *Government Gazette*, as was required, notice of its intention to petition the next meeting of the Legislative Council for a Private Bill; and this was followed by further publication at three-weekly intervals and by similar notices in *The Rhodesia Herald* and *The Bulawayo Chronicle*.[38] The Legislative Council began its session on 11 April and so on 12 April Bolus sent the Clerk of the Council the petition of the promoters of a bill 'to provide for the registration of accountants'; the draft ordinance was enclosed and proposed to restrict the designation 'accountant' to those registered by the Society, which was to be given the necessary legal powers to control admissions to the register along the lines already indicated.[39]

The petition itself appears not to have survived and we can only infer that the petitioners were the same as the promoters of the Bill, that is Derry, Upton and Everett who had made up the Provisional Council, perhaps along with the other eleven who with them were named in the Bill to constitute the Provisional Council of the Society when incorporated by the promulgation of the resultant ordinance.[40] Colonel Raleigh Grey, a friend of the accountants, as has been mentioned, presented the petition to the Council on the next day and Examiners

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22 Feb. 1917.

[35] Ibid., Exhibits, H. H. Phear, No. 9; and W. S. Honey, No. 1, Honey and Blanckenberg to Brown, Secr. The Rhodesia Society of Accountants, 8 and 13 Mar. 1917, respectively.

[36] Ibid., Exhibits, H. H. Phear, No. 10, Brown, Secr. The Rhodesia Society of Accountants, to Honey and Blanckenberg, 9 Mar. 1917.

[37] Ibid., 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 16–17, H. T. Guerrier; 38–9, P. F. Derry. Transvaal Society of Account., Johannesburg, Minute Book, III (4 Jan. 1916 – 1 July 1919), 6 Mar. 1917.

[38] *Gov. Gaz*., 2, 9, 16, and 23 Mar. 1917; *The Rhod. Her.,* 3, 10, 17 and 24 Mar. 1917; *The Bulawayo Chron*., 7, 13, 20 and 27 Mar. 1917.

[39] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, Bolus to Clerk of Council, 12 Apr. 1917, encl. An Ordinance [Bill] to Provide for the Registration of Accountants in Southern Rhodesia (P.O.1, 1917); this Bill is also to be found as Sess. Pap. 45 of 1917.

[40] The fourteen were: F. A. Collins, E. Coxwell, P. F. Derry, R. H. Everett, G. Upton, E. A. von Hirschberg, and B. Wright, all of Salisbury; A. Fraser, A. C. Raymer, and W. A. Perry, all of Bulawayo; H. Grant and R. R. Olver of Gatooma; J. F. Ward of Gwelo; and J. T. Huxtable of Umtali. Also see fns 29, above, and 81 and 86, below.

were appointed to see whether due procedure had been observed.[41] W. S. Honey, the attorney, of Honey & Blanckenberg of Salisbury, whom Landau had retained, thereupon claimed on 16 April that the public notice was defective in not listing the promoters by name and in not correctly stating the nature of the Bill.[42] The Examiners reported to the Council on the same day that, although the notice could have been more exact, the public had not been prejudiced and that the Bill could, therefore, proceed.[43] The first reading, a formality, was given on 18 April but two days later John McChlery, Member for Marandellas and something of a contrarian and champion of unpopular causes, presented a petition against the Bill on behalf of Landau and the London Association; the petition and Bill, together with Landau's counter-petition, were then sent to be investigated by a Select Committee of the Council, consisting of Sir Charles Coghlan, member for Bulawayo North as chairman, Milton E. Cleveland, member for Salisbury Town (and future mayor), and Percival D. L. Fynn, the Secretary to the Treasury (and future minister).[44]

The Select Committee met to hear evidence on 25 April, with Advocate H. H. Phear representing the promoters and W. S. Honey, attorney, representing Landau. The first skirmish, in what proved to be a considerable battle, was begun by Phear who tried to have Landau's counter-petition ruled out of order on the ground that he was not a resident of Southern Rhodesia; Phear's request was not upheld and this was only fair, as the London Association did have four members in Southern Rhodesia, three of whom were abroad on active service and the fourth was in the employ of a practising accountant in Bulawayo and afraid to speak up.[45] The main battle was then joined.[46]

The strategy of Phear was to call evidence, both from promoters and from disinterested witnesses, to prove the need to protect the public and the profession itself from the ignorant or dishonest practitioners; and the central argument here was that it was necessary to provide for examination for admission to the register.

Honey's strategy was obviously based upon that used by the successful opponents of the similar South African Bill in 1913; this was to persuade the Select Committee that the Preamble on which the whole bill logically depended was not proved. The Preamble said,

> Whereas it is expedient to provide for the registration of persons publicly practising or entitled to practise publicly as accountants in Southern Rhodesia so as to distinguish qualified from unqualified persons; and whereas it is necessary to provide a qualification for admission to the register of accountants . . . .[47]

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[41] *Debates 1917*, 13 Apr., 50.

[42] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, Honey and Blanckenberg to Clerk of the Legislative Council, 16 Apr. 1917.

[43] *Debates 1917*, 16 Apr., 75–6,

[44] Ibid., 18, 20, 23 and 24 Apr., 158, 228, 229, 305.

[45] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, 'Minutes of a Meeting . . . ', 25 April 1917; 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 66, A. Landau. The petition appears not to have survived.

[46] The only published reference to this parliamentary battle was a passing one by Rubidge Stumbles who was involved in a junior capacity as assistant to Herbert W. Bolus, the attorney acting for the promoters of the Bill; see Stumbles, *Some Recollections of a Rhodesian Speaker*, 32–3. Stumbles's memory, however, was obviously at fault in his reference to W. M. Leggate, the Colonial Secretary (in Coghlan's post-1923 Cabinet), as the chairman of the Select Committee on the 1917 Bill (that is three years before he was elected to the legislature); the chairman in 1917 was Coghlan, as has just been seen, and Leggate's connection with the accountants in fact came much later, in 1927 when he introduced a Chartered Accountants Designation Bill into the House of Assembly (*Debates,* VI, 14 June, 1407)—an episode that will be described in a later article.

[47] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, An Ordinance [Bill] to Provide for the Registration of Accountants in Southern Rhodesia (P.O. 1 of 1917); this preamble was unchanged in the final form, passed as the Accountants Ordinance (No. 14 of 1917).

and Honey's argument was that it was not in the public interest to have compulsory registration of everyone who wished to practise, particularly if the registration lay in the hands of accountants themselves, who were not disinterested in the matter, and who would impose examinations which might be arbitrary and restrictive in their result. A subsidiary theme to Honey's argument was one that gave the promoters some ill-ease; if it was necessary to 'distinguish qualified from unqualified', why then did the Bill propose that for the provisional six-month period the proposed Rhodesia Society would register everyone who was in practice and so give the seal of approval to some, inevitably, who were not well-trained or qualified. This, said Honey, was a disservice to the public; to this there was no easy answer, for there was no alternative open to the promoters if they wanted a compulsory registration, because it was inconceivable that the Legislative Council would pass an ordinance that at a stroke deprived of their livelihood some men already in practice.

The procedure of a Select Committee is similar to a court of law, with each side calling witnesses to give evidence which is then open to cross examination from the other side. Phear for the promoters began by calling people less directly interested than Derry and Upton. The first was R. H. Everett, who as the Auditor-General of the British South Africa Company Administration was not in public practice (but who was a promoter of the Bill which he himself had drafted). He emphasised that because he was not in practice he had never become a member of any of the societies to be recognized by the bill; and so if he left the civil service and wanted to practise later, he would have to submit to examination. But this, he said, was to the public advantage.[48]

Hugh T. Guerrier, a British chartered accountant, a member of the Transvaal Society and local partner of Deloitte, Plender, Griffiths and Annan, was called next as an independent witness who was neither a promoter nor guarantor for the new society. He claimed that the effect of the Bill, by enabling a large number of accountants to be approved and registered, would be to take business away from his firm. Nevertheless he supported the Bill as 'bound to raise the standard of efficiency and bound to be beneficial to the public generally', particularly in protection against fraud, as had happened in the Transvaal and Natal.[49] Honey took him up on this last point and pointedly asked why the Transvaal Society in 1917 had only half the membership it had first enjoyed. Guerrier's reply was that many of those in practice who exercised their right to join within six months of the formation of the Society found that they did not thereby obtain business and so did not continue to pay their annual fees; thus, in a sense, time cleansed the profession of those whom the legislation allowed in at the beginning with the benefit of the doubt, rather than deprive them of their livelihood.[50] Honey thereupon changed his line of attack and asked whether 'compulsory' societies like that of the Transvaal were not unjustly restrictive, particularly as no means of appeal against a refusal to register was provided for in the Bill. Guerrier countered this suggestion by arguing that 'voluntary' societies such as that in the Cape were of no value whatever and that only a legally compulsory society could raise standards rapidly.[51]

Guerrier and, it seems, the promoters were worried by Honey's raising the possibility of

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[48] Ibid., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 1–2, R. H. Everett. This was somewhat disingenuous because he was in fact named in the Bill as one of the fourteen members of the Provisional Council and so automatically would become a member of the new society.

[49] Ibid., 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 7–9, 27 (quotation at 8), H. T. Guerrier.

[50] Ibid., pp. 10–12.

[51] Ibid., pp. 12–20.

arbitrary or restrictive behaviour, for it could not be denied that there had been criticism of the Transvaal Society from time to time.[52] Therefore, Guerrier asked to give evidence again later when he declared that the intention was a 'federation of accountants practising', not a monopoly; and, apparently with the promoters' approval, he suggested that an additional safeguard to the public would be that the Society should not elect its Council but merely submit names to the Administrator who would choose and appoint the most suitable of them to constitute the Council.[53] This idea was not taken up by the Select Committee but, as will be seen, an amendment similar in intent was made later in the Legislative Council.

Next to be called was L. M. Foggin, the Director of Education, to testify to the benefit that a local body with its own examination system would give to young men wishing to train for a profession.[54] After his unexceptional evidence, Advocate Phear called P. F. Derry, who was probably the main driving force for reform of the profession. He said bluntly that 'a lot of incompetents' were in practice in Southern Rhodesia and that he knew of examples of accountants certifying 'to a very wrong state of affairs'. He explained how the Provisional Council had come to suspect Landau's motive in seeking entrenchment in the Ordinance for the London Association and so had then deleted it from automatic recognition in the provisional period, while leaving it open, of course, for individual members of the Association to be recognized and admitted on their merits or later by examination. He was pressed by Honey on the advantages of a 'voluntary' society but, like Guerrier, he insisted on the need for a compulsory society, as in the Transvaal, Natal and New Zealand, and cited in support of this contention the strong recommendation of a recent parliamentary inquiry into the whole question of the regulation of accountancy in New South Wales.[55] Again, like Guerrier, he showed some ill-ease in face of Honey's questions about the Society's possibly restrictive role in examining and admitting, and he conceded that he would not object to some sort of examining board not dominated by the Society as long as it was made up of accountants.[56]

Derry was followed by G. Upton, the 'prime mover' of the Rhodesian Society (according to Derry later)[57], who was also a promoter. He declared that as an employee of the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau he had nothing to gain by the Bill and that he would qualify for registration only by satisfying the Council of his past practical experience as an accountant.[58] The last witness for the promoters was R. S. Thompson, manager in Salisbury of Johnson and Fletcher and that year's President of the Chamber of Commerce, who gave general evidence of the advantages to commerce of the Bill.[59] Phear concluded his case by presenting various letters as further evidence of the desirability and indeed acceptability of the Bill; the Treasurer, the Auditor and the Accountant in the Northern Rhodesian Administration all

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[52] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17, 18, 21 and 24 May 1910; *Transvaal Leader*, 10 and 14 Apr. 1913; see also below, Landau's evidence and exhibits. See also later ones in *The Star* [Johannesburg], 7 Sept. 1917.

[53] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 43–4, H. T. Guerrier; Exhibits [Guerrier, No. 1, no title, no date].

[54] Ibid., 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 28–9, L. M. Foggin.

[55] Namely that the 'profession [of accountancy] should now be given legal status under a controlling Board', New South Wales, Legislative Assembly, *Report from the Select Committee on Profession of Public Accountants . . . and Minutes of Evidence* (Sess. Pap. 351-A, 1914–15), 4. I am grateful to Dr J. A. McKenzie for obtaining a copy of this document for me.

[56] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 30–42 (quotations at 31, 34), P. F. Derry.

[57] See fn. 24, above.

[58] Parl., Pap. Select Comm. Account. Ord. 1917, 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 52–6, G. Upton.

[59] Ibid., 56–9, R. S. Thompson.

testified to the value of the bill in a developing country; and the Chambers of Commerce of Bulawayo and Gatooma, the Rhodesia Chamber of Mines and the Town Clerk of Bulawayo all welcomed the Bill.[60]

It was now the turn of the opposition and Arthur Landau travelled up from Johannesburg for the purpose. He claimed to be a member of the leading French and Belgian societies of accountants as well as of the London Association, but emphasized that he petitioned as a private individual in opposition to giving anyone power to exclude him or any other accountant from earning his living. Therefore, he objected to the present Bill, which being based on the Transvaal Ordinance would lead to similar abuses. He criticized the Transvaal Society as the creation of a few jealous accountants, and cited the newspaper criticism, which has already been mentioned, and put in as an Exhibit a petition to it in 1912 by student accountants in the Transvaal complaining of a restrictive admissions policy.[61]

While not particularly impressive, Landau had made his points; but under cross-examination from Phear he showed up less well. He was unable to deny Phear's implication that the London Association lacked recognition not only in the Transvaal and Natal, but also in New Zealand, Australia and Canada. He professed ignorance of the injunction obtained in London in 1907 against a member of the London Association by the Society of Accountants and Auditors. He had to admit that he had failed the examinations of the Transvaal Society six times; but he put this down to the Society's abuse of its powers, although he could not explain why he had not, therefore, initiated legal action after taking legal opinion. But what really undermined his whole case was his admission that he would not have opposed the Bill with its provisions to exclude people from practice if his Association had been given the special treatment he asked for: so much for his claim to be opposing, as a private British citizen, arbitrary interference with the subject's liberty and right to earn his living.[62]

The documents of the Select Committee come to an end at this point without the legal representatives summing up their clients' cases, as one would expect there to be. Nevertheless the overall impression is clear, that the promoters had held their ground against the counter-petition; and it is, therefore, no surprise that the Select Committee found the Preamble proved, and so reported to the full Legislative Council on 27 April 1917 with a few small amendments suggested. One of these was a matter of drafting, another was to reduce the fine for contravening the Ordinance from £100 to £50, the third was to provide for an examining board (as distinct from the Council itself) appointed by the Administrator from members of the Society, and the last was to delete arrangements for setting examinations as best dealt with under bye-laws later.[63] Only in the matter of the third amendment had Landau's opposition, perhaps, had some effect.

Yet, even now, the battle was not over in the Legislative Council; for just as the promoters had on their side Col. Raleigh Grey, who had introduced the Bill for them, so Landau had on his side John McChlery, who had presented his counter-petition. Thus when the second reading came up on 1 May 1917, Grey moved its adoption; obviously carefully briefed, he

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[60] Ibid., Exhibits, H. H. Phear, Nos 1–6.

[61] Ibid., Exhibits, A. Landau, No. 1, Transvaal Accountants' Students' Society, *To The Members of the Transvaal Society of Accountants* [Petition], 24 Sept. 1912. This students body appears to have developed close relations with the Transvaal Branch of The London Association after its formation in 1913; see The London Association of Accountants (South African Branch), *Year Book 1915*, [11].

[62] Ibid., 'Evidence Taken . . . ', 60–71, A. Landau; *Debates 1917*, 1 May, 524–5, Sir Charles Coghlan,

[63] *Debates 1917*, 27 Apr., 401–2,

surveyed the professional background in Britain and South Africa and he characterized the London Association as a limited liability company that admitted to membership without examination and wanted to keep Southern Rhodesia 'open'. The object of the Bill, he said, was to protect the public against 'undischarged bankrupts or persons convicted or expelled from reputable societies for malpractices' and to put Rhodesian accountants on the same footing as those in Natal and the Transvaal so that they could obtain reciprocal recognition.[64]

The Attorney-General spoke generally in favour of the Bill as 'worthy of commendation', although he wondered if it was really necessary yet in so small a community. He wondered why the societies to be recognized after the six-month period were left to bye-laws, yet to be drafted, rather than listed in the Ordinance, and he also questioned whether the examining body should not be even more separate from the Council than the Select Committee's amendment had made it. He would not oppose the second reading but hoped that the promoters would look at his points, both of which, of course, had, in a more polemical way, been raised by Honey and Landau.[65]

McChlery then spoke in opposition to the Bill as a whole. He denounced it as for the protection of a few accountants rather than for the protection of the public. Few of these accountants, he said, were qualified or even in practice as accountants before they came to Southern Rhodesia and would fail the Transvaal Society's examinations if they sat them. He disliked the precedent of the Transvaal Society, which he claimed was ailing and he objected to the fact that the Society of Auditors and Accountants in the Orange Free State, which had been recognized in the Union Bill of 1913, was not recognized by this Bill.[66] He had, he later said, intended to propose several amendments; but, in the face of an apparent determination to pass the bill, he saw it as a hopeless fight.[67]

Support for the Bill certainly was strong; Coghlan said that he had been impressed by the evidence of the independent witnesses, and that he could not see a way to creating a less dependent examining board as all competent accountants would be members of the Society.[68] In reply to the debate Grey promised that he would try to take account of the criticisms at the Committee Stage; the Bill was then given its second reading without a division.[69]

On the next day, 2 May, the Bill went into Committee and Grey was ready with more amendments, presumably after urgent discussion with the promoters. First he proposed, and it was accepted, that the provisional period, when anyone in *bona fide* practice might be admitted, be made more generous and extended from the six months to twelve months. Secondly he proposed that the societies listed by name that were for automatic admission during the provisional period should be entrenched in the Ordinance and enjoy that recognition thereafter rather than be left to the bye-laws. After some polishing of the wording by the Attorney-General this, too, was accepted; the irony of this, of course, was that if Landau and the London Association had been content to accept what was originally offered, recognition for the provisional period, then the promoters might well have felt obliged now to let this extension apply to the London Association equally rather than jeopardize the Bill at this stage

[64] Ibid., 1 May, 512–17.

[65] Ibid., 518–21.

[66] Ibid., 522–4.

[67] *The Rhod. Her.*, 22 June 1917, McChlery to Editor.

[68] *Debates 1917*, 1 May, 524–5.

[69] Ibid., 525–6.

by suddenly introducing discrimination between societies. The third amendment arose in Committee as the result of a desire to meet the fear that the Society would have unrestricted power (the Select Committee, it will be remembered, had therefore toyed with the idea of some differentiation between the Council and the Society). The solution now agreed was that the Administrator would appoint members of the Society's Council to the board of examiners which would also include an advocate. The fourth amendment was to introduce a new clause providing for appeal to the Administrator by anyone aggrieved by a decision of the Society. This again went to meet the fears about possible abuse of restrictive powers, as did the next amendment that set a ceiling of five guineas on the annual subscription. The last amendment was a technical one suggested by the Attorney-General to make the bye-laws enforceable by providing reasonable penalties for breaches.[70] These amendments succeeded in allaying misgivings (except McChlery's, as will appear later) and the Bill was then given its third reading on 3 May 1917.[71]

Thus The Rhodesia Society of Accountants, that had begun as an *ad hoc* committee less than two years earlier, was now legally incorporated with extensive powers to regulate the practice of accountancy. These powers and the Ordinance had originally been taken whole from the precedent of The Transvaal Accountants Ordinance for the Transvaal Society, with which accountants in Southern Rhodesia had the closest contacts; owing to Landau's opposition and the care of the Attorney-General, however, the constitution of the Southern Rhodesia Society had been improved and was less open to changes of arbitrary power. As in Natal, there was now appeal from decisions of the Society and the leading societies were entrenched for the purpose of recognition; furthermore the provisional period for registration was now twice as long and there was an examining board which was separate from the Council which also contained an advocate—useful concessions which neither the Transvaal or Natal enjoyed.

In summary then, once this Ordinance was promulgated, no one in Southern Rhodesia could offer his services calling himself an accountant, public accountant or auditor unless he were registered by the Society; contravention was punishable by a fine of £50 or three months in prison (section 1). The only exception was that someone employed exclusively on accounts at a salary (that is, not offering his services to the public) could describe himself as the accountant of that firm, as of a bank, for example (section 2). Once registered, accountants could call themselves 'statutory accountants' (section 16), and together they constituted The Rhodesia Society of Accountants, a corporate body, the functions of which were to maintain the register, conduct examinations and generally further the profession and study of accountancy (section 3).

To set the Society in motion, the fourteen accountants, as already explained, were named as the first members of the Society to constitute a Provisional Council for the provisional period of one year (sections 4 and 5) and prepare bye-laws for approval by a General Meeting (section 19). This Provisional Council was to open the register and in the ensuing twelve months were to enrol those resident in Southern Rhodesia at promulgation who satisfactorily proved that they (1) were members of one of the entrenched bodies—the three

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[70] Ibid., 2 May, 584–7.

[71] Parl., 'Report of Comm. of the Whole Council on the Accountants Ordinance 1917' (Sess. Pap. 69); *Debates*, 3 May, 588; The Accountants Ordinance (No. 14 of 1917).

Scottish chartered bodies, the English and the Irish Institutes of Chartered Accountants, the Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors, or the societies of the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape; or (2) were publicly and *bona fide* practising as public accountants in Southern Rhodesia on 11 January 1917; or (3) were fit by virtue of position and past experience to be registered (section 6; this section was to apply to Rhodesians on military service for one year after the termination of hostilities). A registration fee was payable before registration (section 10).

On the expiration of the provisional year, a Council at a General Meeting of all registered accountants was to take office (section 9), to manage the affairs of the Society (section 17) and make necessary bye-laws (sections 20, 21). It was to register residents of Southern Rhodesia who (i) were members of the societies already mentioned or of any other society deemed sufficient by the bye-laws; or (ii) had passed examinations prescribed by the bye-laws; or (iii) satisfied the Council, or an examining board appointed by the Administrator consisting of a barrister and member(s) of the Society, that they had sufficient practical experience in the business of public accountant (section 7). The Council had power to summon and examine members concerning breaches of the bye-laws or offences enumerated in the Ordinance—dishonourable practices such as partnership with non-members, fee-sharing with other professions, paying commissions or using other improper means to obtain work, or payment by results (sections 11, 12); any member considered guilty by the Council could be called upon to show cause to the High Court why he should not be prohibited from practice and removed from the register or temporarily suspended from practice and membership (sections 13, 14). Anyone aggrieved by the decisions of the Society could appeal to the Administrator (section 8). A General Meeting of members was to held once a year to elect officers, approve the accounts and generally decide upon matters affecting the Society, except disciplinary cases and certain matters pertaining to examination and admission (section 18).

AN UNCERTAIN BEGINNING: EXTERNAL OPPOSITION CONTINUES

Before all this came into effect, however, the Ordinance like all others had to be assented to by the High Commissioner in South Africa who would authorize its promulgation. But within a day of the conclusion of the Legislative Council's session doubt arose as to whether the High Commissioner would in the event feel able to assent to the Ordinance. For on 4 May Honey wrote to the Attorney General, Clarkson H. Tredgold, pointing out that section 6 which governed admission to the register for the provisional period of twelve months restricted eligibility to those accountants resident in Southern Rhodesia on the date of promulgation (except in the case of men on war-service).[72] In other words anyone settling in Southern Rhodesia after promulgation could not practise and could not apply for registration for what might be a period as long as 364 days. This point was noted by *The Rhodesia Herald* on 7 May, in an editorial which otherwise favoured the Ordinance; but, as so often happens, a smallish point of detail can be used to re-open the whole question—namely the desirability of the Ordinance as a whole.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce wrote to the High Commissioner asking for delay for amendment of the restrictions of membership—to residents at the date of

[72] Parl., filed with 'Report of Comm. of the Whole Council on the Account. Ordinance 1917' (Sess. Pap. 69), W. S. Honey to C. H. Tredgold, 4 May 1917.

promulgation for the first twelve months and to residents thereafter—on the ground that it was a ‘severe detriment to Union merchants and others who regularly send their accountants to Rhodesia to investigate and report on financial and business concerns’. The South African Branch of the London Association of Accountants for its part had also written, deprecating the whole Ordinance as contrary to public interest, and asked for it to be disallowed.[73] Some of these objections reached the press and McChlery thereupon wrote to *The Rhodesia Herald* on 22 June 1917 summarizing his objections to the Ordinance and inviting the public to send their objections to the Resident Commissioner for onward transmission to the High Commissioner.

No protests from the Rhodesian public, however, seem to have been brought forward; but the London Association did write to the Administrator complaining about the Ordinance on the ground that the promoters had originally included the Association for recognition but had then deleted it because the Transvaal Society made this its price for offering The Rhodesia Society reciprocity. This, of course, had been mentioned by Landau in the Select Committee but it had not come out clearly in the Legislative Council debate. The Association asked that the Administrator insist that its name be included when the bye-laws were sent to him for approval. A similar complaint was also made by J. McKardle, a Fellow of the London Association, who was then the Chief Accountant of the Victoria Falls and Transvaal Power Company and of the Rand Mines Power Supply Company which both had financial connections with the British South Africa Company; he pointed out that he had been Chief Accountant in London of the B.S.A. Company subsidiaries but now would be debarred from public practice in B.S.A. Company territory.[74]

The Attorney-General was asked to comment on these letters and he expressed considerable alarm at what he considered to be a ‘most improper proceeding’ by the promoters of The Rhodesia Society if, as the allegation claimed, they had obtained reciprocity with the Transvaal by inexcusably penalizing someone else. ‘If we were free’, he said, ‘to deal with the matter as a new subject I should not hesitate to condemn the Ordinance completely’. But, luckily for The Rhodesia Society, the Administration was not free, for in a way it was a party to the passing of the Bill and could hardly now turn against it.[75] So when it came to answering the High Commissioner, the Administrator, the Attorney-General and the Resident Commissioner all gave the Ordinance their support, which, if not enthusiastic, was sufficient to ensure its eventual acceptance. The Administrator pointed out that complaints from Johannesburg about the residential qualification (after the initial twelve month period) came badly from the Transvaal where their Accountants Ordinance had exactly the same provision; nevertheless he agreed that if the High Commissioner would refuse to comply with the petition to disallow the Ordinance, he would bring forward amendments to the residential restrictions ‘as affording the accountants of a “new” and at present somewhat sparsely populated country overmuch protection and possibly depriving the public of the chances of utilizing the services of highly trained men resident in the Union and elsewhere’.[76]

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[73] Natl Arch., RC/3/1/31, 1199, High Comm. to Adm., 15 May 1917, encl. The London Association of Accountants to High Comm., 10 May 1917; and Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce to High Comm., 11 May 1917; High Comm. to Adm., 22 May 1917, encl. Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce to High Comm., 14 May 1917.

[74] Ibid., A/3/21/5, The London Association of Accountants, Johannesburg, to Adm., 19 May 1917; J. McKardle to Adm., 21 May 1917.

[75] Ibid., Attorney-Gen. to Secr. Adm., 8 June 1917.

[76] Ibid., RC/3/1/33, 1447 [Resident Comm. to High Comm. encl.] Adm., to High Comm., 14 June 1917. For the Transvaal

The Resident Commissioner for his part retailed the history of the Ordinance and stressed how the Attorney-General had been non-committal in his support but had become more sympathetic as it progressed; he also stressed that the Administrator had been reluctant to be involved at all, especially in accepting any responsibility for the Examining Board or the by-laws. On balance the Resident Commissioner thought the Ordinance could do little harm and, being undertaken for the best of motives, might help 'in imposing and maintaining a high standard of professional conduct'. He agreed that the residential restrictions should be modified and he also pointed out that an error had crept into the Ordinance whereby the Provisional Council existed only for six months (in section 5) but had duties to admit to the register for the provisional period of twelve months (section 6). As the Legislative Council would not meet for another nine months, there would thus be a hiatus before any legislative amendment of this error could be made; the Resident Commissioner advised that the promulgation of the Ordinance be delayed until early in the next year, with the result that the Provisional Council would come into being less than six months before the amendment could be made.[77]

The High Commissioner agreed to these suggestions and assented to the Ordinance, on condition that it would be amended in the next session; and the Colonial Office in London likewise deferred the question of its disallowing the Ordinance pending amendment.[78] The Ordinance was finally promulgated on 11 January 1918,[79] by which time the draft amendment ordinance had been prepared by the Administration itself, as a Public Bill, and was ready for the provisional approval of the High Commissioner.[80]

The Rhodesia Society of Accountants was, therefore, at last legally in being but, in view of the delay and the forthcoming amendments, under something of a cloud. The original Register of Members of the Society, which is still among the Institute's records, was now opened on 11 January 1918, and the fourteen named in the Ordinance were listed as the first members.[81] In terms of Section 5 of the Ordinance, the Provisional Council of these fourteen members had to meet within a month of promulgation; and so, on the Administrator's instructions,[82] a meeting was called for 9 February 1918, in the Board Room of the Salisbury Board of Executors. Only four turned up (Derry, E. A. von Hirschenberg and B. Wright of Salisbury and J. T. Huxtable of Umtali)—one short of the required quorum of five. They adjourned to 11 February, the last day possible in terms of the Ordinance, and although R. R. Olver of Gatooma now attended, Huxtable did not, and consequently there was still no quorum until E. Coxwell of Salisbury was hurriedly found after lunch[83]—an inauspicious beginning that indicates a certain lack of enthusiasm for the new undertaking.

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residential qualification see Transvaal, The Transvaal Accountants Ordinance (No. 3 (Private) of 1904), section 7.

77 Natl Arch., RC/3/1/30, Resident Comm. to High Comm., 26 Aug. 1917.

78 Ibid., RC/3/1/38, 2223, High Comm. to Resident Comm., 19 Sept. 1917; RC/3/1/44, 82, Resident Comm. to Adm., 16 Jan. 1918, encl. High Comm. to Resident Comm., 9 Jan. 1918 encl. Colonial Office to High Comm., 22 Nov. 1917.

79 *Gov. Gaz.,* 11 Jan. 1918.

80 Natl Arch., RC/2/4/35, 2996, Resident Comm., 3 Jan. 1918; RC/3/1/45, 236, High Comm. to Resident Comm., 30 Jan. 1918; EC/4/4/60, Minute 5203.

81 Inst. Chart. Account., Register of Members, I [11 Jan. 1918–3 June 1948], 1–14. Also see fns 29 and 40, above, and 86, below.

82 Natl Arch., A/3/21/5, The Rhodesia Society of Accountants to Adm., 24 June 1918.

83 Inst. Chart. Account., Minute Book, I, 9 and 11 Feb. 1918. The purely internal problems during the first few months of formal existence of the Society are dealt with in 'Chequered history for accounting profession', in 'Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe 75th anniversary' [Supplement], *The Financial Gaz.,* 22 Apr. 1993.

Nevertheless this small group thereupon set about the necessary business of constituting the Society: Derry was elected Chairman, with Von Hirschenberg as Vice-Chairman; and W. Brown who had waited on both meetings in his capacity as Secretary to the precursor society, was appointed as Registrar. The offices of the Society were to be 14–16 Union Buildings, and the Standard was chosen as their bank; H. W. Bolus, who had acted for them in preparing the Ordinance was appointed solicitor,[84] and the firm of Deloitte, Plender, Griffiths and Annan, which employed H. T. Guerrier who had spoken up for the Society so well before the Select Committee, was appointed as auditor. The Registrar was instructed to make enquiries about designs for a seal and for a Coat of Arms. Those present formed themselves a sub-committee to draft the bye-laws which were required by the Ordinance to be approved within the year. The final piece of business was to decide on an announcement stating that the Provisional Council was ready to consider applications for membership;[85] and this appeared on 22 February in the *Government Gazette*.

The next meeting was on 6 April, when G. Upton, F. A. Collins and R. H. Everett of Salisbury, J. F. Ward of Gwelo and H. Grant of Gatooma appeared for their first attendance, together with Derry and Olver. The names of twenty-four accountants were now entered in the Register as members *en bloc,* these being those who had pledged their financial support to the Society in its early days for the purposes of obtaining legislative recognition.[86] Then came the first applicants of whom 33 were immediately registered, all on the ground of their past experience.[87] Derry, Upton, Collins and Everett were appointed as a sub-committee to consider applications for membership. The Registrar's salary was now fixed at 50 guineas a year, from the promulgation of the Ordinance, but no decision was taken on the Salisbury Board of Executors' offer of their boardroom for meetings at 5 guineas a year. The question of the travelling expenses of out-of-town members like Ward and Olver also had to be left over, until the state of the finances of the Society could be ascertained.

There was by now more evidence that all was not well with the fledgling society. A. Fraser, A. C. Raymer and W. A. Perry, all of Bulawayo, had not attended any meeting so far, and Coxwell, Huxtable, Wright, Von Hirschenberg and Olver had appeared only once. At the meeting on 6 April Upton deprecated such absences which, he said, were already causing the Society some difficulty; and it was decided to ask Coxwell, Perry and Fraser, who presumably had not sent any apologies for absence, to attend or resign! This lack of enthusiasm can only be ascribed to the impending session of the Legislative Council when the Ordinance would come up for amendment and McChlery would again have his say, fortified now by the publicity over a recent clash in court between Landau and the Transvaal Society of Accountants which had won only a pyrrhic victory over him.

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[84] He, however, died before returning from holiday, and as he had no partner the practice ceased to exist; so his young assistant Rubidge Stumbles had to start out on his own, Stumbles, *Some Recollections of a Rhodesian Speaker*, 14–16. There is no record, strangely, of who was appointed to the vacancy, but it was not Stumbles, apparently, for the next reference to the Society's solicitor some years later was to Coghlan, Welsh and Guest, Inst. Chart. Account., Minute Book, I, 26 Aug. 1927.

[85] Inst. Chart. Account., Minute Book, I, 11 Feb. 1918.

[86] Ibid., Register of Members, I, 15–38. Also see fns 29, 40 and 81, above. The recording of this matter is not entirely clear in that the Register does not completely tally with the Minute Book. One of the twenty-four guarantors was not entered until 29 June 1918, perhaps because he was on military service; and a twenty-fifth guarantor appears never to have become a member. There had also been at least two more guarantors originally who appear not to have honoured their commitment (Minute Book, I, 6 Apr. 1918) and so were left to apply for membership like anyone else; one of them became the first ordinary member to be admitted (Register of Members, I, 39), but the other appears never to have joined.

[87] Ibid., Register of Members, I, 39–71.

The Transvaal Society had long been concerned at the activities of the South African Branch of the London Association of Accountants, which by its very existence and employment of its title was an affront to the Transvaal Society whose members alone had the right by law to the title 'accountant'. At the annual general meeting of the South African Branch of the London Association in Johannesburg in February 1917 Landau from the Chair had strongly attacked the Transvaal Society and its legal status and promised his members to make every effort to protect their rights to practise as 'qualified accountants'. Whether by this speech, which he issued in pamphlet form, Landau did hold himself out to the public as an accountant, contrary to the terms of the Ordinance, was not clear, and the Transvaal Society made no move until later in the year, stung finally into action, Landau said, by his opposition to the Rhodesia Society's Bill.[88] When the case against Landau came to trial in September 1917, he was found guilty on two counts of claiming to be an 'accountant', one being the speech of February 1917 and the other by describing himself 'Expert Comptable' in his notepaper in 1914; as it was something of a test case, he was fined only £5.[89] Landau thereupon appealed to the Provincial Division of the Appeal Court where he was found not guilty in respect of the February speech and only nominally guilty of the 1914 charge with the result that the sentence was set aside and he was let off with a caution.[90] This was rather an inconclusive result for both sides but it, and the attendant publicity, was more encouraging for Landau than for the Transvaal Society; also the magistrate's dictum that the law undoubtedly 'created a monopoly' that could not be challenged was just the sort of ammunition that McChlery would use.

The only consolation for the founding members of The Rhodesia Society of Accountants in this difficult situation was that the Administration had taken the unusual step of bringing the amending legislation in itself, as a Public Bill. This was not because the Attorney-General no longer had doubts about the Society and its Ordinance but simply because the amendment was brought about by the High Commissioner and the protests in South Africa and, therefore, was to be implemented on grounds of public policy;[91] this had the advantage of saving the Society the expense and trouble of promoting another Private Bill and having to face another Select Committee and opposing petitioners.[92] This Bill, therefore, was in the hands of the Acting Attorney-General and on 3 May 1918 he moved the second reading. The Bill was very brief, of two main clauses, extending the life of the Provisional Council to twelve months as had really been intended, and deleting the residential qualification both for the provisional period and thereafter.[93]

McChlery then attacked the Bill on the ground that it aggravated an already bad situation in which the 'vexatious' Ordinance of 1917 inflicted 'hardship to many who were engaged in the profession of accountancy'. He cited the recent Landau cases and exaggerated the effect of the appeal as a judicial blow for freedom against monopoly. He then reviewed much of which had passed before the Select Committee, again somewhat inaccurately, and denounced the Ordinance as a mere attempt to gain reciprocity with the Transvaal Society

[88] *The Star*, 4 Sept. 1917.

[89] Ibid., 25 Sept. 1917; *The South African Account.* (1917–18), I, 571. The Ordinance provided for a penalty of up to £100.

[90] The South African Law Reports, Transvaal Provincial Division 1917 (Cape Town, Juta, 1918), 601–4.

[91] Natl. Arch., A/3/21/5, Attorney-Gen., Minute, 12 Oct. 1917.

[92] *Debates 1918*, 2 May, 9; Natl Arch., RC/2/4/35 [1918], 2996, Resident Comm. to High Comm., 3 Jan. 1918.

[93] *Debates 1918*, 3 May, 17–18; Parl., An Ordinance to Amend the 'Accountants Ordinance 1917' (C.O. 2) (Sess. Pap. 34, 1918). Unamended, it became the Accountants Ordinance 1917, Amendment Ordinance (No. 4 of 1918).

which was a restrictive monopoly for the benefit of incompetents. Finally in moving that the amending Bill be not passed, he alleged that Raleigh Grey had said that the 1917 Bill had cost the promoters a lot of money and for that reason should be allowed to have their ordinance; in this, one of the most vehement speeches McChlery ever made, there was the clear insinuation that it was the improper use of money that had seen the Bill through.[94]

McChlery's motion was not seconded, and furthermore drew upon McChlery an uncharacteristically blunt and heated reply from Sir Charles Coghlan who wished him out of the Legislative Council.[95] The Acting Attorney-General summed up in more measured terms, pointing out some of the inaccuracies of McChlery's claims, and concluding that the legislation would be useful in protecting the public.

The Bill then went to the Committee stage and the two main clauses were agreed without difficulty; but McChlery then endeavoured to introduce a new clause amending Section 6 of the Ordinance to make eligible for automatic entry to the Rhodesian register the members of the Society of Accountants and Auditors in the Orange Free State, and three of the 'second-wave' bodies, namely the London Association of Accountants, the Central Association of Accountants and the Corporation of Accountants in Scotland. He was, he said, particularly concerned about the Free State's Society which alone of the South African provincial societies had been omitted, although it had been in an earlier draft of the Bill; the only reason for this that he could suggest was that the Free State accountants had admitted women before the Transvaal Society which had only recently done so.[96]

Coghlan and the Acting Attorney-General replied to McChlery's motion to the effect that the bodies that McChlery proposed were not of sufficient standing and that this issue was one that had been handled at the right time, in passing the original ordinance; and if there was a change in the situation the Rhodesia Society could and would change its bye-laws accordingly. McChlery's motion was then lost, and the Bill passed the remainder of its stages quietly.[97] This time there were no protests to the High Commissioner, and his assent was quickly given on 25 May; thus the Ordinance was promulgated in the *Government Gazette* as the Accountants Ordinance, 1917, Amendment Ordinance (No. 4 of 1918), on 7 June 1918,[98] four weeks before the deadline at which the Provisional Council would otherwise have been obliged to suspend its operation. News finally came through in late September 1918 that the Colonial Office in London had also approved both the Amending Ordinance and the original ordinance of 1917 on which judgement had been deferred.[99]

So, after two years of struggle, the proponents of Rhodesia Society of Accountants could at last settle down to the task they had set themselves: to register those qualified, to organize training and conduct examinations, to maintain standards and protect the public, and generally to further the profession and study of accountancy. This was to be the positive side of professional organization that was becoming necessary as the Southern Rhodesian

[94] *Debates 1918*, 3 May, 18–21.

[95] Ibid., 21–2.

[96] Ibid., 8 and 9 May, 104–6, 123–6, 129–30. He had raised the question of the Society of Accountants and Auditors in the Orange Free State at the second reading a few days earlier; ibid, 3 May, 23. He had also raised it in the debate on the 1917 Ordinance a year before, *Debates 1917*, 1 May, 523; and Raleigh Grey had then stated that the reason for its exclusion was that it was ailing, ibid., 526.

[97] *Debates 1918*, 9 and 10 May, 126–30, 154. The Accountants Ordinance, 1917, Amendment Ordinance (No. 4 of 1918).

[98] Natl Arch., RC/3/1/51, 932, High Comm. to Resident Comm., 25 May 1918; *Gov. Gaz.*, 7 June 1918, Gov. Notice 194.

[99] Natl Arch., RC/3/1/57, 1573, Resident Comm. to Adm., 25 Sept. 1918, encl. High Comm. to Resident Comm., 20 Sept. 1918, encl. Colonial Office to High Comm., 23 July 1918.

economy and society reached a maturity not seen in the early days of buccaneering, speculation and adventure. Thus it is no surprise that this legislation for the Society of Rhodesia Accountants was in a way the precursor of many such regulatory measures for the professions—for medical practitioners in 1927–31 and legal practitioners in 1938 (for both of which, surprisingly, only the most rudimentary control had existed earlier), for architects in 1929, engineers in 1953 and land surveyors in 1957 (all neglected subjects that await their historian).

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In the Footsteps of Thomas Baines: the Search for "The Great Tree"

by Mark P. S.Berry and Rob S. Burrett

Thomas Baines, artist, explorer and naturalist, made two extended journeys between 1869 and 1872 through what is today Zimbabwe prospecting for gold on behalf of the Durban-based South African Goldfields Exploration Company (Baines 1877; Wallis 1946; Carruthers & Arnold 1995). In 1871 on his way back from King Lobengula Khumalo's royal capital of koBulawayo (Old Bulawayo) where he successfully obtained a concession to look for gold in Matabeleland, Baines chose to open a new route towards the Zuid-Afrika Republik (the Transvaal Republic). This would take him through relatively uncharted territory and his accounts are some of the earliest published reports of this part of southern Matabeleland and western Botswana.

Baines was seeking a shorter route to the south rather than the traditional westward missionary road through Bamangwato country. This would reduce transport costs and time, eliminate the difficulties in transhipment through the Kalahari with its thick sands and scarcity of surface water, and circumvent the difficulties of passing through opposing tribal entities (Baines unpubl. b; Burrett 2005a).

His journey from koBulawayo can be plotted down the Mangwe and Semokwe Rivers in southern Matabeleland to the Shashe, the broad sandy river that today forms the boundary between Zimbabwe and Botswana (Baines 1877; Baines unpubl. c; Burrett 2005a; 2005b). From the Shashe he headed south to the Motloutse (formally Macloutsie River) which was crossed and continued to the confluence of the Little Tuli (now Thune) and Phakwe Rivers. From here Baines headed southwards along the Phakwe River to the prominent Phakwe Hill. Just west of this hill Baines' companion Mr. Biles found water in a hollow on a large granite dome that Baines named 'Biles' Pool' after its discoverer. From Biles' Pool the party continued southward and outspanned under a very large baobab they designated the "Big Tree", as the girth of this monster of a tree measured 63 feet at chest height. Thereafter, they headed south-southwest, stopping once more on the Mogkojwe River (called Tapalaphala in its upper reaches) at a watering point Baines named "Lime Fountain" before reaching the Limpopo north of modern Swartwater in South Africa (Burrett 2008).

In addition to painting and sketching along the route, Baines kept a detailed diary and log of his travels and, wherever he overnighted, he would determine his longitude and latitude from star fixes. He was a skilful cartographer and carefully plotted his route of exploration on a large map (Fig. 1). Baines' "Great Map" formed the basis for many of the early maps of the Southern African interior (Stiebel *et al.* 2000).

In an earlier exercise the authors plotted the co-ordinates of Baines' track and compared this to the location of known features – rivers and hills – Baines said he had passed. A serious discrepancy was found. While his latitude was fairly accurate, his calculated longitude consistently put him 30 to 35 km east of his actual track (Burrett 2005a, 2008). The explorer himself had doubts as to his position and on a number of occasions noted that he was not where he thought he should be (Baines 1877; Baines unpubl. c; Wallis 1949).

The main problem lay with his chronometer, which unbeknown to Baines, had lost time

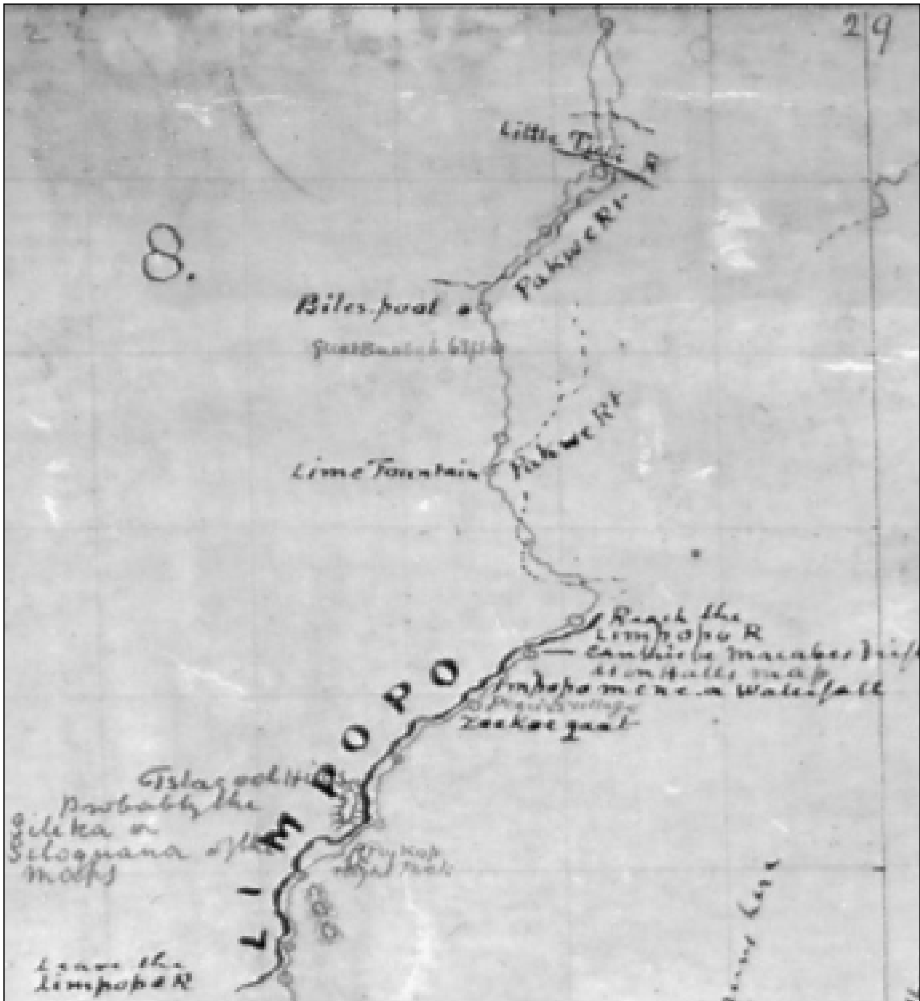

Fig. 1. Baines' route as plotted by him on his "Great Map".

and was approximately 70 seconds slow leading to incorrect times for his fixing of star positions and a consequent position too far east.

After crossing the Limpopo, Baines travelled '5 miles' upstream and camped at a "Masarwa" (San or Bushmen) village under the leadership of Pirie. Pirie's Village was adjacent to where the Limpopo passes through a rocky gorge that Baines named "Impopo Meni", a Zulu phrase meaning at the waterfall[1], (Fig. 2.) This is a well-known spot on the river, now called 'Raaswater', situated on the property Mmabolela Estates.

> Next morning, Tuesday, 31st Oct., I went to sketch the waterfall at Impopo Mini, the noise of which we had heard all night. A ledge of granite formed a

[1] The Zulu word _phophoma (impophoma; izimpophoma) means waterfall or cataract, so Mphophomeni means "at the waterfall". Personal communication, Gavin Whitelaw, Natal Museum, 13/12/2004.

Fig. 2. Impopo Meni.

> rugged barrier 8 or 10 feet high across the river and down the various hollows of this the clear waters rushed or rippled in various rills, cascades or rapids, bubbling and eddying among the great masses of rock below, in many of which (like those of the Zambesi) great holes were worn by stones which during the floods had settled perhaps in small hollows, and by continual whirling round had increased them to circular cavities six or eight feet deep and perhaps half the width. Sometimes two or more of these form beside each other and increase till the partition walls become thin, and finally break away below leaving the upper parts like arches, spanning the vault beneath them. (Baines 1877: p 64).

The authors have located the site of Pirie's Village as well as Baines' probable campsite. Our conclusions were reinforced by the identification by the senior author of a previously unrecorded Baines' painting that was recently sold at auction. This shows the attack on one of the trek oxen by a Limpopo crocodile – an event recorded in Baines' journals.

> "In the afternoon one of the cattle-herds came up to say that an ox had been seized by a crocodile, but they had shouted and thrown stones and the ox had broke away." (Wallis 1946: p 746)

In the background of Baines' painting is shown Pirie's encampment (Fig. 3). Our confirmation of Impopo Meni as well as the location of Baines' crossing point over the Limpopo (Burrett 2008) were to prove critical in our subsequent search for the "Great Tree".

If we return to Baines route of 1871, we know that he camped just south of the confluence of the Thune and Phakwe Rivers – where exactly is still unsure but it was shortly after his crossing the Thune, probably at most a kilometre further on. Given our ability to correct

Fig. 3. Baines painting of the crocodile attack at Impopo Meni Falls.

Baines' locational readings for known sites we were able to approximate Baines' longitude error for others that he recorded. Comparing the actual coordinates for the Thune-Phakwe junction with those recorded by Baines it was found that his calculated position was 33 km east and 5 km north of the confluence. For the Impopo Meni Falls, Baines' co-ordinates were 31.5 km east and 2 km further south. The errors for both longitude and latitude are unfortunately inconsistent and any correction of error is no simple exercise. It would appear that as Baines travelled southward over a distance of 55 km his longitudinal error decreased marginally, but his calculated latitude error changed by 7 km. We were confident that the correctional value would have to lie somewhere between these figures and this narrowed down the area we needed to search to locate the "Great Tree" and Biles' Pool.

In late September 2007, nearly 136 years after the event, the senior author undertook a search for the baobab based on the corrected coordinates. While a number of baobabs were located in the vicinity of the corrected location, nothing approaching the size of Baines' recorded "Big Tree" was found.

It was thus decided to switch the search to finding Biles' Pool: '. . . a treasure – a crescent-shaped fissure in the rock at which we could water all our cattle with a bucket, while the steepness of its sides would prevent wild animals from exhausting the supply, . . ." (Wallis 1946: p 740).

With the help of local knowledge the granite dome was easily found and we were guided to a large cavity near the base that clearly fits Baines' description, although it was

then dry (Fig. 4). If indeed this was Biles' Pool, we knew we must be within 4 km of the "Great Tree". This discovery gave us another actual locational fix from which to recalculate Baines' readings. Our calculated co-ordinates for Biles' Pool were only 1 km due west of its real position. However, our conclusions were thrown into some doubt by the discovery of a second, smaller crescent shaped hole in the granite some 500 m to the southeast which we called Biles' Pool Number 2. This alternative pool was originally chest deep but was more recently filled with stones by the local residents to prevent their cattle falling in and drowning (Fig. 5).

Following the discovery of Biles' Pools, we rechecked our calculations as to the likely corrected position for the "Big Tree" and set out looking for it. The GPS is such an invaluable instrument in work like this! Searching the new ground proved equally fruitless. Either the tree had long since died or our location was still wrong. Had Baines perhaps made a mistake with his own calculations or had the co-ordinates been incorrectly copied from his logbook when his printed version was published? We had come across other examples of the latter error in Baines' books compared to his actual field logs (Baines 1877; Baines unpubl. c; Burrett 2005a).

The search then turned to the Brenthurst Library in Johannesburg. This library has a priceless collection of Baines' paintings and we hoped to find relevant sketches from this period and the Goldfields Expedition. While on this score we were unsuccessful, we came across a number of Baines' field notebooks – several little leather-covered, pocket-sized notebooks each with a brass clasp to hold it closed. (Baines unpubl. a) The notes were recorded in pencil in Baines' characteristic scribble and provided a detailed record of his day-today travels including, most fortuitously, the period 21–31 October 1871. The sextant readings were there as well as his positional calculations, including the estimated errors. Baines also recorded the number of hours he travelled each day, the times when he rested

Fig. 4. Biles' Pool near the base of the granite dome (26 September 2007).

Fig. 5. The second pool some 500m to the south of Biles' Pool.

and the distance he had covered (using a trochaemeter attached to the wheel of his wagon) to provide a dead reckoning against which to check his celestial position.

The page from Baines' logbook on 25 Oct, 1871 when he visited Biles' Pool and the Big Tree reads:

Wednesday Oct 25th from south of the junction of Phakwe with Tuli River

am

6	the baobab kop 250
8.15	outspan by thorn grove alongside the Phakwe Spruit
10.30	
1.35	outspan Biles' Pool. West 700 yards.
pm	
4.15	from Biles Pool
5.05	outspan under big tree

Baines' star fix and calculated latitude that evening beneath the "Great Tree" are given as:

108 – 55 – 20	altitude of alpha Eridani
2	index error correction
22 º 19, 41	calculated latitude

This logbook has proven invaluable yet frustrating. On the one hand it added to the confusion as it would seem that Baines' locational point for Biles' Pool was where he outspanned and not at the pool. We realised that we would need to recalculate the position 700 yards to the east. On the other hand, the log clearly indicates that Baines travelled for only 50 minutes from Biles' Pool to the "Big Tree". At a walking pace this would equate to about 3 km and not the 4–5 km we had been looking at in the field.

Following the search in late September early rains had fallen over the entire country and the bush had been transformed from its leafless winter state to a lush green forest. Trying to find a baobab now would be even more difficult. Nonetheless, a second visit was undertaken to photograph Biles' Pools with water, and also to be there on 25 October 2007, the very day 136 years after Baines had outspanned at Biles' Pool and slept at the nearby but as yet elusive "Big Tree".

From Baines' diaries, it was evident that he had followed a track that lay east of Biles' Pool and west of Phakwe Hill. We concluded that if the track could be located it would be possible to follow it to the "Great Tree". Having again consulted the local headman, it became apparent that there were no tracks near Phakwe Hill and the only way to reach it was on foot. We were shown the former site of a large baobab at the Phakwe River crossing said to have a 'lot of writing on it', but it had died some years earlier. Although not our objective, the loss of this tree is a great pity as surely this baobab would have been witness to many of the early travellers to the north and who, as habit would seem to have dictated, would have left their names carved into its bark.

We proceeded on foot to Phakwe Hill. On the earlier visit we had noted a large baobab in the saddle that seemed to fit the description of Baobab Kop in Baines' diary. Baines is said to have carved his initials into a baobab on a hill, was this the one?

> We climbed a larger kopje where the gigantic baobab grew among the granite rocks as grey and huge as itself. (Wallis 1946: p 740)

After a short climb we reached the baobab. It was a majestic tree surrounded by boulders and indeed seems to be the right tree. Fortunately it is unscarred by elephant due to protection afforded by surrounding rocks.

While there were no obvious initials there were a number of old cut marks that could have been made by an axe; an action that Baines describes in order to get the fibre to chew and slake their thirst (Fig. 6).

Fig 6. Baobab on Phakwe Hill with axe marks.

> I told Mr Biles that in Australia I had frequently cut chunks of baobab wood and chewed it for the moisture, and he forthwith took the axe and made the experiment with tolerable success, . . . (Wallis 1946: p 740).

On the return walk we passed a number of large baobabs and at times the path was eroded, suggestive of its once being a track although now largely overgrown and barely passable on foot, let alone ox wagon. From here we proceeded to Biles' Pool which was full of water, much as Baines would have seen it 136 years earlier to the day and hour when he had outspanned there during the heat of the day on the 25 October 1871. We took several photographs and then moved on to the second pool which was also full. Reluctantly on this occasion we had resigned ourselves to the fact that the bush was now far too dense to look for any baobab and we would have to wait another nine months to resume our search for the "Big Tree".

On our way home we noted a small track leading off to the east and decided to have one last go at finding the elusive tree. Going a short distance into a *Kirkia acuminata* woodland, we came across a couple of homesteads. After making enquiries we were led to a massive baobab lying some way from any modern track and only a few kilometres south of Biles' Pool. Here it was, the monarch where Baines had camped on 21 October 1871, 136 years earlier. (Fig. 7).

> We slept at the Great Tree, which Jewell found to be 63 feet in circumference and I made a sketch of it, . . .' (Wallis 1946: p 743).

The baobab was measured by us to be 19.7 m at chest height, a little over 64 feet and this had gained a foot since Baines' time. The tree has a number of barely legible initials including what could, possibly, be made out as "T" & "B".

Fig. 7. Baines Baobab.

Our doubts persisted, could we be sure that we had indeed found the right tree? It was more than 30 km from where Baines calculated it to be at Latitude 22º 19' 41". Yes, there appeared to be some faded initials but was this the mark of Baines or some other traveller or resident. There are other large baobabs in the area, was Baines' tree another or perhaps his "Big Tree" had died in the interim? We were not sure.

During a subsequent visit to this same baobab in September 2009 we found the confirmation we needed. When we had seen it on our first visit we had overlooked some of the markings. However now in a different light we could plainly discern carved into the bark was the word "Latitude", and underneath it, faded but now obvious, "22 19 41". These co-ordinates match Baines' incorrect calculation as to the position of the tree so only Thomas Baines could have done it on 26th October 1871. (Fig. 8). This was indeed our tree; a small victory in our quest to trace the footsteps of Thomas Baines in this part of rural Botswana.

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Fig. 8. Latitude 22 19 41 carved into the Big Tree that could only have been done by Baines.

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Reminiscences of a Prince Edward School Boarder 1910–1911

by Christopher Milburn[1]

On the 28th day of January 1910 a contingent of Penhalongaites and Umtalites boarded the Mail Train at Umtali for Salisbury amidst much hand shaking and goodbyes. Amongst them were Ernest Pattinson, Frank Pattinson and Milburn from Penhalonga; Ernest S.G. Tulloch, Cecil Malcolm Hulley, Willie Harvey from Umtali; to be joined by Gilwald, Cecil Deary from Headlands and Bromley respectively.

Later on, once aboard, we soon made friends and after a long slow ride (we didn't sleep much) we reached our destination, Salisbury, in the early morning. The headmaster, Mr. Lewis J. Grant, met us and told us to get rickshas and follow him up to Beit House, which was situated in North Avenue.

Someone had a brain wave: "Get your ricksha and race up to Beit House." Every ricksha contained one boarder and a huge cabin trunk with all his worldly possessions. This became a regular practice every term and if you were lucky enough to get a decent ricksha and a strong speedy boy you were quids-in on the result of the race. By a good decent ricksha I mean one that the tyre didn't fall off at every single revolution of the wheel. The honours were usually fairly equally shared by Penhalonga lads and the Umtali ones.

Apparently the first night we were in residence at Beit House in North Avenue, we kicked up a bit of a commotion and the dear old white-whiskered gentleman next door reported us to Mr. Grant for our very rowdy behaviour, which ended in the usual justice being dished out to one and all. We were all very fed up and at least half a dozen of our lads had packed their boxes ready to depart for home again. However things were smoothed out and we settled down very nicely.

I have in my possession a snap of the first Beit boarders taken by Mr. George Duthie. The Boarders were as follows: Hulley, Tulloch, Dunlop, Pattinson F, Pattinson E, Creswell, Roberts, Bater, Arnott, Farewell Roberts, S. Arnott, Renton Dunlop, Cecil Deary and Milburn.

We had evening socials given to various dignitaries such as Mr. George Duthie, Director of Education, and various other high-ranking officials. A "social" consisted of each boarder doing something: either reciting, story telling, singing, or boxing in the high wash baskets used for dirty linen. This was a great sport and needed complete control of balance as you were so placed that if you missed your opponent you overbalanced and this counted against you. Occasionally we were taken to various Salisbury homes in Cape Avenue to evening socials and we proudly upheld the fine tradition of the School.

[1] Mr. Christopher Milburn (also known as Claude) was born in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1895 and came to this country with his parents in 1907. When he retired in 1949, he farmed on Byrne View farm at Arcturus and, subsequently, in Ruwa. He died in 1962. These reminiscences were written after he retired and have been made available for publication by his son Mr. Claude Milburn of Harare.

North Avenue was a much wilder place than it is today with only one or two houses over on the Avondale ridge. Reid Rowland square area in fact it was on the edge of the veld (or lion country). Our school was the little cement plastered building which stands to the present day in the grounds in Moffat Street.

Life was very pleasant and we had an ample amount of recreation: miniature rifle shooting (.22) beyond the Drill Hall near the Stables; gymnasium in the Drill Hall, the instructor being regimental Sgt. Major Thornton. Some of these Sgt. Majors didn't half put the wind up us but really, at heart, were lovable chaps. We had to perform for the Duke of Connaught's visit. This was a serious affair. The parade was under the command of Major Shaw whose voice could be heard all over Salisbury in those days. We came through with flying colours. I believe H.R.H. said, "What a fine body of men."

The school played soccer but very little rugby in those days. We had some particularly good games. I remember we were challenged by a cocky town team and the match was played on Cecil Square. Nearly half of Salisbury was present. We managed to win a very good match 4–1. I scored twice for the school. The Old Hararian 1910 soccer team was as follows: Thorpe (Master) Percy Pascoe, Cecil Hulley, Tulloch (Captain) Pattinson F, Pattinson E, Banskman, Vanzyl, Vorster, Harvey and Milburn.

Most of the training for school sports took place on Alexander grounds, which had the circular cycle track around it. This ground was the venue for many a pleasant school sports' day. Mr. Cope Christie one of Rhodesia's pioneer architects used to pace us round the circular track on his Humber motorcycle. As coaches in running, we had such well-known gentlemen as the late Freddie Brooks, Mr. Boyd and the two Mr. Bradys who specialized in

Beit House Boarders 1909/10, taken at Beit House, North Avenue.
Back row: Arnott, Lunn, Harvey, Milburn, Pattinson E., Pattinson, F.
Front row: Tullock, Thorpe, Hulley, Cresswell Roberts.
Sitting on the ground: Campbell Dunlop.

two hundred and twenty yards, four hundred and forty yards and eight hundred and eighty yards. One of our real star turns was Cecil Deary; he specialized in practically every branch of the sport with equal success in all events.

The roller-skating rink was a great attraction. We were also taken to the first bioscope at the old Market Hall and then to the new Electraceum (which stood on the site of the later Kaufman's tobacco shop).

I have a relic cut from the hibiscus tree in Beit House garden, cut against all orders for a Catty stick. The elastic we purchased at Edward's (Funa Tenga) Store in Manica Road.

We were taken to one of the best displays of fireworks which Salisbury had ever seen near the Old Town Hall in honour of the Duke of Connaught's visit. It was long remembered by the school lads and the inhabitants.

One school holiday (two weeks) I had the audacity to ask Mr. H. E. Gregory for a loan of his bike if he was not going to use it. He said, "Right ho", much to my surprise. I had been asked to spend the holidays at Shamva some 80 miles away with the Van Eetvelds. Everybody said, "Milburn you'll crack up", but far from it. We, three of us, left Salisbury early in the morning at 6 a.m. Loaded up and after encountering much sand, hill climbing, crossing of rivers, meeting with game of all sorts, including hoards of baboons, we arrived safely at Shamva at about 3 p.m. Nine hours for the eighty odd miles. Very good going. We spent an enjoyable time shooting etc. and were taken through the Shamva mine by Mr. Van Eetveld who worked there as a miner.

The mine had three levels reached by means of adits at various distances, one at the foot of the hill, one further up and the third still further up. It contained a large body of ore but of low grade, around about 4–5 gwt per ton. (But in one enormous body). The five-stamp gravity mill was used as a testing plant. We were taken into the various adits; in some you could easily place a decent-sized house without touching the top of the adit. Some patches were very rich and we were shown samples that contained visible gold. From 1910–1932, the mine eventually crushed 9 650 260 tons of ore and gave an extraction of 1.46 899 ounces of gold valued at 6 472 996 pounds. The average grade was 3.00 dwt per ton.

The mine was the cause of development in another way – the broad gauge railway line from Salisbury was laid down in 1910. The line to Sinoia a two-foot gauge was also running with its quaint little engine and trucks burning wood. Stocks of wood were kept alongside the railway line to keep the engine going and passengers used to complain of holes burnt in their clothes from flying sparks.

A further short term of holidays was spent at Gilmore Southey's farm, Southmoor. From there I went shooting in the Umvukwes with Lenard and Stanley Southey. This was a really enjoyable trip, sleeping in the moonlight by the campfire. Reaching old man Marriott's farm we stayed a few days and then proceeded out to his ranch in the Umvukwes where he only had a hut. On the wagon we took out the building material for Mr. Dobbins' house on Omeath farm. He was the husband of Gertrude Page, Rhodesian novelist. The first day we camped near the Mavuradonha Mountains. It was a forced camp as the wagon stuck in the Mavuradonha River. We had to off-load all the iron, timber etc. at about 9 p.m. in the moonlight and eventually got it out. Then we camped. Our rations were very meagre – a tin of bully given each of us by Mr. Marriott, who said, "You must do as the pioneers did, shoot your own food." Eventually we reached Mr. Marriott's ranch and found a piece of bacon strung up to the ceiling, which was very acceptable. This hut was only used when Mr.

Marriott visited the ranch to see his cattle. The two other lads went out shooting. I managed to shoot about a dozen bush doves, which were very welcome as the other lads returned empty handed. At last we were really amongst game. We saw sable, eland, kudu, reedbuck, waterbuck, duiker, stembuck, lions, leopards, jackals, hyenas, wild pig and warthogs. Guinea fowl and pheasant were plentiful. It was quite common to see a herd of one hundred sable or eland. We had a further three weeks extended holiday owing to the outbreak of measles at the school, which was very welcome.

Another holiday was spent at the late Sid Arnott's (a pioneer) Good Hope farm about 12 miles from Salisbury on the Gwebi Flats. We were taken out in a Cape cart drawn by two mules. (Everybody of any importance in Salisbury had a Cape cart). Here we had a great time helping with the mealie crop, loading wagons for Salisbury and shooting. The only snag was that every Monday morning out came the castor oil bottle and everyone had to have a dose.

We did some porcupine hunting. It was very exciting digging them out. At the end of the hunt, you put a small terrier down the hole and if Mr. Porcupine was at home you would hear the dog barking its head off, at the same time keeping a safe distance from it. The Africans knew how far they were in and started digging in from the top. When you got near you had to be very careful, as you were quite likely to get a few quills stuck in your legs. The Africans then assegaied them. They are very good eating.

The Gwebi Flats, covered with anthills dotted here and there, are the homes of a small buck named the Oribi, probably one of the fastest of the small buck. We were lucky we bagged a few, also some guinea fowl.

One of my colleagues went down towards the river by himself one afternoon. It was about half a mile from the house and he spotted some pigs, thought they were wild ones and shot one. They had been wallowing in the river.

He came back to me and said, "Gee I have shot a wild pig." I asked where.

"Just down by the river," he replied. We went along.

I said, "This is not a wild pig. It's Mr. Arnott's."

He nearly went off his head. However, he told Mr. Arnott and it being the cold weather, June, it was cured for bacon and everything worked out alright.

Our housemaster, Mr. Thorpe, came out and we were shooting amongst the anthills. I shall never forget the day. An African herd boy had left a concertina with yellow coloured bellows lying on an anthill in the grass. Mr. Thorpe came up right close to it and asked me if it was a cobra. I said it looked like one so, bang, he got it. We found to our dismay it was the African herd boy's concertina. He had to be paid out.

Great excitement was caused by the appearance of Halley's comet in May 1910. We watched it grow from a star through to its great length of tail, shedding sparks across the sky. Every evening our eyes were comet gazing. Miss Nelson the matron had a pair of field glasses which were in great demand every night after prep. Great speculations were around as to whether it would be the end of the world when the comet reach the end of its zenith which, if I remember rightly, was 18 May 1910. I don't think many of the boarders slept that night; we were looking for comfortable holes to die in.

Prep was taken in the dining room after dinner. We had some funny experiences. One was when some of the seniors had finished first. The master, Mr. Thorpe, was reading a book at a table in the corner of the room. Hulley had a carbide cycle lamp which he stuck

in the passage. To amuse some of the juniors he had dropped pieces of carbide in their inkwells saying, "Watch Vesuvius erupt."

The master said, "Who in the dickens has a carbide lamp in here?"

Hulley said, "I have in the passage."

"Well take it outside, please, we don't want to be stunk out."

Still the smell continued and it was eventually located when one of the juniors burst out laughing. Everyone was reprimanded strongly.

Pillow fights were the order of the night and one room would attack another. We had only three rooms, four boys in each. There were feathers all over the passage. The pillows were not heavy enough so they soaked them in water. This had a remarkable effect.

Another idea was to stick a basin of water, nicely balanced on the top of a partly closed door and every time any one came it they got it. I think Mr. Thorpe had it twice one night but he paid us back with interest.

During my stay at Mazoe with Mr. Charles Southey of Sunny Side farm I offered to go to Mr. Sam Biggs' farm, Esperango, to get some oranges for a party that we were to have, to celebrate someone's birthday. I left at 2 p.m. by bicycle but was unfortunate enough to get a puncture at the Marodzi River. From there I walked to Mr. Biggs' farm. He had been out shooting. When he returned he gave me some solution and patches and the bike was repaired. I told him I had come for some oranges. He said, "It is too late now. You had better stay the night and take them tomorrow. You will be eaten by lions." This decided me. I stayed, not knowing how anxious my friends would be when I didn't turn up. I spent a very interesting evening with him telling me yarns of the early days, etc.

I was up very early next morning picking oranges. I filled a sugar sack. The farmers had to take oranges to the early morning market and Mr Biggs was up bright and early. Unbeknown to him he had put his trousers on back to front. Whilst up the ladder picking away, he came an awful cropper and, on picking himself up, said, "The devil, I must have given it a hell of a twist." Lots of SOS messages were flying around. Africans would not go out at night, as they were afraid of lions. I can assure you when I did turn up everyone was very relieved.

We returned to Salisbury on the old Mazoe coach drawn by mules. A stop was made at Dunlop's for a change of mules and refreshments. Quite often when the roads were bad the old coach used to turn on its side but very seldom was anyone hurt.

Coming up on the train from Umtali one of the lads, Tulloch, had a rather fine walking stick of which we were very envious, but we soon fixed it. Having found a hole in the floor of the compartment we stuck it through until we could hear it rattling over the sleepers. We covered it over nicely and when we thought it had had enough off to make it short enough for use we put it back on the rack. You can imagine Tulloch's face when he took it down at Salisbury. Another chap had his straw basher very neatly stuck through the hat peg. Cecil Hulley whilst sleeping on the top bunk had his slippers pinched off somewhere between Rusape and Headlands. He was over six foot and was sleeping on the top bunk. Whilst doing a spot of gym we had the great misfortune to break the lamp and shade in the compartment. This further diminished our pocket money.

Beit House was not large enough for the boarders so we were transferred to Guest House. I remember we were playing cricket (I was batting) very close to the canvas-covered greenhouse which had a door with fancy glass in it. Of course, just my luck, I banged one

straight through the fancy glass. Full of apologies, I told the tale to Mr. Grant, who said, "7/6d please".

On Sundays we used to parade for church all dolled up in our Sunday best complete with our straw bashers. These, on windy days, were a source of annoyance, blowing off and trundling down the street in the red dust.

In 1911 we were given 303 rifles to shoot with and used to hold shoots on the large rifle range over the Sinoia–Shamva line (where the Police Golf Club is now on the west side of the jail). The shooting was alright barring a few black and blue arms. But the drilling was a bit scary; one dear old Sergeant Major Carlos used to say, "Put the toe of your butt in line with your boot in this like manner."

Went down in ricksha with Willie Harvey to collect the first copy of the school mag. Box 126, the school letterbox, used to be regularly cleared by me – quite an important job as the mail at the end of the month contained various remittances from home to tied one over. I used to be horribly annoyed when my Dad used to send me an Umtali cheque for two pounds and when I cashed it at the bank they used to deduct six pence exchange – bad show.

Whilst at Beit House after a strenuous game of rugby (in which the masters suffered heavily from ripped shirts etc.) at Salisbury ground, the weather being bitter cold, our housemaster, Mr. Thorpe, had left on his Rover push bike to get the first hot tub. Three of us got a lift on one bike but arrived too late as he had already occupied the bathroom. Hulley said, "This is not good enough chaps!" and detailed me to fetch a bucket of cold water from the rainwater tank. He hoisted me up the wall of the bathroom which was open at the top, being on the corner of the verandah, and instructed me to let him have the lot, which I did. (We took good care to have the matron talking on the verandah in case he came out.) There were loud curses and shrieks from the bathroom. The esprit de corps was so great that he never found the culprit out until I met him in the Arcturus district ten years later where I was Post Master. When I related the episode, he said, "Had I only known then".

In 1911 the new school had been completed and occupied. The seniors used classes 5 and 6 for chemistry. Occasionally we would stage a mild gas attack – it smelt like rotten eggs. This caused much coughing and we were repeatedly warned against these tactics. One chap wishing to frighten some of the juniors took the phosphorous out of the jars in the lab painted a nice skull and cross bones on his jersey and put the breeze up the whole junior dormitory in the old school.

Marbles were the rage. Even the masters made purchases but were very soon robbed of them through the skillful play of the scholars.

Photography was another craze and Cecil Hulley was the specialist. A storeroom in the old school was used for developing. It was hardly large enough to swing a cat. There was no lock on the door so when developing was in progress a chair used to be propped up against the knob to keep it closed. Hulley had been photographing at the girls' school hostel (Beit House) and some chaps were very jealous. They were determined not to let any of the photos be printed. So when the red light stage had been reached, bang went the door and light from all over flooded in and, unless these were developed in places unknown, they hadn't a hope of becoming snaps.

A grand excuse which worked for a time was, "Please sir, can I go up to the girls' hostel on a Sunday to see my sister? (Yes certainly.) Quite often it was someone else's sister and the chap who asked didn't own such a thing as a sister.

We used to spend many pleasant hours exploring the granite kopjes near the Makabusi River and taking snaps. As spools were costly to us we never wished to waste any. Out we went one day. I had not yet turned the spool onto number one. A lady living near Ardbennie noticed I was carrying a camera so she said, “Take a snap of me.”

I said, “OK”.

Other chaps said, “No man, don’t waste your spools.”

However, I kept quite calm and, still having not turned it onto number one, boldly kept a straight face and took her on a blank.

“Now don’t forget to send me one. My address is so and so.” We never did.

The weather was oppressively hot one Sunday at Beit House and we decided to take up the floorboards and rob the bees on the verandah. These bees were really angry and we got more stings than we bargained for – also some honey. Some chaps ended up careering over the veld with mosquito nets, which suffered severely and were torn to ribbons. Several new nets had to be paid for. The master enjoyed the honey.

Several of the boarders had inventive minds. Stroebel specialized in making field guns with pieces of piping lit by a fuse and power and loaded with pebbles. These would be transported into the veld and a shot was fired. All the next week, time was put in doing repairs for a further round to be fired.

We had the honour of being on parade for that distinguished soldier Sir Ian Hamilton. Heaps of drilling and parades all went off well. One day while shooting on the Drill Hall range with .22 rifles, we were all down firing at our targets when Pattinson spotted a bird hopping in front of his target and let it have it. Sergeant major asked, “Who killed cock robin?” amidst much laughter from everyone. We were allowed to keep our rifles but some chaps used to buy “ammo” at Meikles and go home at weekends to shoot. This was found out and our rifles were then kept in the armoury.

Rabinowitz store and fruit shop in First Street used to be well patronized for dates, fruit and sweets etc.

Bishop Beaven was a great friend to the school and was greatly respected by the scholars for his outspoken and valuable advice at all times.

In December 1911 I left school and had the intention of going farming at first, then mining, but eventually I was advised to take a Government job. I decided on the Native department but they were too long in fixing me up. In between, I was offered a job at Mumford’s assay office in Salisbury at five pounds a month. I could not accept and eventually I sat for an exam and joined the Rhodesian Postal Services on 15 April 1912. I was stationed at Penhalonga as a learner under Mr. Cooper the Postmaster. We had an assistant called Russell. Russell left on transfer for Umtali in December 1912 and in April 1913 I was appointed junior assistant. A year later, 14 April 1914, I was appointed assistant and offered the Postmastership of Rusape but P.M. said I was better off at Penhalonga. However, three months later, I was appointed Post Master at Odzi and I was stationed there until 10 January 1916, when I was appointed Post Master Arcturus and was stationed there until 17 July 1924. (I acted Post Master Penhalonga from 10–25 August 1920 during leave.) On 8 January 1925 to 17 June 1926 I was Post Master Marandellas after which I was appointed Post Master Hartley. I served at Salisbury Post Office from October 1936 until I was appointed Post Master Highlands on 1 June 1946 where I served until 31 July 1949, when I retired after 38 years service.

Memorable Days in the Life of a Bush Doctor

by Colin Saunders

This is the text of a talk given to members of The History Society of Zimbabwe in Harare on 18 June 2009.

As I look back on the past fifty years, I doubt that anybody could have enjoyed a more privileged and satisfying job than I did.

My father was employed for almost half a century as Medical Officer to the chrome mines in the picturesque Rhodesian hamlet of Selukwe. He was an extraordinarily compassionate small-town community doctor. He was my hero and my role model. I always knew what I wanted to do with my life. I wanted to be a Company Medical Officer.

After graduating and being let loose on an unsuspecting public, I spent five wonderful years in the Rhodesian Ministry of Health. It was an excellent service, staffed in the main by highly competent all-round doctors in the rural areas, supported by skilled specialists in the large urban referral hospitals.

After completing my internship at Harare Hospital and the old Salisbury General, I was appointed as a Government Medical Officer in Bulawayo. At first I was patently not competent to handle the wide variety of clinical material that came my way. The overworked specialists were very supportive and friendly, and they soon set about knocking me into shape.

One memorable night I was called to the casualty department at the Bulawayo General Hospital to attend to a robust deranged lady who had been attempting to sell her services for two and six a time on the verandah of the Queen's Hotel, an establishment of doubtful quality and patronage. She did not get the type of pick-up that she had been hoping for, as she was detained by a patrolling policeman for soliciting.

She was incensed by her detention, and had laid about the unfortunate arresting officer with her umbrella. The battered and indignant long arm of the law decided to seek help from the hospital, and brought her to casualty to request that she be given a tranquilliser prior to being locked up in the cells for the night.

She was uncontrollable, and started to demolish items of medical equipment around her. Not wanting to give her a tranquilliser and then have her thrown into the cells overnight, I had no option but to certify her temporarily insane and order her to be taken at once to Ingutsheni Mental Hospital.

The ambulance driver, fearful that she might jump out on the journey, asked me to accompany her to prevent any suicidal misadventure. I too was fearful about her possible misbehaviour when alone in the back with me. I thought that stout Beryl might be difficult to restrain on my own if she became violent, or she might shout "Rape!"

The Night Superintendent agreed to send with me a nurse from the operating theatre upstairs, which was not busy at that time. So attractive was the young lady who was delegated to chaperone poor Beryl and me that I was immediately smitten.

I wish that I could report that it was love at first sight all round. Unfortunately it wasn't.

On the way back to the hospital I asked her what she was doing on Saturday night. "What's it got to do with you?" was the unhesitating put-me-down. It took considerable persuasion over the next few weeks before she came to her senses. Eventually I captured the best doctor's wife anybody could wish for.

After only one year as a Government Medical Officer, in the absence of anybody else to fill the role, I was appointed Acting Specialist Obstetrician at Mpilo Maternity Hospital in Bulawayo. I had not done any midwifery since graduating.

On my first day in the job, having forgotten almost all that I had seen and learnt at UCT in the Peninsula Maternity Hospital ("PMH") and Mowbray Maternity Home under Professor James Louw and his excellent Registrars and midwives, I had to perform three emergency Caesarean sections. I was terrified, but I was expertly coached by anaesthetist Dick Cahi at the other end of the table. At the haemorrhaging (and to me often unfathomable) end of the business, two experienced midwives took total charge, guiding me, encouraging me, ensuring that mother and babe survived my fumbling efforts. I am eternally grateful to those ladies, from whom I learned so much.

I dreaded the arrival of ambulances bearing complicated obstetric cases from the rural areas. Some of the referral letters carried messages such as "Dear Doctor, In all my 37years in district obstetrics I have never come across such a difficult and complicated case. Please attend to the problem . . . !" I developed unbounded respect for the resilience of the human body and spirit when under assault by less than competent doctors. I also developed a duodenal ulcer.

My next Acting appointment was as Medical Superintendent for six months at Que Que General Hospital, another job for which I was not really competent – especially as I was alone in a three-man post, and in addition had to cover the huge district of Gokwe, whose GMO had gone on study leave.

One of my responsibilities was a weekly visit to the so-called Mafungabusi Restriction Centre, in an extremely remote and desolate indigenous dry forestry reserve area of Gokwe. It was three hours drive away over appalling corrugated and sandy roads. Here the Government had incarcerated a large number of African nationalist politicians, who were considered a threat to peace and stability. As a perceived agent of the regime that had locked them up in this God-forsaken place, they gave me a hard time from the start – despite the fact that I was there to attend to their health care requirements.

I shall not forget my first encounter with these people. When I arrived on a freezing morning, a small man of intimidating mien, with a large animal fur cap and carved walking stick, left the group that were huddled around a large fire. He walked slowly around me, poking his stick towards me as if judging a prize bull at an agricultural show, and said in a booming voice to the resident trained Medical Assistant: "Orderly, who is this man"? "He is Dr Saunders, the new GMO" was the response.

The strutting little fellow than addressed me briefly. "Doctor, are you a civil servant?" "Yes" I replied. "Doctor, I am a citizen, you are a civil servant, so that makes you my servant. Never forget that!"

Thus did I first meet the redoubtable George Nyandoro. Some years later, when Abel Muzorewa took over from Ian Smith as Prime Minister, I was retained as Chairman of The National Parks and Wildlife Board, and Mr Nyandoro was appointed Minister of Natural Resources, to whom I reported. I liked and respected him, and we became good friends.

I was twice sent to Filabusi as a locum for Dr Bill McGowan. Following my arrival for the second time, I was being hosted at a "welcome back" party by a boisterous group of bachelors, when the phone rang and I was summoned urgently to the hospital (and incidentally rescued from the party) to attend to a case of snake-bite in a small boy called Louis Jones from Amazon Ranch. It was an extraordinary story.

The youngster was asleep in bed when he felt something on his face, which he attempted to brush off. It was a spitting cobra, which then fastened onto his nose. His father was in the bath when he heard the terrified child screaming. He leapt out of the bath, grabbed the hurricane lantern, and rushed naked into the bedroom. He tried to pull the snake off the boy's face, but it would not let go.

He dashed into the kitchen and picked up a sharp knife, with which he sliced through the reptile's neck. He prised the head off his son's nose, and was amazed when the bodiless head spat venom on his chest – fortunately not in his eyes.

He threw on some clothes and dashed into the hospital in town. The Nursing Sister on Night Duty, Anthea Pugh (later to marry my good friend and local farmer Peter Nash) had put up an intravenous drip while I was on my way over to the hospital. Louis was shocked and very distressed. Not knowing then much of what I later learnt about snakebite, and as it was a cobra bite and I was worried about possible neurotoxic complications, I gave the child two ampoules of anti-snakebite serum intravenously.

He settled down and seemed fine, but half an hour later he complained of severe back-ache, and wanted to empty his bladder. I was intensely alarmed when he peed what looked like Coca Cola. It was obvious that he had suffered severe intravascular haemolysis. I needed help.

I phoned Dr Len Harrington, Medical Superintendent of the Bulawayo General Hospital, and told him the problem. He advised me to bring the child in immediately, and said that he would organise things at his end. With young Louis on a mattress in the back of my station wagon, and with a drip in place, I made the trip to Bulawayo in just over an hour.

I shall never forget the party of expert doctors that Dr Harrington had gathered in Casualty to meet me: Paediatrician Maurice Kibel, ENT Surgeon John Wakelin (in case a tracheotomy was necessary), Anaesthetist Ian Michie, Haematologist George Henderson with a selection of blood packs from the Blood Transfusion Service, and Infectious Diseases Hospital Superintendent "Tubby" Watson in case connection to the so-called "iron lung" was necessary – there were no modern ventilation systems in those days to breathe for paralysed patients.

The team took over and Louis made an uneventful recovery. Marvellous team work in medical support was the norm in those halcyon years of medical practice in Bulawayo.

My informal post-graduate education in diverse fields of medicine continued, and after I had carried out locums at several out-stations without causing any major disasters, I was appointed to Fort Victoria General Hospital. My boss was the kindly Medical Superintendent Dr Minto Strover, an all-round doctor with a special interest in surgery. He was a small-town GP of legendary skill and competence.

During my time in Fort Victoria I met two people who were instrumental in changing my life.

I was phoned late one night by lowveld rancher Ray Sparrow to say that he was bringing up a little boy who had been sleep-walking and had crashed off a second floor verandah

into the garden, suffering a severe injury to his arm. The youngster eventually arrived with a ghastly compound fracture of his right forearm, with the mud-clogged ends of both radius and ulna sticking out through a large jagged skin wound.

Over the ensuing months I gave that youngster about a dozen general anaesthetics, during which Dr Strover performed repeated surgery in an effort to save and reconstruct the severely damaged forearm. At one stage we thought that he might lose his hand below the wrist, but by dint of perseverance and experience on Dr Strover's part the youngster's arm was eventually saved. I used to sit on his bed and chat to him after morning and evening ward rounds. He was a shy young man, but he opened up and told me all about the wild animals and unspoilt and uninhabited land where his family ranched in the Chiredzi District He kindled in me a growing curiosity about the wilderness in which he lived.

Some months later a lady phoned and told me that her husband was seriously ill at their home overlooking Kyle Dam. She was unable to move him, and wondered whether I could go out to his home to see him. I went there at once, and found an elderly gentleman who was very weak and seriously ill with lobar pneumonia. He needed urgent hospitalisation. In spite of his protests, and with the assistance of the cook and two youngsters, we carried the heavy man to my car and set off for Fort Victoria General Hospital. It took about a week of intensive treatment before he was well enough to be discharged from hospital. During that time I again learnt much at the bedside about the fascinating lowveld where he lived.

Those two people, who together ignited in me an intense desire to live and work in the lowveld, were Clive Stockil, now an internationally renowned conservationist, and Murray MacDougall, the legendary indomitable visionary whose pioneering introduction of irrigation at Triangle, in the arid and isolated southeast lowveld, provided the catalyst for the great developments in that part of our country.

In March 1963, following a serious difference of opinion with the Director of Medical Services in the Ministry of Health, I decided to leave Government service.

The giant Natal sugar company of Sir J L Hulett and Sons had decided to construct a hospital on their Triangle Sugar Estates. They advertised the posts of Senior Medical Officer and Medical Officer. Dr Strover and I put in a joint application, and were successful in being appointed to the two posts.

Jenny and I spent our last weekend in Fort Victoria with Murray and Marjorie MacDougall. It was a privilege to know them. Mac was a fascinating man, and his stories of early days at Triangle were spellbinding. I was determined one day to write up his life, an intention that I eventually brought to fruition many years later. Jenny and I were honoured to be given responsibility for the development of the Murray MacDougall Museum at Triangle, which records how Triangle happened, and what happens there.

When Minto Strover and I arrived to take up our posts, we learnt that the decision to build a hospital had arisen as a result of action by a concerned group of senior Triangle employees. They had drawn up a petition to management. They threatened to ask feared company maestro and Chairman Guy Hulett, in faraway Natal, to intervene if the company did not establish an acceptable health service.

To their ever-lasting credit, the local Directors decided to act responsibly and generously. Together Dr Strover and I were required to build from scratch a health service for 10 000 employees and their dependants.

From my days at Fort Victoria General Hospital, to which cases from Triangle were

referred, I had known that the health service on the sugar estates was of very low standard. But I was not prepared for the broad spectrum and intensity of debilitating diseases which afflicted the workers and their wretched dependants.

The workers' accommodation was appalling. There were no piped water supplies, and totally inadequate sanitation. Awful so-called "traditional huts" were built adjacent to irrigation night storage dams, in whose waters residents drank, bathed, peed, and did their washing. Malaria, typhoid, and dysentery were rampant. The damp soils around the dams, and the absence of any sort of sanitation, ensured that many residents carried huge and debilitating burdens of hookworm. The levels of parasite loads in the multitude of patients with bilharzia were almost unheard of.

There was no immunisation service for the children. The compounds seemed to shake with the agonising coughing of children with measles, and the exhausting whooping of pertussis victims. Polio was not uncommon, and we even saw cases of diphtheria.

There were no maternity services. A hardy band of traditional midwives did what they had to do. Puerperal sepsis and neonatal tetanus were a natural but ill-understood consequence of their profession.

Many of the children had the tell-tale signs of swollen faces, thin reddish hair, skin rashes, and constant misery, of what was then called Kwashiorkor, now more boringly called protein-calorie malnutrition.

The incidence of leprosy and trachoma was staggering. We also saw a few cases of smallpox.

Numbers of workers, fed only on maize, exhibited the "3D" triad of pellagra (diarrhoea, dementia, and – in sun-exposed areas of the body – dermatitis). The dementia component of pellagra occasionally led to unfortunate sufferers from that condition wandering around aimlessly, muttering to themselves, and sometimes doing crazy things like walking in the middle of a busy road. They were thought to be "mad", while all the wretched souls needed was an appropriate diagnosis, and a few tablets of nicotinamide.

On the industrial front, there was frantic development. Huge bulldozers flattened the bush to plant irrigated cane fields. Construction of a giant sugar milling complex and cane transport service carried on day and night. No thought was given to occupational health or prevention of injuries. The resultant carnage was horrible.

So we needed to introduce an integrated community health programme, and build a hospital.

Fortunately for me, Dr Strover was weary of hospital administration work after thirty years in Government service with its attendant load of stifling admin. He elected to confine himself mainly to clinical work, leaving much of the planning, organisation, and implementation to me, especially the public health aspects in which I was vitally interested.

There was no such thing as town planning or a set of municipal regulations. We set about designing and building an 80-bed hospital. The initial design was prepared by a firm of architects. Thereafter we added wards and departments drawn on the back of a cigarette box in consultation with the excellent Portuguese builders employed by Triangle Limited.

We appointed as our first Matron my aunt, Miss Sandy Saunders, who had been Matron-in-Chief of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. At the time of the dissolution of the ill-fated Federation she accepted our offer of a job to take charge of the detailed planning and organisation required to get a new hospital up and running. Knowing that an efficient

hospital depends totally on its kitchens and laundry, she arrived at Triangle in a Morris Mini Minor with a full load of suitcases in addition to a cook who rejoiced in the name of Innocent, a crusty Malawian tailor named Patrick, and a dachshund named Banger.

Patrick was furious when he became the hospital's first patient. On the day when the first room to be roofed in the hospital was completed, he was run over by a tractor whose driver, like Patrick, was returning from the beer-hall. Both tractor and tailor were swerving unsteadily. Inevitably perhaps, they met in the middle.

Our tailor suffered a fractured leg. We put him onto a table under the new roof. While I gave the anaesthetic, Dr Strover straightened the bent limb and encased it in Plaster of Paris. When we arrived at the hospital site next morning, much noise was emanating from the makeshift ward where Patrick lay. There was a second patient in the room, also with a broken leg. It transpired that he was the driver of the tractor that had put Patrick into hospital! Patrick was loudly telling the unfortunate driver, and everyone else who was prepared to listen, that his Matron had put a curse on the driver because he had rendered Patrick unable to use his treadle sewing machine to make up sheets and towels for the hospital linen room!

The company, wishing to expunge the memory of the woeful health situation obtaining prior to our arrival, just left us to get on with the job of commissioning the hospital, and they provided the necessary budget. We built what we wanted, eventually ending up with 120 beds.

The Directors were also prepared to fund the formidable investment required to bring about a high standard of community health. We embarked on a massive housing scheme, moving the workers' villages away from the dams and canals. We developed safe water supplies, and sanitation and refuse disposal systems.

The ever-cooperative Ministry of Health sent down teams to immunise the thousands of children against the classic childhood diseases, and to vaccinate with smallpox vaccine everything that was warm and vertical. We developed a very successful well baby clinic system, and introduced a comprehensive malaria control programme.

The "Friends of Mutemwa", a charity engaged in finding and treating cases of leprosy, agreed to conduct a survey, eventually carting off a large band of lepers to the Ngomahuru Leprosarium a hundred miles away.

We invited a similar charity, whose mission was to prevent blindness, to carry out a survey of ophthalmic disease. They found large numbers of people with trachoma, for which they dispensed thousands of tubes of tetracycline ointment, and taught us to perform tarsectomy and tarsorrhaphy operations to counter the dangers of trichiasis and its legacy of corneal scarring and blindness.

We hosted Dr Vic Clarke and Dr Clive Schiff and their colleagues from the Government's outstanding Blair Research Laboratory. They set up a project to research our unheard-of levels and loads of bilharzia infection. They designed a control programme based on pouring into the canals by drip-feed a molluscicide[1] to control the huge numbers of bilharzia host snails in the irrigation system.

The first day of this process was disastrous. Managing Director Cedric Gibbs had in his garden an old swimming pool, which he had converted into a large lily pond that contained

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[1] A chemical that kills snails and other mollusks

many large bass. These fish were tame, and greatly loved by the childless MD. Early every morning Mr Gibbs summoned the fish by knocking on the side of the pool, where he fed them by hand.

We did not realise that an irrigation canal provided water for the MD's garden. On the morning after the first canal to the cane fields was treated with the toxic anti-bilharzia snail chemical, he found all of his beloved bass floating belly-up in the pool.

After a tongue-lashing I was instructed to clean the pool out and replace the bass. Only when this had been achieved did Triangle's ultimate boss talk civilly to me. Fortunately, Jenny and I eventually became firm friends with that great character known to everybody as "Gibbo", and his much-loved wife Connie.

Some years later, at an international symposium in the Philippines, our bilharzia control programme was said to be the best in the world. From a situation where the dams and waterways were colonised by billions of host snails, we managed to achieve a snail eradication system so tight that it became difficult to find in our irrigation system examples of either of the two different snails that hosted the genito-urinary form, or the intestinal and liver form, of this horrid debilitating disease.

Dr Strover retired in 1970, and I was privileged to be appointed as Chief Medical Officer. I was never given a single instruction during my 33 years with Triangle Limited. The company just left me to get on with developing and consolidating a comprehensive community health care system, and provided the resources we required.

I was appointed to the Board of Directors as Director of Health and Community Services. As well as my responsibility for the hospital, and my share of the patient load, I was in charge of all housing, eleven schools, refuse disposal, numerous beer-halls, and monitoring of hygiene in preparation and serving of food. I was also in charge of the cemeteries and funeral services. My friends said I was fortunate to be able to bury my mistakes!

Over the ensuing years I had exceptional colleagues on my staff. Among them were Dr Chris Nutt, Dr Paul Canter, Dr Ben Kavumbura, Dr Ashok Morar, and Dr Alvin Skinstad. Alvin had a very nice little boy who went on to captain the Springboks.

Triangle is 300 miles from both Harare and Bulawayo. When you are so far away from specialist help, you need to be as self-sufficient as possible, but you also need specialist advice and assistance when faced with a complex medical crisis. We developed firm and lasting friendships with specialists in both cities.

When practising in the bush, you also need to keep abreast with new developments in medicine. We took turns in attending seminars and clinical meetings in the cities, and on return we would report back to a meeting of the lowveld doctors.

We also developed a policy of inviting specialists to visit us at Triangle, to lecture on topical issues, to answer questions and give advice, and to attend teaching ward rounds in our hospital. We gave them an air ticket and a good time in the lowveld, and we gained immensely in knowledge and understanding.

We were active in founding the College of General Practice, and the Rhodesian Society of Occupational Health. Cutting cane by hand in the lowveld heat was exceptionally hard work. We wanted to determine just how hard it was. We engaged Professor Cyril Wyndham from the Human Sciences Laboratory of the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg, and Dr Fred Morrison from the local University of Rhodesia, to research the physiology and metabolism of cane-cutting.

They had always believed that removing broken rock from shaft and tunnel with a shovel in the Witwatersrand's deep gold mines was the most physically demanding and exhausting manual labour to have been studied. However, they found that cutting cane in the lowveld heat required more exertion and toughness than any other job they had studied.

We all viewed Triangle's highly productive cane cutters with renewed respect, even awe, thereafter. This led to further studies on fluid and electrolyte loss, as a result of which we researched and introduced additional fluid and energy supplements to make the job less exhausting. One thing that we learnt was that in hot climates your thirst does not reflect your degree of dehydration from sweating – you should always drink more fluid than you think that you need.

We once hosted a young school teacher called Tim Middleton, an English international hockey player who had come out to teach at Falcon College. A fitness fanatic, he felt challenged by the performance of our cane cutters. He asked to be permitted to cut the standard daily gwaza of a bundle of cane. Halfway through the morning he retired from the task exhausted, back and arms aching, and the skin of his palms and fingers painfully shredded.

One of the worst tasks I experienced at Triangle was being called to the sugar mill to extricate an unfortunate worker who, while endeavouring to clear a blockage, had fallen onto a screw conveyor that transported bagasse[2] to the power station's boilers. He was cruelly dismembered. It was difficult to retrieve his body. I was assisted in this macabre task by his shift supervisor.

One week later I was called to the mill at midnight to remove the mangled body of the same supervisor from the ghastly screw conveyor. Next morning the bagasse feeder system was closed down, and the engineers devised a less dangerous system.

We initiated a comprehensive accident prevention philosophy and system. We changed the verdict on who was responsible for lost-time accidents from "careless worker" to "irresponsible manager". The reduction in accidents was spectacular.

Our philosophy was that a health care programme is built on three pillars: first in order of importance, promotion of health and safety; secondly, prevention of illness and injury; and finally, and least important, hospital services. We regarded treatment at clinics and the hospital to be for failures of system or human body – for nobody plans or wants to be sick or injured.

We introduced a health education programme, and trained a marvellous band of forty ladies that we called Community Nursing Assistants to live in the villages and to spread "the gospel of the three hygienes" – personal ("my body"), domestic ("my home") and communal ("my village"). To be eligible for the job one had to be female, respected, respectable, and respectful in the village concerned, and basically literate. They were so proud of their jobs, and so successful in improving understanding and reducing illness.

Without being invited or informed, I found myself in the 1980s appointed to represent Africa at the first World Health Organisation Conference on AIDS. It was a fascinating experience. I was interested to learn how major UN agencies worked, and I was amazed that some of the delegates complained about their hotel accommodation and their per diem allowances, which I thought were generous.

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[2] Bagasse is the fibrous pith left over after squeezing all the juice out of sugar cane. It is a valuable fuel to be burnt in huge boilers to raise steam for the turbines in the power station.

Given the required resources by a caring and responsible company, and a great team effort by hospital and Health Division staff, we were enabled to uplift the lives of the whole community. What a privilege! It was Triangle's generosity and the work of a fantastic team that led to the award to me of the Warrington-Yorke Medal for International Community Health by the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine.

In those exciting days of frantic development, the social activities of Triangle's folks were just as frantic. Triangle Country Club was a hive of activity. In addition to developing one of the best golf courses in the country, first class amenities were provided for a wide variety of sporting and leisure activities.

A very active Theatre Club was formed, and we enjoyed regular plays, concerts, and other cultural events. Jenny was an enthusiastic member of the theatre group. She featured in a number of drama and comedy productions, and she starred as leading lady Polly in the popular musical "The Boy Friend". I shall probably be in deep water for mentioning that she was also the winner of the inaugural "Miss Lowveld Legs" competition!

My father had imbued in me a passion for wild things and wide open spaces. This developed into an appreciation of the need for conservation of our natural resources. In the lowveld I had many opportunities to participate in conservation activities, and had much fun doing so. I believe that environmental conservation is an inseparable part of any holistic health care programme.

In the absence of a PRO Department at Triangle, Jenny and I hosted many guests of the company. We were privileged to accommodate many interesting people. Among them were: The Lord Mayor of London; Philip Scott, who was responsible for investing the wealth of Kuwait's Royal Family; Robert Clay, doyen of Kentucky's race-horse breeders – a man who could reputedly in one day have lunch with the Queen of England and dinner with the President of the United States; The Rector of the University of Stellenbosch; Walter Schirrar, doyen of the astronauts; a youngster who was heir to the Schlesinger family fortune; cricketing Pakistani brothers Hanif and Mushtaq Mohammed.

Elder brother Hanif at that time held the record for the highest Test score in history, and Mushtaq at 17 was the youngest ever Test cricketer. Mushtaq was charming and westernised; Hanif was reserved, and incidentally terrified of geckos, four species of which anti-mosquito friends patrolled the walls of our house. We had to clear Hanif's bedroom of geckos before he would go to bed.

Pearce Commission members Philip Burkinshaw and Bill Dawkins were amongst our most interesting guests. Phil was a Queen's Messenger, and Bill the Governor of Montserrat. They stayed with us for more than a week while they tested African opinion at meetings throughout the lowveld. In spite of objections by Commission Vice-Chairman Lord Harlech, Burkinshaw and Dawkins refused to sign the Pearce Commission's Report, and insisted on incorporation of a Minority Report – not in favour of the Rhodesian Government, but insisting that the method of testing opinion was severely flawed and therefore not valid. We became firm friends, and stayed with both of them in England.

Jenny was distraught when our visitors' book was stolen in a burglary.

We found the lowveld community to be a very interesting lot. We met and befriended many of the old pioneer ranchers who had carved out homes for themselves in the remote and then hostile bush, many miles from civilisation. They were totally self-sufficient in the face of often formidable odds – resolute, resilient, resourceful, remarkable.

In addition to the interesting people, there was another fascinating side to practising medicine at Triangle. The estate was in renowned big-game country, a wonderfully wild tract of land with plentiful wildlife. I became fascinated by the results of encounters and interactions between people and wild things.

In my experience only three dangerous creatures actively hunted humans in the lowveld: ticks, mosquitoes, and crocodiles. The dreaded tsetse fly was a fourth, prior to the successful eradication campaign. There were many encounters between wild animals and unfortunate or unwise humans in my time. We treated people who had been injured by lion, leopard, elephant, rhino, buffalo, hippo, many crocodiles, giraffe, zebra, eland, sable, kudu, bushbuck, dangerous spiders and scorpions, and several species of snakes.

I have a wealth of fireside tales about people who survived a clash with a dangerous wild animal. You might be interested in a few of them.

Rodney Vrijs, a cane section manager, had a brother in France, who had married a young French lass. He flew her out to Rhodesia to enjoy an adventure in wild Africa with his brother. Rodney and his wife collected her at Salisbury airport early in the morning and left immediately for Triangle, some 500 kilometres away. They found that she could not speak English, but communicated in sign language.

By mid-afternoon Rodney and Bridget had the excited girl out on a picnic on a large dam. Wearing just a pair of shorts, he took his bikini-clad sister-in-law out in his canoe to look at some hippo a mile upstream. They came upon a pod of twenty hippo, and disturbed a group of large basking crocodiles, which slithered off a small sandy island and submerged.

Suddenly an enraged hippo emerged under the canoe and flung it high into the air, throwing them into the water. Rod and the terrified girl swam to the upturned canoe, to which they clung. He was trying to right it when the hippo shot up between them, and bit the canoe in half.

Rod decided to swim to the island. He was shouting to her to follow him when the hippo emerged beneath him, grabbed him by the knee, threw him high into the air, and disappeared. Reaching the island with his sister-in-law, he found that he was unable to stand up. The patellar tendon which operated his knee had gone, and he was bleeding profusely from his popliteal fossa behind the knee.

He persuaded his companion to remove the top half of her bikini with which to bind his wounds and staunch the haemorrhage.

With all the blood about, he was concerned that crocodiles might be attracted and take them off the island. Signalling to her to accompany him, he crawled back into the water and swam safely to the shore, where he hopped onto dry land. She was very emotional, and crying constantly, but he somehow managed to convince her to go in search of her sister-in-law at the picnic site.

Dusk was approaching when Bridget heard the hysterical lass screaming and wailing as she emerged running through the bushes, topless, breasts flapping, and covered in mud and scratches. Retrieving her crippled husband, Bridget drove them straight to the hospital. Rod remarked wryly that although he had enjoyed the impromptu strip show on the island, it was certainly not worth ending up with a stiff knee. The young lady had had enough of wild Africa, and flew back to Europe on the first available plane.

Not many people survive a bite from those huge fangs in the mouth of a hippo.

Another person who survived an unbelievable encounter with a hippo was irrigation

supervisor Aniel Deredza on Triangle's Mpapa section, alongside the Runde River. Cycling around the cane fields early one morning to check the night's irrigation, he suddenly came upon a hippo just off the road ahead of him. It charged straight at him.

Terrified, he stood up on his pedals and cycled desperately to get away, but the hippo was too fast. As it was about to catch him he jumped off his bike and sprinted up an irrigation path in the cane. The hippo caught him and knocked him over before he had run twenty metres. It then grabbed him by his left arm, and started to drag him between its legs on his abdomen towards the river, about 80 metres away.

Halfway to the river it dropped him. He tried to scramble away, but it caught him again, and continued its way towards the river, dragging him this time on his back. About twenty metres from the large hippo pool, in which he was convinced he would be drowned, the hippo dragged him under a thorn bush. Here it stopped, and chewed his arm thoroughly. He could hear the bones of his forearm being munched and broken. Suddenly it dropped him, and plunged into the river.

The incident was witnessed by two of his colleagues, who rescued him and got help to bring him to the hospital. His forearm and elbow were shattered, and my colleague Dr Paul Canter had no option but to amputate his arm below the shoulder.

Raoul du Toit, a National Parks ecologist, was gored by a black rhino that he was attempting to dart in thick bush in the Save Valley Conservancy. He sustained a fractured pelvis. After his discharge from hospital, he wrote me a very nice letter of appreciation for his treatment by the hospital staff. In it he said "Contrary to its established reputation, I found that a good dose of rhino horn did nothing for the libido!"

I was always interested in snakes, and I was appalled by the then freely peddled advice that snakebites should be treated by scarifying the bite with a sharp instrument, by rubbing in crystals of permanganate of potash, and by the indiscriminate use of anti-snakebite serum.

Lowveld Round Table, of which I was a member, agreed to mount a project to educate the public about how to handle snakebite. I agreed to write a book, which we called The Management of Snakebite in Rhodesia. We launched the booklet at the inaugural Lowveld Show in Chiredzi. In support of the launch we organised an impressive snake pit, featuring a large number of snakes, run by two enthusiastic amateur herpetologists called Basil McMenamin and Barry Washington.

We also launched the Lowveld Blood Transfusion Service. I had several jobs at the Show: to persuade people to become blood donors; to lay volunteers down on an examination couch to take blood samples; to discuss the management of snakebite; and to sign and sell copies of the booklet for two shillings and sixpence for Round Table charities.

It was a very hot day. Basil and Barry had been steadily rehydrating with the contents of brown bottles passed down to them in the snake pit. I was suddenly alerted by a shrill chorus of horrified screams. I hurried to the snake pit, where I saw Barry holding a very large Puff Adder by the tail in one hand, while his other hand was dripping blood from two puncture wounds between thumb and forefinger.

He popped the sinister reptile into its bag, climbed out of the pit, accompanied me inside, and lay down on the couch. We knew that Barry was allergic to anti-snakebite serum, so he wasn't going to have any of that in a hurry. In addition, the dictum that we were preaching to the public and had stressed in the little book was that you don't treat snakebite, you manage

it, by careful observation and masterly inactivity – you only treat unmistakable evidence of the victim having had a dose of venom injected by the snake.

I sat next to Barry as he lay on the couch, and we quietly discussed anew the philosophy we had adopted concerning the management of snakebite. I refused his request for another beer. Barry was relaxed, but a large crowd of his anxious supporters were not. I was bombarded by comments and advice. They saw no place for so-called "masterly inactivity" in this case. "Can't you see that Barry was bitten by that Puff Adder? Give him the injection for goodness sake"! "He's supposed to be an expert, and he's just going to let Barry die without trying to treat him"!

Half an hour later I permitted Barry another beer, and he emerged to a hero's welcome. I was reluctantly vindicated. We had figured out that one of the snake's fangs had gone right through the skin of the web between his thumb and forefinger, without injecting any venom into his hand.

Roger Blaylock, our Resident Surgeon, had a life-long interest in snakes. Several of them had bitten him, and he had a history of serious reaction to anti-snakebite serum. With some diffidence he had suggested that next time he was bitten might be his last, as he could succumb to anaphylaxis when given the anti-serum.

One memorable evening, as Jenny was preparing a slap-up candle-lit dinner to celebrate our wedding anniversary, the duty sister at the hospital phoned to say that Roger had been bitten by a black mamba that he was trying to remove from the hospital corridors. Furious at being caught by the tail, the 8-foot snake had latched on to Roger's elbow and given him a good chewing. After killing the huge mamba with a broom, he had sensibly put a blood pressure cuff around his upper arm as a tourniquet, and sat down to await my arrival three minutes later.

Mindful of his history, and having many times theorised on what I would do in the inevitable eventual clash between my surgeon and a large venomous reptile, I put up a drip and gave Roger 12 ampoules of intravenous serum and repeated intravenous adrenaline. He survived both the venom and the treatment, and was back at work after one day's rest.

Most people who are caught by a crocodile are killed. Few survive. In a short space of a few months we treated three patients who had been caught by crocs and pulled into the water. A young girl was fishing with a group of class-mates when caught, a youth was fishing with a friend, and an adult man was jumping across a deep narrow stream when plucked out of the air by a monster croc.

Somehow all three knew that (quote) "if you prick a crocodile in its throat it will let you go". Accordingly, the two youngsters had shoved their fishing rods deep into the crocodiles' throat, and the adult, caught by the leg, had thrust his arm down into his tormentor's cavernous mouth as far as it would go. In each instance the victims were spat out and escaped.

Two things intrigued me: how had they known that at the back of the crocodile's throat a gular flap stops water running into the lungs when it submerges with its mouth open, carrying off its prey? And how did the fortunate three have the presence of mind in a frantic situation to carry out the rapid life-saving manoeuvre when caught by a terrifying monster from the deep?

We treated several victims of wounded leopards over the years. Two of them were of special interest.

Gibson Pahlela was a Shangaan professional hunter who was out with a Spanish hunter on Lone Star. The client wounded a leopard. It lay down in a patch of thick bush. Pahlela could plainly see the mortally wounded animal. He urged the hunter to step forward and finish it off, but the Spanish gentleman was reluctant to go any closer.

The stalemate was suddenly broken when the dying leopard summoned up its last remaining burst of energy and charged. It leapt at Pahlela as he lifted his rifle, and grabbed him by the throat before falling over and receiving the coup de grâce.

Never was a hunter more fortunate. In biting him in the throat, the big cat had opened a hole in his trachea, but miraculously missed the carotid arteries and massive vena cava veins in the neck. The dying leopard left Pahlela with a perfectly functioning tracheotomy, through which he had no trouble breathing. After cleaning up the wound and removing devitalised tissue over the next few days, it was a simple matter to close the gaping hole in the front of his neck.

Tommy Warth, rancher, hotelier, polo player of renown – a true lowveld character – had an amazing encounter with a wounded leopard on Fair Range, the ranch next door to Lone Star. Before following up a leopard wounded the previous night by his son, he fortunately strapped his loaded revolver on to his belt, as well as carrying a rifle.

The wounded leopard was flushed from cover by his dogs. Before Tommy could get the angry cat in his rifle sights, it was upon him. It leapt up at him with the aim of sinking its fangs into his neck. Tommy was a strong young man. If the leopard had managed to knock him over, it would probably have killed him. Quite remarkably, he managed to stay on his feet, fending the snarling mouth away from his throat by putting his left forearm in the way, while the big cat raked him furiously with its claws.

He managed to draw his revolver, putting the barrel against the leopard's chest. Once, twice, three times he pulled the trigger, hoping to shoot it through the heart, expecting with each shot that the enraged animal would succumb and fall off him. It was only after the fourth shot into its chest that the leopard collapsed.

Tommy came into the hospital on a wheelchair. He was covered in blood. In typically laconic style, he said as I greeted him anxiously: "Colin, you know they say that it's not painful when a big cat bites you? Well, I want to tell you that they are wrong!"

I had on my staff an excellent young surgeon called Peter Burgoyne, who carried out a marvellous plastic surgery job on Tommy's shredded arms and legs. Last time I discussed the incident with Tom, he rolled up his sleeves and showed me his arms. He complained that in the absence of any impressive scars, nobody would believe him when he recounted his ordeal!

It wasn't only the wildlife that was dangerous. On three separate occasions during my days at Triangle I was held up at gunpoint by deranged patients, after being summoned on an urgent house call – but that is another story.

Naturally I have memories of happy or sad or unusual happenings in my daily life at Triangle.

Among the lingering sadness, three incidents stand out:

- firstly the tragic loss, when I was Acting Managing Director of Triangle Limited, of eight well-loved and respected members of our tight little community, who perished when the Company's Cessna executive aircraft needlessly crashed during an unscheduled night landing;

- secondly, the devastating effects of the unprecedented drought of 1991-92, when the rains failed totally, the Company lost 90% of its irrigated sugar cane, and 80% of our employees had to be retrenched; and finally,
- the absolute horror of having to witness the behaviour of children with rabies. I believe that no Alfred Hitchcock thriller or science-fiction movie could compete with the spectre of unimaginable terror and ghastly wild behaviour exhibited by these tragically doomed patients.

I hold two abiding memories associated with cardio-pulmonary resuscitation (CPR).

Firstly, one Sunday morning we were alerted by the desperate distress calls of a small antelope in the long grass near our house. Hurrying to the scene, we found a huge python that had wrapped a little grysbok in its coils, which tightened as we watched. I gave the four metre snake a few hefty kicks, and it unwound, releasing its apparently dead prey. The large reptile lay there watching us.

The little antelope was stretched out like a long-legged dachshund, with green fluid dribbling from its mouth. Its mucosa was deeply cyanosed. I was sure it was dead. I picked it up to show the family, and to my surprise felt what seemed to be an occasional heartbeat. I decided to attempt to revive it.

Shaking it head down to clear fluid from its lungs, I gave it external cardiac massage, pinched its nostrils, and blew rhythmically down its mouth. It soon established a rapid heartbeat and started to go pink. After about ten minutes it started to breathe, and a further ten minutes later we had it standing up, although rather shakily. It gradually started to walk around, making soft bleating noises, and then suddenly scuttled off into the grass.

It had a very full udder, so we thought that it must have a tiny lamb to feed.

My second memorable experience with CPR took place when we were guests at a glittering banquet in Washington DC to celebrate the opening of the new Smithsonian Museum of The American Indian.

During the dinner, the MC urgently requested the services of a doctor at the top table. The request was repeated several times over the loud-speakers, but it appeared that there was no doctor available (or willing) among the guests – except me. I stood up to hurry to the MC. A lawyer at our table grabbed my jacket and said “Don’t go – they’ll sue the pants off you!”

I decided to proceed, and entered a small knot of excited people surrounding an elderly man lying on the floor at the foot of the top table. They told me that they thought that he had choked on a bolus of food, and had carried out several Heimlich manoeuvres. I knelt next to him. He was not breathing, was deeply cyanosed – almost black – and I could not feel a carotid pulse.

I immediately commenced CPR. A Guedel airway appeared as if by magic, and this helped a lot. After a few minutes, during a break to assess progress, he took a couple of breaths. Several minutes later he sat up, with assistance, and growled “Leave me alone, I don’t want to be a nuisance!”

With that an emergency team arrived, having been summoned on 911 or whatever the US emergency code is. I attempted to tell a very large black emergency worker in a splendid uniform who I was and what I had done. He curtly said “Yeah yeah, move over”, and I returned to our table.

A great friend had arranged a tour of the Capitol for us the following morning. Our

host was to be Congressman Tom Udall from New Mexico. When he heard that we were from Africa he told us that he was trying to contact someone from Africa who had saved his father's life the previous evening! His father turned out to be former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, who had drafted most of the visionary United States environmental legislation. We received very nice letters from father and son on our return home.

I hold a multitude of very happy memories of my time at Triangle. Foremost among them was the surprise announcement by the company Chairman at my retirement party that the hospital had been named "The Colin Saunders Hospital".

Jenny and I were extraordinarily blessed at Triangle in so many ways. I can think of no better place in which to bring up a brood of children – in a small supportive and caring rural community, and always close to Africa's fascinating wild things and wild places.

Could anyone have enjoyed a more satisfying and exciting career in medicine?

If you are a member of the History Society of Zimbabwe,
please ensure that the Society headquarters
– <denjostephens@gmail.com> – has your email address,
as communications by post are no longer affordable.

Schools' Expeditions

by Alex Siemers

This is the text of a talk given to the History Society of Zimbabwe, in Harare, on 17 September 2009.

At the 1953 Annual General Meeting of the Rhodesia Teachers' Association held in Bulawayo it was decided to form a society to be known as the Rhodesia Schools' Exploration Society (RSES) which would run expeditions for schoolboys. The expeditions would be of a scientific and historic nature as well as having an element of adventure. The following people were asked to initiate this:

> Mr A. Siemers (Senior Science Master at Prince Edward), Prof P. Gilbert (Professor of Science Education at the University of Zimbabwe), Mr K. Coates-Palgrave (specialist on indigenous trees), Whittle (whose uncle invented the jet engine), Hathaway (first Headmaster of Blakiston School), Tucker (Surveyor General), Soames.

Expeditions were run from Harare and from Bulawayo and besides visiting areas in this country, also went outside our borders e.g. Kilimanjaro, Botswana. Some trips concentrated on History e.g. the Matabeleland Branch expedition to mark the 1890 Pioneer route, and some were of a more scientific nature e.g. the trips to Chimanimani. Altogether we ran over 60 expeditions between 1954 and 1971 and contributed more than 20 000 specimens to the National Museums.

To prepare expedition members, top scientists were invited to come and talk to us and train us and we went to work with them in their workshops and laboratories. These scientists included Smithers, Stuart Irwin, Broadley, Drummond, Ball, Raath, Brook, Jackson, Pinhey, Wild, Maar, Stubbing, John Young and Tom Whaley. We corresponded with scientists like Poynton (frogs), Lamorel and Lawrence (spiders), outside the country. The areas to be visited were researched and physical training took place on day-long selection trips. Competition for a place on the expeditions was keen.

After each expedition we had a report back meeting in the Beit Hall. These meetings were usually attended by the Governor and later by the President, Prime Minister, Head of Army (Anderson, Hickman), and Head of Police (Col. Hickman).

Sir Humphrey Gibbs (Governor) wrote after one such report back meeting:

> My wife and I attended a report and film of the ZEDA Expedition. We have seldom enjoyed an evening more for apart from hearing a story full of interest and adventure, it was also one of courage, self-reliance and determination. The boys who carried out this expedition have my unbounded admiration and they are a credit, not only to their schools but to their country.

FIRST EXPEDITION

The first expedition which I ran under the auspices of the RSES was in 1956. We visited **the Chimanimani area** where we camped under Dragon's Tooth.

Members: John Osborne, Bill Evans, R. Hunt, Mr Alex Siemers, Roy Miller, Mr Keith Coates Palgrave, Charlie Morris, P. Hinde, N. Hart, Robert Baillie.

OTHER MAJOR EXPEDITIONS

Kilimanjaro 27 December 1959 – 20 January 1960
Members: John Gilfillan, Errol Levings, Mr Wally Menage, Roy Miller, Guy Molam, Pat Phear, Ian Shepherd, Mr Alex Siemers, Dave Walker.

This was a real adventure and required strenuous training beforehand. We travelled up in two cars, mine and that of Mr Menage. The first twelve miles to Bismark Hut at the base of the mountain was a pleasant walk through forest but the next twelve miles to Peter's Hut through thin scrub was rockier and hot. We now had to cross the saddle between Kibo and Mzwenzi peaks. We were at a height of 14000 ft, there was no vegetation and it was cold, with a steady drizzle which later turned to hail and snow. The last part of the climb was over scree and we had to climb at night when the scree was frozen to prevent sliding down. We set out at midnight of the third day and just at break of dawn, all of us reached the recognized top, Gilman's Point. It was quite an achievement for every expedition member to reach the top. We were at a height of 19340 ft and all suffered from lack of oxygen which meant that every movement required extreme effort but the scenery was truly magnificent. Five of our members were fit enough to walk on to Kaiser Wilhelm Spitz which is the highest point on the crater rim. On our return to Bismark Hut we were each presented, by the porters, with a garland of everlasting flowers, a tribute given to everyone who had reached the top of the mountain.

Kilimanjaro – Back Row: Phear, Siemers, Menage, Levings, Millar
Front Row: Walker, Gilfillan, Molam, Shepherd

Kilimanjaro – alpine stocks and hats with garlands of dried flowers

Zam-tiki Expedition 27 August – 11 September 1960
Down the Zambezi by raft from Chirundu to Feira – (approx. 150 miles).
Members: Glen De la Mare, Robert Henny, Brian Kisch, Clive Lilford, John Osterberg, Bill Purvis, Mr Alex Siemers, Mr Newby Tatham.

The raft was built by the boys themselves from ten 44-gallon drums. It had a carrying capacity of 4 500 lb and its own weight was 1 000 lb. Weight of the crew was 8 × 145 = 1 160 lb leaving 2 500 lb carrying for kit, food, etc. The raft carried a crew of 8 and took 7 hours to assemble.

Zam-tiki group: L–R: Lilford, Purves, de la Mare, Siemers, Osterberg, Tatham, Henney, Kisch

Building the raft for the Zam-tiki Expedition

We started travelling in the mornings and stopped at 12 noon because of the strong wind that got up at that time each day. We resumed again at 3pm by which time the wind had died down and travelled until an hour before sunset. We camped on islands where we were quite comfortable with lots of water and firewood and relatively safe from the larger predators!

We spent one night at Mana Pools where Mr Keith Coates-Palgrave was camping with a group of boys on a filming trip. We stopped at the mouth of the Chewore to walk to Chimombe's residence on the escarpment.[1].

Baka Chimombe

For in excess of 2 centuries, the Baka Chimombe (the Chimombe people) lived in the Zambezi valley in the Lomagundi district. Chimombe is God (Mudzimu) and chief in one. His guardian is the Chimombe Clan. Of the original group, many have moved to Portuguese East Africa. Chimombe is revered by many tribes, some quite distant from his main site of living on the Chewore River. Among those who still send representatives each year to pay tribute to Chimombe are Chiefs Chisunga, Sipolilo, Dandaru, Mburuma, Kanyemba and chiefs from the Luanga Valley. Living in the area is the Makorekore tribe. Many of the members have a genetic disorder where the foot is split in two giving rise to their being known as the two-toed tribe.

Our own visit to Chimombe was quite dramatic. It was extremely hot and there was little water available. Our guide travelled too fast and Mr Tatham collapsed and some members had painful blisters. The party split up. Some members stayed with those who could not carry on while the others went on in search of water but the going was very tough. After walking four hours in the midday heat, the most frightening part of the whole journey, a water hole was reached. The guides took water back to those who had stayed behind and they caught up with the rest of the party that night. However, all but two members did get to see Chimombe and members of the two-toed tribe. This is how they described the god:.

[1] Story of Chimombe * (Ref NADA No 14 (1936-37) & No 34 (1957)

Chimombe

> Beside the hut was the great god Chimombe. It was a twisted metal figure shaped rather like a preying mantis standing about 3' 6" above the ground on a straw mat surrounded by hippo and elephant tusks. Our gift of black cloth and coarse salt was placed beside Chimombe on the mat. The chief Priestess, (Chindu's wife) then asked Chimombe to guide us safely back to the Zambezi. We did arrive safely back at the raft five days after leaving it.

We passed through the fifty yard wide Mpata Gorge and our raft trip ended opposite Feira in Northern Rhodesia. The raft was dismantled and we travelled back to Harare in Mr Lilford's truck.

Kon-bezi Expedition 24 August – 17 September 1961

By raft down the Zambezi from Chirundu to Chicoa (320 miles).

Members: Julian Edney, Robert Henney, Chris Kirk, Ken Levings, Clive Lilford, Mr Rex McCulloch, Chris Molam, Donald Northcroft, Wally Richards, Mr Alex Siemers.

We built a bigger and better raft with eighteen 44-gallon drums. We had a deck space 24' × 10' and a crew of 10. Our carrying capacity was 3 tons. Weight of the raft was 1 500 lb and crew weight 1 500 lb. The raft was later used by Operation Noah on Lake Kariba to rescue animals as the dam filled. We had a fridge under middle floor boards which consisted of half a 44-gallon drum which was sealed and under water and so kept cool. A lookout kept watch for sandbanks from a high metal chair in the middle of the raft.

This raft could also be dismantled and carried if necessary.

We travelled about 18 miles a day for about 5 hours each day. On all our expeditions we were in radio contact with the police every morning at 7 am.

We reached Mana Pools two days after leaving Chirundu and here we collected birds, insects, reptiles, rock specimens, plants and freshwater creatures. Several inland excursions were made, one of them to the hot springs at Kapwa. Our next stop was in the very

Kon-Bezi at Chirundu Bridge

steep Mpata Gorge. Early the next morning we woke to find that our raft has disappeared. Unbeknown to us, the Kariba flood gates had been opened during the night resulting in the river rising and carrying our raft away. A party of seven started walking downstream to look for the raft but four had to turn back after a couple of miles as they had neither shoes nor hats. Luckily the raft was found about 14 miles from camp, drifting round in circles in

Kon-Bezi Back Row: Ednay, Northcroft, Levings, Siemers, McCulloch, Richards
Front Row: Kirk, Lilford, Molam

Radio – Kirk and Siemers

a backwash. Nothing was missing or damaged and the night fishing line that had been put out was still intact! We managed to pull the raft upstream to within 4 miles of camp and then carried our kit from the camp to the raft.

After Feira the river was wide and slow moving but the last 140 miles were very difficult to navigate as the river split into several channels. We arrived near Chicoa and then decided to take the raft two miles further on to a place where the road came down to the river. The river on these last two miles was either very shallow or had fast flowing rapids but we made it and the raft was dismantled and loaded onto the waiting lorries. We then travelled the three hundred miles back to Salisbury having enjoyed one of the most wonderful experiences we had ever had.

ZEDA Expedition 22 August – 12 September 1963
(Zambezi Exploration and Discovery)

By canoe down the Zambezi from Chirundu to Tete (about 375 miles).

Members: Mr Keith Coates-Palgrave, Kerr Cruikshanks, Arthur Hammond, Mick Lamb, Danie Malan, Bruce McChlery, George Medcalf, Mr Wally Menage, Frans Nitzsche, Wally Richards, Mr Alex Siemers, Rod Stephens.

We had 4 × 18 ft Canadian canoes manufactured in Gwelo, joined together in pairs catamaran style, with aluminium piping and with a 5-ply wooden platform between them for carrying kit and food.

This was our most ambitious trip down the Zambezi. Our original objective was to go into Cabora-Bassa Gorge by canoe. However, research showed that this would be very dangerous. Livingstone had made two unsuccessful attempts to go by boat upstream through the Gorge in 1858. He tried, equally unsuccessfully, to walk through the Gorge. In his journal, he says of the area near ‘the rock’:

> No elephant had ever gone near it, nor hippo, nor even alligator could reach it, and a man might perish of thirst in sight of the water but be unable to approach it.

The sides of the Gorge are high and steep and the rocks too hot to touch and the going extremely difficult. In 1903, de Lassoe, a French explorer managed, with great difficulty, to get through the Gorge, going downstream, but his steel boat had to be abandoned and his smaller, thick wooden boat carried round many falls and rapids. He says of the Gorge with its 13 cataracts and 64 rapids:

> How difficult my project was, I did not realise or I might not have persevered in it. Several attempts had been made at descending the rapids but none had been successful. No boat could live through them and it was impossible to travel along the banks of the river. Nothing but enormous mountains on every side. The attempt was not only dangerous but insane.

It was very difficult to get accurate information from anyone who reportedly knew the Gorge. A party of four Rhodesians attempted to canoe through the Gorge in July 1963 and one of them was drowned while attempting to retrieve a canoe that had drifted away.

Our trip could be divided into three phases: Chirundu to Feira (130 miles), Feira to Chicoa (180 miles), walk and lifts from Chicoa to Tete (65 miles).

An hour after setting out from Chirundu, a hippo broke the end off one of our canoes. We were lucky enough to be able to get a replacement canoe from Mr Mawdsley at the Sugar Estates and the broken canoe was patched up (with the help of Mr Menage's shaving brush!). We lost all our cutlery but other items, including film, were in sealed compartments and undamaged.

After three days we reached Mana Pools and passed Chikwenya Island. Here the density of game increased and, apart from the hippo and crocodiles we had seen up to now, there were elephant and antelope to be seen and an abundance of bird life. We travelled through Mpata Gorge where the river was narrow and the strong wind made progress slow and dangerous. After a few days we reached Feira, a historic Portuguese settlement.

The journey from Feira to Chicoa took thirteen days. Our camera had been damaged by strong winds and sand and we asked for an emergency repair kit to be delivered to Mrs Waddell's camp on the river. On reaching the camp, we received a very warm welcome and while we were there the repair kit arrived. Further on, at Carinde, we were met by the local Portuguese geologist who said he had strict instructions from the Portuguese Governor of the area not to allow us to proceed any further as the river was extremely dangerous. We contacted the Governor on the geologist's field phone and after we pointed out that we had permission from his superior to proceed he gave us his blessing! On arrival at Chicoa, an army barge stopped us and told us it was too dangerous to camp on the sandbanks because of crocodiles. We were eventually allowed to camp there but were warned not to proceed by canoe the next day.

We accompanied the canoes which were taken by truck to Baroma Mission and started our walk into the Gorge. The walk was extremely strenuous and water was in short supply. We tried to reach our first water point but at 10 pm gave up and slept where we dropped. The next day, in spite of being warned of the dangers we set out for 'the rock' – a large outcrop in the middle of the river where the river makes a right-angled bend. Livingstone's words came to mind! After five hours climbing we reached the rock but the climb back was

Sir Humphrey Gibbs (signing the log book), Mr Gaylard and Lady Gibbs

even more hazardous having to be made in the dark. In all, we spent 5 days in the Gorge. Later some of our party were lucky enough to be taken in a helicopter through the Gorge and this provided spectacular views. We were provided with transport to take us back to the road and there we were fortunate to get a lift to Baroma Mission, 17 miles from Tete, returning to Salisbury the next day.

Chironi Expeditions 1965 – 1969

Members: Bruce Addison, Richard Airey, John Akhurst, Miles Anderson, Peter Arnold, Hugh Bisset, Alec Black, Dugald Black, Richard Bowes, Mike Buttress, Jeremy Callow, Philip Cameron, Mr Keith Coates-Palgrave, Rob Dawson, Mr Pieter De Bruijn, Brien De Weronin, Roy Dobbins, Neil Douglas, Mr Doug Eccles, Ed Facculyn Gous, Garrick Fletcher, Richard Frost, Fynn, Mick Graham, Colin Green, John Green, Peter Hawker, Tim Henwood, Simon Holland, Jackson, King, Ian Mackay, Ant Manning, Allan Marchant, Dudley Mare, Bob McChlery, Paddy Mellon, Mr Glynn Morgan, Lee Napier, Dennis O'Donnell, Rees, Derek Scheckle, Mr Alex Siemers, Irwin Smith, Paul Smith, Snyders, Mr Newby Tatham, Alistair Watermeyer, Peter Whaley, Whitfield, Wild, Jumbo Williams.

Mr Manning, the father of one of the boys, flew me over the area to assess where the best camping places would be. Mr Pieter de Bruijn, ex-Head of Churchill and Regional Director in Harare also went on many selection trips and led an expedition to the Corner in Chimanimani and to Makurupini. Mr de Bruijn grew up in Chipinge/Melsetter and knew the area well.

The emphasis of the expeditions changed from adventure to scientific collecting, although

there was still plenty of adventure! Members of these expeditions recorded the fauna and flora of the Chimanimanis and their records were submitted to support the claim for the Chimanimani National Park to become a Wildlife Heritage Site.

Some of the new scientific discoveries were:

Birds: Bokmakierie, Delegorgue's Pigeon, Wailing Cistocola, Lesser Honey Guide
Legless Lizard (Chamaesaura macrolepis).
Many new specimens of beetles, butterflies, spiders and frogs .

Sabi/Lundi confluence 1971

This expedition was led by the following adults: Mr Pieter de Bruijn, Mr Doug Eccles, Mr Alex Siemers, Mr Ray Suttle (Head of Prince Edward School (PE) in 1971). One of the schoolboys on the expedition was Kevin Atkinson (currently Head of PE).

This was the last RSES expedition with which I was involved. We were looking for evidence of Arab visits and had heard that the dhows had come up the river and that the rings for tying them up were still to be found.

We consulted Allan Wright who had been the District Commissioner in the area and was now Deputy Secretary of Internal Affairs. He had heard stories of the rings but had not personally seen them. John Osborne, a previous expedition member was game ranger in the area and was very helpful.

Sure enough, one day the ribs of a boat were found buried in the mud and there was great excitement. An elderly African man who was passing was asked if he knew about the boat. 'Oh, yes,' he replied, 'Mr Blake who was in the area recruiting labour for the Witwatersrand used it and when he left in 1931 he sank the boat'!!!

WHAT MEMBERS AND EXPERTS SAID ABOUT EXPEDITIONS

Boys

1. Alec Black Doctor at Adelaide in the Cape.
   I don't think you can imagine how many lives you influenced and enriched with your involvement in the Schools' Exploration Society.
2. Dave Rushworth ex-National Parks.
   I still have wonderful memories of those early trips and I still keep in touch with Darrel Plowes.
3. Wally Richards (Australia).
   I had cause to show the Deputy Headmaster here the ZEDA booklet and blew the socks off him with the magnitude and challenge of those expeditions.
4. Peter Arnold (USA).
   The trips would not have been the same without those men of deep understanding and wisdom. The boys themselves were always on very friendly terms with the adults. Gone was the classroom atmosphere – but at the same time an immense respect existed for those men, a respect not casually earned.

Experts

1. Ray Smithers (Director of Museums).
   These expeditions have been prolific in their production of new knowledge including

recording, for the first time Delegorgue's pigeon, the Eastern Lesser Honeyguide and the Bokmakierie.

2. John Slaven Secretary for Education.
   These expeditions are concerned, not with boys usually known as pupils, but with young scientists.
3. Frank Elias Nhuka Farm, Melsetter made an application to have the Chimanimani National Park declared a World Heritage Site. He used the reports of the RSES to support this claim stating that their work was wide-ranging, comprehensive and meticulous and of the highest order.
4. Stuart Irwin Keeper of Ornithology.
   Congratulations on having brought together such a worthwhile collection from the Chimanimani Mountains.
5. Harry Simons Chairman for many years of RSES.
   How many boys can say they have discovered something entirely new – perhaps a bird, or snake, or a new hot spring, or a plant, or a butterfly? Not many. But if they have, they were probably members of RSES.

TEACHERS' WORLD

In 1966 the Teachers' World gave notice of an Award Scheme for Expeditions and Field Studies. We decided to enter our Cheroni (1965/1966) Report which gave details of our work in the Chimanimani. The six British judges were very prominent and senior educationists in Britain.

In September 1966 we received a letter signed by all the judges saying, among other things . . .

> We were all very impressed indeed with the scope of the expeditions and the quality of the field study work which was done. The Cheroni Expedition is probably as far beyond the intentions or aspirations of most British secondary schools as a trip to the moon.

We appreciated their concern that, to consider our work at that stage, could discourage British schools from entering the competition.

In conclusion, they assured us they appreciated our submitting the account and they hoped we would continue to keep them informed of expedition activity in this country.

History Society of Zimbabwe National Chairman's Report 4 March 2010

Ladies and Gentlemen may I welcome you to the 57th Annual General Meeting of the History Society of Zimbabwe.

This past year has, at least on the national economic front, been a more settled one with the adoption of the United States dollar and other foreign currencies as the means of conducting financial transactions. It hasn't been easy but at least it is possible to budget and for societies such as ours once again to produce a meaningful set of accounts. I hope from a historical perspective someone is going to write up and publish the economic history of the last ten years.

The more stable environment enabled the Society to resume the tradition of holding an Annual Dinner. Eighty-seven members and guests gathered at Meikles Hotel on Friday 16 October 2009 for what, I felt, was a most enjoyable evening. Our Guest Speaker was Mr. Mike Kimberley who first joined the society as a student in 1955 and who has served us so well in various capacities for many years. He spoke about the founders of our Society who were all personally well known to him. The address will be published in *Heritage* so that the contributions made by these ladies and gentlemen will be on record.

Heritage 27 was published at the end of 2009 and once again it has turned out to be a vintage edition thanks to the efforts of the Honorary Editor Mike Kimberley and the authors of the wide variety of papers published. I would like to record the sincere appreciation of us all to Roger and Cheryll Stringer of TextPertise who at no cost to the Society format *Heritage*. This is a time consuming process. *Heritage 26* has now sold out and this shows how popular our Journal has become.

Fraser Edkins has done a magnificent job in selling back numbers of *Heritage* and *Rhodesiana*. The funds he raised from these sales made a significant contribution towards the cost of funding *Heritage 27*. We have withdrawn the stocks of our publications, which were stored at National Archives, and these are now held in Fraser's residence. Some back numbers exist in large quantities and I believe this is an issue that should be dealt with by the incoming committee, as it is unreasonable to clutter up a member's home in this manner. Thank you Fraser for your great contribution.

I am pleased to be able to report that we now have an active group of historians in Bulawayo led by Paul Hubbard and Rob Burrett. They meet on a regular basis and attendances have on occasion been as many as seventy. This is a very welcome development.

The Mashonaland Branch under the Chairmanship of Bill Sykes has continued to be active and to foster an interest in historical matters. The highlight of the year's activities was the Sunday in July devoted to talks and films on Kariba. Congratulations to Bill and his small sub-committee who planned this event. I was away at the time and on my return heard many favourable comments all of which reflected well on the Society.

Our Treasurer, Dennis Stephens, will be presenting the accounts. It is sad to see that funds accumulated and husbanded over the years have been wiped out. However, under our Treasurer's guidance we will once again build up some reserves.

I would just like to comment on the adoption of the subscription of $1 per annum. All those who administer our Society do it for the interest and pleasure they get out of our activities. No remuneration is involved. Your committee feels that the burden on those willing few should be kept to a minimum and we trust that all who participate in our activities will contribute in the same spirit. We are also mindful that a number of our members are of limited means and should not, because of a high subscription, feel excluded from the Society. *Heritage* will continue to be sold at a price which covers its cost of production plus a small profit for Society funds. My sincere thanks to our Treasurer for not only maintaining the accounts during the year but for his wise guidance and advice.

The Society is represented on the Historic Building Advisory Committee. Regrettably this Committee, which falls under National Museums and Monuments, seems to have ceased to operate. This is unfortunate, as the Committee with the right guidance and drive should have a lot of work to do in making sure our historic buildings and other structures are preserved.

During the year the Committee did discuss the deterioration in the level of service being provided to the public by the National Archives. Fortunately towards the end of the year the situation seemed to have improved but we will continue to monitor what is happening at this important institution.

The email history discussion group hasn't been used to the extent that we had hoped. Andrew Field withdrew from the role of moderator and this has been taken over by Bill Sykes. My sincere thanks to Andrew for all the work he did in setting up this service to members. This facility could be very interesting as it gives members the opportunity of seeking answers to questions of a historical nature and discussing these issues with fellow members. I would appeal to all members to use this facility as a means of stimulating interest as it has the potential to become an important part of our activities.

Jo Stephens has kindly taken and produced the minutes of our National Committee meetings. I have really appreciated this assistance.

I will be standing down as National Chairman at the conclusion of this meeting. All the members of the National Committee have given me tremendous support at all times and I would like to record my sincere appreciation to them all. Finally the support of members for all our activities has been very encouraging and I believe our Society has had another successful year and is in good health going forward into the future. It only remains for me to wish the incoming office bearers good fortune and to say I trust our members will continue to support the Society during what will be an interesting year ahead.

R.D.Taylor
Chairman

Book Reviews

1. CLEOPATRA'S JOURNEY
by Iain Macdonald, published by Trafford Publishing. Price US$20

This is an enjoyable book, written with a profound knowledge and love of Africa and its wild life. The plot is based loosely on actual events, and moves through Zambia's Luangwa Valley, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Botswana. It follows a herd of elephants led, in the latter stages, by Cleopatra as she attempts to find a safe haven for her family.

The author was born in Lusaka, Zambia, and first went to the Luangwa Valley in 1976. There had been a large elephant population, and a cull had taken place in 1975 (where John Hanks gained his doctorate). Iain Macdonald knew the ecologist Mary Gough, who died mysteriously in her camp on the Mupamadzi River. He became a student of elephant behaviour while conducting walking safaris, and while working at Chibembe Lodge. Rhino were the first targets of poachers, but then elephant were naturally the next victims. The effects of this and then an anthrax outbreak were tragic.

The main character is Amanda Stockdale, an ecologist who is collecting data on elephant population in the Luangwa Valley. The herd she sees most often is led by Mary, whose daughter Cleopatra and Amanda seem to develop an uncanny bond. Just before the start of the culling operation, Amanda's concerns for the safety of the herd seem to affect Cleopatra who leads part of the herd on a long journey to escape the dangers she senses – and which destroy Mary and the rest of the group. By the end of the book they travel 900 miles,, through Zambia, Malawi, and Northern Zimbabwe to the Chobe, in Botswana.

Amanda and Cleopatra meet again in Zimbabwe on Amanda's game farm and elephant training project, where their bond is strengthened further, leading to a climax worthy of a Hollywood epic.

This is a thought provoking and appealing book which would make a worthwhile gift to any lover of wild life and the open spaces of Africa.

This book can be ordered by emailing <iainmacd@mango.zw>

Rosemary Kimberley.

If you are about to make a new will,
or to amend your existing will,
please think of the History Society of Zimbabwe.

Letter to the Editor

The Editor
Heritage of Zimbabwe

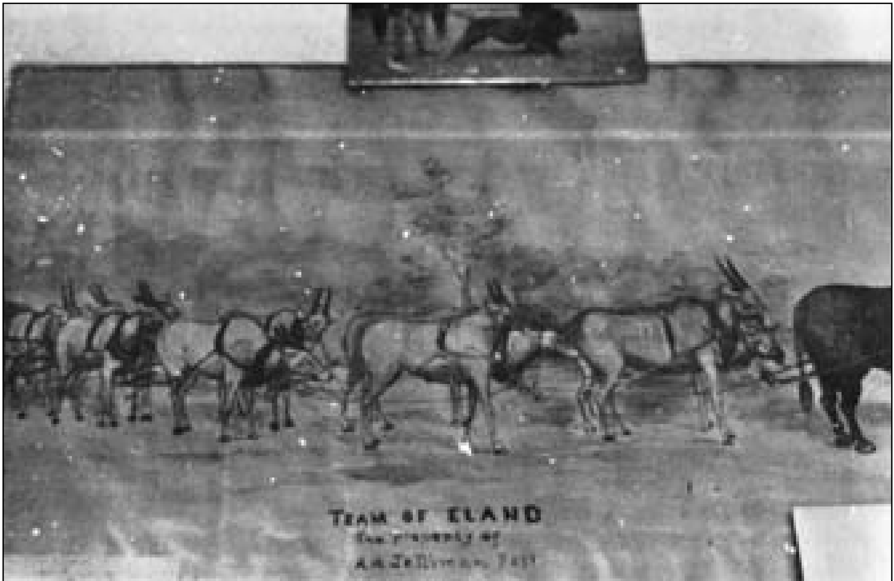
Dear Sir

Further to my article on C. J. Shirley in the last issue of *Heritage* (2008), XXVII, 21–4, a member of our Society has reminded me of something that I would have included had it not slipped my mind.

This is that *Rhodesiana* (July 1971), XX, p. 56, has a picture (now reproduced below) of a watercolour by Shirley depicting the team of eland (led by an ox) that A. R. Jelliman, an early tobacco-grower in Macheke, had tamed and trained. No indication of the ownership or location of this painting was given, but the author of the article (on the farm Jelliman's Rest) was a Miss Margaret Brennand who in fact was married and lived in Marandellas. Perhaps she was a Mrs Jelliman?

I am doubly interested because Jelliman's Rest was the farm that Lewis Hastings M.P. (on whom I gave a talk in late 2008) managed from the late 1920s to 1939 for the Anglo-Rhodesia Tobacco Co. (renamed Rhodesia Tobacco Estates Co. c.1931)—and I have so far failed to find out who was behind that British company and when it bought Jelliman's Rest. I have failed to locate any of the Jelliman family, so any help or advice would be most welcome.

Yours truly
R.S. ROBERTS



Photograph of a water colour painting of Jelliman's team of eland lead by an ox.

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If you are about to make a new will,
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