HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

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HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe

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HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE is the journal of The History Society of Zimbabwe since 1980. It replaces *RHODESIANA* which was from 1953 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

FRASER EDKINS

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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.

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Every single edition of Rhodesiana and Heritage of Zimbabwe (72 in all) will be available online when the Society website goes into operation in 2014.

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Editor's Foreword

This is the 32nd annual edition of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (2013), our special Diamond Jubilee issue, marking 60 years since the Society's founding in 1953.

We aim to publish a wide range of articles, designed to appeal to all tastes, and hope that this has been achieved in Heritage 32. Your comments on the content and layout of the journal are welcomed.

The redoubtable Mike Kimberley is taking an editorial sabbatical for this and the following issue (No. 33), after 50 years as Editor of *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage* journals. Your stand-in editor is grateful for his advice and that of Ray Roberts and Rhona Sargeant in regard to this issue.

In this edition we present articles by experts in their fields (such as Tim Broderick and Peter Fey), and by any number of recognised local historians (including leading men Anthony Chennells and Ray Roberts), a tribute to the late great D. J. Lewis by his daughters, transcripts of talks given to the Society, and a number of most interesting articles by some of our regular "lay" writers, as well as first-time contributors Mary Blair and Peter Dilmitis.

The Society is grateful to its Sponsors, (listed on Page V) and to its members whose wonderful support at our talks and outings assures the continued success of the Society and the ongoing production of our journal.

We are slightly late with this 2013 edition but will catch up when *Heritage* 33 (2014) is printed in the first half of 2014.

As always, we appeal to readers to submit articles for inclusion in future editions (without which the journal cannot appear on a regular basis).

Members can also look forward to the launch of our website in 2014, (details of which will be circulated shortly).

F. A. Edkins
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Imagining Rhodesia: Themes in White Rhodesian Fiction

by Anthony Chennells

Let me begin with some numbers. Before Zimbabwean independence in 1980, nearly three hundred novels were written about Rhodesia, nearly all of which were published in Britain. A few were serialised in local magazines but only from the late 1960s were most Rhodesian novels published locally.[1]

Cynthia Stockley

The majority of these were by people who were living here or had lived here, although Great Zimbabwe and the founding of Rhodesia captured the imagination of both British and South African writers. Several of the novelists wrote best sellers: Cynthia Stockley who lived all over the world but who farmed at Guinea Fowl and had been in Fort Victoria during the invasion of the Khumalo kingdom—her brother in law Harry Greenfield was killed on the Shangani with Wilson—sold millions of copies of her earlier novels. Gertrude Page, whose husband managed Heany's and Borrow's Borrowdale Ranch, also sold in the millions and she used her royalties to buy her own ranch near Mvurwi. Omeath Road between Mutorashanga and Mvurwi is named for the ranch and recalls Page's Irish connections. Doris Lessing, who has won many important literary prizes in American and Europe, successes which culminated in her winning the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2007, grew up on a farm that lay along the track of the old railway to the Ayrshire Mine, which the road from Banket to Mazvikedeyi now follows. More recent best sellers are John Gordon Davis's *Hold My Hand I'm Dying,* which in 1967 was one of the first novels about the Liberation War,[2] and Wilbur Smith's Rhodesian and Zimbabwean novels. Smith was born in Zambia and lived here briefly in the early 1960s. His *The Sunbird* (1972) is the last novel in a tradition of novels inspired by a belief that foreign colonisers built Great Zimbabwe.[3] But Smith also wrote a quartet of novels about the Ballantyne family published shortly before and after Zimbabwean independence.[4] In this, the fictional Ballantynes play the part of many prominent whites in South Central Africa from the 1850s, when the first London Missionary Society agents settled in Matabeleland, to the early years of Zimbabwe's independence. Selous, Moffats both the missionaries and the Prime Minister, Tom Meikle and Charles Coghlan are among those who can be identified as models for Smith's fictional family.

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[1] J. Pichanick, A.J. Chennells and L.B. Rix, *Rhodesian Literature in English: A Bibliography (1890-1974/5)* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1978).

[2] John Gordon Davis (London, Michael Joseph, 1967).

[3] Wilbur Smith, *The Sunbird* [1972] (London, Pan, 1974).

[4] Wilbur Smith, *A Falcon Flies* (London, Heinemann, 1980); *Men of Men* (London, Heinemann, 1981); *The Angels Weep*

Rhodesia was founded out of an extraordinary amalgam of romance and the exigencies of imperial politics financed by imperial capital. Rhodesia must be the only country in the world whose foundation was influenced by a novel, and that is of course Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*.[5] The British South Africa Company with its dubious concessions, authorised by a royal charter and financed from City firms ready to gamble on the existence of a second Rand across the Limpopo, served Whitehall's determination to prevent the South African Republic from expanding further northwards. But *King Solomon's Mines,* published in 1885, hovered in the imagination of everyone who was involved in the Company from Rhodes himself and the Rothschilds, who were the Company's largest financial backers, to the humblest trooper in the column. In 1890, a British journalist wrote of the occupation of Mashonaland that "the Englishman is in the land of Ophir … opening afresh the treasure-house of antiquity, equipped with resources of which the deft Phoenician never dreamed". By occupying Mashonaland, it may be hoped that Englishmen "will stumble into chambers of subterranean wealth such as Mr Haggard has imagined, secured with labyrinths like those of the Pyramids, with sliding stones, and all the appropriate witchcraft of an age when human life and human labour were of no account."[6] In *King Solomon's Mines*, Haggard created the formula used over the next twenty years both by him and the other novelists who were inspired by Great Zimbabwe. In several of his novels the travellers move from the familiar world of England or an identified colony of coast, into a hinterland where even the routines of African travel no longer operate. Here occult powers are regarded by the inhabitants with the indifference born of familiarity; death in battle or by witchcraft is looked upon with casual unconcern. Invariably in a Haggard novel, we are drawn into an enchanted land, a land of romance, a land of dreams. The romance that began to surround Mashonaland in the last decades of the nineteenth century is recalled by Charles Bullock in his 1948 novel *Rina*. Bullock had recently retired as Chief Native Commissioner and saw no reason to believe that the Shona had not built Great Zimbabwe.[7] But in the novel the

Rider Haggard

(London, Heinemann, 1983); *The Leopard Hunts in Darkness* (London, Heinemann, 1984). A discussion of the first three of these novels is in Anthony Chennells, "Just a story: Wilbur Smith's Ballantyne trilogy and the problem of a Rhodesian historical romance", *Social Dynamics* X, i (1984): 38-46.

[5] H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines* (London, ,1885)

[6] E.P. Mathers, *Zambesia: England's El Dorado in Africa* (London, King, Sell and Railton, [1891]), 35.

[7] Charles Bullock, "Bushmen paintings, Zimbabwe and romanticists", *NADA* (1949), XXVI, 50-3.

hero is a young man who has heard legends about the interior from migrant workers travelling to the Witwatersrand mines. "They … gilded their fabrications until they shone in the eyes of an heir to the questing spirit—thrall to the lure of unknown lands … to the unknown lands I must go … to the land of King Solomon's Mines."[8]

This is a movement typical of romance which as a literary form shows an ideal transcendence of the habitual and the mundane and finds in the heroism of the past a justification for heroism in the present. In European literature, romance is opposed to realism and it shows a familiar and recognisable reality that, by shifting into the supernatural or at least the magical, starkly exposes the forces of evil and good that control our lives. One of Haggard's many imitators is Edward Marwick whose *The City of Gold* (1896) shows the Tamîm in their marble city with tapestried halls set amidst terraced gardens who keep the Ndebele at bay with an ingenious ray gun that they have invented and by training pythons and leopards to attack all intruders. Invariably the heroes of imperial romances can command both the latest technology together with the forces of the land itself because empire can control both art and nature. "The brute force of savagery," Vintcent, the novel's hero reflects, "however vehemently flung against the citadel of civilisation must recoil spent and defeated, so long as the intellectual and moral force of that civilisation remains unimpaired by idleness and luxury."[9] From the 1880s, up until the First World War, many Britons were obsessed that Britain was slowly shifting into decadence. Decadence can mean anything but in those thirty years its content included pacifism, an egalitarianism that refuses honour to the god-ordained hero, an obsession with luxury and doubts about the value of the Empire. Tamîm will fall into ruin as Great Zimbabwe has done if the people refuse their destiny to dominate the people around them. "'[T]he steady, unshrinkable, inevitable advance of civilised and controlled forces against the ill-regulated and untameable but not unconquerable forces of savagery,'" Vintcent proclaims, "'is the most impressive spectacle the world affordeth to those that both see and understand" (206). And he explains that "'The civilisation which hath no power to expand and subject inferior races to its sway is doomed to extinction'"(219). In Marwick's novel the founding of Rhodesia is an earnest of Britain's capacity to stem its own decadence and if Rhodesia succeeds it will be an atonement for the failure of the old colony which can be traced in the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. The ruined city also serves to call the new colonisers to greater vigilance in holding savagery at bay. Nearly eighty years after *The City of Gold*, the archeologist hero of Wilbur Smith's *The Sunbird* discovers the ruins of a vast and ancient city in Botswana, escapes an ambush on the Rhodesian border and arrives in Bulawayo. As he looks at the order of the city, he wonders "why anyone should want to destroy this society—and if they succeeded with what they would replace it" and he finds his explanation in Africa itself. "No other continent was so fickle in the succour it gave to men, to raise them up so quickly and pluck them down and devour them so that they were denied even a place in her memory"(231).

Fictional re-imaginings of Great Zimbabwe as settings for novels disappear by about 1910 and only reappeared when black nationalism started to organise itself in

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[8] Charles Bullock, *Rina: A Story of Africa* (Cape Town: Juta [1949]), 24.

[9] Edward Marwick, *The City of Gold: A Tale of Sport, Travel and Adventure in the Heart of the Dark Continent* (London, Tower, 1896), 151.

Gertrude Page

the mid-1950s. One can speculate that the ancient city and its exotic builders ceased to be central to the Rhodesian imagination when the integrity and the future of the state seemed to be assured and Rhodesia did not require a foundational narrative in an ancient colony. When the South African colonies formed the South African Union in 1910, Rhodesia becoming a fifth province at some future date was only one of several political possibilities and it was unnecessary to look to the past to find direction in the present. In 1958, when the possibility of Britain withdrawing from its African colonies anticipated with Ghana's independence, the imagined and ancient colony assumes the significance it had in the early years of the settlement. In Elizabeth Fenton's *Rhodesian Rhapsody*, a Hungarian refugee Ilonka Weyland is learning to become a Rhodesian and an important part of her education is literally to contemplate the collapse of Great Zimbabwe.[10] In a trance, Ilonka sees the walls of the great enclosure coated in alabaster while slaves carry her in a litter hung with cloth of gold. She is part of a society characterised by luxurious ease for the colonisers and marked by a hierarchy of racial privileges. She also learns that Great Zimbabwe was overthrown because the Pharaoh Amin-Ra was a man of compromise. In Egypt, he tried to pacify the Hittite invaders with gifts and they were driven off only after the Pharoah's principal general assassinated him. The parallels with Rhodesia of the late 1950s are obvious. Any concessions to black nationalism or Soviet expansion will lead inevitably to the nation's destruction. A willingness to fight and a refusal to compromise will allow Rhodesia to retain its vibrant life. The discourse that was used to justify and later defend UDI permeates Fenton's novel and it is interesting to see it appearing as early as 1958, before Africa's new nation states and their role in cold war politics had become impossible to ignore.

The place where you have lived your entire life is hard to conceive as a location for romance for romance occupies a place that is spiritually and geographically exotic and the heroes of romance stand tall among ordinary men. And yet romantic conventions are never far away from the way in which early novelists imagine Rhodesia even when they make no reference to Great Zimbabwe. The occupation and settlement of Mashonaland and the invasion of Matabeleland are recalled as episodes in an imperial romance. In Sheila Macdonald's *Curtain Up. Curtain Down* (1934), Rhodesia is for the Pioneer William Faulkner "the vast expanse of blue-horizoned territory into which a handful of youngsters in corduroy breeches and smasher hats had ridden just fifteen years before."[11] When Faulkner's wife joins him in Salisbury, she takes time to realise what the shallow, provisional settlement means to him: "This was *his* country, *his* town, intimately and specially his as a town or country could ever be. His personal toil and courage, his patience and endurance had gone to the making of it." (84) The youthful audacity of the occupation—Rhodes was after all only thirty-seven and Frank Johnson twenty-five—distanced Rhodesia from the conventional respectability of older and more staid worlds. Later arrivals may have accumulated and re-invested the capital for Rhodesia's future prosperity but its foundation was made possible by a combination of the recklessness and creativity of the earliest settlers that gave shape to Rhodes's vision.

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[10] Elizabeth Fenton, *Rhodesian Rhapsody* (London: Robert Hale, 1958).

Conventionally English imperial romances distance their heroes from the English who have refused the possibilities of Empire and remained at home. England's creative energy is not in the Square Mile or the industrial cities of the north but in the Empire. When the women writers take up these themes, Rhodesia becomes a place where everyone is young and contemptuous of conventions. In Gertrude Page's *Love in the Wilderness*, the heroine watching the sun rise from the Beira–Salisbury train sees an offer of hope "in this richness of colouring, this early freshness, this sense of a world that was new, and young and strong indeed". In settling in Rhodesia, she is "stepping out from the Known and the Tried, over the threshold of the Strange and the New".[12] In this new land, she will discover an individuality impossible to find in the conformity of English life. Inevitably tensions arise between the expectations of what the new country will reveal and its present reality. In *Love in the Wilderness*, Salisbury is "barren, desolate, and a little hopeless … red sand, dotted over with small tin-roofed houses". (19) Soon she is complaining that she has been "dropped aside from the press of life…. For it is the press that counts—the onward movement" and all she feels in Rhodesia is "stagnation". (79) But then she falls in love with a married man who uses the logic of the wilderness as a reason to defy sexual conventions: "'I found you in the wilderness,'" he argues. "'Cannot our two wills together face boldly an effete product of a civilisation hideously full of flaws?'" (256), the effete product being both Edwardian Britain and its judgmental sexual morality. If Rhodesia is a new Eden, the new Adam is extravagant in his perfection. In Page's second novel, *The Edge O' Beyond* (1908), the central male character is described as "a fairly representative type of Rhodesian colonist. Clever, handsome, debonair, well read, he demonstrated unintentionally a healthy form of the simple life, absolutely free of asceticism, or any mawkish effeminacy."[13] That this image of Rhodesian men gained currency can be seen in one of Agatha Christie's earliest novels, *The Man in the Brown Suit* (1924). When her heroine is offered the chance of going to Rhodesia she jumps at it. "'Strong silent men, I murmured to myself in ecstasy'".[14] Even Doris Lessing often refers to the physical transformation of English immigrants to

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[11] Sheila Macdonald, *Curtain Up. Curtain Down* (London, Cassell, 1932), 183

[12] Gertrude Page, *Love in the Wilderness: the Story of Another African Farm* (London, Hurst and Blackett [1907]), 2-3.

[13] Gertrude Page, *The Edge o' Beyond* (London, Hurst and Blacket [1908]), 28.

[14] Agatha Christie, *The Man in the Brown* Suit (1924) (London, Pan, 1953), 13.

Rhodesia. Her short novel "*A Home for the Highland Cattle*" has a Mr Black who, if he had remained in England, would have been a "lanky, pallid, genteel clerk". But because of Rhodesia's "sunfilled and energetic week-ends, he gave the impression at first glance of being a burly young Colonial one sees on advertisements for Empire tobacco."[15] That first impression is momentary, however, and goes no deeper than his superior physique: Mr. Black is soon registered more precisely as a bullying racist.

Sometimes the transformation Rhodesia allows its settlers affords new ways of knowing and understanding. Guy Wrenham in Cullen Gouldsbury's *God's Outpost* sees in the vastness of the bush "a kind of latent influence that lies in wait to grip the heart strings of the believer; and the very crudeness of nature seemed to give the lie to pettifogging superstitions".[16] His wife who in England was an ardent Catholic recalls her previous beliefs as "the security of one's faith wrapped round one like a cloak—here one is stripped naked as it were."(220). This movement away from the conformity of beliefs that was accepted in England develops an originality of mind and encourages a social creativity that is possible only in a new country. The distancing from England is noted in Cynthia Stockley's *Virginia of the Rhodesians,* a novel made up of loosely connected episodes. After a day rising outside the town, "the clean veldt wind blew the scent of wild jasmine and mimosa into our faces and down our throats and intoxicated us, so that we forgot all about the coach and our English mail awaiting us, and dawdled our horses along for the pure love of the veldt and the dying day".[17] It is remarkable that in a novel published as early as 1903, England is already half forgotten and it is Rhodesia that captures a freshly experienced passion for place. But what that achievement was to be was a question that the novels pose throughout most of the Rhodesia's short history.

Doris Lessing

As I have suggested, it is difficult to read these novels and not register that from a surprisingly early date Rhodesia's settlers saw themselves as a distinct people. They were creating a new country and affirmed its Britishness only as long as this distinguished them from South Africans and their dubious imperial loyalties. This sense of difference is registered in Gertrude Page's *The Rhodesian* written after the South African Union and therefore it is acutely aware that South Africa's British traditions were being compromised by the alternative histories of the new nation that Afrikaner nationalism provided. Carew the aristocratic hero of the novel remarks that "'I *was* a Devonshire man … I *am* a Rhodesian.'"[18] But that self-definition amounts to little more than a determination to distance himself and Rhodesia from Afrikaners whom Union had newly empowered. A leading South African Afrikaner politician who aspires to include Rhodesia in a united South Africa tells a Rhodesian girl that at the present time Rhodesia lacks any intellectual distinction: "'Brilliance does not thrive on bully beef and existence in a mud hut,'" he observes. "'Neither does "back veldt" obtuseness and narrow-minded bigotry and indiscrete loquacity,'" she retorts. Rhodesia may not have the riches of Johannesburg but "'They've got a few strong men up there who believe in "tomorrow" more than "today" and are not afraid to forgo present honours for future progress'" (251). Rhodesians may be little more than Poor Whites at the moment but progress is the name of the Rhodesian game and faith, hope, and a generous understanding born out of Empire will enable Britons to realise the future that should be Rhodesia's. It is the Afrikaners' unwillingness to subsume their nationalism in the inevitable progress of the British race that throws South Africa's future into gloom and makes Rhodesia's glorious by contrast. Not surprisingly, in 1922 when the Rhodesian electorate was asked to choose between Responsible Government and Union, Page, although a very sick woman, was a vocal supporter of Responsible Government.

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[15] Doris Lessing, "A Home for the Highland Cattle" *Five* (London, Michael Joseph, 1953), 7-62, 38.

[16] Cullen Gouldsbury, *God's Outpost* (London, Eveleigh Nash, 1907), 20.

[17] Cynthia Stockley, *Virginia of the Rhodesians* (London, Hutchison, 1903), 67-8.

Margery Perham

Rhodesian identity was always more complex than a determination to limit Afrikaner influence in its affairs. Refusing to become South Africa's fifth province and opting for Responsible Government signalled that Rhodesia had taken a first step in the march to Dominion status which would ensure independence from Britain. Margery Perham, who was to become the leading academic authority on Imperial and then Commonwealth affairs, visited Rhodesia as a young woman in 1930 and in her journal she registers how Britons transplanted into Rhodesia have already shown signs of becoming part of "a small young nationality".[19] In Salisbury Perham notes how little an upper-class English woman can identify with her Rhodesian cousins: "English as white Rhodesians are in comparison with older and more mixed colonial societies, yet they have already grown away from us."[20] Page knew that the instinct for separation, however strong, was not in itself sufficient to claim independence and Rhodesia had to demonstrate that it had the capacity to go it alone and her later novels show an increasing anxiety for the social and economic development of the country which would allow it confidently to take its place among the other dominions. As early as *The Edge o' Beyond*, amidst all the celebration of men and women living at one with nature, there is criticism of the aristocratic lay-abouts on the farms: Burdett and his friends, a woman complains, are not "'the right kind to give Rhodesia a good start. … you easy-going, happy-go-lucky, don't care a damn gentlemen farmers will only make a sort of playground of her'"(112). By 1919, in *The*

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[18] Gertrude Page, *The Rhodesian* (London, Hurst and Blackett, 1912), 16.

[19] Margery Perham, *African Apprenticeship: An Autobiographical Journey* (London, Faber, 1974), 234.

[20] Perham, 257.

Veldt Trail, this random remark has become a fixed conviction that informs the whole novel and Page's future Rhodesia is ordered by social arts rather than nature: "'there will be charming houses and lovely gardens dotted about these ranches—with tennis lawns, and ball-rooms and parks… big homes and little homes, all friendly together in a free open life without too many conventions … and Rhodesia a progressive enlightened country, with no slums at all, and no unemployed, and no dreary monotonous round for the workers.'"[21] Page died in 1922 and there is no way of knowing whether her utopian visions would have survived the economic collapse at the end of the 1920s. Novels that were written in the late 1920s and 1930s often have considerable difficulty in claiming commitment to a Rhodesia that was locked in the poverty of the Depression.

Cynthia Stockley, whose early novels combine romance with a cynical realism, sees the Rhodesia of 1920s as a place that has killed the earlier romance. In *Tagati* (1932), one of her characters recalls early Salisbury as a camping ground for "'adventure and adventuresses…. Strange, outrageous and heroic deeds.'" But it is now filled with "'People living beyond their incomes to keep up appearances and keep in the swim … There were no giants left!'"[22] Rhodesians have lost their youthful distinction but Stockley is not simply a grumpy old woman whose nostalgia recalls a Rhodesia where everyone was young. In most of her novels the distinction of Rhodesians is that they are willing to chance their arm whatever the odds. In the laager in Fort George—which is a fictional Fort Victoria—the narrator notes the "haggard eyes" of the men and "pathetic disillusioned" look of the women, "that fateful look of the losing gambler". But there is also something inspiriting about these early Rhodesians. "I found it in the *nil desperandum* air that each flaunted like a flag. It was hope. God knows what they hoped for—for each something different perhaps—but that was what woke the jest upon their haggard lips and brightened their disillusioned eyes; that was the secret gift… put into their hearts, the Masonic sign [written] across their brows. Hope! Hope—the heroic form of despair.'"[23] By 1923, in *Ponjola*, this gambling spirit has recovered something of the recklessness of the earlier novels although its men and women are less glamorous. "'Rhodesians are a race apart and it is one of their idiosyncracies … to cling together. … They know they are bad people; they are still convinced that it is better to be a bad Rhodesian than a good anything else'".[24] Rhodesia in this novel has mines with no gold, farms with no stock and the economy is largely controlled by companies whose managers thrive on other peoples' gullibility. The dashing aristocrats of the early novels have also disappeared. There are no mansions and despite the farms being grandly named "estates," a farmhouse in *Tagati* is "a tattered shanty perched on a hill... Its lopsided thatch [giving] it the air of a skew-eyed witch leering under a straw hat ... 'The white ant rampant is the only crest any of us can boast,'" Dick Cardross proclaims (42). Stockley's witty irony becomes a tale of much grimmer disillusionment in Jane England, the pseudonym of Vera Jervis who was farming in Rhodesia in the mid 1920s but wrote many of her novels after the agricultural economy had collapsed. In S*jambok*, a sense of futility pervades the lives of all the settlers trying to make a living from the land. "That was the way in Rhodesia. People went broke and left…. [I] t seemed that [they] had just arrived. Full of enthusiasm, full of hope … or else they were just going broke, hanging on and on until one day they just went!… The hot, indifferent land seemed to ripple in derisive laughter at these people who scratched its surface and thought they were making an effect on it."[25]. Several novelists of the 1920s and 1930s try explicitly to break with the tradition of Rhodesian romances and see how Rhodesians defined themselves amidst the hardship of trying to farm the land without adequate resources. One of these is Harding Forrester who farmed outside Bulawayo and who disparages novels that show a Rhodesia of "'Ticks and dust and whisky bottles, and ladies in riding-habits who say "Goddamit, sir!"'"[26]. Forrester's Rhodesia is a hard land that is made to yield through the idealism and self-sacrifice of its settlers. Looking at whites gathered at the local farmers' club, Bruce Gardiner sees them as both slightly absurd and admirable. "Funny, ill-fitting—heroic little band! Rhodesians; mad and lovable; and somehow, fine" (199). Stockley offers a variation on this. In *Tagati* she remarks that Rhodesia lays a spell on the newcomer and by the time "the first blind enchantment wears off, its place has been taken by an equally blind enchantment with things as they are mingled with a fatalistic conviction that it's no use trying to change them anyway. At that stage the stranger is no longer on the way to becoming a Rhodesian: he (or she) is it" (68). But for many of the novels it is hardship itself that forces settlers into a creativity that would not have been possible if they had never come to Rhodesia. A character in Jane England's *The Years of the Locust* compares a house in England which, though you may live in "'You don't seem necessary to,'" to a farm house in Rhodesia which "'I should feel ... belongs to me, that I've created something'".[27] Another of Jane England's characters claims that the farms are the site where a new nation is being formed. Daniel Stevenage says of Rhodesia, "'[W]e'll get people here... who've founded families, and made farms, made a new order, a kind of ... new aristocracy. There is everything here—land, potential, wealth, a wide sweep of time'".[28] It is a singularly misjudged prophesy: subsequent events have shown that those who were going onto the land between the world wars had everything except the "wide sweep of time" that seemed unquestionable in 1934. But if this sort of optimism was possible even in the 1930s, for settlers taking up land after the Second World War the possibilities that the country offered were boundless. In 1951, Mary Catherine Borer wrote a historical novel which is long on sentiment and short on history. The wagons of settlers trekking northwards run a gauntlet of Ndebele attacks between Tuli and Fort Victoria and her trekkers form laagers with the same panache and frequency as did their South African forebears. But despite the dangers of the trek the novel ends with an affirmation of a future that contemporary Rhodesia of the early 1950s must have seemed to have realised. "Together, the men, women and children inspanned the oxen for the last time and as the sun sank in a glory of crimson and gold, they made their way gaily down the mountainside to begin the new life for which they had suffered so much: in the place where one day, houses and shops, churches and schools would be built; in the future birthplace of their children and grandchildren."[29] Published in the same year as Borer's novel is Daphne Fielding's *The Noxious Weed* which partly traces the development of a boy who immigrates with his ineffectual parents and starts to run their farm. Slowly he begins to know himself as a Rhodesian: "The space of Africa gave him a feeling of power and freedom which was sometimes almost frightening... there was no achievement out of his reach."[30]

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[21] Gertrude Page, *The Veldt Trail* (London, Cassell, 1919), 205-6.

[22] Cynthia Stockley, *Tagati: Magic* (London, Constable, 1930), 223.

[23] Cynthia Stockley, *The Claw* (London, Hurst and Blackett, 1911), 89-90.

[24] Cynthia Stockley, *Ponjola* (London, Constable, 1923), 29

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[25] Jane England [Vera Jervis], *Sjambok* (London, Hurst and Blackett [1929]), 110.

[26] Harding Forrester, *Sowers on the Dust: a Comedy of Rhodesia and the South Atlantic* (London, John Long, 1927), 21.

[27] Jane England, *The Years of the Locust* (London, Hurst and Blackett [1932]), 113.

[28] Jane England, *No Endings* (London, Hurst and Blackett [1934]), 157.

Bertram Mitford

What has been left out in these novels (or at least in my account of them) are any reference to blacks and indeed the novels sometimes write Rhodesia as an empty space on which whites can impose any form that they choose. Just how far the lives of blacks are unimagined is illustrated in that quote from *The Veldt Trail* of a Rhodesia with no urban slums or "monotonous round for the workers". The year after Page's novel was published, the Southern Rhodesian Missionary Conference drew attention to the appalling conditions in the locations in Bulawayo and Salisbury: overcrowding, dirt and crime and one well for seven hundred people.[31] The slums were already part of Rhodesia's urban world but blacks had no place in Page's utopia. Blacks appear of course in the Great Zimbabwe novels almost invariably attacking the ancient colonies or living in incomprehension amidst their ruins. Many novels feature the Ndebele who undergo remarkable shifts in reputation depending on whether they are resisting or collaborating in settler expansion. After 1896, they are quickly transformed from being enemies of the whites into being their natural allies. In several later novels white men and men with Ndebele names regard each other with mutual respect seeing in one another a manliness that transcends race. Daniel Carney's *The Whispering Death* and Davis's *Hold My Hand I'm Dying* have as central characters white men and their Ndebele companions, strong men who can look beyond race and who regard the Shona with contempt, and perhaps these are offered as one possible model of non-racialism.[32] The novelist who wrote most extensively about the Ndebele during the first decades of Rhodesia is Bertram Mitford who in a quartet of novels celebrated Mzilikazi's northward march as a great African epic. A failure to recognise the epic dimensions of the creation of the Ndebele nation Mitford blames on "the boundless stupidity of certain Britons of the denser sort, who in official or private capacity could move among [the Ndebele] for a greater or lesser period of time, and yet bring away no more of an impression of a lot of 'blacks' who wore precious little clothing and were not eager to learn the arts of 'civilisation'".[33] Mitford in his later novels follows conventional wisdom in arguing that the Ndebele were provoked into rising in 1896 by the Company's loot policy and the arrogance of the native police. But he pushes this insight into what at the time was a radical disagreement with official thinking. In *The Legacy of the Granite Hills,* Mitford observes of the chiefs plotting the rising, "treason, the conquering race would have called it, the conquered patriotism".[34] This insight allows him to recognise that the "M'limo" is not simply a force for savage evil as the novels sometimes represent him (or it) but is for many Ndebele a deliverer to a "disintegrated and conquered nation" (165). More prophetically, the chiefs in this novel are looking at ways to buy Maxim machine-guns so that they can wage a modern war. The novel may be set in the past but Mitford implies that the settlers will stand little chance against the Ndebele if they are properly armed. Those Ndebele who understand that the basis for power is in money and modern weapons are very different from the Ndebele who in 1896 believed that their own military traditions, centred on a new King, could command sufficient might to drive the whites from Matabeleland.[35] A contemporary of Mitford is Stanley Portal Hyatt who was one of the most articulate critics of the Chartered Company among the novelists and in *The Makers of Mischief* (1911) he depicts Lobengula as a noble and tragic figure who was manipulated by the powerful money interests behind Rudd and his follow concessionaires. The king might have been a "savage" but he proved himself to be "a high-souled gentleman the exact opposite of those who jockeyed him out of his kingdom." The end of the drama of 1893 was that "Cecil Rhodes became a great national hero… Lobengula… the villain of the piece."[36]. An attack like this on Rhodes is almost unique in the novels and grows more out of Hyatt's romantic anti-capitalism than from any particular insight he provides into Rhodes's methods and aspirations. Generally though, the function that the Ndebele perform as white allies serves to place an even greater distance between whites and the vast majority of blacks.

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[29] Mary Cathcart Borer, *Distant Hills: A Tale of Pioneering Days in Africa* (London, Pitman, 1951), 164.

[30] Daphne Fielding, *The Noxious Weed* (London, Heinemann, 1951), 154.

[31] Ian Linden, *The Catholic Church and the Struggle of Zimbabwe* (London, Longman, 1980), 20.

[32] Daniel Carney, *The Whispering Death* (Salisbury, College Press, 1969).

[33] Bertram Mitford, *The White Shield* (London, Chatto and Windus, 1895), 364.

Stanley Portal Hyatt

Once the Risings are distanced by memory, and until the 1930s, blacks are almost absent from the novels, occasionally appearing as incompetent domestic workers or anonymous farm labourers or less usually, as I have suggested, as loyal retainers. Any attempt to deal more humanely with the men and women encountered on farms or in domestic service is dismissed as misplaced sentimentality. In *Curtain Up. Curtain Down*, a woman who has spent her life in England contributing to missionary causes is appalled at the indifference of her son, who is farming in Rhodesia, to the harvest of souls around him. She describes a servant as "'a starved soul drinking thirstily at the gushing fountain of Truth'" and is accused as a result of "'ruining the boys'". (294) The most important exception is Arthur Shearly Cripps who came to Rhodesia in 1903 and until his death in 1953 identified with Shona political disabilities. *The Brooding Earth* (1911) which addresses land-grabs and *Bay-Tree Country* (1913) which is a story of forced labour, remain powerful indictments of British South Africa Company rule and in both novels

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[34] Bertram Mitford, *The Legacy of the Granite Hills* (London, John Long, 1909), 37.

[35] R.S. Roberts's important new research shows the extent to which the Company shared this anxiety: "Alban Njube Lobengula: A chronicle of a royal heir's exile and despair," *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 29 (2010), 1-32.

[36] Stanley Portal Hyatt, *The Makers of Mischief* (London, T.Werner Laurie [1911]), 174-5.

Cripps seeks to offer a further indictment of the church for failing to identify with what he saw as people subject to unjust legislation that allowed labour to be demanded and land seized without restraints of justice.[37] Blacks however start to reappear in the novels of the 1930s taking part in entirely fictional and improbable risings. The years after Responsible Government were those in which it was least likely that blacks would challenge Rhodesian rule and that white Rhodesians lived in perpetual fear of "another rising" exists entirely in the imagination of the novelists. These fictional risings can partly be interpreted as an underlying fear that the depression of the 1930s engendered. The collapse of agricultural and commodity prices had narrowed the economic gap between black and white, confusing the apparently stable hierarchies of race that were central to the Rhodesian imagination. The novels translate this apparent collapse of what appeared so fixed a structure into a dread of conspiracies being hatched in the reserves which only police vigilance and a stern control of labour would contain. An important theme in seeking causes for the risings is the responsibility for the unrest of mission-educated men. The rural people are entirely contented with their lot and discontent has to be fomented by agitators. Here is an example from Jane England's *The Flowering Veld*. "'There are hundreds of natives there [in the reserves] all of them filled with their own peculiar superstitions, their own deep-seated fears … and among them one or two who have been educated…who have the worst of both sides … the half-baked theories of the whites, and the half discarded superstitions of the blacks … I half sympathise with them but that doesn't mean that I'm prepared to let them run riot and massacre … They'd be mopped up in the end, but I want to stop them before they need mopping up.'"[38] As that last sentence suggests, rebellions can always be contained but that is only guaranteed because of the vigilance of the British South Africa Police. Police officers sensitive to the changing moods of the reserves figure in several of Jane England's novels and more predictably are central characters in the novels and short stories of J. Patrick Greene and John Lambourne.[39]

It was only after the Second World War that black labour had become sufficiently organised to create a situation that impinged on white awareness and that showed that black self-awareness had altered since the Risings of 1896: this was the general strike of 1948. For over fifty years the novelists had imagined rural unrest and now they were called upon to depict urban unrest that confronted the Rhodesian state. Two novels have the historic strike as a setting. One is Peter Gibbs's *Stronger than Armies* (1953)[40] and the other is Doris Lessing's *Landlocked*, the fourth book in her "Children of Violence" sequence.[41] That the strike will prove to be the first in a long sequence of confrontations is an idea that Gibbs' white characters have difficulty in registering. When one of the strike leaders comes into the cabinet room to make his clear and simple protest against conditions in the locations, nobody in the cabinet at first notices him. "They had registered his presence only subconsciously ... The native—the whole lot of them—were part of the landscape or the furniture"(15). When the earnestness of the man forces them to listen to what he is saying, Gibbs notes that "characteristically none of them gave any thought to what Muntambo had told them about his people. All that concerned them was whether the natives would take any action".(33) If the spokesman is a presence which is not attended to with the seriousness that he deserves, the signs that the strike provides are similarly ignored. Confrontation is the only response to this black initiative and the novel suggests that the leader of the strike, a doctor, is right to draw from the whole experience the conclusion: "'They will use their guns to frighten us into submission. That is why one day we must have guns too."(126) Nothing in the black experience of the strike gives him any reason to change his mind and, later in the novel, one of his aides remarks: "'There is only one thing the white man understands and that is strength.' At the other end of the city white men were saying, 'The nigger only understands force'". (191) If whites had read the strike correctly they would have recognised that blacks were no longer the rural masses whose illicit aspirations the constant surveillance of the police could check. But as far as Gibbs is concerned that opportunity is squandered and for most whites in the novel the strikers are indistinguishable from the rebellious blacks with which the novelists titillated their readers' imaginations since they first started writing about the historic risings of 1896. In fact the response of Godfrey Huggins, who was Prime Minister, was a great deal more sophisticated than that of Gibbs's fictional Prime Minister. Huggins said in parliament that the strike was the sign "of the emergence of a proletariat and in this country it happens to be black" and this insight resulted in an entire re-imagining of black urban housing that assumed that urban blacks were as stable as part of the cities as were the whites themselves.[42] Gibbs's Prime Minister by contrast is merely puzzled when one of his cabinet says that their government is "totalitarian". "'Oh, I see. You mean with the natives?'" he responds. (111)

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[37] Arthur Shearly Cripps, *The Brooding Earth: A Story of Mashonaland* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1911) and *Bay-Tree Country: A Story of Mashonaland* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1913).

[38] Jane England, *The Flowering Veld* (London, Hurst and Blackett [1940]), 140.

[39] L. Patrick Greene, *The Point of a Thousand Spears* (London, John Hamilton, 1934) and John Lambourne, *Trooper in Charge* (London, Robert Hale, 1939) are typical of the genre of police novels.

[40] Peter Gibbs, ([Johannesburg] Central News Agency, 1953).

[41] Doris Lessing, *Landlocked* , Book Four of Children of Violence (1965)(London, Panther, 1967).

Lessing provides a more sardonic account of the strike than Gibbs and she is aware of the problem whites had trying to insert its immediate reality into a tradition that had created the imagined risings of the 1930s. A radio bulletin announces the strike as though it is an unremarkable incident and the very affability of the announcer's tone is seen as a denial of one way in which the whites know themselves. "This news was received in a silence reverberating with what had not been said. After all, for how many years had these people talked of the kaffirs rising and throwing the whites into the sea; of murders, bloodbaths, throat-slittings, rape and arson. The discrepancy between fantasy and the tone of the announcer was an insult in itself."(247) *Landlocked* does not for a moment question the ability of the authorities to cope with the situation. The biggest fear in those organising appropriately firm responses is not directed to the blacks but to the possible excesses of white vigilantes who, after the initial shock, are delighted to live out their fantasies of resistance. The strike ends in bathos: "Perhaps it was the absurdity of the situation that ended it. There the Africans all were, up and down the colony, locked in because the authorities were frightened about what white people might do."(272)

I have discussed the novels of the Liberation War in another article that reads them as a separate body of writing from the literary tradition that had been established in just over ninety years.[43] Not surprisingly, since they were written after UDI, these novels continue to be informed by white nationalist aspirations and frustration that an acknowledgement of nationalism continued to elude the whites. But the myths that supported that right to nationhood become increasingly untenable as the war escalates and the novels have to adjust to the reality of a situation that increasingly calls into question the very possibility of a white Rhodesian nation.

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[42] Quoted in Richard Gray, *The Two Nations: Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* (London, Oxford University Press, 1960), 293-4.

I shall conclude this article by glancing at a small group of novels that were written between the 1948 strike and UDI. These novels are conscious of the claims whites have made in the past, as the mythology that forms any people does not vanish in a short decade. They are, however, different from the later novels about the war itself as they are not required to register a black nationalism that has resorted to arms to achieve its ends. Instead, they falteringly test the possibilities of an alternative discourse by allowing blacks a voice of their own, even if the content of what that voice says is usually mocked. Ronald Leavis's *Hippodile* is typical in that it is alert to a new political energy among blacks and it does allow blacks to articulate a political subjectivity.[44] When the novel's hero remarks to a school teacher that without the settlers Rhodesian blacks would still be "'sitting under banana trees,'" he gets the cool response that "'It would have been my banana tree on my land'"(23-4). There is resistance to the new ideas among the more traditional people. Age and lack of education insulates an old rural man from the propaganda of Congress, as the nationalist party in the novel is called, and he regards the visions of their spokesmen as "'fairy tales of the wonders to come'". But a man from Congress addressing a younger audience has little difficulty in bringing them to the edge of "the dangerously-easy stepover into the passion and fury of temperaments uneducated in restraint"(105). The novel remains silent on whether a more serious commitment to African education by previous generations would have delivered that restraint and the mission-educated man as a dangerous dissident is a stereotype that appears as early as Gouldsbury's *God's Outpost* in 1907. For Leavis the new generation of blacks that has emerged resists anything to do with the whites and their cultures whether these are expressed in religion or education. The school master asks, "'What has the Church done for me, except to try to reconcile me to injustice and privilege and inequality? It taught me to read'"(142). As with so many of his predecessors in the novels, education has simply unsettled him and made him ripe for communism and the sedition preached by Congress.

William Rayner's *The Reapers* was published a year after *Hippodile* but Rayner, unlike Leavis, does not seem to have lived here and he can regard white Rhodesian society with detachment.[45] He has a character Sears who, because he is born and bred in Rhodesia, is certain that he understands the country and its people. What he does not understand is Rhodesia's African context and "what was happening in Africa: the tumult in the north, the ceaseless agitation, the slow anger of dispossessed generations that had found a voice at last"(19). But Rayner has as his central character a man called Payne who is only too aware of the limitations of Sears' understanding: Sears "could not regard the black man as dangerous because he could not believe in his full humanity"(20). *The Reapers* shows familiar oppositions. A right-wing politician speaks of whites coming into a country "'full of filthy savages,'" of their imported energy and wealth that has built up a civilisation and the absurdity of their being "'asked to relinquish what their hands had wrought to the grandsons of those savages we originally conquered'". But Riemba the nationalist leader answers that he and his men "'are no longer tribal natives: we are an African working class ... You could not do without us'"(123-4). One of Rayner's black politicians rejects passive resistance as a mode of confronting the Rhodesian state. It would achieve nothing, he argues, other than "to be shot, to be beaten with whips and truncheons, to be in jail for years to come'"(231). The logic of that remark allows the same man to argue that terrorism is an ideal political weapon in Africa because "'Africans have been told they were savages for so long that at last they believed it themselves'"(222). Rayner's novel was published (and possibly written) after the violence that followed on the independence of Congo and reading it reminds us how traumatic it was for Rhodesians to see the Belgian refugees fleeing southwards. Reports of the violence directed against whites, especially in Stanleyville, may be a reason for Rayner's failure to sustain a careful balance of points of view throughout the novel. The reasonable appeal for justice by Sileya is reserved for public meetings. When he and Payne get drunk together, Payne asks him how the gap between white and black standards of living can be bridged and Sileya tells him, " 'Bridge eet?... No, we will destroy eet'". The "clown's mask" of the moderate man peels off, revealing beneath "a brooding and malign expression"(138). Buffoon and savage reinforce the stereotypes of seventy years. What Rayner has achieved in this novel is to confirm that the political initiative is no longer the prerogative of the whites.

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[43] Anthony Chennells, "Rhodesian Discourse, Rhodesian Novels and the Zimbabwe Liberation War" in Society in *Zimbabwe's Liberation War* Vol II. Ed. Ngwabe Bhebhe and Terence Ranger (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications; London: James Currey and Portsmouth NH, Heinemann, 1995), 102-29.

[44] Ronald Leavis, *Hippodile* (London, Heinemann, 1960).

[45] William Rayner, *The Reapers* (London, Faber, 1961).

John Gordon Davis

One final novel shows how the new uncertainties of these years were registered in the novels. Clarke Mackinnon's *Leopard Valley* opens portentously with Larry Hastings thinking: "*Rhodesia – the nineteen sixties*. The *munts*. Some called them 'boys'. He called them 'men'. On the farm they were still simple, primitive, almost without education. He trusted them, secretly."[46] It is an opening that acknowledges not that Africa is in a state of transition but that white perceptions of blacks are undergoing a transformation. Unlike Rayner's novel, however, time seems to be on the side of the whites and all that Africa is pleading for is liberalism and flexibility. A new note is sounded in that the rising in the novel is provoked by a farmer who, as Larry remarks, "'thinks with his boot about Africans'"(43) and the response of the farming community is different from how it would have been represented thirty years before. The leading farmer in the district is General Milton-Powell, a name suggesting both imperial and settler excellence. He argues that "'either you use strong-arm stuff, or you woo. I'd be just as ready to use strong-arm stuff, but the time has arrived to woo'"(44). Like other novels written at this period, the liberal initiative is shown to have come too late. Larry's wife is murdered, their faithful servant is suspected and the novel's faltering liberalism lapses into conventional racism. "[D]ark blood throbbing to a different rhythm... Civilisation's long chain held the white man, but their people were free—from justice, from God, from the cry on the lonely hill"(188-9). The missionaries vilified for more than fifty years are implicitly being attacked for not making the cry on the lonely hill sound as poignantly in the black heart as it does in his white master's and even then many farmers in the novel behave with systematic brutality to their workers suggesting that the hold of Christianity's chain on them has become slack indeed.

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[46] Clarke Mackinnon, *Leopard Valley* (London, John Long, 1963), 7.

It is unusual to find a body of literature that is as distanced from the present as are these novels. Their principal interest for me is how they evidence Rhodesians' sense of a discrete identity and how that translated into an aspiring nationalism that was never realised or more precisely was realised only in Zimbabwe. The fatal flaw in Rhodesia's nationalist aspirations was its habit of exclusion which was inevitably based on race and the novels show that this was almost inevitable. The novels show a set of fixed perceptions, myths to use a more technical term, that were incapable of changing sufficiently in order to accommodate the new Africa that developed after the Second World War. The tentative gestures towards the new reality that appear in that last group of novels were clearly inadequate.

When making your Will you may wish to consider a bequest of Africana books and journals (or even a modest cash donation) to the History Society of Zimbabwe.

The Immigrant Population of Southern Rhodesia in the First Decade of Settlement

by R. S. Roberts

There was no real census in Southern Rhodesia until April 1904.[1] Before then various estimates and counts of the White, and occasionally of the non-White, population had been made by the British South Africa Company which obviously wanted to know, both for practical and for publicity purposes, how many people it had attracted to settle. In Bulawayo in March 1895 a special count was made by the authorities because there was a query whether the population justified the number of liquor licences being applied for,[2] and in 1896 one was made for logistical purposes when the town was in laager. In 1897 a count was made in Salisbury, and perhaps in Bulawayo,[3] because new municipal arrangements were imminent and details of population and stands were required for planning purposes. There should have been a real census in 1901 but the Boer War made that difficult and only an informal count was made.

As these counts were made without any legal powers compelling residents to provide the information required, their accuracy is debateable, depending as they did on the co-cooperativeness of the residents[4] and the vigour of officials. Similarly most estimates of population by the Company were partial and published late and in a confusing manner—deliberately perhaps some of the time. Nevertheless the figures do demonstrate the difficulties of state-building on the frontier and the peculiar socio-economic structure of a nascent colonial society.

In mid-1890 there entered Mashonaland approximately 730 European men: 189 in the Pioneer Column, 40 'civilians' (mainly employees of those behind the Charter) and some 500 of the Company's Police (having left D and E Troop at Fort Matlapatla in Bechuanaland until needed in Mashonaland). As would be expected of an enterprise of a British Company with Imperial support and launched from British territory, these men were almost all of British nationality.[5] Equally expected, in an undertaking that was regarded as hazardous, was their young age (under thirty years) and their unmarried status.[6] Accompanying these Europeans as helpers in various capacities, especially in transport, were more than 350 Africans—Ngwato, Sotho, Xhosa, Mfengu (Fingo) and some Zulu;[7] and a few Coloured and Indian cooks and personal servants completed this multi-ethnic mix. Some Police (those of C Troop) and helpers remained in Tuli as a base and others stopped off *en route* to consolidate and garrison the forts at Victoria and Charter; the remainder—the Headquarters Staff and B Troop, a total of about a hundred Police—accompanied the two hundred or so Pioneers and 'civilians' on the final stretch to establish Fort Salisbury in September. Thereupon the Pioneers disbanded and most, with many of the 'civilians', went off prospecting, in a wide arc from Hartley in the west to Lomagundi in the north and to Umtali in the east; and some of the Police were likewise gradually posted out, particularly to the Umtali border region.

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[1] And even then, and for the next 60 years, the majority African population could only be rough-counted, estimated or sampled. The statement by R. Marindo ('Death colonized: Historical adult mortality in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)', *Zambezia* (1999), XXVI, 146–7) that the five-yearly censuses began in 1891 and 1896 is without foundation.

[2] *The Bulawayo Chron[icle]*, 9 Mar. 1895, quoted in B. A. Kosmin, 'On the imperial frontier: The Pioneer community of Salisbury in November 1897', *Rhod[esian] Hist[ory]* (1971), II, 26.

[3] There have been references to such a count in Bulawayo, in September or October 1897, but I have failed to find any record of it; see below, fn. 50.

[4] See the appeal for co-operation in Salisbury, *The Rhod. Her[ald]*, 3 Nov. 1897.

[5] The details of the Pioneers and the Police are to be found in A. S. Hickman, *Men Who Made Rhodesia: A Register of Men Who Served in the British South Africa Company's Police* (Salisbury, The British South Africa Company, 1960); P. Gibbs, T*he History of the British South Africa Police: Volume One: The First Line of Defence 1899–1903* (Salisbury, British South Africa Police, 1972); and R. Cary, *The Pioneer Corps* (Salisbury, Galaxie Press, 1975). Nearly all of the pioneers were residents of South Africa but were born in the United Kingdom and in South Africa in more or less equal numbers, although of course some of the South Africans were Afrikaners (Cary, *The Pioneer Corps*, 119–20). The proportion born in the United Kingdom was perhaps greater for the Police, and less than 10 per cent of their surnames appear to be non-British, and those mostly Afrikaans names (Hickman, *Men Who Made Rhodesia*, 104–16). The one small group (2 per cent of the Pioneers) that might be thought to be alien were the fourteen Jews, but in fact they appear to have been either British or German and well acculturated to South Africa British colonial mores (the influx of East European Jews came with the establishment of

This was the nucleus of a new multi-racial, but European-dominated, immigrant polity,[8] but as the entry of White women was discouraged initially it would be some time before a settled White society could develop (Countess Billie may have come in disguised as a man at the end of 1890 but she did not have a child until 1899[9]).

Transport problems caused by the rainy season of 1890–1 delayed further immigration but Major Leonard, in charge of the Tuli entry point for Mashonaland, was soon to be regaled with extravagant estimates of the growing population on the highveld: in May 1891 he heard that there were some 700 people in Salisbury alone; by July the estimate had risen to 1 000 in Mashonaland as a whole (excluding the police who by then had all taken up duties there and had been expanded to about 650 because of the threat of the unauthorised Adendorff Trek); by August the total population was said to have doubled to 2 000, but this probably included the police.[10] When the first real census was taken in 1904 the officials needed, for purposes of comparison, a baseline and so made a compromise estimate that the total population of Mashonaland, including police, at an unspecified point in 1891 had been 1 500; and this figure published in the report on the census has been quoted as fact ever since, although it seems on the high side.

Marshall Hole who was transferred from Kimberley to Salisbury in August 1891 estimated that barely 150 new entrants had come into Mashonaland by the end of May and that the total White population was less than one thousand (650 Police, 150 newcomers, and those who remained of the original 230 members of the Column and the 'civilians').[11] Thus when Rhodes first came to Salisbury in October 1891 the number of inhabitants there was said to be only about 400,[12] and Marshall Hole described the settlement as so small that 'it would have been easy . . . to pass within a few

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Bulawayo, B. A. Kosmin, *Majuta: A History of the Jewish Community in Zimbabwe* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1980), 6, 7, 10, 25–7; see also below, fn 33, and p. 29.

[6] Cary, *The Pioneer Corps*, 121–2, 119; Hickman, *Men Who Made Rhodesia*, *passim*.

[7] F. W. F. Johnson, *Great Days: The Autobiography of an Empire Builder* (London, Bell, 1940), 129–30.

[8] A. S. Mlambo, *White Immigration into Rhodesia: From Occupation to Federation* (Harare, Univ. of Zimbabwe Publ., 2002) barely touches on the first decade.

[9] R. Cary, *Countess Billie: The Intriguing Story of Fanny Pearson and Edmond, Vicomte de la Panouse* (Salisbury, Galaxie Press, 1973), 16–17, 53. It is not certain that Billie was the first woman to settle in Mashonaland and she certainly was not the only one in 1890; 'Pioneer Mary' Waterson seems to have come in earlier with her husband to prospect in Mazoe, and the wife of Major Graves preceded Billie by a month or so and settled in Fort Victoria, J. M. Lloyd, *Rhodesia's Pioneer Women (1859–1896)* (Bulawayo, The Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society, 2nd ed., 1974), *sub nom.*

[10] A. G. Leonard, *How We Made Rhodesia* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1896), 225, 278, 284.

[11] H. M. Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia* (London, Macmillan, 1926), 276.

[12] D. C. De Waal, *With Rhodes in Mashonaland* (Cape Town, J. C. Juta, 1896), 227.

hundred yards of the place itself without noticing it'.[13] Rhodes could barely hide his disappointment (his only consolation was that the presence of some Jews boded better times);[14] but he himself was diminishing the little vitality the settlement had by insisting on cutting costs and reducing the number of police by 500, most of whom, it appears, then left the country.

It was at about this time that the Company, in order to improve the situation, had abandoned its policy of discouraging women who in fact had begun to trickle in; about a score of women immigrants (over and above the various nurses and missionaries and members of the Moodie Trek) who later claimed to have come in sometime in 1891 are remembered by name and there may have been more who came but soon left.[15] Nevertheless, whatever the detail, it was all a far cry from the impression of great development that Company propagandists gave out; as recently as February 1891, Frank Johnson, for example, had been telling anyone who cared to listen that more than 10 000 immigrants would arrive in the next nine months![16]

Then in November–December 1892 the British South Africa Company published its first report on Mashonaland for the information of shareholders and the public. This covered the twenty-two months to mid-1892, and although glowing descriptions were given of progress the only direct reference to total population was an estimate that there were about 3 000 White men in Mashonaland in March 1892.[17] Some 1 245 mining licences of various types had been issued and this was equated, rather dubiously, with the number of people engaged in prospecting; and some 346 licences to follow the various business callings could, perhaps more accurately, be equated with the number of individuals involved.[18] And for the nine months January to September 1892 somewhat confused figures of entrants from the south (but not the east) were given: 857 men, 184 married women with 146 children, and 80 single women, giving a total of 1 267.

Thus the total population after two years of settlement, whatever its exact number and make-up, was clearly not impressive. Many individuals were so disillusioned that they had left and large groups of the early arrivals were no longer there. Three-quarters of the Police had recently gone, and half of the Africans attached to the Pioneer Column—Khama's Ngwato who had acted as scouts and makers of the road—had gone back to Bechuanaland as soon as the Column had passed the Lundi. The remaining 200 or so Africans were from farther south—Xhosa and Mfengu from the Cape, Sotho from Basutoland, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and a few Zulu—and they were of vital and growing importance in underpinning White endeavours, particularly in transport upon which everything depended. Nevertheless their ethnic-linguistic identities were lost on indifferent Europeans who simply regarded them as racial subordinates working in menial positions. Thus in counts of their numbers they came to be described as

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[13] H. M. Hole, *Old Rhodesian Days* (London, Macmillan, 1928), 22.

[14] G. H. Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890 to 1900* (Salisbury, Pioneer Head, 1965), 74.

[15] Lloyd, *Rhodesia's Pioneer Women (1859–1896), passim*; see below, fn. 22, for the low percentage remembered of known immigrant women.

[16] Leonard, *How We Made Rhodesia*, 180.

[17] [The] B[ritish] S[outh] A[frica] Co[mpany,] *Rep[ort on the] Co[mpany]'s Proc[eedings and the] Cond[ition of the] Territ[ories] within the Sphere of Its Oper[ations], 1889–1892* (London, The Company, 1892), 38; this report, dated 24 November but with little information after 31 Aug. 1892, is not to be confused with the Directors' Annual Reports to the Annual General Meeting.

[18] Ibid., 31–2.

Colonial Natives (in common parlance Colonial Boys). There were also a few Coloureds from the Western Cape who were lumped together with them (although occasionally distinguished as Cape Boys in military reports during the Risings) and in the various counts of population in the 1890s they were included, without any distinction, in the numbers of Colonial Natives. In the published return of the census of 1901, however, they were counted with, and not distinguished from Asiatics.[19]

The Asiatics in Southern Rhodesia were mainly Indians, of course, and it has been seen that a few had come in as servants to members of Pioneer Column and the civilians; and by December 1890, if not before, individual Indians were coming in from South Africa independently. Major Leonard in charge of the Tuli entry point took one on as cook and another set up as a barber there.[20] They, too, like the Colonial Natives were soon playing a significant (though not universally approved) part in the settlement project—namely, by growing most of the vegetables in Salisbury.[21]

The variety of these different population groups show that a complex, if racially stratified society was developing; and the sudden spurt in the number of European women[22] and children entering in 1892 gave hope that a normal community was developing out of a military and mining frontier. Settlement without females and family, particularly for farming, was already seen to be failing. The first trek, by Lourens Van Der Byl, had brought some twenty-five Afrikaner men to make a settlement, Laurencedale, near the future Rusape, in mid-1891; but despite financial help from the Company the scheme within fifteen months was well on its way to its imminent collapse following the death of three and the departure of fifteen of its members.[23] The relative success of the later treks by Boer family groups to Gazaland, with off-shoots to Enkeldoorn, will be seen later when the immigrant population structure is examined.[24]

Then came the occupation of Matabeleland in late 1893 and Bulawayo boomed in a way that Salisbury never had; when E. F. Knight visited in August 1894 he said there were about 3 000 Europeans in Bulawayo and its vicinity;[25] and as speculators and prospectors came and went the population may have reached 4 000 Whites—2 000 in town and 2 000 spread out across the countryside. But, again, there was no Second Rand; and when the Company's second report, covering the period mid-1892 to September 1894, was published in early 1895, the numbers for Bulawayo and Matabeleland were considerably lower than expected, although still high compared with the rest of the country which, if anything, had declined:

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[19] This has misled researchers for a hundred years, and complicates some of the analysis that follows; see below fn. 78.

[20] Leonard, *How We Made Rhodesia,* 157, 277. There may have been a few Indian traders in the country even before the Europeans arrived, if answers in later Censuses on length of residence are trustworthy (see, for example, *Second and Final Rep. of the Director of Census regarding the Census Taken on 3rd May, 1921* (Sess. Pap. A1, 1923), 18, where 51 Asians (5 per cent of the total) claimed to have been resident for more than 30 years). To whatever extent this is true those involved were probably Christian Goans in the north-east, coming from Portuguese territory, and perhaps some Natalian Indians hawkers who had made Mafeking something of an entrepot for the north-western Transvaal, the northern Cape, and Bechuanaland.

[21] Indian gardeners had quickly become so well entrenched on plots south of the Makabusi (Mukuvisi) that objections against their activities had begun as early as November 1891, Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890 to 1900,* 81–2, 133, 135, 159.

[22] Only about ten per cent of these women and however many more arrived in the last quarter of the year (excluding missionary and nursing staff and the Moodie Trek) are remembered by name, Lloyd, *Rhodesia's Pioneer Women (1859–1896), passim*. This is presumably due to the high death rate and the even higher rate of emigration that was such a peculiarity of White Rhodesia right down to 1980.

[23] S. P. Olivier, *Many Treks Made Rhodesia* (Cape Town, Howard B. Timmins, 1957), 26 (with names facing 46); R. Hodder-Williams, *White Farmers in Rhodesia, 1890–1965: A History of the Marandellas District* (London, Macmillan, 1983), 24; and R. H. G. Howman, 'Patriotism and pioneering problems', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (1990), IX, 89–90.

[24] See below, p. 37; see also A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884–1902* (Pietermaritzburg, Univ. of Natal Press, 1983), 373.

[25] *Rhodesia of today* (London, Longmans, Green, 1895), 44.

August–September 1894

Salisbury	350	
Fort Victoria	80	(and, surprisingly, 40 Indians).
Bulawayo	2 020	of whom 120 were females (adults?)[26]

These figures were so low for Mashonaland that doubt was cast on the viability, not only of Fort Victoria, which was now a backwater, but also of Salisbury as the capital (on the Rand within four years of the discovery of gold the population of its new settlement of Johannesburg had passed the 25 000 mark). Nevertheless the rudiments of an established and more dispersed society were coming into place and more precise figures were consequently becoming available—disappointing as they might still be, especially as Bulawayo's initial boom fell away.

So the third general report issued in 1896, covering the period mid-1894 to mid-1895, gave some bare figures, collected at different dates in the first three months of 1895, as follows:[27]

Salisbury Town	493	and	District	42
Mazoe	23		Lomagundi	13
Charter	28	(+72 children)	Hartley	34
			TOTAL	726
Fort Victoria Town	50[28]	and	District	50
			(of whom 23 were on farms along with Afrikaner families totalling 73–100)	
			TOTAL	173–200
Umtali Town and District				225
(but in dry season when more prospectors came in up to 300)				
			TOTAL	225–300
Melsetter-Gazaland				300
(and a similar number of 'floating' prospectors)				
			TOTAL	300–600
Mashonaland		GRAND TOTAL		1 424 –1 826

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[26] B.S.A Co., *Rep. Co's Proc. Cond. Territ. within the Sphere of Its Oper., 1892–1894* (London, The Company, [1895]), 96–7; this report, dated 31 Dec. 1894, was issued in January 1895 and has information up to August–September 1894.

[27] B.S.A.Co., *Rep. Co's Proc. Cond. Territ. within the Sphere of Its Oper., 1894–1895* (London, The Company, [1896?]), 64, 71, 78, 80; this report is not dated but it has some information up to August 1895.

[28] Of whom only 3 or 4 were women according to A. B. Balfour, *Twelve Hundred Miles in a Waggon* (London, Edward Arnold, 1895), 148.

Bulawayo	1 396	Adults		
	141	Children		
			TOTAL	1 537 [29]
Gwelo Township	50			
Farms	250	(i.e. including women and children)		
			TOTAL	300
Tuli	60			
Miners (throughout Matabeleland)			1 800	
Matabeleland			GRAND TOTAL	3 697 [30]

These scanty figures, then, give a total of something over 5 000 European inhabitants by early 1895. Children appear to total 213 but this is probably the least accurate part of the figures. The 72 children in relation to 28 adults in Charter looks high, but this was an Afrikaner area; and if this is a correct figure then the total of 73–100 Dutch in the Fort Victoria area would comprise 50–70 children. For most places no figure is given for children and so we should probably assume that, for townships at least, about 10 per cent of the returned figures were in fact children or that about 10 per cent should be added to the returned figures to account for children not counted.

Of all these figures only those for Bulawayo give us anything like an accurate overall picture of the population, and this was because they came from a special count on 1 March 1895 which recorded much more detail than mere totals given above from the 1894–5 Company report; and these fuller details had already been published in Bulawayo,[31] and as such give us the first clear insight into the demographic structure of an early colonial town on the African frontier.

1895

	Males	Females	Total
Adult	1 247	149	1 396
Children	82	59	141
TOTALS	1 329	208	1 537

This predominance of male adults is what one would expect of a new colonial frontier settlement; and equally to be expected was the fact that these men were young, with an average age of just under 27 years. There were only 363 married out of the 1 396 adults; and if we assume that most of the adult women were married (except for a few young adult daughters and a few prostitutes, barmaids etc.) then nearly 90 per cent of the adult men were either unmarried or had left their wives behind somewhere more congenial than the frontier (1 247 less, say, 127 (out of 149) =1 120 out of 1 247).

A record was made also of declared nationality and religion, and again it was what one would expect of a frontier settlement in a territory essentially under British control; interestingly, however, the Bulawayans from the British Isles did not use the term ‘British’ but described themselves as English, Welsh, Scottish or Irish, and those from the colonies described themselves as Colonials (except Afrikaners who reported themselves as Dutch):

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[29] This was the special count by the Police to determine if the number of liquor licences being applied for was justified; much more detail than mere numbers, however, was recorded, as will be seen later.

[30] An ambiguous note says that some or all of the figures for Matabeleland are underestimates.

[31] *The Bulawayo Chron.*, 8 Mar. 1895.

Nationality		*Religion*#	
English	822	Church of England	974
Welsh	7	Wesleyan	61
Irish	51	Roman Catholic	95
Scottish	137	Presbyterian	93
Colonial	299	Dutch Reformed Church	86
American	33	Other Anglo-Saxon Protestant	13
Nordic*	24	Lutheran	98
German	108		
Russian	23		
Polish	15	Jewish	92
Austrian^	7		
Greek	4	Greek Orthodox	6
Other/omitted	7	None**	19

# The order of the religions has been re-arranged and printed against or near to what appears to be the most relevant national group.

* 11 Swedes, 8 Danes, 5 Norwegians

^ The Austro-Hungarian Empire comprised Germans (mainly Catholic), Hungarians (mainly Catholic), various Slavs (Catholic, Lutheran and Greek Orthodox) and Rumanians (Greek Orthodox)—and many Jews, who in fact were the most likely to emigrate.

** ‘None’ includes seven different descriptions

Thus 66 per cent were British to which figure should be added a further 13 per cent (that is two-thirds of the Colonials, who would in the main be from South Africa and mostly of British descent except for the 86 members of the Dutch Reformed Church who, apart from a few Scots, would be Afrikaners).[32] The numbers of Americans and Scandinavians are perhaps higher than one would expect. That there was a large number of Jews there has long been clear from Kosmin’s work; most of them, apart from a few from Britain, were among the 146 immigrants from Germany and increasingly since 1894 by chain-migration from Russia (Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia (Belarus) and Poland) and Rumania.[33] The small number of Greeks in Bulawayo probably does not mark the beginning of their later chain-migration from the Greek islands that created a sizable Hellenic community in Southern Rhodesia, particularly Mashonaland; rather it was the result of short-range movement of individual Greeks (artisans rather than traders) already based in Cape Town, Kimberley and Johannesburg.[34]

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[32] Kosmin, ‘On the imperial frontier: The Pioneer community of Salisbury in November 1897’, 31, refers to this group but mistakenly adds the 299 Colonials to the 86 members of the Dutch Reformed Church.

[33] See above, fn. 5, and below, p. 29.

[34] There is no doubt of their presence in South Africa, E. A. Mantzaris, ‘The Increasing Assimilation of the Greek New Petty Bourgeoisie in South Africa‘ (Swaziland, 8th Ann. Conf. of the Assoc. for Sociology in Southern Africa, 1977), but elsewhere he argues, but not quite convincingly, for early and large numbers of Greeks in Southern Rhodesia direct from the Greek islands, ‘Greek rural settlement in Southern Rhodesia, 1890–1930’, *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* (1980), VII,

Unfortunately the occupations for the population of Bulawayo are not recorded but they were probably similar to what we know of Salisbury later, as will be seen. Davis's 1896 Directory of Bulawayo has only about 450 alphabetical entries, street by street, but many of them are names of businesses and the individuals listed are often the owners or heads of businesses;[35] no deductions can therefore be made about the overall occupational structure, but one point of note is the smallness of the 'official' element (civil service, Police etc.)—about 50, or 4 per cent of the adult male population— which, as will be seen, was in great contrast to the position in Salisbury.

The next figures of population come just over a year later, again for Bulawayo, when the Rising in Matabeleland in late March 1896 led to the flight of people into Bulawayo; the Mashona then rose and people fled to Salisbury and several other defensible centres. Inevitably there was much confusion and the figures for the towns rise as refugees come in at the beginning and fall as some, particularly women and children, leave the country, while men enrol in the various volunteer formations that take them from place to place and then are reinforced by Imperial troops. Consequently estimates of population vary considerably until late 1897, and are not a reliable indication of any long-term demographic trend; their interest is more in relation to the progress of the Risings and their ultimate suppression.

Confusion was inevitably greatest at the very beginning; Selous who was in and out of Bulawayo first said that there were 1 547 people there, 915 men and (an improbably high) 632 women; then he said that there were 1 000 men there, 800 of whom were fit for service; and finally he estimated that there were and 1 500 men, women and children in the laager (including the hospital and jail?), which figure presumably excludes the 500 or so quickly enrolled in the Afrikander Corps and the columns organised by Gifford and Brand.[36] Officials organised a count on 22 April in order to estimate the food needed; and the figures were as follows (but presumably excluding some or all of the 800 men enrolled in the various military formations):

	Men	Women	Children	Total
In main laager	645	260	346	1 251
In the district	140	31	109	280
In hospital	75	9	84	
In jail	12	8	5	25
Outside laager				
Troops	449	449		
Police	45	45		
Civilians*	100	20		120
Totals	1 466	328	460	2 254 [37]

* Not clear what this refers to exactly; they are described as not sleeping in the laager.

The large increase in the number of children since the March 1895 figures probably

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89–102.

[35] A. Davis, *The Directory of Bulawayo and Handbook to Matabeleland 1895–1896* ([Bulawayo, privately, 1896]), 85–100.

[36] F. C. Selous, *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* . . . (London, Rowland Ward, 1896), 58, 59, 142.

[37] *The Bulawayo Chron.*, 25 Apr. 1896. Kosmin, 'On the imperial frontier: The Pioneer community of Salisbury in November 1897', 26, quotes a total of 2 334 with no breakdown; this seems to be an misprint for the 2 234 mentioned in the newspaper later (see *The Bulawayo Chron.*, 8 Aug. 1896) when it was questioned whether the April figures included the 800–900 men under military command.

indicates that most of the increase in adults was of married couples with young families coming in from farms rather than of miners and prospectors.

Because of the nature of the exercise no attention was paid to nationality, religion, or occupation, but a count was made of non-Europeans there. African servants (including wives, children and 24 job-seekers) totalled 1 707; then there were 168 Africans (essentially Colonial Natives from the Cape and some Zulus) whom Colenbrander had enrolled to fight; and lastly there was an Indian population of 73 (60 men, 8 women and 5 children). Any Coloureds were probably counted among Colenbrander's men.

Another count was made in late July–early August 1896 which showed roughly the same population in Bulawayo, that is a total of 1 623 adult Europeans (1 366 men and 257 women). Skimpy details for Gwelo were also given: 306 male Europeans, including troops, and 49 females.[38]

The Ndebele Rising (that occasioned these partial counts in Bulawayo) and the Shona Rising that followed so pre-occupied the British South Africa Company that the normal Annual General Meetings in London were not held: the fifth such meeting which should have been held in 1896 finally took place only in April of 1898, that is as soon as a general report defending the Company's conduct of affairs during the Risings was ready; and only then was the usual general report on the development of the Company's territories, for 1896–7 made available.[39] But even then the information on population was even skimpier than before because of the problems of that period. For Bulawayo, for example, none of the figures for April to August 1896 given above, that had appeared in The *Bulawayo Chronicle*, were now mentioned; it was simply said that many had left town in mid-1896 and that by September 1897 many had returned, doubling the population in six months, but because of the depression in business many were on relief.[40]

For Salisbury and the rest of Mashonaland, on the other hand, some detailed figures were provided, but were spread across the two separate Company reports (the one on the Risings and the general one for 1896–97) and in such an obscure and inconsistent manner that a complete disaggregation and reconstitution has been necessary; the resultant figures show a very sorry story:[41]

31 Oct. 1896

	Europeans					Colonial
Salisbury	Civilians				Military	Natives
	Men	Women	Children	Total		
Town	275	112	70	457	662	200
District	7	-	-	7	40	

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[38] *The Buluwayo Chron.*, 8 Aug. 1896.

[39] B.S.A.Co., *Rep. Co.'s Proc. Cond. Territ. within the Sphere of Its Oper., 1896–1897* (London, The Company, [1898]), 171 (which report has some information to late November 1897); *Reports on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia, 1896–97* ([London, The Company, 1898]).

[40] B.S.A.Co., *Rep. Co.'s Proc. Cond. Territ. within the Sphere of Its Oper., 1896–1897*, 125, 128. It has often been said that at the end of 1896 there were 6 000 men in the town but only about 100 women (see T. O. Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City 1893–1960* (Harare, Weaver Press, 2010), 23 quoting O. N. Ransford, *Bulawayo: Historic Battleground of Rhodesia* (Cape Town, A. A. Balkema, 1968), 132; but neither of these figures is credible—that for men being far too high and that for women too low.

[41] *Reports on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia, 1896–97,* 122; B.S.A.Co., *Rep. Co.'s Proc. Cond. Territ. within the Sphere of Its Oper., 1896–1897*, 116–17.

282	112	70	464	702

These figures were the net result of considerable movements since the start of the Risings. Earlier in October 180 civilians left Salisbury, presumably southward and out of the country—a widespread reaction both in Salisbury as well as Bulawayo which, understandably, received little official publicity at the time and little attention in the literature since. There are also now available other figures from the National Archives that were compiled somewhat earlier by officials and not published at the time; and these show what a state of flux the White population was in. For example, when the architect, Cope-Christie, had made a blueprint in the early days of the Salisbury laager he had counted 514 men (of whom I estimate 46 to be Natal Volunteers) but 126 women and 127 children.[42] Then at the end of August there were only 327 men, 140 women and 107 children, but there were another 357 men on military duties (in White's Column, Hoste's Column, Beale's Convoy and the garrison.[43]

As for Salisbury so in the rest of Mashonaland there was continuous flux, as can be seen in two different figures for each place, over an eight-week period, in the following Table based on hitherto unpublished archival ones for August 1896 and the same sort of reconstitution of published figures (as done for Salisbury as mentioned above) for 31 October 1896:

August / October 1896

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Umtali	206 / 178	42 / 25	29 / 36	277 / 239
Melsetter	? / 206	? / 74	? / 129	250*/ 409
Enkeldoorn	98 / 17	46 / 48^	88 / 70	232 / 135
Charter	70 / 17	6 / 6	8 / 7	84 / 30
Victoria	126 / 47	124 / 41	? / 100	250* / 188
				1 093 / 1 001

^This figure should perhaps be 54.

*At the end of September the total for Melsetter was 314 and that for Victoria 270 (145 men, 32 women and 93 children).

The overall decline in population over the eight weeks is only about eight per cent but a large increase in the population of Melsetter indicates that people were still fleeing into laager; the decline in Umtali reflects it nearness to a border exit, and those for Enkeldoorn, Charter and Victoria also mark the movement southward to the Limpopo.

The published report also gave a few figures for Salisbury and Melsetter a year later:[44]

1 Nov. 1897 *Salisbury Town*

Europeans and Asians			Africans			
Men	Women	Total	Shona	Portuguese	Other	Total
676	90	766	481	333	470	1 284

In spite of the effective breaking of the Shona Rising several months earlier, these figures for Salisbury Town were a great disappointment, and for that reason were published as briefly as possible in such a way that comparison with those of a year earlier is difficult. In 1896 there had been 662 men in the military, of whom perhaps half were local; how many in 1897 were military is not shown, but perhaps about 75 were. On the other hand about the same number may have been children rather than men and women. Similarly the number of Asians had never been given before, but it would have been about 50, almost all men. As will be seen below exact figures from another source were available to the Company which preferred not to publish them; and the reason was that compared to early 1895 (as seen above, fn. 12) the adult male European population of Salisbury had risen only by about fifty—a mere ten per cent over twenty months or so. For Melsetter it was shown simply that the population there had stabilised at the 400 level reached a year earlier (as in Table above) compared to the settled population of 300 and a floating one of 300 in early 1895; in other words the floating population of prospectors had effectively given up in the Sabi-Gazaland region—another disappointment at the time (and a great mistake in view of the recent developments of diamonds and gold there!)

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[42] J. A. Cope-Christie, 'Looking back over fifty years . . . Address . . . 1944', *Heritage* (1986), VI, 5

[43] National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare, A 1/12/7, 4, 9; all archival code-references cited are to documents in this Archives, and a list and full description of the files cited is to be found at the end of this article.

[44] B.S.A.Co., *Rep. Co.'s Proc. Cond. Territ. within the Sphere of Its Oper., 1896–1897*, 119.

All in all, then, these latest figures for 1897 published in 1898 were disastrous. The total population of over 5 000 for 1895 had obviously declined, but by how much is not clear because of the fragmentary nature of the figures that the Company supplied, particularly as none were made available for Bulawayo and Umtali.[45] It was presumably because this overall picture was so disappointing that the more detailed information that has been alluded to was not published; and to that we now turn because it is of considerable interest to the historian.

In July 1897 the new Municipal Law had been promulgated under which the Sanitary Boards in Salisbury and Bulawayo were now to be elevated to the status of City Councils with much wider powers and responsibilities. So in October there was an exercise to compile new rolls of those who would be eligible to vote in view of their liability to pay various charges for stands.[46] The results which were published locally in early December 1897 showed that there were 2 220 such voters in Bulawayo but a mere 380 in Salisbury; but it is not clear how many were actually resident.[47] Again, as far as the Company was concerned, these figures were nothing 'to write home about' and were in fact something of a blow—which is why the Company did not publish them in the 1898 general report for the shareholders and the public in Britain. Equally it was a blow to the self-esteem of Salisbury itself; this capital of the extensive Company territories was hardly moving forward and had only one-sixth of the numbers of rate-payers of Bulawayo. Indeed, if truth be told, Salisbury was barely recognisable as an actual urban entity; even ten years later, after the coming of the railway and a doubling of the population, it was still to be described as 'the most scattered little townlet in the world', which had been laid out to accommodate 25 000 inhabitants[48]—a target not reached until the end of the Second World War!

Bulawayo suffered the same problem to a lesser extent; for a visitor there at about the same time commented on the burden of maintaining an infrastructure and services in a municipal area three times bigger than its scattered population justified.[49] Admittedly the voter figures for Bulawayo showed a brighter picture—up from 1 247 men in the last real count in early 1895—but still not a great increase over two and a half years. Reality was beginning to dawn. Southern Rhodesia was not like the Rand where Johannesburg alone now had a population of more than 50 000 Whites and as many Blacks; Southern Rhodesia was rather the Newfoundland of Southern Africa, an unproductive frontier area disconnected politically from its larger, prosperous and developing neighbour.

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[45] Umtali, of course, was in a transition from the old site to the new,

[46] *Gov[ernment] Gaz[ette],* 7 July 1897, Gov. Not[ice] 101 of 6 July: Regulations providing for the Constitution of Municipalities; ibid., 27 Oct. 1897, Gov. Not., 191 and 193 of 26 October.

[47] *The Rhod. Her.,* 8 Dec. 1897, quoted in Kosmin, 'On the imperial frontier: The Pioneer community of Salisbury in November 1897', 26.

[48] *The Rhod. Her.,* 21 Mar. 1906 and ibid., 18 Sept. 1895, as quoted in T. Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe: A Social History of Harare before 1925* (Harare, Weaver Press, 2007), 10.

[49] Quoted in Ransford, *Bulawayo: Historic Battleground of Rhodesia,* 132–3.

Also connected to the making of the new municipal voters rolls for Bulawayo and Salisbury in the latter part of 1897 was the idea of collecting even more, detailed information on the population, a census in effect: to learn where exactly and for what different categories of people the various local services would have to be provided. Thus, according to A. A. 'Bunny' Le Roux, a statistician at the Federal Central Statistical Office with an interest in demographic history, a 'census' was held in Bulawayo on 1 September 1897;[50] but no evidence or results of such a count have been found so far. In Salisbury, however, there was such a 'census' on 1 November 1897 which was merely alluded to in passing in the Company's 1898 report when it gave the mere figures of 766 Europeans and Asians and 1 284 Africans (see fn. 28 above)

Unlike the similar count in Bulawayo in March 1895 (when it was booming), the results of this 'census' in Salisbury in November 1897 (when it was struggling) were never published by the Company. Indeed they remained closed for a hundred years because the National Archives treated the returns as if they were a real census,[51] but in 1970 the History Department at the University obtained permission for a research student, B. A. Kosmin, to study the returns with the names of individuals blocked out. His analysis was published in an article in 1971 (that has already been mentioned in footnotes)—too late for Tony Tanser's first volume of the history of Salisbury.

The procedure of the census was that each householder was asked to complete, on the night of 1 November 1897, a 'Census Paper' issued by the Acting Magistrate and delivered by the Police and to be returned by post next morning. This was the nearest to a real census that had been held in Southern Rhodesia and is useful because it recorded people by name, sex, religion, age, marital status, occupation, and place (or country) of birth. Most inhabitants appear to have co-operated and the police checked the returns carefully; and in one case, at least, a follow-up call and a report were made because an unchivalrous twenty-year-old man gave his wife's age as eighty![52]

Detailed breakdowns (by age, sex, occupation and religion) have been presented in Kosmin's article; and all that is required here is a summary of details necessary as a comparison to earlier figures and facts that have been presented above.[53] The starting point is what the Company published in 1898, namely, as above, that there were in Salisbury 766 Europeans and Asians: 676 men and 90 women; but the unpublished 'census' records summarised by Kosmin show that there were in fact 719 Europeans (585 males and 134 females), 3 Coloureds and 49 Asians, that is 771 non-Africans.

In national origin and religion the Europeans of Salisbury were what one would expect, and so is very similar to Bulawayo in 1895. As the Table opposite shows, the

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[50] Lecture given in the Department of Economics, University College of Rhodesia, Apr. 1967.

[51] C/2/1/1.

[52] C/2/1/1, II, 135. There are also many cases where entries were corrected or crossed through for some reason. Note: there seems to have been two sequences of pencilled foliation to these records, which is sometimes confusing.

[53] My reading of the returns differs slightly in detail from Kosmin's findings (and that explains differences between what is said here and in Kosmin's publication). Also the ability to see the surnames now makes it easier to identify family groups (particularly important in respect of young women in the age range of 16–30 years), and to relate occupation, religion, and nationality to names where necessary.

British clearly were the dominant group—58 per cent born in the British Isles, 12 per cent in Southern Africa, and 5 per cent from other parts of the Empire (with Australians as the single biggest group). This total of 82 per cent British compares with the 79–80 per cent British in Bulawayo.[54] Afrikaners constituted some 7 per cent of Salisbury's population, which again is almost identical to the proportion for Bulawayo.

Country of Birth		*Religion*#	*of 719 Europeans*
Rhodesia	11		
England**	275	Church of England	305
Wales	14	Wesleyan & Baptist	21
Ireland	54	Roman Catholic	85
Scotland	71	Presbyterian	53
Southern Africa	177	Dutch Reformed	49
British Empire	39	Protestant	126
United States	10		
Scandinavia*	7 }	Lutheran	6
Germany	22 }}		
Russia^	10 }	Jewish	45
Other & omitted	29	Other, Not given & None	29

# The order of the religions has been re-arranged and printed against or near to what appears to be the most relevant national group.

** Includes 3 born in the Channel Isles

* 5 Swedes, 2 Danes.

^ Includes Poland.

There were indeed only three notable differences between Bulawayo in 1895 and Salisbury in 1897. One was that the German proportion in Bulawayo was twice that of Salisbury; and by comparing religious affiliation with geographical origin/nationality it seems that most of the small number of Germans in Salisbury were Jewish whereas in Bulawayo only about a third were. The second difference is that Salisbury had twice the proportion of Catholics, which cannot be explained by the few nuns there; many of these 'extra' Catholics were probably in that large group of men employed by the Administration which was a unique feature of Salisbury's population—and particularly in the Police force which was to get something of a Catholic reputation.[55] The third difference was that there were no Greeks in Salisbury; the small migration from South Africa to Bulawayo had not extended to Salisbury because of the relative lack of opportunity there, and the chain-migration from the Greek islands, often via the Near East, to Beira and then Umtali was only just beginning.

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[54] Kosmin, 'On the imperial frontier: The Pioneer community of Salisbury in November 1897', 31, is misleading on this point.

[55] This was not by design, of course, but by a mixture of chain-recruitment and favouritism by Catholic officers; but so entrenched was it that it became the basis of more general complaints about the whole system of promotion (K. Flower, *Serving Secretly*: *An Intelligence Chief on Record: Rhodesia into Zimbabwe 1964 to 1981* (Harare, Quest Publ., 1987), 8). This led to holding an official investigation in 1946 (Southern Rhodesia, 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry: British South Africa Police, Permanent Staff Corps and Southern Rhodesia Prison Society' [Chairman: H. G. Mundy] (Sessional Papers, 57 of 1946). Consequent changes to promotion procedures mitigated but did not eradicate the problem. Thus during the insurgency of the 1970s the Police Commissioner was derided as 'the Bishop of Montague Avenue' (see H. Ellert, *The Rhodesian Front War: Counter-insurgency and Guerrilla War in Rhodesia 1962–1980* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1989), 105) because of his and other senior Catholic officers' distaste for many of the tactics used by the Army and because of the perceived 'softness' of their church towards guerrillas whom the European population generally regarded as terrorists.

The demographic profile of the 719 Europeans in Salisbury also was what would be expected of a frontier and so, again, similar to that of Bulawayo in 1895. There were 68 children (under sixteen years of age): 33 boys and 35 girls; at 9 per cent of the total White population, this was the same proportion as in Bulawayo thirty months earlier. Then there were 47 youths (16–20 years), of whom 31 were males; this disparity between the sexes suggests that the parents of some 16 teenage girls did not consider Salisbury a safe enough place to bring them to, or keep them there, as they grew to maturity). For the White society of the town was predominantly male, as would be expected of a frontier area; of the 604 adults (twenty-one years and above) only 83 were female (that is under 14 per cent, almost the same proportion seen in Bulawayo earlier). But the rather high percentage of these women who were unmarried (nearly 29 per cent) may indicate that Salisbury had some of the less salubrious characteristics of a frontier town—according to Tanser[56] Pioneer Street had a certain reputation by 1899 if not earlier. Conducive to that was the fact that ninety per cent of the adult men were not married and half of the men who were married did not have their wives with them. Furthermore the largest single occupational group of men was the 132 police whose duties and terms of service made marriage difficult—so much so that even as late as the 1930s the Police Depot in Salisbury had to maintain a V.D. section for European troopers.[57]

The occupations of Salisbury's adult European population are doubly interesting because none were available for Bulawayo in 1895. The job descriptions were of course as declared by the householders and a certain inflation, or obfuscation, of title was probably at work. Most of the 15 'accountants' were probably mere bookkeepers (a humble title that only 2 admitted to);[58] and several men declared themselves to be a 'speculator', a term that could cover a multitude of activities (and sins).

Nevertheless the returns of the 552 men and the 25 women who were economically active do give a good insight into the character of a capital on the frontier. Most striking is the largest occupational grouping (of 38 per cent of all men, or 41 per cent of men who had an occupation) was that of employees of the British South Africa Company, two-thirds of them as police. This was, of course, a reflection of fact that there had been a forcible occupation of the country and then resistance to it, but it also meant that although very much a frontier society it was not likely to become like the American West. The high number of the other Company employees was due partly to the fact that Salisbury was the capital and partly to the way that the Company itself engrossed many activities that elsewhere would have been left to private enterprise and/or local government. Nevertheless, whatever the balance of reasons, Salisbury already had that official or establishment character that endured, in great contrast to the more open and businesslike character of Bulawayo.

The next biggest occupational group was the commercial-financial sector constituting some 27 per cent of the employed. This was large for a town as undeveloped as Salisbury and there must have been considerable over-trading while everyone waited for better days. The number of 'accountants' and stockbrokers in particular indicates something of the speculative nature of the Mashonaland economy that had been 'puffed up' ever since 1890 but had never realised much; and the fact that the 380 municipal voters seem to have owned about 1 000 stands indicates a degree of speculation in building plots that had not been successful.[59] It was, of course, this lack of expected growth that had led in 1894 to considerable movement to Bulawayo, the growth of which had been quicker and greater (with nearly six times more voters in the municipal elections of 1897 than Salisbury); it also explains the fact that over 6 per cent of the males over 15 years of age in Salisbury were unemployed.

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[56] Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890 to 1900*, 217, 219. According to the returns, however, only 2 women were recorded as prostitutes, and 1 as a barmaid and 2 as dressmakers (often a dubious description).

[57] 'News from Central, Issue Number 97: July 2010' @ >*www.bsap.org/ pdfbin/ Central%2097%20July%202010.pdf*<.

[58] R. S. Roberts, 'An essay into the history of the professions in Zimbabwe: The founding of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (2009), XXVIII, 82.

The remaining occupational groups are smaller (the professions with 4 per cent, and the artisans with 14 per cent of the employed); at these levels they probably provided the bare essentials for a society that wanted to develop a modern economy. There were other small groups connected with mining and transport for whom Salisbury was probably more a base than a real home; and there was a tiny number of inhabitants engaged in agriculture, which was probably intensive small-scale on the outskirts of the town.

In all the counts and estimates of population from 1891 onwards that have been described so far little attention was paid to the non-Europeans, but in this 'census' in Salisbury in 1897 Asians (that is Indians in the main[60]) who were almost entirely urban-dwellers did get included sometimes, as has been seen in Bulawayo in 1896; now in Salisbury in November 1897 Asians were returned for the first time with the same detail as the Europeans.

Like their European counterparts the 49 Asians were a typical immigrant population, mainly males in their twenties and thirties; they were predominately Indian (40) with only 4 Chinese, 4 Japanese and 1 Arab. The main route of entry for the Indians, as for everyone else, was Tuli to Fort Victoria until the occupation of Matabeleland in 1893–1894 opened up the Palapye–Mangwe route to Bulawayo. It is the predominance of these south-western routes of entry that explains the surprisingly large numbers of Indians seen above in Fort Victoria in 1894 and southern-Midland area of Matabeleland as well as Bulawayo in 1896. Contrary to received opinion, including that of the Indian community itself, these early migrants were not 'passenger' Indians from the Gujerat but came from the indenture Indians of Natal and were as a consequence mainly of Madrasi or other south Indian origin, and so Hindu rather than Moslem.[61] Also contrary to what historians have usually asserted most of these immigrants were not traders but market-gardeners, washermen, waiters and cooks, and artisans such as cobblers.

As has been seen in 1896 there were in Bulawayo 73 Indians (60 men, 8 women and 5 children), which is a considerably larger number than the 39 in Salisbury in 1897 (36 men, 2 women and 1 child); but in percentage terms the Indian population in Salisbury (at about 5 per cent of the immigrant population) was nearly double that of Bulawayo. This relatively high number in Salisbury probably reflects the opening up of a new, eastern, route of entry from Mozambique whence Indians already there or newly disembarking at Beira, from western India or Durban, were walking to Umtali (where some settling as traders provoked a riot[62]), and so on to Salisbury. Whilst no details of occupations had been given for Bulawayo, the Salisbury returns in 1897 recorded them fully; these confirm that most Indians were engaged in market-gardening, rather than retail trade (but that did come later).

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[59] Kosmin calculated that this equated to 2 200 stands, with an average ownership of 5–6 stands by every voter ('On the imperial frontier: The Pioneer community of Salisbury in November 1897', 29); this, however, is incorrect because a larger or more valuable stand entitled the owner or occupier to two or three votes; see section 27 of the Municipal Law (*Gov. Gaz.,* 7 July 1897, Gov. Not. 101 of 6 July). A guess-estimate is that the average ownership of stands was between two and three per voter, making about 1 000–1 100 stands in all.

[60] Asian or Asiatic was the term used in order to comprehend with the Indians a small number of Chinese and an even smaller number of Japanese, as well as a few Arabs and Afghans, etc. Sometimes we find references to Malays as well, but this may refer to Cape Malays, distinguished from other Coloureds by being Moslem but later counted in with them. When the first detailed breakdown was made in 1911, Indians constituted over 90 per cent of the Asian grouping. They were mainly Hindu and the number of Christians (mainly Catholics from Goa via Mozambique, who often had Portuguese or African blood) was slightly larger than the number of Moslems; but ultimately the Christian component declined (partly by assimilation with Coloureds and Whites) while the number of Moslems was to gradually catch up with, and probably by the early 1980s surpass, that of the Hindus.

[61] A. M. H. Kalsheker, 'Immigration and Trading Policies towards Indians in Southern Rhodesia, 1890–1924' (Salisbury, Univ. of Rhodesia, M.Phil. thesis, 1976), 49.

Also in this census exercise of 1897 more information than ever before was gleaned about the African population. It has already been seen that in October 1896 Salisbury town had 200 Africans described as Colonial Natives (a term that usually meant Africans from the south, mainly the Cape Colony—and so also often called 'Cape Boys'); but many then were probably not really residents of Salisbury but peripatetic transport riders[63] and/or attached to the various military formations for service against the Shona insurgents in the countryside.

Now in November 1897 there was a proper count of all African residents, mainly of course employees of the Whites. In total 1 284 Africans were counted, but we know this not from the householders' returned Census Papers but from a police report. The exact procedures adopted are not entirely clear, but it appears that the Police, probably with the guidance of the Sanitary Board officials, simply went around counting all the Africans they could find. All occupiers of buildings (including stores like Meikles) were asked to enter on their return details of everyone who slept on the property on the night. But only about forty African employees were listed on the Census Papers returned by householders—usually, it appears, by those who were better off and/or had large families and so employed more servants than most.[64] Even then the details provided were often scanty, and another 50 Africans were returned as in gaol but without any details at all. It must be assumed that these somewhat incomplete entries were added into the separate counting exercise by the police, and amplified, as to origin at least, by their visiting the households that returned them.

The Police then sent to the Salisbury Magistrate two summary sheets (one for Europeans and Asians, as per the returned Census Papers that have been discussed, and one for Africans as per their own count and presumably including the 40 or so African servants and the 50 in gaol mentioned in the householders' returns). This is the document from which the details of the 1 284 Africans come:[65]

Mashona	481	Matabele	75	Portuguese	333
Umtassa	89	Shangaan	121	Zambesi	121
Fort Victoria	7	Cape Boys	41	Blantyre	16

The most notable aspect of these figures is the rapid decline in the number of Africans from the south who had in the earlier days dominated the labour force. Some no doubt had been put off by the killing of colleagues by the insurgents in the Risings, and more had followed White emigrants leaving the country because of its disappointing lack of riches and development; others, taking advantage of the still somewhat unsettled conditions, roamed the countryside in search of ‘loot’ and/or revenge.[66] The few that remained in Salisbury seem to have been domestic servants and/or employed to look after transport animals. But these ‘Colonials’ had rapidly been replaced, and supplemented, by new immigrants—the 470 Portuguese, Zambesis and Blantyres, and probably most of the 121 Shangaans (if they were in fact Hlengwe and Ndau from the Portuguese side of the border rather than from the Melsetter–Mount Selinda area and the Rhodesian lowveld). These self-styled Shangaans did of course have a long history of labour migration; and so also, but less well known, did the Tonga (probably the major proportion of the 121 Zambesi) most of whom worked in the town’s sanitary service. The ‘Portuguese’ Africans, that is those from central Mozambique, had been early recruits for European employers and the beginning of the railway from the east coast propelled movement ahead into Rhodesia (as it had just begun to do also for the Blantyres on railway work).

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[62] A few Chinese traders were also involved; see *The Rhod Her.,* 6, 9, 13, 17 and 31 Jan. 1899, and F. & L. O. Dotson, *The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi* (New Haven CT, Yale Univ. Press, 1968), 39.

[63] R. Hodder-Williams, 'Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion', *Rhodesiana* (July 1967), XVI, 31.

[64] Milton, the Administrator, for example, employed 10 servants—2 Shona, 3 Ndebele, 1 from the east coast, 2 from the south, and 2 Indians; see C/2/1/1, (I), 96.

[65] DS/1/1/4, Acting O.C. Mashonaland Police, Salisbury, to Acting Magistrate Salisbury, 12 Nov. 1897, quoted in Kosmin, 'On the imperial frontier: The Pioneer community of Salisbury in November 1897', 34.

However, these immigrant workers constituted just under half at most (depending on the origin of the Shangans) of the African residents in Salisbury in 1897—the other half being largely Shona, who are not the concern of an article on immigrants. Suffice it to say that most published references have always given a contrary impression, that is of the almost complete reliance of Europeans in the early days on immigrant labour, especially from central Mozambique.[67] Also of note is that the vast majority of the Shona in Salisbury appear to have been from the central part of Mashonaland which had been most active in the Rising until a year or so before.

Whatever the origins of all these Africans, the most striking fact, usually forgotten, is that early colonial Salisbury was more a Black settlement than a White one (1 284:719= 1,79:1). It was for that reason, of course that a Location had been created as early as 1892 to prevent Africans from living in town except if, like a domestic servant, they were under the full control of their employer. But how many so lived on their employer’s stand in town, how many returned to, the Location each night (or eked out a living entirely within the Location), or had sleeping huts on the Commonage is not known. As already mentioned a mere 40 servants were returned on the householders’ Census Papers as sleeping on their employer’s stand; and it is notable that what appear to be hotels or boarding houses in the returns usually did not record any African servants sleeping on the property—which seems strange, but can be explained as follows.

In principle there were about 2 500 stands in the town, and as estimated above (fn. 59) about 1 000 stands had been sold of which only about a quarter appear to have been occupied (excluding the plots on the Makabusi where most of the Asians lived and worked). Thus there were hundreds of undeveloped stands where African workers could have squatted, paid rent or had some caretaking arrangement, and so had their sleeping huts near enough to their work. Furthermore not only was the Location never big enough to have accommodated some 1 200 African workers,[68] but also, small as it was, it was usually not full, because African workers did not like the restrictions imposed on residents of the Location by the town authorities. So workers soon proved adept at finding more congenial alternatives. Some, particularly those from the south who had experience of colonial urban controls, were known to have independently occupied stands and/or huts in town and in the area of the pound; and according to Yoshikuni this was tolerated. Others living on the Commonage were warned to remove to the Location, but the ultimate effect of this policy of trying to drive Africans into the Location was the development of Private Locations a little further out, on the adjacent perimeter farms like Greendale and Hatfield.[69] Consequently, it is probable that less than twenty per cent of the total number of Africans in Salisbury lived in the Location despite intermittent efforts by the municipal authorities to drive them thither.

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[66] The subject of the ‘Colonial Natives’ has been generally neglected and will be the subject of a ‘follow-up’ article.

[67] Hole, *Old Rhodesian Days,* 45–6, 51.

[68] There appear to be no figures for the population of the Location at this time, but by late 1899–early 1900 there were only 26 huts, *Municipality of Salisbury August 1st, 1899, to July 31, 1900 . . . Mayor’s Minute,* ‘Ranger’s Annual Report, [21]; these, I estimate, could at a pinch accommodate about 150 residents. The first definitive figures of the residents of the Location appear to be in 1914 when there were 420 adults and 60 children, but this count may well have ignored the ‘floating’ population of visitors, job-seekers etc.; see Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe: A Social History of Harare before 1925*, 150, Figure 9.

Again it would be useful if we could compare the Africans in Salisbury with those in Bulawayo, as the two towns developed considerable differences later. But all we have for Bulawayo is the figure of 1 707 Africans (mainly servants/ employees with some wives and children and a few job-seekers) in April 1896. This figure may have been abnormally high because of the Rising but so may that of the Europeans; therefore the proportion of Africans to Europeans (1,3:1) may be a fair indication of the socio-economic and racial configuration of early Bulawayo. The higher ratio of Africans to Europeans in Salisbury may have been a consequence of the fact that such a high proportion of Salisbury's European population (38 per cent of the economically active males) were employed by the Company and so constituted something of an Establishment, with a high unmarried component, that needed more domestic help than the average European.

After the publication of the barest facts of this Census of November 1897 in the Company's report made available in April 1898, the shareholders had to wait till the end of 1899 for some figures for 1898;[70] and welcome they were, for at last there was some comfort for the Company and its supporters:

Salisbury and District	3 000
Umtali	1 330
Melsetter	470
Fort Victoria	200
Tuli	48
Bulawayo	7 500
Gwelo	798
	13 346

An estimate of the African population was also given for the first time but whether this included towns and mines is not known:

Mashonaland	194 756
Matabeleland	113 499

The coming of the railway to Bulawayo in October 1897 had obviously been of some help, as had the progress of the east coast line that reached Umtali in February 1898. This line was being pressed on towards Salisbury, but some six months before it reached the capital the Boer War broke out (in October 1899), disrupting the whole economy and communications to the south.

These problems delayed by a year, till the end of 1901, the appearance of the next general report for shareholders covering the years 1898–1900.[71] Even then the details given were rather scrappy and inconsistent (some being for March 1899 and some for a year later). The bare figures for the country as at the end of March 1900 were:[72]

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[69] Ibid., 23, 67ff.

[70] B.S.A.Co., *Rep. Adm[inistration of] Rhod., 1897–1898* (London, The Company, 1899), 284; the figures appear to be up to 31 March 1898.

Mashonaland	4 530
Matabeleland	8 835
	13 365

Thus there was an increase of a mere 19 people since the last figures a year before, and births could account for most of that; the Boer War, with the cutting of communications with the south and the absence of men on military duty had obviously had an immediate and serious impact on the already struggling economy of Southern Rhodesia. Matabeleland was the harder hit by these events but the existence of the railway to Salisbury since May 1899 meant that the east coast route was now used even more, and to some extent this cushioned Umtali and Salisbury against the depression that had set in. Thus, whilst no breakdown was given for the population figure for Bulawayo and Matabeleland, some (incomplete) figures were given for Mashonaland:[73]

End of March 1899	
Salisbury town	
Europeans	1 500
Asians and Africans	2 000
Umtali	
Europeans	450–500
Victoria[74] District	
Europeans	c.200
End of March 1900	
Melsetter [District?]	
Europeans	>500
Africans	12 000

All in all these figures such as they were not the great news that had been expected by the Company and its shareholders. Admittedly Matabeleland had gained about 500 people; Salisbury also had gained some 800 people (from the 719 of November 1897), but Umtali had lost roughly that same number (more than half its population) as the railway workers moved towards Salisbury and were followed by many businesses. The population of Victoria and Melsetter had remained unchanged.

By the time that they were published in late 1901, however, they were stale news. For in July 1901 there had been published recent and detailed figures from the best organised count so far, which was countrywide for the first time and covered Europeans, Asians and Colonial Natives (and their livestock). This had come about as part of a

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[71] B.S.A.Co., *Rep. Adm. Rhod., 1898–1900,* and *Appendix to Rep. Adm. Rhod., 1898–1900* (London, The Company, [1901]).

[72] B.S.A.Co., *Rep. Adm. Rhod., 1898–1900,* 56.

[73] B.S.A.Co., *Appendix to Rep. Adm. Rhod., 1898–1900,* 124, 126, 128, 129.

[74] The 'Fort' was dropped from Victoria's name in 1899 for the next thirty years.

British Government initiative to have an Empire-wide census to be taken in 1901,[75] to provide for which the Legislative Council had passed the Census Ordinance (No. 3 of 1900), which defined the appointment of enumerators and supervisors and the penalising of those who did not make a satisfactory return (section 9).

In the event this Census was postponed in the Cape, Natal and Southern Rhodesia because of the wartime disruption. But in order not to miss out entirely on the opportunity for comparison with other colonies the British South Africa Company anxious for good news on development decided to hold what it called an Informal Census.[76] This was taken on 31 May and provisional results were presented to the Legislative Council on 9 July and ordered to be printed.[77] There appears to have been little attention paid to these results, presumably because of the pre-occupation with the War, which of course must have had a demographic impact. Indeed the most striking, and unpalateable, aspect of these figures is that the European population had decreased yet again.

Nevertheless these Returns are the first reliable, consistent and countrywide figures for the immigrant populations (except migrant African workers who were not considered permanent settlers).[78] The figures for each of the three population groups were presented separately and are broken down by sex, by age (less/more than 16 years =before/after 16th birthday), and by township and District, but not by nationality/origin, religion or occupation. The overall figures are

	<16 years	>16 years		
	Children	Males	Females	Total
European	2 286	6 912	1 834	11 032
Asian	244	656	193	1 093
Colonial Native	1 002	2 021	705	3 728
Totals	3 532	9 589	2 732	15 853

All groups of the population still showed a typical immigrant profile—a large excess of males over females, and few children. This can be shown even more clearly by making a comparison with a standard or mature population profile:

	England & Wales	Southern Rhodesia 1901		
	Standard	European	Asian	Colonial Native
<16 years	344	207	223	260
>16 years	656	793	777	740

Thus in Southern Rhodesia it is the Europeans who are the farthest from the 'standard' and, unexpectedly, the Colonial Natives who are the nearest—which is the opposite of what would be expected of such a dependent, 'migrant worker' sort of group. The reason for this is that about one third of the Colonial Natives were Mfengu who had been arriving since 1899 as part of an immigration scheme to bring whole families with their livestock from the Eastern Cape in the hope of augmenting the labour supply, particularly to the mines of Matabeleland. The closest to such a scheme on the European side had been the Afrikaner treks, and it has already been noted in passing that Afrikaner areas south of Salisbury tended to have larger numbers of children. This was because a much higher proportion of Afrikaner men had brought with them their wives who for their part bore many more children than other White women[79]—with the result that by 1920 Afrikaners constituted 20 per cent of the White population.

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[75] Great Britain, *Census of the British Empire, 1901* [Cd. 2660] (H.C. 1905, cii, 1). [Southern Rhodesia,] *Debates in the Legis[lative] Counc[il during the Years] 1899 to 1903,* 46–7 (22–23 Mar. 1900); *Minutes of the Proc. of the Legis. Counc. . . . 1900,* 12, 17 (23 and 26 Mar. 1900).

[76] *Gov. Gaz.,* 10 May 1901, Gov. Not. 96 of 9 May.

[77] *Debates in the Legis. Counc. 1899 to 1903,* 60 (9 July 1901); *Returns of an Informal Census Taken on 31st May, 1901* (Sessional Paper 19 of 1901).

[78] The one notable defect of these figures is that all three of these racial categories (the Asian, the Colonial Native, and even the European) include in different degrees, by different criteria in different places, the growing Coloured population which was not categorised at this stage (it was only in 1907 when the question of their separate education came up that this was considered; this led to their separate enumeration for the first time in the 1911 Census). Their total number in 1901 was probably somewhat higher than the figure of 400 that the Central Statistical Office later back-extrapolated, Rhodesia, *Census of Population 1969* (Salisbury, Central Statistical Office, [1971]), 6). Nevertheless their numbers proportionately were small (only three to four per cent of the total enumerated population) and so do not greatly affect the overall picture, except in the case of Asians with whom they were most often lumped, and particularly so in Bulawayo where it seems that Coloureds had the greatest presence. This means that the true Asian proportion may be as low as 40 per cent of the reported figures. Some disaggregation of these two populations can be made but that must wait on a later article that will also deal with similar problems relating to the Colonial Natives.

By isolating the figures for the Fingo Location and the two most Afrikaner areas (the Districts of Charter and Melsetter[80]) it becomes clear how these two sub-groups pushed up the average figures of their (European and Colonial Native) group nearer to the 'standard' than it otherwise would have been:

	Standard	Afrikaner Districts	Fingo Location
<16 years	344	450	476
16 >years	656	550	524

Indeed these figures also show that these two population sub-groups were divergent not only from an 'immigrant' society but also from the 'standard' of a modern, industrialising society—their larger families more typical of the pre-modern, pastoral-agricultural, world.

As for the geographical distribution of the immigrant population the figures for the towns are straightforward and are reproduced in full detail as given in the Census Report; and they can be compared directly with previous figures given for earlier years. For the rest of the country, however, the figures are complicated and are not reproduced in detail; the former basis of reporting figures by the Fiscal Divisions of the Civil Commissioners had been changed by the development of the Native Department which administered the countryside through 28 new Native Districts, and it would be otiose to list them individually in detail (Gutu District, for example, had only 12 Europeans (10 men, 1 women and 1 child).

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[79] If the failed, all-male Van Der Byl Trek is ignored, seventy per cent of the adult males on the treks arrived with a wife, and the number of children to these couples (obviously as a function of the duration of the marriage) was no children in the case of fifteen per cent of the couples and an average of nearly five for the balance (with several couples having from seven to twelve children), Olivier, *Many Treks Made Rhodesia,* Appendix 8 (my calculation).

[80] For confirmation that these demographic features are Afrikaner one has to consult the next census, of 1904, which did record religious allegiance. Adherents of the Dutch Reformed Church constituted 15 per cent of the total European population but 79 per cent of the population of Charter and Melsetter Districts, C/3/2/6, Table IX. Their predominantly agricultural orientation there is also underlined by the fact that in townships as small as Enkeldoorn and Melsetter, the centres of the two Districts, the D.R.C. proportion fell to 43 per cent.

Europeans

	Towns				(Native) Districts				Outlying (Native) Districts**				TOTALS
	Children <16	Males >16	Females >16	Total	Children <16	Males >16	Females >16	Total	Children <16	Males >16	Females >16	Total	
Salisbury	184	965	246	1 395	36	188	28	252	30	433	22	485	2 132
Umtali	71	363	80	514	18	112	17	147	34	100	25	159	820
Victoria	15	58	15	88	24	42	10	76	3	35	3	41	205
Enkeldoorn	24	46	25	95	94	104	42	240	29	44	21	94	429
Melsetter	10	26	10	46	189	120	80	389	-	-	-	-	435
Bulawayo	1 100	2 681	913	4 694	109	144	64	317	164	411	91	666	5 677
Gwelo ^^	67	197	63	327	24	439	36	499	38	96	17	151	977
Manzamnyama*	11	118	10	139	12	190	16	218	-	-	-	-	357
	1 482	**4 454**	**1 362**	**7 298**	**506**	**1 339**	**293**	**2 138**	**298**	**1 119**	**179**	**1 596**	**11 032**

^^ Native District of Gwelo-Selukwe.

* There have been various spellings of this settlement which was north of modern Gwanda and served that mining area; it had succeeded Tuli as the administrative centre for the Native District of Tuli; it had a court from 1894 to 1898 and a post office from 1899 to 1903.

**These have been put in groups that with the township and surrounding District, make up, more or less, the Civil Commissioner's areas to which earlier figures relate, as follows:

Salisbury= South and North Mazoe, Lomagundi, Mrewa, Mtoko, Marandellas and Hartley.

Umtali= Makoni and Inyanga.

Victoria= Gutu, Ndanga and Chibi

Enkeldoorn = Chilimanzi .

(Melsetter= none beyond the Native District of same name)

Bulawayo= Bulalima-Mangwe, Fingo Location, Umzingwane, Matopo (Malema and Mawebini), Belingwe and Sebungwe-Mafungabusi

Gwelo=Insiza

(Manzamnyama = none beyond the Native District of Tuli).

Note: This arrangement is not in fact as suitable for Bulawayo, as it is for other centres, for Districts like Matobo and Umzingwane and the Fingo Location are quite near the urban area.

B. Asians

	Towns				(Native) Districts				Outlying (Native) Districts**				
	Children <16	Males >16	Females >16	Total	Children <16	Males >16	Females >16	Total	Children <16	Males >16	Females >16	Total	TOTALS
Salisbury	5	79	5	89	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	20	109
Umtali	1	42	-	43	-	7	-	7	-	2	-	2	52
Victoria	-	3	-	3	3	6	2	11	-	8	-	8	22
Enkeldoorn	1	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Melsetter	-				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bulawayo	229	457	180	866	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	867
Gwelo^^	5	20	6	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31
Manzamnyama*	-	2	-	2	-	6	-	6	-	-	-	-	8
	241	**606**	**191**	**1 038**	**3**	**19**	**2**	**24**	**-**	**31**	**-**	**31**	**1 093**

C. Colonial natives

	Children <16	Males >16	Females >16	Total	Children <16	Males >16	Females >16	Total	Children <16	Males >16	Females >16	Total	TOTALS
Towns													
Salisbury	9	77	5	91	1	63	-	64	25	283	14	322	477
Umtali	2	27	3	32	5	12	1	18	2	12	-	14	64
Victoria	4	25	5	34	57	36	31	124	19	20	10	49	207
Enkeldoorn	4	5	3	12	-	18	1	19	3	6	2	11	42
Melsetter	2	4	-	6	14	15	4	33	-	-	-	-	39
Bulawayo	30	270	29	329	111	129	110	350	635	682	313	1 630	2 309
Gwelo^^	39	49	31	119	38	257	141	436	2	27	1	30	585
Manzamnyama*	-	2	1	3	--	2	-	2	--	-	-	-	5
	90	**459**	**77**	**626**	**226**	**532**	**288**	**1 046**	**686**	**1 030**	**340**	**2 056**	**3 728**

The figures for each racial group (Europeans; Asians: and Colonial Natives) are therefore each presented in three sections, which read across give: firstly, the population by township; secondly, by the (Native) District, usually of the same name, surrounding the township; and thirdly, by a grouping of nearby Native Districts that, with the two former categories, make up as near as possible the fiscal divisions hitherto used for counting purposes:

Europeans: The most striking feature of the European figures is the huge fall in numbers for Bulawayo (down from 7 500 in 1898)—a fall so large that it almost accounts for the whole fall in the country (from 13 346 to 11 032). Despite this large fall in the population of the largest urban settlement in the country, nearly two-thirds of the European population of Southern Rhodesia was urban. This proportion was to diminish slightly over the next decade or so when the Administration was at last beginning to promote agriculture, but was then to regain this proportion by the late 1920s and continue its inexorable growth to over eighty per cent—a remarkable feature for an economy based on agriculture and mines scattered across the countryside (unlike those of the Rand) and for a polity often described as dominated by farmers.

Also notable was the extent to which Bulawayo was outpacing Salisbury—and not just in size but also in its more balanced demographic structure; in Bulawayo there were 2,9 men and 1,2 children to each woman, whereas in Salisbury the ratios were 3,9 and 0,75, respectively. Indeed in this respect Salisbury was worse than the national urban average (which was 3,27 men and 1,1 children to each woman) and this is probably explained by the high numbers of young unmarried police there and also a high number of senior civil servants and professional men who like others of their class in Britain were already limiting the size of their families. In the Districts surrounding the towns the number of children for each woman was higher than the town average (1,73 against 1,1), and this must reflect a growing number of family farms; the number of men for each woman, however, was higher than in town (4,56 against 3,27), and this must reflect the large numbers of miners/prospectors at work. In the outlying areas the number of children per woman was only a little lower than that for the Districts (1,66 against 1,73) but the number of men was very much higher (6,25 against 4,56).

A surprising feature is that the townships of Manzamnyama, Enkeldoorn and Melsetter feature in the list at all. Even more surprising is that Enkeldoorn was more populous than Victoria. This was the result, on the one hand, of settlement in the countryside around Enkeldoorn of Afrikaner families, with their high fertility, that has already been mentioned, and, on the other hand, of the depression that had hit Victoria once the main entry route into the country had switched to Bulawayo in 1894.

Asians: The most notable feature of the so-called Asian figures is their high number, nearly 12,5 per cent of the non-African urban population; and if one adds in the extra-urban population with its 55 Asians living there, then their proportion of the total non-African population is still over 9 per cent. But as has been explained (fn. 78, above) more than half of those designated Asian in the returns are really Coloureds; and everything that follows is subject to that caveat.

Another noteworthy feature of this composite grouping of peoples is that about

95 per cent were urban. Their concentration in Bulawayo is also remarkable (83 per cent of urban and 79 per cent of all ‘Asians’ in the country). The predominance of Bulawayo is, of course, indicative of its comparative prosperity compared to the rest of the country; and this relative lack of development elsewhere raised European resentment and resistance to Indians entering into trade there, except perhaps in niche pursuits like vegetable-growing and laundering clothes for Europeans.

Also notable is the settled nature of these people in Bulawayo: the low ratio of 2,5 men and the relatively high ratio of 1.27 children to each woman were slightly better than those for the Europeans of Bulawayo (of 2,9 and 1,2, respectively) which were the best in the country for urban areas. These ratios were also so markedly better than those for Indians in Salisbury and elsewhere; and the explanation for this must be that the Indians of Matabeleland (although born mainly in India) were coming north, overland, from Natal, where many of them had stayed long enough to marry, rather than coming directly from India, younger and unmarried, as was the case for Salisbury’s Indians; and so it was much easier to bring up wives and families from the south.[81] particularly after the railway reached Bulawayo in October 1897 (and these factors apply similarly to the large numbers of Coloureds, included in this grouping, who would have come from, or via, Kimberley.

For the rest of the country outside Bulawayo the numbers are so small that inferences and generalisations are hard to make. But it is notable that Indians had barely penetrated the countryside of Matabeleland at all, despite their strong presence in Bulawayo, whereas they were a few scattered across Mashonaland; and one can only assume that they thought the Ndebele too hostile and/or that the Native Department was putting barriers in the way. Also outside Bulawayo the demographic profile of the Indian population was very much that of immigrant young men, even in towns of Mashonaland, including Salisbury itself.

Colonial Natives: The Colonial Natives were much more evenly dispersed through the country than the Asians or the Europeans—that is only 17 per cent were urban in spite of The Settlement of Colonial Natives in Kaffir Kraals Prohibition Regulations of 1898. But this simple calculation is misleading as 43 per cent of the total Colonial Native population were the Mfengu in their Location at Bembesi some 50 km from Bulawayo (although admittedly it did later become something of a dormitory suburb of Bulawayo); if these Mfengu are subtracted from the total of Colonial Natives then the urban proportion among the rest was 30 per cent. Thus the 1898 banning of the Colonial Natives from African areas had had some effect, as can be seen from the figures for Salisbury where the number of Colonial Natives had doubled since the count of November 1897.[82]

Another interesting feature of these Colonials from the south is that some of their communities approach the Standard demographic profile. In the Victoria District, for example, there were the settlements of Northern Sotho that missions of the Dutch

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[81] The only hard evidence is an Immigration Register for a decade later; see S1823, which shows a surprising amount of movement to and from the south but by then the railway from Beira went right through and most immigrants were then coming from India and by that route.

[82] This process of urbanisation of Colonial Natives continued, as the banning of 1898 was now made permanent by The Settlement of Colonial Natives Continuing Ordinance (No. 15 of 1901).

Reformed Church had initiated, even before the arrival of the Pioneer Column in 1890. Unlike most Colonial Natives these so-called Basutos settled down to agriculture and some of them later managed to buy farms.[83]

The largest numbers of Colonial Natives in Mashonaland, however, are to be found in the Outlying Districts of Salisbury; but in this case my large grouping of Districts obscures the fact that the Colonial Natives were in fact concentrated in the one District of Hartley. Whether they were working in the scattered small mines of the area or whether they were settled down in the area where the Cape Boys Reserve was in the process of being set aside for them, is not known. Indeed little is known of the settlement history of this Reserve: Was it created there because that is where large numbers of Colonial Natives had settled down and/or were working on nearby mines, or was it that this unique Reserve for them rather than for the indigenous people attracted large numbers of Colonials to the area? However, it appears that they did not settle down to agriculture there and develop a community; consequently the Reserve became abandoned. By 1914–15 only one Cape Coloured was living there and so it was abolished in 1918.[84]

In Matabeleland there was, as can been seen from the Table, a much greater number of Colonial Native settlers with their families, but again my broad Outlying Districts grouping obscures the heavy concentration in one area—the Fingo Location at Bembesi, which has already been mentioned above. It contained 75 per cent of the Colonial Natives of Matabeleland, 91 per cent of their children and 88 per cent of their women.

The Umzingwane District also had a largish number of Colonial Natives (15 per cent of the total for Matabeleland) and this may represent a spill-out of young men from the Fingo Location. This is even more likely to be the case for the largish numbers also found in the Gwelo-Selukwe District where the number of women is also higher than average; for it is known that some leading Mfengu families like the Sojinis did settle there and lease agricultural land from European owners. The largest urban population of Colonial Natives was Bulawayo—more than three times larger than that of Salisbury and a less unbalanced community; part of the reason for this is that the Administration had granted 100-acre plots on the outskirts to some Colonial Natives who had helped in the Matabele War of 1893–4 and in the Ndebele Rising.[85] Nevertheless as time passed the majority seem to have sold their plots to Europeans rather than to other Africans; but in the meantime they may have acted as a magnet to others such as the Revd Micah Makgatho, a Northern Sotho from the D.R.C. area south of Victoria, who bought a plot in 1904 outside Bulawayo as a base for his ministry on behalf of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.[86]

The fate of these plot-holders and their land, and indeed the Colonial Natives as a group, needs more research, as do many other topics that have been broached, such as the numbers and origins of the early Indian immigrants and the Coloureds; and more analysis of these early census figures will also no doubt reveal other interesting sidelights on early Rhodesian society. But space dictates that this must wait on another article.

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[83] R. H. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia* (London, Heinemann, 1977), 280.

[84] Great Britain, *Southern Rhodesia. Papers relating to the Southern Rhodesia Native Reserves Commission 1915* [Cd 8674], 38 (H.C. 1917–18, xxiii, 135).

[85] A figure of 78 plots granted after the Rising is given in Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia*, 62, but both his dating and his number need verification.

[86] Ibid., 279; an article on Makgatho is planned for the next issue.

Conclusion

The main point that comes out of this survey of the first decade of settlement is the relative lack of success of the British South Africa Company in developing and peopling its territories. The country simply did not have the gold on which the whole exercise was predicated, and the Company virtually bankrupted itself dealing with the difficulties of transport so far inland and the disruptive wartime conditions that dominated nearly half of the first decade. The paucity of settlers that has been detailed above was the result; and this was not just because new settlers could not be attracted but also because many of those who did come were soon to leave, as has been seen in the several instances where the figures show a fall from previous years.

The most striking exemplification of this is the experience of the first thousand or so men recorded coming into the country—the 230 Pioneers and 'civilians', and the 500 Police who crossed the Shashi in July 1890 followed by more than 300 other Police by the end of 1891. When the Deferred Pay Register was discontinued in July 1892, only about 60 of these police were still in the force.[87] Similarly when the first voters roll for national elections was compiled in 1899 only 84–129 of the 1 000 appear still to be in the country; and by the time of the second voters roll and the end of the Boer War in 1902 only half of that small remnant of 1899 was still in the country, slightly augmented, however, by the return of 20 others who had been absent in 1899. And this is not peculiar to the Pioneers; it was equally a feature of the wider society in that the total number of voters in 1902 was one-third down on the 1899 figure.[88] Southern Rhodesia was not yet a settled society; it was still a moving frontier with a mobile population mainly of youngish and unaccompanied men.

In this respect, and many others, it is surprising how far the demographic and socio-economic profile or pattern shown in the census of 1901 was to persist for most of White Rhodesia's history. Greater immigration was to come, notably in the decade after 1904 that was to define the geographical pattern of settlement for all time. But even then and thereafter the White population remained relatively small because of high rates of emigration;[89] and in the absence of a meaningful immigration policy it was to take sixty years before the European population structure approached the 'standard' of a mature, settled society—and that was the very moment when African nationalism was beginning to throw into doubt the whole colonial project of immigration and settlement.[90]

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[87] Hickman, *Men Who Made Rhodesia,* 94; however, some of the discharged Police had joined the civilian police and others may not have left the country although it is thought that most had. Contrary to general opinion, however, the death rate was low—only 29 deaths over the three years (ibid., 91).

[88] R. S. Roberts, 'A neglected source of Pioneer history', *Rhodesiana* (1979), XL, 11–13.

[89] See R. S. Roberts, 'The settlers', ibid. (1978), XXIX, 61.

[90] The year 1961 witnessed net emigration, for the first time since the decrease shown by the 1901 Census; and the following years 1962–4 saw the emigration of 46 000, or one fifth, of the White population.

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The Survival of Capitalist Agriculture during the Great Depression: The Role of the Farmer's Debt Adjustment Board

by W Döpcke

The historical importance of the Great Depression in Southern Rhodesia, both for the White farming sector and the developing state system, has become widely accepted.[1] *The 1930s marked a crucial period for the evolution of the particular pattern of underdevelopment which combined the existence of an underdeveloped peasant sector and the settlers' commercial sector which was 'highly efficient' in some ways.*[2]

But so far historical research has concentrated mainly on analysing the impact of land apportionment and the structure of agricultural marketing that arose in the 1930s.[3] The state's involvement in marketing not only preserved the economic existence of settler agriculture but in most cases also directly re-allocated resources from the African peasantry to the White farming sector. This creation of an advantageous marketing structure is well known; but for the economic survival of capitalist agriculture during the Depression the extensive provision of credit by state institutions was just as important. This rather technical aspect has been neglected and so this article describes one important part of the elaborate network of credit facilities that the state offered to White farmers: the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board that was created in 1935.

The depression and the crisis of capitalist agriculture

In the late 1920s and early 1930s capitalist agriculture in colonial Zimbabwe experienced a series of slumps affecting the different agricultural commodities in turn rather than in a condensed crisis.[4]

The European cattle industry did not fully recover from the post-war depression until the late 1930s. The permanent crisis in this sector was dramatically aggravated from 1931 onwards by the combined impact of the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in Southern Rhodesia and the rapidly declining internal and external demand for meat. Despite an extensive state programme of subsidised exports and internal price stabilisation, the impact of stagnant world and internal demand for meat could only be partially averted. In the 1930s the state spent more than £500 000 on price subsidies for the European cattle industry. Part of this was recovered through the Cattle Levy Act (No. 11 of 1931) which hit African cattle-owners disproportionately harder. Nevertheless, meat prices dropped by over 60 per cent from 1929 to 1932 and remained below the costs of production for most ranchers until 1938.

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[1] *This article originates from my doctoral research into the impact of the Great Depression on Southern Rhodesia: 'Die Peripherie in der Krise: Eine Wirtschafts-und Sozialgeschichte des kolonialen Zimbabwe, 1928 – 1939' (Hanover, Univ. of Hannover, Ph.D. thesis, 1990), later published as *Das koloniale Zimbabwe in der Krise: Eine Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, 1929–1939* (Münster, LIT, 1992). The financial support of the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk is gratefully acknowledged.

See for example, R. H. Palmer, 'The agricultural history of Rhodesia', in R. H. Palmer and Q. N. Parsons (eds.), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London, Heinemann Educational, 1977), 221–45; V. E. M. Machingaidze, 'The Development of Settler Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference to the Role of the State' (London, Univ. of London, Ph.D. thesis, 1980); D. J. Murray, *The Governmental System in Southern Rhodesia* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970), 58.

[2] Although capitalist agriculture in Zimbabwe has reached high standards in terms of yields and productivity, there are well-founded doubts whether the overall utilisation of land resources was optimal; see R. C. Riddell, T*he Land Problem in Rhodesia: Alternatives for the Future* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, Occasional Pap[ers], Socio-Econ[omic] No. 11, 1978), 54.

[3] Palmer, 'The agricultural history of Rhodesia'; Machingaidze, 'The Develop-ment of Settler Agriculture'; P. Mosley, *The Settler Economies: Studies in the Economic History of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia 1900–1963* (London, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), 10; C. F. Keyter, *Maize Control in Southern Rhodesia, 1931–1941* (Salisbury, Central Africa Historical Association, 1978).

[4] For an overview of the Depression in Southern Rhodesia see I. R. Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe 1890–1948: Capitalist Accumulation and Class Struggle* (London, Longman, 1988), ch. 4; for more detail see Döpcke, *Das koloniale Zimbabwe in der Krise*.

In contrast to the enduring recession in meat production, the tobacco industry was hit by a very sudden and dramatic slump in 1928.[5] After only three years of tremendous expansion, which increased the output of tobacco from 3 million lb. in 1925 to 24 million lb. in 1928, the industry was almost wiped out. The value of unprocessed tobacco exported dropped from £1 200 000 in 1927 to £300 000 in 1930. This crisis of Rhodesian tobacco resulted not from the overall trends of the world market but was due to an overproduction of this particular type of tobacco. The British and American cigarette producers were prepared to mix only a small percentage of Rhodesian tobacco in their blends. By 1928 they had accumulated Rhodesian tobacco reserves that exceeded their demand for several years. The crisis in the tobacco industry occurred so suddenly that most producers went bankrupt: the number of farmers planting tobacco declined from 987 in 1928 to 201 in 1930. However, state intervention preserved the nucleus of the industry which became the basis for its continuous expansion after the crisis.[6] It is estimated that the Southern Rhodesian state lost more than £500 000 of the credit granted to the Tobacco Warehouse to enable this marketing agency to meet its liabilities on the London capital market and to pay the planters.[7]

The volatility of the maize industry—which employed most of the 3 000 or so farmers of the Colony—was more closely connected to the cycle of the world economy. Domestic and export prices remained well above the costs of production until 1929. The drop in maize prices in the world market in 1929/30 was reflected a year later in Southern Rhodesia when the average producer price for farm maize fell to 6*s*.10*d*. per bag from more than 11*s*. in 1929. The absolute low was experienced in 1933 when export prices declined to 4*s*.9*d*. and internal prices to 5*s*.6*d*. Not until the late 1940s was the pre-Depression level of nominal producers prices reached again.[8] For most farmers this price level lay well below costs of production which were estimated at around 8*s*. per bag.[9] Although a minority of large and presumably unencumbered farmers in the 'maize belt' of Northern Mashonaland were still able to achieve a profit even at these depressed producer prices, the vast majority of maize producers faced severe financial problems.[10] Already in 1931 the Maize Enquiry Committee emphasised that 'the position is more than critical, and that the continuance for another season of existing conditions can only result in driving large numbers of farmers off the land'.[11] Three years later, although state rescue programmes had already shown some impact, the Government Statistician estimated that 400–500 farmers 'who used to make good income from maize make now nothing at all . . . There is no hope for them.'[12]

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[5] Machingaidze, 'The Development of Settler Agriculture', 204; F. Clements and E. Harben, *Leaf of Gold: The Story of Rhodesian Tobacco* (London, Methuen, 1962), 100.

[6] Ibid., 104.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Southern Rhodesia, *Statistical Year Book of Southern Rhodesia 1947* (Salisbury, Dep[artment of] Statistics, 1947), 73, 136.

[9] [Southern Rhodesia], *Rep[ort of the] Maize Enquiry Comm[ittee] 1930* [Chairman: G. N. Williams] (Sess[ional] Pap. C.S.R. 2, 1931), Appendix.

[10] National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare, S1246/30, *passim*. All archival material cited is in this Archives, and a full description of the files cited is to be found in the Appendix at the end of this article.

Despite these adverse economic conditions and in contrast to the pessimistic prognoses the European maize industry survived the years of the Depression rather well. To give an indication of this: only 70 of the 359 insolvencies declared between 1930 and 1938 in the Colony were farmers.[13] The reason for this lay in the nature of state support for this sector that came to be considered crucial for the future of White settlement of the Colony *per se*.[14] The Moffat ministry was reluctant to give in to the pressure of the Rhodesia Agricultural Union (RAU) and come to the rescue of the ailing maize sector.[15] In 1930 an export subsidy of 1*s*. per bag of maize was granted to relieve the local market of the maize surplus in the face of rapidly declining world market prices. However, in the same year it was realised that many farmers were unable to continue planting for another season from their own resources and special interest-free loans (Maize Loans) of £200 each were provided to the farmers to finance the 1930/1 season. In 1931 Moffat gave in to the farmers' political pressure and agreed to the state's involvement in the marketing of maize, which from then on was to characterise the agricultural industry of (Southern) Rhodesia and Zimbabwe. The Maize Control Act (No. 33 of 1931), which established the Maize Control Board as a parastatal maize marketing agency, aimed at stabilising the internal producer price for maize by fixing a local selling price above world market levels and by equally distributing the export losses among the producers. The Huggins ministry completed Maize Control in 1934 by extending its scope of operation to the whole country and by shifting parts of the burden of the price stabilisation for White farmers to African peasant agriculture.[16]

From 1934 onwards local producer prices for White farmers were well above the world market level and price stabilisation was supported by a range of accompanying measures.[17] But many farmers were still not in a position to recover from the crisis by their own strength. This was due to the fact that declining produce prices were only one aspect of the Depression as far as farmers were concerned. More importantly, the crisis of the world economy, and the depressed producer prices in the 1930s, laid bare the deeply rooted unsound structural features of White capitalist agriculture in Southern Rhodesia, especially maize-growing. Already in 1931 the Maize Enquiry Committee had depicted the depression in maize production as a combination of structural and conjunctural features:

Lack in many cases of sufficient initial capital, resulting in heavy bonds with correspondingly heavy charges against the land; exhaustion of soil fertility in the early stages of the industry, necessitating heavy expenditure in later years in measures for its restoration; losses on ventures in the production of tobacco and cotton; heavy charges in the production of the crop; comparatively low yields during the last seasons . . .; the extraordinary depressed condition of the maize market this year . . . and finally the fact that for the majority of growers in the maize area the maize crop is practically the only revenue producer.[18]

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[11] *Rep. Maize Enquiry Comm.* 1930, 7.

[12] S1246/30/B, T. G. Gibson, Government Statistician, Dec. 12 1933.

[13] Southern Rhodesia, Rep. Secr[etary], *Law Dep., for the Year 1930 including Reports by the Master, Registrar and Sheriff* . . . (Sess. Pap. C.S.R. 9, 1931), and idem for the years 1931–8 (titles vary and 'Law' became 'Justice' from 1933).

[14] [Southern Rhodesia], *Rep. Comm. of Enquiry into the Econ. Position of the Agric[ultural] Ind[ustry of Southern Rhodesia]* [Chairman: M. Danziger] (Sess. Pap. C.S.R. 16, 1934), 1.

[15] See, Murray, *The Governmental System.*

[16] Ibid.; Mosley, *The Settler Economies*; Keyter, *Maize Control.*

[17] Machingaidze, 'The Development of Settler Agriculture'; *Döpcke, Das koloniale Zimbabwe in der Krise, passim.*

Lack of capital was the key to this vicious cycle of increasing indebtedness, speculative ventures, inefficiency, low yields and declining profits from farming. For many farmers the Depression in the first instance was a financial crisis—the inability to meet interest and instalment payments for debts arranged before the economic downturn.[19] A. C. Bagshawe, the Secretary of Agriculture, described the high degree of indebtedness: ‘It is possible that the greater number of farmers are so in debts . . . that even in times of reasonable prosperity, it will be years before they can be even of substance . . . many will probably never be able to pay their debts in full.’[20] The exact degree of capitalist agriculture’s debt in the 1930s is difficult to assess. In 1934, only 1 248 farmers, less than 50 per cent of all farmers, had taken up Land Bank bonds; of these 1 248 farmers 29 per cent were in substantial arrears.[21] Indebtedness to commercial banks, insurance companies, private creditors, traders and the Farmers’ Co-op was very common as well.[22] A. W. Redfern, the General Manager of the Land and Agricultural Bank,[23] who presumably had the most detailed knowledge on the farmers’ financial situation, was unable to document their plight with Land Bank figures; but he and the 1934 Committee of Enquiry into the Economic Position of the Agricultural Industry came to the conclusion that ‘there is no doubt that a large number of farmers are on the borderline of insolvency, and any action by mortgagees or creditors would mean selling up the farm and assets’.[24] Although the smaller and medium-sized farms were under the most severe pressure, some of the biggest maize producers in the country also were facing bankruptcy.

The state reacted to the farmers’ financial crisis by increasing short-term credit facilities to enable work on the farms to continue. Agricultural Loans and Special Loans—both administered by the Land Bank on behalf of the government—as well as the Land Bank’s own short-term lending helped many farmers through the lean years of the Depression. The overall conditions of lending were eased: in 1933 the government reduced the rate of interest charged for its loans and to the Land Bank. The purchase price for Crown Land, and thus the payment on outstanding loans, was reduced post festum and interest payment on it was abolished completely. The purchase price of Crown Land charged to Empire Settlers was reduced by two thirds, among other relief measures.[25] Furthermore, government institutions including the Land Bank did not press for the collection of outstanding instalments of capital or interest and effective pressure was brought upon private creditors to fall in line.[26]

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[18] Rep. *Maize Enquiry Comm. 1930*, 7.

[19] S1246/30/C, *passim*; farmers’ evidence to the 1934 Committee of Enquiry where indebtedness was identified as one major problem of the farmers.

[20] File-reference mislaid, A. C. Bagshawe to Secr. Dep. Colonial Secr., 16 Sept. 1931.

[21] S1246/30/B, A. W. Redfern, 19 Dec. 1933.

[22] Ibid.

[23] The Land and Agricultural Bank of Southern Rhodesia is referred to henceforth in the text simply as the Land Bank.

[24] *Rep. Comm. of Enquiry into the Econ. Position of the Agric. Ind.*, 22.

[25] [Southern Rhodesia], *Rep. Secr., Dep. Agric. [for the Year] 1931* (Sess. Pap. C.S.R. 15, 1932), and idem (with slight variation of title) for the years to 1939.

Despite all these measures there were still a number of farmers whose accumulated debts were about to drive them into insolvency. It was for the financial rescue of this group of farmers, who were bankrupt in all but name, that the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board was designed.

The establishment of the farmers' debt adjustment board

Although part of the Special Loans fund had been used to arrange compromises with creditors of indebted farmers from 1931 onwards, the foundations for extensive state involvement in debt alleviation was the result of the recommendations of the 1934 Committee of Enquiry.[27] To avert the financial breakdown of a 'large number of farmers',[28] it suggested that there should be a governmental committee to consist of the Board of the Land Bank and three businessmen to hear farmers' applications for assistance. This committee would stop any sale of execution, judgment or an order of insolvency against the farmer applicant for such time as deemed necessary. This order of suspension would give the committee absolute power to enquire into the farmer's financial position and make arrangements for debt repayment with all the creditors involved. The Land Bank would give advances from special government funds to finance the compromise with the creditors. Furthermore, there should be accompanying measures, such as the rescheduling of Land Bank and government loans and the continuation of Land Bank loans to pay for the farmers' living expenses and farming operations.[29]

On the basis of these recommendations a bill 'to make special provision for the adjustment of farmers' debts and the supervision of their operations' was drafted by Redfern, the Chairman of the Board of the Land Bank, in co-operation with the Department of Agriculture and the Law Department. This bill adopted the major principles of the proposed committee but not all its details. Introducing the bill in Parliament, Capt. F. E. Harris, the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, could only very vaguely describe the operations of the proposed committee. But nevertheless, the White MPs, with the exception of those of the Labour Party, displayed a sense of unity on this 'national issue'.[30]

The Farmers' Debt Adjustment Act, which was passed on 15 June 1935 (as No. 26 of 1935), provided for the establishment of a board—identical in composition with the Board of the Land Bank—to negotiate an adjustment of an applicant's debts. Section 3(c) provided that if such a settlement was agreed to by the Board and by all the secured and by a majority of the unsecured creditors of a farmer, then such a farmer may execute a deed of adjustment in which shall be embodied the terms of such agreement, and whereby he may empower the bank to also do all or any of the following;

1. to supervise, manage and carry on his business
2. to effect a composition with his creditors

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[26] S1246/30/B, A. W. Redfern, 19 Dec. 1933.

[27] *Rep. Comm. of Enquiry into the Econ. Position of the Agric. Ind.*, para. 239–71: 'Assistance to keep the farmers on the land'.

[28] Ibid., 22.

[29] Ibid., 24, 25.

[30] [Southern Rhodesia], *Debates [of the Legislative Assembly. First Sess., Fourth Parliament, 11th March to 15th May 1935]* (Salisbury, Parliamentary Printers, 1935), XV, 1987–2009, 2074–9. The Labour Party wanted the same sort of help extended to include the urban interests it represented.

3. to realise his estate and distribute the proceeds thereof amongst his creditors.

The publication of this deed of adjustment in the Government Gazette, making it binding for all creditors, would suspend all financial proceedings against the farmer and would vest his estate in the Board. For the settlement of the farmer's debts, i.e. the composition, the government was to provide funds for loans to the farmer through the Board. After the rescheduling exercise the farmer would be re-vested in his estate, or what was left of it, now being indebted—on better terms and to a lesser degree—to the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board.

The Act gave the secured creditors a clear preference over the unsecured ones. Secured creditors were individuals, commercial banks and other institutions like insurance companies, government departments and the Land Bank, holding bonds over the farmer's land and property as a security for the loans. Unsecured debts covered generally credit for implements and farming expenses, living expenses, wages and overdue interest on bonds. Most of these creditors were traders. The third category of creditors was termed 'partially secured', consisting mainly of holders of stop-orders on crops (for example, the manufacturers of fertilisers) and sellers of goods by hire purchase agreements.[31] According to the Act the secured creditors were still in a position to enforce insolvency whereas the weakest creditors no longer had any influence on the outcome of the settlement. Reacting to this preferential treatment of financial and state institutions, merchant capital strongly protested against the new Act,[32] as traders realised that they would be the main losers.

Although the bill was described as being 'very simple' during the parliamentary debate, the wording of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Act left considerable room for interest-bound interpretations. Its implementation was accompanied by a series of disputes and contributed to a major conflict between the Treasury on the one hand and the Board of the Lank Bank and the Ministry of Agriculture on the other. In more general terms, this conflict at government level represented opposing interests within White society as to the degree of assistance that the state should provide to the farming industry. The White settler community was highly divided on this new attempt to channel public monies to the farmers. Even among the farmers themselves, the Act was disputed. It was publicly denounced as another measure to save the bigger maize growers of Northern Mashonaland, 'introducing a very vicious principle [by which] the evasion of moral obligations [is] legalised'.[33] But even among the maize growers, much opposition was voiced on the grounds that the Act would reward bad financial management with taxpayers' money and that it would favour farmers indebted to the Land Bank.[34] In spite of these divisions, the Minister of Agriculture and the Land Bank successfully defended the measure as being in the interest of the farming community as a whole; and in the end they were able to secure the political support not only of the RAU, but also of the other major farmers' associations.[35]

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[31] [Southern Rhodesia], *Rep. Land and Agric. Bank [of Southern Rhodesia, for the Year] 1935* (Sess. Pap. C.S.R. 13, 1936), 20.

[32] S1215/1085.4, Chamber of Commerce [Bulawayo] to Minist[er of] Interior [sic], May 13 1935 (telegr.); Salisbury Chamber of Commerce to Dep. Internal Affairs, 13 May 1935.; Secr. Association of Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia to Secr. Dep. Internal Affairs, May 13 1935.

[33] *The Rhodesia Herald* (June 14 1935), 21: Mr I. Wilson at Umtali Farmers' Association Meeting.

[34] 34 Interview with Mr J. Saunders, Concession, May 25 1985.

[35] S1215/1085.4, R[hodesia] A[gricultural] U[nion] to Secr. Dep. Agric. and Lands, Jan. 27 1936; The Countryside (July 1935), VIII, 21; Rep. Land and Agric. Bank 1935, Supplementary Report . . . [on Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board].

Mr E. C. Pulbrook, the acting Chairman of the Land Bank, in September 1935 described the conflicting interests of the two ministries and the position of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board as follows: 'The Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board occupies a position between the Minister of Agriculture, on the one hand, bent on the preservation of the farmer, and the Minister of Finance, on the other hand, bent of the preservation of the farmers' bond.'[36]

Capt. Harris, the Minister of Agriculture, wanted to preserve land settlement in its present form, which meant keeping as many farmers as possible on the land. More importantly, he depended politically on the support of the farmers, and particularly of their most influential organisation, the RAU, the backbone of which was the Mashonaland maize producers. J. H. Smit, the Minister of Finance, on the other hand, was in the first instance a 'financial purist', whose main concern was the directing of state finances through the lean years of the Depression. He was particularly worried by the possible financial repercussions of the Act.[37] His preference for financial caution gave him the lifelong reputation of being an anti-farmers' advocate of pure austerity: 'Smit knows little about the Primary Producers . . . With him a £ is a £. Sweat, blood and toil do not enter into the calculation'.[38] But with his drive for strict economies he was representing wider interests in the White society. He not only stood for commercial interest, as argued by Murray,[39] but he represented all those sections of White society that opposed an unchecked grip on the state's resources by the farmers. The struggle over the terms of the alleviation of farmers' debts was an important step in the formation of an 'administrative system . . . centering on a partnership between organised farmers and the Government'.[40] As will be shown, the establishment of this 'partnership', that is the over-representation of farmers' interests within the framework of the state, was by no means unopposed.

The Board of the Land Bank, which ran the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board, had no clear idea on how to put the provisions of the Act into practice.[41] Nevertheless, it decided at its first meeting to apply some provisions of the Act (the execution of a deed of adjustment and its publication) only when a minority of creditors objected to a settlement. Thus the Board made the terms of the Act optional and intended to negotiate compositions outside the procedure prescribed by the Act. Capt. Harris agreed to this procedure.[42] The reason behind the Board's intentions not to apply the terms of the Act was the realisation that the terms of settlement as proposed by the Act and their publication meant both a 'virtual insolvency' and a humiliating procedure to the farmer.[43]

The Treasury, however, strongly admonished the Board to stick to the letter of the Act and gave approval for the first tranche of government funds to be allocated to the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board on the condition that the money would be used for measures laid down in the Act.[44] The Board of the Land Bank disagreed with this attitude. C. C. Girdlestone, then the acting Chairman of the Land Bank, assumed that Parliament never intended to settle debts only within the narrow limits of the Act and had stipulated resort to the Act only when a compromise could not be reached.[45] But because of the Treasury's objections to implementing the Act permissively and handling the relief funds on a discretionary basis, the Board of the Land Bank suspended the operations of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board on 9 September 1935.[46] The Cabinet resolved this conflict by allocating another £50 000 to the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board to be used to alleviate farmers' debts in the way it wanted.[47] This meant, as Smit complained, that 'the Government has authorised the issue of monies for the alleviation of farmers' debts not in accordance with any Act'.[48] As a result of this decision, the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board was again able to rid the farmers of parts of their debts in a discretionary way without attaching any 'smell' of insolvency to the procedure.

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[36] 'Notes and comments on the proceedings at an interview that took place at the Treasury on September 26 1935, at the request of the Hon. the Minister of Finance, between himself with the Secretary to the Treasury on the one hand, and Mr. Pulbrook, the Acting Chairman of the Land Bank, and Board Member Mr. Richardson, with the Secretary of the Land Bank on the other', *Rep. Land and Agric. Bank 1935*, Supplementary Report.

[37] S1215/1085.4, Mundy to Secr. to Treasury, Mar. 27 1935.

[38] Hist[orical] M[anu]s[cript]s Collect[ion], SM4/1/1, Labour Party election pamphlet, circulating in Que Que area in 1946. Smit had by then already left the United Party, on the grounds that its policy had become 'too socialistic', and stood for the Liberal Party in the general election of that year.

[39] Murray, *The Governmental System*, 93, 94.

[40] Ibid., 58.

[41] S482/413-39, III, Extracts from Minutes of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board, June 7 1935.

[42] Ibid., idem, 11 and 12 July 1935; S1215/1085.4, Acting Manager of the Land Bank to Secr. Dep. Agric. and Lands, 3 Aug. 1935.

[43] S482/413-39, I, Remarks by the Chairman of the Board of the Land Bank at a meeting of the R.A.U. Central Executive, Jan. 22 1936.

The Board's understanding of its tasks also included the adjustment of bonds and mortgages. This reading of the Act paved the way for the second area of conflict between the Land Bank and the Treasury. The Treasury objected very much to the Land Bank's policy of utilising funds from the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board to reduce outstanding mortgages owed to the Bank. One corollary of the growing inability of farmers to pay outstanding interest and instalments on mortgages was that the Land Bank itself faced a serious liquidity crisis by the mid-1930s, because of the government's policy that the Bank should not press for these overdue payments.[49] The accumulation of unsaleable farms in the hands of the Bank made things even worse. In the past the Land Bank freely granted long-term advances up to 60 per cent, as prescribed by the Land Bank Act, of the value of the farms. Furthermore, the 1927 Amendment of the Land Bank Act enabled the Bank to grant further credit in many instances.[50] From the perspective of the depressed farm values in the Depression, the advances of the 1920s turned out to have been given on the basis of a gross overvaluation of the lands. Thus in the cases of relinquished farms which became the property of the Bank, the value of the advances given for the farms exceeded the contemporary value of the lands.[51] Most of the 30–40 farms that the Land Bank held proved unsaleable in the depressed land market of the 1930s anyway, and were tying up a substantial amount of the Bank's capital. The first consequence of the Bank's liquidity crisis was its inability to pay full interest on working capital supplied to the Bank by the government. The Bank unsuccessfully demanded a further 1 per cent reduction in the interest rate charged on this capital.[52] The Auditor General recommended the cessation of further advances by the Bank until the interest payment to the Treasury could be resumed.[53] In May 1935 the Land Bank's cash resources were exhausted, but the Bank continued to submit applications for loans for consideration.[54] In the end, the government came to the Bank's rescue by supplying another £30 000 as fresh capital and by taking over Land Bank farm properties at loan value amounting to £40 000.[55]

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[44] S1215/1085.4, ?. Williams (for the Secr. Treasury) to the Auditor General and Secr. Dep. Agric. and Lands, 3 Sept. 1935.

[45] S482/413-39, III, Girdlestone to Pulbrook, Sept. 7 1935.

[46] Ibid., Girdlestone to Secr. Dep. Agric. and Lands, Sept. 9 1935.

[47] S1215/1085.4, Cabinet Resolution, No. 4698, Sept. 20 1935.

[48] S482/94-40, Minist. Finance and Commerce to Prime Minist., Jan. 31 1936.

[49] S1246/30/B, A. W. Redfern, Dec. 19 1933.

[50] See Rep. Secr. Dep. Agric. 1927 (Sess. Pap. C.S.R. 15, 1928), 8, 9.

[51] *Rep. Land and Agric. Bank 1934* (Sess. Pap. C.S.R. 16, 1935), and idem for 1935; S482/94-40, 'Schedule of Land Bank farms inspected and valued to date (9/12/35) and which is proposed should be taken over by Government'.

[52] S482/413-39, III, Redfern to Secr. Treasury, Dec. 6 1934.

The Farmers' Debts Adjustment Board played an important role in alleviating this cash crisis for the Land Bank. It reduced the farmers' Land Bank bonds by granting an advance which enabled the farmers to pay back parts of the loans to the Land Bank. For this advance the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board took a second mortgage—which was interest-free for three years—on the farm. By doing so, the Land Bank came out of the debt rescheduling exercise with no losses at all and the risks of doubtful debtors shifted on to the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board, in other words the Government.[56] Smit very much objected to this procedure:

It is not really a Farmers' Debt Alleviation Act: it is a mortgage holders' and merchants' alleviation Act. The farmer is not relieved of his debts at all. Instead of having a first mortgage he gets a first and a second mortgage. Through the second mortgage for the next three years he is free of interest, but in three years time, what is going to happen?[57]

Since most debt alleviations of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board had so far included the reduction of Land Bank loans, Smit feared that the Board of the Land Bank would take undue advantage of its dual function and straighten out the negative results of its incautious lending policy of the 1920s to the disadvantage of government finances. In his view, the only way in which the Land Bank could take advantage of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Act was in the case of the application of Section 3 (2) (c) (iii) of the Act which provided for a *de facto* insolvency and the final distribution of the farmer's estate among his creditors. But the inclusion of the debts owed to the Land Bank in a composition or procedure of bankruptcy would have resulted in losses to the Land Bank which was what the Bank was trying to avoid. As a result of Smit's objections to the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board's policy of reducing Land Bank bonds, the Board suspended its operations yet again on 2 October 1935.[58]

After this, pressure was brought upon Smit to give way finally to the Land Bank's reading of the Act. In December 1935 the Cabinet set another £100 000 aside from the Loan Votes for debt alleviations which now explicitly included mortgage debts. A further £25 000 was provided from the Revenue funds to 'cover mortgages of doubtful security given to the Bank'.[59] But Smit's defeat did not mean the end of the dispute. In early 1936 he started another attempt to shape the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board according to his conceptions. This time he suggested that the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board should be separated from the Board of the Land Bank. He argued that it was 'entirely inadvisable that one Board should deal with Land Bank matters and the adjustment of farmer's debts which include the Land Bank loans. It is necessary that a separate board should be established to deal with the funds'.[60]

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[53] Ibid., Auditor General's Certificate.

[54] Ibid., Land Bank Board Meeting, May 1 1935.

[55] Ibid., Land Bank Board Meeting, 26 June 1935; *Rep. Land and Agric. Bank 1935*.

[56] See *Rep. Land and Agric. Bank 1935*, Supplementary report.

[57] Smit in *Debates [Second Sess., Fourth Parliament, 16th March to 12th June, 1936]*, XVI, 1418, 5 May.

[58] S1215/1085/4, Acting Manager of the Land Bank to Secr. Dep. Agric. and Lands, 2 Oct. 1935.

[59] Ibid., Cabinet Resolution No. 4643, 30 Dec.1935.

The Prime Minister, G. M. Huggins, faced a dilemma. On the one hand, he was susceptible to Smit's arguments, but on the other hand, he feared Redfern's resignation and its impact on the support of the farmers for the Government and his party:

> The loss of Redfern's services at the present time junction would to my mind be a national calamity, no one else has his knowledge of the farmers and the farming conditions, no one else can get the farmers when they ask for £20 000 to take £2 000 without a row and even be satisfied. At the present time 90% of the farmers would regard Redfern's departure at the present juncture as an indication of the Government's inability to appreciate the situation . . .[61]

Nevertheless, Smit pressed his point and made the Cabinet decide to divorce the debt alleviation operations from the Land Bank's scope of activities. The Cabinet's decision provided for two separate boards with Redfern as Manager and Chairman of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board and C. C. Girdlestone as Manager and Chairman of the Board of the Land Bank.[62] While this question was pending, Smit intensified his attacks on the Land Bank during the debate on the 1936/7 budget. He publicly accused the Land Bank of evading the application of the terms of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Act to cover up their past policy errors.[63] The Land Bank reacted to this attack by resorting to the unusual step of printing a harsh reply which was personally handed out to the Members of Parliament and also published with the Bank's Annual Report for 1935.[64] The whole affair, which now became public, only added to Smit's reputation as the 'bete-noire amongst the farming population', as he himself put it.[65]

When Huggins, shortly after Smit's outspoken criticism, offered the chairmanship of the now separated Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board to Redfern, he rejected it:

> I can see not the least prospects of conducting the business with benefit to the farmers nor can I see I would be of any useful service to the general interest of the country. Personally I do not want to continue service under Government but it is not pleasant to feel that after 40 years of it one should leave under the cloud of the recent attack in Parliament, the damage is not only to myself but the efficient and keen staff of the Bank.[66]

But Huggins was determined not to lose Redfern and the sympathies of the farming organisations at this point of time. Thus he offered Redfern the chairmanship of both the new Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board and of the Board of the Land Bank for another year; this Redfern accepted.[67]

In June 1936 Smit introduced a new Farmers' Debt Adjustment bill in Parliament. This was passed, as Act No. 33 of 1936, this time after much more discussion than on the first Act, on June 11 1936. It provided for a new Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board, completely separate from the Board of the Land Bank. Its members were to be appointed by the Governor, and all rights, powers, assets and commitments of the old Board were transmitted to the new one. The members of the new Board were appointed on July 17

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[60] S482/94-40, Smit to Huggins, 31 Jan. 1936.

[61] Hist. Mss Collect., SM4/1/1, Huggins to Smit, 23 Aug. 1936.

[62] S482/413-39, I, Huggins to Chairman of Land Bank, 4 Apr. 1936.

[63] Smit in 1936/7 budget debate, *Debates*, XVI, 1050, 27 Apr. 1936; and ministerial statement, ibid., 2121, 21 May 1936.

[64] *Rep. Land and Agric. Bank 1935*, Supplementary Report. Interview with Mr V. V. Memerty, Harare, 18 Apr. 1985.

[65] Smit, *Debates*, XVI, 1418, 5 May 1936.

[66] S482/413-39, IV Redfern to Huggins, 5 June 1936.

[67] Ibid., Huggins to Redfern, 31 Oct. 1936; *Rep. Land and Agric. Bank 1936* (Sess. Pap. C.S.R. 20, 1937).

1936 with Redfern as Chairman. The Board of the Land Bank and the new Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board, which was now under the control of the Treasury, worked in close co-operation in their financial operations.[68] As will be shown below, the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board's credit policy was not changed substantially by this transfer of control. Only the reduction of Land Bank bonds ceased; but by then the Land Bank was out of its grave liquidity crisis anyway.

The Operations of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board

The Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board started its operations in June 1935. Until its termination in 1946, it proved assistance to more than 200 farmers and granted loans amounting to £471 197. The first four years (that is, to 1938) were by far the most important in terms of disbursement of monies and the number of farmers affected; then, after 1940, the major task of the Board shifted to the re-collection of the advanced sums and the provision of Special Loans.[69]

The assistance provided by the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board fell in two categories. The first was the re-scheduling of farmers' debts either inside or outside the terms of the Act. The funds for these operations were supplied by the Treasurer from Loan Votes E.4 and E.5; and most loans were disbursed for purposes which lay outside the strict terms of the Act. Even after the establishment of the new Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board, this bias did not change substantially. In most cases the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board arranged a composition with the farmers' creditors and provided loans for its execution. But it neither published the Deed of Adjustment nor vested the farmer's estate in the Board. From 1936 onwards, the final outcome of the arrangements and the amount of the loans granted to the farmer were published in the Government Gazette.

Most money was supplied for compositions with bondholders and secured creditors, unsecured creditors and for the payment of outstanding wages and farm expenses. Until 1937 the Land Bank secured a substantial proportion of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board funds either by successfully laying claim on outstanding interest or through the above described procedure of reducing Land Bank bonds.

Most of the assistance from these funds was provided in the following way. A farmer, unable to meet his financial commitments, applied for assistance to the Board. Depending of the nature of his debt, the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board arranged a composition with his creditors, which was financed with the advance from the Board. For example, the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board granted a loan of £410 free of interest for three years to a farmer on the security of a second mortgage on the farm. Of this amount, £340 was used to convert the farmer's bond—bearing 7 per cent interest—in favour of a commercial bank into a Land Bank loan of £600 at 5 per cent interest. The remaining £70 was utilised to effect a composition with the farmer's unsecured creditors of 5*s*.in the pound. To give another example: A loan of £445 was granted on the security of a second mortgage on the farm and a collateral bond over the movables. Of this loan

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[68] *Rep. Land and Agric. Bank 1937* (Sess. Pap. C.S.R. 14, 1938).

[69] [Southern Rhodesia], *Rep. Land and Agric. Bank 1935* and idem for 1936 (the vast majority of these loans were provided outside the terms of the Act); 'Rep. Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board for the Year 1st April, 1937, to 31st March, 1938', and idem to 1946 (titles and periods covered vary; it is unclear whether the period from 1 January to 17 June 1936, when the 'new' Board was appointed, is covered by these figures). I am grateful to Professor R. S. Roberts for sight of his copies of these and of the other unpublished Sessional Papers cited.

£244 was used to offer the unsecured creditors a composition of 10*s*. in the pound, £65 for payment in full of African wages, and £26 and £100 to pay Land Department and Land Bank loans in full, respectively. Furthermore, interest accruing to the Land Bank was paid from Debt Adjustment funds for a period of time.[70] Financial supervision of the farm was decreed only in very few instances: out of 84 assisted farms listed in the Government Gazette in 1936 only 12 were put under supervision.

The compositions arranged with the creditors were presumably based on the possible outcome of the distribution of the farmer's assets in case his estate was liquidated;[71] and the compositions were strongly biased in favour of the secured creditors who obtained 75 per cent of what was due to them, whereas the unsecured creditors (i.e. the traders) obtained only 43,9 per cent.

The second category of financial assistance granted by the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board was the provision of short-term Special Loans to those farmers who were already indebted to the Board. The Special Loans fund was established in 1931 and administered as a revolving fund by the Land Bank on behalf of the government; in 1935 it was merged with the Agricultural Loans fund, the other most important fund for mainly seasonal credit became the New Agricultural Loans, also administered by the Land Bank. From September 1936 onwards, parts of this fund were transferred to the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board including 134 accounts of so far uncollected loans which had been granted to farmers who were subsequently assisted by the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board to become a revolving fund for seasonal advances to debtors of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board.[72] This centralisation of credit allocation considerably increased the dependence of indebted farmers on the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board.

The Special Loans were granted mainly for one year, for the pre-financing of the coming season, with a stop-order on the crops as security. When repayment occurred in due time, they were renewed for the following season. The Board considered the continuous financing of the farming operations from credit sources as a prerequisite to the farmers' economic rehabilitation: 'It is essential for the Government to realise the necessity for the Board's policy and accept the principle that it will be a number of years before the farmers assisted from Special Loan funds will become entirely self-supporting.'[73] The Special Loans were a necessary accompaniment measure to debt rescheduling: 'Without these loans the long-term FDAB loans will not be beneficial.'[74] The provision of these loans also averted the severe crisis in repayment of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board loans which Smit envisaged once the interest-free three years were over. By the end of 1939 the Board had received 284 applications for support from Special Loans; in 244 instances assistance was granted. As shown in Table II, £228 304 were provided from this revolving fund until the end of 1946.

The credit policy of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board was characterised by a highly unequal regional and social distribution of the funds. In 1936, for example, most of the loans were granted to farmers in the Maize Belt of Northern Mashonaland; over 50 per cent of the monies distributed went to Mazoe, Salisbury and Lomagundi Districts, with Mazoe as the absolute leader with 41 per cent of the whole amount allocated.[75] A similar trend was also visible in other years. Also the average sum distributed to the Mazoe maize producers was almost twice as high as the average. In general, a few farmers were able to secure a very high percentage of the loan fund. Up to March 31 1937 the top 10 per cent of debtors (i.e. those with the largest debts) to the Board received 30 per cent of the loan sum, whereas the bottom 50 per cent of debtors secured only 16 per cent of the total sum.[76] These disparities in the debt-rescheduling exercise show that the Famers' Debt Adjustment Act mainly helped one particular group of farmers to overcome both the structural deficiencies of their industry and the consequences of the Depression: the Northern Mashonaland maize producers, who were in natural terms the medium-sized to bigger producers in capitalist agriculture.

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[70] S482/413-39, I, 'Examples of assistance afforded from the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Funds'.

[71] S1215/1085.4, Memo by Solicitor General, 8 May 1935; S482/413-39, I, 'Remarks by the Chairman of the Land Bank Board at a meeting of the Central Executive of the Rhodesia Agricultural Union on January 22 1936'.

[72] 'Rep. Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board for the Year 1st April 1937 to 31st March 1938' (Sess. Pap. 113, 1938).

[73] Ibid.

[74] 'Rep. Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board 1939' (Sess. Pap. 20, 1940).

Examples of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board in Practice

A typical example of a one-time assistance by the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board is the case of C. E. Crane, who farmed on 'Mayford' in Eldorado, Lomagundi District. Although his debts were moderate, he was unable to meet his commitments from his own resources. He had taken out a Land Bank bond on his farm, £500 of which remained to be repaid in 1935. His most pressing debts consisted of £201 to traders, £153 to preferential creditors (mainly to the government), £14 in outstanding wages and £32 in interest and capital payment to the Land Bank. In 1935 the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board granted a loan of £400, interest-free for three years, with the security of the second bond on 'Mayford'. This amount was distributed as follows: £32 to reduce the bond and pay interest to the Land Bank, £103 to repay the outstanding Maize Loans and Development Loans to the government, £160 to meet all unsecured creditors in full, and £103 to finance the 1935/6 crop season.[77]

In contrast to C. E. Crane, most debtors of the Board depended on continuous credit from the Special Loan fund after the debt adjustment, which is illustrated by H. C. Conradie's case. In 1935, the remaining bonds on Conradie's farm 'Dunkerry' in Bindura amounted to £2 790, of which £1 590 was owed to the Land Bank. His arrears comprised: £59 of interest payment to the Land Bank, £59 in wages, £26 to government departments, £110 for Special Loans to the Land Bank, and £246 to unsecured creditors.[78] The Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board granted a credit in 1935 to pay for these arrears. From the money provided by the Board, a composition of 10*s*. in the pound was offered to the unsecured creditors. The outstanding wages, the Lands Department advance and the Special Loan were repaid in full and the accrued interest on that portion of the Land Bank bond which exeeded £1 200 was paid for three years.[79]

However, Conradie already lacked sufficient working capital to continue planting his lands the following season. He was the first farmer to receive assistance from the Special Funds administered by the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board. For the 1936/7 season, £350 were granted—with his future maize and tobacco crops as sole security—

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[75] Southern Rhodesia, *Government Gazette*, 1936, *passim*.

[76] This calculation is based on: 'List of Settlements Effected under Farmers' Debt Adjustment Act . . .' (Sess. Pap. 95, 1937).

[77] S1215/1085.4, 'Commitments up to and including meeting of October 23 1935'; S1189/1, Meeting, Sept. 4 1935.

[78] S1215/1085.4, 'Commitments . . .'

[79] S1189/1, Meeting, Oct. 11 1935.

to pay wage arrears, to buy a new oxen and for the expenses of planting his crops.[80] Conradie was put under financial supervision of the Farmers' Co-op and the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board continued to grant annual advances in increasing amounts at least until 1941 when the records peter out. Up to that date he had received the sum of £4 127 as credit from Special Funds. These advances covered all his farming expenses: Wages for his African labour force, ploughs and shellers, oxen, engines, expenses for improvements, fertilisers, insurance premiums, credit repayment to traders and even the interest payment on the third bond on his farm, held by his mother.[81] Thus one could argue that it was really the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board which was running the farm, with Conradie as the manager.

C. W. R. Southey's case provides the most extreme example of assistance granted by the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board to an individual farmer. At the cessation of the Board, Southey had incurred the highest single debt, amounting to over £10 000. But although the degree of assistance granted to him represents an exception to the overall credit policy of the Board, his case highlights the principles of the Board's lending policy and in a way symbolises the fate of the maize industry in general.

The Southey family was among the first White settlers in Southern Rhodesia.[82] Their ancestors originally migrated with the 1820 settlers to South Africa. From there Charles Southey came with the Peacock trek to Southern Rhodesia in 1897. After three years of farming near Salisbury, he acquired a subdivision of the Moore's Concession in the Mazoe Valley. In 1901 he was among the first seven White families who took up alienated farms in Mazoe District. His farm 'Sunnyside comprised some of the most fertile soils in the whole colony. In the early years 25 bags of maize per acre were a usual yield, without the application of fertiliser. Charles Southey's son, Douglas, remembered the fertility of the farm as an outstanding feature: 'At this particular farm, I tell you, the grass grew over your head if you were on a horseback. Dad was able to grow mealies year after year on the same soil. And that's the wonderful thing, because fertiliser was almost unknown.'[83]

Thus Southey established himself as a substantial land-owner and very prominent farmer in the District. Apart from 'Sunnyside', he and his family owned some other farms, which were operated by his relatives ('The Meadows', 'Ethel Grange', 'The Gem', 'Puncheston' and, in the 1930s, 'Culmstock'), as well as properties in Avondale near Salisbury. During the East Coast Fever epidemic Southey experienced his first serious setback. His cattle herd of 120 head was reduced to 6 by the disease. The epidemic created a serious liquidity crisis for Southey because he had invested too much money in land. Already then he incurred debts amounting to £1 000 with Meikles and his farm became heavily bonded, resulting in high interest charges each year. Southey was not able to recover substantially from this initial debt. A vicious circle of growing indebtedness, lack of investment into the farm and declining yields set in. The lack of investment, especially into soil conservation measures, and the gradually declining yields of the farm were concealed for a long time by the high fertility of the soils and also by comparatively favourable maize prices. In the 1930s ‘Sunnyside’ was still among the biggest maize producers in Southern Rhodesia, producing an average of 6 000 bags annually.[84] But by then the yield had declined to three bags per acre and the proceeds from the farm at the ruling low prices were insufficient to meet Southey’s financial commitments. In 1935 he was unable to repay his overdraft of £2 000 with the Standard Bank or to pay interest on the bond of £7 000, held by another farmer, Major Brown, on ‘Sunnyside’. These interest payments alone amounted to over £400 annually.[85]

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[80] Ibid., 28 and 29 Sept. 1936.

[81] Ibid., *passim*, esp. 6 Aug. 1938.

[82] This account is based on Hist. Mss Collect., SO5/2, and interview with Mr D. Southey and his wife by the author, Feb. 23 1985. I am grateful to the late Mr D. Southey for so freely providing information on his family's 'financial history' to me.

[83] Interview with Mr D. Southey.

When he applied for financial assistance to the Farmers’ Debt Adjustment Board in July 1935, his debt was considered to be much too high to fall within the scope of the Board’s activities. Nevertheless, the Board guaranteed the interest arrears owed by Southey and pressure was put upon Southey’s creditors to reduce the rate of interest by 1 per cent. Further commitments were rejected.[86] But in September 1935 the Board changed its attitude and granted an advance of £2 000 and a further £500 from Special Funds to repay the overdraft with the Standard Bank.[87] Thus Southey’s most pressing financial burden was alleviated and his insolvency averted. In 1936 he unsuccessfully applied to the Board to take over the bond of £7 000 from Major Brown.

Again in 1938, he reached a point where he could not carry on his farming operations without external financial support. Consequently, the Farmers’ Debt Adjustment Board granted a loan of £1 000 from Special Funds for the working expenses of the 1938/9 maize crop. It demanded additional security for its loans in the form of mortgages on the blocks of land Southey owned near Salisbury.[88] Additionally, his affairs were put under financial supervision of the Farmers’ Co-op. Next season further assistance was required. This clearly shows that the assistance granted so far just prevented Southey’s insolvency but did not solve any of the structural problems of his farming venture. The impact of these deficiencies arose again each year. The Board was faced with a decision of principle:

After consideration it was resolved that Mr Southey has either to be refused assistance or a very considerable sum of money has to be expended over a period of four to five years to bring the farm back to a high state of fertility and to establish Mr Frank Southey on the Land. In view of the sum of money already expended, approximately £3 900, and the fact that the farm known a ‘Sunnyside’ is undoubtedly one of the best in the country, it was agreed to recommend the following for the Government’s approval.[89]

The Board suggested—and subsequently carried out—an extensive programme for the agronomic and financial rehabilitation of ‘Sunnyside’. This included measures of improving the soil fertility (contour ridging, storm drains, fertiliser application), the improvement of the farm implements and the payment of all expenses, wages and interest charges. To implement this programme the Board was prepared to give advances amounting to £10 305 over a three-year period, of which £3 600 were expected to be recovered immediately from crop returns. Southey’s debts where transferred to funds from Loan Vote E.4 (inside the Act) and the full terms of the 1935 Farmers’ Debt Adjustment Act were applied. But, although the suggestion was made, the farm was not vested in the Board. Instead, full control over the farm's affairs was assigned to the supervisor of the Farmers' Co-op. Charles Southey had to consent to retire from active farming in favour of his son Frank, and leave the farms 'Sunnyside', 'Culmstock' and 'Puncheston' to Frank on his death. Furthermore, he was required to sell his Avondale properties to liquidate outstanding commitments to the Land Bank and the Mines and Works Department.[90]

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[84] S1215/1090.6, Meeting, 5, 6, and 7 Nov. 1936: ‘Quote Recommendations’.

[85] S1215/1085.4, ‘Commitments . . .’; S1189/1, Meeting, 7 June 1935.

[86] S1189/1, Meetings, 25 and 31 July , 9 and 14 Aug. 1935.

[87] Ibid., Sept. 4 1935.

[88] Ibid., Nov. 18 1938.

[89] Ibid., 29 and 30 June 1939.

After many setbacks[91] the programme showed first results in 1942. By then, the yield per acre had been increased to seven bags and Mr J. Brown, the financial supervisor, proudly assumed that the Board's object had been achieved: the averting of insolvency of C. Southey's farming ventures. He was convinced that 'if given continued reasonable help by the Board, the farm can be brought back to self supporting'.[92] But a year later, the crop receipts were again on the decline and the Board concluded that the green cropping programme, which had been in force since 1939, had not come up to expectations, 'even though allowance has been made for difficult seasons'.[93] In 1944, when Southey was already indebted to the Board with over £10 000, another grant became necessary for the production of 120 acres of maize, 60 acres of tobacco, 50 acres of irrigated crops and 250 acres under green manure.[94] In 1945, when the debts now amounted to £11 049, another £2 195 from Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board funds was disbursed to Southey. The Board then proposed to discharge Major Brown's bond and to consolidate the financial liabilities of Southey under a preferential bond in favour of the Board. Substantial relief of his debt burden was also suggested: The Government was asked to cancel the whole or part of the interest paid by Mr Southey in the past to enable such sum to be credited to the capital account of the loan.[95] Whether these suggestions were implemented remains unclear.

When Charles Southey died in 1947, his son, Frank, inherited debts amounting to over £17 000.[96] Frank Southey was able to reduce part of these debts until his death in 1966. But since all loans were insured against his death before reaching the age of 65 (he died at 64), the amount outstanding was paid by the insurance company.[97]

Charles Southey's case was clearly an extreme example of assistance provided by the Board. His liabilities to this institution—amounting to £11 000 in 1945—were by far the highest single credit the Board had granted. He was followed by L. H. Brooke-Mee of 'Kilworth' in Norton (£6 444) and H. R. Southey of 'Cranham', Concession (£3 544).[98] But his case also shows, how far the Board—and thus the colonial state—was prepared to go to preserve the social structure of White farming. It is certain, that already in the mid-1930s '[without] the action of the Board the farm ['Sunnyside'] would have become another derelict Concession maize farm'.[99]

Conclusion

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[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid., 21 and 22 Nov. 1940.
[92] Ibid., 28 Jan. 1943.
[93] Ibid., 24 June 1943.
[94] Ibid., 28 Nov 1944.
[95] Ibid., 20 Nov. 1945.
[96] Interview with Mr D. Southey
[97] Ibid.
[98] 'List of Debtors to the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board, Whose Indebtedness Exceeds £2,000' (Sess. Pap. 76, 1945).
[99] S1189/1, Meeting, 28 Jan. 1943.

After 1940 the Board reduced its activities in the field of debt alleviation considerably. But it continued to supply short-term credit to farmers, to safeguard the financial recovery of their farms. At the end of 1946 it terminated its operations, and the collection of outstanding advances was taken over by the Land Bank.[100] This debt collection lasted in some instances until the 1960s as Charles Southey's case shows. At the time of its termination, £43 037 of the £229 020 advanced from Loan Vote E.4 and E.5 funds were still outstanding. Of this, £14 995 in capital, which was 6,5 per cent of the total sum advanced, and £1 028 in interest due had been written off. Of the 222 farmers assisted, 113 were considered to have been financially rehabilitated in 1946.[101]

Apart from its major task, the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board carried out minor programmes, assigned to the institution by the government. From 1938 to 1939, the Board was appointed to administer the Settlement Scheme of Young Rhodesians on the Land. This scheme, which was started during the Depression to ease unemployment among White youths, yielded almost no results.[102] In 1939 the scope of the Board's activities was extended to the granting of financial assistance to farm managers, who subsequently were to become the owners of the farms. In 1942 the Board attempted to provide financial aid for the modernisation of their farming operations to a group of thirty, mostly Afrikaner, farmers in Charter and Salisbury South Districts, but 'the community concerned are very conservative in their outlook and reluctant to borrow money for farm development'.[103]

The importance of the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board was widely acknowledged by contemporary observers. Its activities prevented more than 200 farmers, who were already virtually bankrupt, from relinquishing their farms. As the Board's aid was concentrated in the maize belt, it contributed to the easing of the grain shortage during the War. By keeping those farmers on the land who, under a regime of unchecked capitalism, would have been forced to quit farming, it reduced economic differentiation and concentration in capitalist agriculture to a certain extent.

The Minister of Agriculture repeatedly pointed out that the Act aimed at the assistance only of those farmers whose financial plight was brought about by the economic depression and not by faults of their own. He was prepared to let one group of farmers—whom he called 'the impossible', being 'very deeply in debt and incapable of carrying out the duties of farmers'[104]—drift into insolvency. Mundy, the Secretary for Agriculture, argued that this removal 'from competition in the industry of a considerable number of inefficients . . . [would put] the whole fabric of the European farming community on to an infinitely sounder basis'.[105]

But the actual practice of the Board was different. It supplied credit to farmers rather indiscriminately with the aim of preventing the foreclosure of as many estates as possible. In 1939, when the Minister of Agriculture had re-acquired control over the Board's affairs, he outlined the three groups of farmers that the Board was assisting:

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[100] *Rep. Land and Agric. Bank 1947* (Sess. Pap. C.S.R. 18, 1948).

[101] 'Rep. Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board for Period 1st January, 1946, to the 31st December, 1946' (Sess. Pap. 104, 1947).

[102] 'Rep. Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board 1939'.

[103] 'Rep. Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board for the Period 1st January, 1943 to 31st December, 1943' (Sess. Pap. 53, 1944).

[104] Debates, XV, 1989, 14 May 1935.

[105] S1215/1085.4, Mundy to Secr. Treasury, 27 Mar. 1935.

> 1. A number of people who would never do any good but it is the Government's opinion to keep such people on the land. Such assistance [is] more in the nature of charity . . . Many of them were of the pioneer type and absolute misfits.
> 2. Farmers, who through circumstances beyond their control have got into financial difficulties.
> 3. Qualified and proved farm managers.[106]

The Board's activities also had an important psychological impact,[107] for they showed that the state was not abandoning the farmers, however hopeless their situation was. This was an important feature during a period when a general feeling of insecurity for the future of the Colony prevailed among the White settlers.[108]

But the real relevance of the Board's assistance can only be assessed as being one part of the wide range of measures, employed by the state to prevent the economic breakdown of a substantial portion of the White farming sector. This assistance enabled the farmers to bridge the years of the depression and to rectify the structural deficiencies of their farming operations. The preservation of the social and economic structure of capitalist agriculture during the crisis provided the basis for the rapid growth of the industry after 1945. Thus the assistance granted by the state and not merely 'sweat, blood and toil' explains much of the success of capitalist agriculture in Southern Rhodesia after 1945.

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[106] S1189/1, Discussion of Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board with Minist. Agric., 4 Sept. 1939.

[107] Interview with Mr V. V. Memerty.

[108] See J. A. Edwards, 'Southern Rhodesia: The Response to Adversity 1935–1936' (London, Univ. of London, Ph.D. thesis, 1978).

David John Lewis
27 July 1927 - 19 January 2013
A Man who Built Bridges

by his daughters Sally, Margaret & Carin

David John Lewis was born in Bulawayo in then Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) on 27 July 1927, the oldest child and only son of David Greswolde (Tommy) Lewis and Gladys (nee Buck). He died peacefully in his 86th year on 19 January 2013, in his home in Johannesburg, South Africa, where he had lived since leaving Zimbabwe in 2006. He is survived by his wife Dorothy, his sister Elizabeth, his daughters Carin Cant, Margaret Platt and Sally Szekely, his grandchildren Christine and Marshall Cant, Peter and David Platt, and Ariel Szekely, and his cousins John Lewis, Diana Armstrong, Anthony Hardy and Betty Darvall.

David's grandfather, David Morrall Lewis, was a serving officer in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. He arrived in the newly occupied territory (later to be called Rhodesia) on 15 April 1891, only 7 months after the arrival at Fort Salisbury of the first Pioneer Column, as one of the earliest European settlers in the country, to join the British South Africa Company's police force. He held various commands in different parts of the country, finally as OC Salisbury with the rank of Acting-Major. He was a keen sportsman, having represented Wales at soccer, and captained the Police soccer team in Salisbury. He was said to be the life and soul of any social gathering. In 1897 he married Mary Blackwood Dick, the first piano teacher in the country, who often played for dances at Government House. She wrote fascinating memoirs of her early days in the country, some of which have been published in *Rhodesiana* journal (See Volume 5), and parts of which were recorded in "*Pax Britannica*" by Jan Morris. She also established the Mary Blackwood Lewis Music Scholarship in Harare (then Salisbury).

David's father Tommy was born in Harare on 15 October 1898. Aged 19 he served as a 2nd Lt in the Royal Flying Corps in France during the First World War and, with only a few flight hours under his belt, became the 80th and last victim of the famous German flying ace Baron Manfred von Richthofen, the "Red Baron". He was shot down in flames. Parachutes were not provided because it was thought that they might lead to "a diminution in fighting spirit" on the part of the pilots. Tommy Lewis was lucky to crash-land behind the German lines and survive with moderate burn injuries. He spent a year in a German prisoner-of-war camp in France before returning to Southern Rhodesia. Although he was told upon his return that he could not be given a job as he was officially listed "missing, presumed dead", he convinced the Department of Internal Affairs that he was indeed alive, and went on to serve for forty four years as a much-loved District Commissioner in Matabeleland in the southwest of Rhodesia, and then as an Assessor in the High Court of Rhodesia in Salisbury, before his retirement. He was renowned for his irrepressible sense of humour, and would incur the wrath of the Provincial Commissioner

Bulawayo *Chronicle* Caption
6 February 1935 - Queer Pets.
The jackal in this picture is one of two that are household pets in the family of Mr D. G. Lewis, the Assistant Native Commissioner of Fort Usher. The fox terrier, who has adopted the jackals as bosom pals, is continuing to indulge his chief amusement in life, which is to pretend to bite pieces out of them, while Davis Lewis holds one of the jackals up to the camera.

by playing cricket in the office corridors. He first met his wife, Gladys Buck, at Government House in Salisbury, whilst on all fours with a group of children balancing on his back. Fortunately she loved children as much as he did! Gladys (a school teacher) came to visit Southern Rhodesia in 1923 having just broken off her engagement in England to another David Lewis (because he did not want to have children).

David John Lewis was educated at the Rhodes Estate Preparatory School in the Matopos near Bulawayo and at Plumtree School where he excelled at rugby and cricket. He was made of stern stuff—when the family were living at Nkayi, he cycled ten miles to and from school every day and, on days when he had cricket practice in the afternoon, he would cycle the ten miles there and back once again. He was a handful of a student, with a strong character, and had no interest in obeying rules or masters whom he did not respect. He was often to be found breaking bounds with friends to hunt or explore. David captained the cricket and rugby teams at both schools, and also captained both the Matabeleland and Rhodesian School teams at cricket, and in 1945/6 was vice-captain of the South African Schools Cricket XI under Clive van Ryneveld, selected at the first Nuffield tournament held after World War II.

David's early life, spent in remote areas in Matabeleland with his family, had a lasting impact on his life. It was here that he learned to speak Sindebele fluently and, together with his sisters Elizabeth and Mary, learned to love and respect the bush and the wildlife of Africa. He was a conservationist who understood how important it was to protect the natural riches that surrounded him. He had jackals, "pookies", duiker and all types of assorted animals as pets. He learned to shoot to provide the family and their employees with food, and knew how to survive in the bush with no hospitals, clinics, shops or supermarkets nearby. In David's own words;

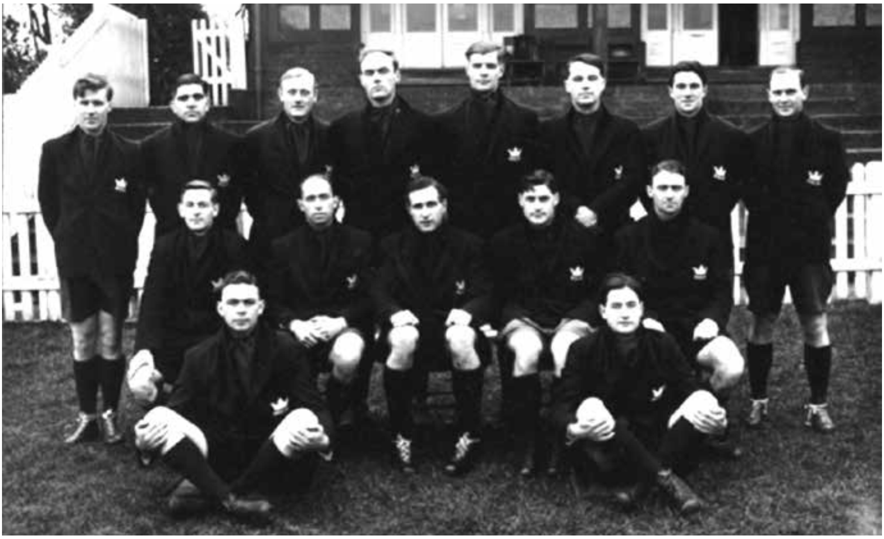
> *"My mother had to deal with emergencies galore because one of the functions of the N.C's wife at a place like Nkayi—one hundred miles from anywhere—was to care for the Clinic as best she could. People in those days were very versatile as they had to be. On one occasion she*

> *had to treat a man who had walked miles through the bush to the Clinic, with an axe embedded in his head—I am under the impression that she used Dettol to help heal the wound and otherwise handled it as best she could. The victim survived. I do not know how we survived in these odd places as we also became sick but there were no doctors and one simply had to be healthy. The nearest outpost to us was Inyati which was sixty miles towards Bulawayo on a dirt track. During the summer months if it rained there was no question of getting across the rivers because there were no bridges, not even low level ones. In fact one unfortunate family did lose a child to sickness, when the river was flooded, even though my father tried his level best to get the car across the river in full flood.*
>
> *During the holidays at Nkayi my job was to shoot game for the pot for at least sixty people, our household, the messengers, and their families, and of those at the Clinic and in gaol. I did this on foot and from the car in equal proportions over the years, and I confess I absolutely loved the responsibility and became a complete marksman. On one occasion we were out shooting in the car with our pointer Bobby on the back seat. We saw an antbear and shot it. We let Bobby out and he ran to the animal which he was wont to do whenever we shot an animal to finish it off if necessary. On this occasion he took one sniff at the antbear and galloped back to the car and jumped through the open back window onto the seat. It was hilariously funny—inevitably when we reached the dead antbear we understood why Bobby had taken off. It was because the smell exuded by the antbear was absolutely putrid. It was too much for Bobby and us. Nevertheless we took it home and it was consumed in the normal way.*
>
> *The locals in Matabeleland named my father "Jahalezansi" meaning "Man from the South" because they regarded him as one of them. He loved the Amandebele and they loved him".*

Lewis, aged about 18, with his father Tommy"

David too came to understand and respect the traditions and beliefs of black Zimbabweans, and the challenges they faced to survive in the rural areas, by living through similar challenges as he grew up. He associated himself at a very deep level with the people and the wild heritage of Zimbabwe and, like his father before him, developed a profound love for, and devotion to, his country and its people.

Immediately after leaving school David joined the Department of Internal Affairs to follow in his father's footsteps. However, in June of that year, 1946, something urged him to attempt a university course. With the customary drive and determination that served him throughout his life, he applied to the University of Cape Town (UCT), refusing to wait until the end of the academic year to be admitted, and convinced the Law Faculty to allow him to sit his first year exams with only six months of study under his belt. He graduated three years later and applied and was accepted to read Law at Oxford University. In 1949 he went up to Exeter College, arriving in January, even though the academic course had already been in progress for three months. Again, undeterred, he successfully caught up with his peers, and was awarded a Masters Degree in Jurisprudence in 1951. Whilst there, he continued his outstanding sporting career by becoming the first Zimbabwean sportsman to be awarded a cricket Blue and a rugby Blue, the first Zimbabwean to be awarded a Double Blue. He also played in the Combined Oxford and Cambridge rugby team that toured South Africa in 1951, on which tour he played a notable part.



The Oxford Rugby Blue (seated on grass front right)

David returned to Zimbabwe in 1951 and married Dorothy Joan Renee Saunder, whom he had met at UCT and to whom he had been unofficially engaged whilst at Oxford. Dorothy was the daughter of the well-known Zimbabwean schoolmaster and hockey player, Douglas Arthur Saunder, a Cambridge Rowing Blue, and his wife Maud. (Incidentally, D. A. Saunder's father Samuel was a renowned astronomer and the Saunder crater on the moon is named after him). David and Dorothy went on to have three daughters, Carin Joan, Margaret Anne and Sally Ann, and the year before David died, they celebrated their 61st wedding anniversary in South Africa. They were unwavering in their support and love for each other.

Simultaneously in 1951, David joined the law partnership of Coghlan, Welsh and Guest, one of the oldest and most prestigious legal firms in Zimbabwe. He was admitted as an Attorney, Notary and Conveyancer in October 1954, and became a partner of the firm in June 1960. In 1989 he took over as Senior Partner from Senator W. R.

(Sam) Whaley, who had been in that position for some 20 years. David retired from his position as Senior Partner in 2002, handing over to fellow Oxonian David Morgan after 13 years at the helm. Still strong and indefatigable, he stayed on in a part-time capacity until his full retirement in 2006, at the age of 79.

"The man comes of age"
DJL at 21

Fairly early on in his legal career, it was decided by Lewis and his fellow partners that he would have an active involvement in non-executive management positions in both public and private companies in Zimbabwe, as a way of rounding out his personal legal experience, whilst simultaneously benefiting the firm through his connections and exposure to almost every sector of the Zimbabwean economy. Over the course of his career, he served as Chairman on the boards of a total of 37 companies, including leading players in the commercial, industrial and agricultural sectors of Zimbabwe such as Triangle Limited, Schweppes CA Ltd, Dunlop Zimbabwe Ltd, Rhone Poulenc (Private) Limited, TSL Limited, Stewarts and Lloyds, and Truworths Zimbabwe Ltd, amongst many others. In addition he held 39 non-executive directorships in prestigious companies such as Barclays Bank of Zimbabwe Limited, First Merchant Bank Limited, Zimbabwe Development Bank, Hunyani Holdings, India Tyres, Haggie Rand, SKF Zimbabwe Ltd, and Olivine Holdings Limited. As his life-long friend and fellow partner Alex Masterson at Coghlan Welsh and Guest stated, "these positions bore testimony to the esteem in which he had been held in public life, and that esteem had rubbed off on the firm in ways which were difficult to quantify but were a most material factor in the firm occupying the position of pre-eminence that it does."

Shortly after Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980, David Lewis played a key role in the first major investment made by a multi-national company in post-independence Zimbabwe. The Heinz Group of Companies acquired a controlling interest in Olivine Industries, in part because Zimbabwe had the best climate and soil in the world in which to grow the beans for the famous Heinz Baked Beans. Again in the words of Alex Masterson, Lewis had played a "material part in the agreement, an immensely involved exercise requiring attention for eighteen hours per day for days on end, contact with people in Europe, USA and Zimbabwe, and a quality of legal work which was equal to that which could be expected in any of those continents". The successful direct investment by Heinz was an important vote of confidence in the ability of the newly elected government to provide a stable economic environment in the future in Zimbabwe.

Crucial to Lewis's success in this historical agreement was his breadth of high level contacts with international and Zimbabwean businessmen and politicians, which undoubtedly was a result of the initiative that he and his close friend and well-known businessman C. G. Tracey had begun back in 1963, the Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) Promotion Council (ZPC, formerly RPC). The Council was established by Tracey and

Lewis as a non-political, non-profit organisation, funded by the private sector, which aimed to promote knowledge of Rhodesia's economic development and potential to the outside world. C. G. Tracey was elected Chairman and David Lewis Vice-Chairman.

Initially, the ZPC demonstrated its value by becoming the point of contact, exposure and information for visiting businessmen and women, politicians, industrialists, agriculturalists, journalists and others. This meant that the strength and diversity of the Zimbabwean economy became more widely-known internationally, which in turn made fund-raising and financing easier for the private sector. The ZPC played an even more important role once international economic sanctions were put in place against Rhodesia when Ian Smith declared UDI in 1965. The number of people visiting the country increased, and it became a focus of attention. There were Congressmen from the United States, Members of Parliament from Britain, and various visitors from Commonwealth and other countries. The ZPC formed close associations with the American Chamber of Commerce, the Institute of Directors and the Confederation of British Industries in the UK, the South Africa Foundation, and a German private sector confederate body called Afrika Verein. The ZPC also became more proactive in promoting Zimbabwe abroad. In 1974 Tracey and Lewis were invited to the US, Australia, and Fiji (whose Prime Minister, Sir Khamisese Mara was a friend and cricket team mate of Lewis at Oxford) and which connection enabled Lewis to organise a tour of Rhodesia by the Fiji National Team in the 1970s. In 1978 they took a multi-cultural delegation of private sector leaders to the UK, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and Germany to visit their counterparts in those countries. A political solution was moving closer in Zimbabwe, and there was much interest from other countries which needed to understand the depth and breadth of the private sector in Zimbabwe leading up to independence. It was the job of the ZPC to publicise Zimbabwe's very real achievements, the development of the chrome and nickel mines and smelters, the expansion of Hwange's coal industry, the rapid increase of cotton production to offset the damaged tobacco industry, and of course, Zimbabwe's ability as the Central African breadbasket to feed itself and the region.[1]

In 1976, it became clear to Tracey and Lewis that majority rule and independence for Zimbabwe were very close. Therefore, with the express agreement of Ian Smith, (although he did not accept the judgment of these two on the matter of majority rule) Lewis and Tracey organised a series of informal meetings whereby the existing government ministers, and the heads of the government-owned parastatals, were able to meet with and brief the leaders of the four black political parties fighting for majority rule. This meant that, whoever won the anticipated future free-and-fair election, the incoming winning party would assume power already having some understanding of the nature of the administration that they would inherit.

The ZPC continued to play an important role in Zimbabwe's early days after independence. Lewis was called on frequently to meet with President Robert Mugabe on matters concerning the white community in Zimbabwe and the President is said to have expressed to one of his ministers his wish that all of the white community in Zimbabwe were like David Lewis. The ZPC was finally dissolved in 1986, when it had served its purpose in the process of the political development of Zimbabwe. In the words of his friend Alwyn Pichanick, Lewis was "a man who built bridges at a time when that was so important to do".

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[1] *All for nothing?*, by C. G. Tracey, Weaver Press, 2009

Lewis's main interest outside Coghlan, Welsh and Guest and the ZPC had always been in the sporting sphere, given his exceptional talent as an athlete. At Oxford University, he played for the Oxford University team in first-class games against the other first-class counties and considered that to be the greatest of experiences, exposing him to many grand international cricketers. One English journalist wrote "He is rated as one of the finest cover points in English cricket and in the same category as old-timers of the calibre of Jack Hobbs and Gilbert Jessop." Yet another Oxford scribe wrote: "in the young Rhodesian, Oxford had one of her most promising batsmen, and Lewis was Oxford University's most magnificent fielder for many years".[2]

The Oxford Cricket Blue (standing right)

He played both rugby and cricket for Rhodesia, but following an injury and pressure from his law partners to choose one only of these time-consuming sports he gave up rugby. To keep active in the winter months he took to hockey, and ended up representing Mashonaland at that game too. He was in the Zimbabwean cricket team for an unbroken period of 15 years, and played in 82 consecutive games for his country, a Zimbabwean record that stood for many years. He was captain of the Zimbabwean side for 9 years, another record only surpassed many years later by David Houghton. He was a courageous right hand, middle-order batsman, and his success came from his thorough understanding of the game. He was a brilliant fielder, especially in the covers, and many considered him one of the best in the world. As a captain, he was also considered one of the best—he had a deep knowledge of the game, and excelled in assessing the individual weaknesses and strengths of the opposing players. He looked after his team members, tried to develop each individually, and although he could be demanding and tough, he was always kind and helpful to young players who were willing to learn. Andy Flower and Tatenda Taibu were to be seen in his office talking cricket tactics and technicalities of batsmanship. In 1956 David was nominated as one of the five top cricketers in Southern Africa for that year, largely in recognition of his part in ensuring Rhodesia's promotion to the A Section of the Currie Cup Tournament.

Rhodesian Cricket Captain

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[2] *The Star*, 21/03/2013

Stuart Surridge said "What a real fighter he is, and what a grand skipper—his handling of his attack, his field placings, and his general example in the field were absolutely first class".[3] According to former South African Captain Jackie McGlew "I would rate Lewis as one of the best judges of 'cricket flesh' that I have encountered in my career. He possesses a dynamic, positive personality, and he is gifted with the rare quality of being able to instill immediate confidence in others." When Lewis retired as a player, he became very active in cricket administration, served as President of the Rhodesia Cricket Union from 1973 to 1976, and was a delegate to the South African Cricket Union and Member of S.A.C.U. Board of Control from 1974 to 1980. He introduced many changes in the way cricket was played in Zimbabwe, championing a revolution by converting the national team from amateurs to professionals who had regular, organised practice in addition to club matches.[4] He remained a Life Vice-President of the Zimbabwe Cricket Union until his death.

Lewis in the Combined S.A. Universities Cricket Team (standing right)

David Lewis's many commitments as a leading lawyer, and his work for the ZPC and the ZCU did not however keep him from being a devoted family man. Most days at 5pm he would return home in order to coach his three daughters at tennis. It is remarkable that, although he never played tennis except on an *ad hoc* basis, he applied his intellect to the study of the game to such an extent that he was able to coach Carin to the level where she represented Mashonaland, and Margaret and Sally to where they represented Zimbabwe in tennis at international level. He was an astute coach and tactician in any sport he studied, and his understanding of human nature made his guidance invaluable on the sporting field.

As a leader, Lewis was tough and demanding, but fair and treated all with due respect. In his mind, no obstacle was insurmountable, and he was imbued with a strong sense of duty to honour country and principle. He felt strongly that his privileged background and education and position in society placed a great duty on him to work for those less fortunate than himself, and he did not believe that giving up was ever an option. In a speech delivered in 1978 to the National Affairs Association, at a critical time in Zimbabwe's history, when many whites were considering leaving, he said "I want to declare that we would be failing in our duty if we now threw up our hands in defeat simply because we are faced with another challenge. Our forebears were surely faced with far greater national and personal challenges and disasters than we face today. Did they surrender or run from the country? No, not at all. They faced the problems, overcame them and contributed with their fellow citizens, black and white, to the construction of that which you see before you today and of which we can all be justly proud. Our category of citizens would be a disgrace to our forebears and failing in our duty to the country, to those who have died, been incapacitated or bereaved and to those who cannot leave even if they wished, if we did not meet this challenge and overcome it." That is how David Lewis lived his life, as did his friends and colleagues, the countless men and women who built Zimbabwe in the way they thought best.

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[3] Stuart Surridge, Capt of Surrey County Cricket Club touring team in Zimbabwe

[4] The Star, 21/01/2013

Lewis believed humility to be a great virtue. His friend, David Ellman-Brown, remembers "I knew David well and always found him to be a very modest man. I will never forget when he approached me to coach him on the understanding of financial statements as he was beginning to get directorships and wanted to have the necessary financial skills. He would come to my office in the lunch hour with his lunch box and we would examine published accounts. That was David Lewis.

As a cricket administrator and President of ZCU at the time during a Currie Cup game at the Police ground, I found that he had relieved a particular gate-keeper who had to go and give blood. Just quietly he helped out and we only found out that evening that he had assisted. That was typical David Lewis."

He was unfailingly loyal to family, friends, colleagues and country. He paid attention to the details in the lives of people around him. In the words of Alex Masterson in reference to Lewis's years as senior partner of Coghlan Welsh and Guest, "the trouble that he had taken to get to know all the partners and to know so many of the staff as well as he did was something we tended to take for granted. This was nevertheless probably one of the most important factors in the way that both Sam Whaley and David Lewis have succeeded in keeping the firm as productive and happy as it has been. The firm was totally free from rancour among the partners, it was essentially free from employer/employee disputes and has generally been free from internal strife at all levels. This has provided us all with the foundation and environment from which we have grown to be the top law firm that we are. There is a sound work ethic, a healthy degree of self motivation at all levels, and a desire and expectation to succeed. These were factors that had ensured the best service to our clients and the best result for all of us as partners. These achievements amounted to a legacy of which David Lewis could be justly proud."

The Senior Partner

Lewis was acutely aware that he was the last male Lewis of a notable English family, and it was very important to him that the history and heritage of his family be preserved for future generations. His great uncle and great grandfather were David and Evan Lewis, both of whom graduated

David and Dorothy Lewis in retirement

from, and became Fellows, and in the case of David, Vice-Principal, of Jesus College, Oxford University in the UK, in the 1840s. They were both closely associated with the Oxford Movement and raised its banner at that time. Members of the Lewis family have at one time or another owned or been associated with many family seats and lineages in the UK: the Methuen family, of Malvern Hall near Birmingham (the seat of the Greswolde family), Ham House near London, now a national monument, and Helmingham House (the Dysart/Tollemache family seat) and Plas Yolyn (Morrall family). The two daughters of David Lewis of Malvern Hall each became Countess Dysart. The family motto inscribed on the family crest awarded to the Lewis family in 1815 reads "*Aequus in omnes*" (justice and equality for all men) which embodies how David Lewis led his life.

Always a great patriot, Lewis said "in my judgment, I have always acted with the best interests of my country at heart". Indeed, it broke his heart to leave Zimbabwe, as he was forced to do in 2006, when the country to which he had given so much could not provide for his needs as he aged. He had never wanted any other future for himself and Dorothy other than to live out his days in his beloved homeland, surrounded by his fellow Zimbabweans and the land and wildlife he adored. Nevertheless, always a pragmatist, he never complained, never looked back, never lost his positive outlook on life, and managed his new life in South Africa with dignity and honour. He enjoyed his last days with Dorothy at his side, surrounded by Margaret and her family, and his sisters Elizabeth and Mary.

David Lewis's ashes will be buried alongside those of his parents in Zimbabwe. He will at last be back in the land he thought of as home.

As a lawyer, as a sportsmen, and as a leader, David had a clear vision for the future of Zimbabwe—he saw a peaceful and prosperous land, nestled between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers, where all would be treated with respect and as equals. He knew that the successful realisation of this vision would have a profound impact on the rest of Africa. He never stopped fighting to create his dream because he saw the potential in the newly emergent Zimbabwe, and he knew that harnessing this potential would create a country like no other in the great African continent. When he needed inspiration to sustain his dream, he found it in the uniquely beautiful land and people around him.

The story of David Lewis's life and work will always be an intimate part of Zimbabwe's fascinating history.

Chief Albert Luthuli: A Zimbabwean Connection

by Rob Burrett

Today most people know of Albert Luthuli; once leader of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, 1960 Nobel Peace Prize recipient and an inspirational politician under whose sway the multiracial character of that organisation was forged and the Freedom Charter was written and adopted, albeit with some controversy. Understandably most people associate the man and his works with the liberation of South Africa and history in the subcontinent could have taken a different turn had Albert Luthuli not returned from Zimbabwe to the place of his ancestors in 1903. This Zimbabwean connection is worth remembering following the centenary of the ANC in 2012.

In 1836 several white missionaries of the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" arrived at the royal capital of Zulu King Dingane seeking permission to set up missions in his domain. One of them, Reverend Aldin Grout established a station near the modern town of Stanger, called Groutville or Umvoti Mission. This saw the emergence of a dedicated Christian following, whose progeny have been leaders in South Africa's African elite.

Initial converts were few. The local chiefs were ambivalent fearing the loss of their power as a result of enculturation, but the ordinary man was more enthusiastic. Two of Grout's first converts were Ntaba Luthuli and his wife. As an elder of the Church, Ntaba took control of the Christian Groutville community; the *abesemakholweni*. His son John Ntaba Luthuli married Mtonya Gumede who had spent much of her childhood at the Royal village of King Cetswayo before taking flight with her mother to Groutville. They were married about 1895.

Albert Luthuli

Not long afterwards, John Luthuli joined a number of local men (as well as a group of young European settlers from the neighbouring district), in heading north to Matabeleland. In 1896 the Ndebele had risen in rebellion against the white settlers, the

Umvukela, and these men were enlisted as irregular forces to fight for the European cause. Why John chose to go is unclear, but it may well have had to do with political succession. His uncle Martin Luthuli had since been elected to lead the Groutville community and John may have been looking for a way to prove his worth.

Due to inadequate colonial records it is unclear in which of the corps John Luthuli served. It was either Colenbrander's Cape Boy Corps or Robertson's Cape Boy Corps. These were non-white troopers serving under the command of white officers. They were to prove important in many of the major engagements in the Umvukela, often fighting hand-to-hand against the Ndebele in their rocky defences in the Matopos. Enlisted in South Africa, many subsequently settled in this country. Looking at the medals lists for the period it seems probable that John was in Johan Colenbrander's Corps (Forsyth 1980). This troop saw action on the Umguza River in May 1896, and at Mkwati's stronghold of Ntaba Zika Mambo near Nyathi in June, and in various battles in July and August 1896 (Plumer 1897).

The cemetery Solusi Mission

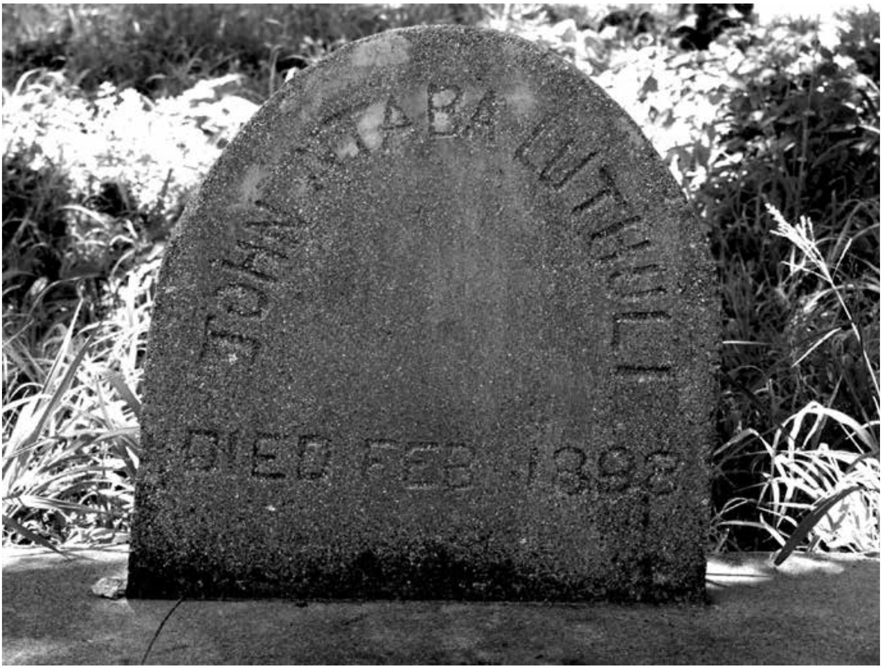
After the war John attached himself to the Seventh Day Adventist mission at Solusi near Bulawayo as an evangelist and interpreter. His wife and son Alfred soon joined him.

Solusi Mission was started in 1895 with the arrival of five American missionaries. The church had been granted this 12 000 acre property a year previously by Cecil Rhodes (Zvobgo 1996). Solusi was one of several missions where the starving refugees of the 1896 uprising concentrated in the hard times that followed the conflict. It was to these people that the missionaries and their African evangelists were to preach.

Albert Luthuli was born at Solusi in 1898. Unfortunately he did not get to know his father, who died in February 1899 when he was only six months old. John Ntaba Luthuli lies buried at Solusi Mission. The Luthuli family stayed on and the young Albert grew up on the mission playing with the local children, those of the white missionaries as well as of the converts. In 1908 the Seventh Day Adventists wanted to start work in Natal. They asked Alfred Luthuli to go with them as interpreter. The whole family, including the young Albert aged eleven, left Southern Rhodesia. After spending time near Vryheid in northern Natal they returned to Groutville near Stanger. Here began again the life of a young man destined to be elected as long-serving Chief of the Groutville Community and later to lead the ANC.

Albert Luthuli does not seem to have returned to Southern Rhodesia at any point, although on occasion various South African government officials with whom he had to work brought up the matter of his birth in Matabeleland. The implication was that he was a "foreigner", thus questioning his political credentials (Luthuli 1962). But this proud Zulu leader was undaunted. He was a South African and was proud of it. He died after an accident in 1967.

Like many of the early African adherents, a simple concrete memorial marks John Luthuli's grave at Solusi Mission. The original graveyard is still well maintained and lies just behind the administrative building of the Solusi University. It is a fascinating link to the political and social *milieu* of our southern neighbour. Here in Matabeleland there are many such ties which require far greater study. There is need to investigate the successive waves of Nguni and Sotho immigration that came with the Rhodesian



Headstone of the grave of John Ntaba Luthuli

settlers. Why did they come, how did they cope with the colonial system and what of issues of identity? Many of these families are now “more Ndebele than the Ndebele” although, when pressed, my friends admit their ancestors were once wagon drivers in the 1893 invasion of Matabeleland or came to fight for the settlers in 1986, as did John Luthuli. There is still much to record and understand.

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Great Characters of the Lowveld: Clive Stockil of Senuko

by Colin Saunders

On 12 September 2013 a banquet of great significance for conservation in Africa took place in London. It was a splendid, glittering, black-tie affair, graced by the attendance of Their Royal Highnesses, The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, who were out on their first official engagement since the birth of their son, Prince George. Hosted by TUSK, a prominent international charitable wildlife NGO, the principal business of the occasion was the presentation by Prince William of two awards:

1. The Tusk Conservation Award, for which there were five young finalists, all with distinguished track records in conservation of natural resources on the African continent and its offshore islands. Tom Lalampaa, of The Northern Rangelands Trust in Kenya was the winner of this award.

2. The inaugural Prince William Award for Conservation in Africa, celebrating a lifetime of achievement, commitment and sacrifice in conservation. The winner of this award was Zimbabwe's Clive Stockil. This international recognition and award was the crowning glory of Clive's lifetime of conservation.

Tusk
Conservation
Awards
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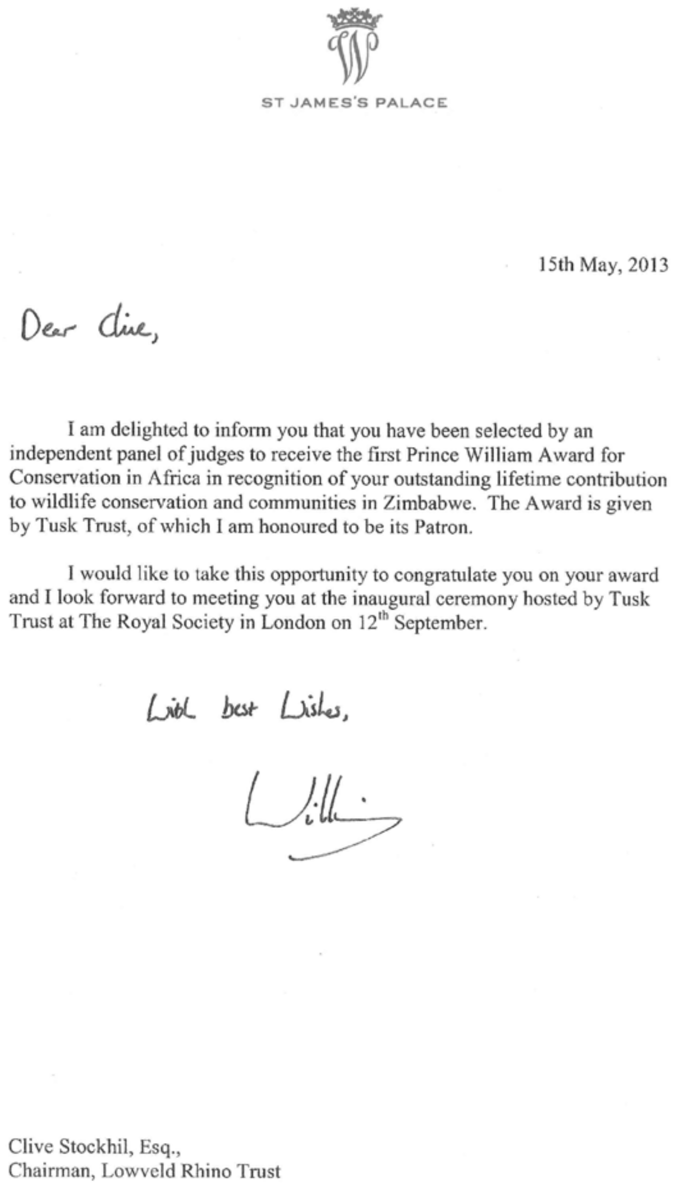
Clive with Prince William and the Trophy

Clive Stockil was born in Masvingo in 1951, and raised on the family's extensive wildlife-rich "Essanby" cattle ranch, in a remote corner of the arid south-eastern Lowveld. His father Stanley, an enthusiastic naturalist and outdoorsman, taught his four sons everything he knew about bush-craft. Clive's childhood was idyllic, spent in the company of local Changana ("Shangaan") pals. Two of them (Watch Musengi and Musisinyani Chauke) became life-long friends, and were employed by Clive in his commercial enterprises when he grew up.

The youngsters roamed all over the ranch, learning more and more about the abundant wildlife. They set traps with woven grass stems to catch mice, and



ST JAMES'S PALACE

15th May, 2013

Dear Clive,

I am delighted to inform you that you have been selected by an independent panel of judges to receive the first Prince William Award for Conservation in Africa in recognition of your outstanding lifetime contribution to wildlife conservation and communities in Zimbabwe. The Award is given by Tusk Trust, of which I am honoured to be its Patron.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your award and I look forward to meeting you at the inaugural ceremony hosted by Tusk Trust at The Royal Society in London on 12th September.

With best Wishes,

William

Clive Stockhil, Esq.,
Chairman, Lowveld Rhino Trust

Letter from Prince William to Clive

shot birds with their catapults. Everything that they harvested in this manner was roasted over a fire out in the bush, and eaten. Although they excelled at small-scale hunting, their favourite outdoor pursuit was fishing for the pot, especially in the lower reaches of the Runde and Save Rivers.

It was not surprising that the young Stockil rapidly became fluent in the Changana language. He also learnt much about the Shangaan culture and traditions, for which he developed a deep understanding and respect. This was of great value to him in the ensuing years.

After he completed his schooling, he studied Wildlife Management through the Damelin organisation, and was awarded a Diploma in Field Ecology. Following his formal studies for several years, his parents agreed that he could take time-off for an extended holiday in the bush.

He modified an ancient Hillman Husky motor-car, equipping it with a four-wheel drive facility, and he and Watch and Musisinyani then set off on a three-month camping/walkabout odyssey in the wild frontier land of the lower Save River, an area which was eventually incorporated in the Gonarezhou National Park.

This was a once-in-a-life-time excursion, but Clive eventually had to set about earning a living. He secured employment with African Fauna International, a wildlife capture organisation operating in Mozambique. Two years later he was employed by Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) in geochemical exploration in Mozambique and adjacent Zimbabwe. After a further two years in this remote area, during which he had led a hazardous life (including being captured by Frelimo, and only gaining his release because of his fluency in the Shangaan language and culture), he decided it was time to go home.

Clive and playmate

He was employed as a Professional Hunter with Lone Star Safaris for two years, and then joined the Fields Department of Hippo Valley Sugar Estates in 1975. As an Area Manager for four years, he was in charge of a large network of cane fields, and he also managed Hippo Valley's Lady Virginia Stockil Game Park, and the associated safari business.

Meanwhile his father had run into serious financial difficulties on Essanby Ranch, which resulted in 1980 in him losing all but a small acreage of irrigated land. Clive resigned from his post at Hippo Valley to develop this remaining parcel of family land. Naming the small farm "Shiloh", he set about creating a viable agricultural enterprise for the family. He grew sugar-cane to supply Hippo Valley's sugar mill and established a profitable citrus section on the remainder of the land.

In 1984, together with two friends in the Lowveld, he launched Chiredzi Wildlife Investments (CWI), the country's first major crocodile and ostrich farming enterprise. After a successful start, CWI diversified its wildlife-based operation, and secured a safari camp concession in the Gonarezhou National Park in 1984. Ray Sparrow, a partner in CWI, constructed an excellent 12-bed camp at Chilojo, opposite the cliffs of that name.

When the lease was terminated in 1988 on expiry of the contract, and National Parks changed their policy, the camp was dismantled.

Clive had always been determined to acquire his own property on which to establish a wildlife-based venture in the Lowveld, and was saving every possible cent. In 1984 he secured a contract to run an upmarket ethical hunting safari business in the wildlife-rich communal lands adjacent to the Gonarezhou National Park. This enterprise was based on harvesting large wild animals that broke out of the Park and took a toll of crops and livestock belonging to the hard-pressed communal farmers.

In 1988 the Government decided to dispose of several perennial loss-making cattle ranches on State Land in the Mkwasine region of the Lowveld. Believing strongly that wildlife utilisation, instead of cattle ranching, could be profitable, he had had his eye on two of these properties for a long time. He was overjoyed when his tender for two Senuko properties was accepted. He set about conserving the land, and constructed the excellent Senuko Safari Lodge. The money to acquire Senuko came from the sale of Clive's shares in CWI.

Stockil became active in many a forum involved with conservation, and his reputation grew. A founder member of the Lowveld Natural History Society, he rapidly rose to the top of this very successful wildlife conservation organisation. As the Society's Chairman, he provided strong support for the staff of the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Conservation in the Gonarezhou. He was appointed an Honorary Officer in the Department.

At that time many remote communal lands in the country held vast herds of wildlife, particularly those areas on the periphery of National Parks. There was ever-increasing human/wildlife conflict, as a result of large mammals continually breaking out of the Parks and causing great losses to the farmers. Their crops were destroyed by buffalo and elephants, and their domestic animals were killed by carnivores such as lions, leopards, and hyenas, with no compensation or other restitution payable to the aggrieved farmers for their losses.

A virtual state of war smouldered between Parks staff doing their job of protecting wild animals, and the communal folk who suffered severe losses from the presence of "the Government's wildlife" on their boundaries. The farmers had no respect for National Parks staff or the wildlife they protected, and they killed the animals whenever they could. Some of them poached for profit, others because they were genuinely hungry, having lost their home-grown food sources. Many were arrested and imprisoned.

None of them benefited from the presence of wildlife on the adjacent land. All of them were embittered and resentful.

Nowhere in the country was the conflict over wildlife fought more intensely than in the southeast of the country, where the Machangana were skilled hunters, and defiant. David Scammell, National Parks Warden in charge of the Gonarezhou, realised that within the constraints of then government policy, Parks could never triumph in this destructive stalemate. He asked Honorary Officer Clive Stockil for his advice. Clive agreed to explore the possibility of constructive engagement and dialogue with the Chief and tribal elders.

There could not have been a better "go-between" than Clive Stockil. With his deep knowledge of the peoples' language, culture, tribal history and tradition, and with infinite patience, Clive brokered a deal to be put to the Director of National Parks and Wildlife Management, Dr Graham Child: Mahenye's people would stop poaching, and would respect the rule of law, if the Director ensured that they directly benefited financially from the presence of wild animals, and if they were afforded a degree of protection from marauding wildlife.

Armed with a ground-breaking proposal on behalf of Chief Mahenye's people, Stockil hastened to Harare for a meeting with Dr Child.

(The tale of these historic negotiations is a fascinating story, covered in full in the author's book *Gonarezhou—A Place For Elephants,* Chapter 16, pages 265–276—The Mahenye Story).

At this time Dr Child and his enlightened senior professional colleagues were acutely aware of the serious challenges between Parks and the communities resident on the park boundaries, where the tribesmen gained no advantage from the wildlife, but who had to bear the crippling social cost of the presence of the wild animals.

They sought a solution.

With the support of Graham Child, the vastly experienced Principal Ecologist, Dr Rowan Martin, devised an ingenious solution. Realising that the problem would never be solved without real benefits to the communal people, he proposed an innovative initiative (which he named WINDFALL) through which communal communities would benefit directly from funds raised from professional safari hunting and sales of wildlife.

This formed the basis of a well-thought-out policy to be entitled the Communal Area Management Programme For Indigenous Resources, with the catchy acronym CAMPFIRE (established in 1988 on the back of the Mahenye model described hereinafter). It was to be launched in the vast and remote Sebungwe region of the Zambezi Valley, where the energetic Dr Martin worked, and all seemed set for an exciting solution to a long-standing problem.

However, Martin's proposals were not supported by Dr Child's parent Ministry, and gathered dust on a civil service shelf.

Clive Stockil's arrival in Graham Child's office could not have been better-timed. The National Parks Directorate were frustrated by the lack of understanding in the Ministry concerning the big issues; the proposals from Mahenye offered a possible solution to the stalemate. Dr Child offered to grant permits for well-heeled foreign safari hunters to hunt two elephants, two buffalo bulls, and two sought-after nyala bulls in Chief Mahenye's area across the Save River from the Gonarezhou, with all the revenue from this initiative accruing to Chief Mahenye's people, if they would cease their poaching in and around the Gonarezhou; agreement soon followed.

Chief Mahenye asked Clive Stockil to oversee the Changana peoples' interests in these new developments. Though he and his tribal elders were understandably sceptical at first, they were amazed and most appreciative when the money from safari hunting started to roll in. Stockil advised, and the people made the decisions. With their first earnings they constructed a road, a clinic, a school, and a maize grinding mill, and a new relationship of cordial partnership with National Parks was forged.

Ever eager to develop the tourist potential in the Lowveld, Clive leased from the Mahenye people a small island in the middle of the Save, where he constructed the delightful Mahenye Safari Camp. The people benefited through lease fees, exclusive employment rights, and a monopoly of sale of traditional craftworks. These funds paid for basic infrastructural development in the Chief's area, as well as an annual household dividend in the good years, and a food ration in the bad years of drought.

Stockil later negotiated a tripartite consortium deal between Zimbabwe Sun Hotels, tribal representatives and his own company, River Lodges of Africa. The spectacular Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge resulted, with the same schedule of benefits for the tribal people.

All of these negotiations and initiatives were of huge value for Chief Mahenye's people, but Stockil needed to pay much more attention to his own Senuko project.

Having grown up on a typical Lowveld cattle ranch, Clive knew full well how conventional beef producers in this arid area of erratic rainfall struggled to make their properties financially viable. The threats to viability were many and varied: recurrent severe drought; predation by carnivores; unpredictable prices; distance from markets; livestock diseases, especially foot and mouth disease, (outbreaks of which resulted in the ranches being quarantined for extended periods, during which they were forbidden to sell or move their cattle) and so on.

Stockil had always believed that commercial wildlife management and utilisation, based initially on so-called "ecotourism", safari hunting, and sale of wild animals, could provide a viable alternative to beef production in the southeast Lowveld. This was confirmed in a landmark study by Derek de la Harpe of Price Waterhouse, which demonstrated conclusively that sustainable wildlife utilisation offered a far better prospect of making money than did cattle ranching.

Along with several ranching colleagues, Clive realised that, largely because of the itinerant nature of many Lowveld wildlife species, which moved freely between adjacent properties, and the difficulty of "owning" what has been interestingly described as "a fugitive resource", the operations of individual contiguous wildlife properties would always be fraught with challenges and controversy, as the unrestrained herds often migrated seasonally between separately owned properties.

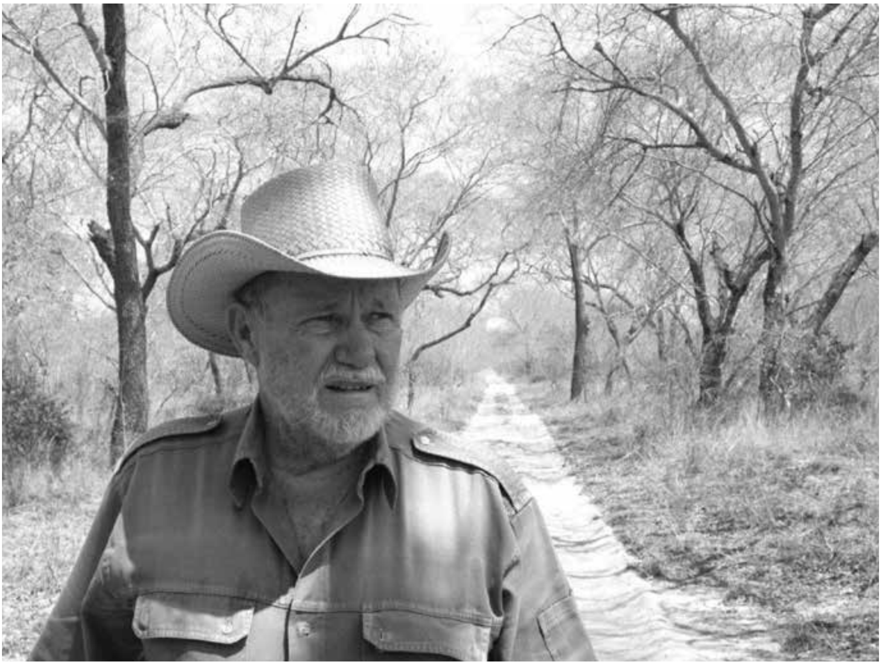
The answer was a conservancy.

A conservancy is a legal entity through which, by consensus, two or more contiguous land-holders construct a peripheral fence, take down their internal fences, and share the natural resources (including wildlife and timber) on the combined properties.

Accordingly, with Clive Stockil very much at the helm, twenty one land-owners formed the Save Valley Conservancy, which was at the time said to be the largest tract of privately-owned wildlife land in the world. Great strides in wildlife conservation followed. All seemed set for implementation of an enlightened policy through which sustainable and financially viable development in marginal land could be achieved.

Clive was Chairman of the SVC for twenty years, during which he endured a persistently rocky ride, not only because of the global economic recession, unjustified international disapproval of Zimbabwe as a tourist destination and climatic factors, but also largely on account of political greed, ignorance of the real issues on the part of politicians, and the handing out of "partnerships" in individual conservancy properties. These politically elite partners were to share in the conservancies' revenues (albeit that there were then none), without any financial contribution.

All of the conservancy owners were forced by financial realities to discontinue or



Portrait of Clive wearing his trade-mark woven ilala palm hat

severely limit their activities. With no income, many of them faced insolvency and collapse and their future remains uncertain.

Saddled with these almost insoluble challenges, it is amazing that many conservancy owners remained in business.

Like most of his colleagues, Clive Stockil soldiered on, believing that sanity would eventually prevail. He increased his involvement in a number of other wildlife-related matters, and his influence spread, both nationally and internationally. He has been a deeply committed crusader. His crusades have been largely focused on natural resource conservation and the conviction that the rural people should benefit and be empowered by conservation.

He has striven mightily to advance the interests of the Save Valley Conservancy. He was largely instrumental in an on-going campaign to save the country's rhino which were being slaughtered in their main remaining stronghold in the Zambezi Valley, and he was deeply involved with National Parks in a mass translocation of rhino survivors to the Save Valley Conservancy. He has also from the start been a key proponent of the CAMPFIRE programme.

A brief glance at a list of his appointments provides an indication of where else he has dedicated his clear vision and boundless energy over the years:

Chairman of the Safari Operators Association;
Vice-Chairman of the Wildlife Producers Association;
Vice-President of the Wildlife Society;

Chairman of the Lowveld Rhino Trust;

Member of the IUCN African Rhino Specialist Group;

Member of the IUCN Wildlife Sustainable Utilisation Group;

He was three times a member of the Zimbabwe National Delegation to CITES.

In 2011 the Minister of Tourism appointed him to the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA)

Awards

Clive Stockil's contribution to conservation has also been acknowledged on the international scene:

In 1997 the prestigious Conde Nast international travel organisation awarded him the International Ecotourism Award for his work at Mahenye and in CAMPFIRE;

In 2011 The President of France conferred on him membership of the French Order of Merit, the equivalent of a Knighthood in Great Britain;

In 2013 the Association of Zimbabwe Travel Agents presented him with a special award for his services to ecotourism.

And finally:

In 2013 Prince William presented Clive with the inaugural Prince William Award for Lifetime Conservation. This was followed by an invitation to address The Royal Geographic Society at a special meeting in London.

Clive Glenn Stockil has come a long way since his childhood days on a Lowveld ranch. He is a visionary of note, thoughtful, patient and modest, and deeply committed to, and passionate about, every cause which he espouses.

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Write to the Editor at edkins@cwg.co.zw.

An Historical Account of the Mining of Muscovite Mica in Zimbabwe

by Tim Broderick

Introduction and discovery of the Miami Mica Field

Muscovite is the most common of the mica minerals. They appear in sheet-like or 'book' form. Muscovite occurs commonly as glittery flakes in igneous, metamorphic and sedimentary environments, or as book mica in coarse-grained, late-stage granitic pegmatites, as a potentially economic commodity. (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Basal view of a pseudohexagonal crystal of Muscovite mica.

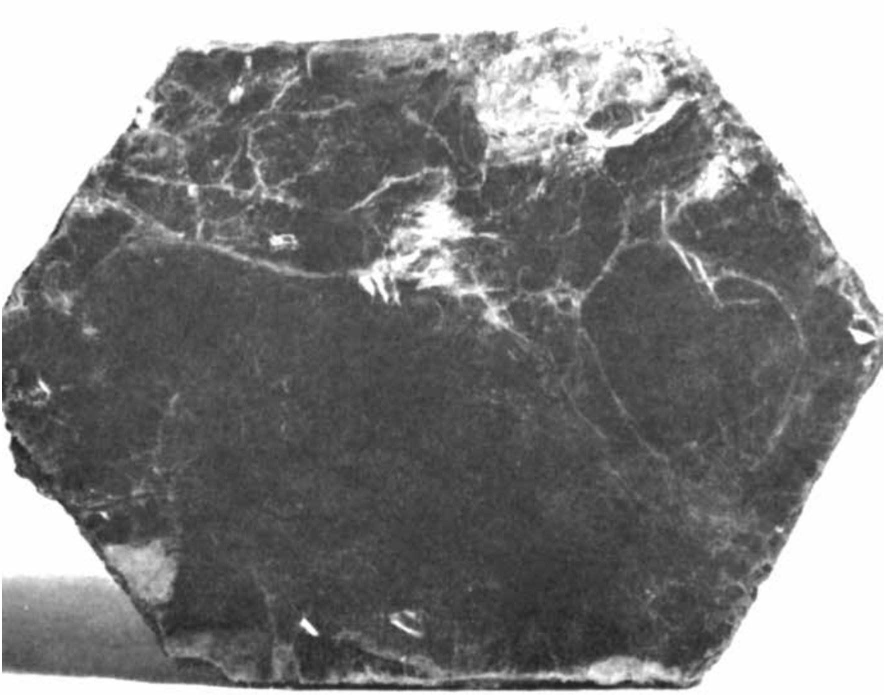


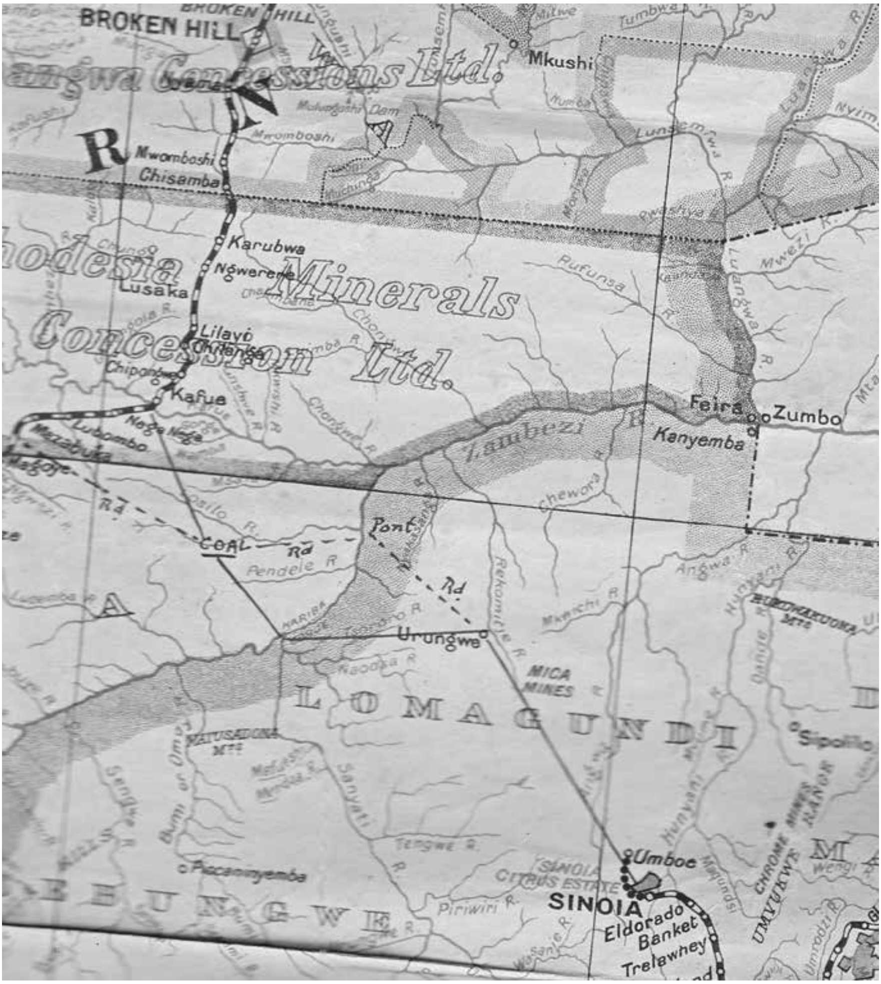
Photo: H. J. Cotterell.

Muscovy Glass, Cat Silver and Lapis Specularis (stone mirror) were the earliest names applied in the literature, the former giving rise to the mineral name muscovite in that the Muscovy Province of Russia yielded much of the sheet mica production of the day.

Today India has the largest deposits of muscovite, whilst China, the USA, Russia, South Korea and Canada are significant producers. The economic importance of mica arises from its crystalline structure, which forms layers that can be split or delaminated into thin sheets. These sheets are chemically inert, dielectric, elastic, flexible, hydrophilic, insulating, lightweight, platy, reflective, refractive, resilient, and range in opacity from transparent to opaque. Mica is stable when exposed to electricity, light, moisture, and extreme temperatures. Muscovite, the principal mica used by the electrical industry, is used in capacitors that are ideal for high frequency and radio frequency. It has numerous industrial applications in its sheet, ground or flaky form. Geologist, Peter Fey, whilst mapping in the Chundu area of Mukwishe north of Miami in 1971–72 used a large slab of mica found in the area, which he placed in the bottom of his cast iron pot to prevent the base of his bread from being burnt whilst baking over an open fire.

As an outpost from Sinoia, (Chinhoyi) the BSA Police built a fort on the Chipfuku River near Urungwe Hill in 1898 (Lapham, 2007). It was said to be unhealthy, being on the edge of the 'fly-belt' and in a situation where blackwater fever was a severe threat, especially during the rains. In 1900 Kingsley Fairbridge accompanied James Morrell in his search for gold at Urungwe but tired of the slow pace of the wagon train and walked to his destination, a place he found limited in the distribution of game but abounding in lion. The wagons took some three weeks to arrive at Morrell's camp, where he was investigating numerous 'ancient' pits, but to no avail. Fairbridge continued his walk to the 'River', negotiating the Zambezi Escarpment and Valley across an area of the map labeled 'Elephants and Thick Bush'. There is a dearth of evidence as to the use or fascination of mica by the early San or Va'Mbara inhabitants of Urungwe. The Va'Mbara were known for their metal working in copper and iron, the former being represented by the trade in copper cross ingots found in the district (White, 1971).

The 'LoMagondi' gold fields along the Angwa River were an attraction to many of the pioneering prospectors in 1891 where both reef and alluvial diggings were established in the wake of Portuguese trade of the 16th Century. The country, approached through Eyre's Pass on the Umvukwe Range and the emerging town of Banket (based on the Eldorado and Ayrshire mines) was wild, well-treed and untamed. One of those early prospectors and adventurers was John 'Jack' Carruthers (1863-1951), who continued in 1901, 1903 and 1904 to investigate the route across the virtually depopulated Urungwe plateau, to cut the track down into the Zambezi Valley crossing that river to the north at the confluence of the 'Losito', and then suggesting that the rail link to Kafue be taken down the Charara Valley to the head of the Kariba Gorge near the confluence of the Sanyati, Nyaodza and Zambezi rivers (extracted from I. Carruthers, *I Walked Rhodesia*, unpublished 2013). In the 1920's Carruthers, geologist Ronald Tyndale-Biscoe, water engineer Phillip Haviland, and surveyor J. L. F. Jeffares played complementary roles in investigating the feasibility of the rail link, with the mica fields being a pivotal location in their deliberations (Figure 2). In the intervening years Carruthers pegged tracts of coal in North-West Rhodesia, and what is now known as the Muchana and Vuzi fields of the Cabora Bassa basin in Portuguese territory. In 1915–17 he was a shareholder in the Silverside copper, silver and gold prospect, and his notes show that he held a mica claim, Carruther's Kop, 8 miles along the Catkin Mine road from Urungwe adjacent to Atkin's mica claims. One Mafuta received an overcoat for showing Jack this deposit, it having been Jack who had in 1901 announced the presence of workable mica in the Urungwe area. However, it was not until 1919 that the first mica production was recorded from the Zonkosi and Miami claims at the centre of what was to be developed as the Miami Mica Fields (Wiles, 1961). This was at a time when walking with donkey at hand was still the most effective way for a prospector to reach the expanding Miami (Mwami) settlement, the track being rough and the scourge of tsetse fly and lion very real on the survival of draft animals.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Pendele R
Pont
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Zambezi
Feira
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Chewore
Rufunsa
Angwa R
Mwerichi R
Sipolilo
Umboe
SINOIA
CITRUS ESTATE
Eldorado
Banket
Trelawney
Piscaninyembe
URUNGWE
Tengwe R
Piriwiri R
Sanyati
CHROME MINES
UMVUKWE RANGE

Figure 2: Sketch (undated) by Jack Carruthers showing his proposed road and rail routes through the Miami Mica Field to Kafue, NW Rhodesia. Per Ian Carruthers, 2013.

The 1920's on the Miami Mica Field—the Goldberg era

It was not long before Herbert Brantwood Maufe (1879–1946) (1920), Director of the

Geological Survey, visited the Miami Mica Field, which is traversed by the Mwami and Mpofu rivers, left-bank tributaries to the north-flowing Angwa. The Miami area was to become the focus of mica mining in the country, but at this time all workings on the pegmatite claims were open cast and did not exceed a depth of about 10 metres. Early names associated with the workings were P. Nevile on the Zonkosi, W. A. Creighton on the Beckett, J. J. Bowles on the Doreen, W. A. Schultz on the Danga, W. R. Small on the Salitros, H. L. Dalton on the Garnet, T. Haddon on the Makakutsi and Phoenix, F. Gibaud on the Kingsale, J. L. Viviers on the Zamona, the London and Rhodesia Mining and Land Co. on the M'Boho, the Anglo American Rhodesia Exploration Co. on the Miami, and the Spider Syndicate to the north on the Karoe River. The Last Hope Mine had been claimed by G. F. S. Barratt in 1922. Some of the first shipments of high quality cut mica sent to the London market were valued at £500 per ton. C. E. Wells on the Cynthia was Chairman of the Prospector's Fund for Returned Soldiers after World War I (Ministry of Mines, 1963). Government saw the potential of mica as an attraction for small worker miners and assigned a mining engineer, C. A. B. Colvile as Inspector of Mines to the area whilst Maufe visited the mica mines in India in 1921 to assess mining methods and tools (Wiles, 1961). In particular he was concerned about the wasteful preparation methods as only about 2% of a possible 10% of the total mica mined was being sold in cut form. His greatest gift was the introduction of the mica gradeograph used as a template to standardise and classify cut mica sizes for the market.

Although the Grand Parade Claims were reported registered by W. R. Small in 1919, the main pegmatite on which this famous mine developed was not discovered until the following year. The mine was named for the horse that won the 1919 Derby, and Jacob 'Jack' Goldberg (1871–1959), who was the owner of hotels in Salisbury (Harare) and Gatooma (Kadoma), acquired the property in August 1920. Born and schooled in London, Jack came to Southern Rhodesia in 1897 where he worked and traded in Bulawayo and Gwanda. With his elder brother Isadore they built the Grand Hotel, Gatooma in 1910 and in 1912 purchased the Grand Hotel in Salisbury for £31 000 in cash (goldfinch/gidsgoldberg family web site, 2013). Following the loss of his wife, Rose Lewis, in 1918, Jack gave up the Salisbury hotel and ventured into mining on a chrome claim at Umvukwes, and through his purchase of the Grand Parade mica mine became the country's 'mica king'. Setting up a trading store, mica often became the medium of exchange for the prospectors to purchase their goods. Thus the settlement of Miami was established. A Money and Telegraph Office (with one telephone) was opened in November 1920; the Miami Hotel was managed by the Trigg family: competing stores were opened (one by Isaac Levy); 'French Marie's' butchery was famous; B. G. Hassell as the first Assistant Native Commissioner became resident in 1922, and the Police Camp came about in 1929. There was a tennis court (to which players would walk from as far afield as the Flying Camel Mine to the north), a small golf course and monthly dances at the Miami Hotel (Lapham, 2007), whilst church services from 1926 were held in private homes.

The Grand Parade Mine produced ruby mica of the highest quality, winning medals at the Wembley Exhibition. By 1925 Goldberg, often in partnership with W. R. Small, had acquired a controlling interest in most of the surrounding mica workings, not all of which were ruby mica producers. This introduced green-brown and spotted mica qualities, together with the variable micas acquired by trade, which were included in the sales packages, a practice that resulted in complaints from the 'market'. The Catkin Mine far to the west in the East Urungwe Group produced perhaps the largest quantity of cut ruby mica, whilst the Beckett, Danga, Eland's Luck, Kingsale, Ruby, Salitros and Zonkosi all fell within the Goldberg stable from which 10 to 11 tons of sales were shipped monthly.

In 1924, in what appears to have been an "arrangement", Jack married Priscilla 'Dolly' Goldberg who came out from London to Jack's 'most desirable residence' at Miami, which had electricity and wireless communication. Guests at Grand Parade included the Governor, Sir John Chancellor, and in 1925, the Prince of Wales during his visit to Southern Rhodesia. Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, told a later manager, Newby Tatham, that he had himself worked as a carpenter on the Grand Parade where he made the shooks for the mica boxes. He remembered large books of clear ruby mica placed along the wall of the cutting shed to dry before being split, at a time when it was common to cut extra special sizes for export (Wiles, 1961). At that time in excess of 360 people of all races were employed at the Grand Parade. Mining engineer, G. W. Williams, made a detailed study of the mine, which had reached a development depth of 70 metres from surface. Based on an estimate of £400 per ton of cut mica at 6 percent of the mined volume being prepared, Williams valued the *in situ* mica at the mine at £200 000. On the basis of this report Goldberg turned down a company offer of £100 000 for the mine (Wiles, 1961).

In 1927 Jack diversified into tobacco growing, but the 1928 crop failed followed by the onset of the Depression years. Mica prices plummeted and by 1931 production at all the Goldberg mines had ceased, as it did across the Field. Goldberg became insolvent and the Grand Hotel in Gatooma, his mines and farms were all assigned (goldfinch/gidsgoldberg family web site, 2013). Dolly died in 1939. Penniless, Jack tried to revive his lot by developing mica claims in the Rusambo/Mount Darwin area, where he opened a small store, but to no avail. He died in a Jewish Old Age Home in Claremont, Cape on 31 July 1959.

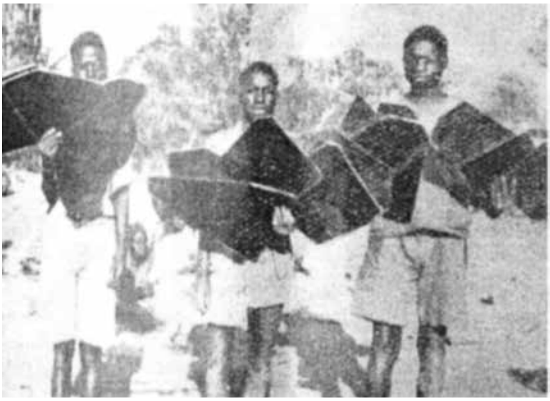


Figure 3: Large sheets of trimmed ruby mica from the Idol Mine, Chimanda. Rhod. Ming J., 1929.

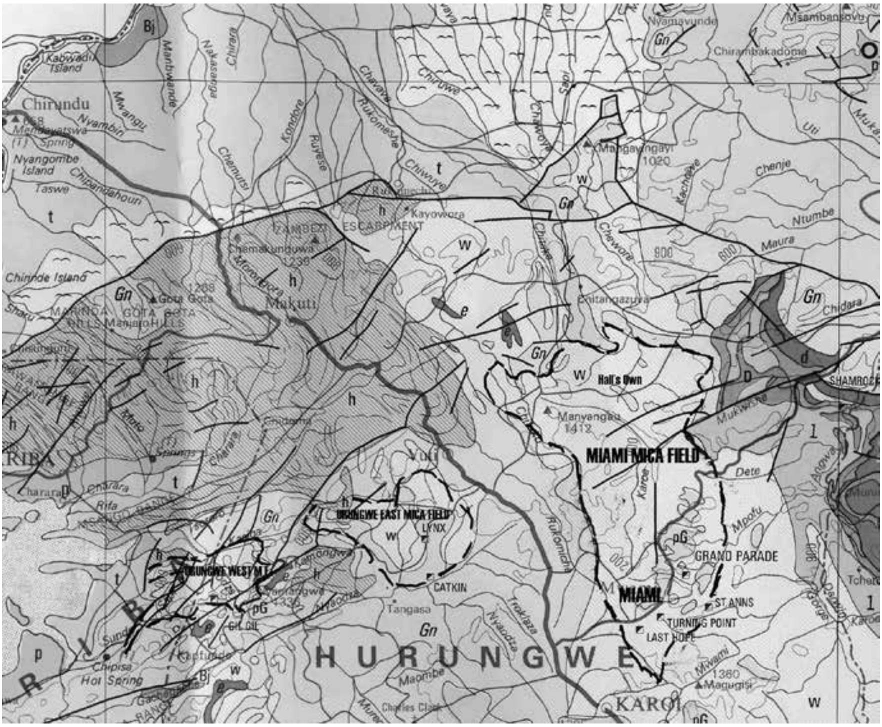
The Idol Mine, just north of the Mazowe River east of Mount Darwin and south of Rusambo Mission was the only successful producer of high quality cut mica from the Chimanda area. Of the 36 mines that declared cut mica output, the Idol won 83 percent of the total tonnage (Figure 3). Discovered by P. H. Jensen, but pegged by P. C. Blair in 1927, the claims were transferred to the Darwin Mica Syndicate in October

1928, who held them until 1938. However, production again ceased with the slump in 1931 following detailed investigations by government geologist, Ronald McI. Tyndale-Biscoe (1902–1996). At this time mining was mostly open cast, but development from two vertical winzes at the western end, and a drive from the open pit in the east, proved a strike length for the pegmatite of about 600 metres (*Rhodesian Mining Journal*, 1929).

A total of 1 418 tons of saleable mica from 9 686 current claims in the country (in 1928) had realised a declared value of £304 907 between 1919 and 31 December 1929.

Renewed interest in the Mica Fields

The Smallworker Magazine (1937) announced a revival of interest in mica mining on the Miami deposits with government pledging development loans, advances of up to 50% of the market value on all mica produced, and a monthly visit from the Government Mining Engineer to supervise grading, packing and consignment of the cut product to London where a newly remunerative market had emerged. Prominent at this time were Mr B. Trigg on the Red Star Mine, and the registration of many of the larger established mines by Messrs Hugh Trevis and Partners, including the Beckett, Catkin, Danga,



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Chirundu
Nyangombe Island
Taswe
Chirundo Island
Nyamavunde
Msambansovu
Chirambakadoma
Mangwingayi 1020
Chenje
Ntumbe
Maura
ZAMBEZI ESCARPMENT
Kayowora
Chemakunguwa 1230
Makuti
MARONGA GOTA GOTA HILLS
Chitangazuwa
Chidara
SHAMROCK
Hall's Own
Manyangau 1412
MIAMI MICA FIELD
Dete
Mpofu
URUNGWE EAST MICA FIELD
LYNX
CATKIN
URUNGWE WEST M F
GRAND PARADE
MIAMI
ST ANNS
TURNING POINT
LAST HOPE
Tangasa
Chipisa Hot Spring
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Magunje 1360
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Figure 4: Distribution of the Miami, Urungwe East and Urungwe West mica fields in relation to the upper amphibolite metamorphic grade of the Piriwiri Group mica schists, Zimbabwe Geological Survey 1:1 million map, 1977.

Eland's Luck, Grand Parade, Hari, Kingsale, Mica King and Rae mines. J. H. Paterson had pegged the Flying Camel Mine north of the Mukwishe River whilst Grantly Trigg of the Miami Hotel claimed the Coronet and Crown mines. The Trezona and Turning Point mines were held by Mrs I. I. G. McCreedy, who married D. Houghton-Brown.

The years of World War II saw an upsurge in mica production with pegmatites being newly developed north of Miami towards the Zambezi escarpment, and in the Urungwe West Group beyond the Catkin Mine. The Idol Mine in Chimanda had been taken over by the Ruby Syndicate in 1939 and was transferred to E. T. Rorbye in 1945. Some of the personalities in the Miami mica fields during the war years were Grantly Trigg on the Early Bird, Owl, Sunspot and Valley, P. G. Deacon on the Ova, Trezona and Turning Point, J. de Oliviera on the Sorotie and G. Jackson on the Easter Parade and Hendren. J. Hall discovered the Hall's Own and Hall's Luck pegmatites far to the north in the Chundu area of Urungwe (Figure 4). It was in June 1945 that G. Paterson and Sons purchased the Grand Parade together with the Hugh Trevis stable of mines from that partnership for £22 500. This price was paid for from the easily won mica mined from the Grand Parade South Prospect Mine (Wiles, 1961). The Paterson's also acquired the Coronet, Eurythmic, Hall's Own, Ingwe, Kariba, Kirrie, Meteor, Owl, Ondina, Shooting Star, Sunspot and Zonkozi mines, all of which recorded outputs of mica during the post-war years (Ministry of Mines, 1963). It was at this time that mining engineer N. A (Newby) Tatham took up a management position on these mica mines, starting his long association with the industry. J. F. Turner concentrated his energies in the remote West Urungwe field centered on his Nzoe Group of mines whilst Laxman Nairn operated the Gil Gil Mine in the same area as well as the Sorotie near Miami, and J. E. Logan pegged the Julia Claims in Urungwe East, transferring to D. W. du Plooy. The Last Hope was transferred to H. C. Tremlett by Mrs L. W. Southey. Following the death of Grantly Trigg, his widow Em married a newcomer to the field, Dick Shepherd, and the Valley Mine was transferred to her under her new name. Similarly Mrs Hilda Mae Deacon took transfer of the Turning Point Mine, marrying Portlock Gilmour (Lapham, 2007).

A new 'Mica King' — the Tatham era

Newby Alexander Tatham (1918–1979) had spent eleven years with Paterson on the mica fields where he developed a remarkable knowledge of the mines that he managed, and of the mica field in general (Chamber of Mines, 1979a). He befriended John Walter Wiles MC (1916–2005) the geologist sent to undertake the regional geological mapping of the country centred on the Miami Mica Field. The region is one of increasing metamorphic grade within rocks termed the Magondi Metamorphic Belt. In particular mica schists of the north-east trending Piriwiri Group, of metasedimentary rocks evolve from the lowest (greenschist) to the highest (granulite) grade of metamorphism transforming, in the Miami area, to a zone of granitisation and gneiss formation. In his doctoral thesis Wiles established that the economic mica pegmatites are strongly associated with micaceous schists and gneisses that have attained what is termed the upper amphibolite grade of regional metamorphism. The aluminum silicate indicator mineral sillimanite is prominent in these micaceous rocks, the granitic melts of which result in the coarse-grained quartz-feldspar pegmatites, which apparently assimilate the country rock to allow for the crystallisation of sheet mica. Wiles also showed that the mica shoots are controlled according to the zoning in pegmatites, and prominently occur in the wall zones of these dykes. The core is invariably of quartz adjacent to which any mica tends to be small, distorted, striated or fishtailed, with or without the presence of beryl crystals and other rare minerals associated with pegmatite injection. The understanding of mica distribution in these pegmatites greatly influenced the application of improved and efficient mining techniques. Wiles and Tatham (1963) culminated their co-operation in the presentation of a technical paper to the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy on 'Muscovite Pegmatites and their Exploitation' in this country.

After spending a further three years on Paterson's chrome claims along the Great Dyke, Newby Tatham returned to the mica fields where in 1955 the Patersons sold all their mica interests to F. F. Chrestien and Company, the world's leading mica buyers. This company were mica producers from Domchanch in India who, in 1921, came under the management of Wallace Brothers and Company (Holdings) Limited, East India merchants, bankers and London agents who, in turn with their subsidiaries, were taken over by Standard Bank Limited in 1977 and went into liquidation in 1989 (London Metropolitan Archives, business listing 2013). F. F. Chrestien formed a subsidiary company known as the Rhodesia Mica Mining Company Limited, the advent of new capital offering new stimulus to the industry. Mica buying and preparation centres were established at Grand Parade and at Madadzi on Buffalo Downs south-east of Karoi. However, with no new discoveries, work was confined to existing mines and mica qualities were on the whole inferior to those won in the past. Although ruby mica was fetching high prices, the availability of this grade dwindled. By 1954 the Grand Parade Mine had produced well over 500 tons of ruby mica, but mining had by then ceased and ruby grades were being gained from the adjacent Kingsale and Akata properties, the Beckett mica being of spotted grade (Rhodesian Mining Review, 1954). Before the end of 1958 all of the F. F. Chrestien properties had ceased production and in April 1959 they decided to discontinue all mining activity in Africa (Wiles, 1961). F. F. Chrestien and Company confined its activity to mica buying and Rhodesia Mica Mining Limited were dissolved in October 1959.

However, the 1950s did witness a minor 'rush' in the recognition that beryl had a value as an ore of beryllium, the new 'atomic age' metal. Not all mica pegmatites were beryl-bearing, but those that did had the mineral thrown on the waste dump. Hand cobbing of the beryl crystals provided a useful supplementary income for some of the waning mica mines, and a plethora of claims mushroomed across the country in response to information given out by the newly resident UK Atomic Energy Board and the Geological Survey Department (Branscombe, 1961; Barlow, 1956). Miami-type pegmatites were estimated to contain 29% of the potential beryl reserve across the country.

Whilst at Miami, Tatham was appointed as Honorary Game Warden for the Zambezi Valley. He had accompanied John Wiles on his discovery expedition to the Chewore Igneous Complex in 1955 when they recorded the presence of chromite in that remote area, and later Newby became intimately involved with Alex Siemers in the Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society, notably Prince Edward School's 'Zamtiki' Expedition rafting down the Zambezi from Chirundu to Kanyemba (Chamber of Mines, 1979a). At this time lion were still common residents across the mica fields. A lion skull adorned

Newby's office desk when managing the chrome mines, which prompted mining engineer Lloyd Pascall (personal communication to Peter Fey, 2013) to ask about lion. Newby related that he had once had to sign an unusual death certificate, as one of his labourers, when emerging from one of the mica mines, had been pounced on by a lion and carried off. The half-eaten body was recovered, and the cause of death recorded as 'eaten by a lion'.

Another mining engineer of note who turned his attention to the mica mining industry in the 1950s was Arthur Meneiro Bensusan (1913–1979) (Chamber of Mines, 1979b). The Idol Mine did not fare well during World War II under E. T. Rorbye, who gave it up to the ex-servicemen's scheme. The candidates for this also failed and the mine was sold to Universal Minerals Limited in 1950, but they knew little of mica mining and marketing despite the excellent quality of the mica. The Rhodesia Mica Mining Company took over the Idol in 1955 and undertook a programme of mine development and deepening. John Wiles accompanied Messrs Bensusan and Mooney to assess this commendable progress on a number of occasions, but insufficient mica reserves of acceptable size and quality could be proven (Barton *et al*., 1991) and the mine closed in 1959. Coburn Estates tried to deepen the No. 1 shaft in 1964, but with no success. The Idol produced a total of 150 tons of cut mica between 1927 and 1964 and a further 130 tons of waste mica was won from the dumps in 1974. Arthur Bensusan had written a comprehensive paper for the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy in 1957 on 'Muscovite Mining in Southern Rhodesia', which proved a very practical guideline for the industry. He died when Air Rhodesia Viscount 'Umniati' Flight RH827 from Kariba was shot down over the Kasiga Valley, one of the most remote corners of the West Urungwe Mica Field, on 12 February 1979.

The throes of an industry

Mica production continued at a slower rate following the drive provided by F. F. Chrestien and Company. Wiles visited and described many of the West Urungwe pegmatites in the late 1950s, notably Turner's Nzoe Group, now transferred to the Gemsbok Rhodesia Mica Mining Co., and Laxman Nairn's Gil Gil property, which he regarded as being the only mica mine of any consequence in the country at the time. Goldfields of South Africa took out an option on the Gil Gil and Max Mehlis reported a resource equivalent to 181 tons of cut/saleable mica in 1960 with a large quantity of waste mica being available on the dumps (Broderick, 1976). Nairn died in 1968 having sold almost 100 tons of mica from the Gil Gil since 1946, but he left a large tonnage of mineable mica in the ground. Indeed, it was Wiles' contention that a number of the larger mica mines, including the Grand Parade had been closed prematurely.

At this time too, in the Urungwe East Group, there was an attempt to resuscitate the old Lynx Mine under the management of Mr L. Cohen and consultancy by Dr J. Kanis (Rhod. Ming Eng., 1959).

Another prospect that Wiles visited was the Way-In mica mine located along the Rimonje valley in the Chewore Safari Area. Owned by Messrs T. Brushfield Hodges and A. C. Bishop, access was by car through Lusaka and thence to Feira prior to boating upstream on the Zambezi River and walking up the Rimonje riverbed to the prospect. The writer revisited the Rimonje pegmatite in 1988, but this time flew to Kanyemba before boating up the Zambezi. The mica quality and quantity was insufficient to warrant its mining in such a remote setting.

As a government initiative to revive interest and effectiveness in the small-scale mining of mica, a Mica Research Centre was established at Miami in 1961 and a government-sponsored company, Minerals Development (Pvt) Ltd, was formed to retain mining title and assist in the establishment, especially of Africans, as mica miners and producers. At first 90% of the returns were from the sale of scrap or waste mica at low values. This was reported by Bond and Anderson, 1963, at the 'Symposium on Pegmatites' arranged in Salisbury jointly by the Southern Rhodesian Section of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy and the Rhodesia Branch of the Geological Society of South Africa.

West of Kamativi is a strip of micaceous schists known as the Tshontanda Formation of similar high metamorphic grade to those in the Urungwe, which is intruded by a swarm of tourmaline-bearing pegmatites. Some of these dykes are mica-bearing, but it was the Ubique Mine that made the only significant production of saleable material. Pegged by C. T. Hanwith-Horden in 1959, the claims were transferred to Ubique Mica Mines in 1960 and by way of a number of subsidiaries, were worked by the J. J. Mica Mining Company up until 1974 for a total sale of over 100 tons of cut mica along with considerable volumes of scrap (Lockett, 1979).

A further effort was made to develop mica-bearing pegmatites in the Urungwe West Mica Field by A. M. Hulley and his Nyaodza Mica Mining Company. These prospects, many located in most inhospitable parts of the Escarpment, were described in 1969 by Patrick Stidolph. Notable amongst them were the Annabelle, Jack's Luck and St Mark's claims. The Wanyonzi Mine was serviced by way of an aerial cableway from high up on the slopes of Nyahunzvi Mountain. By 1972, when the writer was doing the regional geological mapping east of Kariba, and following early armed-insurgency through this part of Rhodesia, there was no mica mining activity in progress. Some small beryl, aquamarine and wolfram mines had survived.

By the end of 1965 a total of 7 593 metric tones of cut mica produced since 1919 had been sold for a declared value of Rh$3 435 256 (Stagman, 1978).

It was Henry Joseph Martin (died 2001) who, having been involved in tin production from pegmatites in the eastern Congo during World War II, and who joined the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey to map the Bikita pegmatites, recognised the value of scrap and waste mica on mine dumps around Miami. Setting up his mill at the Turning Point Mine, he harvested and graded many thousands of tons of this scrap material to good advantage through the 1970s and continued into the 1980s. This included a sale of 1409 tons of flake mica from the Last Hope in 1980–81, a mine that has since gained a reputation for the discovery of gem quality euclase, a deep-blue beryllium silicate mineral. The St Anne's Mine, famous for its gem topaz, was not a mica producer.

African miners had made their debut in the mica industry in the 1960s. Kenneth Chenengeta worked the Coronet Mine in 1982 and repegged the Flying Camel and others in the Mukwishe area (Fey and Broderick, 1990) whilst Brighton Nzvere worked on the old Hall's Own where some beryl and optical-grade quartz was also won. Around Miami the Simba mica mine was worked in 1997 whilst in the Buhera District, economically mineable mica from the Bepe Mine was declared between 1967 and 1998 (Mugumbate *et* *al*., 2001). Since 1980, all minerals, other than gold, have been sold through the Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe. There is intent to re-establish a government-backed Mining Promotion Corporation to encourage the professional development of small-scale mining and mica could be a target.

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When making your Will you may wish to consider a bequest of Africana books and journals (or even a modest cash donation) to the History Society of Zimbabwe.

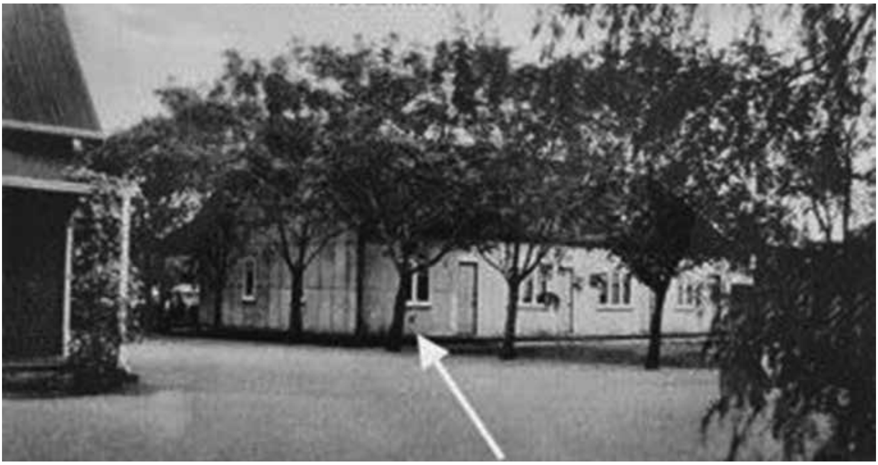
The Bulawayo Planning of the Jameson Raid

by Rob S Burrett

For some years I have been intrigued by an old, hand-tinted early postcard in my collection, reproduced below. It shows a mundane prefabricated building that is labelled to indicate the room in which the Jameson Raid was hatched. These papier-mâché buildings were fairly common in early Bulawayo. It has always been my wish to relocate the place where this infamous episode was planned in 1895 – the invasion of a sovereign neighbouring country, the South African Republic or Transvaal Republic, which effectively put an end to Rhodes' political career in the Cape Colony, was a prelude to the Anglo-South African War 1899-1902, and was the first serious crack in the authority and rule of the British South Africa Company over this country.

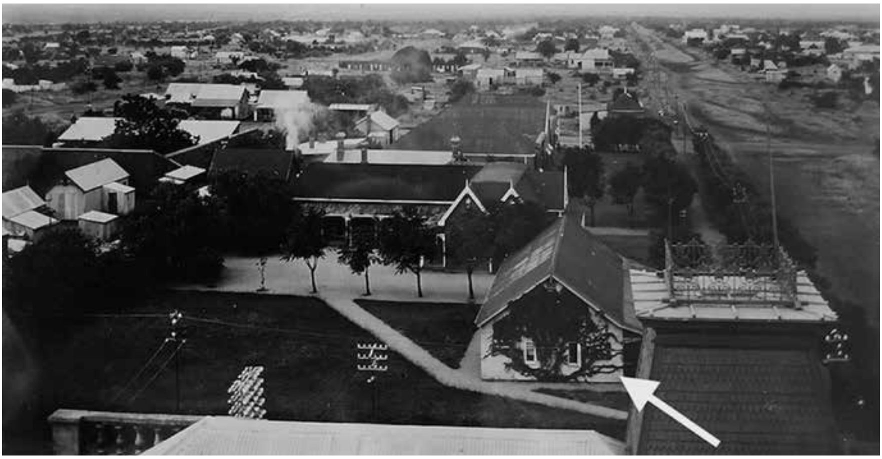
Until recently I had no idea of the location as the structure has long since disappeared and I could find no additional information to point me in the right direction. A few months back I was sorting a collection of old photographs of Bulawayo. One, taken from the northern end of Agency Chambers, corner Main Street and 6th Avenue, caught my eye. It shows the very building I have been looking for. Although not taken from the same angle, the prefabricated building, the line of trees and the gable end of the adjacent house are clearly one and the same. An additional picture in my collection taken from the north in 1896 supports this conclusion (see next page).

It seems that the Jameson Raid was planned on the grounds of Stand No. 85, owned by the Matabeleland Development Company, at the northwestern corner of Main and Sixth (Davis 1981). This was adjacent to the house of Major Maurice Heany, pioneer



The rear office of Stand 85, Main Street, Bulawayo, in 1895.

and mining and property speculator, who was the Resident Manager of the Matabeleland Gold Mining Company and was subsequently involved in the Raid. Another leading figure and adjacent landowner was Sir John Willoughby, Jameson's right-hand man during the Raid. These men, and no doubt other conspirators, didn't have far to go from home/office and their meetings would not have given rise to any suspicions as they were friends and fellow speculators. Their use of a rear office away from prying eyes on Main Street should be noted.



Stand 85, Main Street, Bulawayo, 1896

The close proximity of the original Bulawayo Club on the southeast corner of Main Street and Sixth Avenue would further support this conclusion as there is no doubt that this venerable institution, founded in 1895, was at the centre of the intrigue that gave rise to Jameson's folly. The subsequent statements that emanated from the Club Committee leave one in no doubt that some of them at least knew more than they let out (Gibbs 1970). *[See also George Pauling's sarcastic comments in the accompanying article by Fraser Edkins].*

This note simply puts on record this conclusion; it may be of interest to other researchers and goes to show the importance of our pictorial heritage. This part of early Bulawayo has been completely transformed. Agency Chambers, once a landmark in the Bulawayo skyline, was destroyed by fire in 1960. Barring a small corner section on Sixth Avenue it was demolished in 1961 and remains an open plot fifty years later. The site of the old prefabricated building and Heany's house is now a People's Market, the original structures having been demolished sometime between 1929 and 1959 as appears from aerial photographs of Bulawayo. Gone too are the original Bulawayo Club and Willoughby's offices. No one now seems aware that it was here that an international incident of considerable importance was once planned.

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A Brief Note in Connection with the Jameson Raid December 29 1895 – January 2 1896

by Fraser Edkins

Much has been written over the years concerning the Jameson Raid and this note and transcript purports to be nothing more than an amusing illustration of local attitudes to the Chartered Company escapade once the Raid had ended in failure. A Supplement to the Rhodesia Herald newspaper (contained in the British South Africa Company Government Gazette November 6 1895) reported, under the heading "Some More Mysteries", that Dr Leander Starr Jameson (Administrator of Rhodesia) left Bulawayo on 30 October 1895 for Cape Town "to consult with Mr Rhodes on important business. Speculation is rife here as to what this business may be".

We all now know that Jameson and Rhodes were discussing final arrangements for the Raid that was to commence about 2 months later.

If we jump ahead two months to the *Herald* Supplement in the Government Gazette 8 January 1896 the following appeared:

"JAMESON'S DEFEAT
SALISBURY'S SYMPATHY
ADMIRATION FOR THE BOERS!
BUT NONE FOR JOHANNESBURG!!

A meeting was held at the Hatfield Hotel on Saturday night to consider the recent developments in the Transvaal situation and for the purpose of sympathising with Dr Jameson and his men. Notwithstanding the short notice given—we believe it was early in the afternoon before any notice was posted—the Hall was crowded to excess, and there must have been close to three hundred present. Mr H. J. Deary was voted to the Chair and with him on the platform were the following gentlemen: —Messrs F. Mack, Capt. Hoste, W. P. Homan, and W. E. Fairbridge.

The chairman in opening the Meeting apologized for having kept them waiting but said that the Acting Administrator *(Colonel Frank Rhodes, brother of Cecil)* had asked him to wait and see if any more wires came, and had, moreover, promised that if any wires came to hand that evening he (the Acting Administrator) would at once forward them to the meeting for their information. This, he thought, showed that the Acting Administrator was very anxious they should know what was going on. *(Hear, hear).*

He proposed to bring forward a resolution which would deal with the very serious matter they had in hand. Putting on one side the question of politics, what they had to consider was Dr Jameson's personality. They all felt very keenly the unfortunate position in which Dr Jameson and his men were placed. They all knew what Dr Jameson had done in the past, both for them and the country, how he had done what very few would do, or indeed, would be capable of doing *(Cheers)* and he thought that Salisbury should

Dr Jameson

stand up like one man and let Dr Jameson see how very sorry they were to find him so unfortunately placed. *(Loud cheers)*.

It was impossible, the Chairman continued, to go into the entire question; they were there to sympathize with Dr Jameson and his comrades. That they were in such an unfortunate position was no disgrace as they had met brave opponents *(Hear, hear)* and had acquitted themselves like men. *(Cheers)*. It seemed to him a waste of time to explain why they should pass the resolution he was about to propose because to all of them who knew the Doctor, and loved him, it was needless. *(Hear, hear)*. Still there were some present who did not know him and he merely mentioned the matter for their information. It was, he thought, a glorious contrast to think of the gallant conduct of Dr Jameson and his men as compared with the conduct of those miners who left Johannesburg with the women and children. *(Loud cheers)*. The gentleman who suggested a new name for Johannesburg was not very far off the mark when he said that henceforth it should be called *Judas*-burg. *(Hear, hear and groans)*.

He would not go further into the subject because if he dwelt upon such a topic at any length he was afraid he would get so warm that he would exhaust all the epithets he could think of in attempting to describe those traitors in Johannesburg. *(Loud cheers)*. He had very great pleasure in submitting the following resolution to their consideration:

"The people of Salisbury desire to convey to you an expression of their deepest and heart-felt regret at the position in which you and your comrades are placed through a most unfortunate misconception of the true circumstances of Transvaal politics. They at the same time desire to record their admiration of the magnificent courage and endurance displayed by yourself and your force and their warm appreciation of the chivalrous and generous treatment which you have experienced at the hands of your brave opponents."

Mr F. Mack, in seconding the resolution, said he felt sure they would adopt the same unanimously. The telegraph containing this resolution would be sent off immediately to Dr Jameson, via Kimberley, addressed to the State Secretary. It gave him very great pleasure to second the resolution.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and passed unanimously, three hearty cheers being given for Dr Jameson and his men. Capt. Hoste then proposed from the platform "Now then, three groans for those miserable devils in Johannesburg!" which were given with the heartiest goodwill.

The Chairman said that the resolution would at once be wired down to Dr Jameson. In the hurry of the moment he had forgotten to mention something told him by His Honour the Acting Administrator; namely that Mr Rhodes had resigned the Premiership of the Cape Colony. (A voice *"He ought to have done it long ago"*. Cries of *"Hear, hear"* and "No, no" from the body of the Hall).

Mr M. Muirhead thought that they ought not to separate without expressing an opinion about the cowardly traitors in Johannesburg *(Hear, hear)*. For several years back these people had been speaking on public platforms and "gassing" about what they were going to do, but from what had happened recently it seemed that all they could do was to talk. *(Cheers)*. Here was a body of eight hundred men who had marched into the Transvaal to fight their battles for them, with the result that Dr Jameson and his brave fellows were taken prisoners after a desperate resistance. *(Shame)*. Although the people of Johannesburg had so far shown themselves arrant cowards there was yet time for them to retrieve their character.

Mr Geo. Pauling, who met with a hearty reception, said that he supposed he must be very careful in what he said *(Laughter)*. He thought, however, that he was entitled to attend that meeting and express his sympathy and admiration for Dr Jameson and to show his utter disgust with the people who had landed him in his present position. *(Loud cheers)*. He did not blame the people in Johannesburg so much as their leaders who, in his opinion, were responsible for the whole affair.

Of course they all knew that the Chartered Company had had nothing whatever to do with it (*Loud laughter and cries of "Oh" and "of course"*). Well, at any rate the Chartered Company's officials in Salisbury knew nothing about it. They certainly had an idea that something very mysterious was going on, and that certain servants of the Chartered Company had gone to Johannesburg where they have taken a leading part in the agitation and talking against the Transvaal Government which has been going on recently, and they also knew that when Dr Jameson entered the Transvaal to help them the people of Johannesburg had left him in the lurch. *(Shame)*.

Mr H. Wilson Fox said that he had not come prepared to speak but as Mr Pauling had done so he had no objection to follow his lead. Although he had only been in the territories fifteen months Dr Jameson had no warmer supporter or sympathiser than himself *(Hear, hear)*. He had lived in Johannesburg for six years and knew only too well the cowardly nature of some of its inhabitants. They all knew by this time how those people in Johannesburg had failed at the critical moment. That they had done so could scarcely be doubted as Dr Jameson in the bitterness of the moment had unbosomed himself and stated that the people of Johannesburg had deserted him.

Dr Jameson's force had started on the Saturday night or Sunday morning and must have outspanned for a short time on the Sunday night. Afterwards they pushed vigorously forward, both horses and men being taxed to the utmost extent of their endurance. Dr Jameson was a man, who, having once pledged his word, and given a promise, would keep that promise if possible *(Cheers)*.

Well he had kept his promise as they all knew *(Cheers)*. If the enterprise had failed the fault could not be laid on Dr Jameson and his comrades. They kept their part of the contract and arrived at Krugersdorp where they were to have been met by reinforcements from Johannesburg. But no reinforcements were forthcoming! What did Dr Jameson find on arriving at Krugersdorp? Not only had the promised reinforcements failed to appear, but there was not even a message sent to give him the slightest assistance! They could well imagine the cruel position of Dr Jameson. In two-and-half days they had covered 150 miles, which was in itself a performance requiring no small amount of endurance. Relying on meeting reinforcements at Krugersdorp, they had taken very few provisions with them, and for the last day of their march had been on short rations—half starved, fatigued with their extraordinary efforts—how was it possible that they could for long resist a force so much superior to their own in numbers? However, fatigued as they were, they immediately attacked a force of Boers, more than double their own number, and who were placed in a strongly fortified natural position. They fought two skirmishes that day and one at night, although, had they been so inclined, they could have retreated with very little difficulty. Their object in attacking the Boers was obviously to enable them to remain in the neighbourhood, so that they could join forces with the Johannesburg contingent which, alas! never came. Manfully, heroically, as they fought under these adverse circumstances, they were but human. It was almost sickening to relate the tale. They all knew how Dr Jameson pressed forward towards Johannesburg until, hemmed in on every side by superior numbers, he was forced to surrender, but not, however, until their ammunition was all spent, and eighty of their gallant little band had been killed and over a hundred and fifty wounded!

What perhaps was the most galling part of the whole affair was that at one time Dr Jameson had the Boers entirely at his mercy, and if the people of Johannesburg had only carried out their part of the contract that truck containing ammunition could not have arrived at Krugersdorp, and instead of Dr Jameson having to surrender to the Boers they would have had to surrender to him! Could anything be more pitiable?

They were always accustomed (said Mr Fox) to hear the Boers vilified, but from the news received it was evident they had on this occasion behaved with the greatest bravery and consideration.— *(Hear, hear.)* —Dr Jameson and his comrades were in honourable captivity—*(Cheers)*,—and he could not help thinking that the silver lining in the cloud of the South African racial question had already appeared in the shape of Dr Jameson's gallant fight. *(Cheers)*.

Dr Jameson was a tender-hearted man and they all knew the great pride he had taken in the rapid advance of Rhodesia, which advance was principally owing to his efforts— *(Hear, hear)*, —and now in the hour of captivity there was nothing that would please him better, or that would help more to lessen the bitterness of that captivity, than a vote of confidence from the men who had been his comrades for the past few years. *(Loud cheers)*.

It was also due, he thought, that they, the inhabitants of Salisbury, should express their warm appreciation of the gallant and even chivalrous conduct of the Boers— (Hear, hear) — He quite agreed with the Chairman that they should confine themselves entirely to the matter in hand and keep away from politics. In forwarding the resolution that had been read out to them he felt sure they were doing the right thing at the right moment, and at the same time, paying a well-deserved tribute to the gallant conduct of the Boers, which contrasted strongly with the dastardly conduct of the men of Johannesburg. *(Loud and prolonged cheering).*

Capt. Hoste thought so much had already been said on the subject that there was nothing left for him to say. All that he could say was "D—Johannesburg"! *(Cheers).*

Mr W. P. Grimmer said that they were simply wasting time by discussing the matter any further. They had, he thought, expressed their feelings with regard to Dr Jameson and his gallant band and their equally brave opponents, but if they were to talk all night he did not think that they could express half their feelings respecting the people in Johannesburg and their despicable conduct. *(Loud cheers).*

The Chairman then read several telegrams out to the meeting including the one respecting Mr Rhodes' resignation and to which reference has been already made. Three more cheers were given for Dr Jameson and his men and the meeting dispersed.

Another Meeting

A special general meeting of the Caledonian Society was held on Sunday night, at the Hatfield Hotel, to discuss the unfortunate position of their chief, Dr Jameson, and the following resolution was unanimously passed: —"The Salisbury Caledonian Society, at a special general meeting express their warm and enthusiastic admiration for the heroic gallantry displayed by their chief, Dr Jameson, and his followers, and also express their indignation at the conduct of those who lured them on and left them to their fate."

Correspondence

AN APPEAL

To the Editor of the Rhodesia Herald

SIR—I venture to suggest that enquiry be at once made in the proper quarter on behalf of the inhabitants of Rhodesia as to whether any steps have been, or are about to be, taken for the provision of a fund for the support of widows and orphans of late members of Dr Jameson's force, also for those who have been permanently disabled.

At the meeting last Saturday convened for the conveyance of Salisbury's sympathy to Dr Jameson and his comrades, the highest tribute was deservedly paid to their heroic courage, and no more fitting concrete expression of the prevailing sentiment could, I think, be given than the establishment of a fund of the nature suggested, to which, I feel sure, every man in Rhodesia, according to his means, will be a willing contributor.

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
FRANK MACK,
Salisbury, Rhodesia.
January 6, 1896.

[In most heartily endorsing Mr Mack's proposal, we would add that our columns will be open to a list of subscribers, and we trust that in our next issue it will occupy considerable space. *Ed. R. Herald*.]"

With reference to the worthies who spoke at the meeting at the Hatfield Hotel, Grimmer (of Frames & Grimmer) was a prominent local solicitor (ex-Kimberley).

Hoste, later Major, (a Captain in the Rhodesia Territorial Force) was Managing

Director of the Holton Land & Mining Company (which operated on Barwick Estate in the Mvurwi area) and was also licensee of the Mazoe Hotel.

Muirhead, a plumber and tinsmith, was the proprietor of Caledonian Galvanized Iron Works.

Deary was an hotelier (brother of Fred Deary the leading accountant) with interests in Salisbury and in the Lomagundi area and Abercorn in Northern Rhodesia.

Homan was also a leading hotelier with premises at the Ayrshire Mine (near Banket), Hartley Hills and in Salisbury.

George Pauling was Commissioner of Public Works and a renowned civil engineer, transporter and general contractor.

Fairbridge was editor of the *Herald*.

Wilson Fox was Public Prosecutor (and Quartermaster in the Territorial Forces).

Frank Mack (the writer of the letter to the *Herald*) was a prominent miner, particularly in the Lomagundi area.

The trial at Westminster, and imprisonment in Wormwood Scrubs, of the six ringleaders (Jameson, Sir John Willoughby, Captain the Hon. Charles Coventry, Captains the Hons. Robert and Henry White and Lieutenant Colonel Raleigh Grey), and their future careers, and the other direct and indirect consequences of the Raid have been written and lectured about at length elsewhere, notably by Lord Hoffman in a lecture at the Inner Temple in 2006, published in *Heritage* 24.

"Dr Jim" was Cape Premier by 1905, and later knighted.

Lord Hoffman says the leading book on the Raid is that written by Jean van der Poel in 1951. Hoffman also mentions what he terms "the curious feature" that, of Rhodes and the six Westminster defendants, Coventry was the only one who ever married.

As a matter of trivia the Government Committee charged with managing the decimalisation of Rhodesia's currency in 1970 considered several names for the new currency unit, including the "Starr", (before deciding on the "dollar").

In any event, as the meeting broke up at the Hatfield Hotel that January evening in 1896, eight hundred of the country's best fighting men were absent from the territory, killed in the Raid or prisoners of the Boer forces, with due consequences when the First *Chimurenga* commenced ten weeks later.

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

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Louis Bolze, Books of Rhodesia and the Creation of a Rhodesian National Library

by Paul Hubbard

A short history of book publishing in Zimbabwe

Early printing and publishing in Zimbabwe has a fairly substantial body of pre-pioneer and 'pioneer' literature, starting with a sprinkling of Portuguese and Islamic writings in the 13th Century moving on to those of the European and Colonial missionaries, hunters, prospectors and travellers of the mid–to late–1800s. Within two months of the occupation of Mashonaland in 1890, the first Rhodesian newspaper appeared, the handwritten Nugget, published at Fort Victoria (Masvingo). It paved the way for many cyclostyled newspapers, of which the only survivors are The Herald and The Chronicle. Allegedly the first book published in this country was a short collection of verse by a Mr Collins but no copies are known to exist today. Next came From Ox-Waggon to Railway by Alexander Boggie (1897), a 'history' published by the Bulawayo Times Printing Works to mark the arrival of the railway. Other early productions included British South Africa Company publications, travel and mining guides, religious texts and vocabularies in African languages, and reports of church bodies. The fashion was to publish books outside the country, perhaps because of the better production quality and greater potential market. The Rhodesia National Bibliography: 1890–1930 lists 923 publications and does not record a single locally-published novel, and only a few works of poetry.

A milestone in publishing in this country was the creation of the Literature Bureau in 1954 which had the aim of stimulating authorship, sponsoring work for publication, establishing markets and encouraging reading habits. Several novels in Shona and isiNdebele were published. Home-grown commercial publishing was stimulated in the mid-1960s and first off the mark was Longmans in 1964. By 1980 this company, with a virtual monopoly of textbook production, had produced some 21 million books, including several reprints of the excellent Bundu Book series. College Press started in 1967 to cater for primary school texts but later diversified and produced, inter alia, *Encyclopedia Rhodesia*. This company also established the Galaxie imprint. Catholic-owned Mambo Press started in 1959 and concentrated on religious texts, although it cooperated with the Literature Bureau to produce cheap novels and other books on socio-historical issues. Books of Rhodesia burst onto the scene in 1968 under the stewardship of then-unknown Louis William Bolze.

Early life

Louis Bolze was born in Queenstown in the Eastern Cape of South Africa on December 22, 1919. His school record hinted at his future unparalleled career in producing some of the most useful and collectable pieces of Rhodesiana because he had a marked propensity for writing essays and a voracious interest in reading history. Louis described himself as a "bookish type". Finishing his education at Dale College in King Williamstown, he worked for a time in East London before being drafted into the 8th Army in the South African Engineers Corps. It was while on active service in North Africa, Abyssinia and Italy that a life-long fascination with the ancient past was kindled. Louis collected a great deal of artefacts on his army-sponsored travels—regrettably acceptable and common practice at the time—and devoted a great deal of time to researching the context and provenance of his finds. He wrote several letters about these and other issues to European and South African newspapers and journals during the course of the war.

Upon his return to South Africa after demobilisation, Louis turned his interest in the past in other directions, entering into the public relations field, usually promoting the various engineering trades. He worked for a time for the *South African Review* before accepting an opportunity to emigrate to Southern Rhodesia in 1952, working with a firm of trade journals. He soon fell in love with his adopted country and "completely identified [him]self with Rhodesia and worked on such projects as the Trade Fair, Buy Home Products, etc". He also worked for the Rhodesia Products Bureau from its inception. From 1963, he became Senior Public Relations Officer for the Rhodesian Railways and spent five years dealing with the press, writing articles, speeches and the like, something that inflamed his desire to become more actively and creatively involved with the publishing field. He helped start the Railway Museum. He was actively involved in many charities, including Rotary.

Beginning a career in publishing

Louis identified two events that he considered pivotal in setting his feet on the road to becoming "Rhodesia's Librarian". In a speech to the Insurance Institute of Bulawayo in 1972 he said:

> "The desire to be engaged in the publishing field in a venture of my own was an ever-present one and, in the early days of UDI, I saw an opportunity to put out a couple of cartoon books which highlighted some of the humorous situations of the political scene.
>
> These were done with a young colleague who was the artist (Klaus Ravin). As we were both in full-time employment, the productions were done part-time as a hobby. Having got part-way through the scheme and having been unsuccessful with several attempts to find a publisher, both in Rhodesia and in South Africa, I decided that I had had sufficient experience in the magazine field to give it a bash myself."

Producing the first book, entitled *Life with UDI*, took only two months and made history in this country by selling 10,000 copies in three days, necessitating a rapid reprint. Six months after this, a second volume, *More Life with UDI*, was published and together the books sold some 40,000 copies. History had been made and Louis was to create a lot more.

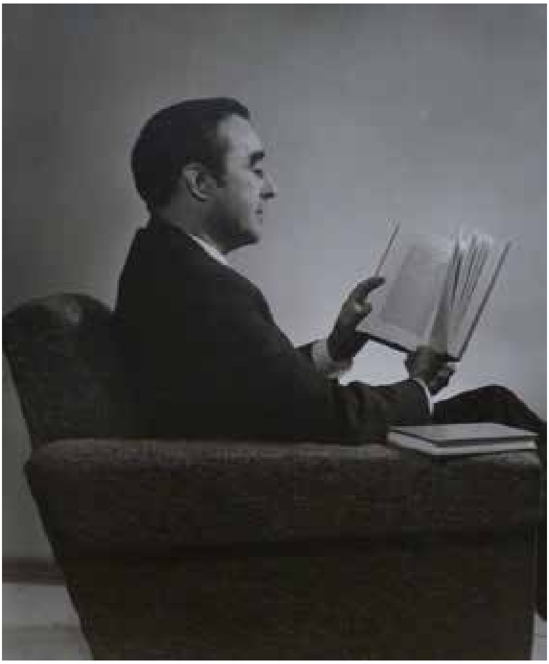
Bulawayo's 75th birthday was an important event in more ways than one. As part of the commemorations of the town's founding, Louis was invited to contribute an article to a special edition of Rhodesiana journal on the arrival of the railway in the city. His article is one of the most comprehensive on this event, covering so much more than just the mechanics of getting a train to Bulawayo in adverse conditions. Louis explored social issues, delved into the personalities involved and obviously had a great deal of fun collating a vast amount of information to create this lucid article, but the act of researching and writing had sparked off something much deeper. In his own words, in an undated speech to the Rotary Club of Gweru:

> "[My research] took me for the first time to the fairly extensive Rhodesiana section [of the Bulawayo Public Library] where I was amazed to discover how many books there were on the early days of Rhodesia, written by those who had explored and pioneered it. I became so absorbed and fascinated by the subject—completely hooked in fact—that I felt I wanted to do something about bringing these exciting books to the notice of the public. Better still to reprint them so that they would be available to all."

It was a bold move. Despite his experience with the printing industry and marketing, book publishing was a vastly different enterprise, complications including copyright, royalties, distribution logistics and so on. More significantly perhaps, Louis made his decision to change jobs right after UDI which had brought with it a host of problems, not least foreign currency shortages and, in 1966, wide-ranging sanctions that limited his market almost exclusively to the English-speaking portion of Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, and later the United States of America. "Books of Rhodesia" as it became known was not allowed to export directly to the UK and Europe although a plan was made for a spot of "sanctions busting" every now and then, usually via friends and colleagues travelling overseas. More formal and lasting methods of book distribution were instituted later, the most important probably being the cooperation of the Post Office and its special rates for book post.

Louis showed great confidence in his idea. He first published just a few books, working on all the necessary logistics part-time. In 1970 he resigned from his job at Rhodesia Railways, cashed in his pension and used these funds and his other savings and royalties to start the business full time. It was a bold move, especially because, to my knowledge, Books of Rhodesia was the first commercial publishing company in the country to focus almost exclusively on producing reprints. Showing his usual flair, Louis hit upon the innovative idea of creating a Book Club so that he could market his books directly to his audience. It had never been done before in Southern Africa. Normally antiquarian reprints were done in small quantities and sold at premium prices but Louis took the plunge, mailing some 35 000 pamphlets country-wide and to a few institutions overseas. His faith was justified when over 1 500 people joined in the first month and, after the publication of his first book (Thomas Baines, The Goldfields of South Eastern Africa), membership jumped to over 2 000, and stayed there for many years. Louis often mentioned that the solid membership base of the Rhodesiana Society (which was at 800 when he began his adventure) was an inspirational factor in his decision to take the publishing plunge.

The process of choosing which books to reprint was not as arcane as may be supposed. Louis started by buying originals of books he considered worth reprinting. This had the added advantage of allowing him to create one of the finest reference libraries on Zimbabwean history in private hands and later allowed him to pursue another career, that of rare book dealer. Once he had made the decision the book would be stripped down and photographed and then printed by lithography using the offset process rather than a letterpress. It was essential that a clean and unmarked copy be used in order to ensure quality and sometimes more than one original would be used to create one master copy. *A Breath From the Veldt* by J. G. Millais took four copies to get right as did Ellerton-Fry's *Occupation of Mashonaland*.



Louis Bolze

After a time, Books of Rhodesia did begin publishing original works that were usually non-series. Louis was understandably hesitant to take on too many since there was a large commercial risk as well as more work involved in production, especially proof-reading, typesetting and so on. But some were outstanding commercial successes, most notably John O'Reilly's *Pursuit of the King* which completed the Matabele history triumvirate, (the others being *My Friend Kumalo* and *Mlimo*). There were spectacular failures as well, especially the novel *Ginette* by Sylvia Bond Smith in 1980 which sold only a few hundred copies.

Choosing reprints

The main factor governing Louis' choice of reprint was copyright law. At that time, author copyright lasted for 50 years after his/her death (unless renewed by heirs/estate) and copyright remained with the publisher for 25 years after the date of release. Royalties at that time were normally 10% although some went as low as 5%. Once the legal niceties had been arranged, Louis would endeavour to add as much new material as possible, including publisher's introductions, new photographs, maps, indexes for some titles, as well as later commissioning more scholarly assessments of the books by experienced specialists in relevant fields. In many cases this extra material has considerably enhanced the value of the book, and I believe has contributed to the handsome prices commanded by these books on the international market. Values are now falling somewhat and it is now possible to buy copies of the Gold and Silver Series in good condition for as little as $15 through some websites, down from a high of $40–50 a few years ago.

There were several advantages to creating a library of reprints. Rare and out-of-print books were given a new lease of life and their publication spurred a great deal of discussion and revision of former historical certainties both by the general public and the academic establishment. It is possible that the Books of Rhodesia Book Club helped boost the membership rolls for the Rhodesiana Society and the Pioneers and Early Settlers Society as more people scrambled to learn of their past. Additionally, libraries formed a significant part of the Book Club since librarians favoured the reprints for their shelves because they were then able to remove the rare and valuable originals for safekeeping.

Louis had a difficult lesson in copyright law and the nature of international publishing when he reprinted Melina Rorke's semi-fictional drama in 1971. George Harrap & Co. claimed they owned the copyright for the "entire British Empire" which raised interesting legal issues given UDI and Rhodesia's self-proclamation as a republic by this stage. The case was eventually settled amicably upon payment of royalties from initial sales of the book (which topped 3 000 copies of a 4 000 copy print run, making it a "best-seller" by any definition). The case did raise other interesting points since Louis came under fire from a large cross-section of the academic establishment, in both the press and journals, for reprinting a book that may be politely described as melodramatic fiction for the most part. In his defence, Louis explained that the Book Club subsidised the business to a large extent since, by printing and selling large numbers of more popular works that appealed to the members' growing celebration of their Pioneer roots, he was able to include other works that may have never again seen the light of day. As he put it, those who read for "light entertainment" subsidised "the interests of the student and serious reader. You will probably find it a sad commentary, nevertheless it is a hard commercial fact, and one we would neglect at our peril" (Letter to Professor van Velsen, 27/10/1971, Melina Rorke file, BOZ offices).

Louis had deeper ambitions for his business and indeed I believe they were fulfilled to a certain extent. As he said in a talk to the Rotary Club of Salisbury West in 1974, "These books make their way into thousands of Rhodesian homes where they have had considerable influence in fashioning new reading habits and developing a sense of pride in our country's background and in fostering the growth of nationhood". In an undated speech to Gweru Rotary Club, Louis also claimed that he regarded "the distribution of the books as most valuable since they give a deep insight into our history and no country or its problems can be understood without a full knowledge of its background".

I believe that the choices of reprint were not only governed by commercial concerns but by which books were felt to more adequately reflect white Rhodesian nationalist aspirations. To take but one example, we have Theodore Bent's *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* and R. N. Hall and W. G. Neal's *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* finding their way into the Gold Series, while David Randall-MacIver's *Medieval Rhodesia* and Gertrude Caton-Thompson's *The Zimbabwe Culture* do not. The former titles pandered to the then-popular belief that the stone ruins liberally dotted across this country were the product of a mythical and now-extinct white race, while the latter were more sober and scholarly assessments that proclaimed the ruins indisputably to be of indigenous, black origin.

The books chosen retained their appeal to the Rhodesian public and a quote from one letter expresses the opinion of many citizens at that time:

> "I am an ancient Rhodesian, born, bred and educated in this country, and regard the opportunity afforded by your books as a godsend, a joy and indescribable consolation in these wretched times of frustration."

In some way, it seems that in printing books highlighting the achievements, hardships and aspirations of the original settlers, Louis was attempting to show Rhodesians of the

Louis Bolze (left) showing off a new reprint to historian, Oliver Ransford at the Bulawayo Public Library, October 1972

1960s and 1970s that they faced nothing worse and could prevail. As he said in 1971, "We are bridging the gap of time, linking yesterday with today, so that we might benefit from the lessons passed on by those who have preceded us".

The business grew steadily and June 23 1970 saw the official opening of the new premises on Rhodes Street, Bulawayo. By 1980 the company had expanded even further to include a photo-setting and origination service which operated as Bookset (Pvt) Ltd, a print shop called Bookprint (which used to print *Heritage* and *Honeyguide*) and the Bindery that repaired books and created the masterpieces that were the leather-bound collector's editions.

Louis was ever-confident that his business would continue to thrive and enjoy its roaring success of the 1970s. In many of his speeches he would stress that there were over 1200 books on the history of Rhodesia published between the 1870s and 1923 housed in the National Archives that were ripe for a reprint. In addition it was always his intention to expand beyond the narrow field of Rhodesiana and to print Africana, more general works on African history. To this end in 1975 he created the Africana Series of twelve rare South African works, including *Eight Months in an Ox Waggon* by E. Sandeman, *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life* by Thomas Baines and W. E. Lord as well as *Trekking the Great Thirst* by A. W. Hodson. The African Hunting Series began in 1980 including 12 volumes specifically aimed at the American market, although it included books that had been reprinted earlier.

By 1980, Books of Rhodesia had earned Rhodesia some R$450 000 in foreign currency through 140 projects that had included books, prints, maps and other small collectables sold in 16 countries. About one third of the productions by this time were newly-originated works and included diverse subjects such as poetry, school histories and a study on flowers. The company exhibited its products around the world and Louis considered its finest hour to have had a stand at the Frankfurt International Book Fair in 1982, a fantastic achievement for a company started as a part-time hobby in the most adverse circumstances.

Output by Publishers in Rhodesia, 1971-1979

Mambo Press	109
Longmans	103
Books of Rhodesia	102

Source: National Archives of Zimbabwe

Later life and the end of the publishing business

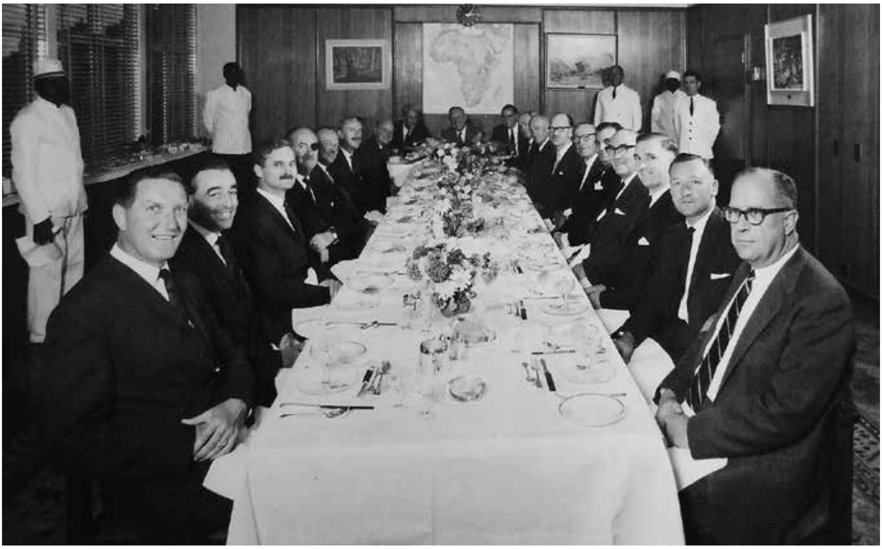
Independence was to bring changes and the company could not change rapidly enough to suit the new political and economic realities. A raft of publishing companies inundated the country after independence; many were merely local branches of multinational corporations. Louis claimed the lack of foreign currency hampered the publishing programme because good quality paper had to be imported and government had other priorities in its allocations. In addition he claimed the printing equipment was outdated and slow and thus he could not compete with the post-1980 flood of imports and economies of scale. An important consideration was the loss of his primary market due to so many people emigrating. Ironically this had been covered by Louis in his seminal book *The Whenwes of Rhodesia*, illustrated by Rose Martin. Several other similar publishing houses ceased operations at almost the same time including Frank Read Press, Graham Publishing Co. and M. O. Collins.

The business shifted focus, selling old stock and doing more printing of works for other organisations. A new imprint called Black Eagle Press was relatively short-lived so Louis changed direction to indulge one of his other passions, that of rare book dealer. This is the only facet of the business that has survived. Louis died in 2000 and is survived by his two sons, Adrian and Simon, as well as several grandchildren. His was a full life and there is not the space here to discuss his numerous charitable contributions and social commitments.

The significance of his Reprint Series and other publishing creations continues to be debated occasionally by academics in Zimbabwe and abroad. I believe that his company's contribution towards shaping the understanding and appreciation of this country's history through its choice of reprints is unacknowledged and little understood but enormously influential.

I am going to let Louis have the last word, quoting from his speech at the 1982 Frankfurt Book Fair in words that describe him and his achievements more than the publishing industry:

> "Most local publishers had extremely modest beginnings and accepted the obstacles of sanctions and the war as challenges rather than deterrents. Prevailing conditions brought out the best qualities of courage, determination and inventiveness, and those who survived these testing times are more than ready to get to grips with the new opportunities."



Rhodesia Railways Board Luncheon, 26 January 1965, Bulawayo.
The Governor of Rhodesia Humphrey Gibbs sits at the head of the table.
Louis Bolze sits second from the front on the left hand side of the table.

John Peter Dilmitis (1897–1976)

by Peter Dilmitis

My father John Peter Dilmitis (anglicised from Demetriadis) was born in Alexandria, on 1 January 1897. His father George Demetriadis grew tobacco in the Sudan and would return once a year to Alexandria in Egypt to sell his tobacco and spend time with his family. The family then moved to Kayseri in central Turkey, where my father grew up.

While there, his father had occasion to send my father to Syria to buy the large metal needles used for stringing Turkish tobacco. On this trip he came across a band of gypsies playing the gambling game “Three Cups”. He watched them, saw how apparently easy it was to win, decided to wager some money and lost. They wanted him to put more money on, but he declined. He had learnt a lesson and never gambled again. (Peter Armstrong, in his book “*The Iron Trek*”, describes my father as a gambler, but this is definitely not true). After buying the needles Dad was arrested in Syria on suspicion that his needles (which were about 2 foot in length) were “swords”, and that he was going to kill people! A policeman recognised him, and managed to get the charges withdrawn.

The family later moved to Beirut, where Dad went to the American University, run by the Dodge Institute. He qualified as a Civil Engineer. In 1920 he was offered a job by the British Government in India as a Civil Engineer to build roads. On his way over, the boat diverted to Beira on the Mozambique coast to pick up cargo. He went in to Beira town to enquire if anyone knew the whereabouts of one of his uncles, a man named Shakin, who had not been heard from for some time. A certain Mr Markantonis told him that his uncle was in Southern Rhodesia. Dad thought it was important to try to find this uncle, so he borrowed £5 from Markantonis and started walking west to Southern Rhodesia. When he got near Gorongoza (later a game reserve and National Park) he was advised not to walk through the forest, as he might be eaten by lions or leopards! So he decided to get on a train. He took the cheapest ticket, went on the “Black carriage”, resulting in him not going through normal immigration procedures when he arrived in Southern Rhodesia at Umtali, which will become relevant later on. He eventually arrived in Salisbury by train, to hear that his uncle was in Bindura. On his arrival in Bindura in the north-east of Southern Rhodesia, his uncle was not happy to see him—he was a gambler, drinker and womaniser, who had made money from prospecting. Not wanting to stay in Bindura, Dad started looking around for work. He was offered employment by Xenophon Dardagan in the El Dorado district between Banket and Chinhoyi. Dardagan (an 1895 Pioneer of this country) brought out his family but never himself married). He ran a shop and hotel and the post office and had business interests in Banket.

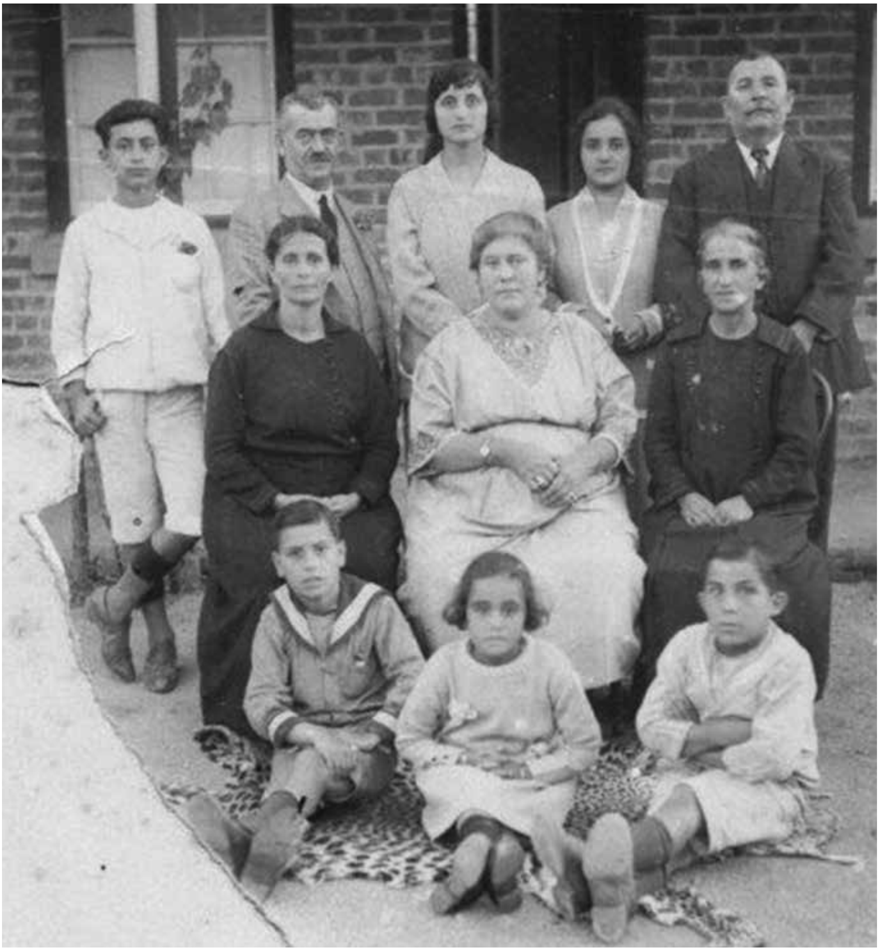
While at El Dorado my father took on a second job working, after 5pm, for the Grain

Marketing Board, checking maize deliveries at the sidings and depots at El Dorado, Dunphaile and Banket. He would ride his Samson bicycle between the depots along dirt tracks, making out bills of lading, and supervising African labourers loading maize on to trucks for delivery to Salisbury. On one occasion he got completely lost, and ended up at Ayrshire Mine. Some Africans found him, and walked him back to El Dorado. Dad was living in El Dorado and occasionally worked as a barman in the Dardagan "Banket Hotel" in Banket, as well as running the shop next door, (these premises being situated adjacent to today's Whitings Supermarket). He always kept to hand a bottle of tea, which looked like whiskey, to drink and appear sociable whenever he was offered a drink by patrons. His apparent ability to hold his drink was widely admired. He built up a very good relationship with farmers in the area, particularly the Scottish farmers. Murdoch McCauley, McCleary and Turner asked my father to open a shop in Banket, but he thought the Dardagans might object, and perhaps even report him for not having legal papers to be in the country (and he was in any case grateful to the Dardagan family and did not want to set up in competition with them). The Scotsmen promised to sort out his paperwork and arranged for one Murdoch Eaton, a senior man in the BSA Company, who controlled immigration, to come out to Banket. Dad explained his story to him, and he then and there gave my father a letter of citizenship. Selous Dardagan, Xenophon's nephew and father of George, eventually opened a general trading store on the other side of Banket village, west of the railway line.

My father then had the opportunity to go to Broken Hill, in Zambia, to open a business, but the local farmers persuaded him not to go, and McCauley suggested he open a shop in Sinoia (now Chinhoyi). They promised to support him. His opportunity came when, in about 1924, one Proscopis (who was moving to Salisbury) decided to sell

GOVERNMENT OFFICES SINOIA S.R.

Early Government Offices in Chinoyi



The Dardagan and Dilmitis families on their arrival into Rhodesia 1925.
Back row from L–R Selous Dardagan, Xenofon Dardagan (owner of Eldorado Store), Sophie Dardagan (married to Demous Mitchell, proprietor of Banket Hotel), Sophie Dilmitis, (My Aunt who married Leslie Hampton) Hotel Owner in Umtali (where photo was taken)

Seated L–R Granny Dardagan, Hotel owner's wife, Marigo Dilmitis (My grandmother)
Seated on the Floor L-R Johnny Dardagan, Vicky Dilmitis (My aunt) and Achilles (Dal) Dilmitis (My Uncle)

up. The price for the building and the stock was £1 800. The shop was where Lees and Marleens is today. Dad opened up there and, true to their words, the farmers supported him. Dad opened a General Dealer shop, and gave farmers extended credit and they paid him once a year. Many farmers in this area said that they wouldn't have survived and achieved what they did, were it not for my father's help. *(The editor, who grew up on a farm between Banket and Chinhoyi, can vouch for this as far as the Dilmitis and*

Dardagan families are concerned). He later bought the next door stand, pulled down the wood and iron shed on it and built his first shop, which is now TM Supermarket. Between the shop and the present TM was a garden, and they lived behind the shop to one side of that garden. In 1925, Dad decided to bring his family out from Beirut. His mother, two sisters and a brother travelled out in the same boat as Xenophon's Dardagan's family, and I have a photograph of them all taken in a hotel in Umtali (now Mutare), en route by train to Salisbury. When they first arrived they stayed in the Dardagan hotel at El Dorado.

My mother's family lived in the area of Samsun, in a small village called Alatchum, on the southern shores of the Black Sea. Her father was a tobacco merchant. In 1922 the Turkish premier, Kemal Ataturk, interned all Greek males living in Turkey. He said to my maternal grandfather that if he helped to dispose of that year's Turkish tobacco crop they would let him go. All the other captives thought my grandfather was stupid and advised him not to go along with this as he would certainly be killed. But, he decided to take the chance in order to help his family. After he had done what he was asked to do, he was executed and his head left on a plate outside his family's door. All young males in Alatchum, including my mother's brothers and cousins, were then imprisoned in the local church. The women were told to fetch all their jewellery and money or they wouldn't see their menfolk again. They did this and handed over their valuables to the Turks. The Turks then put a match to the church and 38 men were burnt alive. The family realised it was time to leave, and started walking south to Beirut in the Lebanon. It was winter, typhoid was rife and the bodies of those who died were thrown into the Mediterranean. All along the route they saw skeletons of the Armenians who had been shot when no longer able to continue walking. A young Turkish girl, who had been a maid to the family, was travelling with them, and she would go into the towns during the day to find food, bread and cheese, whatever she could get to feed the refugees, and they would continue walking at night. They arrived in Beirut after walking for 6 months, and stayed with my father's family there until a ship arrived to take them as refugees to Salonika in Greece. My father had been at university with my mother's brother, hence the connection between the two families. My mother completed her

This is a photo of me as a baby in my father's arms with my mother and sister, Jean Anthony on the right this photo was taken in the garden between the shop and the house on the main road.

secondary education in Salonika.

Once my mother started working and was earning a salary, she spent some money on a new red hat. Her brother told her to take it off and return it to the shop, as only prostitutes wore red hats!

Riding my rocking horse as a young boy, situated in our garden in front of our home, which was on the main road of Sinoia, where Lees and Marlenes is now. In the background across the main street was the Dardagan's Model Butchery where ZB Bank is today in Chinhoyi. On my birthday my Father bought a ticket in a raffle, which won the rocking horse.

My father wrote to my mother's brother about a bride, and he encouraged my mother to come to Southern Rhodesia. In 1930 Mom came out to marry my father. She arrived by boat at Beira with Alec and Maro Dardagan who had come back from their honeymoon in Greece. She met my father for the first time at Salisbury Station. He had never seen her before, but he liked what he saw and they were married soon after in the Anglican Church in Sinoia (opposite the Police camp). She lived with my father, his mother and siblings. My mother would often say that if she had had enough money, she would have gone straight back to Salonika, as she was a slave to the other women. When Mom became pregnant with my sister Jean in 1931, my father arranged to send his mother and his sisters to live with his brother Achilles, who by this time had moved to Bindura. My sister Jean was born in 1931, and I in December 1934.

Despite the new living arrangements, my mother was still not very happy in Sinoia and begged my father to sell up and return to Greece. He was very upset and consulted the father-figure in his life, Murdo MacCauley, whose advice was to send her back to Greece by herself. "Once will be enough and she'll come back and never want to leave" he said, and he was right. McCauley had successfully opened up the Ayrshire Mine and put in a 2ft 6 inch rail track and was the first farmer to plough with a "steam tractor". This was not a tractor as such, but two steam engines placed at opposite ends of the field, and a long chain pulled the plough from one side to the other.

My mother's family in Greece, (her mother and elder sister with husband and two daughters), eventually joined her in Southern Rhodesia.

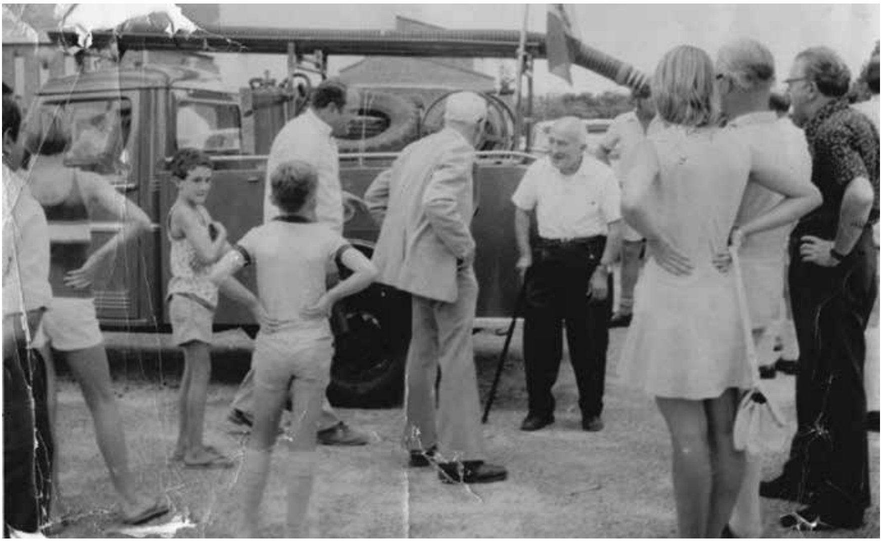
Bit by bit Dad established himself in Sinoia. He was offered a site on which a house was built for the George Elcombe wagon transport business. The wagon mules were kept in the yard for fear of lions. The house had been empty for some years. Dad was offered the property for £25. When he went back to accept the price, it had gone up and it took some haggling to get it down to £47. He eventually built a service station on this site (where NTS is currently located). In 1950, or thereabouts, Dad built his first property, the original Barclays Bank building. Prior to this there had only been one bank in Sinoia, Standard Chartered Bank. This stand was previously owned by Charlie Dickson, who was the chemist and publisher of the weekly newspaper, *The Sinoia News*.

A view of my father's general dealers shop. Customers were served at the counter; this is where TM is currently in Chinhoyi.

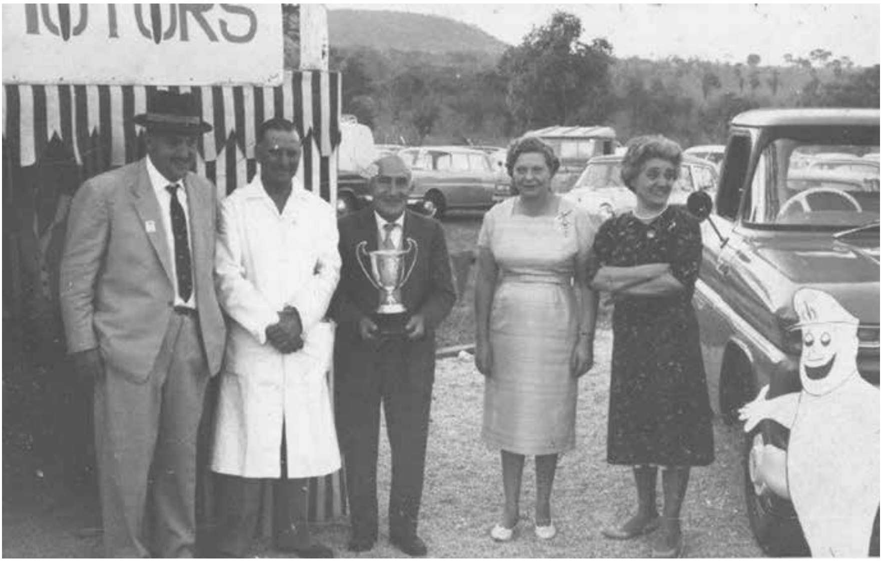
This building was constructed for Barclays Bank by my father in 1950. The main part of the building was for Barclays, but it also held a few other stores and residential flats above.

In 1934 my father had bought Argyle Farm from John Black. George Schley was engaged to manage it for him, but when the Second World War broke out, Schley enlisted and went off to fight. When Johnny Dardagan (younger brother of Selous) went off to war in North Africa, he asked Dad to take over his butchery, where Zimbank is now. There were no coldrooms in those days, just charcoal coolers. (See Robin Taylor's article on meat safes). Cattle were slaughtered at lunch time on one day, brought into town on an ox cart, hung in the coolers, and sold the next day. Dad would stay up all night boxing meat orders for rural customers, then taking them to the RMS depot for delivery to points north of Chinhoyi. With so many men away at war there was a lack of skilled butchers. We were only too pleased when the war ended and Johnny Dardagan came back and took over his butchery again.

One customer, a Mr Brown, would stop for petrol on his way to Harare. He would ask to use the toilet, and always say to my father "Is everything in the right place?" He knew exactly where the whiskey and glasses were and would sneak a tot before leaving. His wife, seated in the car outside, who would not let him drink at home, was none the



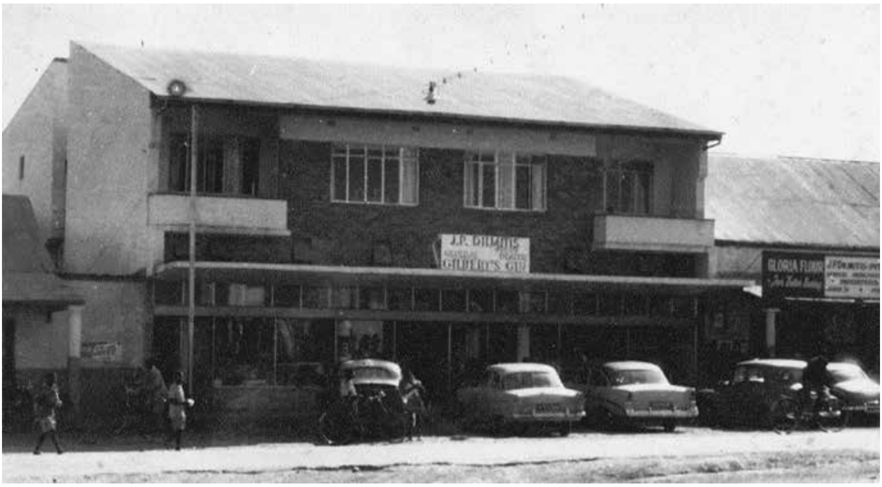
On this day Sinoia received her first fire engine. It was collected by Bert Ashton, who is in the centre of the photo wearing a jacket, hands on his hips and his back to the camera, to the right my father John holding a walking stick, I am to the left with my son Manousa behind me with his hands crossed and he is accompanied by his friend Greg Haliburton also with his hands on his hips and his back to the camera, on the far right in dark trousers looking on is Watty Daniels and to his left is Arthur Matthews (Regional Road Engineer) with his daughter beside him.



This photo was taken at the Sinoia Agricultural show when my father's company Dilmitis Motors won the prize for the best stand/display at the show; the people in the photo are from L–R Myself, Reg Powell, my Father John Dilmitis, Elaine Powell and my mother Cleo.

wiser. Old man Brown, who farmed near Sanyati, always said that as long as my father was operating in Sinoia, Farmers Co-op would not succeed in business in that town. The Co-op had opened in Karoi before Sinoia. Brown said the service that farmers got from J. P. Dilmitis was better than what Farmers Co-op could offer at the time.

We lived behind the shop (now Lees and Marlenes) until 1949, when Dad built a house on Raylton Drive. I was then 15. In 1961 Dad won the trophy for Best Stand at the Sinoia Show.



My fathers original shop from the outside on the far right.
The supermarket came later in the centre with flats on top; this where our original garden was, and our house was on the left behind and this is where Lees and Marlenes was eventually built. Rhobank was also situated here next door to Lees and Marlenes, Rhobank went on to become Zimbank now ZB.

At the end of the War, when soldiers returned to the district to start or resume farming, they would phone in their orders and we would make them up and take them to the Road Motor Services depot and the orders would be despatched the next day. Farmers would wait at their turn-offs to collect their orders from the RMS lorries. Miami was Route No. 1, the principal development there being the Grand Parade Mine run by the Pattison brothers.

In front of the counters in the shop were large Peake-Freens biscuit tins and all the sugar, rice, lentils and other dried goods which had to be weighed out were stored in these tins. Molly Page (wife of Bill) was furious when we opened the new shop, because she had nowhere to sit. She always sat on the biscuit tins. The Page daughters married into the Fraser, Hale and Whittal families.

My father was getting credit from all the big companies in Salisbury, including A. F. Phillips, Jaggers and Mosenthals. The Vacuum Oil Company gave him unlimited credit on Laurel paraffin, which farmers, for a particular reason, insisted on having. This paraffin came in two 4 gallon tins, in a wooden box about 3 ft high. These boxes were used as cupboards and chairs and other furniture, and were highly sought after. (See

Heritage No. 10 for a full treatment of packing-case furniture). My father was also an agent for aviation fuel. Aeroplanes would fly in low buzzing the shop. This was the signal for my father to fetch the pilots from the airstrip, where Chinhoyi High School is today, and bring them into town to do their shopping. They would refuel from 4 gallon tins, with a step ladder, a funnel and a chamois leather cloth as a sieve.

Whenever my father went to Salisbury, many folk would give him errands to do. He parked his truck at Samson Cycle Company in Orr Street (next to Maltas Brothers), borrowed a Samson bicycle from them, and went to see various merchants to give them his orders, which were then delivered to Samson Cycle. If he went in his own motor car (first a 1934 Ford sedan, later a 1946 blue and white Chevrolet sedan, both sourced through Cairns), he would drive past Meikles Hotel and then to Pockets (the best tea room in Harare) to pick up people who wanted a lift back to Sinoia.

In 1960 we imported 20 cases of whiskey for £250 (£3 088 in today's money), which came with a covering letter from the UK suppliers (Gillespie Brothers) that they had overcharged us 12/6 for freight, for which we were given a credit. Most whisky brands in those days cost exactly the same.

Lord Graham was introduced to my father by McCauley, inducing great surprise in my father at the patched and grubby clothing worn by his Lordship! McCauley offered my father a loan of £5 000 to buy the Lounge Tea Room in Baker Avenue in Salisbury but Dad declined as it would mean a move into Harare (which a lot of the Sinoia/Banket Greek community had made).

Mrs Lapham, a Trelawney farmer's wife, gave her shopping order in beautiful copper-plate manuscript (and was a renowned needle-worker). Sam Weller, a local policeman, was something of a tyrant and the bane of the lives of many young policemen. He had borrowed my father's car to go on honeymoon to South Africa. During the butter rationing period in WWII, Gwen Dardagan arranged (perfectly legally) for members of the family to give up their ¼lb ration so that Madge Weller could bake Sam a birthday cake. Sam saw 1lb of butter in his fridge and immediately returned it to Dad, threatening him with arrest for breaching the rationing regulations.

Dad cashed cheques for numerous farmers, (so that they could pay their labourers' wages), the cash being kept in an Oxo tin in his safe. Such was the trust in those days, John Barrett recalls, that he was given the safe keys by Dad on one occasion and told to help himself and just leave a cheque for the amount taken.

In 1951 (aged 16) I applied for my driver's licence. I was admonished, because I had been seen driving around Sinoia for a long time before, but nevertheless given a licence (without having to undergo a test).

Dad would import crates of bicycles from the UK, which we then assembled. The crating material was ideal to be re-shaped into winnowing baskets for mealie meal.

When Dad went to Port Elizabeth to fetch his Chevrolet, he insisted on buying a full length costume before swimming in public in the sea. (See the picture of Jack Nesbitt at page 39 of *Heritage* No. 30 for an example of such a costume). One of his cars, a Pontiac, is still garaged in Sinoia, awaiting restoration.

Fred Cooksey, (of Gilchrist & Cooksey and other business concerns), was at one time the world's largest tobacco grower, an extremely wealthy man. I arranged his wake at the request of his widow Nancy, with the instruction that no expense was to be spared, nor was it, (but many years before, when she was still a young bride, she returned a tube of toothpaste to Dad because, she said, she had found the same product in Salisbury at 1½*.d* cheaper).

Hinze and Babbage are well known surnames of members of our "Coloured" community. The Hinze patriarch was a German blacksmith who operated a mine on the Angwa river and ran cattle on nearby land (selling the meat to our family's butchery). The original Babbage, also an early settler, owned Dichwe farm adjacent the Umboe Club (near the ancient Arab wild lemon forest).

Men panning the Angwa river for gold (known as "Angwa Pirates") all had relatives working at the Eldorado Mine, hence there was always doubt as to the source of the gold they spent in the pubs in Sinoia.

Colonel Giffard (a farmer near Eldorado) used his beautiful old Jaguar as a farm vehicle. Dad purchased it. It had doors that opened backwards and was fitted with truck tyres which disintegrated one day when Dad was driving it on the main road. His daughter married Colin Hensman.

There are many more such stories.

My father died in March 1976 in his 80th year. I will be 80 in 2014.

The former Minister of Agriculture, Sir Patrick Fletcher, said of Dad: "He rendered great economic service to the general development of the Lomagundi district and very seldom in the history of this country has there been seen his equal".

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Write to the Editor at edkins@cwg.co.zw.

Cleveland Dam - A Centenary

by R D Taylor

The following is the text of a talk given at Cleveland Dam on Sunday 26th May 2013 by Robin Taylor.

The supply of water is vital for maintenance of all life and it should come as no surprise therefore that the availability of an adequate water supply determined the siting of the new settlement, (Salisbury) which was destined to become the capital of the colony of Rhodesia, and subsequently the independent country of Zimbabwe.

On the night of 9 September 1890, the Pioneer Column laagered some eight miles from the Hunyani River. The next day the Column moved forward, and that afternoon, 10 September, laagered on the south bank of the Hunyani River at what is now St Mary's Township. Work started immediately on building a drift across the river, and early next morning, 11 September, the Column, comprising approximately ninety wagons, made the difficult crossing. They again went into laager on the north bank to rest the men and animals until 3 p.m. before carrying on across the Nyrongo stream, through what are now Derbyshire and Waterfalls, reaching the Makabusi River at what became known as Six Mile Spruit near the present day Seven Miles Hotel. Another laager was formed at this point.

While the Column was moving forward early in the morning of 11 September, Lieutenant-Colonel E. G. Pennefather, Officer Commanding the Pioneer Column, accompanied by Sir John Willoughby, second in command of the British South Africa Company Police, and Captain Edward Burnett, Acting Chief Scout, knowing they were near the Column's intended destination of Mount Hampden, rode out to conduct a reconnaissance of the way ahead. Col Pennefather later reported that having ridden along the banks of the strongly flowing Makabusi, he crossed it south of the Kopje where he obtained the services of a local guide and then rode northwards to the headwaters of the dry Gwebi River. The reconnaissance party rode for about five miles downstream towards Mount Hampden before turning northeast to follow the edge of the escarpment overlooking the Mazoe valley. Pennefather concluded in his report, 'Finding that the water supply in the Gwebi Valley and at the edge of the plateau was not sufficient for what might eventually be the seat of Government with a considerable population, I returned to the valley of the Makabusi and selected the site where the camp now is.'

Major Frank Johnson, Commander of the Pioneer Corps, also went riding on 11 September. He set off at midday, and seeing a sizeable kopje some five miles away, headed for it and climbed to the top. Having seen the saucer-like basin at its foot he decided this would be the site of the settlement. He had previously become familiar with the Mount Hampden area when he visited Mashonaland in 1887.

At 5.45 a.m. on 12 September, the wagons began to cross the Makabusi via a rocky underwater ledge, and, travelling through the present day Highfields and Lochinvar, and then parallel to today's railway line, the first wagons reached the site of the final laager and the new settlement at 10.00 a.m.

Col Pennefather immediately issued instructions that areas be marked out along the Makabusi for drinking water and for washing. As soon as the wagons had been formed into a laager the oxen were sent back across the Makabusi to avoid polluting the water supply.

As early as 1891 the pools on the Makabusi were filling with soil and surface contamination. The water supply position was already precarious and the pools were deepened. Drums mounted on wheels and drawn by donkeys were the means of water delivery. Wells were also dug in other parts of the town.

In 1895, a new enterprise, the Salisbury laundry, opened in Hillside on the banks of the Makabusi. The method of disposing of the soapy water is not recorded. The 1896/7 rainy season was characterised by light rainfall and the Makabusi stopped running and many wells dried up. This water crisis led to widespread outbreaks of dysentery. The following rainy season was also a light one with more cases of dysentery, as the Makabusi was now almost useless as a water source.

The question of raising a loan for the development of water and electric light supplies had been debated from the earliest days, and the Sanitary Board which existed from 1891 to 1897 approached Cecil John Rhodes for a loan. The Municipal Council formed in December 1897 also spent much time over the question of water, and over the years obtained reports from various engineers. Schemes were formulated but none were adopted, as always, due to a lack of funds.

In 1911, the London Board of the BSA Company gave its opinion that Salisbury should have, as soon as possible, a water supply, a tramway, and lighting by electricity. The Board decided to send out to Salisbury Messrs Wright and Hadley, experts on the provision of water and light, to look into the possibilities of the scheme. The two engineers concluded there was an urgent need, and searched for a dam site. A site on the Inyagui River was found. The board of the BSA Company subsequently informed the Administrator, William Milton, that it had accepted the recommendation of its engineers, and 100 000 pounds was to be made available by the Company for the scheme. The Company would proceed with the proposals made in the report on condition it received a concession from the Municipality to operate the light and water undertakings for fifty years.

The London experts were assisted by Mr E. H. V. Melvill from Johannesburg. Melvill went to the top of the Kopje, and using his theodolite discovered a small ridge about eight miles away apparently higher than Hartman Hill. He and Mr W. J. Atherstone, the Surveyor-General, investigating further, found the ridge was situated near the headwaters of the Makabusi River. A dam on the river would be higher than Hartman Hill. Storage tanks on Hartman Hill could therefore be fed by gravitation with a considerable saving in pumping costs. This discovery led to the Inyagui dam proposal being dropped.

The Council was impressed by these reports. However, led by Mayor Milton Cleveland, the Council, in February 1911, informed the Company that its proposal for a concession was not acceptable. The Council then purchased the Wright and Hadley report and the plans for 1 250 pounds.

Council now had to seek funding for the water and light schemes. In July 1911 a public meeting was held, and later that month a plebiscite gave approval for the Council to raise a loan. The total electorate consisted of a possible 1 006 voters, and of this number, 171 ratepayers voted in favour and 34 voted against.

Ordinance number 10 of 1911 was enacted on 9 June 1911. This gave the Council authority to raise a loan not exceeding 120 000 pounds to be used for the supply of water and electricity and also for street-making. The Council was enabled to take, impound, divert, appropriate and convey from the Makabusi River and its catchment area such supply of water as may be required. The catchment area was defined as the Government Reserve Farm, Donnybrook, Chikurubi, Manresa and Greengrove farms.

The legislation was very strong on the control of pollution. Any person washing, bathing, dumping rubbish in the dam or reservoir and generally polluting was liable for each offence to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds sterling or three calendar months hard labour.

The Council was given the power, one week after lawful demand, to cut off water supply for non-payment of the amount due.

The legislation also covered the proposed Electricity supply.

The 120 000 Pounds was divided up as follows:

Water Scheme	62 250 pounds
Electricity	25 000 pounds
Street and Road making	15 000 pounds
Surface drainage	5 000 pounds
Other public improvements and cost of raising the loan	12 750 pounds

Council could impose, if necessary, for the purpose of providing for the repayment of capital and interest, a certain rate or tax upon all rateable property within the Municipality.

The Standard Bank (the Town Council bankers) was instructed to proceed with the raising of a corporation loan in London. This was done in December 1911 and the loan was considerably oversubscribed. Mr E. H. V. Melvill was appointed Consulting Engineer for the water supply project.

Some debate took place as to who should build the dam and the reservoir on Hartmann Hill. Tenders were advertised and despite criticism the Council determined to give the contracts to Salisbury firms, even though their prices were not the lowest.

The firm of J. and R. Mc Chlery obtained the contract for the construction of the earth and rubble dam to impound the headwaters of the Makabusi River.

The Dam Builder

The dam was constructed by local building contractors Mr John (Jock) McChlery and his brother Robert. John McChlery was born in Stranraer, Wigtownshire, Scotland, in 1870. He and his brother Robert served an apprenticeship locally and then travelled to

John McChlery

Robert McChlery

South Africa in 1892. They set up a building business in Johannesburg and John actively supported the cause of the Reform Committee.

In 1895 John returned to Scotland and in 1896 married Betsy Scott Alexander. The newly married couple moved to Johannesburg and in 1900, he and Betsy, with two children, moved to Salisbury where he set up as a building contractor with his brother Robert. J. and R. McChlery were responsible for the construction of a number of buildings including Ranche House, C. T. Stores, Adams Bros and Store Bros—all buildings still standing. John was elected to the Town Council in 1904 and was Mayor of Salisbury in 1928. In 1914 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly as member for Marandellas. John McChlery retired from the building business in 1913 and took up farming on Gillingham Farm. He was an active supporter of Sir Charles Coghlan and the movement for Responsible Government. He was a lifelong abstainer and a strong supporter of the temperance cause. John was also a leading member of the Caledonian Society. John and Betsy had eight children, one of whom, Thomas Alexander, was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship, but sadly died before completing his course. John McChlery passed away in February 1931 and Betsy in 1948.

Robert McChlery married Ann Templeton and they had two sons and two daughters. He was active in the Presbyterian Church and the Caledonian Society. Sport was a particular interest of his. Robert passed away in 1939. We welcome today three of Robert McChlery's granddaughters Mrs Elizabeth Wormold, Mrs. Marion Williams and Mrs Lenora Price.

The Dam

The catchment area covers some 18 square kilometres on the farms Chikurubi, Manresa and Donnybrook. The supply of water is augmented by underwater springs which act as compensating water replacing evaporation from the surface. When originally built, the dam contained, when full, 200 million gallons of water. The wall was 365 metres long, 12.6 metres high, 64.6 metres wide at the base and 3.7 metres wide at the top. The overflow weir is 60.9 metres long and 1.5m below the top of the dam. The wall, and consequently capacity, were added to in later years. A puddle trench was excavated to solid rock to intercept any subterranean flow of water, its maximum depth being 5.3 metres below the surface.

Water is drawn off in a 457mm steel outlet pipe embedded in concrete below the surface of the ground. Flow is regulated by three valves in a reinforced concrete valve tower connected to the top of the dam by a concrete bridge. From the outlet pipe a 250mm main leads the water 137 metres to the two filter beds. Water passes through pre-filters of sand and gravel and then five secondary sand filters. It is stored in a clear water tank from where it flows through a 250mm gravitation main for some 11km to a reinforced concrete covered service reservoir on top of Hartmann Hill. The difference in level between the outlet of the clear water tank at Cleveland and the inlet to the service reservoir at Hartmann Hill is only 12.1 metres. As no pumping was necessary this materially reduced working expenses.

From Hartmann Hill reservoir the water went through a 230mm main, and 44km of distribution mains, to every house in the town. Provision was also made for 190 fire hydrants. Water was delivered to consumers through meters. It was estimated that the dam would produce sufficient water to allow the town to grow to three times its size.

Construction Phase

Immediately work started, the site became a popular picnic venue, as the townsfolk watched with interest the progress of this much needed facility. In the middle of February 1913, the Mayor and Councillors held an 'At Home' at the dam for the farmers attending their Annual Agricultural Congress. A special train carried the farmers to a temporary station, 'Reservoir'. There was a band to welcome them to the by now half-filled dam. In a report to the Council Meeting held on 9 April 1913, the Consulting Engineer said that some men were bathing in the reservoir. People also shot duck and allowed them to lie in the water. He requested Council to impose a heavy fine and that a Caretaker be appointed. One Councillor suggested that Council arrange to place a couple of crocodiles in the reservoir. The matter was referred to the Water and Light Committee.

Official Opening

The Official opening of the new dam took place on 24 May 1913, Empire Day, an occasion marked by patriotic speeches and affirmations of loyalty to King and Country.

Free trains leaving Salisbury station at 10.00 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. were provided to enable townsfolk to attend this significant event. Central Tea Rooms agreed to supply light refreshments on site at popular prices.

The afternoon's proceedings opened with an address by Mr G. Duthie, Director of Education. This speech was directed at children. He urged them to be honourable to the Empire, always be men of their word and men of honour in all things. He reminded them that it was the late Queen Victoria's birthday. Turning to the girls he urged them to be merry and bright for the sake of the Empire. His speech ended with the singing of God Save the King accompanied by the Volunteer Band. Later in the afternoon, refreshments for the children were provided by the Mayor.

The gathering then made its way to the Valve tower and bridge for the formal opening. The Mayor, Mr James Lawson, outlined the events leading up to the decision to construct the dam. He announced that in appreciation for the work done by the previous Mayor Mr Milton Cleveland in connection with the inauguration of the scheme, the Council had fittingly shown its appreciation by naming the project Cleveland Reservoir.

The Consulting Engineer, Mr Melvill, escorted Lady Milton, wife of the Administrator to the Valve tower where he presented her with a silver spanner inscribed 'Presented to Lady Milton by E. H. V. Melvill Consulting Engineer'. With this, Lady Milton released the water from the dam and declared the supply turned on to the town of Salisbury.

Sir William Milton, the Administrator, then addressed the crowd. He said it was a really important day in the history of Rhodesia for it marked what was practically the first great public work that had been undertaken by the people for the people. It was fitting that the first work of this nature should take place in Salisbury and that the people should show by their energy and public spirit that they intended to adequately maintain the dignity of the capital of Rhodesia which was going to be a great country. He also expressed his congratulations to Mr Cleveland and Mr Melvill for the great services these two gentlemen had rendered the town.

The ceremony then closed with rousing cheers for Sir William and Lady Milton.

The Mayor later held a reception attended by the leading citizens of the town.

M. E. Cleveland

Milton Evan Cleveland was born in 1864 in Alma, New Brunswick, Canada. He was one of a large family of four boys and three girls. His grandfather owned land and lumber mills in New Brunswick and his father was a millwright. Milton worked in his father's mill from the age of 17. At the age of 21 he went to work in the United States. In 1887 Milton returned to Canada and settled in Victoria, Vancouver Island. The following year he married Eva Walker. The couple had three sons, two born in Canada and one born in this country. Milton had a small construction business in Vancouver but times were bad in the late 1800s, and in 1895 Milton and two friends decided to go to Rhodesia. He left his wife and two young children in Canada. They travelled steerage class and disembarked at Beira and walked to Salisbury. One of his companions died in the First Chimurenga and the other died of Malaria.

He set up as a building contractor and in 1898, leaving the business in the hands of a manager, returned to Victoria. Within a year he returned and his wife followed shortly afterwards. By 1903 the business was doing well and he was asked to stand for Council and was elected Mayor. Council finances were in a bad way with a debt of about four thousand pounds. The first cheque he wrote was returned by the bank. With careful control the debts were eventually paid off. Milton Cleveland was a member of the Council for an unbroken period of 30 years from 1903 to 1933. He was Mayor on six occasions; 1903–4, 1904–5, 1910–11, 1911–12, 1920–21 and 1932–33.

In 1914 he was elected for a five year term as a member of the Legislative Council. He took an active and keen interest in the development of the tobacco industry. His eldest son Don became a doctor in Canada, the second son Carl sadly drowned in a farm dam at Makwiro. His youngest son Ralph was born while Milton was Mayor. Ralph in turn went on to become a City Councillor and Mayor from 1949 to 1951. In 1953 Ralph became a Member of Parliament and subsequently a Cabinet Minister. Ralph's daughter and granddaughter of Milton Cleveland Mrs Ann Andersen is with us today and we extend a special welcome to her and her husband Chris.

Milton Cleveland died in 1942 and Eva in 1940 (See *Heritage* No. 17 and 19).

It is of interest that Milton Cleveland's one brother in Vancouver, Ernest Albert Cleveland became a professional engineer and served for 26 years as Chairman of the Greater Vancouver Water Board. He supervised the construction of the Vancouver Dam on the Capilano River, a project which was ultimately named in his honour. We have therefore Cleveland Dam in Harare and Cleveland Dam in Vancouver both named in honour of two brothers.

CLEVELAND
DAM
1954
NAMED AFTER ERNEST ALBERT CLEVELAND, LL.D.
THE FIRST CHIEF COMMISSIONER
GREATER VANCOUVER WATER DISTRICT
1926 · 1952

Commemorative plaque affixed to the Cleveland Dam along the walkway.

Water By Laws: Government Notice 164 of 1913

On 29 May 1913, Government Notice 164 of 1913 was published. Entitled Water By Laws they regulated the use and supply of water within the Municipality of Salisbury. The Notice is very detailed and technical but it is of interest to record that the minimum charge per month to any consumer of 1000 gallons (4.5 cubic metres) or under, was seven shillings and sixpence, approximately US$26 today or $5.70 per cubic metre, subject to a discount of 33½% if paid within seven days of demand.

The Council also had power after giving 24 hours written notice to cut off water for tampering, non-payment of accounts and numerous other offences. Power was also given to the Council to make regulations for prohibiting or regulating fishing in or upon any stream or reservoir.

Angling

For the first fifteen years of its existence Cleveland Dam was the only large body of water within easy reach of the town and as such attracted the interest of anglers. Prince Edward Dam was built in 1928. In 1921 some trout ova were hatched at the Botanical Experimental Station, now the Forestry Commission Nursery. About 1 000 alevins were placed in Cleveland Dam on 3 August of that year. Conditions proved quite unsuitable and there were no survivors. In 1929 there were several importations of trout ova and Major Cooper had fair success in their hatching and placed approximately 6 500 trout fry in Cleveland Dam. As previously this planting did not meet with success. The Salisbury and District Angling Society was formed in 1928 to look after the interests of local anglers. The Town Council at its meeting on 25 March 1936 authorised, after consultation with the Ministry of Agriculture, the Angling Society to stock Cleveland

Dam with black bass.

In October 1943 the Council approved byelaws relating to fishing in Municipal water. This was Government Notice 635 of 1943. The Angling Society was given control of the fishing at the dam and all fish caught had to be weighed and recorded. Unfortunately, Angling Society records prior to 1956 have been destroyed in a fire. However, Black Bass trophy winners included Mr J. Klug in 1965 with a fish weighing 3 lbs (1.361 kg) and in 1966 Mr J. Saunders 3 lb. 4 oz (1.475 kg).

Mr A. B. W. Impey in the book Bass Fishing in Southern Africa records that fish weighing 8 lbs (3.629 kg) have been taken in this dam. In October 1967 the Department of Fisheries Research at Henderson Research Station recorded the fish catches in the previous five years. Messrs Marshall and Toots from the same Department in January 1975, after a detailed investigation, concluded the dam was overstocked and should be netted. It is not recorded if this was done.

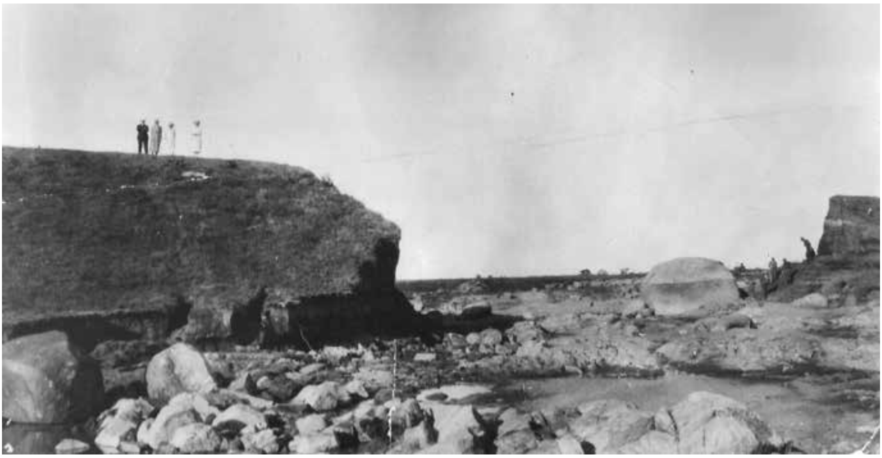
The National Record for a Spotted Bass (*Micropterus punctulatus*) is held by Mr T. Hayes who caught in this dam a 0.362 kg specimen on 7 January 1999. This is a small variety of bass.

I think it is safe to conclude that Cleveland Dam has over the past century given several generations of anglers many happy hours of fishing in these attractive surroundings.

Dam Breaks

The town of Salisbury continued to grow, and as a consequence the demand for water increased. This factor, plus the inevitable drought years, led the Council to decide to increase Cleveland dam's capacity from 200 million to 230 million gallons of water. This was achieved by increasing the height of the wall and spillway by 18 inches (0.457m). When he heard of this proposal the original contractor, John McChlery sent a telegram to the Council warning that such an increase was unwise from a structural point of view.

The 1922/23 rainy season was unusual as the following rainfall figures for Salisbury demonstrate: October 47mm, November 165mm, December 175mm, January 146mm, February 284mm, March 291mm, April 35mm, May 10mm, giving a seasonal total of 1 153mm. In early February 1923, it was reported to Council that the dam was only

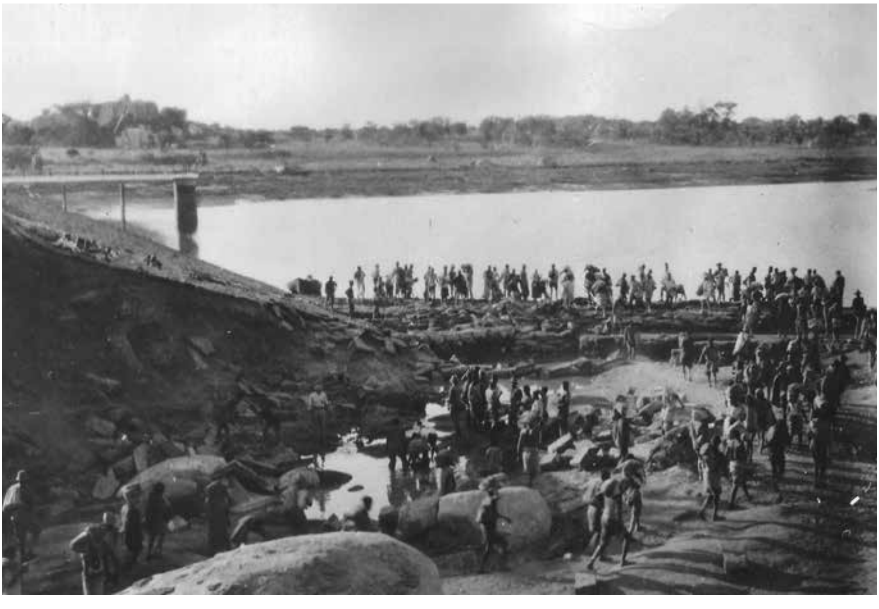


The wall break in 1923.

a quarter full at 45 million gallons and this would only be enough water to supply consumers for four months. Fortunately the catchment area was hit by a violent storm on 12/13 February and the inflow resulted in a rise of 12 inches (0.61m) in the water level. This was followed by a further 50 mm of rain in the area. Some parts of the town recorded 75mm of rain in 3 hours at this time. By the end of February the available water had increased to 151 million gallons and the immediate water crisis for the community had been averted.

At 6.20 a.m. on the morning of Friday 13 July 1923, Mr James Easton the Caretaker, cycled down to the dam to measure the flow of water over the spillway. He was horrified to see a thin flow of water the size of a man's finger spurting out of the wall. He raced back to his house to telephone the bad news to the Town Engineer. He found his phone wasn't working but he soon managed to get a message to town and the Town Engineer and other officials rushed out to the dam. By the time they arrived, the break halfway between the centre of the wall and spillway was a large one. Events moved fast and by 11 a.m. five hundred workers were on site filling and placing sandbags in the breach. This was the entire Municipal workforce plus 150 from the nearby Labour Bureau. Bags were urgently obtained from merchants in town. It was estimated that only 30 to 40 million gallons of water remained in the dam. Fortunately the break took place in daylight and no persons were killed or injured by the resultant flood down the Makabusi River. Damage was done to fences, gardens and bridges downstream.

The Council held an emergency meeting and decided on various measures including the immediate closing of the public swimming bath. One possible disaster was averted by the late running of the overnight passenger train from Umtali which should normally have crossed the Makabusi River Bridge just below the dam at about 7.30 a.m. Sixty feet of embankment on the Umtali side of the bridge was washed away. Mr Easton



Repairs to the dam wall, 1923.

immediately alerted the nearest railway ganger who implemented emergency measures to stop the train before it reached the wash away. No trains ran for four days while temporary repairs to the embankment were carried out.

The next day the *Herald* carried very detailed and sensational reports. It said part of the wall of the great Cleveland Dam collapsed under pressure from inside with the loss of 200 million gallons of water, which the inhabitants looked to for their water supply. It described the event as possibly the greatest disaster to befall the town since its founding.

An engineer was appointed by the Council to investigate the cause of the collapse of the wall. His report produced in November 1923 indicated the reason was the failure of the clay puddle core. Council decided to strengthen the wall and at the same time increase the storage capacity from 200 to 300 million gallons, which it was hoped would provide the town with an adequate water supply for some years to come. Council also obtained approval for the Prince Edward Dam scheme.

In the event, due to the late exceptionally good rains, the inflow proved more than sufficient for the day to day requirements of the community.

Other Events

In the late 1960s, the dam was for a while used for the sport of rowing both for training and regattas. From time to time over the years it has been possible to hire rowing boats. Someone established a tearoom but none of these business ventures lasted for long. A snake park was also briefly established at the disused waterworks.

In the 1990s, Haka Game Park came into being, and the promoters, by game-fencing a large portion of the catchment area, have made a major contribution to reducing illegal cultivation and wood chopping. They have created a pleasant environment for game viewing and picnicking.

The City of Harare since 2008 has had major difficulty in providing adequate water for the eastern parts of the city. Zimbabwe Phosphate Industries is a major consumer of water for its numerous manufacturing processes. They have come to an agreement with the city to draw a certain amount of water from the dam. This arrangement involved modernising the original waterworks and putting a pipeline under the Mutare Road and railway line to connect up with the factory.

Conclusion

Cleveland Dam and its environs have not only supplied vital water to the community but have provided a very pleasant environment for citizens, enabling them to enjoy peace and tranquillity among the trees and rocks. Many of them have very happy memories of this place. We salute successive Councils who have maintained this facility in as natural a state as possible and I hope this will continue well into the next century.

Acknowledgements

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Albert Edward Phaup

1907 - 1990

The Geological Survey's longest-serving Geologist

by Peter Fey

Introduction:

Albert Edward Phaup, B.Sc., M.Sc. (Dunelm), C. Eng., F.I.M.M., was born on 21 March 1907 in Durham, United Kingdom of British parents. He studied at Durham University under eminent geologist Arthur Holmes (Wilson, 1979), graduating with the degree of B.Sc and began his professional career by joining the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey in June 1930. Over the following 9 years he undertook geological as well as topographical mapping in various parts of the country, then returned to England for health reasons in 1939. He rejoined the Geological Survey in April 1947 and, based in Gwelo for many years, was engaged principally in providing geological assistance to the mining community. Phaup was appointed Director of the Geological Survey in March 1962, retiring in March 1967. In August of that year he returned to the department as temporary geologist, becoming editor of the Geological Survey's publications. Fondly known as "Phaupie" to his colleagues, and highly respected by the geological fraternity, he was in 1978 awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the University of Rhodesia, in the following year receiving the Geological Society of South Africa's Draper Medal. Phaup finally retired from the Geological Survey in May 1978 and returned to England, where he died on 20 September 1990.

Field geologist 1930-1939

What brought Phaup to Africa is not known, but his initial period of service with the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, comprising geological mapping coupled with numerous mine visits, typified the work a young Geological Survey officer was expected to undertake. At that time mapping by the Geological Survey focused on regions of economic importance *viz*: the tracts of ancient rocks hosting the country's gold deposits. Accordingly Phaup, immediately on joining the department, was assigned to map the western portion of the Antelope schist belt, centred some 55 kilometres west–southwest of Gwanda. There Archaean greenstones host the eponymous gold mine which, largest in the belt and located on extensive ancient workings (*Phaup 1932,* p 66), had produced 197 312 ounces of gold valued at £811 707 between 1913 and 1932. (*Lightfoot 1934*, p 10). By the end of the 1930 field season Phaup had geologically mapped 215 square miles of country, completing his survey in 1932 with coverage of the adjacent Lower Gwanda gold belt (Phaup, 1933). During this period he also visited and reported on numerous mines. In addition, with fossils having been discovered near Bulawayo in 1928 (*Tyndale-Biscoe 1972*, p 44), in 1931 he undertook the excavation of part of a reptile (*Massospondylus carinatus*) from the Upper Karoo beds of Chelmer Spruit. The bones were lodged with the Rhodesia Museum.

Meanwhile, topographical surveying of the rugged Umtali greenstone belt had commenced during 1932. The belt extends across the international boundary with Mozambique, hosts the Penhalonga mining centre and is unusual in two respects. Firstly, it has yielded not only reef gold but also alluvial gold, the bulk of the latter having been produced in Moçambique. Secondly, many of the reefs carry galena (lead sulphide) which is often associated with silver. Phaup (1937) documented 250 gold mines and claims, of which 142 were producers, having by the end of the survey collectively yielded 1 316 229 ounces of gold as well as 1 582 733 ounces of silver. Individual properties, such as the Penhalonga Mine, also recorded significant outputs of lead as a by-product of gold extraction.

It is not certain if, as conjectured by Tyndale-Biscoe (*op. cit.*, p 47), the Geological Survey's Director Maufe was solicitous of Phaup's health by offering him a change from the heat and aridity of Lower Gwanda. Be that as it may, in 1933 Phaup, accompanied by topographer V. H. Woram, began mapping near Umtali and by the end of the year had covered 70 square miles of country in the southwest of the schist belt. The topographer, generally working a few days ahead of the geologist, would by plane tabling produce basic contour plans depicting farm boundaries upon which the geology, also mapped by plane tabling, could subsequently be plotted. In 1934 bad weather adversely affected fieldwork, in particular at Umtali where the occurrence in winter of low cloud and rain ("guti") prevented surveying over a total of 27 days (*Lightfoot,* 1935). Frequently only the southern portion of the region would be affected by this weather. At such times Phaup (*pers. comm.*) would have his camp transported over the Christmas Pass range by his team of porters, continuing his mapping in the drier terrain of Old Umtali until the weather had improved.

Upon completion of fieldwork at Umtali in 1935 Phaup prepared a topographical and geological map covering an area of 468 square miles between Inyanga (Nyanga) and the Moçambique border, where he noted a flat-lying sedimentary sequence, now assigned to the Precambrian Umkondo Group, resting unconformably on granites. Accompanied by colleague Frank Leslie Amm he also reconnoitred similar strata in the Melsetter District.

In 1936 Phaup, assisted by Frederic Osborne Storey Dobell, a young Oxford graduate, transferred his attention to the Lower Umfuli and much smaller Gadzema gold belts, located immediately north of the small centres of Hartley and Chakari. From the first of these belts 96 mostly small mines had at the time (*Phaup and Dobell 1938*, p 94) produced 34 923 ounces of gold; from the second 18 properties had yielded 30 919 ounces with the largest, the Giant Mine, contributing a further 342 675 ounces.

Significant for the development of geological mapping was that in 1935 an experimental contract had been given to the Aircraft Operating Company of Africa Pty Ltd for an aerial survey of 2 000 square miles in the Lomagundi and Hartley Districts. Produced from this survey were aerial photographs at a scale of approximately 1: 10 000 as well as a topographical map. Use of the photographs allowed geological mapping, (dense bush and lack of roads notwithstanding), to proceed at an average rate of 62 square miles per month as compared with the rate of 10 square miles per month for plane tabling and with far better results (*Lightfoot 1937*, p 40). Fieldwork in the region was completed by Dobell in 1937. Meanwhile Phaup was engaged in bulletin preparation prior to taking a busman's holiday during which he visited operating tin mines in Cornwall, the lead,

Albert Edward Phaup

zinc, barytes and fluorspar workings in the Pennines, haematite mines in Cumberland as well as several coal mines elsewhere in England (*Lightfoot 1938*, p 51).

With documentation of the Lower Umfuli survey finalised early in 1938 Phaup spent time between March and May of that year investigating the Cam and Motor (Gatooma) and Sherwood Starr (Que Que) gold mines before in June undertaking a series of geological traverses in the lower Mazoe valley and the Mkota Reserve. This was immediately followed by a reconnaissance trip through the mid-Zambezi Valley (Phaup 1939, 1981), where he reached the Chewore River mouth using a vehicle track cleared by the Native Department. He described the geology along the Chewore River, remarked on the largest (Chitope) permanent spring in the area and visited Chief Chundu's kraal where he was told of, but evidently not shown, Chimombe (*Nicolle*, 1937), the metal stick-like figure idolised by the local tribe. Thereafter the "normal" field season began for Phaup on 18 July 1938 when, until 28 November 1923 he mapped 330 square miles of country between Eldorado and Raffingora (Lomagundi District), an area with few gold mines.

On his resignation from the Geological Survey on 30 April 1939 in order to return to England Phaup left detailed notes of his last mapping area, which was not geologically resurveyed until some 15 years later (*Stagman*, 1961). In addition to the reports documenting his many mine visits he also wrote three geological bulletins (Nos 21, 24 and 32) on his mapping of the Antelope, Lower Gwanda and Umtali schist belts, and co-authored, with E. Golding and F. O. S. Dobell respectively, a further two bulletins (Nos 29 and 34), the former on chemical analyses of Rhodesian rocks, ores and minerals.

Of Phaup, Director Lightfoot (1940, p 1) wrote: "He had served nine years with the Department and had mapped 1 629 square miles and examined 572 mines. The former figure is the average for the department, but the latter figure is nearly double that of the average. His services and his experience underground will be badly missed by the mining industry, and the department has lost an energetic and industrious worker". It is further recorded elsewhere (*Wilson*, 1977) that he "had established a reputation with the staff and mining public of being one of the ablest geologists ever to be employed in the Colony".

The war years

At the outbreak of the Second World War Phaup joined the Durham Civil Defence Force and, because of his survey and mapping experience, was immediately placed in charge of an underground communications centre (*Wilson*, 1977). Towards the end of the war he joined the Ministry of Fuel and Power as a Prospecting Officer for open-cast coal production in the Newcastle area, later transferring to the more complex coalfields of Lancashire, where he occupied an office at Wigan. His M.Sc degree, also from Durham University, is believed to have been awarded during this sojourn in England.

Such were Phaup's record and reputation as a geologist that, when it appeared after the war that he might be willing to return to Southern Rhodesia, it was recommended that the Geological Survey should get him back at any price.

Mining geologist 1947-1962

Phaup did indeed return to the Geological Survey in April 1947 where, in light of his enormous contributions to applied geology and mining, his second and admittedly longer period of service was to be even more productive than the first. With his recent experience of open-cast coal mining in Britain he was immediately critical of the Rhodesian mining industry, pointing to widespread waste, inefficiency and lack of training in both European and African mineworkers. In view of his demonstrated bent for mining geology Phaup was soon given the position, to be formalised only much later, of Regional Geologist. This role, which drew heavily on his professional skills and self-reliance, made him effectively the Government's consultant to the mining community in general and to smallworkers in particular. His area of operations covered most of Matabeleland and extended from Wankie (Hwange) to Beitbridge.

Initially based in Guineafowl, then by 1949 having transferred to Gwelo (Gweru), which became the Geological Survey's first branch office and where he stayed until 1962, Phaup was active in the Mining Settlement Scheme for returned ex-servicemen, sitting on the Bulawayo and Gwelo sub-committees of that scheme (*Ferguson 1950*, p 3). At this time he and colleague F. L .Amm were undertaking the bulk of the Geological Survey's routine mine visits. In the Annual Report for 1951 the Director instituted a new method of emphasising the economic work of the field staff by listing reports, with authors' names, of all mining properties visited. However, after three such annual lists had been published, it was very evident that one staff member, namely Phaup, was responsible for the vast majority of these reports. Thereafter names of the authors were omitted from the lists.

Of Phaup's almost 900 technical reports on mines and prospects on file, most date from his time in Gwelo, when he was obliged to work on his own, and visits to the capital were rare. Nevertheless, through rigid self-discipline he kept himself abreast of developments in his field by systematic study of the numerous journals and periodicals which he insisted be sent to him on a regular basis from the Geological Survey library in Salisbury (Harare)(*Wilson*, 1977).

Although his mining work was of necessity biased in favour of gold, Phaup did not neglect other commodities. In May 1950 he made a preliminary examination of the Rhodesia Iron and Steel Commission's iron ore occurrences near Que Que (Kwe Kwe), and his report showed the need for a long exploration campaign. This was subsequently undertaken and supervised by another Geological Survey staff member, Barend Gerrit Worst. In 1954 Phaup remapped part of the Somabula diamond field, and later found time to explore the feasibility of differentiating between major granitic units by means of a portable scintillometer. With the widespread prospecting for nickel during 1956 he was kept busy examining claims in various serpentinite belts of the Gwelo region.

Furthermore, in 1947 he began the department's long association with the Kariba hydro-electric scheme by undertaking, at the request of the Central African Council, a detailed, fourteen-day geological study of the No. 1 Dam site at the upper end of Kariba Gorge. Examination of the lower, No. 3 site, was at the time precluded by lack of access, but was successfully undertaken by Phaup in August 1948, utilising a landing craft to reconnoitre the entire length of the gorge.

Director, Geological Survey 1962-1967

After almost 15 years of dedicated service in the Midlands Phaup was appointed Director of the Geological Survey, succeeding F. L. Amm at the beginning of 1962. With his promotion the Gwelo office had to be closed between April and August, 1962, when it reopened under John Gerard Stagman. In the course of the year the fifth edition of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of the country was published, as were 6 bulletins and 2 short reports. Later in his directorship Phaup wisely commissioned the reprinting of bulletins 32, 33, 35 and 42, stocks of which had run out.

During 1964 the Geological Survey took an active part in the organisation and running of the Geological Society of South Africa's 7th Annual Congress, held for the first time outside South Africa. The congress, convened in Salisbury during July and attended by 141 delegates, was reported to have been well planned, well conducted and highly instructive.

At this time two matters of considerable importance for the future of the Geological Survey came to a head. The first was the urgently-needed refurbishment of Maufe Building, the department's headquarters in Salisbury. Completed in 1940 the building, designed to accommodate the Director and five to six geologists only, had since 1947 accommodated an establishment of some 26 persons and had never been redecorated. Fortunately, appropriate tersely-worded comments in the Director's Annual Report for 1963 had the desired effect, for Maufe Building was completely redecorated by the Department of Works over the period April-June 1964. Also upgraded and reorganised was the museum, which remained closed through 1965. Overcrowding, however, could be addressed only during 1970 when office space was reallocated in the building's east wing.

The second item was the reluctance of the Public Services Board to raise starting salaries for junior geologists. Although the matter was resolved late in 1966, recruitment of new geologists to the Geological Survey was adversely affected until 1967. Notably, the first locally trained geologist, I. D. M. Robertson, joined the staff in February 1965.

Throughout this period between four and six geologists only could be assigned to fieldwork. Because of other demands on their time mapping coverage fell from 3370 square miles in 1962 to a nadir of 966 square miles in 1964 before increasing once more. The 1967 coverage by seven geologists, of 3176 square miles, was in part attributable to an influx of new staff, attracted no doubt by the revised salaries.

Geological Survey editor 1967–1978

Having retired on 21 March 1967 and been succeeded by Deputy Director John Walter Wiles, Phaup rejoined the department as temporary geologist on 15 August 1967 initially for one year. He was to remain on the staff for over 10 more years until his final retirement in May 1978. During this last stage of his geological career his considerable accomplishments were the results of a lively mentality combined with a tremendous capacity for hard work. His incomparable knowledge of Rhodesian geology made him a mentor to all, from schoolboy to professor and earned him great respect, admiration and affection. Although he was always willing to give advice or help to members of staff and the public, Phaup's principal task became the editing of departmental publications, including at least 13 geological bulletins as well as numerous reports and short papers. In some cases the editing extended to expanding the section on geology (eg: *Bulletin 65*), or to contributing the entire economic geology chapter (ie: *Bulletin 73*). During this period he continued an interest of his with the compilation and publication of Bulletin 71 (Phaup, 1973) which, following on from Bulletin 29, documented the chemical analyses of 654 whole rocks, 55 ores and 61 minerals, undertaken by five of the chemists who had worked in the department at some time or other. In April 1974 his colleagues honoured him by naming the Geological Survey library after him.

Phaup was furthermore tireless in promoting an interest in earth science. Apart from giving talks at the Queen Victoria Museum to schoolchildren he was in 1968 appointed honorary lecturer in the geology department of the University of Rhodesia, also acting as external examiner for doctoral theses in geology from the (then) affiliated University of London. At one time President of the Mennel Society, the students' geological society at the local university, he each year volunteered to proof read articles submitted for publication in that society's *Detritus* magazine. He was *de facto* editor of the papers and discussions presented at the October 1967 Basement Complex Symposium held in Salisbury, and played a major role in organising the much larger "Granite '71" Symposium, held in the capital during September 1971.

In recognition of his outstanding contribution to Rhodesian geology the University of Rhodesia awarded Phaup an honorary doctorate in May 1978. Elected Honorary Life Member by the Rhodesian Branch of the Geological Society of South Africa in 1974 he was awarded the parent society's highest honour, the Draper Medal in March 1979. Since he had already returned to England the medal was accepted on his behalf by Professor J. F. Wilson, a former colleague at the Geological Survey (*Wilson*, 1977). That same year saw the introduction, by the local branch of the Geological Society of South Africa, of the A. E. Phaup Award, to be presented annually to the author(s) of a paper, published in a recognised scientific journal, which made an important contribution to the geology of Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

Epilogue

The writer remembers Albert Edward Phaup from the 1970s as a retiring, kindly gentleman, always prepared to give counsel and still very active across a wide spectrum of matters geological.

Virtually nothing is known of his private life, save that after moving from Gwelo to Salisbury he lived in Selous Avenue, close to the Geological Survey offices. He had several children, one of whom, Edward, an accountant, died in Harare in June, 1997. Phaup retired to Barnet in Hertfordshire, where he predeceased his wife, passing away on 20 September 1990.

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When making your Will you may wish to consider a bequest of Africana books and journals (or even a modest cash donation) to the History Society of Zimbabwe.

RAF 20 Service Flying Training School (SFTS) Cranborne, July 1940–February 1944

Memories of LAC Stanley Joseph McDermott

Edited and annotated by his daughter Mary J Blair

The shattering impact of war, the chaos and mayhem it creates, leaves in its wake destroyed infrastructure and marred and maimed lives, but one silver lining to the destructive storm is that, even as wartime throws countries and people off-course, it opens up horizons and offers opportunities that can fundamentally change lives for the better.

Such was the case of Rhodesia, where the Rhodesia Air Training Group (RATG) was a catalyst for economic and social development. Established in October 1939 from the nucleus of the 1937 territorial forces scheme, the RATG's role was to train allied air personnel (mainly British, but also Greeks, French, Yugoslavs, Australians and South Africans) clear of the dangerous war-zone skies over England. In the words of its first Commanding Officer, Lieut. Colonel C. W. Meredith AFC (later Air Vice-Marshal), the RATG was "not only Southern Rhodesia's main contribution to World War II . . . [but] one of the most important happenings in Rhodesian history . . . [as] it led to development during a period that otherwise might have been a depression. The total local amount spent on the scheme greatly exceeded the annual Southern Rhodesia budget at the time . . . [and it] proved, in the long term, to be a most successful immigration scheme since many of the staff and trainees returned to settle in Rhodesia after the war, some of them becoming leading citizens in the land." (Sir Charles Meredith, The Rhodesian Air Training Group 1940-1945. *Rhodesiana 28*, July 1973, pg. 17).

The "enormous effect the Group had on the Colony's economy . . . [can be gauged from the] annual turnover of over £350 000" spent through the multiple accounts that covered the Group's needs (*Rhodesia and the RAF*, pg. 40). The reduced skilled labour force in the civilian population as a consequence of the many Rhodesians who had enlisted was seen as the only limiting factor that local industry faced in meeting the demands the RATG placed on it. All sorts of items, from uniforms, boots and shoes to furniture, were locally made. Heavy industry also received a boost, with the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Commission producing almost all the aircraft and construction quality steels required (Ibid, pp 103–104), while agriculture received a huge stimulus through the need to supply food for so many additional mouths. Meredith felt that the Southern Rhodesia Supply Corps of the Department of Defence would probably not have come "into existence—at any rate on the scale it did—but for the Air Training Scheme and the large quantities of foodstuffs required" which they bulk delivered to the main centres for the air stations to draw from. (*Rhodesiana 28*, pg. 24)

Scaling down to the level of the individual, a positive outcome was that people from totally different backgrounds and countries, brought together by the upheavals of war, met by some happy chance and henceforth marched together through life—the case of many men and women in this part of the world who met and married during wartime. My parents, Stanley and Iris McDermott, were one such couple. Their story began for Stanley in the East End of London, and led via Rhodesia to Iris in South Africa, then to post-blitz London and, after the war, back to South Africa where they spent the rest of their lives. Late in life Stan (or Mac, as he preferred to be known) recorded his memories of childhood and his war service, and these make up the story below.

Mac was a true "Cockney", born within the sound of Bow Bells in London on 29 December 1919. His childhood was spent in the over-crowded living conditions of an impoverished east London area (Jupp's Road, Mile End), but a secure and happy family life, together with a spirit of good neighbourliness and a tight-knit "our street" culture, enriched the lives of those trapped in the bleakness of post-Great War unemployment and poverty.

Mac's narrative takes up the story and, throughout, italics indicate his narrative:

The McDermott family of Mile End—Mac next to his father

My Dad Joe came home one day full of smiles, called Mum Julie aside and whispered to her, and she became excited, and we wondered why and wanted to know but "Just wait and see" was all they would say . One day a truck stopped outside and the furniture plus the Mc's were loaded aboard, unaware (except Joe and Julie) that they were leaving for good. We moved to a large housing estate at Becontree in the County of Essex, nine miles away from No. 39 Jupp's Rd, Mile End, Bow, and what a difference. Neat houses with a small garden in front and a large garden at the rear. Well laid streets paved with wide roads for traffic. The move away from the East End of London was a good move for me health wise, and I benefited from the open air and living conditions, and when I look back now at the "Old days" in the slums of London, I count my blessings and *thank God for No. 21 Rothwell Road.*

In Barking, about five miles from home, I saw out the rest of my schooling days. Fourteen years of age, no medals. I found work with a cartage firm loading and off-loading parcels. In the morning I would go to the stables and collect the horse, a large dray and enormous. I only stood as high as his legs, and to put on his harness was a nightmare. From the stables I took him to the depot through London traffic, and when he became nervous he would rear up on his hind legs, me holding on for dear life. I thankfully found another job in an advertising agency before moving to John Wright and Son, a veneer factory, as an assistant on one of the machines. I saved up enough money to buy a bicycle and was able to use it in going to and fro to work and travelling the countryside.

Dad's brother, Paddy worked in Rothschilds Royal Mint close to the Tower of London, and told Dad of an opening there, and I applied for same and lucky enough for me was accepted. My first task was to open wooden cases containing money from China, to be smelted down. That night I spent dreaming of nothing else but mountains of silver. I went through various departments till I was transferred to the Foundry, working on the smelting plant in the Mint, and enjoyed both work and my workmates. My wages helped the financial side of the family to improve. The Mc's decided to buy a piano, though none of the family could play, but soon I was able to rattle the ivory. [Mac became an accomplished pianist who played by ear, and had a fine tenor voice.] *We often had a family get together. Julie was the lead singer. She had a good repertoire and when relatives were present would sing their favourites. We would all join in the chorus and we enjoyed every moment.*

Clouds now appeared on the horizon in the form of Germany. I was transferred to munitions cartridges. This was a change from a shovel to a press. But Chamberlain was on his way to Germany. And soon the papers were talking about war and this was denied. But the Government announced the call-up of youths of my age. Very soon we were informed one pay day that we were no longer required due to reasons beyond their control etc etc. Time was of no object now. I was like many others of my age group, waiting for call up, no money, no work, for we were unemployable. Except I helped Dad install the bomb shelter supplied by the government. About six members of our football club lived close by and we went for walk-arounds and played around with a football. Christmas 1939 came and went and we were still waiting for call up. We were tired of this and impatient for some action. We decided to go further afield and caught a bus to Romford, a market town. We walked about exploring the local shops until it was time to head for home. Then we noticed on the other side of the road an office with a large light blue banner with the emblem RAF stretched above the doors, and below, on the doors, a sign "Recruiting Office, Join the Royal Air Force". We looked at each other and as one we crossed the road and went inside. We filled in forms, were measured and weighed, and directed to a cubicle where a doctor examined us. This was the 12th January 1940. And I was now a TBA. When I got home I told Mum and Dad the news, and waited for orders.

At the end of January a letter arrived with orders to report to RAF Headquarters, Uxbridge, and my service commenced on the 7th of February 1940. After assessment—rank, Aircraftman Second Class (AC2); trade, aircraft hand general duties—I was sent *home on leave. Then back to Uxbridge, but not for long, and I was soon on my way to Morecambe, a seaside resort. We were billeted in private homes and spent our days in drilling and physical training. We were allowed out in the evening but had to be in quarters by ten o'clock. We were in Morecambe for a month then returned to Uxbridge.*

I decided one day to nip back to the billet and get something I had forgotten, and a Warrant Officer came by and asked my name, which I duly gave. He asked me if I would like to go overseas? I said "Yes". "Then follow me" was the reply. The upshot of this was that I was sent on ten days leave prior to departure and arrived home much to the surprise of the family. I made the rounds of our relatives and at Aunt Mary's home a sing song soon developed, the piano tinkling away and the beer flowing till the party ended, and a hat was passed around and the proceeds put in my pocket. They all held hands and sang the song "We'll meet again" and we said our farewells. The day came when I had to return to camp and we left a week later. Mac's service record shows he was transferred to Southern Rhodesia on 20 June 1940, the start of a troopship journey of four to six weeks, destination unknown.

Bon Voyage.

We were loaded aboard a train and eventually boarded a ship at Southampton, the Arundel Castle, a passenger liner. We shared cabins and had the run of the ship, complete with saloon bar, which we could use if one had the money. We were dressed in our Blue uniform, and certainly were hot as the voyage progressed. Eventually we could see land in the distance and wondered where we were—we did not have a clue, and were apprehensive as to our future. As we docked we could see the name Cape Town. I was still just as wise as to our whereabouts or final destination! The time came for us to disembark: up with our kit bags and down the gangplank, lined up, marched to a waiting train, all aboard and away we went.

For three days we travelled, oh so slowly, and at times we walked beside the train as it laboured up the inclines. Finally we came to a stop on a deserted strip of land, and were ordered to collect our kit bags and alight. We were lined up in a column of threes, kit bags on shoulders, and marched till we were stopped outside lines of prefab buildings. They were to be my home for three years and three months: Cranborne, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 20 SFTS. My new home was to be the turning point of my life, for it gave me the opportunities (and I took them), thank God and Southern Rhodesia and its people that I met. Mac's service record gives the date of transfer from Southern Rhodesia to 20 SFTS as 10 July 1940.

With the outbreak of war the pilots and aircrews of the "Rhodesia Squadrons" of the RAF had "left their country to serve elsewhere. While they were away, a large number of men of the RAF entered the Colony and engaged upon the somewhat duller but equally important business of training further aircrews" (*Rhodesia and the RAF,* pg. 19) in the RATG. The first of the RATG air stations, Belvedere Elementary Flying Training School (25 EFTS), was opened on 24 March 1940, with the second, Cranborne Service Flying Training School (20 SFTS) following on 19 July 1940. The main criterion for siting of the air stations was that they should be in a non-malarial area, and secondly, have a good water supply. Tree clearing at Hillside had begun in 1936, with airfield construction continuing in 1937. In 1939 the Hillside Air Station was renamed Cranborne, and building work was ramped up once the RATG came into being in late 1939, ready for the July 1940 opening of 20 SFTS. The speed of the construction work was the result of close co-operation between a fairly even mix of RAF men providing technical know-how, and Rhodesian staff with their understanding of local conditions and problems. Situated in a bushy area around eight kilometres south east of Salisbury, 20 SFTS was pretty well hidden, and in the early days was a dust bowl in winter that was transformed by the summer rains into a muddy quagmire. In mid-July 1940 the main detachment of men (under the command of Group Captain J. S. Chick) were disgorged from their troop train, providing a huge boost in numbers and an injection of cultural diversity to the population of Salisbury, and when the first batch of Belvedere trainee graduates were transferred to Cranborne, also in July, noise levels on the Station went up considerably thanks to the constant roar of Harvards on training flights. (Ibid, pp 21-27).

Back to the prefabs (mine was Hut No. 10), which were of timber construction and

Harvards on the apron at 20 SFTS Cranborne

A lone Hawker Hart

a cladding of hessian, painted inside and out, comfortable bed and locker with a shelf above the bed. The ablution blocks were well laid out, bathrooms, showers and flush toilets, plus hot and cold water. The cookhouse was well laid out and roomy and the food good.

Mac's photographs of the hut interior show high windows letting in light and air, lines of shelves along the walls behind the beds, and above each bed a mosquito net, despite the malaria-free location. Other photographs show building work on what was probably staff housing, with thatched roofs in various stages of repair.

The next morning we were issued tropical kit etc and then given our duties. I was put in the Carpenters Shop which was well equipped, and since I had some experience on machines from my time at Wrights Veneers in London that served me in good stead. The foreman of the workshop was a Rhodesian, name of Theobald, and another Rhodie, a nice chap and we were friends, Dick (Chippy) Combrinck. Other names recorded in Mac's photograph album, probably all from Maintenance Squadron, were Paddy, Gilson, Ken, Wedge, Wilson, Owens, Patterson, James, Peden, Needes, Taylor, Love and Tommy Tempest. In October 1940 Mac was reclassified AC1—Aircraftman First Class.

Wilson in the ship-shape, light and airy barrack hut - note the mosquito nets.

With regard to the good food that Mac recalled, instead of using a fixed ration system the RATG calculated a cash equivalent and paid that to the canteens, thus enabling the provision of a more varied diet. The times for meals were tea at dawn, breakfast at 0800, mid-morning tea and buns (referred to as char and wads), lunch at 1300, tea at 1500, sundowners at 1800 and dinner at 1900. (*Rhodesia and the RAF*, pp 93 and 94). In addition to the Airmen's Mess, which was simply a place to eat, there was a canteen or NAAFI—run elsewhere by the Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes on a non profit basis, but in Rhodesia these were run by local voluntary organisations on similar lines (Ibid,

Mac and Paddy between the barrack huts.

pg. 84). The canteens were very important, especially on the more isolated air stations, as the following excerpt from the story of Royal Air Force Station Moffat illustrates: "Overseas, the canteen comes higher on the airman's 'priority' list than in Britain. For there is no question of slipping home for the evening; . . . darkness falls early throughout the year in Rhodesia; one rarely 'takes a walk'. So, if he is not writing a letter in the barrack hut, or in the cinema, the airman goes across to the canteen . . . [where] They talked of the news, of the fronts, of sport at home and on the station—and, inevitably, of the 'Boat'; that day when they would be 'sailing home' once more" (pp 27-28).

The hospitality and kindness experienced by the RAF personnel serving in Rhodesia was warmly acknowledged in all air station publications, for instance "One happy factor demonstrated itself from the start—hospitality" (Ibid, pg. 17). In the Foreword to Rhodesia and the RAF Meredith wrote of the hospitality and kindness experienced by all ranks, and stated that "the RAF owes much to Rhodesia but it also owes a debt of gratitude to Rhodesians." Local voluntary organisations certainly played a very welcoming role, and "the British Empire Service League installed airmen's canteens in all main railway stations and in the State Lotteries Hall where weekly dances were held" (*Rhodesia and the RAF*, pg. 88).

Mac continues. *And now I go back to my first visit to the Lottery Hall in Salisbury. Arrangements were made for us to meet the local town folk. Dressed in our uniforms of blue, trousers neatly pressed under our mattresses, we were warmly welcomed by the people present. I was greeted by a well built man and his wife, who was small in comparison. I learnt that they were Ronnie Hyde and his wife Joyce. My Cockney accent was amusing to them, especially my version of Lottery Hall— "Lotry All". But I had a pleasant evening dancing with Joyce—Ronnie was not a dancing man. The outcome* *of our meeting was that I was invited to their home the following weekend. They met me on Saturday and took me to their home, where I met a friend of the family. He was a Mr Major, who worked in Government as Comptroller of Stationery, quite a title. He was a pleasant person and a very friendly type. On my 21st birthday, 29 December 1940, he gave me a wristwatch. I was to spend many happy times with the Hydes, in their home at weekends, often at Hunyani Dam, which was a popular picnic spot. Ronnie worked on the Railways and I would at times go with him to the Raylton Club.* The wristwatch, from the Salisbury jeweller, H. G. Bell, came in a brown leather case inscribed with Mac's initials, and was a treasured possession. Mac had photographs with the Hydes, their toddler daughter and Mr Major (the Salisbury directory gives his name as E. R. Wilson Major) in their 1941 home at No. 9 Lezard Avenue in Milton Park (a new house then, which is still there today), having moved from their 1940 address of 53 Livingstone Avenue.

However, despite the Rhodesian hospitality, not everything was rosy, as one would expect given the huge influx of RAF men. Some animosity from the locals is reflected in the none too friendly name "The Blue Plague". The letters pages in the *Rhodesia Herald* in late 1940 are a good reflection of the to and fro of public opinion that prevailed. For instance there was criticism of the City Council for showing preferential treatment to the RAF by providing an afternoon and evening bus service from Cranborne to town; another writer observed that it seemed RAF chaps were offered lifts in cars but not the local troops! Complaints about the noise of aircraft over Salisbury were many. One from SAEH showed such a petty insular view that it is worth reproducing in part: "the RAF makes as much noise as possible, and dive low over every house they see. Our own Air Force flew much higher and never attempted to skim rooftops. The deafening noise is most detrimental to infants and sick people, and there is no reason why the RAF should not carry out their manoeuvres a few miles further out where there are some lovely open spaces where they can fly as low as they please and make as much noise as they like without annoying anyone, and if they must have objectives to dive over, why not erect a few faked buildings, which they could bomb with their flour bags to their hearts' content." (*Rhodesia Herald*, 27 August 1940, pg. 3). Another stated: "The trouble is not that they make too much noise, but that the noise they do make is made over the wrong areas . . . is there any reason why planes should fly at night over areas as far north as North Avenue, when there is boundless open country south of Cranborne?" (Ibid, 28 Aug 1940, pg. 3). A barrage of outraged responses followed: "These men are not flying for pleasure, but training for the defence of the British Empire, and, if need be, to give their lives in that defence"; and "these complainants . . . should consider themselves very lucky that half their days and nights are not spent in an air raid shelter, listening not only to the noise . . . of planes, but the almost ceaseless detonations of bomb and anti-aircraft gun explosions." (Ibid, 27 Aug, pg. 3 and 28 Aug pg. 3 respectively). But the controversy was such that the Officer Commanding the Cranborne Air Station, Group Captain J. S. Chick (using the opportunity of an address to the Salisbury Rotary Club) issued an apology and a promise that noise would be reduced to a minimum as he had given orders for "pilots to vary the pitch of the airscrew over the town and thus reduce the volume of sound." (Ibid, 23 Aug, pg. 18). The correspondence was terminated in the issue of 30 Aug, with an article remarking that "The country is proud to give the

RAF facilities for training, grateful to be associated with the magnificent work the Force is doing and, we believe, more than ready to put up with any minor inconveniences." (pg. 24).

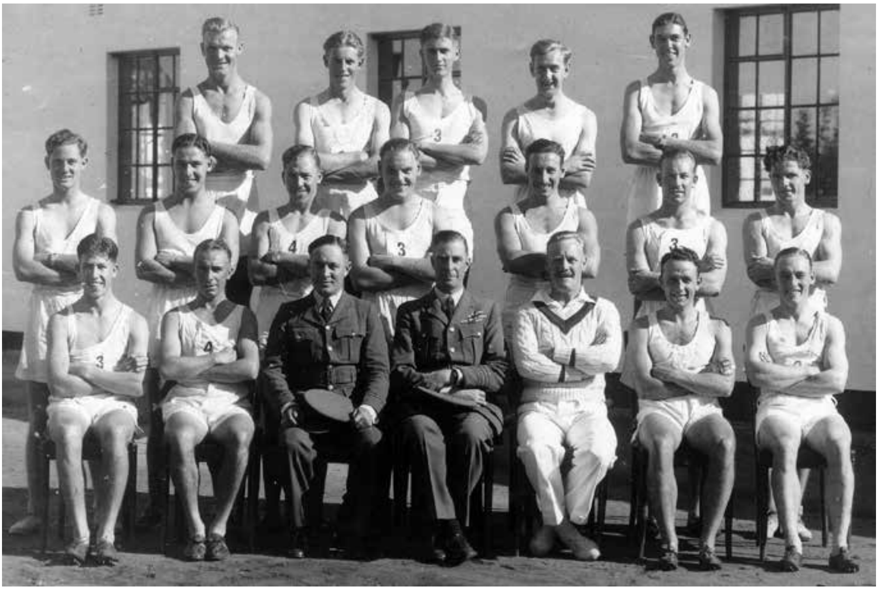
On the other side of the coin, Rhodesians were called upon by the Minister of Air to modify their hospitality because of the party atmosphere that was prevailing and having detrimental effects on the RAF men (and no doubt the locals too) from both discipline and health points of view. "Rhodesian hospitality is proverbial . . . But the public is asked ... to bear in mind the need for maintaining the efficiency of the men they entertain at the high standard demanded of the RAF" and entertainment "in some cases . . . has taken the form of over-indulgence in alcohol, late hours, unnecessary excitement and 'hitting the high spots'." The article continued with comments from a visiting officer: "I have seen young lads who had only been a day or two in the country being treated in ways that are not good for them . . . they were being swept off their feet." (*Rhodesia Herald*, 30 Aug, pg. 18). Mrs E. Tawse Jollie's letter in the 31 Aug issue reads in part: "Our hours of work and play have combined to make the sundowner party our principal form of entertainment, and one particularly open to abuse to those to whom it is a novel experience", and concludes with a proposal that the men be sorted out into social groups so they would be entertained by "their own kind". But the effects of alcohol had become enough of a problem to warrant Government's promulgation of the No Treating Order (which essentially required each man to pay for his own drink), in an attempt to stamp out the local custom of paying "tribute" to the visitors by plying them with round after round of drinks. Guyton Thomas stated in his letter that "the situation has not been created by our visitors, though it has arisen as a result of their presence . . . Our concern is for our guests, who are in danger from our local conception of hospitality . . . why cannot hospitality allow a man to choose the kind of drink he wants, or even to say he has had enough?" (Ibid, 21 Sept, pg. 3). Of course a volley of letters followed the appearance of the Regulation (it took effect at the beginning of October 1940 and had to be amended within two weeks), the bulk complaining bitterly about this assault on freedom and the "twaddle" written by prohibitionists that had caused Government to capitulate weakly, until a sensible soul reminded people "that there is a war on . . . [so] stop talking nonsense." (Ibid, 8 October 1940, pg. 3). One wag used the publicity to great advantage with this advertisement: "The No-Treating Regulations" do not preclude Rhodesians from "treating" Flies, Mosquitoes and other insect pests, male or female, to a small tot of KILLEM—the insecticide that kills." (Ibid, 17 October pg. 3).

And of course there were issues over the romantic involvement of many local women with the RAF chaps, some of which spilled over into incidents of violence against men returning to camp late at night. One has to feel some sympathy for Rhodesian men who were unable to enlist because they were employed on essential services, keeping the wheels of industry running and ensuring there were crops in the field—it must have been awfully difficult to compete, given the old adage that no woman can resist a man in uniform. On the occasions when these unfortunate incidents flared up genuine friendships forged between the visitors and the local men suffered.

Towards the end of service in Rhodesia there was a period when, if one came back to camp late at night, you were attacked by two men lying in wait on the road near camp, and the rumour was rife they were looking for someone mixed up with a woman *in town. I recall the one occasion I met Ronnie Hyde in town around that time he was not as friendly as usual. I was saddened, for they were my first welcome to Salisbury, not forgetting Mr Major.*

Sport and entertainment were important aspects of off-duty life and provided healthy opportunities for the men to blow off steam. In addition to the NAAFI each station had a cinema set up in one of the hangars, and a gym with all types of sporting equipment. For cricket, rugby, soccer and tennis, games against local club teams and inter-station fixtures were arranged, and for boxing, swimming and athletics there were annual meetings which "attracted thousands of spectators from the general public and provided some of the best sporting entertainments which Rhodesia had ever seen." (*Rhodesia and the RAF*, pp 96-98). Fixtures between Rhodesian club sides and the RAF got off to a start without much waste of time it seems: "One side effect of the arrival of so many RAF personnel was the fillip it gave to local sport. In the middle of April [1940], there was a soccer match between the Royal Air Force at the Postal Sports Club, which Postals won by eight goals to one but . . . the visitors were not disgraced." (*Pride of Eagles*, pg. 60). A couple of newspaper snippets give a taste of the enjoyment that sport provided. A charity cricket match on 1 December 1940 advertised in the *Rhodesia Herald* of 30 November, offered Hurricane bowling, Harvard Fielding, Defiant Batting, Spitfire Catching. The match, Air Force versus Salisbury was played at Salisbury Club Grounds, with the RAF winning by 79 runs. The Southern Rhodesia Amateur Boxing Championships held in the Bulawayo Drill Hall on 7 December 1940 featured the RAF champions, with lightweight "L/A/C Mitchell, of Salisbury, showing himself to be the best boxer of the evening . . . Mitchell was outstandingly good, but more than one of the other overseas men . . . met his match on Saturday night" (*Rhodesia Herald* 9 December 1940, pg. 8).

The Blue Plague



Cranborne Athletics Team: Mac 2nd from left, middle row

Mac was a natural at many sports as he discovered when given the chance at Cranborne. He revelled in the opportunity to participate in a variety of sports which formed a much enjoyed part of his life, and he utilised the gym equipment to the full. He won a few trophies along the way, a beautiful crest from the 20 SFTS Cranborne Inter-squadron Athletics Championships in 1941, two cups for the quarter and half mile relays from the Cranborne Air Station Athletics Championships in 1942 and a runners up medal for the quarter mile relay at the RATG Athletic Championships of 1942.

Each section of Cranborne had its own football team, and I was in Maintenance Squad, but after we won the cup two nil, both goals by me, I played for Cranborne Headquarters. Come cricket season I found I could bowl quite fast, and though not a batsman but a slogger pure and simple with a good eye for the ball, I was in the cricket team! Then someone suggested I go in for athletics, but not being trained I did not excel. On two occasions I ran against a Greek learner pilot and both times he beat me out of the blocks and I could not pass him. And to make matters worse he took a nurse who I met from the Nurses Home at the one race. So I lost again, both ways. This did not deter me and I decided to run around the perimeter of the airfield after work ended—not so easy, and I had to stop for a blow at intervals, but after a while I

RATG ATHLETIC
RAF
CHAMPIONSHIPS 1942

RATG Athletic Championships 1942 quarter mile runners-up medal

CRANBORNE INTER-SQUADRON ATH. CHAMPS
1941
RAF
20 SFTS

20 SFTS Cranborne Inter-squadron Athletics Championship 1941

could complete the course. Then into the gym to push weights. I was no longer the puny young boy who had arrived at Cranborne. When a boxing tournament was organised between the various flying schools in Rhodesia I made the Cranborne team that travelled to Bulawayo to participate—sadly our leading boxer, Mitchell, lost in the final.

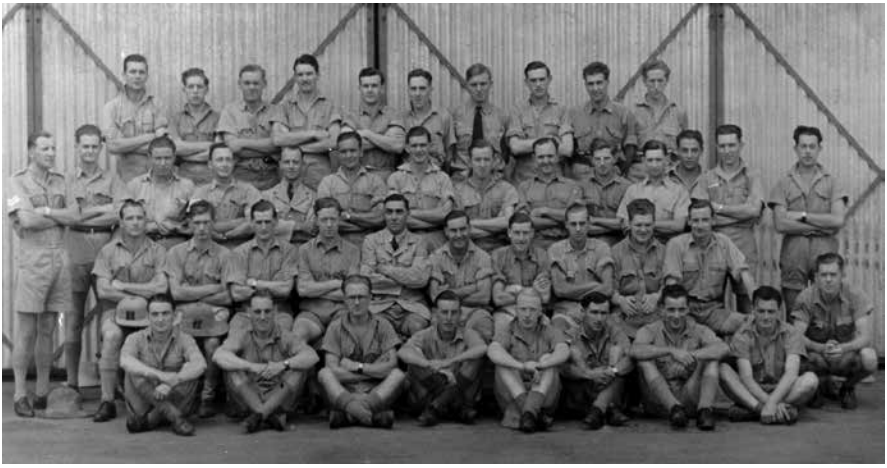
Someone wrote a limerick commemorating Mac's training runs, which appeared in a local publication:

Cranborne Boxing Team Bulawayo bound on Rhodesia Railways:
Mac on left, the star boxer Mitchell 4th from right.

There was a young sprinter called Mac,
Who ran many miles on a track.
He ran to and fro
With such splendid go
That he met his own self coming back.

In addition to the training of aircrew, the RATG provided good training opportunities for the other RAF men. "The large number of tradesmen employed in all branches in the Group were continually improving their knowledge of their jobs and were regularly given the opportunity of being reclassified in a higher trade Group by taking 'trade tests' . . . In this way they could improve their status and, much more important to them, their pay. A very large proportion of the men in the Group were reclassified, and in some cases men were remustered to other and higher trade Groups." (Ibid, pg. 38). "Next to the flying and instructional staff, the largest section on a training station is the maintenance staff. The 'ground staff' do work which has none of the glamour which surrounds the pilot or air gunner, but without the conscientious and often monotonous labours of the many tradesmen on the ground the finest aircraft would be earthbound." (Ibid, pg. 77).

After some time had elapsed I decided to apply for re-mustering to Carpenter II, which meant working on aircraft. This was to be a wise decision which was to benefit me later. This meant my studying and taking exams, and some time later I was now Carpenter II and had more money. I was transferred from the carpenters shop to the hangers and aircraft which meant two badges on my uniform and more pay. The work sections were staggered and I and two others had a small section set aside from other works. I had charge of ours. The officer in charge of the hanger was full of ideas of charts, especially continuous lines and circles of progress etc, and would be in and out of the workshop with his ideas etc, but he was a pleasant person. Mac was promoted to Carpenter II on 14 January 1941, was reclassified Leading Aircraftman (LAC) on 3 April 1941, and passed the trade test on 8 July 1941.



Maintenance Squadron, 20 SFTS Cranborne. From left to right: back row, Gilson 7th, Dick Combrinck 9th; middle row standing, Tommy Tempest 6th, Mac 12th; Middle row seated, Paddy 6th, Ginger 9th; Front row Wedge 1st, Wilson 4th, Patterson 7th, Ken 8th.

One of our duties, though unpleasant, was Funeral Party. This was because of our pupil pilots crashing their aircraft, which were Harvards, an American training aircraft. The Orderly Officer would call for volunteers and if you wanted to go to town you put your hand up and spent time in Salisbury after the ceremony. It was a pleasant break after the unpleasantness of the occasion. Another task was guard duty, which came around every so often.

With the day's duties out of the way my mind turned to other things and with two friends I often walked to Salisbury. As usual we started with a few beers at a small pub which was in one of the main streets, and after that we walked around looking for talent and other interests! I always enjoyed walking in the park, especially at night . . . There was also a Tea and coffee lounge which included a cinema at the rear. I think it was named the Princess. It was probably the Palace, on the corner of 1st Street and Union Avenue; there was a Prince's cinema, but it had no restaurant attached.

NOTICE
OUT OF BOUNDS
TO ALL UNAUTHORISED PERSONS.
DO NOT SPEAK TO
MACHINE OPERATOR.

The Workshop

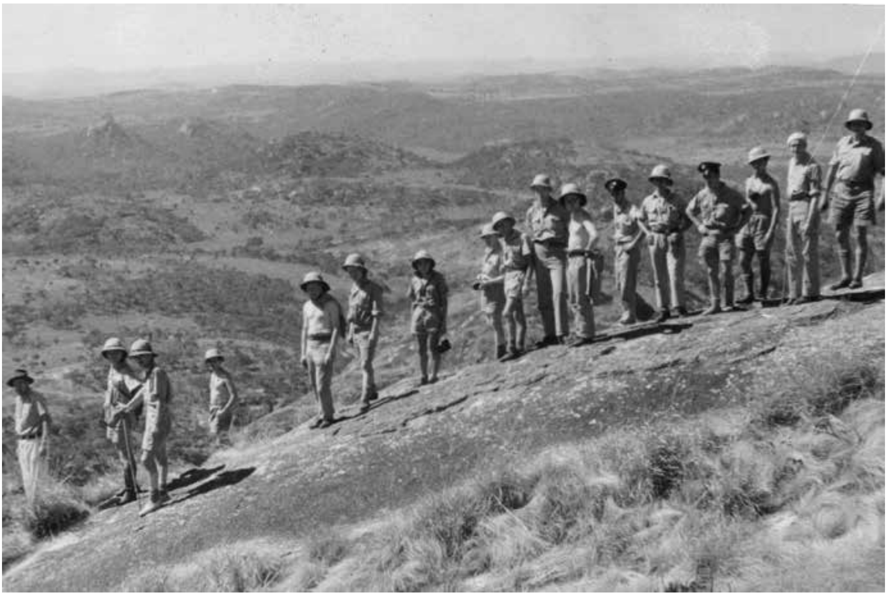
A visit to town by we of the RAF usually ended up at a café which we named "Greasy Dicks", or at a pie cart parked outside the Railway Station. My usual fare was liver, chips and onions, well done.

To keep us out of trouble at weekends, outside trips were organised. I went on two, one to a leper colony, and the other to Domboshawa, where we walked and climbed up a kopje. Quite a view from the top, where we had our sandwiches and drinks etc. Whilst this was happening we were nattering away and the officer, an Australian, remarked that if I left that word out of my vocabulary I would be speechless. This I have done, and it is no longer a part of my vocabulary.

Feelings at Cranborne were beginning to run high. After supper at night we would go to the NAAFI for cold drinks or a beer and watch the newsreel etc, and seeing the bombs falling on London and elsewhere created angry reactions and bottles flying. This would be a nightly occurrence. Eventually the Commanding Officer was transferred and we awaited events. A new CO arrived and a series of lectures and pep talks were given on the importance of the training schools in Rhodesia and South Africa to the war. The need for aircrews was vital, and Cranborne and the other training schools had their part to play. So peace prevailed.

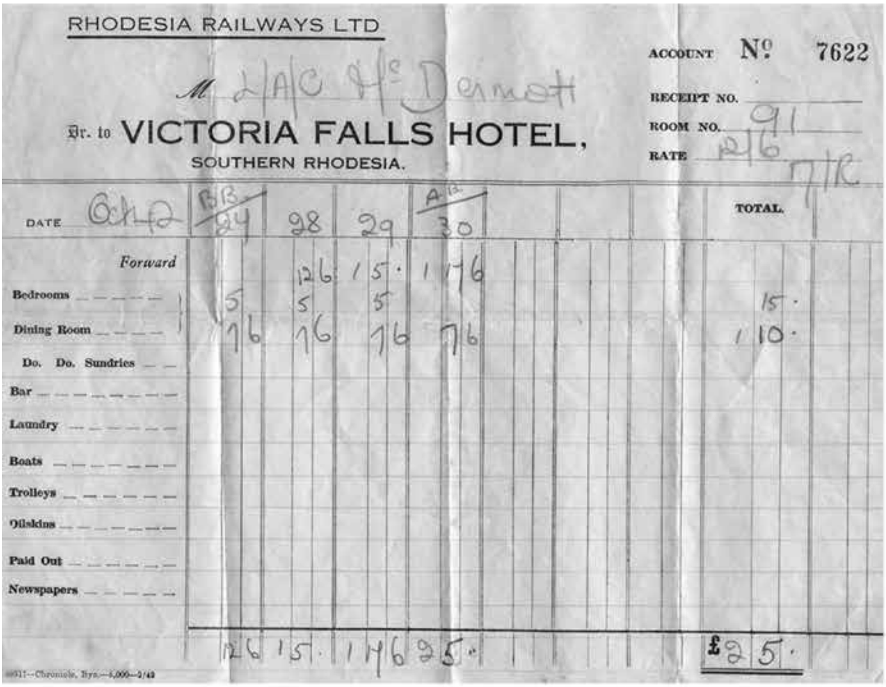
An excerpt from *The Story of Royal Air Force Station Moffat* makes a relevant and valid point: "To the casual reader . . . it may seem that the lighter side of life was of more concern. But these pages do not recall the ordinary, patient work, the unspectacular labours; nor do they speak of the human feelings of monotony and homesickness" (pg. 38).

The RAF annual leave entitlement was 28 days. As the men became more familiar with their temporary home they became more adventurous and explored further afield. "To the airmen serving in Rhodesia probably goes the distinction of travelling further on leave trips than men in any other command . . ." (*The Story of Royal Air Force Station Moffat*, pg. 18). Victoria Falls, the Eastern Highlands, Umtali and the Vumba



Strung out on the granite dome, probably Ngomo Karero, Domboshawa

Happily perched on a rock: "Ginger", Mac and Patterson.
Note the poor shoes - the Rhodesian shoe industry certainly improved!



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Forward		12 6	1 5 ·	1 17 6				
Bedrooms	5	5	5					15 ·
Dining Room	7 6	7 6	7 6	7 6				1 10 ·
Do. Do. Sundries								
Bar								
Laundry								
Boats								
Trolleys								
Oilskins								
Paid Out								
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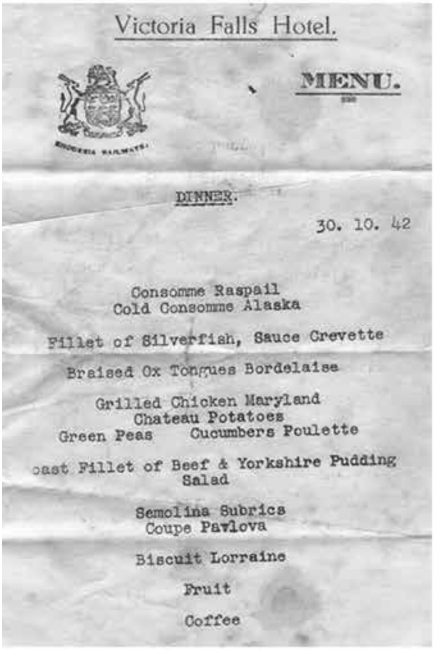

Victoria Falls Hotel.

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MENU.

DINNER.

30. 10. 42

Consomme Raspail
Cold Consomme Alaska

Fillet of Silverfish, Sauce Crevette

Braised Ox Tongues Bordelaise

Grilled Chicken Maryland
Chateau Potatoes
Green Peas Cucumbers Poulette

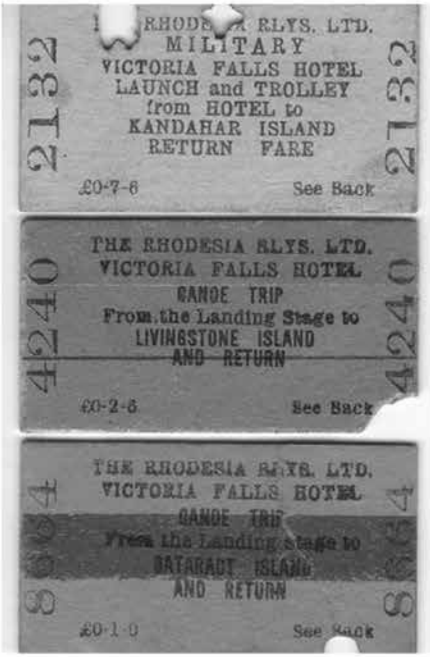
oast Fillet of Beef & Yorkshire Pudding
Salad

Semolina Subrics
Coupe Pavlova

Biscuit Lorraine

Fruit

Coffee



2132 RHODESIA RLYS. LTD. 2132
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4240 THE RHODESIA RLYS. LTD. 4240
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8634 THE RHODESIA RLYS. LTD. 8634
VICTORIA FALLS HOTEL
CANOE TRIP
From the Landing Stage to
CATARACT ISLAND
AND RETURN
£0-1-0 See Back

Victoria Falls memorabilia

were favoured destinations that "gave some relief from the continual roar of aircraft", and the Rhodesian Railway gave concessionary rates of half the normal fare which encouraged them to see the country (*Rhodesia and the RAF*, pg. 87).

For Mac the opportunity to go on holiday was wonderful—hop-picking trips to Kent, much appreciated and enjoyable family working escapes from London though they had been, were the only real holidays he had experienced before.

I was due for some leave, and with two work mates decided to go to Victoria Falls. It was a journey which was taken by train, which enabled us to see more of Rhodesia. We found accommodation at Victoria Falls Hotel, where we stayed for four days at a cost of £25, food included. Three Canadian nurses were also staying in the Hotel and joined up with us as we visited the Falls and other attractions: Livingstone Island by canoe, 2/6; Cataract Island by canoe, 10.s; and Kandahar Island by launch for 7.s. I wonder what the cost would be today? Time for us to return to Cranborne and get back to work and my usual routine after work: run around the perimeter of the airfield and push weights after the run to get myself fit again after the holiday layoff.

We had plenty of free time at weekends and we would go further afield to Umtali and beyond to a Hotel in Cashel named Black Mountain Inn. Tom Tempest and I spent a weekend there: horse rides, good food and company, two ladies, one the owner and the other a guest. The horse riding was rather embarrassing as the khaki longs I was wearing split in the crutch when the owner was teaching me how to lay flat on my back astride the horse. This caused some merriment at dinner. Tom and I left the next day for Salisbury, back to work, after an eventful weekend.

Travel to the South African coastal resorts was also possible, but not often, since these trips required at least two weeks leave as the journey took two or three days each way. "The Group . . . had its own leave centre at Knoetze [Noetsie], near the forest of Knysna . . . a large house [Henderson's Castle] set high on the rocks just above the beach and accommodating twenty-five airmen was presented to the Air Force as a leave centre and convalescent home by the late Mr H. S. Henderson, V.C., of Bulawayo, (Rhodesia's first recipient of the medal). The house was run by a local committee with a resident matron, and an airman could have fourteen days' leave, including travel to and from Knoetze and a day in Capetown, for £4. This was a glorious place for a holiday, as apart from the scenery there was surf riding, fishing and tennis, free transport to town twice a week and free beer every day. One can imagine how popular it was with the airmen."(Ibid, pp 88 and 90). Mac took the long trip to Knysna in November 1943—and kept the Train ticket showing the dates 21.11.1943–2.12.1943.

As the tide of war turned, and the dawn of victory began to brighten the horizon, the demand for air crews diminished and the work of the RATG began to wind down. During each year of its work it had taken seven weeks of initial training, followed by another 21 weeks of service training to produce competent pilots and aircrew, and "All concerned in . . . [the Group's] development can look back on a period of very creditable achievement. This has not been spectacular, but it has played its part none the less in the march towards victory" (*Rhodesia and the RAF*, pg. 115). Writing in the foreword to Rhodesia and RAF, the Minister of Air Sir Ernest Lucas Guest noted that by late 1944 the RATG "one of the less spectacular, but none the less important achievements of the second world war . . . having served its purpose . . . [had] commenced its closing down operations". A *Rhodesia Herald* article entitled "Folding Wings", reprinted in the RAF Headquarters journal stated: "It is no secret that the gradual reduction of the establishment in this country has been in progress for some time, as has been evidenced by the return to civilian duties of Rhodesians who have given several years of service with the Royal Air Force here. Rhodesia will miss the RAF . . . [for instead of] becoming one of the quiet backwaters of an Empire at war . . . large numbers of men—perhaps 10 000 . . .—from Britain and elsewhere came to replace our absent Rhodesians, and busy times were experienced by trades and industries which would otherwise have been in the doldrums . . . [and the benefit of] the coming of the RAF to Rhodesia . . . has been considerable." (*The Walrus*, V.1(20) 1 Jan 1945, pg. 4).

With the war in Europe approaching its final phases, the process of bringing men back to the United Kingdom to gear up for D-Day had begun. Mac's "boat-train" orders which ended his Cranborne days came not long after his 2 December 1943 return from the Knysna trip. From Rhodesia the RAF men travelled by special train to the port city of Durban in South Africa to await a troopship back to England. There Mac traced his Aunt Phoebe, who had married a sailor and moved from London to Durban well before the onset of the War. She introduced him to Henry Chambers, whom she knew from the St Vincent de Paul Society (a charitable society of the Catholic Church). He invited Mac to bring an RAF friend along and spend the festive season of 1943 with the Chambers family. Mac and his Cranborne mate, Tommy Tempest, joined them on Christmas Eve, and stayed on for Christmas and Boxing days. And so Stan met Iris Chambers! On Boxing Day the group went on an outing to Kloof Falls, where they picnicked and swam in the pool beneath the falls. At the end of the day Mac tripped when climbing up the cliff path from the pool, and Iris reached out a steadying hand to stop him from slipping over the edge. After a cross-country walk to the bus stop, which they reached ahead of the rest of the party, he looked at Iris and said "Let's get married". She laughed and told him not to be silly. But he was serious, and they were married on 5 February 1944

Iris and Mac at Kloof Falls shortly before his proposal

in Emmanuel Cathedral, Durban, with Tommy Tempest as Best Man. They had a two week honeymoon before Mac's troopship set sail his service record shows that his S. Rhodesia service ended on 19 February 1944, the day the ship sailed. A few weeks later Iris found a berth on another troopship and sailed to join him, her ship actually arriving before his, which had detoured to America. But that's another story!

Back in England Mac spent brief periods between 13 March and 21 June 1944 at 5008 and 5015 Squadrons (Airfield Construction Branch) before being re-mustered and sent on a technical training course on the construction and maintenance of gliders. He was promoted to T/Cpl (Carpenter I), and posted to 7 Glider SE, Earls Colne Air Station where he prepared gliders for the invasion of Europe—his Squadron took part in Operation Varsity. On 13 March 1946 he was demobbed from Cardington, given a suit in exchange for his uniform, and sent on post-service leave. In an ironic full circle, similar conditions to those into which he had been born prevailed in London—the bleakness of post-war unemployment, food rationing, and a critical shortage of housing thanks to the Blitz. The aftermath of war had turned large numbers of ex-servicemen and women into the army of the unemployed and homeless. The only accommodation Mac and Iris could find was a barrack hut at an abandoned RAF Air Station, Fairlop, near Ilford.

The Wedding

Mac with his daughter, Maureen and "Ginger" and family sailing back to southern Africa

Their second child was born there, and appropriately enough he chose a career his birthplace had singled him out for, aviation! And so, with no prospects and a toddler daughter and infant son to care for, they decided to head back to South Africa. In 1947 they sailed to Cape Town and took the train to Durban. They raised their family of five children and lived out their lives together on the Natal South Coast. Mac died on 20 December 2002, nine days short of his 83rd birthday, and six weeks before their 59th wedding anniversary.

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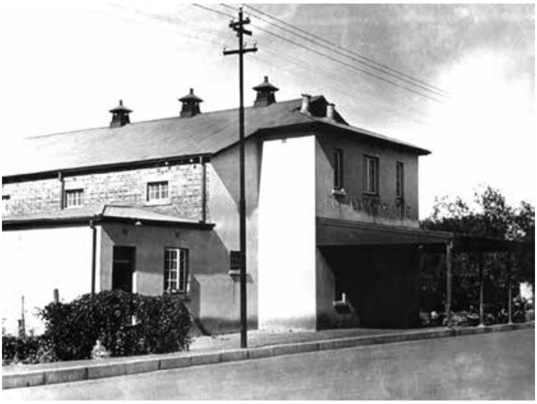
Some Memories of the Cinema in Rhodesia

by Benjamin Leon

As a young boy aged six in the 1940s, I was fascinated by the magical beam of light projecting from the portholes at the rear of the darkened cinema at the Globe and Phoenix Hall, Que Que (now Kwe Kwe). To my childish mind I thought that there must be some connection between the moving images on the silver screen and that moving beam of light. I remember dashing out of the cinema in fear during a Saturday morning matinee when a group of warriors armed with shields started throwing spears at the camera.

This fascination for images would continue throughout my life and, when I reached my teens, prompted me to become a photographer and, in my early twenties, to become a projectionist at the old Royalty Theatre, Gatooma (Kadoma). When I was at boarding school at Milton High in Bulawayo, I took charge of the projector and showed films to the boarders. The highlight of our week as boarders was the Saturday morning and afternoon "flicks" in town. There being no other form of entertainment, the four cinemas in Bulawayo had full houses.



Royalty Theatre Gatooma 1930

In the huge complex of the Palace Theatre, in Main Street, Bulawayo was the holding centre for African Films Trust Ltd and African Theatres Trust Ltd, both owned by the South African Schlesinger organisation. (Isidore Schlesinger was the pioneer of film import and distribution to Southern Africa, setting up in 1913). Every fortnight, from this building, I would collect whatever film was handed out to me. I was not given a choice. These were 16mm films duplicated from 35mm feature movies that had completed the countrywide cinema circuit.

I remember the Bob Hope comedies "*Where There's Life*" and "*Casanova's Big Night*". Then there were Errol Flynn, Ronald Colman and David Niven in "*Lives of a Bengal Lancer*" (with Gunga Din thrown in), Laurence Olivier in "*Henry V*", "*Nicholas Nickleby*" and "*Oliver Twist*" and Abbott and Costello in "*Here Come the Co-eds*", just to mention a few.

The Palace Theatre was magnificent, with its stalls and raked gallery, and could seat one thousand patrons. The projection box was in the centre of the theatre between the two floors, so that the projectionist never saw the audience through the portholes. It had two magnificent cream-coloured 35mm projectors which projected within a remarkably short distance a bright image onto a silver screen. The source of illumination for projecting was a carbon arc light burning and consuming electricity at 40 amperes.

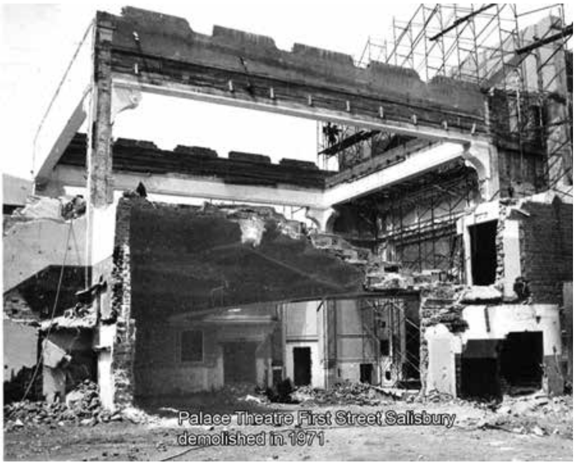
It was normal to have two projectors for continuity. The 35mm films would arrive wrapped in newspaper in tin cans. Usually five to seven reels would comprise the programme and these would be wound onto reels and then threaded onto the projector. When one reel came to an end the arc lights on the other projector were struck and the film would continue on that projector without a break. The key to continuity was the cue mark, a black or white dot, which appeared briefly in the top right hand corner of the screen. This was the signal to start the loaded projector. Ten seconds later a second cue mark would appear and this was the signal to switch from one projector to the other. This was done at the flick of a switch and was hardly noticeable by the audience.

Cinema projectors showed an amazing 24 frames per second and used 45 feet of film per minute. The optical soundtrack was down the side of the frame. In the silent era frames were projected at 18 frames per second, but with the advent of "talking pictures" it was increased to 24 frames per second. That is why the action in films made in the silent era was quick and jerky. They were being projected at a faster speed than that at which they were exposed. A thin slit of light would be focused on the soundtrack and the varying intensity of light would activate a photo-electric cell, producing an electric current which would be amplified into sound. At first the soundtrack was recorded on huge bakelite records running at 78 revolutions per minute. Getting it to synchronise with the moving picture on the screen was an exacting task. After the optical soundtrack came the 70mm film with four magnetic oxide strips giving a stereophonic effect. This was not a viable idea and did not last long. Today we have films with an optical and a digital soundtrack, the latter giving stereophonic sound.

In 1954 I watched the sinister Vincent Price in the horror movie "*The House of Wax*" at the Palace Theatre. It was in three dimensions. One wore special glasses with polarising filters. The two projectors were linked together and each projected an image—one for each eye. Without the glasses one saw two images. Each filter allowed one to see an image for each eye. The brain combined the two images and created a third dimensional effect.

At that time the African Films Trust Ltd were the sole distributors of films throughout the Rhodesias. Bulawayo and Salisbury (Harare) had four cinemas each owned and operated by this company. Gwelo (Gweru), Kadoma Selukwe, (Shurugwi), Kwe Kwe and Umtali (Mutare) had independent exhibitors. Jimmy Pereira would come in later in the 1960s with his chain of Rainbow Theatres. The Royalty Theatre in Kadoma was third on the circuit after Salisbury and Bulawayo had exhibited the latest films.

The Royalty Theatre first opened its doors in 1919 and was known as the "Bioscope Hall". The word "bio" covered the exhibition of lantern slides and the motion picture. Later on the slides were a medium for advertisements and the audience would have to sit through a showing of twenty to thirty slides. I recall Chhugan Kidia, always conscious of public relations, painstakingly writing in black Indian ink slides for forthcoming attractions and commercial ads, on a piece of two inch square glass. These were screened before the show commenced and during the interval. Later, with the advent of lithography, the slides were photographed from typewritten text and cut into squares, mounted between glass and then projected.



At the Palace Theatre in Salisbury teenagers would gather before a Saturday morning matinee and swop American comics.

One must appreciate the change in cinema exhibition from those days to what we have now in 2013. Today no commercial slides are shown. After a series of trailers and commercials the main feature starts without an interval and "that's your lot".

In 1945 I attended a *matinee* with my uncle. At one point projection was stopped until all children aged under 12 had been removed from the cinema. I was allowed to stay with my uncle. A very graphic newsreel was then run, showing the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps, which haunts me to this day.

In the 1950s and 1960s in the old Royalty we would start off with the African Mirror with an African warrior in a feathered head dress, bare-chested, beating out a rhythm on a drum. It was reputed to be the oldest newsreel in the world. Then we had a "short" of travel interest, perhaps a short musical, then a Donald Duck or Bugs Bunny cartoon and, to the delight of the children, "*The Three Stooges*" who drew peals of laughter as they slapsticked their way through crazy situations. After these "shorts" there was an interval. At the matinee the children would really become involved with the action on the screen and cheer on the cowboys, boo the baddies and encourage the heroes. The noise was sometimes deafening.

Our parents would give us half a crown (about £1,50 in today's money) and that was enough for the afternoon. Admission to the movies was one shilling and the balance was spent on sweets and cold drinks at the tea room attached to the building. Admission for adults was 2*s*.6*d* at matinees and 3*s*.6*d* for the evening performance.

The Royalty Theatre was acquired by Joe Burke in 1925 and would remain in his family for the next 35 years. Joe Burke died in 1958 and it was taken over by his son David Burke who ran it until 1969.

The "bug-house", as we called it, was unique. It was an oblong building with no frills. The box office was right at the front and the "foyer" was the pavement adjacent to the street. On a hot October night Joe Burke would draw open the curtains covering the doorway, take out a couple of deck chairs, and sit on the pavement to watch the film. Passers-by in the street would stop out of curiosity and before long there was a crowd of people sitting on the pavement across the road, with their feet in the gutter, having a free viewing of the film. One could hear the soundtrack in the residential areas a few blocks away.

In May 1960, Princess Margaret married Antony Armstrong-Jones. David Burke, together with a Mr Chee (one of Zimbabwe's first Chinese entrepreneurs, who ran the cinema in Gwelo), rented the 20 minute colour newsreel of the Royal Wedding. At the Royalty, the wedding was screened first and as it came to an end it was taken off the projector in its reel, loaded into one of two waiting cars, one driven by myself, and off we sped to Gwelo. We arrived just in time to screen the newsreel at the end of Mr Chee's regular programme.

The Royalty screened three movies a week. It was cinema history when Cecil B de Mille's "*The Ten Commandments*" was scheduled to run for one whole week. The nearest cinema to the Royalty was one operated by the Globe and Phoenix Mine in Que Que. David Burke placed an advert in the Midlands Observer. The following week the G&P Mine placed another advert announcing that the "*Ten Commandments*" would be arriving in Kwe Kwe soon. I remember projecting this spectacular epic comprised of ten reels. At the interval the incidental music was run off the soundtrack. Usually we would play 78rpm records and later the long playing vinyl records.

I had a Telefunken reel-to-reel tape-recorder and at home would record music from Mantovani, Ray Coniff or Percy Faith. I would hook up this machine to the system and during the interval play back the music.

The Royal Wedding was screened on a Monday night and the old Royalty had a full house. The feature programme was Walt Disney's "*Fantasia*", a classic animated cartoons feature, with Mickey Mouse as "*The Sorcerer's Apprentice*". This was not everyone's cup of tea and several people walked out.

Films were also despatched from one town to another by quick and reliable passenger train. As soon as a film came off a projector it was rewound back into the metal cans in which it had arrived and placed into a metal container. Peter the assistant would then take it to the railway station, on his bicycle, at about 10 pm and it would usually be dispatched to Que Que. The containers were not padlocked. On one occasion there was a complaint from an exhibitor that a reel was missing from the feature film. African Films Ltd naturally launched an enquiry. I don't think that the missing reel was ever found and the matter remains a mystery.

In those days all cinemas were built to accommodate large audiences. The Palace in Salisbury could hold 900 people. The Prince's Cinema, situated where the modern Meikles Hotel is today, could hold about 500 people. Today cinemas are split into smaller rooms holding not more than 200 people. In a shopping mall one finds six to eight screens. The projection room is nothing but a concrete box holding one projector for each cinema. In the old days the films would arrive in the usual manner and the whole programme was spliced together onto one reel three feet in diameter. One projectionist ran the whole show with a movie starting every fifteen minutes. Once the projectors were running he would sit down and have a cup of tea. Occasionally he would get up and walk around to see if all was well. Breakdowns were extremely rare, but it was not always so with the old Royalty. It had a small projection room holding two noisy 35 mm projectors. Much heat came from the carbon arc lighting and one had trouble disposing of the carbon monoxide fumes. On a Saturday matinee the windows had to be closed to prevent the sunlight from filtering into the auditorium. We got headaches from this gas. We complained several times to David Burke who eventually employed the services of a plumber to extend the funnels so that the gas would escape completely through the existing chimney in the roof. Some modern projectors are now fitted with xenon lamps which burn at the same amperage and are obviously much cleaner, but still generate considerable heat. They have an anode and cathode and across this gap a bright light is produced.

At the Royalty the worm-gear moving the two carbons, [so that they burned at a constant gap of one centimeter apart], would wear. It had to be turned by hand and required constant attention. The current of 40 amps passing through this would burn the carbon rods and, if the gap became too wide, the light turned blue and would eventually go out, drawing yells from the audience below.

At night, in the summer, we would open the projection room windows and look down on the people having a free view of the film across the road with their feet in the gutter. In Gatooma everyone knew everyone and, when breakdowns happened occasionally, they knew who to blame.

One memorable film I remember projecting was "*Ben Hur*". This was a lengthy movie of nine reels. The chariot race lasting eleven minutes is a classic in cinema history. Right in the middle of this was a change over from one projector to the other. I was engrossed in watching this race and had not threaded up the other projector. I realised this just in time and hastily picked up the next reel from the bin and in double-quick time had the projector ready—thus avoiding a "breakdown"—and the chariot race continued uninterrupted. The Elvis Presley movies always attracted full houses and the film distributors demanded sixty-five percent of the box office takings from the exhibitors. I remember, in 1961, the screening of "*The Guns of Navarone*" a classic eight-reeler war movie starring Gregory Peck and David Niven. On the Saturday night the house was full with a large queue still at the door. David Burke sent for more seats from the Grand Hotel a short distance away. "*Singing in the Rain*" in 1952 also attracted full houses.

In 1957 the old Royalty showed its first Cinemascope movie "S*even Brides for Seven Brothers*" starring Howard Keel and Jane Powell. The screen had to be extended from 3:4 aspect ratio to a 1:3 ratio. This was done with strips of calico on either side of the screen. These areas did not reflect light as efficiently as the silver screen 3:4 section. It was some time before this was rectified with a new silver screen. Automatic push-button curtains were also installed. In the projection box the Royalty acquired two anamorphic lenses to screen the Cinemascope pictures.

In 1978 I moved to Salisbury, became involved with the Central African Zionist Office, and began projecting their Israeli films. With its head office in Bulawayo 16mm films were sent to me to be labelled and repaired. From a 16mm film catalogue I would select a programme of films that were screened at the Harry Margolis Hall. We would insert an advertisement in the *Herald* and this would attract an audience of about one hundred people. With the advent of Independence in 1980 the ambassador of Palestine, Ali Halimeh objected to these films. (This was before VHS video tapes became a common media). One particular night with a popular programme, which included celebrity musicians in the Israeli symphony orchestra being screened, the small Braude Hall was packed with people. The PLO retaliated by placing flyers on the windscreens of motor cars parked outside the hall. The following day the president of the Zionist office in Harare received a phone call from a reporter at the *Herald* advising him that the Minister of Information had banned the acceptance of film adverts from the Zionist office.

At the time of writing (November 2013) the Levy brothers of Sam Levy's Village are constructing a cinema complex of six screens with a food court. The smallest cinema will hold 75 seats and the largest 240 seats. It will be equipped and run by Ster-Kinekor of South Africa and is expected to open in December 2013. The projection of 35mm films will be replaced with 3D films on computer hard drives, slotted into a projector and programmed to run for the number of shows required daily. Premieres will coincide with those showing overseas. But, across the way, in Sam Levy's Flea Market, there are stalls selling the latest pirated film releases on DVDs, at three dollars each.

In recent years two cinemas in the Avondale Shopping Centre owned by the late Jimmy Pereira have closed down. The Rainbow cinemas in Manica Road (Robert Mugabe Way) housed in the old post office building have been taken over by Ster-Kinekor, which also runs six screens in a complex near the Eastgate Shopping Centre. They also run the six cinemas in Westgate. In the Greenstone Mall, in South Africa, one man supervises eight projectors at one time.

Today people still go to the cinema, but not nearly as many as in the 1940s and 1950s. The digital age has robbed the cinema of its patrons with DVD's carrying the latest releases. As a teenager it was an outing to go to a movie and everyone dressed up in evening gowns or jacket and tie. The magic and power of the cinema attracted audiences throughout the world and influenced their behaviour and dress.

In spite of plastic portable lightweight DVD's, that magical beam of light will continue to be projected in years to come.

Editor's Note: The first laws relating to the cinema in Southern Rhodesia appeared on 20 September 1912. Because films were so flammable, unless the building was specifically licensed for cinematograph shows they could only be shown in public places with the permit/permission of a BSAP Officer, and on such conditions as he imposed. (The owner of the premises in which the film was being shown had a duty to ascertain whether the exhibitor had a permit). The superintending official could stop the show at any time if he perceived a fire risk. The Administrator (at that time Milton) could arbitrarily prohibit the presentation of any moving picture exhibition that he found "objectionable".

A Bugle for "Bomber" Harris

by Bob Challis

"Arthur Harris was particularly proud of the bugle presented to him by the Rhodesian Army in 1975 to replace the one he had buried in South-West Africa [Namibia] in 1915"[1].

Published attention to Arthur Travis Harris as a Bugler seems to have first occurred in *The Southern Rhodesian Territorial Force Journal 1936*: Visitors to the mess during the year included . . . Group Captain Harris of the RAF who, arriving in Rhodesia from the Air Ministry to advise on military matters, was discovered to be not only an old "1st Rhodesian" but the bugler who sounded the "G" at the Salisbury station in 1914, on which signal the regiment entrained for the wars2.

Arthur Travis Harris

In 1934 the Southern Rhodesian Government had decided to assist with Imperial Defence by establishing an air unit in the colony. In February the following year Harris, as Deputy Director of Plans in the Ministry, was sent to the colony to report on what was needed. This was the first practical step towards the eventual establishment of a Rhodesian Air Force in 1939 and shortly afterwards, Rhodesian participation in the RAF Empire air training scheme[3].

In 1938 the TF Journal proudly noted that two 'former Rhodesians' by then held senior RAF posts. Air Vice-Marshall H. R. Nicholl, formerly a trooper in the Rhodesian Volunteers, was in charge of the RAF in the Middle East, whereas Air Commodore A. T. Harris commanded the Palestine and Transjordan areas. The journal reminded its readers that Harris had sounded the "G" when 1RR entrained in 1914 for the South West Africa campaign[4].

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[1] Air Commodore Henry Probert, MBE,MA, *Bomber Harris His Life and Times The Biography of Marshall of the Royal Air Force Sir Arthur Harris, The Wartime Chief of Bomber Command* (Greenhill Boooks /Lionel Leventhal Ltd London and MBI Publishing Co. St Paul USA, 2006), 391. I am grateful to our Mashonaland Branch Chairman, Group Captain Bill Sykes for the loan of this definitive study)

[2] The Rhodesia Regiment Notes from the 1st Battalion, in *The Southern Rhodesian Territorial Force Journal 1936. The Rhodesia Regiment. The Territorial Force Reserve. The Cadet Corps.Vol.VII November 1936,* 25—43, 26.

[3] Probert, 73.

In 1947 Harris gave an amusing account of how he became a bugler in his autobiographical study, *Bomber Command*:

In August, 1914, I was away in the bush, and I did not hear about the war until the end of the month. When I got back to town and heard the news I tried at once to join the 1st Rhodesian Regiment. There was no room left. I pestered the regimental office again and again only to receive the same answer. At last I heard that there were two remaining vacancies for "specialists" in the regiment, one for a machine-gunner and the other for a bugler. I applied for the job of machine-gunner and was interviewed by Hope-Carson, the adjutant, a great man and still going strong. I was unable to convince him that I knew anything about machine guns—I had never seen one—so I demanded the job of bugler. During my days in the OTC at All Hallows, I had become a good—enough bugler to collect second prize in the annual Public School OTC Camp. I landed the job, and the unkind have accused me of blowing my own trumpet ever since[5].

References to Harris and his bugle, published prior to his death on 5 April 1984, do not appear to mention any great regrets he might have had about its burial and his failure to relocate it in the trenches outside Swakopmund in 1915[6]. Consequently, it was only in 1975 when a recent acquaintance of his decided that the gift of a facsimile replacement of the abandoned instrument might be greatly appreciated.

In the early afternoon of Saturday 28 December, 1974, Brigadier Robert Adair Goodacre Prentice, OBE, and his wife Yvonne-Eve and Bob amongst friends—embarked from Southampton docks on the SA Vaal for a two week voyage to Cape Town. In his pocket diary Bob laconically noted on Tuesday 31: "Lunch time drinks with Marshall of the RAF Sir Arthur and Lady Harris. Arrived at Las Palmas 3.15. Walk with Eve into town and then to end of pier. Sailed 7.15pm. To bed 10.45pm"

A perk enjoyed by Harris as a co-founder and former director of the Safmarine Shipping Company was an annual voyage with his wife to and from Cape Town[7]. During the 1969–70 festive season the Harrises and Prentices had shared a similar voyage on the S.A. Orange but did not meet, apparently because they travelled in the first and second classes respectively[8]. There was no class division on the SA Vaal.

On New Year's Day 1975, Bob noted: "9 am haircut. Drink before lunch with "Bomber" and Lady Harris. Passed SA Orange at 6 pm."

Eve's slightly more detailed diary has also survived. She noted on New Year's Day: "We joined the Harris' again later on and learned that he is 82 years old and she, 24 years younger." (Apparently, it was a 23 year age difference[9]).

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[4] *SR Territorial, Vol. IX* December 1938, 15

[5] Marshal of the RAF Sir Arthur Harris GCB OBE AFC, *Bomber Offensive* (Pen and Sword Military Classics, Barnsley, 2005. First published by Collins Clear-type Press, London and Glasgow, 1947), 15–16

[6] Dudley Saward, *Bomber Harris* (Cassell Ltd and Buchan and Enwright Publishers Ltd 1984 and Sphere Books Ltd, London, 1985, Reprinted 1986), 9

[7] Probert, 372

[8] Union — Castle/Safmarine, *List of Passengers SA Orange from Southampton 30 January, 1970,* 10,15

[9] Probert, 81

Eve and Bob were 53 and 54 respectively at the time. They were to meet the Harris' quite regularly during the remainder of the voyage. A brief look at the lives of Eve and Bob might help to explain why they got on well with the legendary airman and his wife.

Born in Leicester on 15 December 1922 Bob Prentice, like the first Rhodesian Front Premier Winston Field, was educated at Bromsgrove School, Leicestershire. After enlisting as a private in the Royal Warwickshire Regiment in 1941, Bob was posted to India where he eventually rose to the rank of Major in the 8th Gurkhas and saw active service in Burma and Indo-China. He married Yvonne Mary Challiss on 17 January 1946. Eve was born and brought up in Quetta and was widowed early in 1942 when her husband, Lieutenant Robert Harold Challiss, was killed in action in the Battle of Yennangyaung. Her great grandfather won a VC during the Indian Mutiny and her father, Major Bernard Michael Burke, MBE, had emigrated to Southern Rhodesia in 1945 after forty years in the Royal Army Service Corps in India.

Bob was the son of the late Lt Col. FD Prentice, Secretary of the Rugby Football Union and former captain of the British Lions in the Antipodes in 1930. Bob played rugby for Southern Rhodesia, was a keen cricketer, served on the Matabeleland Rugby Football Board and was an Honorary Vice-Chairman of the Rhodesian Rugby Football Union. Bob and Eve emigrated to Southern Rhodesia in 1947. Bob joined the Staff Corps as a Sergeant, rose rapidly in rank and was awarded the OBE in 1957 in recognition of his work as Federal Military Attache at Rhodesia House in London between 1955 to 1957. He was promoted to Brigadier in 1964 and, based in Bulawayo, was appointed Commander of Rhodesian Forces, Southern Area. As ADC to the Queen he took early retirement from the army in 1969 when it was apparent that Southern Rhodesia would become a republic. A highly respected officer with a very successful record as a senior commander in counter insurgent operations, the retirement of the 47 year old Brigadier was a serious loss to the Rhodesian Army. After brief employment with Cash Wholesalers in Bulawayo, Bob was appointed Headmaster of St Stephen's College, BallaBalla, in 1974[10].

The second recorded meeting on SA Vaal of the Harrises and Prentices was on Friday 3 January. In her diary Eve wrote: "Officers and Passengers cricket this afternoon. Bob met Dennis Silk—played cricket for Cambridge and is Headmaster of Radley College! In the evening … invited to drinks by Sir Arthur and Lady Harris to meet SA Navy Cmdr Bennett and wife. Cmdr Bennett's brother was in the RAR stationed in Bulawayo, but killed in a motor accident."

Dennis Raoul Whitehall Silk was born in Eureka, California, on 8 October, 1931. He played cricket for Somerset County, captained the MCC on tours of the USA and Canada in 1959 and New Zealand in 1960–61, and was appointed Rector of Radley in 1968. He and his wife Diana were travelling to Rhodesia, apparently in connection with a support scheme involving teacher and pupil exchanges between Radley and the Anglican Church based at St Augustine's in Penhalonga[11].

Commander C. H. Bennett was returning to South Africa after three years as Naval

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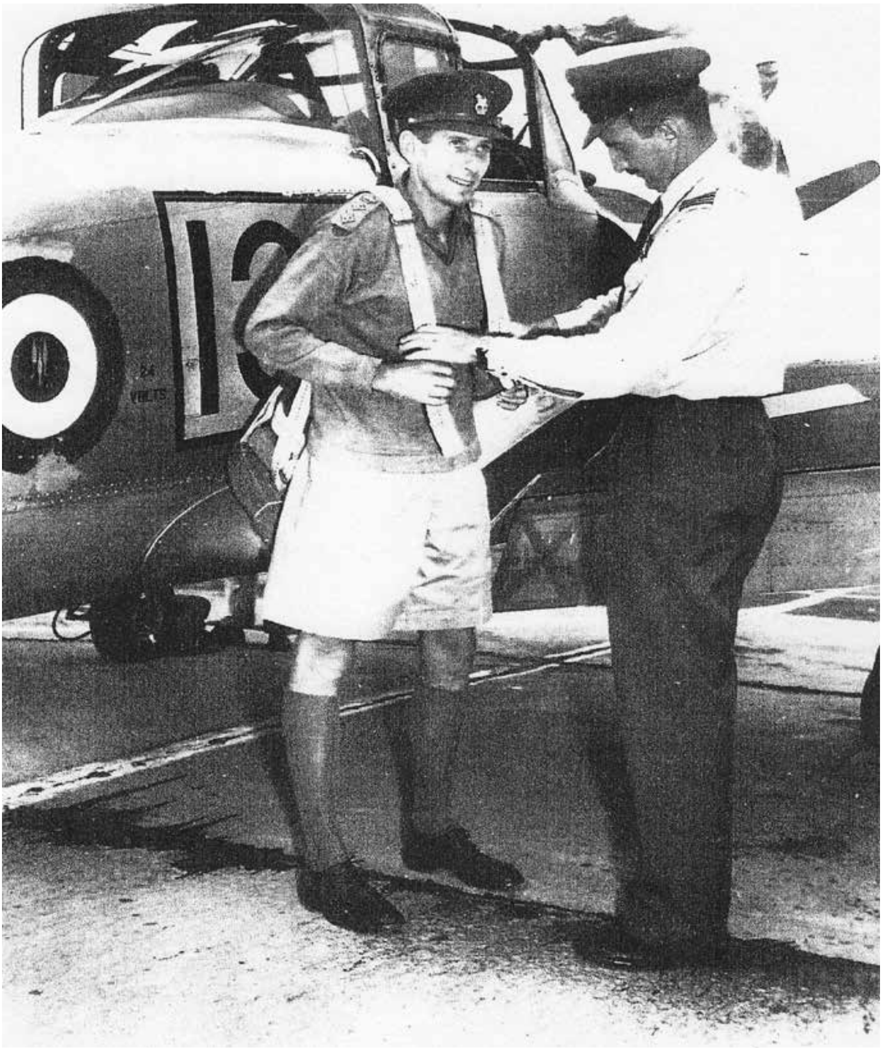
[10] R. J. Challis, Family history, unpublished manuscripts, 2012

[11] Dennis Silk, CBE, JP retired as Rector of Radley in 1991, was Chairman of the Test and County Cricket Board, 1994–6, and was appointed CBE in 1995. His publications include *Cricket* (Hart Davis, 1964), *Attacking Cricket* (Pelham, 1965), Siegfried Sassoon (Guinness Lecture) Michael Russell, 1975, and *T. E. Lawrence and Siegfried Sassoon: a Friendship* (Reading Room Press, 2010) Wikipedia, 21 November, 2012. In 2001 he was a founder and was appointed Life President of the Siegfried Sassoon Fellowship. www ZoomInfo.com

Attache in London. He and his wife were accompanied on the voyage by their three sons[12].

Apparently the final social gathering involving the Harrises and the Prentices occurred on Tuesday 7 January, three days before the ship berthed at Cape Town on Friday 10th. On this occasion the Prentices played hosts to the Harrises and Silks in what was known as The Smoke Room. Eve recorded that this "little smoke room party" was "followed by dinner with the Harris' at their table—very pleasant and afterwards we had a little



Brigadier Bob Prentice (left) prepares for a flight in a RRAF Percival Provost

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[12] In October 1975 Cmdr Bennett played a key role in Operation Savannah, a covert South African naval operation in Angola and he retired with the rank of Rear Admiral. In 2008 he and Rear Admiral A. G. Soderlund published *South Africa's Navy: Navy of the People and for the People*, (The South African Navy, Simon's Town, 2008).

"party" in the Orangery"—apparently another shipboard nightspot.

Shortly after returning to St Stephen's College Bob wrote the following letter to the Rhodesian Army Commander.

4 February, 1975
Lieutenant General G. P. Walls, OLM, MBE,
Army Headquarters,
Private Bag 7720
CAUSEWAY

Dear Peter,

I hope you will not mind me going to the "top of the tree" with this request but perhaps you would consider passing it on to the staff to see if there is any possibility of meeting my request.

I recently travelled on board ship with Marshall of the Royal Air Force, Sir Arthur "Bomber" Harris. He is very proud of having started his service as a bugler in the First Rhodesians who travelled to South West Africa during the First World War. During the fighting there, because the bugle became something of an impediment, he had to bury it.

One of Sir Arthur's lifelong ambitions has been to obtain a Rhodesian replacement for that bugle in order to add it to his Museum of Service relics which, I imagine, contains some pretty interesting items.

It occurs to me that since the disbandment of the Cadet Corps there might possibly be a brass bugle which without much difficulty, we might engrave with something to this effect, 1st Battalion The Rhodesia Regiment" and send it to Sir Arthur. I think it would give him enormous amount of pleasure and at the same time would do something for Rhodesia. I hope that the write-off of the bugle would not present insurmountable obstacles, and 1RR might be prepared to pay for the engraving involved.

If you find that this should be possible you may consider asking that the bugle should be sent direct to him at the following address:

Marshall of the Royal Air Force Sir Arthur Harris, Bt., GCB, AFC, LLD,
The Ferry House,
Goring on Thames,
Oxon
England.

Perhaps an accompanying note from the Army Commander with all good wishes from you and Bob Prentice might be appropriate.

I hope I am not being a burden and with all good wishes from Eve and me.

Yours sincerely

Bob.

Unsurprisingly, a few weeks went by before the General found time to deal with the request made by his former comrade in arms. A bugle was found, polished up, and a small plaque affixed, and sent direct to Harris in the UK, with an accompanying note.

Harris responded warmly to the gift, as the following communication reveals:

ARMY HEADQUARTERS,
Private Bag 7720,
Causeway, Salisbury
Rhodesia.
Reference A(PS)/160
9th May 1975
Brigadier R. A. G. Prentice, OBE,
St. Stephen's College,
P. O. BallaBalla

Dear Brigadier Bob

Lieutenant General Walls has asked me to let you have a copy of the letter he received from Sir Arthur Harris thanking him for the bugle. I quote his letter below;

"Many thanks for your letter of 23rd and for sending on to me a Rhodesian bugle in replacement of the one I abandoned at Swakopmund in 1915. I will certainly treasure the replacement from the original source.

I abandoned the 1915 example because it would bang and rattle against my bayonet!! And, in any case, bugles were no longer used "in the field" and we were then beginning to contact the Boche!

I started as a bugler in 1st RR because it so happened that I had won a bugler's prize at the Cadet Corps Camp on Salisbury (UK) Plain in 1909 and nobody else in my Coy in 1st RR could blow the damn thing when the regiment was formed in 1914!

Please accept my most grateful thanks and convey them to all concerned with the idea and, especially, to Bob Prentice"

I trust you and Eve are well; my kind regards to you both.

Yours sincerely

Bill de Haast.
[Col. W. D. de Haast, MBE]
Copy to: Colonel N. G. Jardine, ICD, OBE, TD, "Glen Rosa",
Kingsmead, P. O. Borrowdale
Lieutenant Colonel M. J. P. Garrett, P. O. Box 8023, Causeway.

Norman Jardine was the Honorary Colonel of the Rhodesia Regiment. Mike Garratt was the Commanding Officer of 1st Bt. RR, based at the Drill Hall in Salisbury.

On 15th May Bob replied thanking de Haast. Subsequently, Bob received an air letter card from Harris, which was delayed in the post because it had been erroneously addressed to St Steven's School, Bulawayo, instead of St Stephen's College, BallaBalla.

Dear Brigadier

I have just received a most welcome gift from the Rhodesian Army, in the person of Gen P. Walls—to wit—a bugle! as a replacement for the one I buried outside GSWA in 1914 [sic] because they were no longer used "in battle"! and we were just making contact with the boche. Moreover it was a darn nuisance rattling against my bayonet scabbard!

I hear that I am indebted to you for suggesting the gift to Walls and I am indeed grateful. It occupies a place of Honour amongst my relics in my study/museum in which I seem to be about the most dilapidated exhibit.

Sad news that the SA Orange is being withdrawn from service this winter, but under today's conditions of Oil Sheiks and overpaid sailors etc. I fear all such sea service will collapse as and when existing vessels age to their final survey.

Warm regards to you and your wife from us both.

Yrsvsy

Arthur T. Harris

In 2002 the military historian Alan Cooper recalled a 1978 visit to Harris at The Ferry House:

"Amongst the many souvenirs of his life was a bugle hanging on a hook. It had been given to him by the Rhodesia Regiment when they heard the story of how he had buried his … I had seen this many times but on this occasion I asked Sir Arthur if he had ever heard the bugle played. When he said no I asked if I may blow it. Looking slightly surprised he readily said yes. I then gave a few rousing bugle calls and having a low ceiling in the den it went all round the house. Jill later told me she had never heard it played. I wonder where that bugle is now 20 years on"[13].

Bugle and inscription

"Harris—Sir Arthur (Bomber). Marshal of the Royal Airforce, died in England, 5 April 1984, aged ninety one. One time Bugler in 1st Rhodesia Regiment, SWA 1915"[14].

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[13] www.bomber-command.info/coopdams.htm n.b. a photo of the bugle + inscription appear on his site.

[14] *The Herald*, 10th April 1984, p.13, col.2

Changed your e-mail address? Please notify our secretary at denjostephens@gmail.com.

Do you wish to comment on the layout and content of this edition? Write to the Editor at edkins@cwg.co.zw.

When making your Will you may wish to consider a bequest of Africana books and journals (or even a modest cash donation) to the History Society of Zimbabwe.

Memorable Moments and Humorous Historical Happenings

by Tim Tanser

The text of a talk by Tim Tanser to the History Society of Zimbabwe at the 2013 Annual Luncheon

It is a special honour for me to speak to you on this occasion, in this year in which we celebrate the 60th Anniversary of our History Society of Zimbabwe, formerly the Rhodesiana Society, on "Memorable Moments and Humorous Historical Happenings."

My roots, like many of you here, lie deeply embedded in this country.

My great-great-grandfather, John Skinner Cooksley and my great-great-grandmother came to Matabeleland in 1862, nearly 30 years before the Pioneer Column. My great-great-granny, Mary Cooksley, is said to have been the first white woman to see the famous Zimbabwe Ruins in 1867. Karl Mauch himself took her there in gratitude for her medical ministrations to him when he fell dangerously ill from malaria. One of my forebears, John Hellett, a member of the Shangani Patrol, died with Allan Wilson in 1893.

Above all, today I would like to honour my father, Tony Tanser. Dad, as a young and relatively inexperienced teacher from England, arrived at Salisbury Railway Station in 1926. He was transported by rickshaw to Prince Edward School, then known as the Salisbury Public Undenominational School. This was his first step in what became a highly successful career in the Government Education Department followed by many years as a City Councillor devoted to the citizens of Salisbury, climaxed by his becoming an Alderman thereafter Mayor of what was then aptly named "The Sunshine City".

Shortly after his arrival, Dad came upon a statue of Alfred Beit which was situated near the Polytechnic. Nearby was a small boy. Dad asked the boy, "Who was Alfred Beit?" The small boy replied, "He's some geezer in our history!" This was one of the less-enlightened responses which gave rise to Dad's investigations into Pioneer history, leading him to become the author of a good many books on the early days and into a lifetime love affair with his adopted country and particularly with his beloved Salisbury. So intense were his investigations that my dear Mum called herself an "archival widow."

This interest also led him to become one of the seven founder members of our Society in 1953. Dad was a committee member of the Society until he died in 1979. I first came on to the committee in 1975 and haven't been kicked off yet so, between us Dad and I have covered the entire 60 years of the existence of the Society. I am very proud of that. As Chairman of the Mashonaland Branch of the Society, Dad helped arrange many of the first outings, the first of which occurred in 1968.

I well remember the first outing at which I was to share the speaking with my Dad in 1972. That was to be a tour of the older parts of Salisbury. We arranged to have a

Lever Brothers' van with a fixed loud-hailer on the roof so that our talks could be heard from Pioneer Street all the way to Kingsway.

In those days, we always did several "recces" to ensure that all went according to plan on the day itself. On one occasion Dad and I were walking around Pioneer Street looking for the remnants of the Masonic Hotel when we were propositioned by a good number of the then-occupants of that part of town. (Rob Burrett calls them "ladies of negotiable affection"). Dad was highly amused and quite flattered.

One tour which stands out in my mind was that to the Lowveld. We chartered a plane for that event. Thanks to Colin Saunders, who was the legendary Lowveld doctor for many years, we were shown every aspect of the history of that extraordinary part of the country. On our return to the airport I wanted to make sure all of our flock had safely returned. As my wife Di and I were getting into our car to return home, I saw an elderly doctor who had been on our trip walking up and down the row of cars. I went up to him and asked if I could help. He told me he couldn't quite remember where he had left his car. I offered to help him find it and asked what kind of car it was. "I don't quite remember what make it is," the old doctor said, "but I do remember that it is grey in colour." I responded" "That's a good start but do you remember in what country it was manufactured?" "Ah yes," he said," it is a German car." Up and down the rows of cars I went with Di and the doctor. Time went by, dusk fell, and eventually we heard an elated yell. The doctor had found his vehicle. It was a red Japanese car.

Another wonderful outing was to the Chimanimani area. Many of you will remember with much fondness that great character, the photographer Ilo the Pirate. Ilo was married to a beautiful lady, Pauline Batticelli. Pauline was without Ilo on that Chimanimani trip. By some strange turn of fate, in spite of all communications with the hotel, Pauline found herself nominated to share a room with none other than our highly esteemed honorary member and confirmed bachelor, John Ford. To their credit, in order to maintain the honor and integrity of the History Society, both declared their respective sexes and each were re-allocated rooms.

On that same Chimanimani outing I recall a particular challenge I faced. I had been in communication with the manager of the Melsetter Hotel for many months. Lists of names had been submitted and the precise number of occupants for the weekend was known well in advance. Ninety of us sat down for dinner on the first evening. Following the saying of Grace, the kitchen doors opened and waiters appeared with plates of soup which they deposited before those closest to the kitchen. That happy band of brothers, about 10 in all, got stuck into their soup with vigour. The rest of us looked on hungrily. When no further waiters appeared I went to the kitchen. "Ah no, sir," I was told, "we only have 10 soup plates!" As you can imagine, the dinner was long drawn-out but, fortified by goodly quantities of wine and much humour, we all ate session by session. I then told the manager that we had a tight schedule and required the right quantity of crockery and cutlery for breakfast the following morning. How they did it I shall never know, but next morning bright and early, we had the widest selection of chipped enamel mugs, plastic plates, Spode and Wedgewood crockery and so forth, that one could ever imagine.

Where we sit, here in this magnificent room in this iconic hotel, we are but 100 metres and 120 years or so from many of the incidents which form the lattice work, the humour and the fire which characterised the early days of this city (and country).

Following its abandonment as a fort, Cecil Square, (as it was then named after Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister), became the centre of most activities over the following years.

It was the scene of a parade ground for the Imperial troops who were summoned to help put down what was then termed the Shona Rebellion.

Cricket matches were played on the square between teams called "The Colonials" and "Home-Born". "The delicate late cut executed by Monty Bowden, was lyrically described as "crisp as a blown kiss."

Numerous celebratory events were also held there including those to celebrate the Relief of Mafeking, when huge bonfires were lit in the square and on Salisbury Kopje, and Queen Victoria's birthday parade. The latter was memorable for the fact that a children's choir was assembled to sing rousing patriotic songs. One can imagine the boys in their Sunday best and little girls in their bows and ribbons and white dresses. As they were about to burst into a rapturous rendition of "Rule Britannia," the first of the 21 gun salutes roared forth. As it did so, the children's choir dissolved and the choristers fled left, right and centre with screams of anguish whilst their doting parents rushed in all directions to stem the floods of tears and fearful screams. When the band struck up a second time, the choir had disappeared.

Whilst shoring up the ramparts of what was to become Fort Salisbury, to the excitement of the pioneers, tracings of gold were detected. Gold was of course a significant feature in the occupation of this country around which fables abounded of Eldorado, King Solomon's Mines, the land of Ophir and the Queen of Sheba. Although all Pioneers were offered land, many of them eschewed that offer, at least initially, as they set out in many directions to find their fortunes in the yellow metal. Three stories punctuate the challenges of mining in those bygone days. Bill Upscher and Barberton Joe were but two of many legendary prospectors here in the early days. An initial requirement upon finding a trace of gold was to dig an exploratory shaft. Barberton Joe dug his shaft but to his consternation found fairly substantial quantities of water seeping into it. It became necessary for him to gauge whether or not a pump would be required, and to do this he needed to establish how quickly the water was flowing into the shaft. Joe may have had many good qualities, but learning a language other than English was not one of them.

Joe's vocabulary in dealing with his Shona labourers was restricted to two words: "Pezulu" signifying "up" and "Panzi" signifying "down".

Clinging tenaciously to a bucket lowered by his workers by windlass, Joe came upon water far sooner than expected. So great was his surprise that his knowledge of Chilapalapa became confused and he called up, "Panzi!" and was duly lowered further. A second cry of "Panzi!" elicited the same response. As the water came up to his chin, Joe gave a final despairing cry of "Panzi!" At this one of his workers lent over the shaft and called down to Barberton Joe, "Aiziko futi tambo", (there's no more rope), and Joe lived to dig yet more holes in the ground.

Bill Upscher's story was similar in that he too had sunk an exploratory shaft. Initial indications were promising so Bill decided to set some dynamite charges at the bottom of the shaft to extend the likelihood of gold-bearing rock. He too was lowered by windlass and, having reached the bottom, set the dynamite, primed it and lit the fuses.

Now Bill had a dastardly secret. He was bald but had acquired a black woolly toupe without which no one had ever seen him. In the stifling heat underground, unthinkingly, Bill removed his toupe and put it in his pocket. Having completed his task, Bill signalled to be lifted up. His workers strained at the windlass. Alas, having seen their employer disappear into the bowels of the earth with a full head of hair, suddenly they were confronted with the emergence of a bald shiny cranium. With a shout of "Umtagati!" (wizard), his workers fled in all directions. The handle of the windlass rotated at great speed and Bill Upscher plunged back into the abyss from which he had just emerged. To his great credit, although winded and bruised, Bill was able to pull out his clasp knife and, in the nick of time, cut the spluttering fuses.

In retelling the story later Bill admitted that, had he not been able to cut the fuses, he would have exited the hole a lot faster than when he went down it.

The third story involved one Billy Flint. Billy owned a stand not far from here, in Central Avenue, on which he was digging a well. In doing so, he came upon a reef carrying visible gold. All mining claims had to be registered at the Mining Commissioner's office during office hours. The offices were closed for the day but Billy couldn't conceal his excitement at his find and freely told of his good fortune at one or many of the numerous bars which proliferated hereabouts. His drinking companions slipped out and pegged before sunset, as legally they were allowed to do. Next morning, when Billy went to register his claim, he was at the back of a queue. After much remonstration, Flint was given first choice of a claim and for a while there was much feverish activity. The reef ran from Central Avenue in a north westerly direction and eventually "pinched out" around Selous Avenue. As the values became smaller, Billy Flint's gold mine ceased to operate.

Talking of the ramparts of the fort brings to mind one Bloomfield alias Spencer. Spencer was something of a hoodlum who had been sentenced to hard labour for some misdemeanour. In preparation for a Band performance by the Rhodesian Horse, it was decided to smarten up the ramparts around the Square and convicts, including Spencer, were detailed to this task. H. J. Deary, who eventually became Mayor of Salisbury, and who was the manager of the Tuli Trading Association, had ridden into town to see George Pauling, the famous engineer whose offices were adjacent to the square. Having dismounted from his horse, Deary threw the reins over the fence and went inside. Spencer worked his way towards the horse and, before the guards could intervene, leapt on it and headed east towards Umtali. En route he came upon clothes drying on a washing line and swapped his prison garb for civilian clothing. He eventually got to Mutare and then, having sold his horse, amazingly trekked by foot to Northern Rhodesia. There he was arrested. The cost of repatriation being so high, he was given a job in the Northern Rhodesian civil service.

Not all stories ended so happily. In 1893, Cecil Square, having been used for sport, parades and music, was the focus of a macabre event. Four transport riders outspanned at Matibi's halfway between Fort Tuli and Fort Victoria. An altercation took place, one Beeley was killed, and Louis Andries was arrested for his murder. A trial took place before Dr Leander Starr Jameson, who, having heard all the evidence, declared Andries guilty. "Prisoner at the bar," said Jameson, "you have been found guilty of murder. As a doctor it has always been my study and purpose to save life and now I am bound to take it away." He ordered Andries to be hanged by the neck until he was dead then, overcome by emotion, Jameson collapsed and had to be assisted from the court. A twenty-four foot high gallows was erected in the square and, on 17 April 1893, Louis Andries was hanged.

Very shortly thereafter another murder took place when "Zulu Jim" murdered four members of the Grady family near Marandellas. He was hunted down and arrested. As soon as it was known he was captured, a crowd collected and there was talk of a lynching. The local baker, one Brenin, seized a coil of rope from Meikles Store for this purpose. Jim was hastily moved from place to place and the mob became more and more incensed. Once again, enter Dr Jameson. He quickly assessed the situation and, by telling them that the country was expecting a boom and that if it were seen there was no respect for law and order there would be no boom, calmed them down. "Jim has got to have a fair trial; however guilty he may be, let the law take its course," the good doctor declared. The crowd however demanded an assurance from Jameson. He boldly declared, "If we don't hang Jim, you can hang me. Now I suggest we go to the Masonic and have drinks all round."

The rope lay forgotten in the dust, but Meikles sent a bill to baker Brenin who sent it to the BSA Company for payment. Three days later, before Dr Jameson and four assessors, Jim was sentenced to death. The verdict had first to be confirmed by Sir Henry Loch, the British High Commissioner in Cape Town and six weeks after the murders, on the 3rd May 1893, Jim was publicly hanged on the same gallows erected for Andries.

On a more convivial note, in 1906, Pagel's Circus came to town. A large marquee was erected on the south side of Cecil Square. Mr Pagel was a man of exceptional strength. Two ladders would be raised parallel within a metre or so of each other. Pagel, with a halter round his neck, would then straddle the two ladders and start to climb them. The other end of the halter would be placed around a horse which Pagel would then lift off the ground much to the" oohs" and "aahs" of the spectators. Another of his feats was to stand with arms folded whilst two horses, straining in different directions, failed to break his hold.

However, Mr Pagel, it must be said, was no match for Mrs. Pagel. She had the reputation of never giving change. If entry was a tickey and you gave her half-a-crown, that was the last you saw of your money, and nobody ever dared complain. Mrs. Pagel was the lion-tamer. Her act was to wrestle with a lion and eventually "pin it" to the ground. She would put her head into the lion's mouth then kiss it on the head. On one occasion, to the disgust of some but the amusement of most, she lifted the lion's tail and pretended to kiss it other than on its head.

A year later, in 1907, the circus returned, this time with Burmese elephants. Mr Pagel was the elephant trainer. On one occasion, obviously hot and thirsty after a hard day's work, he took off for the Empire Bar for a drink with his pals. He did not worry to look after the needs of his elephants. The elephants were also hot and thirsty and so made their way to the well at the north west corner of the square, diagonally opposite Standard Chartered Bank today. They ripped up piping and, although they could smell the water, they could not get at it. Their enraged squealing brought Mrs Pagel into action. Having corralled the elephants and fed and watered them, she set off to locate her husband. Finding him at the Empire Bar she hauled him out by his ear and pursued him through the square, cracking her lion-tamer's whip after him all the while.

I would like to conclude with yet another drinking story.

In 1894, electricity had not yet been laid. Two bachelor friends would meet alternately at each of their respective huts once a week for a meal and a few drinks. Here, much as today, they would discuss events of the week, criticise the government and generally chat away until their bottle of "Square Face" gin was finished. After one such night, he who had been the guest picked up his lantern and staggered his way home. Next morning he who had been host was awakened by a knock at his door. He blearily opened the door to find his friend's domestic worker with a note which read "Dear Jim, I think I left my hurricane lamp at your hut last night. Please send it back by bearer. Yours, George. PS I am returning the cage with your parrot."

Ladies and gentlemen, although I have spoken of light-hearted matters, things in those early days were extremely tough. Indeed, those who followed have never been without challenges in this country.

What the pioneers and early settlers and all the other folk who helped develop this country achieved through their courage and resilience laid the foundations for many more remarkable achievements over the past 123 years.

T. F. M. Tanser – 13 October 2013

Talks and Outings

Undertaken by The Rhodesiana Society
(September 1953–April 1979)
and by the History Society of Zimbabwe
(since 26 October 1980)

by Tim Tanser

Date	**Subject/Outing** (Speakers in Parentheses)
1953	
2 September	Early Hunters in Africa (Major W. R. Foran)
18 October	New light on Dr Livingstone (B. W. Lloyd)
1954	
4 July	Bushman Art (Mrs E. Goodall)
3 November	Northern Rhodesiana (W. V. Brelsford)
1958	
14 March	Norton District in the Mashonaland Rebellion (Col A. S. Hickman)
1959	
24 July	Representatives of the Ancient Yellow Races of Africa in Southern Rhodesia (T. R. Trevor Jones)
1960	
	The Documentation of Mozambique and Rhodesia (500–1830) (T. W. Bazter)
1964	
26 August	Film: “*Harare: the story of Salisbury*,” (Dr R. C. Howland). Film: “*Southern Rhodesia is this your Country?*” (Gaumont British).
2 September	Tour of the National Archives of Rhodesia, led by the Director.
1965	
25 February	Britain and Rhodesia 1888–1898, (R. Brown).
30 June	African History Prior to 1870, (E. C. Tabler).
18 November	Film: “*The Changing Face of Salisbury*,” (Dr R. C. Howland).
18 November	The Story of Highlands, (G. H. Tanser).
2 December	Bringing Mendelssohn up-to-date, (D. H. Varley).
1966	
17 June	Rhodesia in Books: from the Arabs to 1890, (E. E. Burke).
13 October	Film: “*Heroism at Mazoe*”, (Dr R. C. Howland).

1967

23 November	Film: "*The Pioneers*", (Dr R. C. Howland). Talk: The History of Nursing in Rhodesia, (Professor M. Gelfand).

1968

21 April	City Tour: The Kopje Club, The Market Hall, The Kopje, Ranche House, The First Jacaranda, The Residency, Government House, Old Salisbury Hospital and Jameson House (G. H. Tanser and Dr R. C. Howland).

1969

19 March	Some films of Historical Interest (Dr R. C. Howland and E. Burke).
18 May	City Tour.
28 September	Hartley Hills (J. Bowen).

1970

26 July	Fort Martin/Norton area (G. H. Tanser). 70 cars with 250 members attended. Brochures to commemorate the event were sold at 10c per brochure.

1971

20 June	Alice Mine and Scene of Mazoe Patrol Action (Dr R. C. Howland).
26 September	City Tour: The Market Hall, The Transport Camp, The First Jacaranda Tree, The Drill Hall, Girls High School, Cecil House, Jameson House (G. H. Tanser).

1972

29 October	Train Trip through Mazoe Valley to Glendale, talks at Selby (G. H. Tanser), Glendale (T. W. Baxter), Jumbo (R. Franks), Concession (T. W. Kennedy-Grant).

1973

23 September	Fort Haynes and Makoni's Kraal.
18 November	Coach trip along Manica Road.

1974

12 May	Tour of Parliament to celebrate 50th Anniversary of Parliament.
25 June	Films: "*No mean City*", "*50 years of Parliament*", "*Sterling Pioneers*".
28 July	Chishawasha (Fr Rea, Col A. S. Hickman and Messrs G. H. Tanser, R. Turner and E. Burke).
21/22 September	Zimbabwe Ruins and Morgenster Mission.

1975

10 August	Harare Town Walk (Messrs G. H. and T. Tanser and W. D. Gale).
16 September –14 October	National Historical Association Exhibition at the National Gallery.

1976

29/30 May	Fort Gibbs, Nalatale Ruins, Bonko Battle Site and Iron Mine Hill, (Major B. Davie, Dr T. Huffman and G. H. Tanser).
19 September	Manica Road Walk (Messrs G. H. and T. Tanser and E. Burke).

1977

18 September	Salisbury Kopje. Talks on suburbs referred to on the Toposcope, Mt Hampden (G. H. Tanser), Marlborough and Mabelreign (W. D. Gale), Avondale (Mrs John) and Waterfalls (Mrs Izzett).

1978

19 February	Talks on Northern Suburbs. Mt Pleasant (G. H. Tanser), Highlands, (T. Tanser), Borrowdale, (R. C. Smith), Hillside, (Mrs R. Henshall).
8–12 May	Silver Jubilee Symposium Talks: The Monomatapa Period followed by the rise of the Rozwe (J. K. Latham), The Explorations of the Portuguese and the spread of the Portuguese influence (Dr R. Dickenson), 19th Century Hunters and Explorers (E. Burke), The Administrators (G. Storry), The Settlers (G. H. Tanser). These talks were all published in an occasional paper following The Silver Jubilee.
12–14 May	Silver Jubilee Celebrations: Retreat Ceremony at Government House.
14 May	Silver Jubilee-Steam train journey Salisbury–Bromley/Melfort–Marandellas (G. H. Tanser, M. J. Kimberley, His Worship the Mayor of Marandellas Councillor N. G. Eades, Senator N. J. Brendon). The train carried 550 members of the Society and their guests—this constituted an all time record attendance for a Society function.
27 September	The Life of Major F. R. Burnham (J. P. Lott).

1979

27 February	Historic films from the National Archives, "*Finders Keepers*", "*What a Time*", "Baden Powell" and "*Thomas Baines*".
30 September	St George's College (Fr W. F. Rea).
November	Talks on Northern Suburbs: Rhodesville (J. H. G. Robertson), Milton Park (Mrs J. Honey), Hillside (Mrs R. Henshaw).

1980

13 April	*Rhodes of Africa* film at Vistarama Cinema, Avondale.
26 October	City Tour (Cecil House, Chaplin Building, etc).

1981

4 March	Film show: "*The 1947 Royal Tour of Rhodesia*", "*Livingstone's River*" presented by Sir David Attenborough.
31 May	Police Camp Morris Depot, Officers Mess (Supt Piggott, Assistant Commissioner, W. R. Buchanan, Messrs Ashwin and Spencer-Cooke).
18 October	Lekkerwater Ruins (Tsindi), Theydon, Bernard Mzeki's Shrine and Ruzawi School (Dr R. Rickenson, Dr P. Grant, and R. Brooker).

1982

5 July	Beatrice, Joyce Mine and Didcott Ruins (Messrs J. Fleming, N. Levine, and Mrs P. Izzett).
1 August	City Tour: (Lonrho Building, Parliament, Stables, Prime Minister's Office, Administrative Court, Mother Patrick's mortuary, Roman Catholic Cathedral and Cecil House (Messrs Spencer-Cooke and T. Tanser).
26 September	Goromonzi, Fort Harding (Messrs R. Wood and R. Franks).

1983

24 July	Fort Martin and Hartley Hills (Dr D. Beach and J. Bowen).
	Mutoko area and Mutemwa Cave (Messrs R. Wood and P. Garlake).
4 September	Arcturus, Bunga Forst, Chishawasha (S. Carey, R. W. Petheram, Fr Davies SJ).

1984

20 May	Henderson Research Station and adjacent granite hills including Mbuya Nehanda's area.
7/8 July	Lowveld, Murray MacDougall's House and Museum, The Water Works, Sugar Mill, Ethanol Plant, Ginnery, Tunnel and Syphon and Game Ranch (Drs C. Saunders and J. Wilson, R. Sparrow). Travel was by Chartered Air Zimbabwe Flight.
30 September	Shamva (Mrs E. A. Logan, Messrs A. Blick, R. Morkel, A. Ewing and Mrs Pope).

1985

January	Film show on the construction of Kariba Dam (I. Shand).
10 March	Train trip from Harare to Glendale via Jumbo and Concession (Messrs P. Garlake, R. Franks, R. Wood and H. L. Rosettenstein).

19 May	Castle Kopje Wedza (Archeological diggings and San paintings).
14 July	Ewanrigg (Messrs Buckland and M. J. Kimberley).
8 September	Chinhamora and Masembura (Messrs P. Garlake, A. M. Rosettenstein and R. Franks).
4–6 October	Bulawayo and Matopos, including Laing's Battlefield, World's View, Pomongwe Cave, Research Station, Reps School and Nswatugi Cave (Messrs R. Rudd, L. Bolze, M. Whiley and R. Stephens, Mrs Waddy and Mrs Daines).

1986

19/20 September	Nyanga, Colonial history, Nyangwe Ruins Agricultural Research Station (Messrs R. W. Petheram, M. J. Kimberley, B. Payne, J. Thokosani, and Miss H. Forbes).
18 May	Hunyani Poort Dam and Norton graves and Arboretum (Messrs R. Wood, I. Shand and R. W. Petheram).
3 August	Mvurwi, Mutorashanga, Getrude Page's Grave, Dawsons, Palm Block (Messrs J. Ford, R. Hurlbatt, R. Light, M. Dawson, P. Haxen, G. Douglas and Mrs Bamber).
16 November	Goromonzi (Messrs R. Wood and J. Ford).

1987

17 May	Mazowe area, Alice Mine, Stori's Golden Shaft Mine, Fort Alderson (Messrs R. Wood, R. Franks and T. Tanser).
26 July	Mt Hampden, St Francis Chapel, Danbury Farm, (Messrs T. Bayley, A. M. Rosettenstein and Mrs B. Bayley and Mrs M. Marcou).
11–13 September	Mutare (Utopia, Kopje House, Mutare Museum, Premier Estate, Old Mutare, La Rochelle, Penhalonga, Mutare Club, Meikle House).

1988

26 June	Enterprise area (Mr and Mrs Mackintosh, and Mr and Mrs Carey and Messrs N. W. S. Wingfield, P. Lombard and Howson).
30/31 July	Masvingo, Great Zimbabwe and Lake Kyle (Messrs P. Garlake and M. Lotter).
2 October	Lowdale, Glenara Estate and Source of Mazowe River (Messrs D. Parkin and M. Townsend).
2 February	Rhodesian Postal History (C. Russell).
5 March	Siswa Kopje (Messrs C. Lloyd and R. Wood).
21 May	Mukwadzi, Ayrshire Mine, Eyres Pass and Mazwikadei Dam (Messrs D. Bowen, R. Burrett, L. Perry, D. Collett and P. Lapham).
30 July	Bernard Mzeki Shrine, Tsindi Ruins and Ruzawi School (Drs J. Clatworthy and R. Dickinson and R. Brooker).

23/24 September	Van Der Byl Cairn, Fort Haynes, Harlech Ruins, Diana's Vow and Makoni's Kraal (Messrs T. Tanser, J. Bousfield, D. C. Munch and P. Garlake).
5 November	Town walk along Manica Road, Kingsway, Stanley Avenue, First Street, Baker Avenue, and Third Street (Messrs P. Jackson and T. Tanser).
1990	
19 February	Karl Mauch Video.
26 March	BSA Company Stamps (J. Landau). Fort Charter, Waddilove Mission and Pioneer Cemetery, (Messrs D. Worthington, C. Lloyd, Rev. G. Malaba and Dr J. Clatworthy).
29 July	Mount Hampden and Rhodes (R. Wood), Selous (J. Ford) and The Pioneer Column (T. Tanser).
27–30 September	Chimanimani, Melsetter, Mt Selinda, Thomas Moodie Memorial (Messrs H. DeBruijn, R. Fennell, Webster, P. Edwards, and R. Wood).
1991	
	The History of the Jewish Community (V. Levey).
19 May	Kadoma, Chakari, John Mack Library and Museum, Cam and Motor Mine and Cotton Research Board (Mrs. Kemple, Messrs M. Tracey, Milburn, Black, A. Prentice and P. Sternberg).
24 March	Town walk to Legislative Assembly/Cecil Hotel, BSA Company building, Presidents office, The Stables, the Administrative Court, Mother Patrick's Mortuary, Earl Grey Building, Old Salisbury Hospital Site, Dominican Convent, Catholic Cathedral and Cecil House (Messrs P. Jackson and T. Tanser).
12–14 July	Kariba, its planning and construction, Operation Noah (Messrs G. Woods, Garrett, R. Woolacott and I. Shand, Dr J. Condy and Prof. Magadza).
4 September	Talk by Lord Blake on his experiences while researching his book "*The History of Rhodesia*".
October	National Archives and Rumbavu Park (Mrs D. Charteris, Messrs I. Johnston, K. Regan, A. M. Rosettenstein, and I. Ross).
11 November	Early Engineering (Y. Craster).
1992	
16 March	Video taken by Mr. P. Rooney who had been the treasurer of the BSA Company covering special events between 1935 and 1950.
11 May	Trees of historical interest (L. Mullin).
	"Spook" house (Dr B. Williams), The Old Cleveland homestead (Mrs A. Andersen), Ballyhooley Hotel (R. Burrett and J. Tennant), Ruwa Scout Park (K. Nortje).

5/6 September	Banket, Chinhoyi Country Club (I. Flanagan), Eldorado Mine (R. Burrett), Ayrshire Club and Gwina Farm (P. Nicholle, Mrs B. Graves).
28 September	Historical trees (Messrs L. Mullin and D. Hartung)
	Commemoration of Meikles' Hundredth Anniversary (J. Meikle). Attended by 280–300 people.
	"Simply Social" outing to Eaglesvale School (J. Bousfield).

1993

	Aviation History in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe (W. Sykes).
6 June	Headlands, Ruzawi School, Lewis Store and Tara Club (Dr J. Clatworthy, Messrs A. Locke, R. Dawson and A. Fischer).
20 July	Civil Aviation (J. Madders).
1 August	"Countess Billie" Avondale Ridge (Messrs R. Isaacson and T. Tanser).
25–26 September	Iron Mine Hill meeting place of the two Columns, Fort Gibbs, Shangani Battle Site, Gweru Military Museum, Nalatale Ruins (Messrs T. Tanser, D. Grant, M. Whiley, G. T. Bain, R. Burrett and P. Mavros).
2 November	Armoured Vehicles in Rhodesia (P. Locke).
5 December	Chedgelow Farm with the Tree Society of Zimbabwe (T. Tanser and A. McNaughton).

1994

27 February	Talk on aviation history (Messrs P. Cooke and R. W. J. Sykes).
24 April	Mrewa, Zhombgwe Kopje, Gumbariwe Cave and Mtoko (Messrs R. Wood and C. Lloyd).
17 July	Town walk along Manica Road (Messrs P. Jackson and J. McCarthy).
23 August	Coins (P. Locke).
18 September	Felixburg, Gutu and Driefontein Mission (Messrs K. Harvey, A. M. Rosettenstein and Fr Plangger).
8 November	Video on Cape to Cairo Railway.
11 December	Lilfordia School (I. Campbell).

1995

7 March	The History of Rhodesian African Rifles, (W. Ferris, Col K. Busby).
26–28 May	Bulawayo Club, Marula, The Rosenfels Family, Fort Mangwe, John Lee's house, ride on ox wagon on Glenmore, (Messrs R. Rudd, M. Rosenfels, M. Whiley, R. Wood, T. Tanser and J. McCarthy, Mrs L. Campbell granddaughter of John Lee, and Mrs Coulson).
1 July	Rhodesian Anti Tank Batter (W. Krog).

29–30 July	Centenary area, fortification on Mr. de la Farge's Farm, Mavuradonha Wilderness area, Mutoto Site and Portuguese Fort (Mrs V. Price, Messrs A. Masterson, de la Farge and C. Lloyd).
31 October	Boer War Video.
19 December	Anglo American Archives (Messrs R. Lander and J. McCarthy).

1996

20 February	Broadcasting vignettes (M. Hamilton).
19 May	Gatzi Kraal, Tsindi Ruins and Bernard Mzeki's shrine (Messrs R. Wood and J. McCarthy).
26 May	St George's College (J. McCarthy).
30 July	Zulu War video.
1 September	Mashayamombe's Kraal and Fort Martin (Dr D. Beach).
28–29 September	Falcon College, Esigodini, Fort Umlugulu, Selous House, The Great Indaba Site, Southern Matopos (Messrs D. Grant, E. Marais, T. Tanser, C. Aust).
8 December	Resthaven (Mrs T. Duguid).

1997

4 March	First World War video (Part 1).
23 June	First World War video (Part 2).
27 July	Pioneer Cemetery, Harare (Mr K. Martin).
22–24 August	Nyanga, Nyahokwe, Ziwa, Dutch Settlement Road, Elim Mission, Muozi Mountain (Messrs. P. Stidolph and T. Tanser).
11 November	Nyanga Pre-History talk (Dr Soper).
8 February	Chishawasha Mission and Lion Stevens Grave, (together with Church Music Society) (Messrs P. Joyce, A. M. Rosettenstein, P. Jackson, J. McCarthy, K. Martin, Fr G. Hipler SJ).

1998

29 March	Mazowe Valley, Mazowe Citrus Estate, Manzou Game Park and Mazowe Dam (Messrs N. Fawcett, J. McCarthy).
1–2 May	Gweru, Shurugwi and Peak Mine (Dr C. Saunders, Messrs. G. A. MacDonald, R. Burrett, I. D. Smith and T. Dollar). Video "*Behind an African Mask*".
21 July	Hindu Temple outing (Messrs F. Edkins, J. Patel, V. Patel and D. Bhana).
1 September	Book Collecting (K. Kirkman).
20 September	Ngomakurira (R. Wood).
24 October	AvOndale Church and Church yard and Avondale Subur (together with Church Music Association) (Messrs T. Tanser, K. Martin, J. McCarthy and P. Joyce). 450–500 people attended.

1999

28 March	Reps Theatre (Mrs D. Leslie, K. Martin).
18 May	Rhodesiana Book Collecting (K. Kirkman).
30 May	Blackfordby (Messrs. L. Southey and D. Baxter).

25–27 June	Chiredzi, The Lowveld, Tom Macdougal's Syphon (Drs C. Saunders, J. Wilson, Messrs A. Bosch, C. Wenman, R. Booth, C. Style, A. Ahearm, M. Whiley, C. Stockil).
12 September	Mutemwa Leper Settlement (Mrs D. Mitchell, A. Whaley and Fr Dove).
3 August	Video BBC Documentary: "Rebellion"—History of UDI.
30 October	Rhodesville Church (together with Church Music Society) (Dr Bob Williams, Mrs M. Paul, P. Joyce).
5 December	Prince Edward School, The Centenary (Messrs A. Siemers, D. Morgan, G. Osterberg, S. Whaley, K. Atikinson).

2000

29 February	Video Anglo/Boer War Centenary.
23 September	History of the Show Society and Garden Expo (Messrs R. Taylor, C. G. Tracey).
17 October	Talk on Boer War Battlefields (J. Anderson).
7 November	SABC video on the Anglo/Boer War.
21 November	Kenneth Griffith's video on the Anglo Boer War.
3 December	Harare Botanical Gardens and Alexandra Park (Dr T. Muller).

2001

6 May	History of Meikles Hotel (Dr N. Atkinson and Miss J. Fleming).
21 July	Visit to the City Presbyterian Church (Miss L. Perold, Rev. M. Chigwida and Rev. Chikoma with Mr W. C. Auchterlonie as Organist). Visit to the Dutch Reformed Church (Miss M. de Bruijn with Fr D. McConkey as organist).
9 September	Talk on Ridgebacks (Ms L. Da Costa), Ballantyne Park, Weapons (D. Heath), Early Hunters (A. Friend).
22/23 September	Chivero National Park (Messrs G.W. Longley (dam), M. Whiley (wagons), D. Tredgold (history), L. Mullin (trees), M. Hyde (plants), A. Masterson (birds), Dr B. Child (mammals), R. Wood (Norton Murders), A. M. Cowan (butterflies), Mrs B. Whaley (H. South), Mrs A. Sinclair) (Norton)).
13 November	Video: History of the Royal Air Force.
9 December	Cricket (Messrs D. Houghton and A. Pichanick).

2002

5 May	Jewish Synagogue and History of the Jewish Community (Messrs R. Wood, I. Davis, A. Pollack).
25 June	Video: *History of the Royal Air Force* (Part 2).
11/12 October	Mutare/Penhalonga, La Rochelle (Messrs C. Kavanagh, P. Greeve, K. Went, B. Chadder, K. Martin, J. Meikle, J. Cinnamon, Dr C. Saunders, Mrs T. Rogers) and the National Trust of Zimbabwe Film "*The Last Shangrila*" about Sir Stephen and Lady Virginia Courtauld.

8 December	Arundel School (Mrs D. Twiss, Mrs G. Alcock).

2003

February	Heraldry.
18 May	History of the Greek Community (John Travlos).
27 July	History of the Forestry Industry (Lyn Mullin, Dr Mureriwa).
18 November	Khumalo Dynasty (Prof. Ray Roberts).
December	History of the Breweries (Peter Sternberg).

2004

23 June	Lobengula—the Burial and the Treasure (Prof. Ray Roberts).
27 June	Cleveland Dam, Haka Park (Richard Wood, John Jackson (Vintage Car Club)).
8 September	World War II video (Peter Sternberg).
26 September	Chivero National Park (Graham Childes, Stuart Hargreaves, John Hargrove, Mrl. Nysshens).
10 October	Dominican Convent (Sister Ferreira).
5 December	Chisipite School (Messrs Howard, Robinson, Anna McCarthy).

2005

9 February	Mazoe Patrol (Richard Wood).
9 March	Beira (Jack Bennett).
13 April	Wagons and Transport Riders (Mike Whiley).
11 May	Railways (Robin Taylor).
15 June	Rhodesia Air Training Group (Ian Imray).
13 July	Old Newsreels (film show) (Peter Sternberg).
14 August	60th Anniversary of the end of WWII (P. Ellis, Sam Whaley, M. Kock, Alan Addison, B. Walsh, B. Copeman, Babs Naim, Rachel Hanan).
26 October	The Moffat Family (Tim Tanser).
4 December	David Livingstone (Russell Gammon).

2006

17 January	History of the University (UZ) (Prof. Norman Atkinson).
16 February	Livingstone (Rob MacKenzie).
9 April	Maize Growing (Mike Caulfield).
4 May	'Land of Rhodes' (Peter Sternberg).
18 May	Medals (Peter Munday).
11 June	Chipuku Caves (Alex Masterson).
27 July	Morgenster Mission (Louw family) (Dr Conrad Brand).
24 September	Agricultural Research (Dr. Gerry Grant) and ART Farm (Richard Wingfield).
26 October	Margolis Family and Olivine Industry (Rory Beattie).
3 December	Rhodes Scholars (David Morgan).
7 December	Robert Paul (Collette Miles).

2007

25 January	Dr Dyson Blair (Dr Rob Blair).
22 February	Jack Malloch (Bill Sykes).
26 April	Tsetse Fly Control (Mike Saunders).
31 May	Elephants (Charlie Mackie).
24/25 July	Anglo-Zulu War (Isandlwana and Rorkes Drift)(Rob Caskie).
30 September	Chipuku Caves (Outing).
25 October	Peter Lobengula (Zulu and Ndebele Imposters)(Prof. Ray Roberts).
9 December	Borrowdale Racecourse (Richard Wood, Mrs Draper and Brian Black).

2008

28 February	History of Locomotive Development (Robin Taylor).
15 May	Birds and Birding Characters (Alex Masterson).
13 July	My Involvement in the Olympics (Mark Manolios).
24 July	Inyanga Pre-history (Ann Kritzinger).
6 November	Lewis Hastings (Prof. Ray Roberts).
7 December	Duly Enterprises (Bryan Duly).

2009

2 April	Rhodesian Native Regiment (David Rockingham-Gill).
7 May	Civilian Gallantry Awards in C. Africa (Bob Challiss).
18 June	Memorable Days in the Life of Dr. Colin Saunders (Colin Saunders).
17 September	Schools Exploration Society (Alex Siemers, Peter De Bruijn).
7 December	Bomber Harris the Rhodesian (Bill Sykes).

2010

28 January	The Rule Family (Bob Challiss).
18 February	The Anglo-South African War in Rhodesia and Bechuanaland 1899–1902 (Rob Burrett).
25 March	Zambezi Mission (Prof. Ray Roberts).
9 May	The Commercial Exploitation of Lake Kariba (Rob Beaton) and Kariba Ferries (Alan Harris).
20 June	REPS 80th Anniversary.
22 July	Achievements of the Greek Community (John Travlos).
9/10 August	Anglo-Zulu War (Rob Caskie).
9 September	Geological Survey Department 100th Anniversary (Tim Broderick).
14 October	Dick Petheram (Edone Ann Logan, Jill Frow).
28 November	‘Flight of the Silver Queen’ (Bill Sykes, Brenda Brand).

2011

17 February	Chimanimani (Marie De Bruijn).
9 June	Muriel Rosin (Ushehwedu Kufakurinani).
14 July	History of Aviation Mapping (Mike Ward).
22 September	Fairbridge Boy (Frank Webster).

20 October	Chivhu (Athol Wormald).
10 November	Louis Bolze and Books of Rhodesia (Paul Hubbard).
27 November	Mysteries of the Past (Paul Stidolph).

2012

26 January	The Greek Community in Chinhoyi (Peter Dilmitis).
23 February	History of Kariba Fresh Water Fish Biology (Prof. Chris Magadza).
17 May	Italian and German PoWs and Internees (Emillio Coccia).
7 June	Computers and their Development in Zimbabwe (Geoff Fairall).
28 June	History of Golf in Zimbabwe (John Kelley).
6 September	Edward Arthur Maund (Prof. Ray Roberts).
18 November	The Demise of the Zimbabwe Dollar (John Robertson).

2013

7 February	The Place of Suffering—Bulawayo at 120 (Paul Hubbard).
28 April	Resettled Batonka People of Zimbabwe after the filling of Lake Kariba (Ben Kaschula).
26 May	Centenary of the Opening of Cleveland Dam (Robin Taylor) in conjunction with His Worship the Mayor of the City of Harare, Mr M. A. S. Masunda, and Tony Alegria of The Bird Life Society, and Mark Hyde of The Tree Society of Zimbabwe.
7 July	Colonel Don Grainger (Dr Ines Grainger with Tim Tanser assisting).
4 August	History of Tanganda Tea Estate (James Ward).
29 September	Outward Bound (David Meikle).
24 November	The Shangani Patrol (Paul Hubbard).

2014

26 January	Community Development Section (Women) in the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the war years (Maia Chenaux-Repond).

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