HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

PUBLICATION NO. 33 2014

HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 33 — 2014

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe

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- ☆ The Society encourages all readers and their friends and colleagues to enrol as members.
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- ☆ Outings to sites of interest with talks on related subjects and a national annual luncheon are part of the organised activities offered to members.
- ☆ The Society encourages historical study and research; and endeavours to record in interesting form the story of Zimbabwe in *Heritage of Zimbabwe,* the only publication devoted exclusively to this purpose.
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- ☆ *Heritage of Zimbabwe* is published once a year and copies may be purchased by members from the Society. The articles will appeal to Zimbabweans as well as people beyond our borders who seek to understand our country.
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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

For further information please write to the National Honorary Secretary at P.O. Box CY35, Causeway, Zimbabwe or e-mail him at denjostephens@gmail.com

HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE is the journal of The History Society of Zimbabwe since 1980. It replaces *RHODESIANA* which from 1953 was the journal of The Rhodesiana Society which Society absorbed the National Historical Association and Heritage of the Nation, and later became the History Society of Zimbabwe.

Edited by

FRASER EDKINS

Authors are responsible for their own opinions and for the accuracy of statements they make

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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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For Heritage issues 29–33 write to: edkins@cwg.co.zw

For other back issues write to Jono Waters at mcc@yoafrica.com

Every single edition of *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (73 in all) and an updated index of *Heritage* will be available online when the Society website goes into operation in the near future.

Editor's Foreword

This 33rd edition of Heritage of Zimbabwe commences with a tribute to Mike Kimberley, the longest serving member of the History Society of Zimbabwe, an expert on the history of our country and on all manner of "prickly plants". Secretary of the Society for many years (in which he increased the membership five-fold) and Editor of this journal for a quarter of a century, he is the proverbial "hard act to follow" and it is hoped that he can be tempted out of retirement to resume that editorship "at his earliest convenience".

Professor Ray Roberts provides an interesting article on Frederick Carrington and his daughter (to which there will be a sequel in Heritage No. 34).

First time contributor Ben Kaschula dispels the notion that the relocation of the Batonka people (with the creation of Lake Kariba) left them economically marginalized and generally disadvantaged.

Regular contributor Rob Burrett shares his find of old photographs of the Tuli area.

The short article by your Editor records some of the first steps taken by the Southern Rhodesian Government in 1914 to deal with the possible impact on the colony of the outbreak one hundred years ago of the First World War (and Robin Taylor's contribution describes the little known, and the first ever, military confrontation with Germany by troops of this country in the Caprivi strip in that first year of the war).

Peter Fey endows our journal with two excellent articles on the mineralogy of our country (and in a third discloses some most interesting details of his family's internment in Southern Rhodesia in the Second World War).

Dr Ines Grainger pays tribute to her late husband, Don Grainger, a remarkable man with a wonderful record of service to Zimbabwe.

John McCarthy records the official historic buildings list and reminds us of the importance of their preservation.

Rob Burrett gives further insight to the burial of Rhodes in his edited reproduction of a note by one who was there.

Jonathan Waters recounts the career of Vernon Brelsford (the editor of 23 volumes of our predecessor journal) and gives a most detailed account of the genesis of Lusaka. In a third article, the prolific Jonathan describes the final resting places of four significant personalities involved in the early history of our country.

Robin Taylor reminds us of the "meat-safes" and wood stoves commonly in use not too long ago.

Bill Sykes contributes a fascinating article on the epic solo air journey by C E R Payne in 1933 from England to Salisbury.

This theme is continued in Peter Sternberg's superb account of the very first Air Rally in Southern Rhodesia in 1936.

James Ward describes the opening up of the Tanganda tea estates by his grandfather in 1909, and Ian Johnstone ponders the eventual fate of Harry Grant, an early settler.

Richard Wood provides an interesting story on H. H. Castens ("the cricketing Lawyer").

Paul Hubbard's account of the founding years of Bulawayo, following the defeat of Lobengula in 1893, provides much interesting information.

Your editor's article on the jury system and two short book reviews by Paul Hubbard conclude this year's journal.

I extend my grateful thanks to Rhona Sargeant (our typesetter) for her sterling work in putting this journal together.

I hope that all will find something of interest in this publication.

F. A. Edkins
Editor, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*
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A Tribute to Michael John Kimberley

by Robin Taylor and Chris Kimberley

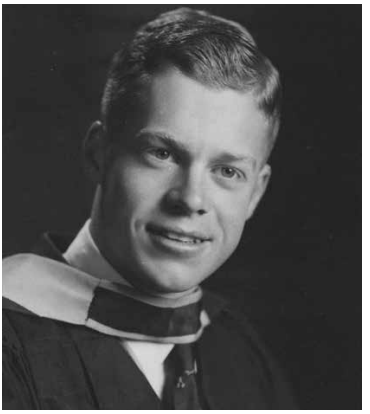
Michael John Kimberley was born in Gweru on 2 May 1934, his father working in the Postal Service and his grandfather T. G. Chalmers being an 1895 Pioneer.

Michael was educated at Milton Junior School in Bulawayo and Kingswood College, a Methodist private secondary school in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape of South Africa, where he matriculated in 1950. He subsequently attended the University of the Witwatersrand where he graduated in Arts and Law. While at Wits, Michael was elected President of the Students Representative Council, the first person from this country to hold that office. In 1955, while still at university, Michael joined the then Rhodesiana Society and, because he was an impecunious student, the National Executive Committee took the farsighted decision to waive his membership subscription. What a good investment in the future of the Society that decision turned out to be. This makes Michael the longest serving member of the History Society of Zimbabwe.

1935 aged 18 months

In 1960 he began his legal career by joining the staff of the Federal Government Attorney General's Office as a Law Officer/Crown Counsel. When the Federation broke

1940s pre-teenager



Circa 1957 aged 23 at University of Witwatersrand

1968 Mike Kimberley with wife Rose and children Christopher and Richard when he was aged 34

1978 aged 44, with Rose

1987 aged 53

2009 aged 75

up at the end of 1963 Michael became Legal Advisor to the City of Salisbury. In 1975 he joined the Electricity Supply Commission as Legal Advisor and was appointed Secretary to the Commission in 1978. In 1993 he joined the long established law firm of Honey and Blanckenberg, becoming in due course a partner and later a consultant, until he retired in late 2013.

Michael's enthusiasm and ability were soon recognized and in January 1962 he became Secretary of the Rhodesiana Society, forerunner of the History Society of Zimbabwe. He served in that position for eleven years. During his period of office membership rose from under 200 to over 1000.

2 May 2014—photo taken on his 80th birthday

He held the office of Mashonaland Branch Chairman from 1975–1977 and National Chairman from March 1977 until 1979. Michael has continued to serve the Society as a member of the National Committee up to the present time.

In 1976 Michael Kimberley was awarded the Society's Gold Medal for his outstanding contributions towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

In 1989 Michael became Honorary Editor of the journal Heritage of Zimbabwe, a position he held with great distinction and ability until 2013. In addition to editing the journal Michael has contributed to it a notable series of biographies of the first ten High Court Judges of this country as well as articles on early botanists and on the history of the Society itself.

In all this activity and service Michael had wonderful support from his wife Rose who also served as Secretary of the Society, for twenty four years from 1978 until 2001. Rose, who passed away in 2012, was the granddaughter of 1893 Pioneer, Frank T. Lighton. We think it is reasonable to state that no other couple has given so much time and service to the Society as have Michael and Rosemary Kimberley. They have two sons Richard and Christopher. Christopher is a lawyer and a partner of Messrs Honey & Blanckenberg. Richard is a transporter.

It is not only history that interests Michael. He has a deep interest in, and knowledge of, indigenous flora, in particular Aloes, Cacti and Succulents or, as he describes them, "prickly plants". His achievements in this field include organising the first World Aloe Congress in Salisbury in 1975 and serving as Editor, from Volume 1 published in 1971, of the internationally acclaimed journal of the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society, Excelsa. In addition to editing Excelsa he has written a number of published papers on the subject.

Michael was also very active in formally establishing and preserving the Mukuvisi Woodlands in Harare. This unique miombo woodland was in great danger of being lost to urban encroachment and it was due to his and other likeminded persons' efforts that in 1980 a lease agreement was drawn up between the City of Harare and the Mukuvisi Woodlands Association. This agreement will hopefully continue to secure the area for the enjoyment of future generations. Michael was Chairman of the Woodlands Association during the negotiations leading up to the agreement with the City Council.

Michael has also served in more recent years as Chairman of the National Trust of Zimbabwe. This organization is dedicated to the preservation and development of properties and sites of historical or other value to the nation.

The History Society of Zimbabwe pays tribute to "MJK" for his untiring efforts.

Do you wish to comment on the layout and content of this edition?
Write to the Editor at edkins@cwg.co.zw.

Major General Sir Frederick Carrington and his Daughter Dorothy.
An Imperial Frontiersman and a Transient on the Frontier of Settlement

by R. S. Roberts

In a recent issue of Heritage Jono Waters described the grave in England of Sir Frederick Carrington and thereby briefly reminded us of the part played by this British soldier in the early history of this country.[1] *Otherwise he is little known and, although one of the major roads in Kimberley was named after him, only a couple of unimportant thoroughfares (in Marondera and Mutare) may be in his name. Out of devotion to his memory, however, his younger daughter, Dorothy, came to live here in the 1930s; but within months she concluded that life as a settler on a farm was not for her. So she returned to England abandoning her husband in Marandellas.*[2]

Frederick Carrington was born on 23 August 1844, the second son of Edmund Carrington, M.A., gentleman and Justice of the Peace of Leckhampton near Cheltenham, and his wife, Sarah Louisa née Henney.[3] The Carringtons appear to have been *nouveau riche* in that Edmund's father, Samuel, came from successful traders in cotton in Manchester,[4] but decades before the 1840s they had made the transition to gentility. Frederick and his elder brother, also named Edmund, were educated at Cheltenham College where Frederick was regarded as a bit of a dunce but good at sport (he later became an amateur boxing champion). After school both he and Edmund embarked on military careers.[5]

Frederick joined the 24th Foot (South Wales Borderers) in 1864 and became something of an expert in musketry.[6] In 1875 he was posted to the Cape where he raised and commanded the Mounted Infantry for the expedition to consolidate Griqualand West, the recently annexed diamond-fields area. Then he was put in command of the Frontier Light Horse in the Ninth Frontier War in 1877, when a localised disturbance by the Gcaleka Xhosa was escalated into a war of annexation by the new Governor and High Commissioner Sir Henry Bartle Frere. This force quickly became known as

[1] 'Final resting places in Europe of significant personalities in our history (Part II)', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (2012), XXXI, 151.

[2] He stayed on, as did his brother, and they and their families will be the subject of a sequel.

[3] *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1842), 321 (16 Dec. 1841); it was he perhaps that graduated B.A. in 1830 and M. A. in 1833 at Cambridge, J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses . . . Part II from 1752–1900* (Cambridge, Univ. Press, 6 vols, 1940–54), I, 523.

[4] >www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/alexander-mosses-5371361-details.aspx<. At the time of the Lancaster House Conference and the independence of Zimbabwe it was surmised that the British Foreign Secretary, the aristocratic Lord Peter Carrington, was a relation of Frederick's, but there is no evidence of this and Samuel's trading origins make it very unlikely.

[5] A. A. Hunter (ed.), *Cheltenham College Register 1841–1899* (London, George Bell, 1911), 153, 159.

[6] My survey of his military career comes, unless otherwise noted, from the following sources which are not quoted individually: C. J. Beyers (ed.), *Dictionary of South African Biography: Volume III* (Pretoria, Human Sci. Res. Counc., 1977), 135–6; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 60 vols, 2004), X, *sub nom* (by the good offices of Ian Phimister accessed via online ed., May 2006, >www. oxforddnb. com/view/ article/32307<); and W. Wright, *Warriors of the Queen: Fighting Generals of the Victorian Age* (Stroud, The History Press, 2014), *sub nom*. (seen only in unpaginated e-book form). There is more detail on his connections with this country in A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884–1902* (Pietermaritzburg, Univ. of Natal Press, 1983), *passim*. Unfortunately the papers of the Carrington family were sold at auction in 2009 to an undisclosed buyer, >www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/dominic-winter-book-auctions/catalogue-<.

Carrington's Horse which he 'moulded . . . into a surprisingly effective mounted infantry force'[7]—so effective in fact that before this war was over he was promoted to captain and was transferred with his men to another trouble spot. This was the Pedi (Northern Sotho) country in the north-east of the Transvaal that had just come under British control. The Pedi chief Sekhukhune had long been a thorn in the side of the Transvaal and so the British authorities, intent on pacification as a prelude to confederation, went on the attack in 1878, with Carrington in command of his men and the Transvaal Volunteer Force.

Then with Sekhukhune not fully subdued Carrington's Horse was transferred yet again to an even hotter spot, namely Zululand, where war had broken out. Carrington's Horse operated mainly in the north-western sector but some members took part in the battle of Ulundi in July 1879 when the Zulus' power was broken.[8] Carrington himself seems to have operated only on the border area before turning back and finally defeating Sekhukhune in November. In recognition of his services Carrington had been promoted major in 1878 and lieutenant-colonel a year later and awarded the C.M.G. in 1880. His next posting was the command of the Cape Mounted Rifles in a campaign against the Basuto (Southern Sotho) in order to disarm them (the Gun War, 1880–1). In this difficult campaign Carrington learned much more of guerrilla warfare, suffered the indignity of being besieged for a month, and later was severely wounded.

After convalescence he was promoted colonel in 1884 and in the following year raised the 2nd Mounted Infantry (soon dubbed 'Carrington's Horse') which was part of Sir Charles Warren's expedition into Bechuanaland.[9] A protectorate was then declared and in 1885 Carrington was appointed as commander of a new force, the Bechuanaland Border Police, to guard the country up to the Shashi (where the Khama–Lobengula Disputed Territory from there to the Macloutsie began).

In 1887 he was knighted for his services; and in the following year he was seconded briefly from the B.B.P. to Zululand to instil order and discipline in the demoralised Native Levies in the closing stages of the annexation and pacification of Zululand following the uSuthu Rebellion. He then returned to the B.B.P. and was soon involved, in 1889, in helping the British South Africa Company.

Carrington and the B.S.A.Co.: By then he was regarded as one of the most experienced commanders in African warfare; and his development and training of mounted infantry was adopted by the Imperial authorities elsewhere. He was also something of a character, known affectionately as Old Freddy, but also held in some awe—a powerfully built man of considerable physical strength, of forbidding walrus-mustachioed presence, and of violent

[7] I. Knight, *Companion to the Anglo-Zulu War* (Barnsley, Pen & Sword Books, 2008), 107.

[8] J. Laband, *Historical Dictionary of the Anglo-Zulu Wars* (Lanham MD, Scarecrow Press, 2009), 100.

[9] It was from this expedition that three officers, Phillips, Maund and Haynes, went sent north to re-open official contact with the Ndebele (that had lapsed after the D'Urban treaty of friendship with Mzilikazi in 1839).

temper. Yet he was a natural leader of men, leading by example as a fearless and skilful horseman and of great, almost foolhardy, courage under fire.

So when Rhodes began planning how to implement the Rudd Concession it was to Carrington that he naturally turned to for advice on the number of armed men that would be needed to protect his proposed column of pioneers to begin mining in Mashonaland. Carrington's estimate was 2 500 men, the cost of which in a year would exhaust the British South Africa Company' entire capital. Depressed by this unwelcome advice Rhodes turned to the young, brash Frank Johnson to lead the Column.[10]

However, the Imperial authorities still insisted upon a force of para-military police (the B.S.A.C.P.) to protect the Pioneer Column; and to help raise this Carrington was empowered to expand the B.B.P. in order to have trained men ready to enrol as the nucleus of the B.S.A.C.P. and/or the Pioneer Column. This was done and then, without the need of further Imperial involvement, the occupation of Mashonaland was successfully achieved by October 1890—another story, often told. Nine months later, however, the Adendorff Trek, which planned to cross the Limpopo from the northern Transvaal and challenge the B.S.A. Company's claim to south-eastern Mashonaland, did require Imperial involvement; and the High Commissioner in Cape Town put Carrington in charge of all armed formations in Bechuanaland and Mashonaland with orders to do whatever necessary to stop the Boers. This threat of force in the event dispersed the trekkers.

In 1893 Carrington left his Bechuanaland command, and in the anxious time leading up to the Matabele War in late 1893 to early 1894 he acted as military adviser to the High Commissioner in Cape Town, who alone could authorise the invasion of Matabeleland by the two columns being readied by the British South Africa Company in Fort Victoria and Salisbury, and by the volunteer force raised on the Rand by P. J. Raaff, the Resident Magistrate at Tuli, which soon joined the B.B.P. force that its commander, Major John Hamilton Goold Adams, had moved up to Tuli. The war was successfully concluded, of course, and Carrington did not have to become personally involved.

In 1895 Carrington was promoted major-general and left Africa for his new appointment as military commander of Gibraltar. But when the Ndebele rose up in March 1896 Carrington as the most experienced commander in Southern African warfare was quickly recalled on 18 May 1896 as commander of all armed forces in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Matabeleland and Mashonaland:[11] that is the B.B.P., the remnants of the B.S.A. Company's Police and Volunteers merged into *ad hoc* formations such as the Bulawayo Field Force; Plumer's Matabeleland Relief Force and two units of 'Cape Boys' raised in South Africa with the High Commissioner's approval, and the Imperial troops being transferred by the Imperial government. The recently appointed Deputy Commissioner and commander of Police and Volunteers, Sir Richard Martin took over full command of all forces until Carrington arrived.

Carrington's appointment was logical in view of his experience; as Chris Hummel (a historian, formerly of the University of Rhodesia) has said, Carrington's 'career reads like a catalogue of . . . South African wars'.[12] But by 1896 he was no longer a fit man

[10] F. W. F. Johnson, *Great Days: The Autobiography of an Empire Pioneer* (London, G. Bell, 1940), 94–5; Frank Johnson, however, is not an entirely reliable source.

[11] British South Africa Company, *Gov. Gazette*, 10 June 1896, High Commissioner's Not. 26, 18 May 1896.

[12] C. Hummel (ed.), *The Frontier War Journal of Major John Crealock 1878: A Narrative of the Ninth Frontier War by the*

owing to chronic bronchitis, and another historian described him as 'now a swollen caricature of the dashing cavalry officer',[13] pompous, past his prime and over-cautious. Indeed there were suspicions that his appointment was due to the exercise of influence by the Baden-Powells and their relatives who had been looking for someone who would have a combat posting in his gift that alone could rescue the languishing career of the (as yet unknown) Robert Baden-Powell—which, of course, Carrington did the moment he was appointed to Matabeleland.[14]

It has been suggested that another factor in Carrington's appointment was that he 'was one of the few regular officers who could get on well with Rhodes',[15] but if that was so it was not to last. For by the time Carrington arrived in Bulawayo on 22 June 1896 the Ndebele were already losing the initiative, and Carrington's show of force soon forced them to withdraw into the two natural strongholds of Intaba zi ka Mambo and the Matopos. Rhodes and the British South Africa Company then hoped for a speedy resolution, particularly as the rising had spread to Mashonaland at the end of the month.

Cecil Rhodes chatting with General Sir Frederick Carrington. Sketched from life by Robert Baden-Powell.

Carrington had more than 600 Imperial troops (in addition to all the Company forces and those raised in the south) and so decided on a full-scale attack on the smaller stronghold, Intaba zi ka Mambo. This took place on 5 July and was regarded as a victory but it was costly in lives and not decisive. Similar attacks were then made on the Matopos in late July to early August but these were ineffectual and even more costly in lives. One officer said that fighting in the Matopos was going to be worse than in Afghanistan,[16] and Carrington began to think in terms of ringing the Matopos with a dozen forts in preparation for a war of attrition which, he calculated, could not succeed until after the rainy season and the arrival of another 2 500 troops. Consequently a depressed Carrington began to concentrate on long-term planning and left day-to-day scouting and skirmishing in those 'bloody hills' to Baden-Powell and Plumer; and for diversion and exercise he

Assistant Military Secretary to Lieutenant General Thesiger (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Soc., 2nd ser. 19, 1988), 51, fn. 85.

[13] O. N. Ransford, *Bulawayo: Historic Battleground of Rhodesia* (Cape Town, A. A. Balkema, 1968), 106; and *The Rulers of Rhodesia: From Earliest Times to the Referendum* (London, John Murray, 1968), 291.

[14] Robert's uncle was General Sir Henry Augustus Smyth who had been Carrington's superior officer in South Africa in the late 1880s and Robert's older brother was Sir George Baden-Powell, a former Colonial Office official, political adviser to the Warren Expedition and now an M.P., with a continuing interest in Southern Africa; see Q. N. Parsons, *King Khama, Emperor Joe, and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain through African Eyes* (Chicago, Univ. Press of Chicago, 1998), 98–9 for Sir George's entertaining Khama and Carrington to dinner in London in 1895. For his attempts to obtain a combat post for his brother see P. Van Wyk, *Burnham: King of Scouts; Baden-Powell's Secret Mentor* (Victoria BC, Trafford Publ., 2003), 25.

[15] Ransford, *The Rulers of Rhodesia, 291*. But one would have thought that Rhodes would have been against Carrington as over-cautious ever since he had estimated that Rhodes would need 2 500 armed men in 1889 (see fn. 10 above).

[16] T. O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896–7: A Study in Africa Resistance* (London, Heinemann, 1967), 182; this is still the best survey of the military campaigns of 1896 but Ransford's *Bulawayo: Historic Battleground of Rhodesia,* 79–131, has a useful overview.

concentrated on learning to ride a bicycle around Bulawayo![17]

As the British South Africa Company had to bear the cost of all the troops, Rhodes had already lost confidence in Carrington,[18] and now quickly realised that, if Carrington's plans were endorsed by the High Commissioner, the British South Africa Company would be bankrupted by its obligation to bear the costs of the Imperial troops as well as of its own forces. Thus Rhodes grasped at the idea of parleying with the leading indunas in the Matopos which Carrington deprecated as 'amateur methods' but grudgingly allowed to take place.[19]

The indabas were successful, as has often been described elsewhere,[20] and the result for present purposes was that in October–November most of the Imperial troops in Matabeleland were able to leave for the south and Carrington was free to turn his attention to the Rising in Mashonaland. He arrived in Salisbury in mid-November and having seen no rebels *en route* was quickly persuaded that the Rising was over; the Company was pressing to terminate the expense of the Imperial troops of Alderson's Field Force in Mashonaland, and Carrington and his fellow Imperial officers did not see much credit to be gained from mopping up operations and so were keen to be out before the rains. By the middle of December the troops had left and Carrington was on his way back to Cape Town, with his report on the Risings already prepared for the High Commissioner in Cape Town and the Colonial Secretary in London.[21]

This report is a detailed summary that historians since Ranger have neglected[22] but it was written very much from the Imperial point of view (Rhodes's indabas were relegated to a brief mention in an Appendix). Carrington was not unaware of his partiality and wrote a follow-up explaining that it was needed to counteract the press and the British South Africa Company that had systematically diminished the Imperial contribution to the suppression of the Rising: the seriousness of the situation had been consistently minimised in order to re-assure the stock-market and head off any Imperial claims to a greater say in the future of Southern Rhodesia. In fact, he said, 'I am of opinion that had it not been for the presence of the Imperial troops, most of the country might have been lost to the Company'; and this was for two reasons:

1st. Commissariat, transport, ordnance, and medical departments, as workable establishments, did not exist when I arrived in Bulawayo. It was the organisation of these by the Imperial Staff which enabled the troops to keep the field.

2ndly. The local forces, although possessed of individual courage, hardihood, and aptitude for veld life, were difficult to work with. They were very independent, would not willingly do fort duty, long patrols, or unpleasantly dangerous work. Their discipline, reconnaissance, and shooting were poor. The arrival of British

[17] Ransford, *The Rulers of Rhodesia, 291*. Carrington was introduced to bicycling by F. R. de Bertodano Lopez whose diary shows the genial side of the ageing general; see Hist[orical] Manus[cript]s Collect[ion], BE3/2/1, 64, 69, 74,77, 85–6 [unless indicated otherwise, all such references to documentary sources relate to the National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare, and are listed in full at the end of this article].

[18] H. Sauer, *Ex Africa . . .* (London, Geoffrey Bles, 1937), 308.

[19] Ransford, *Bulawayo: Historic Battleground of Rhodesia*, 126.

[20] The foundation-text is, of course, V. Stent, *A Personal Record of Some Incidents in the Life of Cecil Rhodes* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, [1924]), and Sauer, *Ex Africa . . .*, 308ff.

[21] National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, CO 879 (Colonial Office, Confidential Print), 47/520, No. 443, High Comm., Cape Town, to Colon. Off., 30 Jan. 1897, encl. Carrington, Umtali, to High Comm., Cape Town, 12 Dec. 1896.

[22] D. N. Beach in his Introduction to the B.S.A. Company's account of the Risings (*The '96 Rebellions originally Published as The British South Africa Company, Reports on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia 1896–97* ([London, The Company, 1898] reprinted Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1975)) did not even mention the existence of an alternative account.

troops quickened the operations so that it was found possible to bring them to a successful conclusion before the setting in of the rains.

Had it not been for the Imperial assistance in these two particulars there would certainly have been no reserve food for the continuation of the of the campaign, nor for tiding over the rainy season, and evacuation of at least part of the country would have become a necessity.[23]

Carrington's report and these additional comments were forwarded to London, and the High Commissioner also added his opinion that Carrington was to be congratulated on the 'skilful conduct of the operations' and his diplomatic handling of the representatives of the British South Africa Company. [24] However, according to Basil Williams, the editor a few years later of one of the volumes of the standard history of the Boer War, the War Office had concluded that Carrington 'had not displayed special capacity' in his handling of the Risings.[25]

Be that as it may, Carrington then returned to his command in Gibraltar. Only then, after more than twenty years of continual warfare, did Carrington, now well into his fifties, find the time for marriage; and in late 1897 he married Susan M. Elwes of a Gloucestershire family near Cheltenham. She was half his age and, indeed, her father, Henry J. Elwes F.R.S., the famous botanist and entomologist of Colesbourne Park, was younger than his new son-in-law.[26] The Carringtons were soon blessed with a daughter, Katherine Mary born in 1899,[27] just at the time that he was transferred from Gibraltar to command the Belfast military district.

However, the outbreak of the Boer War then again called Carrington back to southern Africa, in 1900. The British South Africa Company wanted reinforcements (to replace the many Rhodesians gone south with Plumer) in case of another rising[28] or a Boer break-out; and it suggested Carrington as commander of the Rhodesian Field Force. The Company must have concluded that Old Freddy had in the end proved amenable enough in the closing months of 1896. The War Office for its part had some reservations;[29] but it no longer had many generals available to choose from and so gave its approval for Carrington's appointment. The Force consisted of some Rhodesian units but mainly of troops from Australia and New Zealand who were landed in Beira and had to make their way to Bulawayo, whence reinforcements could be sent south wherever needed most. The troops duly arrived in Beira during April and May but Carrington seemed incapable of organising their speedy transit to Bulawayo: the last did not arrive there until September.

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[23] Natl Arch., Kew, CO 879/47/520, No. 445, High Comm., Cape Town, to Colon. Off., 13 Jan. 1897, encl. Carrington, Cape Town, to High Comm., 4 Jan. 1897.

[24] Ibid., No. 444, High Comm., Cape Town, to Colon. Off., London, 13 Jan. 1897.

[25] L. S. Amery (ed.), *The Times History of the War in South Africa, 1899–1900* (London, Sampson, Low, Marston, 7 vols, 1900–9), IV, 368 (quoted in A. S. Hickman, *Rhodesia Served the Queen: Rhodesian Forces in the Boer War 1899–1902* (Salisbury, Gov. Printer for the Rhodesian Army, 2 vols, 1970–5), II, 162, without full reference).

[26] General Register Office, Southport, Marriages, [Oct.–] Dec. 1897, St George's Hanover Sq., 1a, 938.

[27] General Register Office, Southport, Births, [Jan.–] Mar. 1899, Cirencester, 6a, 423; all that is known of her is that she married William Mayes Fry, M.C., the flying ace of the First World War, ibid., Marriages, [July–] Sept. 1924, Cirencester, 6a, 955; *Flight* (1924), 481.

[28] Not too much should be made of this but Jameson's denuding Rhodesia of troops in 1895–6, and what followed, could not be ignored. In fact the first action that Carrington's Leicestershire Yeomanry saw was against not the Boers but Mapondera on the Dande in July 1900—the use of Imperial troops ignored in most discussions of Mapondera, except in Hickman, *Rhodesia Served the Queen*, II, 169, 205–10. Another Shona chief regarded as a potential troublemaker, Kunzvi of the Nyandoro *nhari/unendoro* dynasty, was brought in to be shown the strength of Carrington's forces, Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896–7*, 364.

[29] Amery (ed.), *The Times History of the War in South Africa, 1899–1900*, IV, 368 (quoted in Hickman, *Rhodesia Served the Queen*, II, 162, without full reference).

Long before then some tongues were wagging. One officer in the Rhodesia Regiment, Alexander Weston Jarvis, who had served under Carrington in 1896, wrote to his mother in May 1900: 'Fancy that old imposter getting a job again after all!' Seven weeks later he added that, 'I am not surprised at the War Office not answering old Carrington's letters. The only thing that surprises me is their giving him a job at all!! The reason I will tell you one day.' What is perhaps a clue to that reason had in fact been given in the earlier letter when he said, 'We hear from Bulawayo that the price of whiskey has risen enormously in Rhodesia as a consequence' of Carrington's appointment.[30]

General Frederick Carrington and medical staff in Rhodesia

Lord Roberts's original intention, and particularly so after Pretoria was captured in June, was that Carrington should secure the northern Transvaal along the Limpopo, take the Soutpansberg and then drive south to Pietersburg. Carrington undertook to be there by late July but in fact barely moved from his Bulawayo–Tuli axis.[31] Exasperated with Carrington, Roberts himself became rather inconsistent in his disposition of troops but then ordered Carrington and the Rhodesia Relief Force south to help in a mopping-up operation in the north-west Transvaal now that Mafeking had been relieved in June. But the war then turned into a more mobile, guerrilla type of warfare in the north-west Transvaal under the brilliant leadership of J. H. De la Rey; he turned his men from Carrington-style mounted infantry into cavalry rifleman who fired from the saddle as they charged headlong at British positions. Carrington was supposed to relieve a small Rhodesian-Australian force at the supply point at Eland's River on the way to Rustenburg, but there was considerable confusion and Carrington was excessively cautious and decided to withdraw back towards Mafeking, abandoning Zeerust and all its stores—thus earning for his troops the sobriquet of the 'Rhodesian Retiring Force'.

This veritable flight left the Rhodesians and Australians at Eland's River isolated and outnumbered to endure a siege that in terms of the ferocity of the fighting was the worst of the war. In the end they had to be relieved from Pretoria by Kitchener later in August 1900. This episode came to be regarded as one of the most mortifying of the whole war, but it was not reported in detail at the time. Nevertheless both Lord Roberts, the commander-in-chief, and Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner, had concluded that whatever Carrington's abilities may have been in the past he was not the strategist who could cope with the changing demands of a war very different from what had gone before.

Carrington was thus ordered back in Bulawayo and by September he was sitting with nothing to do while units of his Rhodesian Field Force were one by one brought

[30] Hist. Mss Collect., JA4/1/2, Jarvis, Sefitile Camp, 3 May and Rustenburg, 24 June 1900 (quoted without source and a wrong date in Hickman, *Rhodesia Served the Queen*, II, 22, 24). In his autobiography (*Jottings from an Active Life* (London, Heath Cranton, 1928)) Jarvis barely deigns to mention Carrington.

[31] Hickman, *Rhodesia Served the Queen*, II, 168–9.

south through Bechuanaland and into the western Transvaal to reinforce other forces; in the end Carrington had very few troops to command. Only once, in late October, did Carrington's troops, such as were left, cross the Limpopo into the northern Transvaal, but having assured themselves that the local Africans were hostile to the Boers, they returned to base.[32]

Back in Bulawayo some of the troops who had been with Carrington in July–August were telling anyone who would listen about the ignominious retreat to Mafeking; stringers sent reports of this to the editor of *The Rhodesian Times* in Salisbury who published a damning account of the retreat on the very day that the flag that flew at Eland's River was received into the Anglican Cathedral in Salisbury. The newspaper's account spoke of:

> The gallant defence of Elands River by some 400 Rhodesians and Australians . . . [and] the lamentable failure of General Carrington to relieve the post, and the shameful evacuation of Zeerust with the consequent breach of faith to surrendered neutrals and to British loyalists . . . a British general, with a complete, well-equipped force of 1,200 men, suffered himself to be driven backward, fled in such haste that he never knew how weak his enemy was, and then evacuated a fortified defensible position thirty-six hours before the first small body of the enemy appeared. It is a pitiful tale; a shameful and disgraceful tale. It has caused the shedding of an infinite amount of blood, and prolonged misery to thousands, both of British and Boer families, by encouraging the Boers in their futile resistance. The only relief in the story so far as this country is concerned is the gallantry of the Rhodesians, who, under Captain 'Sandy' Butters, declined to surrender, and with the cry, 'Rhodesians never surrender,' held the advanced post at Elands River, and made the defence of the whole camp possible, until Kitchener's welcome relief came.[33]

So newsworthy a criticism was inevitably picked up by the British press and published at the beginning of January 1901.[34] If the War Office had not already decided to recall Carrington, this must have sealed his fate, for the next we hear of him was when he arrived in Cape Town on 13 January 1901 *en route* for England. A stringer cabled *The Rhodesian Times* in Salisbury reporting Carrington's arrival 'from the front'; and the editor published this report with a barbed editorial correction to the effect that Carrington 'has not been at the front since his disgraceful failure to relieve our men at Eland's River. He has been in Bulawayo looking after horses.'[35]

Already angered by the newspaper's December report (which somehow slipped past their censorship) the British military officers in Salisbury now decided to act. What that action was the editor, Michael Ray, described dramatically in a fly-sheet that he himself printed just before midnight on 26 January: the Army had just aroused him

[32] Hickman, *Rhodesia Served the Queen*, II, 170.
[33] *The Rhodesian Times*, 7 Dec. 1900.
[34] *The Daily Chronicle*, 1 Jan. 1901.
[35] *The Rhodesian Times*, 18 Jan. 1901. The reference to 'looking after horses' is probably not to be taken literally in Carrington's case but it was the fate during the Boer War of officers who failed in their duty; such derelictors were not reduced in rank but were sent to a farm near Stellenbosch to care for Army horses and thus were described as having been 'stellenbosched'.

from his bed with a demand for a written apology for his latest slur on Carrington by 8 a.m. the next morning, failing which the newspaper and its offices would be closed under martial law. In the fly-sheet the editor defiantly said that no apology would be made and in effect reiterated the slur by saying Carrington 'has not been entrusted with responsible command' since Eland's River.[36] Consequently next morning army officers confiscated the keys to his office and print-shop. The editor then petitioned the High Court in Salisbury for an order that the army return his keys and stop interfering with the publication of his newspaper. The Judge finally granted the petition in mid-February, subject only to the exercise of normal censorship.[37] This news was published in the next issue which appeared on 25 February 1901.

In the meantime newspapers all over the world had picked up the story and published it together with quotations from the December report.[38] This was the final nail in the coffin of Carrington's reputation; and Southern Rhodesia would have no reason to honour his name.

Back in England it appears that Carrington was left in limbo by the War Office and on 17 June 1901 a question was put to the Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons asking whether any action was being taken against Carrington and, if not, whether he would be re-appointed to his command in Belfast from which he had been transferred to Rhodesia eighteen months before; the stock answer to such a question was that that recommendations for appointments were confidential.[39] But the Commander-in-Chief was now Lord Roberts and it was no secret what he, in South Africa in 1900, had thought of Carrington!

Carrington's name continued to appear in the Army's official Gradation Lists but with no appointment until he was formally retired in 1904[40] after almost thirty years service in Southern Africa. Until 1896 his reputation was secure, but the Ndebele in the Matopos were a more formidable opposition than any he had experienced before and he virtually gave up. Similarly, four years later, the Boers presented an enemy different from any he had met before: more skilful riders and shots then the Imperial troops and with the advantage of knowing the terrain and having some artillery. Col. Hickman, chronicler of the Rhodesian contribution in the Boer War, was no iconoclast but the only words he could find to describe Carrington's conduct in 1900 were 'incompetent', 'failed miserably', 'no heart for the encounter' and 'a disgrace'[41]—guilty of dithering and outwitted by a superior tactician in the person of De la Rey. Like Captain Blackadder in the last episode of 'Blackadder Goes forth' [into the trenches of the Great War], Carrington found that warfare had changed from what he had signed up for.

Consequently he must have been glad to retire in 1904 so that he could pursue his favourite recreations of hunting, shooting and fishing. But in 1909 his wife was diagnosed with breast cancer; and as there was little in the way of treatment at that time her doctors suggested that pregnancy might help. Thus she ordered the martial but

[36] Ibid., 26 Jan. 1901.
[37] S1/1423.
[38] A cursory Google search shows publication in newspapers as diverse as *The Poverty Bay Herald* and *The Marlborough Express* in New Zealand, and in *The Times* [Philadelphia] and *The Fort Wayne Sentinel* in the U.S.A.
[39] 95 Parl. Deb., 4th ser., 543–4.
[40] See H. G. Hart's *(The New) Annual Army List* (London) for the years 1901 to 1905; there is a bit of a mystery about his exact status because he appears not to have been put on half-pay, which would have been the usual solution.
[41] Hickman, *Rhodesia Served the Queen*, II, 95, 96, 97, 111.

retired sixty-five-year-old to put his pastimes aside and reinvigorate himself by 'taking the waters' in order to return to active marital service, as it were. This he did and the result in June 1910 was the birth of a second daughter, Dorothy Violet.[42]

Sir Frederick, however, did not live long enough to see his second daughter grow up, for he died of pneumonia in 1913 and was laid to rest as Jono Waters has described. His widow remarried two years later (to Ernest C. Trepplin F.S.A.), but she too soon died, in 1921.[43]

Dorothy Carrington The ten-year old Dorothy then went to live with her maternal relatives nearby.[44] Her mother who had been interested in the arts and literature provided in her will the means for Dorothy be well educated; and she had a good Swiss governess under whose encouragement she became fluent in French and German and she then went to Cheltenham Ladies College. There she developed a great love of literature that she wanted to pursue, whereas her family expected her to play her part among the County set, with its fox-hunting and balls, and then get married. Dorothy quite enjoyed the riding and hunting (one of the attractions of Southern Rhodesia later) but she was determined to go to university. Thus she sat and passed the Oxford entry examination and was accepted by Lady Margaret Hall in 1929 to read English. Her family and stepfather disapproved but he did have antiquarian interests and so took Dorothy on a wonderful tour of Mediterranean Europe and North Africa: 'This journey', she later recalled, 'gave me a feeling of being European rather than just British and opened up historical perspectives.'[45] The teaching at Oxford, on the other hand, was narrow and disappointing; and so she abandoned her studies in 1931 and ran away to Majorca. There she met and impulsively decided to marry a handsome, aristocratic Austrian sportsman and shot, Franz de Paula Wilhelm Otto Wolfgang Waldschutz.[46]

His father, Col. Otto G. J. Waldschutz, had been aide-de-camp to the Emperor, Franz Joseph, but had died on the Russian front in the early days of the Great War; Franz's mother was Countess Anna Elizabeth Maria Wanda Rességuier de Miremont[47] whose family estates in Galicia (Austrian Poland) were lost to them at the end of the War when Galicia joined with ex-German and ex-Russian Poland to form an independent Polish republic.

Franz had a traditional Jesuit education and a stint in the Austrian Army but, like so many of the impoverished aristocracy of a now tiny country that had lost a vast empire overnight, he had no obvious career prospects. Thus he took a variety of jobs: in a motor car factory in Austria, on an estate in Poland,

[42] For a later change of name see below, fn. 51.

[43] General Register Office, Southport, Marriages, [July–] Sept. 1915, St George's Hanover Sq., 1a, 1397; and Deaths, [Apr.–] June 1921, Marylebone, 1a, 566.

[44] The best accounts of her life are: E. Ducoudray, 'Nécrologie: Dorothy Carrington (Frederica Lady Rose) . . .', *Annales historiques de la révolution française* (2002), cccxxviii, 193–6; R. Lucarotti, 'Introduction' to D. Carrington, *Granite Island: Portrait of Corsica* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Classic, new ed., 2008), ix–xv; 'Dorothy Carrington [Obit.]', *The Times*, 4 Feb. 2002; 'Frederica, Lady Rose [Obit.]', *The Telegraph*, 29 Jan. 2002; and *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2001–2004* (Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), *sub nom*.

[45] 'Dorothy Carrington [Obit.]', *The Times*, 4 Feb. 2002.

[46] S2279/907, F. Waldschutz, 'Statement', 4 Apr. 1939; he had been born in Vienna on 31 Oct. 1907.

[47] Anna was born in 1884 and died in 1963. The Rességuiers were a very old noble family in France and a descendant, the Comte de Miremont, entered Austrian service in the early nineteenth century; he married into the a Croatian-Hungarian family, the Festetics de Tolna, and a descendant, the father of Franz's mother, married a Kinsky von Wchinitz und Tettau whose dowry was Nisko in Galicia which he developed into one of the great modernised estates of the Empire.

in a textile factory in Brazil, as a mechanic and pilot in Argentina, and temporary jobs in New York, London, Lyons and Paris. In late 1931 he went to Majorca as a hotel receptionist and then manager of a swimming–pool club; it was there in 1932 that he met the runaway Dorothy and became engaged to marry her.[48]

Dorothy's family persuaded her to come back to London to get married, and the ceremony took place on 18 January 1933.[49] They then went to live in Paris where Franz had an interest in a motor car company, but life there did not suit them and after several moves they decided to settle in Southern Rhodesia,[50] presumably at Dorothy's instigation out of devotion to the memory of her father and his exploits in the founding years of the country.[51] Franz went on ahead in February–March 1934[52] and after eighteen months as a pupil on a farm near Marandellas he bought the nearby farm, Wilton, from the Portal Estate which was run by Robert J. Tarrant, autocratic master of the Delta Hunt.[53] This Hunt, in fact, was part of the attraction of Marandellas for Franz, for it was the country's most 'horsey' district; the races there were the Rhodesian 'Ascot', attended by the country's elite:

> a peculiarly British event, complete with Governor and Bishop [of the Anglican Diocese of Mashonaland, that . . .] epitomised the growing dominance of that sector of the local community which had been educated in the private schools of England and still retained an often nostalgic affection for the standards and practices of the landed middle-classes of an earlier age.'[54]

Exactly what the dispossessed aristocratic cavalry officer of a vanished empire had been looking for.

Dorothy then joined him in August 1935,[55] but would not move into the farmhouse until he had built an internal water closet—the first in the district.[56] They then enjoyed life, riding and hunting for miles in the bush, away from the constrictions of life in Europe; but this idyll did not last long and they were soon to separate.

In explaining this later Dorothy put it all in a patriotic and rather dramatic manner by describing her horror at bearing a German passport after the incorporation (the Anschluss) of Austria into the Third Reich (that is in March 1938) and then the outbreak of war in September 1939—whereupon, she said, she divorced Franz and returned to Britain leaving him in Southern Rhodesia.[57] The truth, however, was very different and not really to her credit.

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[48] S2279/907, F. Waldschutz, 'Statement', 4 Apr. 1939.

[49] General Register Office, Southport, Marriages, St George Hanover Square, [Jan.–]Mar. 1933, 1a, 707; an uncle, Lt–Col. Henry Cecil Elwes, D.S.O., M.V.O., the brother of her dead mother, was a witness.

[50] S2279/907, F. Waldschutz, 'Statement', 4 Apr. 1939.

[51] It was some time after this, probably between 1937 and 1943, that she changed her name to Frederica, after her father; see F. C. Rose, *Saying Life: The Memoirs of Sir Francis Rose* (London, Cassell, 1961), 239.

[52] It is possible that Dorothy came out too but returned to England because she refused to live in the huts that were Franz's assigned lodgings.

[53] Tarrant was an early settler in the area and whether in his own right or that of Lady Portal's Estate he held or managed extensive acreages and exercised great influence (originally as a member of the executive of Coghlan's Rhodesia Party), R. Hodder-Williams, *White Farmers in Rhodesia 1890–1965: A History of the Marendellas District* (London, Macmillan, 1983), *passim*.

[54] Ibid., 154.

[55] S2279/907, F. Waldschutz, 'Statement', 4 Apr. 1939. Franz thus first appears as a farmer there in the *Rhodesia Directory 1936*, 413, 889.

[56] Verbal information from Mrs Sonia Forrester (a daughter-in-law of Franz Waldschutz later Forrester), Marondera, June 2013.

[57] 'Dorothy Carrington [Obit.]', *The Times*, 4 Feb. 2002.

In May 1936 (a mere nine months after arriving in Rhodesia) she had insisted on going alone to England on holiday and had to be persuaded by Franz's entreaties by post to return; when she finally did so, in November 1936, she stayed in Salisbury and wanted only that Franz come and discuss her intention of not returning to the farm and indeed of not living in Southern Rhodesia at all. She did relent in the end and go to Wilton but only on the understanding that there was no commitment to stay. On 20 January 1937 she left for England and then wrote to say that she was never coming back.[58]

All this had happened, of course, long before the Anschluss of March–April 1938—her long holiday in England without Franz began twenty-two months before and her final departure fourteen months before. And the real reason for her desertion was simply that the novelty of Africa had quickly worn off. She missed the conveniences of urban life; in particular she hated the long, slow journey on a train taking cattle for slaughter to Salisbury whenever she wanted her hair done.[59] The unique internal W.C. was not compensation enough!

About a year after Dorothy's final departure Franz initiated divorce proceedings (just before the Anschluss). The hearing, at which Franz had to give evidence, was in May 1938 and the basic facts of her desertion were presented as they have already been described above. The only addition of note was that Franz was entirely happy in his new life in Southern Rhodesia and was so emphatic in his determination to remain settled on his farm that Dorothy had not even tried to suggest that he should follow her back to England.[60] She did not contest the case and the divorce was finalized in July 1938.[61]

Dorothy's life after leaving Rhodesia She lived in London and Cornwall, making do by writing articles for magazines, and she happily mixed in literary, artistic and left-wing circles. Then came an obscure episode in her life that is probably to be explained by her need to regain British citizenship when the Second World War began; on 28 September 1939, probably in the United States, she married a Captain in the British Army, D'Arcy St Clair Sproul-Bolton of an Anglo-American military family.[62] D'Arcy was of insignificant appearance—quite unlike the handsome, dashing Franz—but he spoke elusively of special missions and the like, and Dorothy must have found him interesting enough in her need of a British passport. However, he developed heart problems, retired from the Army and in 1941 went to America for treatment; Dorothy appears not to have accompanied him and later in the year he sued for divorce in Reno on the grounds of desertion.[63]

Dorothy meanwhile was doing various sorts of war work but still very much part of London artistic society; there she met, and then married on 18 January 1943,[64] the eccentric, right-wing but talented surrealist artist Sir Francis Rose who had recently been invalided out of the R.A.F.[65] He was also a dissolute homosexual who was in the process

[58] S2279/907, F. Waldschutz, 'Statement', 4 Apr. 1939.

[59] Verbal information from Mrs Sonia Forrester.

[60] In fact, of course, he had not much choice, for since the incorporation of Austria into Germany in March–April 1938 he had no valid passport and was in effect stateless unless he registered with a German Consulate and swore allegiance in order to obtain a German passport; and this he would never do. However, this also means that Dorothy's alleged horror at the thought of a German passport was spurious.

[61] S408/7594 and 7599.

[62] The Boltons were English and the Sprouls American; D'Arcy had been born Doria St Clair Bolton in 1891 but by deed-poll he changed his name, as in the text above (*London Gazette* (1934), 8094 (11 Dec.), thus sounding even more like a character out of P. G. Woodhouse or Evelyn Waugh.

[63] *The Pittsburgh Press* (12 Mar. 1941) and *Reno Evening Gazette* (14 July 1941). Most sources say that the marriage was terminated by his death much earlier, but he did not die until September 1944 (*London Gazette* (1947), 1143 (7 Mar.)), twenty months after Dorothy had re-married.

[64] General Register Office, Southport, Marriages, [Jan.–]Mar. 1943, Westminster, 1a, 801.

[65] 1909–1979. It is said that it was he who prompted Gertrude Stein's 'Rose is a rose is a rose.' Dorothy now became

of losing his fortune to swindling boyfriends and the gaming table. Cecil Beaton, who had his portrait painted by Rose and who, for ever thereafter, was called upon for help, said, 'His life was a long succession of suicides, killings, fatal accidents. In his wake, he brings chaos . . . [and is] a liar of major proportions, a bully, a sycophant.'[66] Be that as it may, Rose encouraged Dorothy to take her writing more seriously; and she soon published her first book, *The Traveller's Eye*, which wittily described the reactions of British travellers across the centuries when confronted with the strange and exotic.[67] She followed this up a year later with a book for children.[68]

At this time, 1948, she and Francis visited Corsica and they soon settled there. They started work on a book about the island, but it stalled and Sir Francis returned to London and his wayward life, ultimately of penury. In 1961, while still married to Dorothy, he published his memoirs as *Saying Life* in which his description of his wife was both cryptic and ambivalent:

> She had no children because she desired to create a magnificent powder-puff with words and render history rather solid and academically factual. Although she had a certain gift for writing, she forgot that her great charm was her beauty and her feminine presence, that could hold a man by the delicacy of her elegance, the perfection of her pose; the untidy artificial touch of the right hairdresser could put on a curl; and the absolute perfection of her temple, that fragile scented bedroom to which no husband could have access without her permission.[69]

She, for her part, once said that 'Men are hunters. Only one in four is capable of making any kind of emotional commitment.'[70]

She and Francis divorced in 1966 but they continued to correspond and see each other until he died in penury in 1979; and the book they had begun together was finally published by Dorothy in 1995. Meanwhile she had stayed on in Corsica and made it her home for the rest of her life; she earned her living by journalism, translation and even guiding tourists, but it was to the serious study of the island that she devoted herself.

known as Lady Frederica Rose.

[66] H. Vickers (ed.), *The Unexpurgated Beaton: The Cecil Beaton Diaries as They Were Written* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002), 132, 175. It was very much in character that Rose appeared as Lord Chaos in Kenneth Angers's film 'Lucifer Rising' (1972).

[67] Published in London by Pilot Press in 1947 under her given and maiden names of Dorothy Carrington.

[68] *The Mouse and the Mermaid* (London, Pilot Press, 1948).

[69] Rose, *Saying Life: The Memoirs of Sir Francis Rose*, 239. I am grateful to John Howells for confirming this quotation.

[70] 'Frederica, Lady Rose [Obit.]', *The Telegraph*, 29 Jan. 2002

She became the leading authority on its history and culture, and published six major works on it and its most famous family, the Bonapartes. She received many academic honours and the M.B.E. in 1996. She died in Corsica in 2002 and was buried in the Mariners' Cemetery that was re-opened for the purpose by Prince Charles Napoleon.

In the sixty-four years after leaving Southern Rhodesia she had no contact, as far as is known, with the country that her father had helped make and to which she had been briefly attracted.[71] And so ends the story of a soldier disgraced and a daughter failed as a settler in Southern Rhodesia.

But in history the story never ends. For the husband that she left behind, and his brother who had followed him and Dorothy to Southern Rhodesia, were to remain, to become real settlers who developed their farms and businesses; and their families have an interesting history that highlights the often neglected diversity of White society. Thus the story of the Waldschutz/Forrester families is more important than that of Dorothy and will follow (in the next issue) as a more positive sequel.

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[71] Robert Forrester, son of Franz and his second wife, however, has a memory of meeting her in England when he was about seven years old, after the War, email to author, 17 Aug. 2014.

The Batonka: How they adapted to a new life following resettlement upon creation of Lake Kariba and their lifestyle 56 years later

by Ben Kaschula

When the decision to build the Kariba Wall was taken in about 1954 the resultant flooding of the Zambezi River Basin and the consequences on the wild life which abounded there, and on the people who lived there, became world news. "Operation Noah" became instantly famous as did the various personalities involved in the operation, notably Rupert Fothergill. The operation was filmed time and again. It was well documented and a number of books were written on the many species of animals saved. That the local people also had to be relocated (writers of the time indicate they numbered about 57000) was also documented and reported in the local and overseas media but to a lesser extent. The person mainly charged with the resettlement of the Batonka people was Ivor Cockroft, Native Commissioner, Gokwe. Little was known about the Batonka. They lived a simple life along the banks of the Zambezi and its tributaries. Contact with others was by means of crossing the river in dug-out canoes.

Intermarriage across the river was the norm. The people on the opposite bank belonged to the same tribe and spoke the same language and followed the same customs. The Federation of Rhodesia & Nyasaland existed and travel between the constituent Colonies did not require passports. Once the lake began to fill the Batonka were effectively divided and, with the demise of the Federation on 31 December 1963, they fell in two entirely different countries, Nothern Rhodesia in the north and Southern Rhodesia to the south. It was in 1963 that Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, declared Kariba Dam officially opened.

What do we know about the Batonka now? What is commonly known is that their River-God, *Nyaminyami*, is revered by all, that they carved their doors from a solid tree trunk, that they sat on small stools carved from a portion of a tree trunk and that they smoked their unique "bubble pipes". What is perhaps not known is that their language is completely different to Sindebele and to Shona. The Batonka are also different to the Ndebele and the Shona in their Chieftainship succession system. Unlike the Ndebele primogeniture, or father-to-son system, and unlike the Shona collateral, or brother-to-

brother system (now cousin to cousin) the Batonka follow a matrilineal system of succession. When a Chief dies he is succeeded by the son, or grandson, of his own full sister. There are twenty Batonka Chieftainships in Zimbabwe, three in Kariba District and seventeen in Binga District. All have a relatively small number of followers and none have any Headmen under them. In my research into the Batonka, carried out in December 2012, I found many changes had taken place in their lifestyles during the past 55 years, since they were resettled away from their traditional homes on the Zambezi river as a result of the formation of Lake Kariba.

H. N. Hemans in his "*The Log of a Native Commissioner*", first published in 1935 and republished in 1971, devotes a chapter to "The Batonka". He relates ... "Before continuing with my journey inland once I left the Zambezi it may be of interest to give a short description of the Batonka, all of the women and many of the men being at that time untouched by civilization, with which they had never come into contact. A fair proportion of the males were in the habit of proceeding south to work on mines and farms, but the women never left the river and its close proximity, there being not even a trading station within 150 or 200 miles. The Batonka are unique in Southern Rhodesia and are closely related to the BaTonga and Balla in Northern Rhodesia which is mostly due to the fact that both sexes have the four front teeth of the upper jaw knocked out in childhood ... Many of them, especially the women are heavily tattooed on their back and front. This is done by making slight cuts with a knife and into these are rubbed mud and wood ash resulting in patterns. The men, without exception, wear a loin-cloth or soft skin of buck or goat drawn up tightly between the legs and knotted round the waist, beyond which they wear little. As to the women, they have little skin aprons in front and long soft skins, also of buck or goat, behind and tied in front. The unmarried girls, in addition to the after-aprons, have a very short kilt made of quantities of finely spun strings of

Batonka Community School

palm-leaf or the soft fibre of trees, preferably the Baobab, which serves many other purposes. All the tribe, from the new-born babe to the old men and women, are plentifully anointed with oil extracted from the castor-oil bean, which they cultivate, and the majority of the women and children, at least, are generously bedaubed with red ochre, not with the idea, let us hope, so much of adornment, but as a protection against inclement weather and the myriad biting flies and other insects which abound. Some of them do wash, I have seen it myself, but even those who do take a bath only do so when hot and sweaty from working in their gardens near the river, while others use water for drinking and culinary purposes only. The dugout or canoe is for them an absolute necessity, for by it is maintained communication with their kindred in Northern Rhodesia."

Hemans mentions a number of Batonka chiefs ... including Siansali, Sampakaruma, Siabuwa, Sinemsanga, Negande, Nebiri, Pashu and Binga. He also mentions other non-Batonka Chiefs, Chireya, Nenyunka, Dobola who fall under the Gokwe District. These Chieftainships continue to exist today.

Sally Wynn, writing in October, 2011 in the Kariba Invitational Tiger Fish Tournament 50th year Anniversary magazine, says "The displacement of some 57 000 people and the flooding of their homes and land as a result of the creation of Lake Kariba was an embarrassing thorn in the flesh for the colonial administration. Although the tribespeople were moved to higher ground on either side of the Zambezi valley, they lost their homes, their fertile lands, their ancestral burial grounds and their livelihoods. They did not go easily. But in the end, they had no choice.

Fifty years later, the Tonga in Zimbabwe still remain an economically marginalised people, remote and disadvantaged, battling with drought, tse-tse fly infestation, poor soils and isolation. Some have found new livelihoods at either ends of the lake which displaced them: in Binga and in Kariba where they are now employed in the fishing, agriculture and tourism industries. But their history is a sorry tale to tell".

Sally Wynn maintains that the Batonka, as a direct result of being relocated on account of the flooding of their ancestral homes along the Zambezi river are economically marginalised, have lost their livelihoods, are remote, disadvantaged, battling with drought, poor soils, are isolated and have lost their ancestral burial grounds.

It is precisely these aspects of their present lifestyles, economic status, and general well-being that I set out to establish when I visited them during December, 2012. I

based myself at Siabuwa and, assisted by a Tonga speaking African schoolteacher, travelled widely westwards to within 50kms of Binga. I interviewed many people of both sexes, tribal elders, teenage children and sought out as many elderly people as I could.

Stilted Huts

Throughout my travels I was asking people to make comparisons of life "then" and "now" and to form an opinion on how the Batonka had adapted to their "new lifestyles". I wished to see whether they were obviously disadvantaged, prejudiced or backward relative to other indigenous people, say in the adjoining Districts of Gokwe, Karoi and Kadoma. At the outset I indicated to my interpreter companion that I wished to interview as many very old men and women as possible, especially any people who had experienced life on the Zambezi river before they were compelled to move. This proved to be a very difficult challenge and we found only one such old man and one such woman. Considering that the people started to move in about 1957, some 56 years before, these people I estimated to have then been aged little over 20 years of age as I fancied both of them to be between 75 and 80 years old now.

On dress then, my informants said, just as Hemans wrote in 1935, they wore goat skin loin cloths or skin aprons usually woven to include beads. On their upper arms they wore armbands with rows and rows of beads and copper, or brass wire leg beads. ... and nothing else. Today all the men encountered wore shirts and trousers, jerseys or jackets. Hats and western type footwear was standard, whilst women wore blouses and skirts or ordinary dresses and almost always some sort of footwear. Headscarves and waist cloths were also common attire. I noted all children at school wore standard school uniforms in the particular colour chosen for their school. Once again I noted a large proportion of both boys and girls wore shoes or tennis shoes.

Concerning diet, those elderly persons interviewed all indicated that previously there was little variety in their diet which consisted of fish, pumpkins, maize in cob form, occasional vegetables (tomatoes and sweet potatoes) wild fruit and snared small game animals. Today they confessed there was a very wide variety of food available, the most commonly purchased being bread, sugar, salt, cooking oil, maize meal, jam, carbonated drinks and Chibuku beer (known locally as "*scuds*") Non-food items favoured as purchases were soap, hoes, blankets, body lotions (especially Vaseline) *pangas* and axes. Cooking pots, metal plates and mugs as well as paraffin were also stated as common necessities and all items were readily available at several general dealer shops

spread throughout the area.

We observed the "standard type" pole and *daga* huts with thatched roofs to be most in evidence. We saw some of the "houses on stilts" type of Batonka houses though these were relatively fewer in number. Conversely we saw, and I questioned the owners, a number of burnt brick and some concrete brick houses. The owners indicated that brick houses lasted longer than pole and *daga* houses and iron roofs ensured that it was dry inside. It was not uncommon to see solar panels placed strategically on both grass thatched and corrugated iron roofs. These fed into batteries for internal lighting and to power radios of which a number of "ghetto blasters" were evident. I even saw, and photographed, DStv satellite dishes at several homes visited. Another point of note is that ZESA electricity emanating from Binga is found all along the Hostes Nicolle highway and that Net One booster stations exist along the escarpment or on prominent hill features thus giving cellphone communications in many places. Cellphones are fast becoming normal possessions. Compare these aspects to what the Batonka people were experiencing "before" and it cannot be argued that they are worse off now.

As to household furniture, the well known Batonka stools, forked tree type chairs and pestle and mortar stamps continue to be used. More people are buying proper beds and mattresses now, instead of sleeping on the floor on reed mats as was the case so many years ago.

A typical Batonka family homestead today consists of the parents sleeping hut, a children's sleeping hut, a cooking and eating hut, a grain storage hut, a raised chicken hut and a stack of firewood with, a short distance to the rear, a brick built Blair toilet. It was evident that a "toilet building drive" had occurred with marked success. A large percentage of family homesteads had adult guinea fowls running around with the usual

Raised Poultry Hut

chickens. On enquiry I was told that it was common practice for the young boys, whilst herding cattle in the growing season, to come across nests of guinea fowl eggs which they would bring home and place under a broody hen. When the eggs hatched out the guinea fowl chicks behaved as if they were the common fowls we know and there was no need to tame them. Whilst on diet I enquired why no mention had been made of Mopani worms.

Somewhat surprisingly, I thought, the people said "Yes, there are Mopani worms here but they are not favoured as food by us Batonka people. They are food of the Ndebele people who come here seasonally and collect large quantities of the worms for resale in Bulawayo."

Turning to a comparison of traditional entertainment in the past and that encountered now, I was told that dancing to the beat of traditional drums was the only form of local entertainment before, but now many people listened to radios (and these were seen to be powered by batteries charged by solar panels and were not an uncommon sight) or watched television (once again powered by batteries charged by solar panels) usually at a bar or beerhall. These, said my informant, were well attended during the World Cup staged in South Africa a few years ago. He also indicated that most schools had football fields and that the boys loved the game. I was left wondering, had the Lake never been built, how many Batonkas would have had radios, television sets, cell phones, played football, bought bread and cooking oil and soap. Bicycles are a common sight in most families. The road network has given rise to an increasing number of buses, commuter omnibuses and private cars being seen in the Zambezi Valley, a far cry no doubt from what would have been the case were it not for the construction of Kariba.

The impact of education on a wide scale throughout the Valley is extremely strong. Sixty years ago there were absolutely no schools along the Zambezi but today there are many many primary schools and quite a number of secondary schools. At Siabuwa there is a school with 820 pupils. Just five kilometers away is another with over 500 pupils and a further eight kilometers westwards towards Binga there is one with 480 pupils. Siabuwa School employs 22 teachers of whom only 4 are qualified. My Interpreter/ Guide told me that qualified teachers were extremely reluctant to teach in "remote places" and that, in consequence, the pass rate at Form Four Level was only 5%. It is something of a contradiction because most parents interviewed spoke out strongly on the need for more schools and for existing schools to grow to higher forms. Again, new classroom blocks at Siabuwa School and at the next one five kilometers away were seen to be nearing completion. At each of them all buildings had been constructed either in burnt bricks, plastered under asbestos or corrugated iron or with concrete bricks under steel trusses bearing either asbestos or corrugated iron, and all had steel windows and glazed and steel door frames. I was staggered to be told that each of the new classroom blocks had cost in excess of $30 000 and that parents had contributed all this money to their building fund. Not only did the parents pay up willingly but they evidently had the ability to do so. This ability to pay was brought about by the sale of cotton which is grown extensively.

As to agriculture, previously the people cultivated small riverine gardens along the banks of the many tributaries of the Zambezi. They grew maize throughout the year, which the climate allowed. In addition pumpkins, vegetables and limited amounts of

sorghum (*mapfunde*) were cultivated. Standard agricultural equipment consisted only of the traditional hoe (*badza*). A few degenerated tobacco plants were grown for their traditional calabash pipes and that was it.

With their move to higher ground, larger areas of land were cleared for growing, primarily maize and sorghum. However, the coming of cotton as a cash crop about forty years ago has had a major impact on their lives. Without any doubt it is cotton that has changed their lives forever. Almost everybody now grows cotton with the cash thus provided meeting their school fee and other requirements. Whilst maize is still grown, some farmers informed me it was better to grow cotton and buy maize meal for cash at the many stores "because the elephant do not favour eating our cotton but prefer maize". Most families own a rubber-tyred scotchcart as well as a wheelbarrow. The latter item serves to carry bundles of cotton from the field to be baled at home for onward carriage in the scotchcart to the cotton-buying depot and to carry several large plastic "*chigubus*" of water from the borehole. My enquiries indicated that certified maize seed was readily available and fertilizer was often purchased to increase yields. Knapsack sprayers for controlling cotton pests are also said to be used widely. Ground nuts (*nzungu*) and round nuts (*nyimo*) are also grown for home consumption.

Whilst it is true that limited numbers of cattle were kept in the past (albeit away from the Zambezi due to the presence of tsetse fly there), cattle numbers have increased noticeably.

Clearing of land for agriculture has occurred on a large scale but unfortunately this land has not been protected against soil erosion and gulleys have formed in many areas. This soil erosion can be expected to become serious without attention to its prevention. Mechanisation has also appeared in the form of tractors. Each Chief is given a tractor and mounted plough as well as a pickup truck. As a result, succession to Batonka Chieftainships, which were never disputed previously, are now reported to be hotly contested, not only because of the vehicle and tractor donations from Government, but also because the monthly salaries for Chiefs have increased greatly.

On health matters, there are now a number of rural clinics, some operated by Government and others by various religious groups. One such clinic at Siabuwa is run by a most dedicated and efficient Christian lady called Vicky Graham. She has been there about twelve years and is virtually a doctor as she attends to everything from toothache to malaria and complicated childbirth. The people flock to her clinic. The clinic was established by a group of overseas churches and is funded by Highlands Presbyterian Church.

Nurse Vicky Graham reported to me her opinion that the Batonka have an extremely high, if not the highest, HIV/AIDS rate in the country. She said that "fish is traded for sex". Evidently, at all the fishing camps along the lakeshore, the men smoke and dry their catches awaiting the itinerant women buyers to arrive. After trading the buyers move on to the next fishing camp where the process is repeated. Worse still is that the high HIV/AIDS rate is not confined to the adult population but, according to Vicky, is also high in the schools.

I asked some older men and women whether there had been any changes in their language, customs or religious beliefs and got some surprising answers. Their language has been diluted because of their contact with Shona-speaking and English-speaking

people, to the extent that most Batonka now spoke Shona as well as their own language and their children were increasingly competent in speaking English. Their traditional customs had also changed since being resettled. Whereas marriage consideration (*lobola*) previously was three to five pounds sterling, ten goats, a hoe and some salt, it was now three to five hundred US dollars and up to six or eight head of cattle, as well as ten goats. A son-in-law who was unable to pay the required number of cattle was called on to pay his father-in-law with a cell phone. Another change in their custom was that they now also followed the Shona people's custom of adopting a *Chisi* day.

The traditional *Chisi* day is observed as "a non-working in the fields day" and it is Thursday in the area I visited. As regards religion I was told ... "Before we used to worship our ancestors and seek guidance from them but today we attend Christian Churches or we belong to the Zionists or the *Amapostori*". Questioned about the belief in Herbalists (*ngangas*) it was said ... "Those people still exist and they do practice but fewer and fewer people believe in them because all they want is money ..." Asked about what the people do now when they become ill I was told "Now, when anybody gets sick he or she goes to the clinic for medicine". I enquired of the women about the old custom of knocking out their four front teeth when they were still young and was told . . . "That custom was abandoned many years ago". Following my enquiries on women's current lifestyles and what aspects were either better now or worse I was informed ... "Before the women used to rub red mud (ochre) and oil on their bodies but nowadays they have various body lotions and hair creams that they apply. That is much better." On dress, particularly the wearing of mini-skirts and trousers by women, it was said ... "They are not banned by the tribal elders but our daughters prefer not to wear them".

On the functioning of Tribal Courts and Chieftainship succession the answers were that Tribal Courts continue to function with tribal elders acting as Assessors (*makorokota*) in local disputes. The succession of Chieftainship is still matrilineal. (When a Batonka Chief dies the son of his sister becomes the next Chief).

In conclusion, I reckon the Batonka have adapted very well to a generally different lifestyle to that experienced before Lake Kariba was built. Whereas fifty or sixty years ago they might have been regarded as primitive or backward they are certainly not so today. I would say they have caught up with the standards which exist today in most communal lands in Zimbabwe. Where there are irrigation schemes the people are better off than where there are none, but the people as a whole appear to be happy, in reasonably good health, have a sufficiency of food, produce a reasonable amount of cotton to sustain and educate a family and are no worse off than people in all other communal lands in the country.

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

Some Fort Tuli Surprises

by Rob Burrett

Recently while browsing around a second-hand shop I came across a small personal photograph album with several ageing, often fishmoth-damaged pictures. This has proven a real gem, containing a number of valuable pictures which I wish I had when I sent my book Plumer's Men (Burrett 2009) to press.

This note seeks to share with readers a few of these pictures taken, I think, during 1899 in the first few months of the Anglo-South African War, but possibly in the first quarter of 1900. It was difficult to decide which of the 12 undamaged pictures to include but I feel that the three presented are exciting. They capture images which were hitherto unknown, stills that flesh out the story so much better than any amount of words. I hope you will share with me a little bit of self-indulgence and feel the very real excitement I felt when I read for the first time the scrawled captions below the images.

Both in the seminal work of Colonel A. S. Hickman (1970) on the Rhodesian effort in the Second Anglo-South African War and in my own more recent book we discuss

Bryce's Store 1899–1900

the battle at Bryce's Store in what is now the Tuli Block, Botswana. Here a Rhodesian patrol from Fort Tuli was attacked and sent packing on 2 November 1899 by a Boer column (see also *Heritage 18* of 1999 for an early version of my research). I will not repeat the whole story but suffice to say that the Rhodesians were shelled and many of them took refuge in the store. Several of the men were injured and some captured. Most however managed to get back to the Rhodesian strongpoint of Fort Tuli over the next few days. It was a mere skirmish compared to battles at the time in the Natal and Cape Colonies, but this was one of the few "major incidents" of the War in this sector of the campaign; a campaign that was more important in its stand-off and diversion of a considerable number of Boer forces than in actual battles.

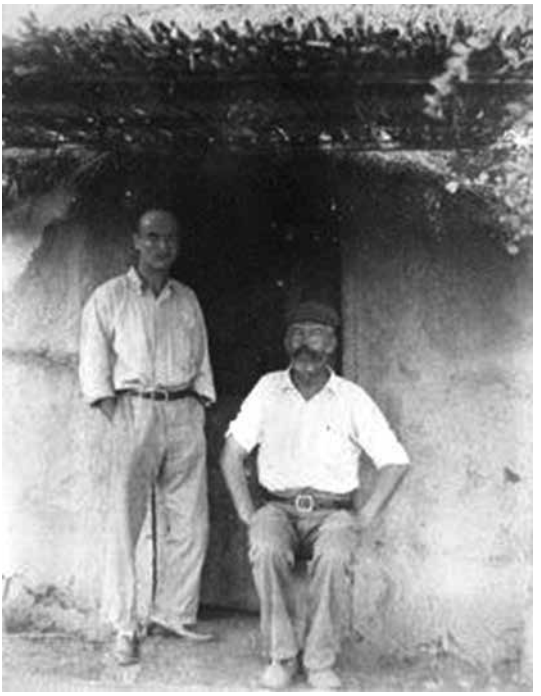
Bryce's Store was fired upon with small arms and received a direct hit from a shell fired by the Boer forces from nearby Pitsane Kop. It was said to have lost its roof and crumbled. The remains are still to be seen on the property of Mashatu Game Reserve and are regularly pointed out to clients. Both Hickman and I provide descriptions and illustrations of the "battle" and the site as we found it. Neither of us ever thought that there was a contemporary picture sitting unappreciated in someone's drawer. Yet that is just what is shown in the photo labelled "Bryce's Store". The structures look fairly forlorn with signs of rifle fire and its shelled roof. The photograph was taken from the southeast, see Hickman's map (1970:155, reproduced in Burrett 1999:39 & 2009:122) and was probably taken within two to three months of the action.

The image is both informative and a cautionary tale. It adds further detail to our understanding of the remains and the scene of action on that day. There was also a back veranda to the store, evidence for which is no longer clear on the ground, but the structure is a lot better standing than contemporary written reports would indicate. Clearly the Boer shell was not as damaging as was reported. This would explain why the Rhodesian injuries were nothing too serious, which had been a bit of a puzzle to me. It clearly shows that the store was not destroyed on 2 November 1899 thus accounting for its successive reoccupation later in the War by various Rhodesian, Australian and Imperial forces. The building's final collapse was later, probably after it was finally abandoned in 1901. There is no archival evidence that the frontier trader D. J. Bryce ever returned; in fact he disappears from history after being ordered under guard from Fort Tuli on 14 November 1899. The circular structure, presumably a rondavel, built in front of the store and shown on the previously published sketchmaps of the remains probably dates to these later episodes of occupation by successive troops. It was not there in November 1899. It is so exciting to have this picture of the flattened remains that one has studied for so long.

The second picture I have chosen, shows two of the Boer "prisoners of war" who were held at Fort Tuli. In my book I record the names of those held (Burrett 2009:268). Sadly we cannot be sure of exactly who is shown but it is still nice to have some supporting evidence of these now-forgotten men caught in a conflict not of their own making. The building in whose doorway they appear seems to me too flimsy to be the Fort Tuli Gaol. Perhaps there were other structures in their wired-off enclosure, not only the stone-walled gaol, the remains of which still stand. Indeed I begin to doubt that the structure now marked at Fort Tuli as the gaol is necessarily correct.

The third photo shows the flooded Shashe River. The tree is a young *Ficus sycamorus*,

probably one of those massive specimens that are still there on the riverbank just south of the Zimbabwe Parks camp. Note the boat and the wire that would have stretched across the flooded river via an island. This enabled men and supplies to cross the torrent in the small craft without being washed downstream. It is a great picture this, probably taken sometime after 22nd January 1900, at which time Fort Tuli experienced its first flood that season. The war was obviously not too stressful for some. Unfortunately the uniform is not informative as to the unit; it would have been one of three possibilities—Rhodesia Regiment, BSAP or Southern Rhodesia Volunteers. Whether Commanding Officer Colonel H. C. O. Plumer would have approved of a quick smoke on the job is hard to say, but these men don't seem too concerned. Plumer, a stickler for military discipline and hygiene, was by then gone from Fort Tuli and held up in an impasse in the south parts of the Bechuanaland Protectorate near what is today Gaborone. The commanding officer left in charge of Fort Tuli, Lieutenant W. S. Spain, was possibly on the other side of the flooded river. All in all a charming shot.



Boer Prisoners of War

Other pictures in the album show camp scenes at Fort Tuli, river scenes along the Shashe (both flooded and in its usual sandy condition), Pont Drift on the Limpopo, Jahainda camp (Gwanda?); as well as military hardware and various officers. One is left wondering how many other historically valuable items are out there unappreciated. This album has been copied and the original deposited in a suitable public archive in Bulawayo so that others will be able to enjoy it in future; they

Men at work on the Shashe River 1900

might even be able to see more into the images, which is one of the joys of historical research.

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The 1914 BSA Company Government Gazettes (in the year of the outbreak of the First World War

by Fraser Edkins

2014 is the Centenary year of the start of World War One.

First mention in the Gazette of the Great War appeared on Friday 7 August 1914 in Government Notice No. 322/1914 dated 5 August 1914 in the following form: "It is hereby notified for public information that a telegraphic despatch has been received from his Excellency the (British) High Commissioner (J. Wolfe Murray based in Pretoria) announcing that war has broken out with Germany". (In GN 346/14 published on 14 August 1914 Administrator W. H. Milton announced that war had also broken out with the Austro-Hungarian Empire).

A few days earlier (in the build-up to war) the British Government had gazetted the suspension of telegraph services throughout the Empire, save for such as were sent on Government service and, for a grace period only, save for those sent "in plain language (without codes or ciphers)…in English or French…subject to censorship (or stopping) by the British Authorities".

The ensuing weeks saw a rash of applications for Letters of Naturalisation by local residents bearing mostly German and Jewish surnames, many of the latter originating from Russian territories where they had perhaps been victims of persecution in the frequent Czarist pogroms. Other applicants included Michael Travlos, John Divaris and George and William Pichanick. In December 1914 Otto and Harold Zimmerman changed their surnames to Rawson.

Administrator W. H. Milton

The Gazette of 10 August 1914 prohibited the exportation from Southern Rhodesia of any foodstuffs or "warlike stores" (mainly weaponry and explosives) save with Milton's permission. However, the existence at border crossings of "unusually large quantities" of (perishable) foodstuffs bound for the region could be specially exempted by the Minister. The same Gazette declared

the BSA Police to be on active service until further notice.

C. W. Stumbles (then a clerk to the Bulawayo Magistrate but later a prominent Public Prosecutor) was put in charge of issuing permits in Bulawayo for arms, ammunition and gunpowder.

Incidentally, as an indicator of Salisbury's development in 1914, the roads from Salisbury Commonage to today's suburbs of Highlands, Colne Valley, the Grange, Glen Lorne and Umwinsidale were declared on 13 August to be "district roads" (and there were lengthy Ricksha regulations, which is how most folk travelled on those roads).

On 18 August 1914 Milton said the Imperial Government had evidence of "great curtailment and even cancellation of orders from the Dominions to British manufacturers in consequence of the war situation". Merchants and traders in Southern Africa were implored not to reduce their normal orders to British manufacturers "so that employment in Great Britain may not be too greatly curtailed in this critical period" as there was "reason to hope that within the near future general commercial prospects (would) appreciably improve". (The war would of course go on for another 4½ years).

The Gazette of 24 August 1914 required the registration of every privately held rifle by 21 September 1914.

The High Commissioner's Proclamations of 25 August 1914 warned all residents against "any commercial intercourse" with any German or Austro-Hungarian in those countries or in any of their Protectorates (eg German South West Africa or Tanganyika), or any participation in the floating of any loans on behalf of those nations or their Emperors, unless transgressors wished to be "apprehended and dealt with as traitors". (This did not deter the application in the same Gazette for the trademark registration of "Constantin" cigarettes by Messrs. Cigarettenfabrik Constantin Aktiengesellschaft).

The Gazette of 31 August 1914 prohibited the sale, exchange or barter of any rifle or ammunition. It also authorized Government censorship of all postal and telegraphic matter in Southern Rhodesia (much of the burden of censorship falling on the Postmaster General A. E. Holloway) with no claim lying for damages arising from delayed communications.

On 3 September 1914 it was announced that German and Austro-Hungarian consular representatives would no longer be recognized as such, their "exequaturs" being withdrawn. Further, all subjects of those countries were required to register their names and addresses with, and to surrender all firearms in their possession to, the nearest Magistrate.

A Government Notice of 10 September 1914 announced the easing of certain war-induced export restrictions, "providing there are no grounds for assuming that such consignments are intended or are likely to find their way into the hands of the enemy" (but excluding potential war material such as field glasses, pack animals, bayonets and so on).

By Government Notice dated 14 September 1914 any person in Southern Rhodesia (particularly in native reserves) circulating "reports calculated to produce unrest or disaffection among the people" rendered himself liable to arrest and

deportation. (In South Africa the decision of the Smuts administration to support Great Britain in the war had led to open rebellion and some Afrikaner and German residents in Southern Rhodesia were not above stirring the pot).

Special Reserve officers holding permanent civil appointments under Colonial Administrations were permitted to be seconded for a period not exceeding 5 years.

On 24 September 1914 all Reserve Officers not in the employ of Government were "required to return to England forthwith and report themselves to the War Office". Russian and German citizens would also have been liable to call-up and/or personal restrictions (hence perhaps the slew of applications for naturalization).

Local Volunteer Force regulations were announced on 2 October 1914 by the new High Commissioner Lord Buxton, including the death sentence by shooting or hanging for a variety of offences. Appointments of officers to the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers commenced.

On 16 October 1914 by Proclamation, more detailed and extensive restrictions were published concerning any dealings with Germans and Austro-Hungarians (even extending to insurance policies), but there was no restriction on receiving payments from enemies based in Southern Rhodesia if the contract was concluded before the start of the war. This was entitled "The Southern Rhodesia Trading with the Enemy Proclamation 1914".

On the 16 October 1914 and 30 October 1914 articles to be deemed "contraband of war" were listed (mostly various raw materials).

High Commissioner Buxton's Proclamation of 4 November 1914 allowed the declaration by Milton of martial law in Southern Rhodesia (wherever and whenever he deemed it expedient) which powers could include restrictions on the movement of persons, the sale of liquor, price controls, the storage of explosives, gatherings in private and public places, extended detention on remand, arrests without warrant, requisitioning of goods and so on.

Loitering near railway tracks or telegraph or electricity lines was an offence.

Government Notice 464/14 prohibited the communication to any enemy of any information concerning "His Majesty's forces in Africa", including any information as to their success or failure. This extended to communications normally privileged in law. Also prohibited was the use of any language "within the hearing of two or more persons" conveying any hope of the success of enemy forces or "conveying any anticipation of any disaster or misfortune or failure on the part of any of His Majesty's forces". Rumour-mongering was outlawed, as was the communication of "any matter calculated to create alarm or excite public feeling".

The exportation from Southern Rhodesia was banned of certain goods to "all foreign ports in Europe and the Mediterranean and Black Seas, other than those of Russia (except Baltic ports), Belgium, France, Spain and Portugal". The list of goods was regularly supplemented in later Gazettes.

Milton declared Martial Law to be in force throughout Southern Rhodesia with effect from 30 October 1914.

On the 5 November 1914 the use of certain codes (eg Scott's Code, Lieber's Code, Western Union Code) was permitted in telegrams passing between the United Kingdom and British Possessions and allied or neutral countries outside

the European telegraph system. (Messages in any other codes would be stopped).

It was announced that Cyprus had been annexed from Turkey on 5 November 1914.

On 1 November 1914 Drummond Chaplin succeeded Milton as Administrator of Southern Rhodesia, (Frank Newton having briefly acted as such for an interim period).

Government Notice 471 of 6 November 1914 announced that war had broken out with Turkey, and with effect from 19 November 1914 all Turkish subjects in Southern Rhodesia were similarly required to register their names and addresses and surrender their firearms. Trade restrictions with Turkey came into force, transgressors liable to be dealt with "as traitors …and proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the law".

The appointment of the bonded warehouse known as "Nobel's Explosives Board" was revoked on 19 November 1914.

Incidentally, (and quite irrelevant to this article), it became an offence on 10 December 1914 for travellers not to close farm or other gates after passing through them.

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The Geological Survey
The Period 1930–1949

by Peter Fey

Introduction

This is the second of a proposed series of articles summarising the history of the Geological Survey, the government department charged with geological mapping and the documentation of the country's mineral endowment. It leads on from an article previously submitted to this journal (Fey, 1995) tracing the foundation and formative years of this small but important organisation, and is based on departmental histories by Tyndale-Biscoe (1972) and by Fey (1997). In this text the original spelling of place names is used.

The years 1930 to 1939

The decade, culminating in the outbreak of World War II, began with the appointment of geologists James Crighton Ferguson and Albert Edward Phaup, thereby bringing the Geological Survey staff to full strength. It also saw the retirement of the first and longest-serving director, Herbert Brantwood Maufe. Geological mapping had hitherto involved the preparation by plane tabling of a topographical map upon which the geology, also surveyed by plane tabling, was subsequently plotted. Mapping was facilitated and greatly accelerated with the introduction in 1936 of aerial photography. Furthermore, with the issue of 19 geological bulletins and 6 short reports, the backlog of unpublished information was eliminated. In addition, several out-of-print bulletins and short reports were reprinted between 1934 and 1936. Practical assistance to the mining industry, by means of advice, mineral determinations and mine visits, continued to be freely rendered by all geologists of the department. Expectedly, the outbreak of war led to major attrition of the staff as members were called up for military service, with geological mapping becoming the principal casualty.

Until the arrival of Norman Eric Barlow in July 1930 the position of Mineralogist, created in 1921, had been filled by a considerable number of short-lived incumbents. Previously a member of Dr Austen Bancroft's team of explorationists on what was to become the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt Barlow gave sterling service to the department until his retirement in November 1956. He was responsible for Bulletin 42 (1955) on "The Determination of Southern Rhodesian Economic Minerals". Revised in 1956 this extremely popular work ran to a further two printings.

Of the two geologists recruited in 1930, Ferguson, a keen and able photographer, brought to the department considerable geophysical experience, gained in 1926–1928 in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia under Dr A Broughton Edge, and in 1928–1930 with the Imperial Geophysical Experimental Survey in Australia. He was initially assigned to map the Filabusi goldfield but his geophysical expertise was

soon called upon in the search for groundwater, principally in the tribal areas. Phaup, eventually to become the Geological Survey's longest-serving geologist, was directed to investigate the Antelope and Lower Gwanda gold belts south of Bulawayo. In the meantime geologist Alexander Miers Macgregor, who after serving in World War I had rejoined the department in August 1919, briefly adjourned his work in the Midlands in order to reconnoitre an area of 150 square miles in the Lomagundi District around the Umboe, Norah and Molly copper claims. The latter were to become part of the Mangula Mine which, developed in the late 1950s, was the largest copper producer in the country.

On completion of his assignment in southern Matabeleland Phaup was sent to the Eastern Districts in 1933. At this time geologist Ronald McIver Tyndale-Biscoe, appointed in December 1924, obtained a Commonwealth Fund Scholarship and was granted two years special leave enabling him to take courses in Britain and at Harvard University in the United States of America. The gap left by his departure was filled in September 1933 by Frank Leslie Amm, a graduate of Rhodes University and the first South African geologist to join the Geological Survey. Delegated to investigate the country around Bulawayo he used the results of his work to obtain a doctorate from Pretoria University in 1940. Appointed a month after Amm was Tom Hopwood Wilson, a Yorkshireman who continued the mapping of the Mazoe Valley begun by Tyndale-Biscoe until his untimely death in 1937 whilst on leave in England.

In 1934 fieldwork by five parties set new records of geological and topographical coverage amounting to 1 066 and 1 052 square miles respectively. These results were achieved by every member of the field parties working 50% more than the customary Civil Service hours. Amm continued with his endeavours around Bulawayo while Phaup, accompanied by topographer V H Woram, was engaged in mapping the rugged Umtali gold belt, where the occurrence in winter of low cloud and rain ("*guti*") prevented work over a total of 27 days during the field season. 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. Macgregor completed his mammoth survey of the Midlands gold belts with the mapping of the Hunter's Road sheet area, then briefly turned his attention to 185 square miles of country enclosing the remote Makaha schist belt east-northeast of Salisbury, this work being documented in Bulletin 28 (1935). The gold belt had in 1872 been discovered by the German explorer Karl Mauch, who named it after Kaiser Wilhelm (Bernhard, 1970).

An upsurge in mining activity saw visits by Geological Survey staff members to mines and prospects increase from 252 in 1933 to 458 in 1934. Of the latter total Phaup accounted for 180. At this time the Government decided to stimulate gold production by a campaign of diamond (core) drilling to locate new reefs at depth. Planned drilling programmes were to be supervised by a geologist, initially Ben Lightfoot, and on 1 August 1934 Dr Derick Kransdorff was appointed to this position on a three-year contract. Transferred to the Mines Department the following April he resigned in December 1935, when Wilson took charge of the drilling programme.

Director Maufe retired on 27 August 1934 and was immediately succeeded by

Lightfoot, who was the third geologist to join the fledgling Geological Survey in May 1911. With experience on the British coalfields Lightfoot investigated coal occurrences in the Lower Sabi Valley during November of that year, thereafter carrying out the first mapping of the Wankie coalfield in 1912 and revising this work in 1928. Despite his administrative duties as Director he managed to visit several mines each year and also undertook reconnaissance surveys. A Fellow of the Geological Society, London since 1912 Lightfoot was awarded the Society's Lyell Fund in 1928. Vice President of the Geological Society of South Africa between 1937 and 1942, and President in 1939 he was awarded that Society's Draper Medal in 1942. The West Wing of the present Geological Survey building in Harare is named after him.

In 1932 an experimental survey of 80 square miles was conducted over the country east of Bulawayo by the Aircraft Operating Company of Africa (Pty) Ltd (AOC), successor to an organisation which had undertaken extensive aerial surveys in Northern Rhodesia (McAdam, 1974). During 1934 the government of Southern Rhodesia decided to allocate £3 000 annually towards the aerial survey of an equivalent number of square miles of terrain. These surveys, contracted out between 1935 and the outbreak of war, were undertaken by AOC which commenced by producing 1:10 000 scale aerial photography for 2 000 square miles of country in the Lomagundi and Hartley districts. The work was undertaken in June and July, with ground control by the Geological Survey's topographer V. H. Woram, and the new photographs were successfully used to map the Lower Umfuli goldbelt. There Phaup was joined by Frederic Osborne Storey Dobell, a young Oxford graduate appointed in March 1936. In that year a further contract was made with AOC to fly an area of 3 000 square miles in the Belingwe-Gwanda region. Topographer Woram again undertook the ground control before being transferred in August to the newly-formed Topographical Survey section of the Surveyor-General's Department. In April of that year Lightfoot was seconded for nine months to the Department of Mines, becoming its Acting Secretary between June and December. Over this period Ferguson was made Acting Director of the Geological Survey.

In 1937 mapping coverage by five field parties totalled 2 860 square miles, Macgregor topping the list with 835 square miles mapped in the Lomagundi District. This trebling of the previous year's figure was attributable largely to the use of air photographs in the preparation of topographical base maps. Departmental publications issued comprised the long-awaited Bulletin 30 by Macgregor, Ferguson and Amm on the country around Queen's Mine (Bulawayo District), where mapping had originally been started by Lightfoot in 1914, as well as Bulletin 31 (Hunters Road, Gwelo District) by Macgregor and Bulletin 32 (Umtali Gold Belt) by Phaup, together with Short Report 30 (Gwanda Gold Belt) by Tyndale-Biscoe. Furthermore, there was a third edition of the 1:1 million scale geological map of the country. With office space at a premium the drawing up of plans by the Director of Public Works for a new Geological Survey building was timely.

Six parties were in the field during 1938, a year notable for the number and variety of traverses undertaken on foot, by vehicle, boat and aeroplane across hitherto relatively unknown terrain. This reconnaissance covered areas of some 3 000 square miles in the remote southeast of the country (Lightfoot) and 1 390 square miles in the northwest

Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, 1939
Back: R. G. G. Gain; N. E. Barlow; R. M. Tyndale-Biscoe; A. E. Phaup; B. B. Napier.
Middle: F. O. S. Dobell; E. Golding; V. E. Horne; F. L. Amm; C. F. Smith.
Front: Miss D. C. M. McIntosh; A. M. Macgregor; B. Lightfoot (Director); J. C. Ferguson; Miss A. Boardman.

of the Wankie Game Reserve (Ferguson), the latter investigation being followed by recommendations regarding which portions of the Reserve should be opened for prospecting. Three members of staff visited the Zambezi Valley where Phaup, using a track cleared by the Native Department, penetrated by vehicle from the main road near Chirundu to the confluence of the Chewore and Zambezi rivers. Amm accompanied A. C. Gauld of the Surveyor-General's Department on a trial topographical survey of the Zambezi Valley between the Lokola River and Kariba Gorge while Macgregor, together with his wife, travelled down the river by boat from Chirundu to Feira. He then walked to Sipolilo, making a detailed compass traverse of his route.

Although useful, these activities reduced overall mapping coverage for the year to only 1 606 square miles. Contributing to this low figure, and commented on by both Phaup and Dobell, was the fact that the newly prepared 1:62 500 scale topographical sheets, whilst a great advance on earlier maps, provided less accuracy and control for geological mapping than had been the case when air photographs were used in the previous field season.

Draughtsman Henry Stobie McVey retired at the end of August 1938, having served the department since its formation in 1910. His departure foreshadowed other staff losses, all brought about by the outbreak of war. Phaup left in July 1939 to return to Britain where he worked initially in connection with Civil Defence and later in opencast

coal mining. In his nine years with the Geological Survey Department he had mapped 1 629 square miles, the average for a Field Geologist, and had examined 572 mines, almost double the departmental average. Geologist William Hubert Swift was appointed in August 1939 and Dobell resigned in September to join the Royal Air Force, where he obtained a permanent commission in 1945. Draughtsman C .F. Smith was called up in November. A highlight of 1939 was undoubtedly the visit, at Lightfoot's invitation, of Dr F. Coles Phillips, lecturer in Petrology at the University of Cambridge. Over the period July–August he instructed staff in petrological methods and use of laboratory equipment, including the universal microscope stage.

With the beginning of war, systematic geological mapping was reduced, amounting to only 296 square miles in 1939. In an attempt to stimulate mineral production, field staff were assigned to economic work and it was deemed advisable to appoint a geologist to each major mining centre. Accordingly, Tyndale-Biscoe was sent to Bulawayo, Amm to Gwelo and Swift to Gatooma. However, since mining records and services were centralised in Salisbury, these geologists were severely hampered in their operations and all eventually returned to the capital.

The period 1940-1949

In 1940 eight staff members were conscripted. Ferguson, Amm and draughtsman Basil Bredell Napier were called up into the Rhodesian Survey Unit. Miss D. McIntosh, librarian from 1933 to 1949, joined the Rhodesian Nursing Service in October and, like Ferguson and Napier, was sent to East Africa. Tyndale-Biscoe departed a month later for the Middle East to join the Royal Air Force Intelligence Unit. Swift, initially with the Light Battery, transferred to the Royal Air Force to become navigator in a bomber squadron. Also called up were draughtsmen Clews and Gain, the latter losing his life in a flying accident in England in 1941. Systematic mapping amounted to 553 square miles and was undertaken principally at Lower Gwelo (Amm) and at Balla Balla (Tyndale-Biscoe). The latter geologist in particular had a record year and, before being drafted, was responsible for a most remarkable amount of work comprising reconnaissance and detailed mapping in several districts as well as numerous mine visits.

For the duration of the war Director Lightfoot was very involved with the Royalty Review Committee. This body was set up to investigate claims from marginal goldmines for remission of royalties to enable them to develop new ore bodies and hence to remain in production. Amongst these mines may be cited the Tebekwe and Camperdown at Selukwe as well as the Gaika at Que Que. Surprisingly, the Monarch Mine at Francistown in Bechuanaland was also examined in this connection (Lightfoot 1942, p 19). In March 1940 Lightfoot delivered his presidential address on the Great Dyke to the Geological Society of South Africa. As a result geophysicist Oscar Weiss elected to determine the subsurface shape of this intrusion and subsequently undertook two gravimetric traverses across the latter along the railway line and main road between Salisbury and Hartley, the Government meeting his travelling expenses.

Having occupied "temporary" premises on the corner of Fourth Street and Jameson Avenue for fully 15 years the Geological Survey Department was able to move into its new offices, still in use today and known as Maufe Building, over the period October-December 1940. The move coincided with the return to the department in December of

Maufe, who assisted mineralogist Barlow until May 1945. In addition to maintaining the rock microscope collection, which by then totalled 10 000, Maufe was able to put to good use his exceptional skills as a petrographer. Publications issued during the year comprised Bulletins 35 (Bulawayo) and 36 (Gwanda) as well as Short Reports 31 (Norton Gold Belt), 32 (Insiza–Fort Rixon) and 33 (Mwanesi Gold Belt).

With more than half the staff on call-up there was no systematic mapping in 1941 and the emphasis shifted to economic work. Lightfoot and Macgregor together made 187 mine visits, a creditable achievement when compared with the previous year when six staff members made 388 such visits. Macgregor undertook a detailed survey of major mines in the western portion of the Gwanda belt, where the prevailing high gold price allowed hitherto neglected arsenical sulphide ores to be profitably worked. Despite increasing restrictions on the use of transport during the following year he made 90 mine visits of which 42 were to base metal properties exploiting principally tungsten ores but also mica, chromite, corundum, magnesite and molybdenum. Nor were gold mines neglected, Macgregor spending much time mapping parts of the Cam and Motor Mine at Eiffel Flats and the Vubachikwe Mine near Gwanda. Tyndale-Biscoe, having returned from active service in August 1942, immediately resumed fieldwork with topographical and geological mapping of the Victoria schist belt, which included the Rurgwe and Bikita tin fields.

During 1943 no gold belts were mapped. However, mica production increased and accordingly Tyndale-Biscoe spent two and a half months surveying 100 square miles covering the most active portions of the Lomagundi mica fields. He also revisited the CSC scheelite mine on Mt Wedza and reconnoitred the Shawa Hills some 35 miles to the south. There concentric ring structures were recognised as being made up of carbonatite, a carbonate rock of controversial, possibly magmatic, origin. Importantly, in September a large conference attended by, inter alia, District Mining Engineers and Mining Commissioners, addressed the subject of falling gold production. This was attributed to shortages of materials and labour and to increasing working costs. Moreover, taxation based on gold output was resulting in preferential exploitation of high grade ores, leaving unmineable much gold in low-grade occurrences.

In 1944 systematic regional geological mapping was resumed with Tyndale-Biscoe, the only available geologist, covering 450 square miles around Gwelo. Mine visits by three staff members totalled 184 and Macgregor undertook a detailed study of the Peak chromite mine at Selukwe. Amm returned from military service in December.

By the end of 1945 all serving members of the staff, with the exception of draughtsmen Clews, Gain and Smith, who had lost their lives in the war, had resumed duty with the department. Maufe retired finally in May. Mine visits totalled 229, and Macgregor continued his investigations at Selukwe on the Railway Block Mine. Shortages of equipment and transport notwithstanding, areas of 2 000 and 805 square miles respectively were reconnoitred and mapped in detail during the year. Tyndale-Biscoe continued fieldwork in the Gwelo and Selukwe districts, Ferguson at Belingwe and Amm in the Lower Gwelo and Hartley districts. Swift, having returned from active service only in November, immediately commenced mapping in the Odzi gold belt. Although he possessed a Ph D degree when he joined the Geological Survey in 1939 (J. G. Stagman, pers. comm.) this was the first year in which he was referred to as

"Dr Swift" in the Director's Annual Reports

In the meantime the Government, with an investment eventually approximating to one million pounds (Macgregor 1948, p1), had established the Mining Settlement Scheme for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen. From departmental and production records a list of dormant properties which might warrant reopening had been compiled. A committee, which included a senior member of the Geological Survey and was chaired by Chief Government Mining Engineer W. Ralston, then selected and assigned suitable applicants to reopen such mines. These applicants were paid a salary and granted a loan to develop the property. Once the operation proved to be economically viable the salary was stopped, the loan recalled and the operator became the mine owner. Whilst few of these ventures were successful, and many men left the scheme with Government bearing the financial losses, the exercise was considered to have been worthwhile.

In a further attempt to arrest the decline in the country's gold production Government implemented a programme of power loaming over soil-covered terrain. Essentially, this technique consisted of drilling auger holes from the surface in soil-covered terrain in an attempt to intersect auriferous rubble which might be overlying the bedrock. The programme commenced during the 1946 field season near the Golden Valley Mine, northwest of Gatooma, but then continued into other, potentially prospective areas. Also at this time the Industrial Development Board began its investigation of the Dorowa alkaline complex on the Sabi River south of Wedza. There the eminent early geologist Frederick Philip Menell had identified the phosphate apatite, which occurred in appreciable quantities.

Lightfoot, who had recently been awarded an OBE, found his period as Director to be one of great strain, worry and overwork. His health suffered and he was allowed to take early retirement in 1946, returning to England in June to rejoin his wife and family who had been there since 1939. He was succeeded by Macgregor during whose directorship the new Minister of Mines, in an attempt to assist the ailing gold mining industry, increased the number of positions for geologists from six to ten. The first two new appointees to the Geological Survey Department during 1946 were John Gerard Norman Stagman and William Campbell White.

In the following year further recruits comprised South African geologists Barend Gerrit Worst and John Walter Wiles. The latter, an Honours graduate of Rhodes University, had been awarded the Military Cross during the war. Phaup rejoined the department in April 1947 and, having spent several years supervising opencast coal mining in Britain, was highly critical of the Rhodesian mining industry and strongly advocated technical training of the local labour force. Augmentation of the staff was completed on the last day of 1947 with the appointment of Gavin Thomas Lamont, Ph D (Cape Town). He was to remain with the Geological Survey for only 15 months before leaving to work in Bechuanaland, where much later he played a pivotal role in the discovery of kimberlite pipes. Certain of these subsequently developed into the Orapa, Letlhakane and Jwaneng diamond mines (Pienaar and Skinner, 1997).

During 1947 five geologists out of a staff of nine were engaged almost continuously in assisting the mining sector, in particular those mines operating under the Mining Settlement Scheme. In a further effort to stimulate the industry it was decided early

Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, 1948
Back: J. G. Stagman; B. G. Worst; V. L. Barnes; W. H. Swift; W. C. White; G. T. Lamont; J. W. Wiles.
Middle: N. E. Barlow; Miss M. E. Peckover; V. E. Horne; Miss D. C. M. McIntosh; D. O. L. Levy; Mrs J. M .Lloyd; B. B. Napier.
Front: F. L. Amm; J. C. Ferguson; A. M. Macgregor (Director); R. M. Tyndale-Biscoe; E. Golding.
Absent: A. E. Phaup; Miss J. M. Laing.

in the year to concentrate departmental fieldwork on the coal and iron deposits of the then still remote Lower Sabi Valley. Aerial photographs of a tract of country 1 250 square miles in extent were to be provided by the Surveyor-General's Department, and provisional contracts were negotiated for geophysical surveys, diamond drilling and shaft sinking. The Government subsequently contracted the London firm of Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners (SAGP) to advise on the development of this region.

Because Worst had experience in geophysical prospecting he was initially seconded to the Irrigation Department for four months to help develop water resources, thereafter joining colleagues Swift, Wiles and White in the Lower Sabi Valley, the men being referred to as "the SWWW team" by Sir Lewis T. Fermor, SAGP's consulting geologist and former director of the Geological Survey of India. Fieldwork was hampered by shortages of transport, local labour and water. Nonetheless, the team mapped an area of 1 600 square miles in the dry seasons of 1947 and 1948, following this with economic work comprising magnetometry, drilling, shaft sinking and sampling. The work, variously supervised by Amm, Swift, Tyndale-Biscoe and Worst, was completed at the end of 1950. Results, published in 1953 as Bulletin 40, showed the iron occurrences to be of subeconomic size and the coal seams, as already noted in 1911 by Lightfoot, to be extensively affected by dolerite intrusions and hence of poor quality. As evidenced

by subsequent development the principal value of this region lies in its agricultural potential, realised by the establishment of irrigation schemes fed from numerous dams.

During 1947 the fourth edition (1946) of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map was published. This is unique, being the only one of the series to incorporate Bechuanaland's Tati Concession, then administered by Southern Rhodesia as regards mining law. To accompany this map an outline of the country's geological history was prepared by Macgregor (1947). Also in that year Phaup began the department's long association with the Kariba Hydro-electric Scheme by undertaking 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, using a landing craft to reconnoitre the entire gorge. Until 1956 there were to be further periodical visits to the dam site by Amm, Ferguson and Stagman.

Macgregor, a Draper Memorial Medalist in 1947, retired in January 1948. He received the degree of D Sc from the University of Natal for his collected works, was awarded an OBE in 1949 and became President of the Geological Society of South Africa in 1950. The author of some 50 scientific publications, his notable contributions to Rhodesian geology include identification, in the 1914 field season, of the Kalahari System of sands and its incorporation into the Southern Rhodesian stratigraphic column, recognition of stromatolites in the Huntsman Limestone north of Bulawayo (Macgregor, 1941) and the still broadly upheld three-fold subdivision (Sebakwian, Bulawayan, Shamvaian) of the Archaean greenstones (Macgregor, 1947). He died in Bulawayo in 1961, aged 73 years.

Ferguson succeeded Macgregor as Director and Tyndale-Biscoe was appointed Senior Geologist. In October 1948 the geological staff was further increased by the appointment of geologist John Michael Brassey, who had served with the Royal Marine Commandos in the Far East.

In 1949 Brassey mapped an area of approximately 400 square miles at the confluence of the Sanyati and Zambezi Rivers and, evidently an enterprising individual, was reputed to have simultaneously run clandestine safari operations from his remote bush camp. Swift completed his study of the Odzi schist belt and Stagman finalised mapping of the Mazoe gold belt at Concession-Msonneddi, where the occurrence of lions was of some concern for his young family camping with him. Phaup, now based in Gwelo, paid 142 visits to 100 mines and wrote 72 reports. Of these mines 28 were on the Mining Settlement Scheme. Amm, concerned chiefly with the Hartley mining district, made 103 such visits and also documented the results of diamond drilling undertaken at the Kariba Number 1 dam site. In June and August Robert Brookes Spratt and Arthur Harold Barrie joined the drawing office. Both gave long service and both became Chief Cartographer, Barrie retiring only in 1991.

An important event was the visit in October 1949 by a team from the USA representing the Economic Co-operation Administration which was concerned with strategic minerals. Tyndale-Biscoe, then Acting Director, accompanied the group on a trip to the Bikita Tin Field where one of the visitors noticed a large crystal of beryl used as a doorstop. This mineral was then in great demand and commanded high prices. When asked if there was any quantity of beryl on his claims the owner, Mr Douglas

Lawrie, replied that he did not know but would soon find out (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 61). The resulting search was successful and became the catalyst for substantial beryl production in many districts of the country.

Geological mapping during 1949 by seven geologists covered 1 672 square miles and there was a new issue of the 1: 3 million scale geological map. An extension to the first floor of the Geological Survey building, intended to accommodate a photographic section, was completed in May, 1949.

Acknowledgements
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Reminiscences of a German Internee

by Peter Fey

Introduction

I was born on 26 January 1941 in Lushoto, Tanganyika, of German parents who had recently settled there. My father Fritz, although wholly uninterested in politics, had misgivings about the way matters were developing in Germany under Hitler. Accordingly, in about 1936 he completed the compulsory period of national service in the army and was then free to leave the country of his birth. Of adventurous disposition, he chose to go to Tanganyika, the former German East Africa (now Tanzania) which since the First World War had been administered by Britain on behalf of the League of Nations. A qualified stonemason, he there found employment with a Swiss architect residing, I believe, in the northern port town of Tanga and making his living by designing buildings for the surrounding region. My father joined the architect as builder and site foreman, quickly becoming proficient in the local lingua franca, Swahili. Basing himself in the small centre of Lushoto, located in the Usambara Highlands some 100 kilometres inland from Tanga, he soon acquired a vehicle as well as a rifle and, over weekends, would often drive into the plains between Usambara and the Kenya border to photograph game and indulge in some shooting.

Although my father was an atheist there exists, among the many buildings which he constructed at that time, a most beautiful chapel at a mission in the Usambara Highlands. This he took the family to see on our overland journey from Germany back to Southern Rhodesia in 1956.

My mother Ursula, née Sprockhoff, completed her education near Rendsburg in northern Germany, at a rural college where young women were taught the skills to fit them for life in the (former) colonies. At approximately the same time as my father she then independently travelled to Tanganyika by ship to become nursemaid and governess to a German family at Lushoto. There she met and eventually married my father.

Internment

Details of Britain's policy on internees and refugees, their accommodation and treatment with special reference to Southern Rhodesia, are given by Rupiah (1995).

Tanganyika had a sizeable German population comprising farmers as well as townspeople. At the outbreak of war in 1939 the men were immediately interned, women and children being allowed to continue living at home. Much personal property was confiscated at that time by the authorities and mostly never returned.

Initially held in Dar-es-Salaam my father was soon released on parole, during which period he managed a sawmill near Usambara. Re-interned, I believe that he briefly sojourned on Zanzibar before being shipped to South Africa, a country which had elected to take male internees only (Rupiah 1995, p 140). There my father and the other internees from Tanganyika were held together with Germans from South West Africa (now Namibia), another former German colony then administered by South Africa. My birth certificate shows that by January 1941 my father was a "resident" of Andalusia Internment Camp in the Orange Free State. He was later transferred to Leeuwkop Camp near Pretoria.

He had contracted amoebic dysentery immediately before the war. German doctors, fellow internees, diagnosed his condition but were unable to provide treatment in the camps, with the result that the disease became chronic. Although he was subsequently cured in Germany my father was to suffer from debilitating after-effects for the rest of his life.

The author, aged between 5 and 6 years, standing in front of a typical accommodation block at Norton Internment Camp. Note thatched roof and hessian walls

Among his recollections of his time in South Africa was an incident, possibly resulting from unruly behaviour one night by the internees, in which the camp commandant ordered the guards to open fire. With the buildings in the camp consisting solely of corrugated iron barracks it is a miracle that there were no casualties resulting from this action.

Meanwhile the German women and children living in Tanganyika were, probably from as early as 1940, transported in batches to Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), there to be housed principally in the Number 2 (Tanganyika) Internment Camp (Edkins, 2012) in Salisbury (now Harare). It is likely that my mother and I arrived there during 1941. Number 2 Camp, colloquially known as "Beatrice Cottages", was located in bushland adjacent to the Beatrice Road, at or near the southwestern extremity of what was later to become the Harare African township, and my earliest memories are from there. The accommodation consisted

of tiny cottages serviced by blocks of communal wash houses (Rupiah 1995, p 144) and the camp was surrounded by a simple wire fence patrolled by black guards. Within the camp were isolated, large eucalyptus trees whose leaves were periodically fed into the wash house boilers, and to this day I associate their aromatic smell when burnt with that period. Children were looked after in a kindergarten constructed of poles and thatch. This edifice was accidentally burnt down on 22 September 1942 with the loss of 11 children (Edkins, op. cit., p 132).

Together with other internees from South Africa my father was reunited with his family in the Number 2 Camp in March 1944, and it was then that I, a child just 3 years old, first met this stranger. From that day onwards our relationship was never a warm one. My only brother Robert (Rups) was born at the camp hospital in March 1945. Dating at least from the arrival of the male internees camp security included the taking of regular roll calls.

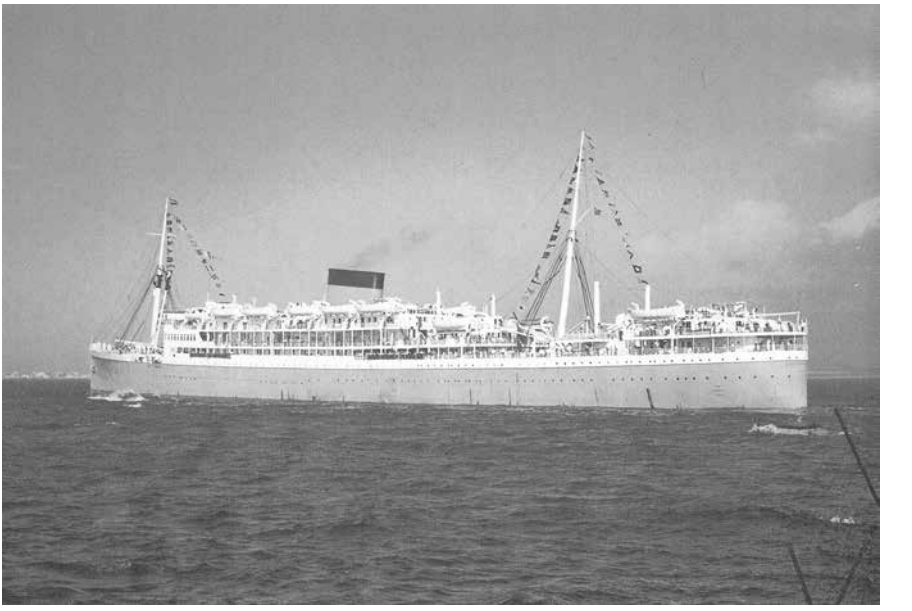
The camp at that time had a large cat population, whose very vocal nocturnal activities often kept my father awake. After some time he sought the expertise of a fellow internee, a forester, then built a trap which was housed on our verandah. Through its use cat numbers were considerably reduced.

From the camp authorities one was able to obtain day passes, which allowed my family to undertake occasional walks through the surrounding veld and across the nearby Makabusi stream towards the suburbs of Parktown and Prospect, possibly also as far as Hatfield. We internees were given one official excursion, on the back of covered lorries, to what must have been the Number 1 (General) Internment Camp located, I believe, on or near the Borrowdale Road. On that occasion my family was able to briefly renew contact with other acquaintances from Tanganyika.

Photograph believed, with reasonable certainty, to be of the kindergarten structure at Number 2 (Tanganyika) Internment Camp

On cessation of the war in Europe Number 2 Camp was closed in October 1945. My family and I, together with an unknown number of other detainees, were transferred to Norton Internment Camp. This establishment, then only recently vacated by the Rhodesian Air Training Group (Cooke 1994, p 129) and now the site of a junior school, was located approximately one kilometre northeast of Norton railway station, immediately adjacent to the strip road linking Salisbury with Bulawayo.

A fence separated this road from the camp, which was accessed via a generally unmanned gate; elsewhere the camp boundary was open and unmarked. From memory the accommodation consisted of thatched buildings with hessian walls, each housing several families. There was a community hall, and basic sporting facilities included a squash court. Security was minimal and the inmates were able to roam freely over the camp and the adjoining runway. For many of the children pith helmets were de rigueur, shoes not, these latter together with best clothes being reserved for periodical family outings to Salisbury. Such journeys were accomplished by hitching lifts from passing farmers who mostly were very obliging, sometimes even offering the internees refreshments at their homesteads on the return journey. In the capital Pocket's tearooms in Stanley Avenue (now Jason Moyo Avenue) were a favourite lunchtime venue and the ice cream sundaes



The Winchester Castle departing Cape Town on her last voyage, 1960

proved to be very popular with the internees' children. I also recall one picnic outing to a small, isolated remnant of subtropical forest, complete with lianas, located immediately north of the railway line some two kilometres east of Norton station. This woodland was still in existence in 1995.

In camp several of the artisans amongst the internees soon began to ply their individual trades. German butchers would occasionally slaughter a pig and there existed a ready market for the meat. A small mechanical workshop proved popular with local farmers and after the war was to develop into the Norton Motor Company, principal agency for Mercedes Benz vehicles. Furthermore, several men acquired bicycles and clandestinely worked on surrounding farms, my father on occasion travelling as far as Chakari.

With repatriation to Germany a distinct possibility my father, keen to remain in Africa, in January 1946 obtained permission for the family to "emigrate" to Moçambique. We travelled by train to Chimoio, then just a halt in the bush, where German farmer Radack owned a sisal plantation and sawmill on which my father hoped to obtain employment. Of considerable fascination for me was the Radacks' German-speaking, chocolate-loving parrot named Cassecou. Often, when there was no-one near his cage the bird would enunciate very clearly "Cassecou will Schokolade haben".

The position which my father had hoped to obtain at Chimoio did not materialise and we were eventually obliged to return to the Norton camp. We were still living there at the time of the Royal Tour in 1947, during which King George VI and his family travelled through South Africa and the Rhodesias by rail, the all-white royal train being preceeded by a pilot train painted half-white. On that occasion many of the internees, myself included, lined the railway track near Norton station late in the morning of 10th April (Taylor, 2012) to wave as the two trains slowly passed, heading towards Bulawayo.

Repatriation

I believe that as a result of a selection process early in 1947 a number of the internees obtained permission to remain in Southern Rhodesia, others being allowed to return to Tanganyika. However, my family and the majority of the German camp inmates were advised of their impending repatriation. Expecting tough conditions in Germany yet ever enterprising my father, prior to our departure, turned our wooden "dining" table into a crate. Into this he placed his dismantled bicycle, filling the interstitial voids with packets of Rhodesian cigarettes. Although a non-smoker himself he believed that tobacco would be a valuable commodity in post-war Germany, and he was proved right. The remainder of our belongings consisted mostly of clothes, which were packed into suitcases.

Leaving Norton Internment Camp in May 1947 we travelled by train to Cape Town, there to embark on the "Winchester Castle". This ship, used as to transport troops during the war, had only on 10th April 1947 been released by the British Government to resume service with the Union-Castle Line (Harris and Ingpen 1994, p 97) and still boasted 1200 berths in mostly dormitory-style accommodation. On the two-week trip to Germany the weather was good, we sighted a few whales in the South Atlantic and stopped for a day at Santa Cruz de la Palma in the Canary Islands, where we were not permitted to leave the ship. From that port the 3715 metre, snow-capped mountain Pico de Teide on the adjacent island Tenerife was an impressive sight. Arriving at our destination, Hamburg, one evening a few days

later many of the women on board wept as they saw the devastation wrought on the port by the war.

The following morning we disembarked and were transported by train, in cattle wagons, to the Number 6 Civilian Internment Camp at nearby Neuengamme. There my father was screened by the Review and Interrogation Staff on 9th June 1947, found to be "of no counter-intelligence interest" and the family was released into the community. With one of my mother's sisters living in Soest, Westphalia we made our way there. I recall being made by my father to sit, together with my brother, on top of and "guarding" our pile of luggage against theft whilst my parents organised train tickets from Hamburg. On our journey to Soest we stopped periodically at bomb-damaged railway stations serving towns then largely reduced to a sea of rubble extending as far as the eye could see. It was all very strange for a small boy coming from Africa!

For the next two years my father virtually lived on his imported bicycle and, using his Rhodesian cigarettes as a springboard, "worked" the black market so successfully that by 1949 he was able to buy a sailing boat on which we then (illegally, for German passports were not issued until 1952) departed the country, bound for Africa. However, the journey proved to be a long one and the Fey family eventually returned to Southern Rhodesia overland from Europe only in 1956.

Acknowledgements

Inspiration for this text came from the recently received articles by Benny Leon, Peter Sternberg and Emilio Coccia, compiled and edited by Fraser Edkins (see below). In addition to this and the other references cited I have drawn on family documents in my possession, and to a very large extent on my recollections.

The picture of the Winchester Castle was taken from the book by Harris and Ingpen (1994).

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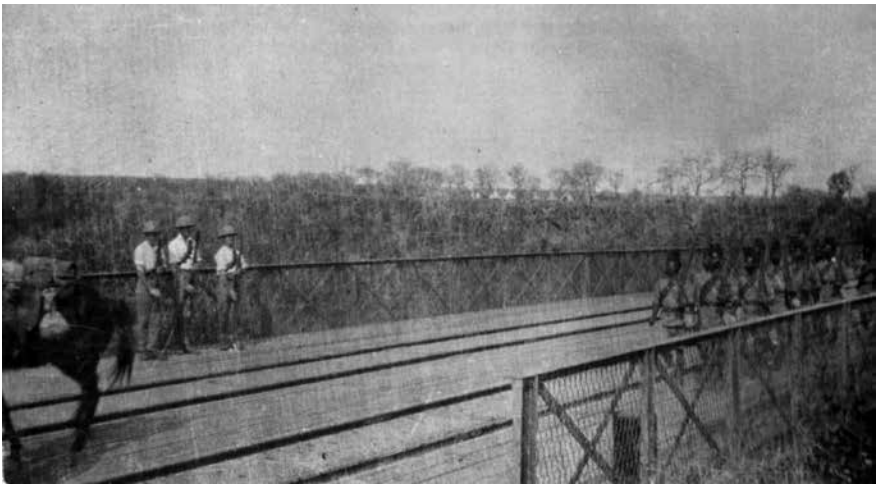
The First Confrontation Between German and Rhodesian Forces (Caprivi Strip, September 1914)

by Robin Taylor

On 5 August 1914 the Administrator W. H. Milton published a Proclamation stating "It is hereby notified for public information that a telegraphic despatch has been received from His Excellency the High Commissioner that War has broken out with Germany".



A bridge guard at the Victoria Falls 1914

At that time the British South Africa Police was officially Rhodesia's first line of defence. On 10 August 1914 the force was formally declared to be "on active service" by Proclamation issued by the British High Commissioner in Pretoria. Colonel, later Major General, Sir A. H. M. Edwards KBE. CB, the Commissioner of the BSAP, assumed the office of Commandant-General in command of all military forces in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia. Major Algernon Essex Capell, second in command of the BSAP took over command of the BSAP. Essex Capell had joined the Cape Mounted Rifles in 1889 and served with British forces through the Anglo-Boer War, during which he won the DSO. He subsequently spent some years in the higher ranks of the South African Constabulary. Three years' service as Chief of Police in Grenada followed. He joined the BSAP as Assistant Commissioner in 1913 and was subsequently Commissioner from 1 April 1923 to February 1926. Colonel Essex Capell CBE DSO died in Salisbury on 24 February 1952.

In 1890 the British and German Governments undertook a number of exchanges of territory in terms of the Heligoland/Zanzibar Treaty. They were of course at that

Major Algernon Essex Capell

time rivals in the race for colonies in Africa. One of the exchanges was the island of Helligoland in the North Sea (to be German) for Zanzibar (to go to Britain). A further part of this transaction was the surrender of a narrow corridor of land 450 km long and between 32 and 105 km wide running across the northern border of Bechuanaland (now Botswana) to give the German colony of South West Africa access to the Zambezi River. This corridor was known as the Caprivi Zipfel (Caprivi finger). It was named after the then German Chancellor Leo Graf von Caprivi who held office 1890–94. The strip of land was of strategic interest as it gave the Germans a common border with Barotseland in Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland and Southern Rhodesia. Even more worrying to

A troop train on the way to the falls 1914

Rhodesians, it put German territory within 80 km of the vital Victoria Falls railway bridge. This bridge was the rail lifeline from the Cape to Northern Rhodesia and on through to the Congo. (Road traffic only started using the bridge in 1930).

Before war was declared, the BSAP had organised mobile troops ready for any emergencies. These comprised members of the Police Depot and district troops. In a secret handwritten minute dated 31 July 1914 addressed to the Administrator Sir William Milton, Colonel Edwards set out precautionary measures to be taken

Colonel Edwards A.H.M

in anticipation of war with Germany. These included an order to increase the strength of the BSAP post at Victoria Falls to one officer, ten other ranks, a machine gun detachment and 25 armed native policemen, (Angonis from the Reserve Company stationed at the Police Depot and recruited from eastern Northern Rhodesia and western Nyasaland). Major Capell himself was to command this force which indicates the importance attached to this particular post. A detachment of Northern Rhodesia Police of similar strength was to be stationed at the other end of the Falls Bridge. A Northern Rhodesia Police mobile column was to be assembled at Livingstone. This minute was approved by Milton and the instruction was communicated to the Administrator of Northern Rhodesia and the Resident Commissioner on 1 August 1914. On 1 August Colonel Edwards produced another secret handwritten paper giving an appreciation of all the factors that would be involved in occupying the eastern Caprivi strip and this was the plan followed in the subsequent operation.

On 8 August No. 1 Mobile Troop of the BSAP, about 100 strong, assembled at the Police Depot in Salisbury. It was ready to move out as a self-contained military unit within 24 hours. In command was Lieutenant Francis Trant Stephens (later Assistant Superintendent) then aged 32. In Bulawayo No. 4 Mobile Troop was mobilized under the command of Lieutenant George Parson (later Lieutenant Colonel). Depot also provided a machine gun section under Lieutenant Alder Lewis Tribe with 40 Angonis of the Reserve Company.

The Germans had established an administrative township for the Caprivi area at Schuckmannsberg on the south bank of the Zambezi almost directly opposite Sesheke on the north bank. Sesheke was the residence of the son of Lewanika, Paramount Chief of Barotseland. In his precautionary plans Edwards had increased the strength of the Northern Rhodesia Police post at Sesheke to twenty men with an officer in command. The main function of the post was to gather intelligence and to strictly censor all communications passing through Livingstone to the commander of German forces in Schuckmannsberg.

At midday on 10 August 1914 No. 1 Mobile Troop with the Angonis and machine gun section—over 100 NCO's and men with their horses—entrained at Salisbury. The following morning they were joined by No. 4 Mobile Troop, some 80 NCO's men and horses, in Bulawayo. This combined force detrained early the next morning, 13 August 1914, at Palm Grove Siding close to the Victoria Falls Bridge. Major Capell, who was already at the Victoria Falls, assumed command. Two days later headquarters in Salisbury ordered No. 4 Troop to return to Bulawayo.

Lieutenant Stephens took a party from No. 1 Troop consisting of a sergeant, three corporals and 25 troopers, to build a fort at Kazungula on the south bank of the Zambezi (where the Chobe River runs into the Zambezi and where the three territories of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland joined). When the fort was completed Stephens and most of his party returned to Victoria Falls leaving a garrison of a sergeant, a corporal, eight troopers and eight Angoni policemen. They had two months supplies and 500 rounds of ammunition per rifle.

Mr L. A. Wallace (later Sir Lawrence Wallace CMG) the Administrator of Northern Rhodesia, was clearly concerned at the potential threat from the Caprivi Strip. He wrote to Edwards on 28 August that "for the sake of native anxiety and for our prestige it would be a good thing for us to occupy Schuckmannsberg and the district. We should possess the place after the war in preference to the Union (of South Africa) as it has always belonged to Lewanika and was in fact winter grazing for many of his cattle", The High Commissioner in Pretoria telegraphed on 25 August to the Resident Commissioner in Salisbury Colonel R. Burns Begg. "Not intention of HMG to assume offensive against Caprivi Zipfel. German post at Schuckmannsberg should only be occupied if in the opinion of local civil and military authorities it is essential to do so in order to protect British interests in the neighbourhood". On 1 September Edwards told Wallace "The question of force to enter the Caprivi appendix is still outstanding". Early in September Edwards returned from a visit to Northern Rhodesia and wrote to the Administrator "that the continued German occupation of Schuckmannsberg necessitates a considerable number of police being employed who could be better used elsewhere. From a military point of view desirable to release these troops for legitimate duty in Southern Rhodesia". Milton then wrote a memorandum stating he was of the opinion that, while the steps suggested might not be considered absolutely essential, protection of British interests would be ensured by immediate capture of the post. By 11 September Wallace was growing impatient and wrote "I wish something could be done about Schuckmannsberg. It seems so stupid to wait doing nothing while everything is in favour of our acting at once. If reinforcements did come to the Germans we should look fools—there is talk of some settlers taking action on their own". (A number of settlers in Livingstone had let it be known that they would organise a private column and go in and take Schuckmannsberg. This threat was settled by Wallace having some of the leaders in to his office and explaining what official policy was).

Finally the Resident Commissioner cabled the Commandant General on 13 September "Measures may now be taken to occupy Schuckmannsberg and Eastern End of Caprivi Zipfel as necessary to secure trade route and prevent German interference which might have unsettling effect on our natives. No objection to employment of European residents for purpose of supporting the Police and protection of our border on the distinct understanding that they are not to operate outside Northern Rhodesia. The force employed should consist entirely of police. Any territory occupied will be disposed of by the Imperial Government for purposes of effecting settlement at the end of the war".

The stage was now set for the first ever confrontation between Rhodesian and German forces.

On 15 September No. 1 Troop of the BSAP, now consisting of four officers, 41 white other ranks, 37 Angonis and three Maxim guns, set out. They crossed the Victoria Falls Bridge and made camp seven miles upstream on the north bank of the Zambezi. The column then waited for three supply wagons to be sent by the Northern Rhodesia Police from Livingstone. These were found to be grossly overloaded and two more wagons were sent hurriedly from Livingstone. When the column moved on at last and drew abreast of Kazungula, now on the other side of the river, the garrison was brought across by canoe and the newly-built fort left unoccupied.

Five days out from Livingstone the column bivouacked on the banks of the Kasia River. The horses and mules were let loose to graze under a guard of two troopers. Later one of the troopers reported that half the animals were missing. After a search most of the animals were rounded up but two horses were irretrievably lost. On the march one horse became entangled in reeds when crossing a river. Trooper F. C. Booth dived into the water and freed the horse despite nearby crocodiles. He received a commendation for his action (and later on was to be awarded the Victoria Cross for bravery in action against the Germans in East Africa).

On 21 September the column reached Sesheke where they met up with a small force of Northern Rhodesia Police under Lieutenants Hornsby and Castle. This force had a number of boats in readiness for crossing the Zambezi. The attacking force was now three miles from Schuckmannsberg.

Major Capell decided to save a lot of trouble by calling on the Germans to surrender. The BSAP officers drew lots for the privilege of delivering the summons to the German Commander. The task fell to Lieutenant Stephens and he was to be accompanied by Corporal Vaughan as flag bearer and Corporal Bugler Kapambue. Stephens and his party were rowed across to the south bank at 09.00 hrs on 21 September.

They were met on landing by two armed sentries and escorted to the presence of Herr von Frankenburg the German Resident Officer. Stephens discussed the situation with the Resident for over an hour and von Frankenburg finally agreed to hand over the town without any resistance. Stephens and his party were back across the river by 14.00 hrs to report to Major Capell. At 15.00 hrs, the whole column, less a section left behind to look after the horses, were taken across the river. The first German sentry they encountered refused to surrender his rifle and had to be forcibly disarmed. The column paraded in good order and marched some two miles to the German police camp where they formed up on the camp square. Von Frankenburg was waiting and Major Capell formally called upon him to surrender. He complied with becoming readiness and the German flag was hauled down from the flagstaff. The senior German NCO Sergeant Fischer refused to surrender and so Sergeant Onyett of the BSAP arrested him and his 28 native police. Von Frankenburg and Sergeant Fischer were released on parole within the camp as soon as the police had been disarmed. The police were kept under guard.

By this time the sun was going down and it was too late to stage the formal ceremony of taking over the camp. The column remained in the German camp for the night and at 08.00hrs next morning, 22 September, was formally paraded facing the camp flagstaff. The Maxim section was on the right, No. 1 troop under

Column of BSAC Police sent to quell "the Dutch rebellion 1914"

Lieutenant Stephens in the centre and the Northern Rhodesia Police under Lieutenant Hornsby on the left.To witness the ceremony was Mr J. H. Venning the Magistrate at Sesheke who was brought over the river with several other prominent Northern Rhodesia residents. At 08.00hrs Lieutenant Castle of the Northern Rhodesia Police was granted the privilege of breaking the Union Jack.

Major Capell called for three cheers for King George V, after which the troops were ceremoniously dismissed. Their tents and equipment were brought across the river and they were to remain in Schuckmannsberg camp for another six weeks.

Von Frankenburg and Sergeant Fischer were sent under escort of Corporal Gardiner and Trooper Davy to Bulawayo for internment. The German native policemen were allowed to return to their homes.

On 3 November a relief garrison of Northern Rhodesia Police arrived. The Column returned to Victoria Falls and thence by special train to Salisbury. A small garrison was left at Kazungula where they spent several months hunting and fishing to help pass the time.

The Herald on 25 September 1914 carried the following news item "We are officially informed that Schuckmannsberg headquarters of CapriviZipfel was occupied by BSAP without opposition on September 21st".

Thus ended the first, and nearest to our borders, confrontation between British and German forces. The threat had been removed with no loss of life due to the common sense of the persons involved.

In preparing this paper I have used the following sources:-

Northern Rhodesia Journals.
National Archives of Zimbabwe
Right of the Line History of the BSAP Vol. Two by Peter Gibbs.

Colonel Don Grainger

by Dr Ines Grainger

This is the edited text of a talk given by Don Grainger's widow to the History Society of Zimbabwe on 7th July 2013. Many of the photographs shown during the talk were taken by Don Grainger personally. He also made a number of short films during World War 2 whilst in Kenya, North Africa, Sicily and other theatres of war, (most of which were stolen or destroyed in the course of the vandalisation of the Grainger farmhouse during the late 1970's).

Colonel of the Regiment

Donald Howard Grainger was born in Aston, (near Birmingham) England on 22 September 1918, in the last months of the First World War, the son of a Scottish father and an English mother. His father was a brilliant engineer who invented, among other things, the buffer which is fitted to railway steam engines and tenders, coaches and trucks on railways throughout the world. (I have the sketches and the patent certificate of that invention). His father was also a talented artist and painted one picture in oils for each of his three sons. Don's painting is with our family in Australia.

The family emigrated from England to Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia after World War I in 1919. Don was 9 months old. As the time approached for Donald to attend school, his father accepted an engineering appointment in South Africa, and the family settled for some years in Simonstown near Cape Town. Don was educated at Simonstown Secondary School and at Rondebosch Boys' High School. Don missed Southern Rhodesia greatly and, after matriculating and studying telecommunications planning and development in South Africa, he returned to Bulawayo. His parents remained in South Africa where his father worked in the dockyards as an engineer.

The Budding Leader
Left Front

When the Second World War broke out, Don was one of the first to volunteer for active service and, with his telecommunications background, was first posted to the Southern Rhodesia Signals Unit. I found among his records and photographs a letter dated 27th June 1940 he wrote from Bulawayo to his worried parents in Simonstown, preparing them to face the fact that he was going to join the army soon. It reads in part "I think we shall all be called up very shortly. They are getting things moving now, so no doubt we shall all be in the army soon. The Reconnaissance unit in Bulawayo have asked the Post Office to release me, as they want me as a wireless instructor, but I don't think they will let me go anywhere but in the Signallers. Still, the Signallers will be called up in the next month or so. NOW, DON'T START WORRYING. There will be three or four months training, then I will have some embarkation leave. So everything will be alright."

He was commissioned in 1941 into the Southern Rhodesia Reconnaissance Regiment as a Lieutenant (aged 22), and served for a short time in Kenya and Abyssinia. In the first quarter of 1943, when the 6th SA Division was in the process of formation, the Southern Rhodesian Reconnaissance Regiment and RSACR were absorbed into it. Under his command-he was then a Captain-those two units travelled from Helwan through the desert to Zavia where they joined their new Division, the 6th SA Division. Twenty of the pick of the Signal Troops of these two Regiments were selected by Grainger to join the 8th Army Signals. He was in command of Rhodesian Signals with the 8th Army 13 Corps, and under his command they saw active service in the Middle East, North Africa, Malta, Sicily and Italy. At the end of the North Africa campaign, General Montgomery, planning the invasion of Sicily and Italy, asked his staff to find a Signals Officer for his Tactical Headquarters and specified that, if possible, this should be an officer from the Reconnaissance Regiment. Don was fortunate to be chosen and served in Monty's Battle Headquarters. Thence they moved to Malta with 8th Army HQ and, in the few weeks they were there, learned their new job, that of running the Signals Office mainly consisting of operating Fullerphones and performing clerical duties in the office. Thus they were ready for the invasion of Sicily in which they played a full part and immediately established a reputation for excellent operating and the performance of extremely responsible duties.

Grainger's Selection to join the 8th Army Signals

From Sicily they moved to mainland Italy with the Advance Party. Don took part in the summer dash for Florence, and, during the winter, when the campaign was more

or less static, was based halfway between Florence and Bologna. Grainger wrote: "During this winter we were able to take advantage of frequent leave to visit Rome, Florence and other interesting cities. At the same time communications were maintained without interruption". After the invasion of Italy, then Captain Grainger took command of a signals unit comprising British and Rhodesian soldiers which served in the 8th Army in Italy until the end of the war, when he found himself in Trieste. So from 1940 onwards, he saw various commands in East and North Africa, Sicily, Italy and Southern Rhodesia. His dog Brit went everywhere with him. As the war closed, he was offered a regular British Army commission but chose to return to Southern Rhodesia. His post-war army service was first with Territorial Force units, but he was later transferred into the elite Southern Rhodesia Staff Corps.

A soldier of the Federation 1953

With the establishment of the Federation in 1953, he was given the task of forming the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Corps of Signals. He was appointed Director of Signals and served in that capacity until the dissolution of the Federation in 1963, when he was given command of 3 Brigade in the Rhodesian Army. His main appointments were Director of Signals, as a Lieutenant Colonel, then Commander of 3 Brigade, with headquarters at Umtali (now Mutare) with the rank of full Colonel. During this time Don received the Freedom of the City of Mutare.

Receiving the Freedom of the City of Mutare

Don had been demobilised on 31 October 1945 with the rank of Captain. He joined the 2nd Battalion, "Royal Rhodesian Regiment" in 1947 and commanded 2 Signals Squadron (SRSC) from 1949 to 1954.

In 1954 he was promoted Major and Chief Signals Officer and received an efficiency decoration. Men of the Rhodesia Regiment served with East and West African units, with British units and Commonwealth Forces on most fronts in the War. Two battalions

raised from older men acted as Home Guard Units in Southern Rhodesia. Because of this wide and often distinguished service and because of the fine general record of the Rhodesia Regiment, King George VI conferred the title "ROYAL" on the Regiment and further honoured it in becoming its first Colonel-in-Chief. In 1957 Don was appointed Director of Signals and promoted Lieutenant Colonel in June 1958. Princess Mary was approached and invited to become the Colonel-in-Chief of the Southern Rhodesia Corp of Signals, and wrote to Don in April 1964 announcing her appointment by the Queen. Don maintained correspondence with her and proudly mentioned that several times they had tea together in London. The insignia adopted and used by The Rhodesia Signals was designed by Garrard and Co. Ltd, Crown Jewellers of Regent Street, London and can be seen in the brooch that I am wearing today.

Some years later a *Herald* article appeared at a time when vigorous efforts were being made to revive the Rhodesia Signals Association, which had become inactive. The article read: "A meeting and dinner to be held at the Park Lane Hotel on Friday, June 30, should provide any Rhodesian, who has at any time worn "The Jimmy", ample opportunity to glow with pride across the table". ("Jimmy" was the name given to the figure of Mercury in the Signals insignia).

In the post-war years, big cities in the US and in Great Britain commenced equipping their airports with radar systems. Telephones also began to be installed in cars and television sets in homes and frequency-modulated radios appeared. The coaxial cable, radio relay, page teletype, facsimile processes, and a hundred other devices, stood ready to advance the revival of general communications. The Signal Corps of the Southern Rhodesia Army took some part, since they also were the users of such devices and what at one time was associated with a torch and semaphore flags, a signal had now come to designate a whole range of ways in which the electromagnetic spectrum could give notice that it was carrying a message. Don travelled extensively looking at new equipment in telecommunications. He understood that not only does the message have to be spoken, heard, written or read, but also received without interference from others. It had to be sent and received over long distances and had to arrive on time, and be so precisely transmitted that there would be no room for doubt, or so deliberately garbled and obscured that only those intended to understand it could decipher it. Visual-Aural Radio Range (VAR) Army communications were often less than ideal in those days in Rhodesia. Even the most fabulous aids to aerial navigation, artillery spotting, tank command, or long range detection, aroused the abuse of harried operators from time to time, but ideally these devices were supposed to be swift, rugged, adaptable, simple and secure beyond average standard.

In 1964 Don Grainger was promoted to full Colonel and was appointed Commander, Salisbury Area. In the New Year's Honours List, 1961, Don was awarded the OBE. Many congratulatory local messages and communications from abroad are today kept in a box, together with Army records of those days. All these have been donated to the Zimbabwe National Trust, who will place them together with medals and uniforms in one of their exhibits.

One of his soldiers, Frank Valdemarca, later as secretary and treasurer in his charity organisation, wrote "for us Don was an inspirational leader and truly an officer and a gentleman". Men were commanded by Don. There was an interaction of all the

techniques of leadership in him; of integrity, showmanship, discipline, knowledge and for all there was a "gut feel" and drive under Col Grainger. He required all soldiers under his command to have had clear, positive, simple instructions, which they could go on with. Nothing was more demoralising, he said, than stop-start committee decisions that were constantly amended. He often said that members of a unit needed to feel secure. A well disciplined unit, which has confidence in its Commander, will have high morale and a feeling of collective security under the most trying conditions. All like to be told crisply and firmly what is to be done, (and that included Ines, his wife). Good commanders command good units and make things happen.

At the time of his retirement in 1968, he was full Colonel of the Rhodesia Corps of Signals, He was also President of the Mashonaland Forces Sport Club. On the day of his retirement, which happened to be his birthday, it was announced in the *Sunday Mail*, 22 September 1968, that the "SURVIVAL MAN" was retiring from the Rhodesian Army after 32 years' military service. Don Grainger was the author of the survival book "*DON'T DIE IN THE BUNDU*" This book had been adopted as a bushcraft manual by the country's armed forces. The Rt Hon Sir Hugh Beadle CMG OBE Chief Justice of Rhodesia, wrote the foreword recommending the book to all as "a handbook of survival techniques based on many years' experience of men who have lived - and some who have died - in the bush". This manual proved to be a great success running for 13 editions and a best seller for 17 years.

After retirement, Don bought a piece of land and developed a fruit farm in Juliasdale, and took on the post of Administrative Director of the Standards Association of Central Africa. After his second retirement, in 1974, he "went back to school" but this time to read for his Doctorate in Development Economics. He also planned to write more books and study botany, zoology and geology, hence our home library contained numerous books on flora and fauna. These have now found a home in the Don Grainger Reading and Research room neighbouring the Rhodes Inyanga Museum. In 1974 Don also accepted the post of Executive Director of the Whitsun Foundation, setting up the organisation which was at that time the only private sector development economics organisation in the country. The Foundation was a privately-funded development economic research body that thought out logical answers to questions as to how investment and activities ought best be carried out in the interests of members and of the country itself, and getting the answers to these matters well-suited Grainger's personality and approach. He was a happy man. After being "dedicated to destruction" in the Army, Donald Grainger found himself equally "dedicated to construction" in heading a team which played a leading role in planning the development of Zimbabwe.

In 1984, Don Grainger was appointed to Mr Justice George Smith's committee. This was a 3 year task, after which Don opened his own private consultancy. Don was a swimmer, diver and international water polo player who had two 7 year Presidential terms and in 1980 was elected to the Bureau Confederation Africaine De Natacion Amatur. His work was recognised by a Fina Silver award in 1994. He was responsible for the control and development of all aquatic sports throughout Africa. He was the only European member and the only one whose home language was not French or Arabic. Don claimed that he could swim before he could walk. At 80 he was swimming a kilometre every day. In his World War 2 days, he was appointed President of Sports

of his Signals units.

He was President of the Rhodesia Amateur Swimming Association, then of the Zimbabwe Aquatic Union. Don not only supported swimming, but also several other sports and donated a trophy to the Army shooting team. He was also head of No. 1 Signal Company, Boxing & Wrestling Club in 1941. In 1944 an army report recorded that all the Rhodesians of 17 Ops had returned to S.A. Army Signals for repatriation, except Capt. Grainger, who had been selected to represent the 8th Army swimming team in the Mediterranean championships. Don was the Manager of the Rhodesian Olympic Swimming Team at the 1972 Munich Olympics. After years supporting swimming and other sports, Don had a fine collection of cups and other trophies. These and many more have been donated to the Zimbabwe National Trust for future display. In 1968, Don was approached to help teach paraplegics and amputees to swim and joined the Rhodesian Paraplegics Association, being elected its President in 1970 and serving in this capacity until 1984.

Well-known throughout the countries of the old British Empire, the St John Ambulance Brigade came to be of interest to Don. He was not a deeply religious man, but he believed that the Lord wished him to use the talents with which he had been blessed in the service of others. He stressed that the Lord had blessed him greatly and that the little he did for others was little indeed compared with what he had received. Foremost among his blessings, he said, was his Argentinean wife, Ines, whom he met in Munich in 1972, where she was doing her Doctoral thesis.

A Knighthood in the order of St John

When he started to serve Zimbabwe in a voluntary capacity, his first choice was the St John Ambulance Association, which is a foundation of the Most Venerable Order of St. John. With a 1000-year old military and Hospitaller history, this was a most appropriate vehicle for his services. In Zimbabwe members of the Order share the high ideals of Knighthood and religious brotherhood, dedicating themselves to the service of mankind. The Order of St John, like the Order of St Lazarus, has historical continuity since the time of the Crusades. In these Orders of Chivalry, Members are raised to a higher rank because of their outstanding services to the community. In the early 1970's, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, who was at that time the head of St John in Rhodesia, called upon Don to become Commandery Commissioner. A few years later he received a letter from the Queen, as Head of the Order in the British Empire, through Richard, Duke of Gloucester, announcing the award of a Knighthood in the Most Venerable Order of St John, and, after many years of service, in the late 1990's, it was announced that "Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, has been graciously pleased to appoint

Colonel Donald Howard Grainger a Bailiff Grand Cross (Knight Grand Cross) in the most Venerable Order of St John". This was published in the London Gazette. This is the highest rank in the Order of St John. It was a great and rare distinction, which brought honour to Zimbabwe. Many organisations who learnt of this published articles about Don and his work in Zimbabwe. The Institute of Directors in Zimbabwe also published a very nice article on the occasion of Don's 80th birthday.

Mutemwa in Mutoko

After his retirement from the Army, Don had also become interested in the leprosy situation in the country, and joined the Zimbabwe Leprosy Association. The disease was endemic here and in other warm countries but, since the discovery that it could be controlled by the drug Dapsone, the struggle was now to improve the wellbeing of ex-sufferers from the disease. This was at a time when the head of the Order of St Lazarus was leaving the country and begged Don to join the Order. As the care of lepers was one of the main objectives of the Order since its origins in Jerusalem, Don took an interest and joined. He participated in all the International Meetings and Conventions of the Order and soon got to know the Priors and other influential people of different countries. During his travels he met many influential people including Eminent Prelates, Prince Beaufort Spontin from Austria, Prince Phillip Duke of Edinburgh, Herr Joseph Strauss the Premier of Bavaria, Graff Zu Blenheim from Dusseldorf in Germany and others, all of whom knew the work and projects that Don, through the Orders, was carrying out in Rhodesia and continued doing in Zimbabwe. Don provided a printing machine with Swiss help, when Ethiopia faced the threat of Islamic distribution of religious indoctrination material.

Order of St Lazarus

During his travels in Europe and in the USA, Don Grainger met wealthy donors.

In moneyed circles in the Western world the urge had arisen to direct substantial sums that would assist in the beneficial development of Third World countries. One of these deserves a special place in this account and, since such donors often prefer the protection of anonymity, I shall refer to it merely as "The Swiss Foundation". Don managed to obtain a large donation to build the new Leprosy Village for destitute and disabled leprosy victims, at Mutemwa in Mutoko, Mashonaland. He also procured 40 motorbikes which he presented to the Ministry of Health for the Leprosy Scouts in Zimbabwe. This was done while he was a Prior of the Order of St Lazarus and Chairman of the Zimbabwe Leprosy Association. He became Knight Grand Cross of the Order soon after.

He then wrote a booklet, for future St Lazarus Members, which included the history of St Lazarus, and all the Rules and Practice of Services in the Order. This booklet went out to all countries where there was a Priory. As Prior, Col Grainger managed to recruit members in Matabeleland and in Manicaland, working on projects pertaining to the objectives of the Order. As word spread of Don's work, other Orders in Greece and Spain invited Don to join them. Don was careful to check their authenticity and verify their validity before doing so. Don later became a Knight of two more Orders of Chivalry. Other countries, one was Italy, bestowed on him Honorary Degrees and he accepted an invitation to represent the International Parliament of Peace and Security as Envoy Plenipotentiary. This Diplomatic appointment was accepted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and accredited by President Mugabe in 1995. Under his leadership, these various Orders implemented numerous projects. He was a tireless fundraiser for humanitarian projects like the Mutemwa New Village, Mother of Peace water storage system, Council for the Blind resource rooms for blind children in the rural schools, and others too numerous to mention. His work earned him many titles and decorations.

Col Grainger left us on the 23 March 2000 in his 82nd year. A large funeral was attended by Bishops of the three main churches of Zimbabwe, namely the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Greek Orthodox churches. The Nuncio Apostolic, Ambassador of the Holy See, led the Procession. The country saw for the first time the unity of churches celebrating together. There were Bishops from several provinces and sixteen priests in the procession following Members of the Orders to the altar. The Diplomatic Corps was well represented and the funeral was filmed by three different videographers, including ZTV. Numerous bereavement notices were placed in the newspapers and a kind letter of condolence from the President to Ines and family was delivered.

A trust was established in Zimbabwe for the promotion and implementation of charitable projects to perpetuate the memory of Colonel Donald Howard Grainger and the interests and ideals he pursued, "The Don Grainger Memorial Trust", a fitting tribute to an outstanding man, who devoted his life to the needs of others.

National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe: Current Historic Buildings List

compiled by John McCarthy

Location/Stand Number	Building name	Date of construction	Street
Robert Mugabe Road – Harare			
2375	Arnold Building	1910	Robert Mugabe Rd
1 of 2373	Store Brothers	1911	Robert Mugabe Rd
Remainder of 2375	W. H. Adams Building	1911	Robert Mugabe Rd
2371	Union Buildings	1910	Robert Mugabe Rd
541	Fereday & Sons	1923	Robert Mugabe Rd
539	Strachan's Building	1909	Robert Mugabe Rd
585A	Founders Building	1903 & 1922	Robert Mugabe Rd
588 - 589	Old Yorkshire House	1911	Robert Mugabe Rd
590 - 591	Standard Bank	1911	Robert Mugabe Rd
558	C T Stores complex	1908 - 1911	Robert Mugabe Rd
554	BTA Building	1911	Robert Mugabe Rd
Industrial plots 1 & 2	Flour Mill	1935	Robert Mugabe Rd

W. H. Adams Building

Location/Stand Number	Building name	Date of construction	Street
Government Reserve	Munhumutapa Building	1937	Samora Machel Ave
770	N. E. M. Building	1930	First Street/Nelson Mandela Ave
851	Edward Building	1936	First Street/Nelson Mandela Ave
550	Bradlow's Building	1938	Speke Ave./Sam Nujoma St
Government Reserve	The Stables	1892	Samora Machel Ave
Remainder of 874A	Cathedral of St. Mary and All Saints	1913 - 1926	Sam Nujoma Street/ Nelson Mandela Ave
The Avenues area			
-	Cecil House – National Monument	1901	Central Ave
-	Mother Patrick's Mortuary – National Monument	1895	Livingstone Ave
1951	Robert Paul's House – (Gallery Delta building)	1894	110 Livingstone Ave
1488	"House"	1902	46 Fife Ave
-	Queen Elizabeth School	1910 - 1922	Leopold Takawira St
-	Drill Hall	1902	Leopold Takawira St
1651A	"House"	1902	46 Fife Ave
1790	"House"	1910	37 Josiah Tongogara Ave
1725	"House"	1924	26 Baines Ave
-	State House	1910	Josiah Tongogara Ave
-	Camp Commander's Office	1905	Morris Depot
-	Prefabricated building	1913	"
1816	Norwegian Embassy	1923	90 Josiah Tongogara Ave
1892 - 1893	"House"	1911	67 Fife Ave
A of 1669A	Berea House	1903	78 Fife Ave
1 of 1943	"Cottage"	1898	316 Herbert Chitepo Ave

Arnold Building

Cecil House
Your editor's current office

Location/Stand Number	Building name	Date of construction	Street
1746	The Residency	1895	92 Baines Ave
1228A	Cathedral of the Sacred Heart	1925	Fourth Street/Herbert Chitepo Ave
2673	Atrium House	1930	87 Livingstone Ave.
Suburbs Harare & beyond			
Chishawasha	Loyola Mission Church & Novitiate	1902 & 1910	Chishawasha
Subdivision A Plot 5, The Nursery	"House"	1903	Clarence Drive, Newlands
Rocky Lodge	Rocky Lodge	1914	Browning Drive, Strathaven
Remainder 9 of Greendale	"House"	c 1911	Montgomery Road, Greendale
Rumbavu Park A	Rumbavu park	1919	Enterprise Road
82 Highlands Estate of Welmoed	Public Services Training College/ Limbe Lodge/ Governor's Mansion	1929 onwards	Enterprise Road
-	Mazowe Telegraph Office – National Monument		Mazowe area
Historic Buildings that are already Listed Monuments outside area of Harare			
Gweru	Old Stock Exchange		
Gweru	Old Magistrate's Court		
Bulawayo	Coach House & Stables		
Bulawayo	Rhodes' Summer House		
Old Bulawayo	Old Jesuit Mission		
Kwekwe – Globe & Phoenix	Paper House		
Chiredzi	MacDougall's Homestead – Murray MacDougall Museum		
Mutare	Kopje House		

Trekking to the Funeral

by C. H. Naake (1902)

Mrs C. H. Naake, wife of a prominent businessman in Bulawayo, wrote the following note on the burial of Rhodes in the Matobo Hills soon after the event. It is transcribed without any corrections, as written, but I have added footnotes and photographs of the event. I am not sure of the intention; it may have been meant for local publication or, more likely, for the family "back home". I came across this when assisting in editing a recently published guidebook on the grave[1]. While not fully in agreement with some of the content I thought it worthwhile sharing. Some words are shown in brackets. Being handwritten in ink, sometimes a little smudged, and on brittle paper, we have not always been able to identify every word that was written.

Many thanks to Kwanele Ndlovu for retyping this handwritten manuscript and making sense of the writing. The pictures come from my personal collection. While I have not been able to confirm this I believe that the author is shown on the occasion of their daughter catching the train at Bulawayo station for South Africa.

R. S. Burrett.

It was the same genius that incited the mind of Cecil John Rhodes to build his Bulawayo residence on the exact site of King Lobengula's Kraal[2], as that which also conceived the plan that his final resting place be in the famous Kopje discovered and named by him "the view of the world".

It has since been ascertained that this hill has been named by the natives "*malindi dgimo*"[3]; a literal translation of which would be "home of the guardian spirits". Further historical interest is connected with this position of the Matopos, as within 4 miles of this place was held the great "Indaba" with the

Naake Family - date unknown

[1] Ranger, T. 2011. *Malindidzimu: a guide to the people and events associated with the "View of the World", Matopos. Bulawayo:* Khami Press.

[2] State or Government house in Sauerstown, Bulawayo was built on the ruined structure of Lobengula's homestead. In fact the walls of what was initially Rhodes' bedroom incorporated the walls of Lobengula's wagonshed. Rhodes' was ever one for dramatic statements of power and conquest.

[3] Malindidzimu.

Matabele Chiefs during the Rebellion of 1896, wherein Rhodes and his party went unarmed amongst them and made peace, there also the great chief Umzeligazi was buried.

To the native mind it is of momentous importance that their greatest chief and now the Great White Chief should find their respective resting places amongst these same mysterious hills.

The bringing of the body of the late Mr. Rhodes to Bulawayo was a great event. On the Tuesday morning we stood waiting for the funeral train; it moved slowly and noiselessly into the station. We then took part in the last woeful pilgrimage from Cape Town. The coffin was placed on a gun carriage and moved to the Drill Hall. Of which Mr Rhodes not many months ago laid the corner stone and at which he made his last fabled speech. Little did we think as we listened to him then, that as the building was being completed his remains would be here lying in state.

Crowds waiting to pay their respects at Bulawayo Drill Hall

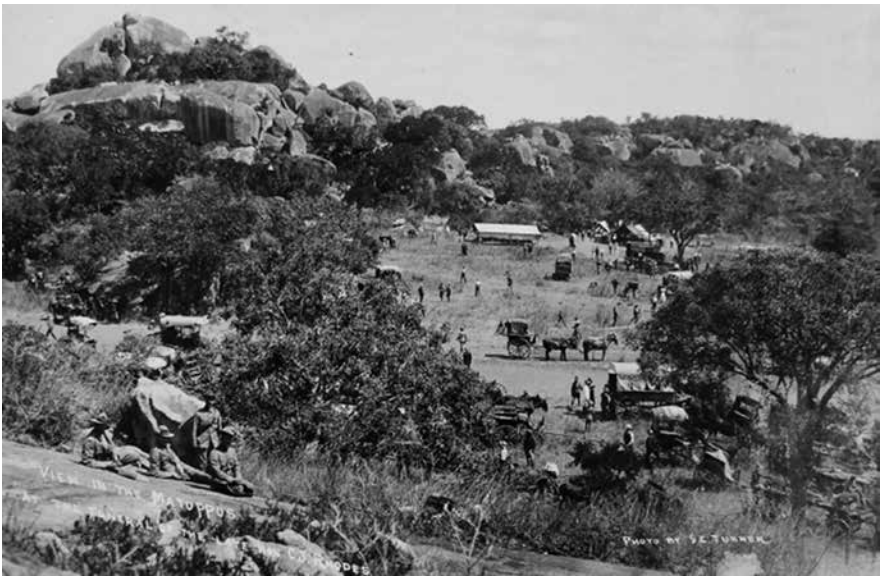
The funeral was to take place the next day, having to go 30 miles by road to the place of retirement. As all Bulawayo intended going, every available conveyance was pressed in to service, from going in Cape Carts, others in coaches, donkey wagons, dog carts, bullock-

On the way to the burial

wagons, etc,. A more heterogeneous collection of vehicles could hardly be imagined, besides men on horseback and carriages. The gentlemen found it comparatively easy to get there, but regarding the female fraction of the community it was something of an undertaking to follow a procession for over 30 miles over rough roads, spruits and deep sand.

Few ladies could cycle the 60 mile distance in one day, although I know of one who accomplished it. The never-failing means of locomotion in South Africa, namely a bullock-wagon, was considered the safest and best means for our [excursion] as we could live so comfortable in one for a few days. Ours was about 20 feet long, and contained a comfortable bed and space for chairs and table. Trekking out into the wilds of Africa with oxen and native drivers going at a rate of about 3 miles an hour is slightly different from steaming out of the Grand Central in a Pullman car. The former method, however, is not without excitement. With the continual yelling of the driver at the [stubborn] and lazy oxen as he incessantly applies his long handled whip, now on one side and then the other, lashing each one in turn, the wagon goes jolting over stumps and boulders, down the drifts and through the spruits, the occupants being meanwhile painfully conscious of it all.

In this way we trekked on to the out-span, 17 miles from town beyond which point the general public was not allowed that day. As we out-spanned about 10 o'clock to cook our evening meal, we could see the yellow lights of the other wagons blinking at us, and fires dotted all over the veldt, which reminded many of the early days of Rhodes'



People camping at World's View Outspan

conquest of this country when the population lived in wagons and tents.

At times this [form of] life is very fascinating but June and July winds blow, and one feels quite as cold, as when the thermometer registers zero at home. As we sat around the wagon enjoying a good meal, it was hard to realize that we were part of

the great funeral procession, but the solemn silence of nature, the glittering jewels of heaven keeping sentinel watch over the living and dead, the vigils of the night, was a fitting prelude for all that was to take place on the following day.

Meanwhile the coffin under the escort of the British South African Police had preceded us 5 miles, to the huts erected by the late Mr Rhodes on his farm "West acre". The bier was here guarded during the night by sentinels[4]. As early as 5 o'clock in the following morning the sad journey to the World's View was resumed, by 8 o'clock the remains and escort reached the foot of the hill, where the mules were out-spanned and a team of 12 oxen attached to a gun carriage, 20 of the South African Police being in advance holding dragropes, in this way the bier was conveyed to the summit of the grand kopje.

The ladies of our party slept comfortably in the wagon during the night, the gentlemen meantime wrapping themselves in blankets slept on the ground.

The Ndebele mourners

After breakfast we again in-spanned and again joined in the strange parade. Never in the history of Africa had the natives witnessed such unique doings by the "*Molongoes*"[5] or white men. The guests of the government and officials, most of whom had slept the previous night on the veldt, led the procession. The morning air was indisputably clean and fine. The very essence of "life's best", the perfect azures of the [sky] making the most distant objects appear near at hand. On we went through lush and grass country, the grass higher in places than a man on horseback. As we sat high up in our wagon we could see in the front and at the rear the long trail of conveyance, men on their horse and bicycles, winding their way up hill and down, truly a never-to-be-forgotten scene. The Matopo Hills loomed into view in their grandest, grotesque boulders appearing in

[4] The coffin was placed in Rhodes' summerhouse, an open structure on the crest of adjacent low ridge. Sadly it was burnt down several years ago in a runaway veldfire.

[5] marungu

the distance like some ancient Castle Ruins, at every fresh turnoff the road a delightful surprise was in store for us as we wound our way in and out amongst the beautiful kopjes one is simply lost in admiration at such scenery. After a trek of several hours, through this [Elysium] we reach our grail and found a lovely grassy slope where to rest[6]. Immediately in front of us was the huge hill of granite up the face of which we would now have to climb. Precisely at 11 o'clock the procession re-formed and began to ascend the kopje. The Southern Rhodesian Volunteers in the advance accompanied by the band of the British South Africa Police playing [Chopin's] Funeral March then followed the chief Mourners and the Imperial and other Government representatives, all slowly marching to the summit. Viewed from which they presented a most striking spectacle. On they came and formed around the open [tomb] on which the coffin was suspended. The Bishop of Mashonaland read the burial service of the Church of England and after delivering an eloquent and feeling address he recited the poem dedicated to Cecil John Rhodes by Rudyard Kipling which was now for the first time published to the world.

Here in the centre of this amphitheatre were assembled this throng of mourners, soldiers and people. A deep hush fell on all as the coffin was lowered into place and we realized that here lay on these eerie heights one of the greatest of England's Empire builders, truly a solemn hour; never before had these hills [echoed] with the sound of hymns and prayer. Very fitting indeed were the proceedings. On this isolated granite rock were gathered men from all parts of the world, as well as natives and around and about us the deep valley, the ridge

The Burial

When that great Kings return to clay,
  Or Emperors in their pride,
Grief of a day shall fill a day,
  Because its creature died.
But we - we reckon not with those
  Whom the mere Fates ordain,
This Power that wrought on us and goes
  Back to the Power again.

Dreamer devout, by vision led
  Beyond our guess or reach,
The travail of his spirit bred
  Cities in place of speech.
So huge the all-mastering thought that drove -
  So brief the term allowed -
Nations, not words, he linked to prove
  His faith before the crowd.

It is his will that he look forth
  Across the world he won -
The granite of the ancient North -
  Great spaces washed with sun.

There shall he patient take his seat
  (As when the Death he dared),
And there await a people's feet
  In the paths that he prepared.

There, till the vision he foresaw
  Splendid and whole arise,
And unimagined Empires draw
  To council 'neath his skies,
The immense and brooding Spirit still
  Shall quicken and control.
Living he was the land, and dead,
  His soul shall be her soul!

Rudyard Kipling

[6] This is Worlds View Outspan and is at the base of the hill on the far side from the current access road. We have to rethink our geography from what is there today. The walk up was much longer and steeper at that time.

after ridge of blue hills. Life and wealth, past and present were here. The work that the dead statesman commenced remains unfinished, but it will be carried on and who can prophesy how far-reaching the influence that will go out from this mountain shrine.

The ceremony was brought to a close by the Band slowly playing "Now the Labourer's Task is [over]", the natives were now to take their part, which was not the least unimpressive. They had been patiently waiting on the slope of the hill, and now came forward led by their oldest *Indunas*, Chiefs, who on passing the tomb made loud lamentations, while one exclaimed who will be our Baba now meaning Father.

Reverently the multitudes estimated at about 3 000 filed slowly past and away to their Kraals. The [tomb] was now sealed by one large granite slab, whereon was [placed] a plain brass plate bearing the simple inscription "Here lie the remains of Cecil John Rhodes" We would have lingered to see the fine [views] behind the glorious panorama of hills, but the excessive heat and glare of the African sun at high noon, proved too much for most of us, and we were glad of the shade of our wagons.

The Wreaths on Rhodes Tomb

A few of us made a second ascent and saw the tomb literally covered by the wreaths, only three were enclosed with the remains, one of these being sent by the Queen of England. The [place] was now deserted and silence reigned once more and here we left him with none to bear him company "unless he deserves well of his Country"

Mrs C. H. Naake, Bulawayo, April 1902

W. V. Brelsford: A Memoir

by Jonathan Waters

W. V. Brelsford, who edited Rhodesiana from Volume 18 to 40, was preparing the first issue of Heritage when he died on July 6, 1980 from injuries sustained in a car accident a month earlier. His death was the reason that Volume I only came out in 1981 and reference was made to his passing in the first post-Independence journal. But no obituary followed.

My interest in the man has increased considerably as the years have passed and was heightened after I read my way through a set of *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*. This remarkable publication, which he edited from its start in 1950 through to its end in 1965, was a seemingly odd mix of historical accounts, geology and ethnography. Brelsford published the last six issues in a single volume, opting to close the journal due to the "changed circumstances" in Zambia. Given most publications spluttered on in the years after independence before eventually dying out, there was foresight in closing the journal at its zenith.

William Vernon Brelsford (1907-1980)

In late 2012 while looking for missing shareholders for a Zambian company, I got to meet Brelsford's daughter Erica, and her husband Buchan (who turned 90 in December 2013). They allowed me access to Vernon Brelsford's files, scrapbooks and photographs, and we talked a good deal during my visits about his character, life and habits. I wanted to write an article about the man who contributed so much to the recording of Central Africa's history and ethnography and do greater justice to his life's work. He came out to Africa when the British overseas service attracted a much better pedigree than it does today—someone with an inquiring mind who usually had an Oxbridge background. Brelsford

certainly found himself among a like-minded group of contemporaries who included T. G. C. Vaughan-Jones, Kenneth Bradley and Gervas Clay (who contributed regularly to NRJ and married Baden Powell's daughter). At the time of his death, Brelsford was working on a book with a working title of "Northern Rhodesia in the Thirties" (it only gets to Page 26). According to Erica and Buchan, it was a semi-biographical glimpse of the life of pioneering District Officers in Zambia, full of anecdotes about his early postings to Chilanga, Lusaka and Mumbwa. No doubt referring self-deprecatingly to himself and his contemporaries, he quotes Elspeth Huxley as saying the Colonial Service was "composed of men chosen for the middle-class virtues of integrity, discipline, loyalty, sobriety, team spirit and all-roundness: qualities that were tempered by a conventional outlook, lack of imagination and a tendency to let sleeping dogs lie."

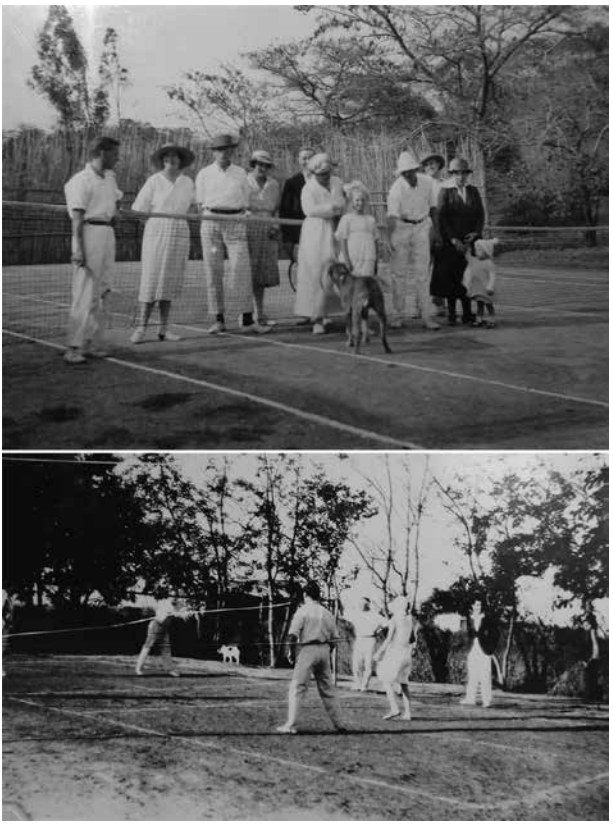
The son of Emily and Vernon, a lecturer, William Vernon Brelsford was born in Derbyshire on 7 March 1907. He fell off his highchair into a fire and was left with a scar on his left temple, being ever careful to almost always be photographed from the right. Brelsford was educated at The Grammar School in Chesterfield, where he showed "exceptional ability in English and History", according to his headmaster. He was a rugby footballer of "more than average merit" and a prefect. In 1927, Brelsford was accepted to read English at Oxford and was a member of St Edmunds' rowing eight. He joined the Officers Training Corps and on graduating was accepted into the Colonial Service. He went to Northern Rhodesia in 1930 when massive retrenchments were taking place in the civil service, but not in the provincial administration.

Brelsford arrived at his post—Chilanga (15km south of Lusaka)—in the middle of the night. He noted that no-one else got off the train, but he was met by the District Commissioner F. L. Brown and a posse of messengers armed with rifles and carrying hurricane lamps as there was a man-eating lion in the area. "It was a romantic start to my career," he said. Professor Stanley Adshead, the consultant brought out in the same year to evaluate proposals for moving the capital to Lusaka writes in his diary about the dinner conversation at the DC's house on the night of his visit. "[Brown] told us a man eating lion had eaten 120 black men and was the terror of the station, so much so that no one dare go outside his door and District Commissioner got a nervous breakdown and had to return to England. The lion disappeared and was never seen again."

From Chilanga he visited Elizabeth Morton's home, Rosedean, on the outskirts of Lusaka, where the tennis court, the only one in the area, was the centre of social activities at weekends. Here he met her daughter Wilma, who was reputedly the first British child born in Lusaka. Her father Percy had fought in the Boer War, serving in the Warwickshire Yeomanry. In 1903 he returned to South Africa with his bride and spent some time in Cape Town and Johannesburg before moving north to Bulawayo. Here they lived in a house opposite the Grand Hotel where an Italian, Rosazza, kept his horse in their stable. While looking for opportunities in Northern Rhodesia, Rosazza wrote informing them that he had started a lime burning operation two miles outside Lusaka and invited them to join him.

Deciding to settle in Northern Rhodesia, they built Rosedean near the limeworks. Percy imported the first vehicle in Lusaka (this story is told in *So This Was Lusaakas*, a book by the former mayor Richard Sampson). By the time Percy died of pneumonia in 1930, he owned the limeworks, a farm and several plots in Fairview. However,

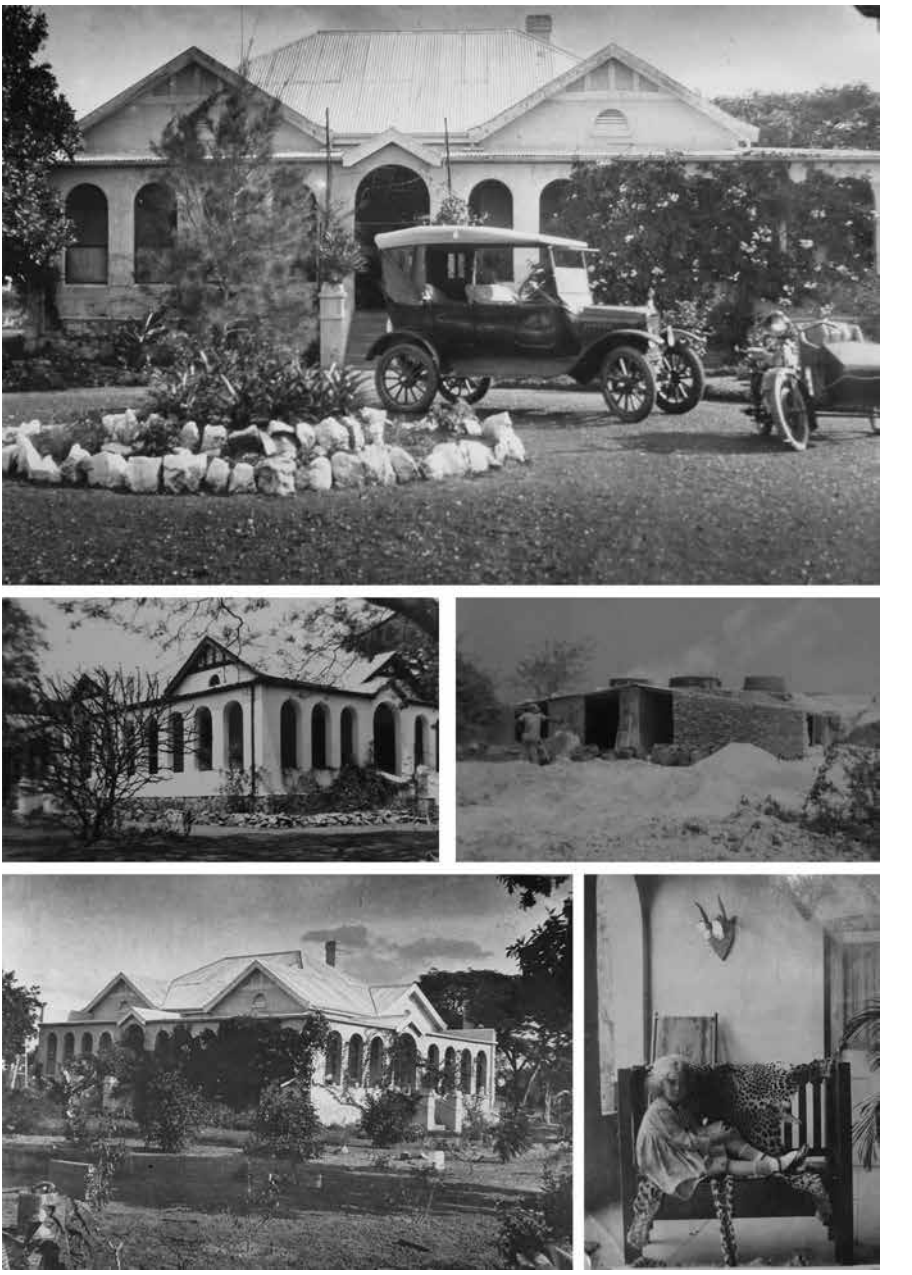
there was a great deal of credit supporting this empire and Elizabeth and Wilma, then only 17, had to work hard indeed to salvage the estate. Later, Elizabeth built Morton Building on Cairo Road. After her death in 1957, Rosedean was demolished and the rubble donated to the new Cathedral of the Holy Cross, beneath which it remains as part of the foundations after its completion in 1962.



Tennis party at Rosedean, a centrepoint of Lusaka's social life in the 1930s

Vernon and Wilma were married in 1933, by which time he had been posted to Mumbwa. The next move was to Chinsali in the Northern Province and his two daughters —Erica and Joan—were born in Kasama. With several ethnological articles having been carried in a variety of publications, the Governor Sir Hubert Young pushed for the establishment of a museum and scientific institute at Livingstone. Brelsford was made First Secretary/ Curator of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in 1937 ahead of the arrival of the now legendary J Desmond Clark. Returning to the north east, he studied the impact of changing water levels on the Unga people. His study—*Fishermen of the Bangweulu Swamps*—went on to win the Research Medal of the Wellcome Trust in 1948. Peers such as Max Gluckman tried to seduce him into the academic life, but Brelsford's heart was now firmly in Northern Rhodesia.

From Kasama he moved to Lusaka in 1951 as Director of Information, reportedly at the instigation of Sir Stewart Gore Browne, who had taken exception to reports of the appearance at the New Year's party of Brelsford and Godfrey Pelletier (one time Mayor of Ndola) dressed as convicts carrying a pail of water on a yoke. Gore Browne had objected to the use of prison labour to carry water to houses in the drought of 1950. Angered by the mocking of his opposition to the practice, the eccentric inhabitant of Shiwa Ngandu took this to be a slight on his character and reportedly wrote to the Governor demanding Brelsford be removed from the Northern Province. Writing nearly



Views of Rosedean, the remains of which form the foundation of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross. Limestone kilns at Rosedean. The child on the verandah is Wilma.

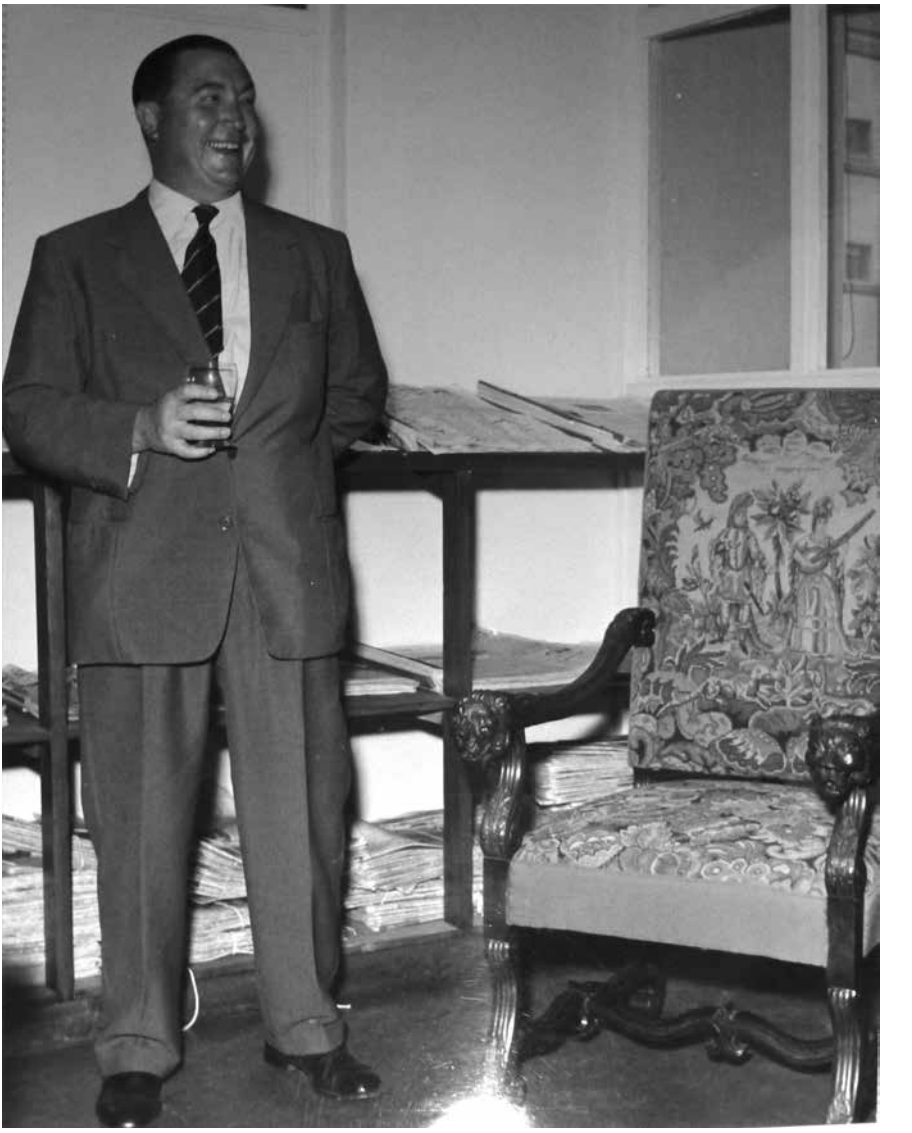
two decades later, John Gaunt, the former Federal MP for Lusaka said to Brelsford in a letter: "Gore Brown in particular, I believe was one of those principally responsible for the destruction of the Provincial Administration and, if I remember correctly, you

yourself had an encounter with him at Kasama. He was not called the "Black Knight" for nothing."

After the formation of the Federation, Brelsford was seconded to Salisbury to head up the new Federal Information Department. The move was met with surprise in some quarters. Shortly before his retirement in 1960, the *Central African Examiner* reported what had transpired in 1953: "At the time many journalists, and indeed others with professional vested interests, were at least in private highly critical of the appointment. The popular image of a District Officer, a Colonial Service man, did not tally with many people's idea of the type of man who would be required to 'sell' the Federation. Admittedly, Brelsford's career in the Service had taken on a rather unusual

Brelsford when he headed the Information Department in Lusaka

Brelsford, centre, with Sir Roy Welensky, at the Federation stand at the inaugural Trade Fair in 1960



Being presented with his bishop's chair on retirement. It was much treasured in his study at his farm Pel Ndaba in Umwinsidale.

character, but it had an academic rather than a propaganda flavour." It was propaganda that the Welensky government wanted and with the Federation coming under increasing pressure, British public relations consultants were brought in to fight the failing cause. Upon dissolution of Federation in 1963, he was offered the choice of a position with considerably diminished responsibilities or early retirement. He chose the latter.

While he had been in Southern Rhodesia for only seven years, Brelsford moved in influential circles and was persuaded to run for MP for Greenwood in the 1962 election

Larking around at his retirement party as he receives the bishop's mitre.

on a UFP ticket. He won his seat with 716 votes to 532. Given his libertarian background when it came to information, he led the fight against the takeover of Rhodesia TV Ltd by the government-run Rhodesia Broadcasting Corp, describing the move as "fascist". Put to a vote in December 1964, he lost the motion by 34 votes to 25. We are still dealing with the repercussions today. Clifford Dupont said at the time: "The whole purpose of the acquisition of 51% of the voting shares (of RTV) was an insurance against something happening in the next 15 years. It was possible that by then many of the people in control today may have disposed of their interests to other people who might not have the interests of Rhodesia at heart." Ho hum.

Acting on medical advice following a heart attack, Brelsford opted not to run in the 1965 election, but his chances against any Rhodesia Front candidate would have been slim. He continued to visit Zambia to help with post-Independence formation of the Zambian Information Services. But on a visit in October 1966, he was picked up from his hotel, driven to the airport and deported. He was due to have dinner that evening with Douglas Waters, the Head of CID, who himself was surprised by the expulsion order. Being declared a Prohibited Immigrant, in a country to which he had given so much, left a bitter taste in his mouth. Nevertheless, he turned his energies to their farm in Umwinsidale—Pel Ndaba—where they sold milk from their Jersey herd. He continued to write and to correspond with colleagues and friends around the world from the comfort of his study, surrounded by his vast collection of books.

On 6 June 1980 Wilma was killed and Vernon seriously injured when the car in which they were travelling—driven by Assistant Commisioner Ted Colbourne of the

BSAP—was in collision with another at the junction of Ridgeway North and Enterprise Road, ironically a traffic black spot that should have been converted to a roundabout years ago. During his final month, spent in hospital, he meticulously arranged his affairs and the break up of his very extensive library. Most of his photographs were given to The Rhodes Livingstone Museum in Lusaka, while his Africana books and publications are now in the Yale University Library, secured through the efforts of Dr J. D. Moore Crossey, curator of their African Collection from 1963 to 1998. Erica remarked that while she knew her father had written a great deal and corresponded with many people, she was overwhelmed by the sheer volume of condolences and letters that arrived following his death on 6 July.

It would be folly for me to list the immense body of work that he published in his lifetime. Ultimately it is *The Northern Rhodesia Journal* he will be remembered for and in the words of Dick Hobson, the publication remains his most "enduring memorial". I have yet to meet anyone who has read the set who has an unkind comment and I conclude with remarks Brelsford made to a meeting in 1960: "It is not a highbrow magazine. It is intended for reading by the ordinary man in the street and although we do publish some scientific articles they are articles for which no other Northern Rhodesia journal caters. The majority of the articles are of a popular nature. I consider that our efforts to make the old timers write down their memoirs have become perhaps our most important series and they are extremely popular. I think it is a great pity that we didn't start the Journal ten years earlier than we did, then we might have succeeded in getting first hand memoirs of men who were in almost at the beginning of the history of this territory."

Final Resting Places of Significant Personalities in our History (Part III)

by Jonathan Waters

As with my previous writings in this series (Heritage 30 and 31), I aim to provide a general historical outline of the lives of the four personalities in this instalment, using new information when I have come across it, and refer those interested to widely available books for further reading.

Hans Sauer

I took the opportunity to visit Brittany while on a visit to Jersey as the ferry ride to St Malo is only a few hours. I spent the night in this gorgeous walled city and set off the next day on my bicycle for Dinan, where I expected I would find Hans Sauer's grave since that's where he died in August 1939. I figured the ride would be around 40km and the "green track" followed the old railway lines that had been dug up, so was quite flat. St Malo may be stunning, but Dinan, also a walled town, is even more breathtaking. Despite the excitement of Africa, it was immediately apparent to me why Sauer would decide to spend his last three decades there.

Dinan, the village in Brittany, France, where Sauer is interred

Born in Smithfield in the Orange Free State in 1857, Sauer must have gained his Europhile tendencies from his medical studies at Edinburgh University. Qualifying in 1881, he headed for Kimberley, becoming embroiled in the prevailing Wild West

Hans Sauer (1857-1939) in later life

environment, the events of which are covered in the introduction of the Rhodesian Reprint edition of *Ex-Africa* (No 27 in the Gold Series). He leaves Kimberley in 1886 for the Rand and ends up working for Cecil Rhodes, who referred to him as a "genial ruffian" (there were 19 actions for battery, assault and illegal detention pending against Sauer when he left the diamond fields).

My first university vacation job was at *The Star* on Sauer St, which was renamed Pixley ka Isaka Seme St in 2013 after the founding president of the ANC. Sauer earned the honour of having the street named after him as he was the city's first district surgeon, setting up a small hospital in a corrugated iron building in April 1887. Clearly he knew his game and Louis Bolze in the publisher's introduction of the reprint edition quotes from *The History of Medicine in South Africa*: "A jovial-visaged medical man who would, at a price, cure you of anything bar poverty. His diagnosis, apart from mines, was always correct to a tick."

The "mines" comment was likely to be in jest as Sauer was a wealthy man within a decade. To quote from Dr J. Charles Shee in *The Central African Journal of Medicine*: "Sauer was not unlike a Renaissance nobleman, brimful of unusual and diverse talents: he combined the self-reliance and traditional slimness of a *platteland* farmer with the sporting instinct of a Victorian squire and genius of a Frankfurt banker. He was too restless a soul to ever settle down to the humdrum life of medical practice. He was always fond of the good things in life, and was something of a gourmet."

In 1890, he moved to London to read for the Bar at Middle Temple and returned in 1893 as a qualified lawyer working for Rhodes in various mining ventures. While inspecting mining opportunities in the Insiza district, he came across the remarkable

The bas relief at Bulawayo City Hall: Sauer is shown to the far left of the negotiators at the first indaba, with Johann Colenbrander translating for Cecil Rhodes and the journalist Vere Stent on right. John Grootboom stands behind them.

Zinjanja Ruins, which he named "Regina" at the time in honour of Queen Victoria. I also learned from the dust jacket of the Books of Rhodesia edition that Sauer founded the Rand Club. It was from here that he was arrested in 1896 along with 18 others for their part in the Jameson Raid (he was a member of the Reform Committee). He was jailed for two years, but later bought his freedom with a £2 000 fine.

Sauer's grave in the English section of the Cimetière in Dinan

Sauer disappears very quickly from our history, around the time that Rhodes' dies. It might be because his wife, Cecilia Josephine Fitzpatrick, the sister of Percy Fitzpatrick,

seems to have never settled in Rhodesia, preferring to only visit and being stuck there when the Matabele Uprising broke out would hardly have endeared her to the place. It seems her travels to Rhodesia were always fraught with mishap. One report in *The Matabele Times and Mining Journal* of 17 August 1894 stated that while travelling in her private wagon to Bulawayo, Mrs Sauer was unfortunate enough to get amidst a large veld fire at Macloutsie. The wagon with all her luggage was destroyed.

When the uprising broke out in 1896, Sauer was granted 20 days parole by President Kruger to rescue his wife in Bulawayo. It was during this time that his most famous moment in this country's history comes about as he accompanies Rhodes to the first Indaba on 21 August 1896, which is still captured in the bas relief on the clock tower of the Bulawayo Town Hall. The best-known account of first indaba is in Vere Stent's book A Personal Record of Some Incidents in the Life of Cecil Rhodes but I also came across an account by Sauer himself in Leo Weinthal's voluminous four-part The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway & River Route.

The bust of SE Asia explorer Auguste Pavie (1867-1925) in the English Gardens

Sauertown in Bulawayo still bears his name. He acquired the property from the Fairbairn Syndicate shortly after occupation, which then was less than a kilometre from the Royal Kraal, on which State House was built. The Dawson brothers store was also on the property and it was from a tree in this property that the BSA Co flag was hoisted over Bulawayo on 4 November 1893. There was probably the expectation at the time, given the close proximity of Lobengula's previous residence, that this might become a prestigious area in Bulawayo, but the early settlers preferred the rocky outcrop to the south west of the nascent town.

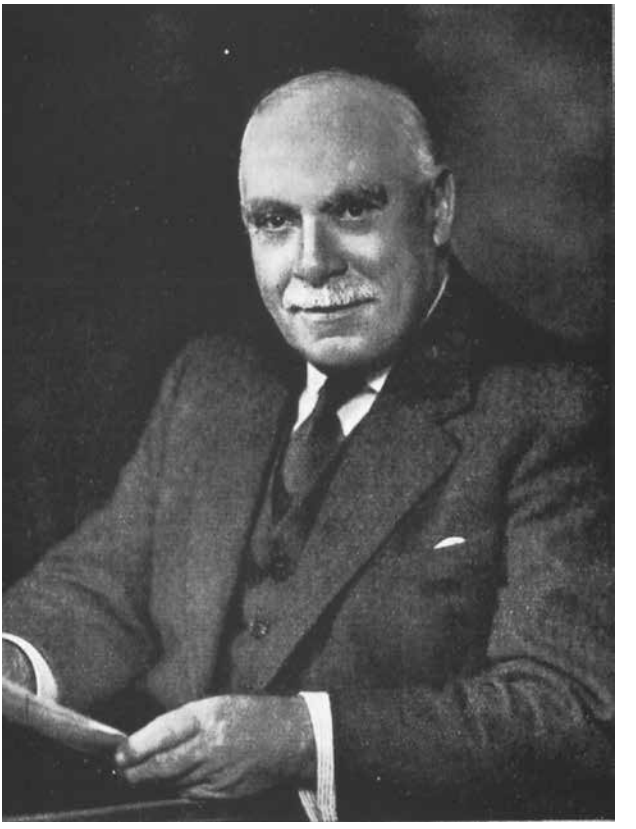
An internet trawl on Sauer resulted in this note by railway enthusiast A. H. Croxton: "A single 2-4-0 with a 6-wheel tender was imported from Germany, apparently specially for it was named HANS SAUER after the mining magnate Dr Hans Sauer, who was connected with the Ayrshire Gold Mine. This little narrow gauge loco was slightly more powerful, hauling a maximum of 72 tons against the Falcon's 42, and it had outside Walschaerts gear while the Falcons had inside Stephenson motion. I have only recently managed to trace and obtain a photograph, but the maker's plate is obscured so that I have not yet established who built it. HANS SAUER had a brightly polished dome and a round sandbox between dome and chimney."

Retiring to France, I imagined that, given a shared history in colonial exploration, he must have come into contact with Dinan's most famous son Auguste Pavie (1867–1925), who gets much more honour in the town, with a bust in the English Gardens. It was Pavie's exploits in SE Asia that led the French to colonise Laos. Days before the

outbreak of WWII, Sauer breathed his last and was buried in the Dinan Cimetière just to the north of the walled town. His gravestone simply says: "Sauer" and its quite hard to make out. While the grave is in the English section and ranked "perpetuity", I did see that the computer said until 2026. The French don't let you rest forever and if you don't pay, you're likely to be dug up.

Frank Johnson

The irascible Frank Johnson is buried on the Isle of Man. Growing up, I had always wondered why the leader of the Pioneer Column—a mere 24 years of age at the time—had a school in Waterfalls named after him when it appeared there were much bigger prizes in the capital. How about Highlands? He did after all live on Orange Grove Drive in the 1920s when he returned and launched a political career. Johnson, who had been wandering around in the Mazoe goldfields before 1890, always seemed to have been on a get rich scheme, but never pulled it off. According to the UK Probate Register, he died with £70 to his name.



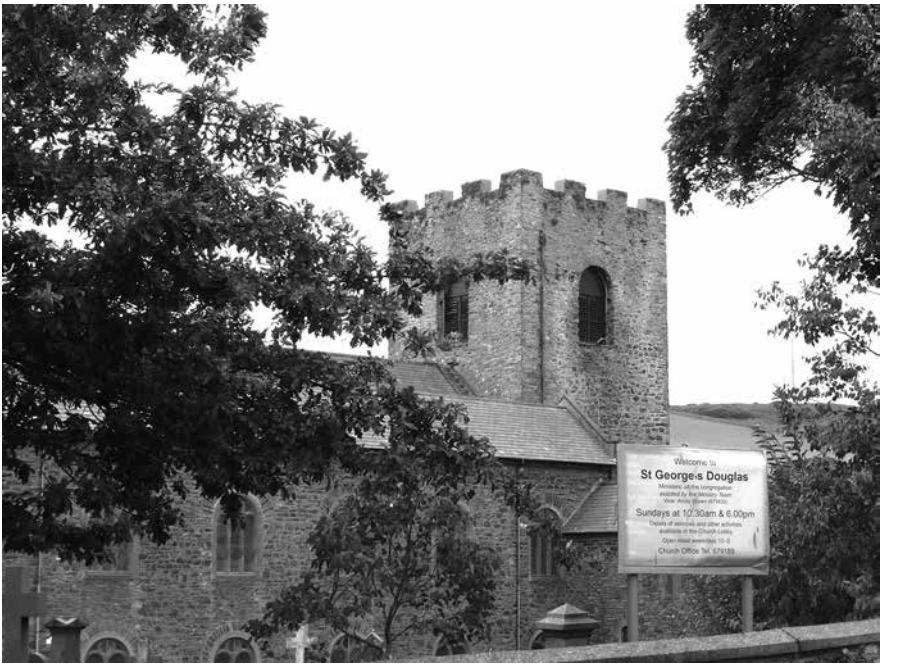
Frank William Frederick Johnson (1866-1943) in his later life

He was probably just not a good Rhodesian hero (ie someone who selflessly dedicated himself to Rhodes). While spectacularly successful when it came to fulfilling his contract to occupy Mashonaland, he comes across as arrogant and full of self-promotion and I-told-you-so in his autobiography Great Days. He suffers from amnesia, as he was not present for the raising of the flag at Fort Salisbury on September 13, 1890, having taken off the previous day to peg claims in the Hartley area. He clashed with Rhodes and Jameson, the latter advising him to leave the country when "Dr Jim", by Johnson's account, turned down his plans to have wagons accompany the force invading Matabeleland in 1893.

Distrust or perhaps a dislike of Johnson regardless of his 1890 laurel was perhaps

Johnson's first house in Salisbury in the Avenues

the reason he was never engaged again by the BSA Co. For his part, Johnson fingers Rutherfoord Harris as the baddy. He suggests that this BSA Co director made a good deal of money out of the Jameson Raid, where he was "acting as a 'bear' on a large scale. The cancellation of the Raid, would, of course, have involved him in heavy losses." He also blames Harris for his non-participation in the suppression of the Mashona uprising. "At that time I was very much in the black books of the Chartered Company, largely because of differences with Rutherfoord Harris and his method of collecting baksheesh



St Georges Church, Douglas, Isle of Man

Johnson's grave in excellent condition

over mining rights."

Johnson takes part in the Langberg Campaign (or Bechuanaland Rebellion of 1897). Afterwards he spends some time in Salisbury and then heads to London as he found he could better control the business. By his own admission, "there is little to tell that is of much public interest" in the period leading to the outbreak of World War I. In reality, he had probably blotted his copybook locally and found there were few people who bought into the Eldorado story which led to a short-lived boom in 1894. The BSA Co initially had a 50% policy (not unlike the current one), which had resulted in depressed mining activity until it was reformed after the turn of the century.

Johnson spends time in India, Afghanistan and Jersey before coming back to Southern

Rhodesia and launching a political career. An excellent orator who was able to rabble rouse, he gets elected to the Legislative Assembly (G. H. Tanser tells the story superbly in *A History of Highlands*). Restless as ever, Johnson heads back to the UK in 1933 where he "tries to settle down" in his old county of Norfolk where he was born in 1866. In 1940 aged 74, he applies to the army, who obviously say no thanks and he concludes his Great Days epilogue by saying he was considering returning to Jersey "as the one and only hope I can see of shaking myself free from a perfect host of obligations."

He escapes the Nazi occupation later that year and somehow ends up in the Isle of Man living in a hotel as his old home in Norfolk has been converted to a military hospital (he tells the Chief Archivist in Salisbury in a letter from Cornwall dated 15 July 1940 informing him that his personal papers were all left behind on the island after the "surrender to the Huns"). As a military man on the Isle of Man, he could have had some role in the internment on the island of civilian nationals (Germans, Austrians and Italians), who were generally regarded as not being a security risk.

A close up of the headstone

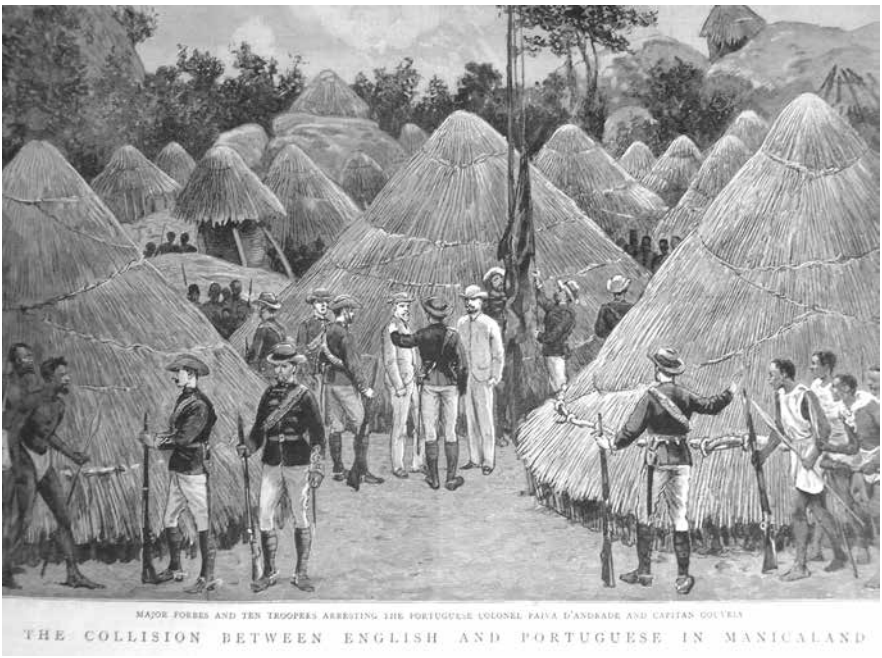
Twice married with five children in the first marriage to Jane Day in 1888—he later marries Shelagh Kennedy, you never hear much about the family. Johnson was living at St Anne's Hotel in Douglas when he died on 6 September 1943 and was buried in the graveyard of the Church of St George where his spectacularly shiny headstone (given the intervening period) reads:

In ever loving memory of
Lt Colonel
Sir Frank William Frederick Johnson
KBE DSO
Born 21st June 1866
Died 6th September 1943
A Pioneer of the Empire

Across the path is the grave of Frank John Johnson, the Registrar of Deeds, but I could not establish if this was a relative (he dies in 1922). While Johnson probably considered himself to be the graveyard's most famous person, that honour undeniably falls to Lt Col Sir William Hillary, the founder of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution in 1824. He died in 1847 having helped save the lives of 509 people in rough seas.

General Joaquim Carlos Paiva de Andrada

The "arrest", or more likely the kidnapping, at Mutasa's kraal in November 1890 of Colonel Joaquim Carlos Paiva de Andrada and the Goanese adventurer and trader "Gouveia" (Manoel Antonia da Sousa) demonstrated excellent strategic cunning on the part of the BSA Co when it came to securing much of what became Rhodesia. Whatever you may have learnt at school, the Portuguese dominated the Highveld in the 17th Century and retained a good deal of influence in the eastern region (Manicaland) around the point of colonisation. Had the BSA Co not disrupted the activities of these two Portuguese adventurers, Zimbabwe's eastern border would have almost certainly ended at the Macheke River.



The "arrest" of Andrada and Gouveia at Mutasa's Kraal (as depicted by *The Graphic*)

Mutasa, who was considered to be the chief of the Manica people, had signed several treaties with European concession seekers, and the BSA Co was third in line (and even then had a tenuous claim to what was Mashonaland where most chiefs paid no tribute to Lobengula). David Beach in his account of Harare's early history (*Heritage* No 9) tells how Andrada and Gouveia had travelled with a large contingent of soldiers and carriers across the Highveld in the year prior to BSA Co colonisation, dishing out Enfield rifles and getting assurances from Shona chiefs (Seke, Nyamweda and Mangwende) that they would fly the blue and white Portuguese flag. Andrada said in correspondence to the Direcção Geral do Ultramar: "I have never seen lands as favourable for white colonisation as those of Seke, Nyamweda and all the regions of Mupfure."

As Beach concludes: "This vast enterprise, of which the central plateau expedition of 1889 was only a small part, never came about. The reasons for its failure are complex and

Joaquim Carlos Paiva de Andrada (1848–1928)

will be examined in future publications based on newly-discovered documents. The implications for Zimbabwean history are considerable, for in effect the bulk of the country very nearly became part of Mozambique and whereas the Mozambicans might well have been celebrating the centenaries of yet more cities in 1990 it is not all certain that they would have built them on the same sites as those chosen by the BSA Co." Sadly Beach never got to write about this given his untimely death.

At Fort Charter, Dr Jameson, the hunter Frederick Courtney Selous and the first Administrator of Mashonaland Archie Colquhoun peal off from the Salisbury-bound Pioneer Column and head east to conclude a mineral rights treaty with Mutasa (Umtasa). Selous takes up the story in Travel and Adventure in South East Africa: "Before this important treaty was concluded, Umtasa was repeatedly asked whether he had ever ceded his country, either to the Portuguese Government, or to the Directors of the Company of Mozambique, and he repeated never having done so, as also did his chief councillors. When asked on what terms he was with Baron de Rezende, the local representative of the Company of Mozambique at Massi Kessi, he said, 'I allow him to live there. He sometimes gives me presents, but I have not given him my country, nor I have ever concluded a treaty with him.'"

Selous goes on to relate his account (in reality, the BSA Co's position) and says Rezende considered that Mutasa's country fell under Chief Gungunyana's domain, with whom the Mozambique Company had a treaty. In reality, Mutasa was just taking what he could get from the white concession hunters. Rezende was certainly not sending Mutasa gifts for no reason in particular, and clearly there was an agreement, even if it was unwritten. Mutasa also had a mining agreement with the Anglo Portuguese Syndicate, which had a 99 year lease (signed in November 1888) covering the territory four miles on each side of the Mutare river down to the junction of the Odzi river (Roger Howman covers this tale in Rhodesiana No 36) in exchange for 200 blankets a year.

While he has nothing but contempt for Gouveia, Selous shows a good deal of sympathy for Rezende and Andrada. "One cannot help but feel sorry for the chagrin and mortification which recent events must have caused to two Portuguese gentlemen, of whose courtesy and kindness all Englishmen who have met them speak with one

accord in the highest terms. I refer to Colonel Paiva d'Andrada and Baron de Rezende, men imbued with the spirit of the old Portuguese navigators, a spirit which now only flickers up occasionally in the breasts of their descendants like a flame among the dying embers of a dying fire. But a few such men cannot regenerate a decaying nation." Ouch!

After they were "arrested", Major Patrick Forbes sends Andrada and Gouveia back to Fort Salisbury. No doubt, Rhodes had been conspiring with his lieutenants in the BSA Co that the easiest way to deal with the problem was send them on a long journey south so that they could not communicate with Lisbon while Rhodes moved on with his general rule of possession being nine tenths of the law. In the National Archives, I stumbled on the following unpublished account by NHG Mundell (who went on to own "The Zimbabwe Hotel" on Mundell's Plot near Great Zimbabwe), and we get to learn something of Andrada's character and BSA Co cunning:

"Towards the end of the year, the trouble with the Portuguese at Umtasas started. Colonel Piva D'Andrada, who represented the Mozambique Company in Manica, and a Goanese, Captain Mor Gouveia, were arrested at night in Umtasa's main kraal by Major Forbes and sent up to Salisbury in charge of an escort under Lieut The Hon Eustace Finnes. On their arrival there, I was instructed to proceed with them and an escort of four mounted men and a Corporal to Kimberley. We left on 20th November as far as I can remember. The prisoners were conveyed in the Administrator's wagon and were provided with the best of everything that was possible to procure to make their journey as little irksome as possible.

"I was also given written instructions, which I have now, to purchase or requisition anything I required in the way of provisions, oxen, etc, etc and sign for same on behalf of the BSA Company. I found Colonel D'Andrada, who had one time been Portuguese Military Attaché at Paris, a most charming man, and before we parted we became great friends. With no doubt a view to add to the comfort of my charges as much as possible, the authorities in Salisbury had put a case of pints of champagne on the wagon. On the second day out after a very hot and tiring trek, I suggested to Col D'Andrada that a 'small bottle' might cheer things up a little. He thanked me, but said it would not be correct for a man in his position to drink champagne.

"At Fort Charter we met a couple of wagons belonging to an enterprising Kimberley firm who were taking groceries and general stores up to Salisbury for sale. As we had not too many good things especially vegetables, I purchased a number of tins of green peas and Oxford sausages. These figured largely in our daily menu and by the time we reached Tuli, we were heartily sick of them. (My reason for mentioning this incident is that a couple of years afterwards I happened to be in Cape Town to meet a cousin who was coming out by the old Union boat 'Tarter'. As the boat docked early in the morning, I had breakfast on board with my cousin. Halfway through the meal a steward came to my table and presented me with a plate of fried sausages, saying 'Colonel D'Andrada sent these over with his compliments, Sir, he is very sorry there are no green peas.' I turned around and to my surprise saw D'Andrada sitting at a table on the other side of the saloon. We had a long chat together after breakfast. He told me he had just come out from Lisbon and was on his way to Mozambique in connection with business of the Mozambique Co, of which he was a Director. We stayed together for a couple of days at the Queen's Hotel, Sea Point and parted the best of friends.)

Andrada's grave in Cimetière Montparnasse, Paris

"On the morning we reached the Umzingwani River, I was riding a short distance ahead of the wagons and escort and found two very heavily loaded wagons which had just crossed the river and outspanned. A little man came up to me and after asking various questions about the road, etc asked me to come to his travelling wagon and have a cup of tea (or something of the kind). When we had made ourselves comfortable in two nice deck chairs, my host called out for "Billie". A very nice looking youth came up and my host ordered drinks. Shortly after my wagon came up and I said 'Good-bye'. I found out on reaching Tuli that 'Billie' was a girl and had dressed as a boy as no women at that time were allowed to enter Mashonaland. My host was the Viscomte de L'apanne (sic), and he and Billie were married shortly after their arrival in Salisbury and were for a long time most popular members of the community.

A close up of the tomb, which is still being tended

"After we reached Fort Tuli, Dr Jameson who had been despatched post haste from the south by Mr Rhodes, arrived. Colonel D'Andrada had declined to accept any hospitality from the Officers of the Police or Civil Officials and insisted on remaining in our wagon which was outspanned just below the Fort. On the Doctor's arrival I took

him and introduced him to D'Andrada. He (D'Andrada) was very cool at first and refused to have anything to do with him. After a time, however, he relented and they talked for half an hour, D'Andrada's part of the conversation being decidedly heated." The account covers the rest of the journey to Kimberley, but I have included the parts most relevant to our history.

Gouveia returns to his base in eastern Manica (Catandica used to be known as Vila Gouveia) and dies shortly afterwards (in 1891) after being engaged in a fight with a chief, while Andrada it would appear initially returns to Europe. His name comes up in connection to various mining ventures in Manica Province in Mozambique (and he had Gorongosa named after him during the colonial period – Vila Paiva de Andrada), but it would seem he spends most of his time in Lisbon and Paris, where he was first made military attaché in 1870 and where he is promoted to rank of General in 1907. He dies on April 11, 1928 and is buried with his wife in the famous Cimetière Montparnasse (famous residents include Simone de Beauvoir and Jean Paul Sartre) in the 10th Division. The grave has "perpetuity" status.

Kingsley Fairbridge

Outside the brick chapel on the Fairbridge Farm at Pinjarra in Western Australia, lies what looks like William Fairbridge's tombstone, with a rather Zimbabwean "balancing rocks" display at the head of it. If I had not been informed by the helpful staff at the reception of Fairbridge Village as the complex is known today, I would have assumed this was his final resting place. In fact, his remains lie with those of two of his children next to a large rock in a nearby paddock. The plaque on the rock, unveiled in 1979 by his oldest daughter Barbara Rowley (who was, together with her brother Rhodes, buried at the base of the rock in 2006 as they both died in the same year) says:

KINGSLEY OGILVIE
FAIRBRIDGE
WAS LAID TO REST ON THIS SITE
[Born 1885 Died 1924]
"ALWAYS I COMFORTED MYSELF
THINKING OF
THE CHILDREN WHO WOULD BE
HAPPIER"

Outside the chapel, the only building in Australia designed by Sir Herbert Baker, lies a flat piece of granite with the following inscription:

The tombstone with the "balancing rocks" display outside the Fairbridge Chapel at Pinjarra in Western Australia, which one would mistakenly assume to be Kingsley Fairbridge's grave

KINGSLEY O. FAIRBRIDGE
BORN GRAHAMSTOWN,
SOUTH AFRICA. MAY 2ND 1885
DIED PERTH. W.A. JULY 13TH 1924
ATQUE LABOR.

"O ENGLAND, ENGLAND, ENGLAND, MAY GOD'S OWN SON ENDOW.
THEE WITH THE LOVE OF CHILDREN TO WHOM THE WORLD SHALL BOW,
WHOSE EYES MAY LOVE THEE DEEP AS MINE – WHO MAY NOT SEE THEE NOW."

Fairbridge is buried at the base of this boulder in the middle of a paddock

The plaque on the balancing rocks at the head of the stone is dedicated to Ruby, Kingsley's wife, who died in 1963 in Oxted, England, nearly four decades after Kingsley's death. She is buried in the south-west section of Fairbridge Farm near the Alcoa smelter, but we were warned the road was not in a good state.

While he may be remembered here as the "Bard of Rhodesia", his legacy in Australia focuses on his child migrant scheme whereby orphans were brought out from the UK to give them a better life. From 1913 until 1982, the total number of children assisted by Fairbridge organisation when it operated as a farm school was 3 580. After WWII, a number of children from the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) were also placed in the school. The barrack rooms (there is one original structure remaining called "Cameron") are rather creepy as they don't look unlike those in concentration camps where it is clear

The plaque unveiled by his daughter Barbara in 1979, who was interred in the same grave along with her brother Rhodes in 2006

The Fairbridge Chapel, the only building by Sir Herbert Baker in Australia

that the boys slept two in a bed.

Fairbridge's father had been a surveyor for the Cape government and travelled up to Mashonaland shortly after the BSA Co colonisation. The young Fairbridge's mind was stimulated very early on about reports of the "new country". "Dad's letters to me were illustrated with little pictures and contained all manner of interesting things: a scrap of tough leather from an elephant's ear, hairs from a buffalo's tail, little flakes of Mashonaland gold; and he told me fine tales of the veld." Fairbridge and his mother follow in 1896 when he is 11, which is the end of his formal education. Fairbridge also goes to work as a surveyor and in 1903 when he visits the UK for the first time, he refines his "Vision Splendid" plan for child migration from the poor workhouses of London to the fresh air and opportunity in the colonies.

Kingsley Fairbridge (1885–1924)

Aged 21, Fairbridge travels to London, passes his "Smalls" (required by those not completing their education to attend university) and wins a Rhodes Scholarship. After graduating in October 1911, he was employed by the Child Emigration Society. He marries Ruby Whitmore in December that year and departs for Australia the following year. He reached Pinjarra in July 1912 and the first party of 13 children arrived from the UK in January 1913. In just over a decade, he dies aged 39 in Perth from "a combination of hard work, re-occurring bouts of malaria and cancer of the hip", according to the brochure at the Fairbridge Village.

The choice of Australia over Rhodesia for the launch of the scheme has intrigued me a little. The Epilogue of *His Life and Verse* says the BSA Co considered the country was "too young and undeveloped for a child immigration scheme". Why not Canada then, where Lord Grey had strong ties and Fairbridge first told him of his scheme when he made his way to the UK in 1906? I can only presume the choice of Australia has something to do with Sir Arthur Lawley, the one time governor of Western Australia (1901-02), who goes on to be the chairman of the Child Migration Society in the 1920s. Rhodesia only gets its first Fairbridge farm in 1935.

Sir Arthur Lawley (1860-1932), later Baron Wenlock, one time Governor of Western Australia (1901-1902) and the first chairman of the Child Migration Society. He was also the Administrator of Matabeleland between 1896 and 1900 and Governor of Madras (1905-1911)

Since the chapel is Sir Herbert's only building in Australia (he also has a War Memorial in Adelaide), and there is a booklet on it that is unlikely to ever reach these shores, I feel compelled to provide some more information. David Dolan, the Professor of Cultural Heritage at Curtin University, together with his wife Christine Lewis, the Manager of the Heritage Council of Western Australia, wrote the small book on the chapel and Sir Herbert's church building career. In his 1944 autobiography Architecture and Personalities, Sir Herbert said of the Fairbridge Chapel: "The work is a labour of love for me, both because I think it is one of the most valuable enterprises in the Empire and also from the fact that Fairbridge drew his inspiration from Cecil Rhodes who so much influenced my life." Fairbridge is one of six Rhodes scholars honoured (along with Bill Clinton) in portraits at Rhodes House in Oxford, another Sir Herbert creation.

The chapel was built in 1930–31 with a donation from Thomas Wall, the founder of Walls Ice Cremery. Dolan said Sir Herbert, who designed the Anglican Cathedral in Harare (as well as the Union Buildings in Pretoria and Bank of England in London—both very much in the "imperial classicist" style for which he became known), had revisited the use of brick when he designed the chapel in 1928. However, correspondence at the time with Anne Lawley indicated "stone is out of the question on account of cost—but there are good bricks to be had".

Dolan says: "The most immediately obvious feature of the Fairbridge Chapel is that it is built in brick. Worldwide, the majority of Herbert Baker's buildings, including churches, are in stone. Although brick had been used for major domestic, public and royal buildings in the seventeenth century, by the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brick (which is cheaper) had come to be regarded as inferior to stone." The Fairbridge chapel certainly looks quite similar to many of his other works with a bell tower (eg

Harare cathedral) attached to the side and not on a vestibule-to-altar axis.

When initially approached by the Child Migration Society for a design, Sir Herbert suggested that given the climate, he might allow them to reuse one of his designs from Africa. However, he explained that he did not have access to his earlier church plans and so he would give them a new original design that would not have, given the nature of the facility, "an oppressive or institutionalised feel". Dolan says Sir Herbert's adage that "climate must always dominate style in architecture" made sense given the hot Western Australian summer. "He justified his African church style in terms of the latitude and angle of the sun; and as one whose records show he thoroughly researched building locations, he would have known, or soon discovered that the latitude of Pinjarra is the same as Grahamstown (where he designed St Andrew's Chapel and the frame of St Peter's Chapel at Rhodes University). Additionally, an empire farm school in Australia shared the pioneering ethos that inspired Baker's Transvaal style."

The Fairbridge Memorial depicting Kingsley and Jack that once stood at the top of Christmas Pass. It was unveiled by the Queen Mother during a visit in 1953 and removed after Independence

The dedication of the chapel by the bishops of Perth and Bunbury took place on December 12, 1931. Sir Herbert, who never saw his creation (nor did he ever visit Australia) was unhappy about only one aspect: "there is one criticism—and one only —I have to make of the church, as it has been so well carried out, and that is that the balustrade of the upper part of the tower. I intended, and my drawing I think shows, an open balustrade here, and in the photograph it appears as if there are solid panels," he said in a letter to Gordon Green, the secretary of the Child Emigration Society. Sir Herbert designed two other churches in Australia that were never built: the Christian Scientist church for Western Australia on St Georges Terrace in Perth (local architects were used for the art deco design that stands on the site) and a chapel at All Souls School in Charters Towers, Queensland (it seems the marble and Italian curved roof tiles may have proved too expensive). Therefore, aside from the WWI memorial in Adelaide, based on his War Memorial Cross at Canterbury Cathedral, the Fairbridge Chapel remains Sir Herbert's only work in Australia.

Acknowledgements
Thanks to John Bryant, William Mackenzie, and Tim Southgate for chauffeur services rendered as well as James Bannerman for notes on Andrada.

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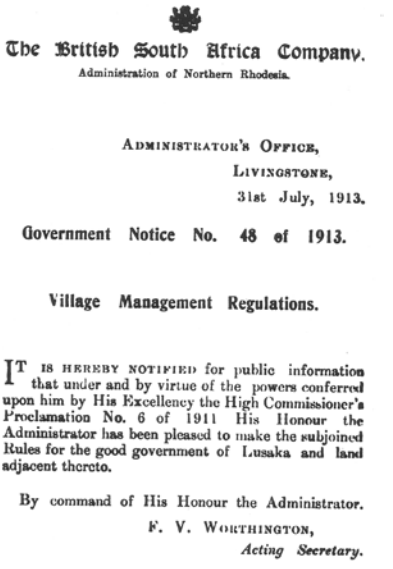
From Railway Siding to Zambia's Bustling Capital: Lusaka's 2013 Centenary

by Jonathan Waters

100 years (and more)

Pinpointing Lusaka's genesis is rather like that of Bulawayo: pick your date. The railway line came through the area in the final quarter of 1905 and the reason for its existence is only down to it being 20 miles from the last siding, which was necessary in order for trains to pass each other on the single track. The name comes from a local Lenje sub-headman of whom little is known and the colonials did not follow up the story on just who he was. In July 1913, the BSA Co. declared Lusaka to be a Village, which to some marks its beginning as an official settlement. In August 1930, it was declared a township and a year later an official decision was made to move the capital after consultants were brought in to evaluate the options. The new administrative centre was carved out of the bush over the next four years as spending was constrained with the world being in recession. In May 1935, the capital was officially opened to much fanfare on the silver anniversary of King George V's rule.

While researching this article—initially based on the 1913 date of the village declaration—it dawned on me that Lusaka's railway start date is, not as far as I can gather, publicly known. I became slightly obsessed trying to find out just what it was. I trawled the National Archives in Harare looking for some progress report on the line from Kalomo to Broken Hill, built by the Beira & Mashonaland Railway Co using Pauling & Co, which unfortunately went into liquidation a decade ago. I wrote to the Institute of Chartered Engineers in London but they were unable to help. I have also tried to locate notes by Stephen Townsend, the chief resident engineer in Bulawayo, who decided on the route after it was surveyed, but have found nothing. It is possible that Arthur Lawley, the site engineer who gets appointed as Governor of Madras while on the job, would have some record. I also tried to find relatives of H. F. Varian, who in his book *Some African Milestones* describes



The British South Africa Company.
Administration of Northern Rhodesia.

ADMINISTRATOR'S OFFICE,
LIVINGSTONE,
31st July, 1913.

Government Notice No. 48 of 1913.

Village Management Regulations.

IT IS HEREBY NOTIFIED for public information that under and by virtue of the powers conferred upon him by His Excellency the High Commissioner's Proclamation No. 6 of 1911 His Honour the Administrator has been pleased to make the subjoined Rules for the good government of Lusaka and land adjacent thereto.

By command of His Honour the Administrator.
F. V. WORTHINGTON,
Acting Secretary.

BSA Co. Proclamation declaring a Town Management Board

Lusaka's inauspicious start:

> "The night that the rails reached Lusaka, the present capital of Northern Rhodesia, the siding was laid. As usual ten ox-wagons were in waiting, the backs of the wagons close to the siding and the spans of oxen lying down tied to their trek-tous, stretching away into the darkness beyond, all ready for loading and moving off at daybreak. Lusaka was the worst place on the section for lions, and they had caused a certain amount of trouble with ox-transport already. There were no lights in the new siding; except for the headlight of the engine, the world was in darkness. Heedless of the noise of the engine and shunting, the lions actually came in that night and killed some of the leading oxen where they lay on the trek-tous, although they could not get them away."

Some African Milestones was published in 1953 and almost certainly he wrote it from his diary given how detailed his account is and certain specific dates that appear in the text. Varian says that Broken Hill—75 miles from Lusaka—was reached on 11 January 1906 and given they averaged a mile a day (the 281 miles of line from Kalomo to Broken was completed 277 days), it would be safe to assume the night Varian described was late October 1905. Varian's photograph album in the Railway Museum in Bulawayo contains pictures of the route north (a copy owned by the BSA Co. was also deposited in the National Archives in Harare), and while there are some great pictures of the construction of Kafue Bridge, many shots of the Lusaka plateau and river crossings do not have captions.

Lusaakas Before the Railway

Hunters passed through the area but the name—initially Lusaaka's—was not mentioned until the turn of the 20th Century. Jack Carruthers spends time on the "Lusaka Plateau" as he calls it in his later memoirs, having been engaged by the South African Copper

Railway line reaches Broken Hill in 1906

1905 pre-rail map

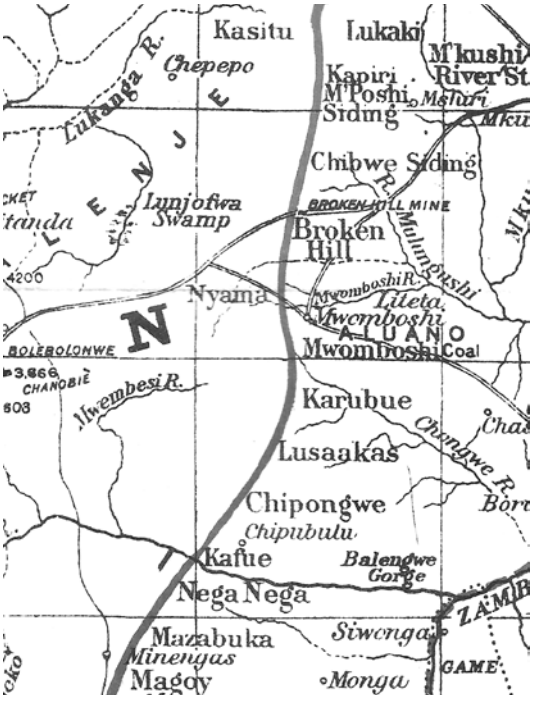
Trust Company in 1901 to "locate and peg any order of mineral I found of value". He sets off on several trips north, first in April 1902 with 74 carriers on a six month trip. He uses "Shanggara's Kraal" on the Chetta River as a base and his trip back to Salisbury in November 1902 takes him through "the tableland of Lusaka" which was "of white crystalline limestone." (Carruthers 1902: Pg 17). Possibly in his original journals he may use the "Lusaaka's" term.

His second trip for the same company starts in April 1903 and he meets up with his old pioneer friend Robert Corydon, who had been sent up as the first Administrator of North Western Rhodesia. He writes to Corydon later, and while I have been unable to locate the original correspondence, Carruthers says in his second write up of his travels north of the Zambezi: "I had laid bare the fact to Major Corydon that the country up along the tableland near the escarpment was a fine stretch of farmland; that I had crossed the Kafue where wagons could travel through in certain seasons, and that I considered Lusaka District a remarkable section. To please him I drew a map north of the Zambezi showing my copper finds. This I sent him and received his letter of thanks. This was the direct cause of altering the railway route via the Hook of the Kafue." (Carruthers 1902: Pg 5). The decision to build the line initially to Kalomo is communicated by BSA Co. Joint Manager & Secretary J. F. Jones in a telegram dated 8 July 1904: "Communicate the following to R. T. Corydon. Pleased to inform you Railway will be built immediately to Kalomo." (BSA Co. NW Rhodesia correspondence: 1904).

This early map (see above) that I found in the High Commissioner's files in the British Archives shows the progress of the railway and there is no indication of Lusaka

as a known district or village.

The account by Pauling's secretary H. E. Pooley (*From Livingstone to Ndola*), who travelled with the railway contractor and Sir Charles Metcalfe ahead of the roll out of the line from Kalomo, makes no mention of Lusaka, which was in the Chongwe administrative district at that time. Pooley's account would also indicate that Lusaka was reached in late October 1905. Pauling's party spent five weeks travelling from the railhead, which at this stage was 100 miles beyond Kalomo, up to the Copperbelt and back. He also notes that on the date of their departure, 27 September 1905, the plate-laying gang had put in a "world record" five miles of track in a single day. Varian also refers to this, but says it was five and three quarter miles, close to where Pemba is today, about halfway between Choma and Monze. In his account written 20 years later (1926), Pauling says his site engineer Arthur Lawley put in the "special effort" on the day they got back to the railhead, but it would appear he was relying on memory (Pauling 1969: Pg 209).



"Early Railway Map showing Lusaakas"

On the way north, the Pauling/Metcalfe party cross what is certainly an phonetic Anglo spelling of the Ngwerere, the headwaters of which are close to the northern roundabout on Cairo Road, with the Great East Road running along as the watershed. It is likely their crossing point on the Ngwerere was closer to where Kasisi Mission was established. The presence of felines in the area would confirm Varian's comments about the infestation of lions in the area. "Our next trek was to the Ingwellhili River, where a comfortable hut had been built for us. This was the most beautiful spot, and we left it with great reluctance. Lions are very plentiful just here and we took precaution of kraaling the mules and horses in a scarum during the night. The drift through the Ingwellili was not in very good repair and our wagon stuck at the bottom."

The Jesuit Father Jules Torrend would not have been far behind at the time. After crossing a "large marble plateau" (a reference to the lime) "well into October [1905]", they came to the perennial Ngwerere where he got permission to establish Kasisi. Father Joseph Moreau SJ tells us in an account on Torrend's life that name "Kasisi" was not Lenje at all and came from "cacique". It appealed to him as it "had the glamour of having been the names of the ancient priestly chiefs of Peru and Mexico. The Bantu

homologues of America." (Moreau in Murphy 2003: Pg 186). Father Edward Murphy SJ has an interesting account on the establishment of the mission. He says that one of the first five lay helpers at Kasisi—Francisco Borja—Torrend had met in Mozambique. Borja had been carried off by slavers as a small boy with his mother and the two got separated after the mother escaped back to the village. "After they crossed the Kafue Flats they got a lift on some railway construction oxcarts. When they arrived near the Ngwerere River, they camped for the night, only to find out that it was the family village of Francisco! That decided the matter—Torrend went no further and settled there calling it Kasisi." (Murphy 2003: Pg 461)

The Arrival of the Railway

On their return from Ndola where they meet with J. E. "Chirupula" Stephenson (known as "Hari Hari" in those days), the Pauling/Metcalfe party reach the railhead, which is now two days trek south of Mwomboshi, on 1 November 1905. Given they were travelling at around 20 miles a day and that the old Mwomboshi Boma was about is around 36 miles from Lusaka, the railhead must have been at Lusaka or a few a miles further on. Sadly no geographical reference is provided, as Pooley says: "From Mwomboshi to the railhead took two more days, and when, at 11:30am on the 1 November, 1905, we boarded the car and found that iced whiskies and sodas did really exist, and were not the creations of disordered imaginations …" Pauling's photograph album of the trip also survives in the National Archives, but it contains few captions.

Distances between the sidings

Kafue	1908*	11 chains†
Chipongwe siding	1919	24 chains
Chilanga Halt	1928	50 chains
Lusaka	1938	16 chains
Ingwerrere Tank	1944	4 chains
Chikumbi spur	1953	20 chains
Karubwe Siding	1959	21 chains
Mwomboshi Siding	1980	30 chains
Mwomboshi Tank	1986	52 chains
Nyama Siding	2000	13 chains
Broken Hill	2013	69 chains

*Miles from Cape Town †80 chains to a mile

Supplied by RA Taylor

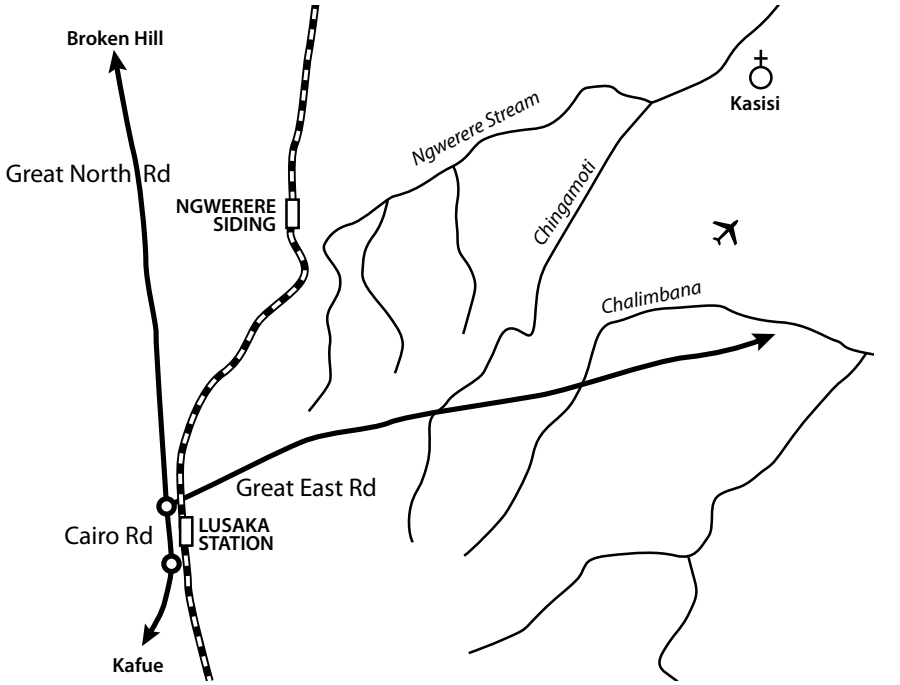
As the railway line north followed the path of least resistance and so many of the problems that still prevail today—such as annual flooding—are a direct consequence of getting the railway to its intended near term targets—initially to the lead and zinc deposits at Broken Hill (Kabwe) and then on to the copper mine at Bwana Mkubwa near Ndola. Given their pride in the task of bringing the railway north, I just want to include this paragraph by Varian at conclusion of initial contract: "Some of the plate laying gangs had been with Paulings' on the work for many years, in some cases even from the start

of the line from Vryburg in South Africa. As a final exhibition of their skill, the last half mile into Broken Hill was laid with materials off-loaded on the plate-laying train behind, carried forward by hand, and laid with such rapidity that the train passed over the newly-made track without a pause or even a slackening of the turning of its wheels."

At this juncture, I feel that I have to include an account entitled "Railway Construction" which I found in the District Notebook for Chilanga in the National Archives in Lusaka. It seems that Leo Weinthal in his voluminous (and seemingly authorative) *The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway & River Route* gets his information from the same source —E. R. Marsland—the "Engineer in Charge of Construction", who also takes photos of the progress. Marsland's chronology contradicts Varian and others by a long way and I am puzzled as to why this is the case. Marsland claims "the first rails were laid on North bank of Kafue on 1 March 1906 and that the average plate laying from here at a rate of 2-1/8 miles per day" (Chilanga District Notebook: Pg 300). Broken Hill was reached on 10 July 1906. It is accepted that the official opening of the Kalomo-Broken Hill line took place only once the 13-span bridge over the Kafue was completed, but the line had certainly reached Broken Hill in January 1906. Marsland's here take on the world record: "The biggest day of platelaying was carried out on the south side of the Kafue when 5-1/2 miles of rails were laid in single day."

The Topology

Most guides to modern Lusaka tend to avoid a description of town. In 1963 in the Journal of the Geographical Association, *Geography*, Elizabeth Wilson says "its general



Lusaka's Topology

appearance of having been dumped in the middle of the African bush." Beautiful it is not, but it is certainly much more lively than it was in the 1990s in the wake of the election that saw President Kenneth Kaunda ejected from power. The main thoroughfare —Cairo Road—runs parallel to the railway line and retains its position in the central business district, despite the rapid development of the city, especially over the past decade. There are roundabouts at each end of Cairo Road. The northern end is the start of the Great North and Great East Roads. The eastern exit of the southern roundabout—Independence Avenue, formerly King George Avenue—takes you to the administrative area of the Secretariat and State House on the "Ridgeway". I will return to this later on after providing an account of the topology, the origins of the name, few more accounts of early Lusaka, and the move towards making it the capital.

Wilson describes the siting of the Lusaka (the station is 4 191ft above sea level) as such: "On a high windy plateau north of the Kafue river a suitable site for a siding was chosen near the source of the Ngwerere stream, at the village of a minor Lenje headman, Lusaka … the railway siding from which the town grew was built on a plateau at 4 150ft formed by the Lusaka dolomite, a hard Magnesian limestone of mid-Katanga age. A number of solution hollows have formed in the dolomite and have been filled in my gravel and laterite. As the land is also most flat and slopes only slightly northward to the Ngwerere, the surface becomes waterlogged during the rains. The limestone plateau assents to the south and west … east of the railway the land rises to the Ridgeway, a spur of hard schists and quartzites, which becomes a dissected plateau rising in places to 4 300ft. This area is drained north and east by intermittent headwaters of the Chongwe, a tributary of the Zambezi."

Lusakas Postmark

Lusaaka's ... Lusakas ... Lusaka

In his book, *So this was Lusaakas*, the former mayor Richard Sampson quotes R. W. Dean, who had a farm near the Ngwerere: "The naming of sidings was left to the Resident Engineer S. F. Townsend, who resided in Bulawayo. He mostly chose a name from a nearby chief of headman of a local village. There was a village with a headman named Lusaka who then had his village consisting of a few small huts on the stream which now runs under the Great East Road, a few hundred yards off the present railway crossing." (Sampson 1971: Pg 20) Sampson goes on to add that Lusaaka was a minor Lenje headman but was reputed to be a "skilled elephant hunter". E. A. Copeman, who was stationed at Chilanga in 1909, says the name Lusaka came from a local headman and referred to "a thorn bush which grows in the neighbourhood." (NRJ 1956: Pg 141). Brelsford tells us in his unfinished account entitled *Northern Rhodesia in the Thirties* that "lusaka" means "a thicket" (Brelsford 1979: Pg 8—he did start his career in Chilanga). The second 'a' in Lusaaka's appears to have been dropped a few years after the siding was named, while

Lusaka Station in 1947

the 's' at the end was not in official BSA Co. use when Lusaka was established as a local authority on 31 July 1913. Postmarks continued to show the name as "Lusakas" without the apostrophe up to 1923, and old timers never accepted the slimmed down name. The final 's' was removed between 11 November 1923 and 28 April 1924.

A. M. Bentley in an account of Lusaka in 1907 (NRJ 1958: Pg 451), says the northbound train would pause briefly at the siding for the points to be set. "The driver puffed along to Ngwerere Tank, where water was more abundant. There was nothing at Lusaka" (Murphy 2003: Pg 451) Wilson confirms the first settlers in the area were the White Fathers at Kasisi Mission followed by the mainly Afrikaner contractors and transport riders who took up farms after the railway was completed. Boer farmers who had travelled up at the end of the war in 1902 also followed the railway line north. Mr L. Kollenberg claimed to be the first trader but Copeman stated the honour went to Benjamin Glasser in 1908 as he issued him with the first trading licence while serving in Chilanga. The first manufacturer was G. B. Marrapodi, who transferred his lime burning operations from Kalomo in 1910 (his premises are still behind the modern railway station where he later added clay bricks to his product range). Counsell's Hotel, now the Lusaka Hotel, was opened in July 1912 by L. J. Marston.

The first census was undertaken in 1908 and the District Notebook for Chilanga records the results: A population of 9 549 people, of which 69 are Europeans (17 farmers, 3 traders, 1 official, 7 railway employees, and 6 tradesmen). For the period 1905–7, there is in the "Remarks" column this entry: "In 1905 the residential population is believed to have been one [this would have been the DC B. F. Bishop]. There were perhaps a dozen individuals who were prospecting or passing through." The notebook gets a good deal busy in 1914 when there are four DCs, no doubt due to the disruption of the war, the census is much more detailed, recording the population by village. The Lenje chief (his totem is Tembo—allegedly "wasp" according to the Lusaka notebook) is "Shangara", which makes sense if we consider his kraal was Carruthers' base and in one village in his domain is called "Lusuku" with a population of 69 men and 82 women.

J. Moffat Thompson presides over the district during the war and there is much more "intelligence" as such. Glasser's "native" name is "Chitakatuku", and Kollenberg is "Nkulungwe" (with remarks—"watch him"). Marripodi was known as "Chimalamapapo"

and his lime production was about the same as Morton. There is no surprise that Torrend was known as "Kasisi" with the note "needs watching—not to be trusted". Along with other towns in the region, Lusaka stagnated during WW1 due to the absence of men folk. After the war, the business centre continued to developed along the western side of the railway line, known as "Front Street" until a Chisamba farmer Albert Dunbar suggested in 1923 that it be called Cairo Road as part of the Cecil Rhodes vision for railway spanning the continent. The city council named the first six roads in November 1924.

Those who know Lusaka will know that aside from the flooding in the rainy season, it's infamous for blustery conditions. There are no shortage of accounts from a century ago illustrating the same vagaries of the weather. On a visit to Lusaka in April 1914

Lusaka Floods

Modern Cartoon

from his precious Livingstone base, the Livingstone polemicist Leopold Moore described it thus: "The wind blows continuously from the east and although it was little more than a gentle zephyr, while we were there we learnt that it can exasperate with its chill persistency." (Sampson 1971: Pg 32) The cantankerous Moore was to use the wind as a defense for removal of the capital. "A God-forsaken spot", he called it in 1931 and said "I have sat on the stoep of Counsell's Hotel and contemplated the vista and shivered … the most arid, desolate, windswept, cold and miserable spot in northern Rhodesia" (Hobson 1979: Pg 111)

Severe flooding in 1926 was to precipitate a part solution to the lack of drainage caused by the hard limestone and near flat gradient. Incessant rains in the month of February lead to the blasting of drainage ditch on the western side of Cairo Road, which lies under the row of flamboyants in the central reservation. Brelsford tells us in his unfinished account entitled *Northern Rhodesia in the Thirties* that the local wags would put out signs during the rains such as "Submarine Station" and the "Lusaka Yacht Club", referring to the town as "The Venice of the Bushlands". (Brelsford 1979: Pg 9) The 1926 rainfall record stood until 1971 (Sampson 1973, Pg 61).

Moving the Capital

In *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, Lewis Gann writes that Captain Thomas Murray, a Kalomo rancher, had complained in the Legislative Council in 1926 about the disadvantages of Livingstone as the capital. In May 1929, the major mining companies and three elected Legislative Council members addressed a memorandum to government,

"in which they emphasized that economic development would centre beyond the Kafue river, that the capital should be nearer to resident communities having permanent business with government, and that local foodstuffs were inadequate at Livingstone, where the climate was bad." (Gann 1964, Pg 258)

Professor Stanley Adshead

In August 1930, the government gazetted Lusaka as a township and the Boma (the colonial administration centre) for the district was moved from Chilanga. Some saw this as a precursor for the establishment of Lusaka as the new capital, but the official decision was not made until a year later following visits to potential sites by Professor Stanley Adshead, who was appointed by the administration to investigate possible sites for the new capital. Given his concentration on the Lusaka area, it would appear that a political decision had already been made by London, possibly with backroom pressure from the miners that it be moved from Livingstone regardless.

The Governor at the time, Sir James Maxwell (1927-31), known to be a thrifty Scot, had initially opposed a move on the grounds of cost. Brelsford tells us in his unfinished account *Northern Rhodesia in the Thirties* that Maxwell's nickname among the civil servants was "Barley Water" on account of "the skimpy and reluctantly-served alcoholic drinks at Government House receptions" and said guests would slip through the rough hedge between the Governor's residence and The Club next door to top up with "a few quick ones". Brelsford says that at one function, Chief Justice Macdonnell had to absent himself from the good night thank you queue at Government House as he had torn his trousers severely in a hasty return through the wrong part of the hedge.

The British Colonial Secretary of State Leopold Amery overruled Maxwell ordering there to be no further expenditure at Livingstone on administrative buildings (Hobson 1979: Pg 110). Maxwell then brought in an old colleague from West Africa, Dr David Alexander, a sanitation engineer, to inspect sites between Kalomo and Ndola. After several months inspecting sites along the railway line, he concluded the healthiest place to be the section between Lilayi and Lusaka. "We need a town planner," he told Maxwell at the time, not only in relation to Lusaka, but also given that informal settlements were fast cropping up around the copper mines. Maxwell then asked the Colonial Office to find an outside consultant to report on his proposal, and Professor Adshead was commissioned to do the job for £1 000. Crown Agents also appointed water engineering consultancy Sir Alexander Binnie Sons & Deacon to report on the best location for a "Capital City and Government Centre". (KB 1935: Pg 14)

Perhaps Maxwell envisaged the move to Lusaka would have been temporary and that the commercial capital would eventually shift to the Copperbelt as he predicted that Ndola would one day grow into "a great city, as Johannesburg had done in circumstances which seemed not very different". There was also the consideration of amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia and so perhaps he saw Lusaka future as being just that: An administrative capital given that commercial and political "capitals" were more likely to

Adshead Diary Sketch: Country near Lusaka

take shape in Ndola and Salisbury. Certainly the decision to place the capital at Lusaka was far from popular locally as it angered the settler communities in Livingstone and Ndola.

The Consultants Arrive

Professor Adshead's diary and his original crayon sketches (sadly not fabulous, apart from the ones of Ndola) he made during his 1930 visit, were deposited in 1948 at the National Archives in Harare and have been referenced before. Adshead came out with a Mr Bartlett, presumably the Binnie representative, in the university summer break, arriving in Livingstone on 21 August. He boarded the train for the north on 24 August and writes in his diary: "I arrived in Lusaka at about 1.30am and was met by the landlord who hailed me as I looked out off the Observation Platform and drove me across an open space about 100 yards to the hotel. Here I was conducted to a ground floor room off a verandah, which in the night looked like entering a cell." Over the nearly three weeks he spends in the Lusaka area, he travels around with Gerrard, the surveyor, and Tom Sandford, the Lusaka DC.

Following the arrival of the Livingstone officials on Friday, 29 August, Adshead records in his diary: "After breakfast, the doctor [Alexander], Mr Kennedy [the Governor's Secretary], his stenographer and myself all proceed to the office where we held a great meeting and the results of our researchers were discussed. Mr Kennedy very soon enlarged the reference, which he said had been too narrow. It was obvious that he was not over-excited about removing the capital to Lusaka. The question of a capital at Broken Hill, at Ndola, at Mkawa [sic—Bwana Mkubwa], and other places were discussed at great length and it was agreed that he should hold a consultation on his return to Livingstone with Mr Dobree (the Acting Governor) and get instructions for us to proceed further north, view the above towns and report generally on their

suitability as to a site.

"I explained that if it were not important that the site be a great city, but only a government centre, Lusaka offered all the facilities, but that in my opinion it could never become an important city, and for economic reasons it could only be a Government and Health centre. Kennedy agreed. I also pointed out that a capital would grow more easily and quickly from a growing nucleus than from nothing. That he also agreed."

Given the Ridgeway was just bushland, consider this entry in his diary two days later: "On Sunday morning, Bartlett and Gerrard were busy in the office taking down notes and making calculations as to water supply, so Dr Alexander, somewhat to my surprise, offered to drive me up the hill to the site of my Government buildings (this would be the Secretariat and Government House, designed by John A Hoogterp, a Nairobi-based architect and one time pupil of Sir Herbert Baker). Arriving at the site, I calculated the position and generally inspected the sites of the different groups of buildings which I proposed to dispose about it. I was well pleased with the position." Brelsford said that one of his first gaffes as district officer when the Boma was moved to Lusaka from Chilanga was to agree to sell a Greek who wanted to start a brickfield the proposed site of the new Secretariat. "The sale was hastily quashed by the Provincial Commissioner." (Brelsford 1979: Pg 9)

As if to indicate that the decision to move the capital was made before Adshead's visit and his consultancy was purely a rubber stamping move, he notes in his diary that a telegram from Livingstone arrived on 9 September: "Bartlett was to go no further but I was to visit the northern towns." After nearly three weeks in the Lusaka area, where they investigated the Ngwerere, evaluated the ridge at Emmasdale (in Lusaka's north) as a potential site, visited Kasisi Mission, reached the junction of the Ngwerere and Chongwe rivers and travelled to Chilanga (talk centred on prowling lions at dinner), Adshead departed for Broken Hill. He also visited Ndola and Bwana Mkubwa and was back in Lusaka a week later! After the reports from Adshead and Binnie were completed, the official decision to make Lusaka the capital was announced in July 1931.

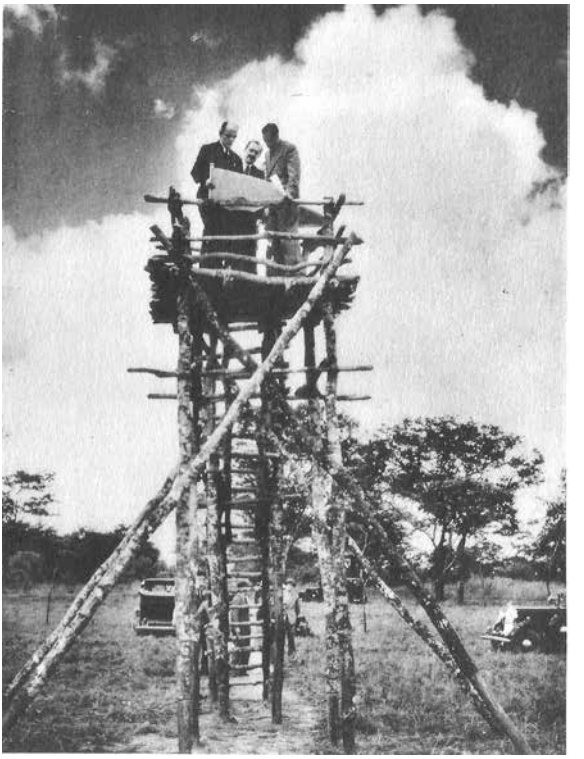
Leaving the specific arguments Brelsford, who was to serve as Director of Information during the Federation, summoned up the reasons for decision in his unpublished account entitled *Northern Rhodesia in the Thirties*. "There were lots of reason for the move, but the main ones were that Lusaka was right at the centre of the country with communications in all directions; it was in a European agricultural area and therefore presumed to be 'stable'; it was far enough away from the Copperbelt to be over-influenced by proximity to the massive, powerful mining corporations; and it had a very fine climate." There was also a good deal of talk at the time that the Salisbury-Sinoia railway line ending at Zawi would be extended north, further entrenching Lusaka's position at the nation's crossroads. A survey of a proposed line from Sinoia was also carried out in 1930 and a more detailed study was made in 1951.

Kenneth Bradley's *Lusaka 1935*, which was privately distributed at the official opening, has just been reprinted (2013) in the UK by Routledge and has been published under the Studies in International Planning Series (edited by Professor Helen Meller). It contains a foreword by Robert Home, professor of urban planning at the University of East Anglia, comments of which I will use from time to time. Bradley's book compared the plans laid out by Adshead and those revised by Colonel Peter Bowling, the only

Government House

Government House from the air

engineer to survive several retrenchment exercises as the capital project was being undertaken, but I don't wish to go into what did not take place, except to note the main thoroughfare which became Independence Ave did not end up running to the train station.



Prince George, Governor Young and architect John Hoogsterp surveying progress in 1934

The Building of the Capital

It took a while for the Great Depression to reach Northern Rhodesia, but by the time preliminary works had started in 1931 the effects were being felt. Maxwell died on the way home in November 1931, and was replaced by the haughty Sir Ronald Storrs, an expert in Arabic and friend of Lawrence of Arabia. Home says Northern Rhodesia was to mark the somewhat ignominious end to Storrs' career. "As a colonial servant he had to go where was sent, and his next (and last) posting was Northern Rhodesia, a place far from his experience or interests." Home said the Colonial Office might have come to regard Storrs as "damaged goods" given his previous governorship in Cyprus ended badly. Hostility to British colonial rule resulted in riots in October 1931 and "the rabble" burned down Government House with all the art treasures and books that Storrs

The Secretariat under Construction

The Secretariat Aerial Views

had patiently and skillfully collected over more than two decades in the Middle East.

With the project faltering, Storrs announced on Empire Day (24 May) in 1933 that the Beit Trustees had agreed to guaranteeing the £400 000 budget required. However, Storrs never saw the project to its end as he retired in February 1934 on the grounds of ill health (Dick Hobson covers his governorship quite favorably in two articles in *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*). Home tells us that Storrs was told to cut the expenditure on Government House, which came in at just over a tenth of the budgeted total. "When Storrs tried to justify this extravagance by citing the high freight costs of imported building materials and furnishings, the Colonial Office was not pleased, and demanded cuts in December 1933. Costly furniture from Heal's of London had to be substituted with locally produced versions using Heal's designs. The Colonial Office's penny-pinching seems to have been the last straw for Storrs, who was invalided home in February 1934 on grounds of ill health (perhaps depression) after less than 16 months in post. It was his last colonial appointment." (Home 2013: Pg 10)

Lusaka's art deco Airport opened by Lady Young

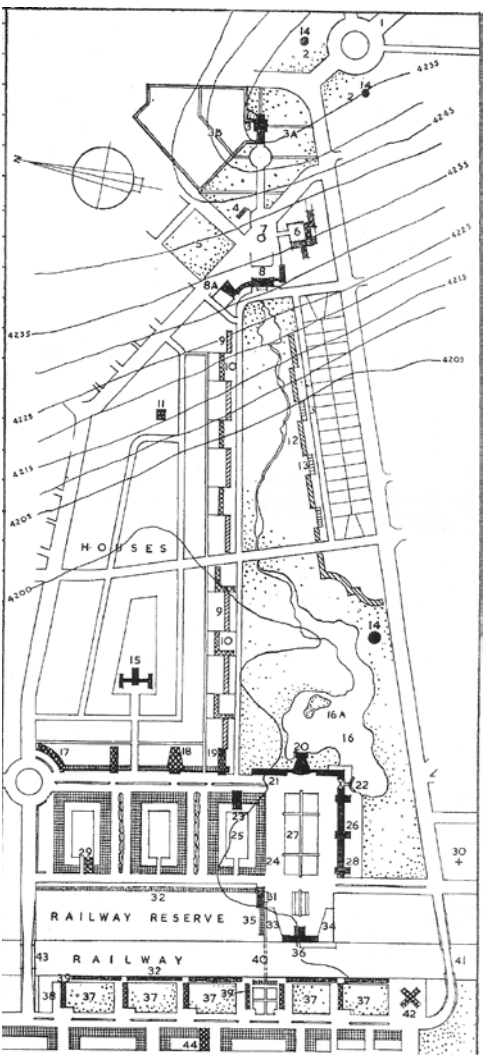
"Now unexpectedly needing another new governor, and with Prince George's

The facade of the art deco hospital was saved from demolition in 2012

visit imminent, the Colonial Office transferred Sir Hubert Young from the next door protectorate of Nyasaland. Like Storrs, he was an old Middle East hand, having fought the Turks alongside Lawrence of Arabia, but was made of sterner stuff than Storrs, and thrived on the challenge of reviving the faltering Lusaka project. His deputy Charles Dundas found Young 'a lovable man, high-minded and able, with a strong personality [whose] bent was for creative work and he found it in the building of a new capital'" (Home 2013, Pg 10). Rising copper shares and improving finances also buoyed the overall mood and progress of the construction of the government buildings. The business centre should also have been moved to the ridge, but the government disputed the traders' demands for compensation so they remained near the siding.

In late May 1935, celebrations took place over Empire Week for the opening of the

new capital and Bradley's book was distributed privately to guests (Prof Home suggests Young had funded it). Lady Young, a pilot in her own right, who was in the news three months earlier when her plane went missing (on a flight from Livingstone to Lusaka, faulty instrumentation had sent her off course and she crash landed safely in Gokwe), officially opened the art deco airport terminal. Unfortunately for the authorities, celebrations were marred by disturbances on the Copperbelt. The announcement of an increase in poll tax provoked an all-out strike of African mine-workers from May 22–25, and four days later, police shot six dead at Luanshya.



Jellicoe's plan of 1950 for a lake where Tazara House stands today

Behold the "Garden City"

In 1949, British engineer G. A. Jellicoe was commissioned to develop a new plan for the city and was the first to (officially) suggest that the railway line would eventually have to be diverted. In his report published in April 1950, he said: "The buildings in the Central Area would go upwards. The railway should be diverted at the appropriate time to follow the line of the industrial railway to the west, the main station being placed to terminate (at) Jameson St (now Katunjila) on the axis of the town square (the diversion being paid for by the goodwill of the land vacated)." Jellicoe found the "dust laden wind" and "low west sun" disagreeable. He also had a plan for capturing some of the annual floodwaters by turning them into a lake in the area between the railway line and the strip that runs from the BoZ through to Findeco House.

His proposals on Cairo Road were accepted and completed in 1956. "Cairo Road is widened to form a double track with trees. The west side remains as existing. The railway strip to the east side is developed for widely spaced 3-or-more storey blocks of offices facing north and south. Between the blocks are gardens, garages and car parks. The pair flanking the subway for a shopping square. Adjoining the bridge approaching

An aerial view of Lusaka in the 1940s before the widening of Cairo Rd

Lusaka's tallest building Findeco House

King George Avenue a special 8-storey block is shown as a landscape feature." King George Avenue became Independence Avenue and in the place of Jellicoe's 8-storey block, stands the 23-floor Findeco House, still Lusaka's tallest at 89.92 metres. It was completed by Yugoslav contractors in 1974, reportedly with crooked lift shafts so that the elevators did not work. He proposed also a new airport be sited in Lusaka South on the eastern side of the Kafue Road.

Independence came in October 1964 and a building boom followed in the early years up to the infamous Mulungushi Declaration in April 1968 (major companies were told to sell 51% stakes to government). Construction started on the university, several highrises (for

The High Court with the Statue of Physical Energy, donated to Rhodesia upon Zambia's independence and now behind the National Archives in Harare

the time) went up along Cairo Rd, and a new £6 mln airport (now Kenneth Kaunda International) was opened in October 1967 near Kasisi, just north of the turnoff to the mission on the Great East Road. A comprehensive (ie anything with a hint of European) renaming of streets took place in 1969, but new names for the suburbs did not stick. The roads in Fairview were named after early settlers and governors, and these were changed to lesser-known nationalists, but the new suburb name of "Maluba" never gained traction nor for that matter did Northmead (Chikonkoto) and Rhodes Park (Kapila). Money from the copper boom, which peaked in 1973 following the nationalisation of the mines, saw a number of high rises go up along Cairo Road, including the Bank of Zambia, Zanaco and the iconic Findeco House. The Taj Pamodzi hotel was constructed for the Commonwealth Summit Conference in 1979. Throughout the 1980s, Lusaka stagnated as copper prices remained depressed and focus shifted to the newly independent Zimbabwe, which was welcoming investment.

Construction of the new airport approaches completion 1967

Cairo Rd then and now: OK in the late 1960s, Shoprite in 2014

The Past Decade

Many writers post-Jellicoe, including Bradley again in 1966, like to portray Lusaka as some sort of "garden city". That it may have been in the 1960s as the trees grew up, but it certainly has zero feel of a "garden city" today. I had two visits to Zambia in the period up to 2003. The first was in September 1980 and I still remember crossing the Bailey bridges, which were in use after the Rhodesians blew up the concrete bridges during Chimurenga. In 1991, I made a dash through to Lusaka on my way to Malawi and with 2014 hindsight, I can now say that Zambia seemed very "Zimbabwe 2008" to me then. Noteworthy economic activity only started again in the late 1990s and rapidly gained traction. At least on an informal business level, the Lusaka of 2014 is vibrant and buzzy. Formal business still complain about the lack of real progress and how much still needs to be done when it comes to town planning and infrastructure. If the railway line had been moved as suggested by many over the years, a whole new strip of land would have become available for land and road development, which would have helped to declutter the CBD.

I've been going to Lusaka fairly regularly for the past 10 years and have witnessed its massive expansion and the associated problems of there being no set vision for its future. However, this does have its benefits. By my reckoning, the private sector has taken over and "decentralised" Lusaka as the traffic has built up with Japanese car imports financed on the back of the post-2000 copper production boom, along with the influx of farmers and non-productive NGOs as Zimbabwe went into decline. Two major malls (Manda Hill and Arcades) were established along the Great East Road and both have undertaken second phase expansions in recent years as economic activity has picked up. Other suburban centres such as Woodlands and Crossroads have become much more than a sleepy collection of suburban shops. Development has also taken place along Kafue Road and around Makeni. If the railway line had been moved, much of this decentralisation may not have happened.

Lusaka was never supposed to be the urban metropolis that it is today and there are often press articles blaming the lack of planning on the colonial authorities, when its abundantly clear that Lusaka was only supposed to be an administrative centre. In 1930 and even in 1950, Lusaka was supposed to have been overtaken by political events at the time. What is really missing is there were no urban planning commissions in 1970 and 1990. Over the past decade, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (Jica) has been the leading proponent of urban planning in central Africa and completed highway widening projects with deep storm drains on either side of the roads in Lusaka and Blantyre. In February 2009, they presented a Comprehensive Urban Development Plan for Greater Lusaka, which largely involves the construction of inner and outer circular roads, the first stage of which kicked off in December 2012. Plans were also announced for a light metro railway, but what Lusaka really needs is a proper plan for where it wants to be when the capital city centenary comes up in 2035.

Acknowledgments: My thanks to Adam Goulding for heightening my interest in Lusaakas

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Two Common Domestic Appliances in the Early Years

by R. D. Taylor

In Zimbabwe the generation of electricity on a commercial scale began in 1897 when the Electric Light Company started using a generator to supply Bulawayo consumers.

The first Municipal Power Station in Salisbury (now Harare) was established in 1913 on a site in what is now the Harare Gardens.

The Electricity Supply Act (Chapter 213) was promulgated on 1 July 1936 and gave a legal basis for the formation of the Electricity Supply Commission, (now ZESA). It was from this time onwards that transmission lines started to be erected across the country to supply mains power to the smaller towns, mines and farms scattered far and wide. By 1939 the Commission had extended distribution outside the towns to 640 route miles and by 31 March 1950 the route miles of transmission and distribution lines had risen to 3 706.

This paper looks at two of the domestic appliances a housewife may have used for keeping perishable foodstuffs and for cooking before her home was connected to the national grid, (a memorable day for any rural household).

Meat Safes

Keeping meat and dairy products in an edible condition was a major challenge for the housewife especially in the summer months. Many households had a "Meat-Safe" of varying designs. This was basically a four legged, gauze-sided metal cupboard with a water tank on top. Water dripped slowly down hessian or similar material fixed to three sides of the safe. The fourth side was for the door. The evaporating effect of the water created a cool environment for the box and its contents. Some safes were double-sided with lumps of charcoal placed between the two sides. The water gently dripping over the charcoal kept the charcoal damp, thereby creating evaporation. Some were made of wood but given the conditions in this country they may not have been very durable.

Siting the meat-safe was important. It had to be placed out of the sun in a cool part of the home possibly in a passageway to ensure a constant flow of air. The writer recalls seeing them placed outside a house under shady trees.

The structure needed to be strong enough to resist attempts by domestic pets and other predators to steal the safe's contents. Protection against invasion by ants and other insects was achieved by placing each of the four legs in a tin containing paraffin.

The example in the photograph has a metal builders plate reading "Kinnes's patent cooling and ant proof safe made at S. A. Leadworks Ltd., Cape Town". This particular example has a 460 mm by 460 mm storage compartment with a fitted shelf and a

Kinnes's patent cooling and ant proof safe made at S. A. Leadworks Ltd., Cape Town

hook for hanging meat. The compartment is 640 mm high and from ground level to the top of the water tank is 950 mm. One side comprised a solid door with covered ventilators and a basic lock. Water flow from the storage tank to the top channel was regulated by a cork at the end of a short outlet pipe from the tank. Hessian was draped round three sides of the safe and the drips of water were caught in the trays at the bottom of the three sides so as not to wet the floor.

When a young girl, the writer's wife Jenny recalls meat being sent weekly by train from Cambitzis Butchery in Avondale to the nearest railway siding. The siding attendant would place the meat order, which came in a canvas bag, in the goods shed waiting for someone from the farm to collect it. The bags would be washed and returned to the butchery on a future trip to town. A deposit was payable on each bag. Weekly menus had to be planned so that the most perishable types of meat would be consumed first. (See *Heritage* No. 10 for a full article on packing-case furniture).

Welcome Dover Stove produced by the Durban Falkirk Iron Co. Ltd

Stoves

A make of cooker seen in many homes was the Welcome Dover Stove produced by the Durban Falkirk Iron Co. Ltd. Jacobs. These were cast-iron, the thickness of which not only gave strength but helped retain heat inside the stove.

The stove had a fire-box into which wood or other combustible material would be placed and lit up. An ash box with air vents in the door sat immediately underneath the fire box and this had to be emptied frequently to facilitate the drawing of air through the fire box. The stove had an oven and up to five plates. Smoke from the fire was drawn out through a chimney. Spares are still available for these stoves from a Cape Town company.

It took time for the stove to heat up but, once operating temperature had been reached, the occasional topping up with wood and removal of ash was all that was necessary for heat to last all day. Many stoves had a kettle simmering permanently on top to provide hot water for a welcome cup of tea or coffee for the family or a visitor who may have travelled many miles over dry and dusty roads. Some more modern models had a water tank built-in to provide a supply of hot water for the kitchen. The stove would normally be built into an alcove in the kitchen surrounded by brickwork to help prevent heat loss. In wet weather a washing line could be strung up above the top of the stove to dry nappies and other clothes.

Food cooked in these stoves had a special flavour all of its own. Meat in particular

took a long time to cook but the end result was a treat for the palate. One drawback of these stoves was the smoke and char residue left on the outside of cooking pots. The modern housewife has the advantage over her mother and grandmother by being able to place a sheet of aluminium foil on the top of the stove plates which prevents this difficulty and cooking pots remain free of the black soot.

The Welcome Dover Stove in the picture was used many years ago at Danbury Park Farm. Since that time it has been used on occasions at the writer's home during prolonged power cuts. The writer can vouch for the special quality of meat cooked in this stove. This particular model is 750 mm long by 490 mm wide and 350 mm deep. The oven is 350 mm by 350 mm and 270 mm deep.

An Early Skylark

by C. E. R. Payne, Edited by Bill Sykes

In the 1920s and the '30s, the main means of transport in Rhodesia was by dirt road and rail. Tarred roads had not been tried and cement strips were being experimented with. Bridges were few and far between and when the rains came, roads frequently became impassable even between Mazoe and Salisbury. Even rails were washed away.

The advent of flying as a regular means of transport had simply not been envisaged and I was told by the then Postmaster-General in Salisbury that he never envisaged mail being flown over any part of Rhodesia, at any time, by any aeroplane. Any man who thought or talked 'flying' was regarded as eccentric to the point of lunacy, as had been the case with an old engineer called Jock Spence of Concession who told me that he had had to leave Australia as a boy because they doubted his mental stability when he used to play with model aeroplanes. I took him up for his first flight, from Salisbury Belvedere Aerodrome and, tough old boy that he was, he was visibly moved to tears on having achieved a lifetime's ambition—a real flight in a real aeroplane.

My father, Mr A. C. Payne and my uncle, Mr Leonard Puzey, had been amongst the earliest pioneers in introducing the motorcar into Rhodesia and I felt that, as we did the bookings and freight for Imperial Airways in Salisbury, that it was right and proper that the next generation should develop aviation in this country.

Salisbury Aerodrome (now Belvedere suburb) had a road running right across the middle of the runway; there was no telephone and, to begin with, no hangar. The first hangar was a small corrugated iron affair in which the Salisbury Light Aeroplane Club was able to house an aeroplane, a Moth, with folded wings, under lock and key. Visiting aircraft would circle Salisbury which immediately brought me out from my office and sent me racing to the aerodrome to enquire about the visiting pilot's needs and, of course, to obtain all personal details.

We were very proud in those days that the Shell Company had presented a large white sock for:-

(a) advertisement purposes, and

(b) as an indication of the strength and direction of the wind—a vital factor in landing, especially for a light aircraft.

Belvedere Aerodrome was covered with ant-heaps several feet high and many were the heavier machines that sank into the cavity left behind when one of these was levelled.

I was trained by Pat Judson, and he taught me to expect any and all aero-engines to stop at any unexpected moment and therefore one was always casting round for possible ground on which to make an emergency landing. Fuel-tank feed was by gravity, usually from a tank above, and one flew about with a pocketful of odd spanners, 'make and brakes' for the two magnetos, valve springs etc. Propellers were made of laminated

wood, sometimes with metal-faced edges but liable to suffer from weather and heat.

I would be the first to admit that my views on flying undoubtedly made me bumptious and even poisonous! I had always thought that Southern Rhodesia might be in the forefront for the training of pilots in the event of a future war, as we had the climate, the aerodromes and the men, if only the RAF could be persuaded to part with a few of their old aircraft for the purpose of training. When the need became crashingly obvious, Rhodesia in fact became the first Commonwealth country to get off the ground with a comprehensive air-training scheme, which became known as the RATG. (See Mary Blair's article in *Heritage* No. 32).

Leonard Spencer and I decided to buy VP-YAA, the first civilian aircraft to be registered in the country, soon after the Coroner's inquest on Pat Judson's and Jock Speight's tragic accident in VP-YAB. YAA was the plane which I subsequently flew solo to Cape Town-and-back, and which was brought to this country by Captain Sandy Wynne-Eyton of Bromley. It was a de Havilland Moth aeroplane and Sandy was soon foisted with the nickname 'Moth-Eyton'!

It was vital to keep flying alive and to this end I thought it important to show that an ordinary youth of the village could go back to England, purchase a second-hand machine, and, with only 130 solo hours flying experience, fly it out to Salisbury, without any ballyhoo or publicity. And this is precisely what I set out to do.

I received a little flying training with de Havilland at Stag Lane in England, followed it up with some dual flying with Sandy Wynne-Eyton, and had been well and truly put through the mill by Pat Judson. From Mike Pearce I got information on his flight out from England, as he had flown a machine out to Johannesburg. I borrowed his strip-map for the journey.

Having arrived in England, I found a suitable second-hand machine, and arranged for the necessary Certificate of Airworthiness tests to be carried out. It became necessary to obtain Air Ministry and other permission to undertake this flight, and some three months before I had even taken delivery of the aircraft I was asked by the Air Ministry to provide an exact itinerary, giving dates and times of precisely where I would stop en route.

Everything was ready: the machine's condition, food and water supplies, finance, and the enormous supply of spares to be carried with the limited weight available. I had the front cockpit redesigned to carry a 30-gallon petrol tank and pump, from which I fed the main gravity tank above me. All the movable baggage and other articles were taken out and weighed, and the machine was then filled to capacity with petrol and oil. It was a relief to find that the load was within limits. A visit was then paid to the Met office, and a forecast for the next day's weather studied carefully. Finally the Customs officer checked my papers and with a few strokes of the pen gave the necessary permission to leave England to take a little journey of 8 000 miles.

So, in August 1933, at 4.30 in the morning, I left England, taking off from Lympne three days earlier than stated, successfully throwing off any press sleuths who might have been interested. Despite my careful work on the route planning, I found myself lost over the Channel within half an hour—I had made one near-fatal mistake in allowing myself the luxury of a second compass. Any experienced pilot would have warned me against it. I had the standard equipment of an ordinary compass mounted between my knees, but I was rather attracted by a 'globe' affair which I fitted elsewhere in the

cockpit. The compasses began to differ, and while I was travelling over France on the second day out, the question was: "Which one was wrong?"

I soon realised that although I was probably over Cape Griz Nez, there was no method by which I could identify it. Not bad to be lost within the first half hour! However, a little map-reading, head-scratching and careful study of the coastline put me right, and although I hardly recognised a single landmark from there to Le Bourget, after 2 hours 15 minutes I made my first landing on foreign soil at about 7am. No one was about, so I spent the time shaking hands with myself for having done so well and getting that far without having broken anything.

Formalities completed, I took off and began the journey to Marseilles. After about two hours' flying it became necessary to pass over a range of hills. Slowly I approached their summit to find that low clouds had banked right up against them on the far side, effectively blocking out any view of the earth and presenting something of a problem. It seemed a pity to go all the way back just because of a bit of cloud and so I decided to nose into them and see if they really were thick! They looked more like a Scotch Mist than clouds—a moment or two and I ought to be through them. Slowly I edged up to the brow of the hills and proceeded to sink into the soft billowy mist. It seemed to be thicker than I had imagined. I realised that I was as blind as a bat.

I decided to turn round and go back out the way I had come, when suddenly, trees on the hillside loomed up ahead. Stick and rudder hard over took me away from them and into the blind fog once more. Twice I tried the same manoeuvre, each time with the same result. Memories of stories of other pilots who had piled up on hillsides in similar circumstances flashed through my mind.

'The slower the better' struck me as being desirable, so back came the throttle. As suddenly as I had gone into the clouds I seemed to come out of them. Nervous laughter shook me for a good ten minutes. Coupled with noisy mirth was also a feeling of intense gratitude to the Providence that looks after 'drunks, children and fools'.

I was now under the clouds and here it was raining, so I decided to get a weather report at Lyons before doing the remaining 200 miles to Marseilles. While I was having a cup of coffee in the restaurant, I found myself shaking uncontrollably.

While I was in the Met office, in walked a man who started to question the clerk about the weather. As I had come from Paris—his destination—and he had come from mine—Marignane, the Marseilles aerodrome—the Met officer was done out of a job. We gave each other the weather on the routes we had just travelled and within ten minutes Lyons had said goodbye to both of us.

In Marseilles I had to decide on whether to fly direct over the Mediterranean via Corsica and Sardinia to Tunis, as the shortest route but entailing a long sea crossing, or to go round the north coast of the Med. With my extra petrol tank of some 30 gallons, I estimated that I had enough fuel, but might not have enough oil for the longer sea crossing, so I decided to take the long way round. I arrived at Pisa, saw a very convenient landing-ground, and landed, little realising that this was an Italian Air Force Station. However, on walking up to the nearest buildings, I was warmly greeted by members of the Italian Air Force and urged to come to lunch, which I did with gratitude. I was made to feel very welcome. After lunch, they suggested that I must have a drink for it was blowing a gale outside. My host explained that they downed this drink in one,

and would I please conform. I swallowed the drink, to discover that I had been given a most comforting Cherry Brandy.

By this time it was blowing even more vigorously outside, and the Leaning Tower of Pisa leaned still further! However, thus fortified, I went out to my aircraft, careered across the bumpy ground, leapt into the air and set course. I passed Rome and landed at Naples.

After an early breakfast I filled up with petrol, got airborne as soon as there was light enough to see, and with Vesuvius ahead of me, smoking heavily, I set course for Catania on the east coast of Sicily. I landed muscularly exhausted and very tired. I set off again, aiming for Tunis, and set off over the Mediterranean, with only a hazy idea of how much drift I had to allow. I found myself over the Mediterranean, no land in sight and not knowing if I had miscalculated—a turn to port and I should fall into the drink before I reached Port Said—a turn to starboard and I should undoubtedly run out of petrol and fall into the drink before I reached Gibraltar.

I was hoping to find Cape Bon, enter the Gulf of Tunis and then find Tunis itself, but I simply couldn't see Cape Bon. So I did what anyone would do in such circumstances – pressed on regardless. I made a landfall, spotted a lighthouse which I was able to identify, and was then home and dry. I turned to port, found the Tunis aerodrome and landed. The Shell representative kindly made arrangements for filling up in the morning.

It was here that I met a fellow pilot who had just done the exact flight I had wanted to do – the direct flight across the Mediterranean from Marseilles to Tunis. He was Sir Piers Mostyn, one of the most gallant British adventurers of the century and was in a hurry to get to Nairobi because the manager at his farm was due to leave for England. We decided to make the same night stops until we got to Cairo where I insisted upon staying for a longer time than he was able. I had arranged to have a 25 flying-hours overhaul done in Cairo, while I went to see the Pyramids.

At dawn the following day we both set off along the coast of North Africa for Gabes and landed. We set off again the next morning for Benghazi and it was on this flight that Sir Piers led me straight into some thick cloud which I didn't care for overmuch, having no blind-flying instruments. However we emerged on the other side, landed at Tripoli for lunch, and then flew across to Benghazi. It was here that I realised the tremendous advantage of having a companion—somebody to swap lies with at the end of the day! There is nothing quite so empty as surviving a narrow squeak and having nobody to talk it over with. I had seriously considered taking a passenger, but obviously could not do so because of the lack of insurance and the necessity to take extra fuel in the front cockpit. I needed all the fuel I could carry as I was by no means certain of getting myself to Salisbury in one piece, and the route was already littered with the bones of those who had tried and perished in the attempt.

We left Benghazi and were now flying over fairly desolate country where rumour had it that the dwellers in that locality made very short work, and by very painful methods, of any pilot who made a forced landing. In fact one was advised to carry some quicker means of meeting one's end.

We aimed for Tobruk and left the coast shortly after, as the problem now was to make Cairo, over country which was, to say the least, a little dry. Neither of us carried water – I certainly didn't and I can't remember if Sir Piers ever mentioned it. Our route

was therefore dictated by where water could be obtained. We aimed at the nearest oasis, Dikheila, and eventually made Cairo, landing at Helwan aerodrome. This aerodrome was surrounded by a low concrete wall. The story was that the authorities had this wall built to keep out any wanderer and any trespasser found within the precincts was executed forthwith.

I filled up with petrol and arranged for the aircraft to have a 25-hour overhaul, which was by that time essential. I went off into Cairo to do a little sightseeing but alas, my good companion Sir Piers was in a great hurry to reach Nairobi and could not afford to waste a day on such trivialities as sightseeing. So we parted company.

The following morning I ran up the engine and taxied across the aerodrome as soon as it was light enough to see. After some 40 minutes' flying south, following the Nile, I suddenly found, to my horror, a large piece of aluminium engine cowling idly flapping in the breeze. The mechanic who had done the overhaul had missed several of the points on the hinge when putting the hinge locking pin back and, as I had left in semi-darkness, I had not noticed it. Now this was a problem of some consequence because even at the low speed of 80 mph, the thought of a sheet of aluminium whistling past my ears was not to be relished, and so too the possible serious damage which might occur to tail-plane, rudder and elevators. It was only a matter of time before the aluminium would break away. Something had to be done about it, and quickly. I searched around for the emergency landing ground, El Wasta, and landed on very loose sand. I rolled to a stop just avoided tipping up on my nose. Once on the ground I switched off the engine and fastened the cowling. I swung the prop, without any chocks of course, and scrambled back into the cockpit before the aircraft started to roll forward, taxied over the loose sand to the downwind end of the landing ground, obtained the maximum run, and took off again. Then I followed the river past Assuit and Luxor over some of the most beastly country. In the event of a forced landing, water would be the first consideration and, if my engine failed and I had landed within half a mile of the river edge, I was quite certain I could never have reached the river before dying of thirst, because the surrounding country was nothing but a series of precipitous ravines. This country really frightened me and I have a lasting horror of it to this day. Plain desert, the densest scrub, or even the sea, would appear to offer a better chance of survival.

I reached Aswan at 11.45 and found it very hot. This made landing a little interesting as one tended to come down with the gliding angle of a brick. Here it was that I began to appreciate the enormous value of my Bombay Bowler, a narrow pith helmet shaped more like a jockey cap than the traditional helmets. The heat was intense and it was said that one could easily succumb to sunstroke by merely walking from one's aircraft to a hangar. This I could well believe!

It was only a short hop to Wadi Halfa, and Aswan was too hot for comfort—certainly no place to stay the night. Wadi Halfa was to introduce me to 'real' heat. I had often been told that in parts of Africa on this route, the heat was such that one would not be able to touch the metal controls. Not unnaturally I took this with a pinch of salt, but when it came to Wadi Halfa I learnt otherwise. There was a pleasant rest-house right on the edge of the Nile and it was here that, when giving my name to the Customs officer, he had some difficulty in getting the first letter. The ever-helpful Shell representative came to my assistance by saying "P"—'P' for prostitute", at which he got it in one.

The rest-house was provided with well-shuttered rooms but I found the heat intolerable and after being shown to my room, I made the great mistake of opening the shutters to get some fresh air. I very soon realised my error and shut them again as they were there not only to keep off the sun's rays but to keep the hot desert air out.

Next morning, as usual, I travelled out to the aerodrome in the dark and by the time I arrived the sun was rising. I filled up and climbed in, and almost immediately the metal controls of the aircraft became too hot to hold. It was so hot in fact that before I had left the ground, the 'lateral level'—like the ordinary glass level in a builder's instrument—burst, and I was left with no indication of the attitude in which I was flying. This would not have been of any great significance to an experienced pilot but it was a considerable handicap to me with my very limited experience. However I got into the air and climbed to sufficient height from which I could have made a forced landing.

From Wadi Halfa I steered a curious course, following a clearly defined railway line, and it was just as well I did. The stations were merely numbered, and when I approached Station 6, visibility began to drop and I soon realised I was enveloped in a sandstorm, but now without the aid of any cockpit indication. I tried to fly over the sandstorm but this was impossible. Everything on the aircraft by this time was burnished bright by the sand and I was distinctly alarmed to hear the rocker gear, in the engine just in front of me, squeaking as each push rod went up and down, for all grease and oil seemed to have been blasted off by the sand. My imagination envisaged a horribly uncomfortable situation for the engine's sake and considered it one of the more unpleasant periods of my life. I eventually spotted a white right-angle, presumably a concrete marker, and another one elsewhere, which could only indicate an Emergency Landing Ground, and which I fortunately estimated to be Station 6. I made a cautious approach and landing and rolled to a stop in deep sand, wondering if I should ever get off again without tipping up on my nose.

I made my way to the only building in sight, which was the railway station, the station master's house, the postmaster's house and the Shell representative's domicile, all confined in one small building and all run by one Sudanese who immediately phoned through to the next station on the line, Atbara, to ascertain the state of the sandstorm, and found it to be the same as it was over Station 6. However he offered me a drink and I graciously suggested 'tea', which he delicately explained to this half-witted lunatic who had dropped in from the skies that men in his part of the world only drank coffee – so I put the matter right by saying that I much preferred coffee! This he produced in a brown earthenware coffee pot, the mouth of which was stuffed with grass to retain the coffee grounds. I felt honour-bound to praise the beauty of the coffee pot whereupon he promptly presented me with a new one, which I have to this day.

After waiting a little time, I gingerly took off again, with surprisingly little trouble, but immediately ran into the sandstorm as thick as ever and was forced to come down at Station 10 to make enquiries about visibility further on. This proved to be the same sort of one-building, one-man show, and a message was put through to Atbara to enquire about the visibility. It seemed to be just as bad there.

I once more graciously accepted offers of refreshment, this time stipulating coffee. Squatting on the sand floor of a circular hut, I was brought, in due course, a cup of black coffee. There followed an almighty commotion outside, of chickens squawking, a dog

barking, a cloud of even more dust, and then the sudden appearance of an odiferous nanny-goat which arrived precipitately in the hut. She was milked directly into my coffee cup! I took off from Station 10 and eventually arrived at Atbara, flying through sand and poor visibility all the way.

From there I had a more or less uneventful trip to Khartoum, and there I spent a pleasant night in a civilised hotel. In Khartoum I was given strict Government instructions to follow the telegraph line, for very obvious reasons—it would be very much easier for any search parties to communicate with each other while looking for my dead body. The telegraph line was a single strand of wire, nailed to posts, or from tree to tree as the case might be, and it followed a devious course, intertwined with so-called roads and the Sudd part of the Nile which was feet thick in vegetation floating on the surface of the river. From this seemingly flat 'landing ground' various aircraft in the past had a somewhat difficult time extracting themselves, so that, on the whole, one tended to fly at a considerable altitude, 6 000 to 7 000 feet, for comfort. This gave one a good chance to pick an ELG, but at the same time, from which height it was difficult to distinguish a single strand of wire stretched across the desert.

I set off for Malakal which was a place, fixed in most Rhodesian minds, for high winds. It was here that General Lewin from Kenya had left his machine on one occasion and came back to find it on its back, completely wrecked. I was not over-anxious to stay there for longer than I had to, but while I was debating the point, an Imperial Airways Hannibal, which in those days was an enormous machine carrying a considerable load of passengers and travelling at the colossal average speed of 80 mph arrived, on its way south. As these machines had the advantage of blind-flying instruments, wireless (which I didn't have), weather reports and navigators, I wandered over and had a word with the Captain. I explained that if he would kindly keep to this speed I would be able to follow him, and that he would be able to assist me very considerably over a most difficult part of the route and a rather unfriendly part of the country, and would he kindly endeavour to keep me in sight!

However, just before we were both preparing to take off, a dense cloud of locusts appeared on the horizon and moved towards us. As these are dirty and messy things to fly through, he not unnaturally got into the air before they arrived. I, being single-handed was a little slower and when in the air, was well behind him.

Shortly afterwards we ran into a light rainstorm which soon joined up to form a 'linestorm' through which I couldn't follow the big machine. So reluctantly I was forced to turn back on my tracks and land again at Malakal. I got out my picketing irons (enormous metal corkscrews which are screwed into the ground by men on either end of a metal bar which goes through the eye at the top), and embedded them deep in the ground, and securely tied down each wingtip. I then made my way to the rest-hut where I spent my time swatting enormous and vicious mosquitoes. But otherwise I passed an uneventful night.

In the morning I was off at dawn before the rain could gather, and form into another 'linestorm'. I thankfully followed the Shell Blueprint map to Juba, and on the way I passed over two landing grounds en route, both of which were underwater. I reached Juba and, as there was rain all around, I made enquiries as to whether I could get an Imperials Airways weather report. I was told quite bluntly that weather reports were

'for the benefit of Imperial Airways only' and not for mere private pilots, so there was nothing else for me to do but to wait until the weather improved and then try again.

Then I incurred the displeasure of the local aerodrome superintendent by saying that I intended to follow the strict instructions given me by Imperial Airways that I was only to use Imperial Airways landing grounds if I was fitted with a steerable tail-wheel. As no Moth Mk 60 had a steerable tail-wheel, I had not been able to comply with these instructions, but when I now teasingly suggested to the local superintendent that I should be a law-abiding citizen and merely use the ground along the side, his horror knew no bounds, for he saw himself having not only to deal with an overturned machine, but also to bury a dead pilot, and then have to attend to all the ensuing proceedings.

So once more I risked the wrath of Imperial Airways, used their landing ground and eventually took off. I got to Nimule and from there to Kisumu via Tororo which provided an ELG. Avoiding Mt. Elgon I arrived at Kisumu where I spent the night, and then debated with myself which route to take to Nairobi—the direct route via Lake Naivasha, or the one over lower country but rather more inhospitable. I plumped for the more direct one and was rewarded with the most lovely sight of a pink fringe to Lake Naivasha which was edged by a multitude of flamingos. It was a high, cold flight, as this was the first time I had made any attempt to take the machine to any real altitude, so I was a little anxious as to how she would behave. I duly arrived in Nairobi and met my previous companion Sir Piers who very kindly offered me two or three days' hospitality.

While in Nairobi I was more than glad to meet trusted Ground Engineer 'Wa-Wa' Watkins who carried out a 25-hour engine overhaul. They called him 'Wa-Wa' because of his lovable but uncontrollable stutter. The only time he got his stutter under control was when he was a passenger in a three-engined Westland Wessex—one engine failed over pretty rugged country somewhere between Rhodesia and Nairobi and he was able to give succinct and helpful advice and encouragement to all the passengers before the inevitable forced landing, without any sign of his impediment.

I set off south, keeping well west of Kilimanjaro, of which I had a most magnificent view. At one station on some railway line on this route the station name was painted in large white letters on a red roof with arrows pointing to the next station, again with its name in large white letter on the roof. This saved one from the regular habit of flying low, in an endeavour to read the name painted on a board made for the benefit of train passengers but certainly not designed for reading from the air in a swift glance as one flew by at 80 mph. Or alternatively, as I have known done, flying over some startled person, switching off the engine to ensure silence, and shouting instructions such as, "Point to Salisbury–Bulawayo–Gatooma". They almost always obligingly did so. Navigation was difficult when railways were few and far between, rivers were bone dry and almost unrecognisable, or in flood over hundreds of acres of ground.

I reached Dodoma, refuelled and went on direct to Mbeya where I spent the night. Then at the crack of dawn I set out for Lake Shiwa Ngandu which I found surprisingly easily, and landed. Almost before I could get out of the machine I was accosted by a charming, dark-skinned, young woman on a bicycle, of whom I enquired whether she could direct me to Colonel Gore-Brown as I had a parcel for him which I had been asked to deliver. She gave me instructions to follow a nearby road and casually asked whether I would care for breakfast. Not quite understanding her offer, I gratefully accepted and

Map showing route

in due course, having walked up the road, came across the most palatial mansion, a brick structure, to my eyes about the size of Meikles Hotel, in the midst of what was virtually limitless bundu (bush). I delivered my parcel to Colonel Gore-Brown who then ushered me into the dining-room and we sat down to a delectable breakfast. We were joined later by the charming young lady cyclist who set about dispensing tea or coffee, and who, much to my surprise, turned out to be Colonel Gore-Brown's wife. Here I established a reputation, of which I have always been rather ashamed, of being the only visiting pilot to their landing-ground who did not stay the night. But I had cabled my parents from Nairobi suggesting a likely time and date of arrival in Salisbury and I was doing my best to stick to schedule. So I took off for Mpika and from there to Broken Hill, and then travelled via Chirundu, Chipani and Miami to Salisbury.

This proved to be unfortunate, as my uncle, F. G. Payne, had set off by air, accompanied by cinematographers to film my arrival, and I, knowing nothing about this, failed to see any aircraft in the sky, and came down and landed at Salisbury, to find waiting for me on the apron outside the old Imperial Airways hangar on the Belvedere Airport Colonel George Parsons the Director of Civil Aviation Major Dirk Cloete the Mayor the local ground engineer and others. But no sign of my parents. They had been most insistent on my sending frequent cables from various stops en route, many of which had no telephone let alone any postal facilities, and as they had not heard from me, had gone away on a three-day trip into the veld.

Thus ended, successfully, my trip—the first solo flight from England to Salisbury by a Rhodesian-born and largely Rhodesian-trained pilot, holding Rhodesian Licence No 2. (It is believed No. 1 was issued to Mr B. Tubb)

First Southern Rhodesian Air Rally

by Peter Sternberg

It seems hard to imagine today but until 5 March 1920, when the Vickers Vimy 'The Silver Queen' flown by Colonel Pierre van Ryneveld and Major Quintin Brand touched down on the Bulawayo racecourse during their attempt to fly from Britain to Cape Town, no aircraft had ever landed in Southern Rhodesia, or, for that matter, had flown in Rhodesian skies.

The resident population therefore had never seen an aircraft in the flesh, despite the fact that the Great War, a conflict in which a number of Rhodesians had served as pilots in the Royal Flying Corps, had ended well over a year earlier.

Despite this late start, private aviation began to take off (excuse the pun) and a Le Rhone powered Avro 504K was imported the same year to provide 'joy rides' to eager Rhodesians of all ages. The air age had finally arrived in the country.

Fast forward sixteen years and, in 1936 it was decided that the first 'major' air display (known locally as an "air rally") was to be staged in Salisbury. The purpose behind this decision was to educate the general public to this new mode of transport and give its citizens the opportunity to inspect, at close range, as many types of civil and military aircraft as possible. The date chosen to stage this public display was to be Saturday 15 August 1936.

The country's first major air rally had been organised by a committee brought together by Mr Jack Davison, Resident Director of the de Havilland Aircraft Company (Rhodesia) Ltd, a Company that had been formed in Salisbury in 1934 in order to service aircraft and train pilots. Preliminary discussions regarding the staging of so important an event had already taken place between the Salisbury Airport Committee and Mr Davison towards the end of 1935 but it was not

until January 1936 that final sanction to hold the event was obtained from the Salisbury Council.

Mr Davison collected an able body of men to form the executive committee, of which he was appointed the Hon. Secretary. The majority of members had extensive flying experience and included Captain G. I. Thomson DFC of Imperial Airways and on loan to Rhodesia and Nyasaland Airways as Resident Operations Manager; Mr M. C. Pearce of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Airways, an experienced pilot who had covered over 300,000 miles of flying, Major D. Cloete MC AFC recently appointed the country's Director of Civil Aviation; Captain B. Roxburgh-Smith DFC, Salisbury Airport Superintendent who, in 1929, backed by Sir Alan Cobham, had started the Rhodesian Aviation Company; Mr J. J. Scott-Robertson, Manager of the de Havilland Aircraft Company's local branch; and Mr B. Tubb, the Assistant Municipal Electrical Engineer, a keen amateur pilot who held the distinction of holding the Rhodesian "A" Pilots Licence No.1. With the exception of Messrs Pearce and Tubb, the balance of members had served in the Royal Flying Corps during World War One.

Likewise, a high powered Entertainments Committee was formed comprising four members, namely Lieutenant Colonel T. E. Robins DSO, Resident Director in Africa of the BSA Co; Mr Digby V. Burnett, General Manager of the London & Rhodesian Mining Co; Mr William Brown JP and President of the Automobile Association of Rhodesia and Lieutenant Colonel Ernest Lucas Guest MP, a prominent solicitor and a future Cabinet Minister, later knighted.

His Worship the Mayor of Salisbury, Councillor Leslie B. Fereday, was appointed Chairman of Committees, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, the Honorable Godfrey M. Huggins FRCS MP, was appointed President and the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley GCMG, was appointed Patron of the First Southern Rhodesian Air Rally and Aerial Display.

It is doubtful whether one could have found a more powerful and formidable group of organisers than those selected to handle this major event!

Interest in this forthcoming event began to run high amongst the population, and *The Rhodesia Herald*, the country's leading daily, in its edition dated 1 August 1936 printed a notice from the Air Rally Executive Committee requesting all sporting bodies in Salisbury to arrange their fixtures in such a way as not to clash with the aerial display due to be held on the afternoon of Saturday 15 August, as this event was considered to be one of national importance.

In its Friday 7 August edition of the *Rhodesia Herald* an article headlined "40 Aeroplanes To Visit Salisbury For The Air Rally" drew their readers attention to the fact that this would be the largest ever gathering of aircraft at the Salisbury Municipal Aerodrome. RAF aircraft would be flying down from Egypt, fighter aircraft were coming up from South Africa and a large number of civil aircraft from both Southern Rhodesia and surrounding countries were expected to attend. The Official Opening Ceremony would be performed by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Herbert Stanley.

Further enticing articles on the forthcoming event appeared in the *Rhodesia Herald* throughout the following week and anticipation continued to mount.

A large enclosure was to be fenced off for the 8 000 anticipated visitors and seating was arranged for as many spectators as was possible. Early arrivals could watch the

display from their cars. Refreshments were to be on sale. Admission tickets went on sale at various travel agents, stationery shops and at the Grand Hotel in First Street. It was suggested that the public purchase their car park tickets and admission tickets (2/6 adults, 1/-children) in advance in order to alleviate congestion at the gates on the day of the show.

The official Air Rally Dinner and Ball, under the patronage of the Governor and Lady Stanley would be held at the Grand Hotel on the Saturday night following the air show, when all the visiting pilots and their passengers would be the guests of the organising committee. Tickets for the Ball itself were available to the general public for the sum of 5/- with the event commencing at 9pm. Tickets sold briskly.

Not to be outdone, Meikles Hotel, another leading Salisbury establishment, advertised a Dinner/Dance to be held the same evening as a "Special Air Rally Event". Music would be provided by Godwins Gypsy Orchestra and tickets were priced at 7/6.

On Monday 10 August the *Rhodesia Herald* informed its readers that the Salisbury Agricultural Show Society had made their grounds available for an additional approach road to the aerodrome in order to avoid expected traffic congestion. Likewise, spectators were advised to wear sunglasses to protect their eyes from the glare when viewing aerobatics!

de Havilland DH80A Puss Moth

Further reports throughout the week followed—of the seventeen private aircraft registered in Southern Rhodesia, no less than fourteen were expected to participate at the air show, a high percentage indeed. Two aircraft were expected to fly in from neighbouring country Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). It was likewise reported that a D. H. Moth Major flown by woman pilot Mrs E. Phillips, and accompanied by a Mr J. Gavson, were flying all the way up from Cape Town. Unfortunately for them the aircraft developed starter problems en route and had to be left in the Northern Transvaal. An announcement was made that Lieut-Commander The Honourable John Stuart and his wife would be flying in from Bechuanaland (now Botswana) in his de Havilland Puss Moth.

Further aircraft were expected from as far afield as Nairobi in Kenya. But by far the majority of visiting aircraft were expected to fly in from South Africa.

The number of aircraft that were expected to participate rose steadily—from the

initial forty the numbers rose on a daily basis and the *Rhodesia Herald* reported that no less than forty nine were expected to finally attend. In fact, well over fifty took part, quite a remarkable number considering the circumstances, for air travel was still a comparative rarity in this (and most other) regions of Africa.

As many of the participating military and civil aircraft heading into the country from all directions were compelled to first fly into Bulawayo (Southern Rhodesia's second city) in order to refuel etc. en route to Salisbury, it was decided to hold a scaled down air show at that city's aerodrome. It was duly announced that the event would take place on Thursday 13 August in the afternoon, and the wish was expressed that the Bulawayo Chamber of Commerce would grant a half holiday on that particular Thursday afternoon to enable the public to attend this newly announced air show. Likewise, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* did its fair share in whipping up support for the event.

de Havilland DH66 Hercules

Captain Rod Douglas, manager of de Havillands in South Africa was invited to be the announcer at the Bulawayo air show—he had already been booked for that position at the Salisbury display. All visiting airman were offered free accommodation at the Grand Hotel in Bulawayo through the generosity of members of the Bulawayo Light Aeroplane Club, who would themselves be participating in the air show.

Flying down Africa from Cairo, the three RAF Fairey Gordon reconnaissance aircraft, together with an accompanying Vickers Valentia troop carrier, landed at Wankie (some 70 miles south of the Victoria Falls) on Thursday 13 August. They took off for Bulawayo at mid-day, arriving that afternoon to participate in the air show. All four aircraft departed for Salisbury the following day.

Flying up from South Africa, Flight Lieut. Kennedy (RAF) attached to the South African Air Force, commanded the flight of SAAF Hawker Furies which had departed Pretoria on Wednesday 12 August. They too participated in the Bulawayo display to

Vickers Valentia

the delight of the crowd. They were accompanied by a de Havilland tri-motor DH66 Hercules transport aircraft of the South African Air Force, carrying ground staff.

The South African military showed a definite interest in the aerial events taking place in Rhodesia—an Airspeed Envoy of the South African Air Force ferried both Major General Brink (South African Secretary for Defence) and Brigadier General Sir Pierre van Ryneveld (Chief of Staff of the South African Defence Force) to the Bulawayo show. They flew on to Salisbury the following day.

The SAAF Hawker Furies likewise departed for Salisbury on Friday morning and en route thrilled the townspeople of Gwelo with a scintillating aerobatic display prior to landing at the towns aerodrome for refueling.

The Bulawayo air show, as was to be expected, turned out to be a popular event, with an attendance of well over 3 000 spectators. Some 25 aircraft participated of which 12 were civilian machines. Stars of the show proved to be the seven Hawker Furies with their precise formation flying and aerobatics.

In order to boost interest in aviation to the full, the Organising Committee had let it be known through the *Rhodesia Herald* that entrance to Salisbury aerodrome would be free of charge to the public on both Friday 14 August and on Sunday 16 in order to view aircraft arrivals and departures. In addition, no charge would be levied on Saturday morning 15 August for spectators to watch a pylon race for aircraft, probably the first race of this nature to be staged in the country. To add to the good news, Rhodesia & Nyasaland Airways (RANA) announced that joy rides would be available to the public all day Friday and Sunday plus the Saturday morning at a relatively moderate price of 10/- per adult and half price for children.

The public took full advantage of these offers and flocked to the events with great enthusiasm.

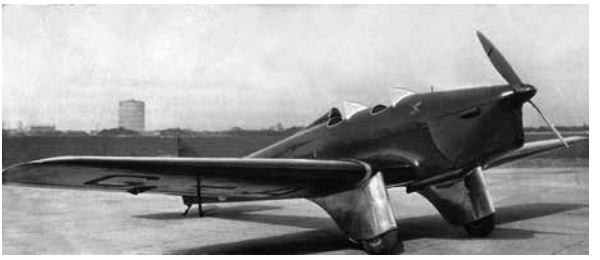
Shortly before noon on Friday the first aircraft, a de Havilland Cirrus Moth and piloted by a local, Mr H. G. Thorne, landed, followed 5 minutes later by a yellow and red Percival Gull flown by Captain E. L. Drews. Not long afterwards the air was filled with further aircraft announcing their arrival by circling the airfield before gracefully landing and taxiing to the now rapidly filling flight lines. For the obviously air minded folk gathered there the scene must have seemed like sheer nirvana!

Souvenir programmes (on sale by the local company of Boy Scouts) informed readers that some 52 aircraft were expected, including 12 military machines. The great majority of private aircraft were de Havilland products, including a comprehensive range of Moths – Cirrus, Fox, Gipsy, Hornet, Leopard, Puss and Tiger, plus no less than 3 Moth Majors. Although de Havilland aircraft dominated the line up, there were several other types represented, including a Rearwin Sportster, Miles Hawk Major, Percival Gull,

B.A. Eagle, Heinkel HE 64E and no less than four Waco's.

Whilst the aircraft were busy arriving, the "joy rides" were proving most popular and the two aircraft in use, a RANA de Havilland Rapide and Lonhro's de Havilland Dragon Fly took off and landed incessantly, whilst more and more would be passengers joined the queues patiently waiting to become airborne. Two small girls stood debating as to what machine they would like to go up in. "That's the one 'I'd like" the one declared. "Don't mind what aeroplane it is, as long as I can fly" the future Amy Mollison replied! In all, a total of 542 passengers were airlifted over the three day period, the great majority being first time fliers. This number equated to close on 5% of the entire white population of Salisbury at the time!

de Havilland Dragon Fly



Miles Hawk Major

Friday night ended off with a campfire concert held at the BSAP Depot to which local hosts and visiting airmen and their friends were invited. An excellent and varied programme of entertainment was provided including songs, instrumental and dancing items, humorous interludes and sketches which all held the unflagging attention of the audience throughout the evening.

Saturday morning 15 August dawned bright and sunny and aviation enthusiasts turned up in their numbers to witness the start of the Pylon Race for "A" Class pilots, of whom several participated. Pylons had been erected at Lytton Estates, the wireless masts and the tall chimney at the Salisbury Power Station, with the finishing line at the de Havilland hanger at Salisbury Aerodrome.

In this 22 mile race, first over the line was Mr Thorne (Salisbury) in his Cirrus Moth, Johannesburg entrant Mr F. L. Findlay in his Rearwin Sportster came in second and Mrs Roxburgh (Salisbury) piloting a Moth Major came in third. Other aircraft that had entered this race included two de Havilland Dragon Fly's, a Miles Hawk Major and a Tiger Moth, the latter being touted as a military trainer.

From mid-day crowds streamed in on foot, bicycle and motor vehicle and the car park was soon filled to capacity. In fact, it was estimated that between 4 000 and 5 000 motor vehicles passed through the aerodrome gates, quite a feat.

There were eleven set flying events on the programme, which commenced at 2pm with the demolition of a vintage motor car by "evilly disposed" civilian pilots by means of "Gloria" (a popular brand of flour) bombs. Mr F. Kimpton drove the vintage car trying desperately to avoid the packets of flour bombs thrown out of the Gypsy Moths cockpit by "bomb aimer" Mr R. Nash, and the crowd cheered when a hit was finally registered on the swerving car!

The second event featured the departure of Imperial Airways Armstrong Whitworth Atalanta 4 engined airliner (the "Andromeda") on its regular scheduled flight to London (northbound to Europe), carrying both passengers and mail. For most spectators present that day it was the first time that they had seen an airliner at such short proximity and it is certain that the crew and passengers had never experienced such a rousing and cheerful send off from thousands of people lining the runway!!

Armstrong Whitworth Atalanta

The third event featured "One Shot Murphy" (B. Tubb) who zoomed in low and shot at bottles placed on top of a low wall. Obligingly, an assistant lay concealed behind the wall unseen by the crowd and broke one bottle after the other with a hammer as soon as a blank cartridge had been fired. It was all in good fun but unfortunately the pilot flew a little too close to the ground and the wheels of the Gypsy Moth caught in the surrounding turf, which caused the aircraft to turn a complete somersault, thus landing on its back – a scant 20 yards from the crowd. This proved to be the only mishap of the day, and the St Johns Ambulance Brigade dealt efficiently with the matter, soon patching up the small cut on Mr. Tubbs forehead.

Event number four consisted of crazy flying and landings by Mr J. C. Robertson, manager of de Havillands in Salisbury, who put his Moth Major through the paces. The crowd gasped in awe and admiration at the exciting aerobatic routine which wound up his display.

At 3pm His Excellency the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Herbert Stanley, performed the Official Opening Ceremony, and was given a good reception by the appreciative crowd.

The fifth event on the programme was an eagerly awaited one, namely the combined mass fly–past of the military aircraft of the visiting RAF and SAAF contingents. The programme stated that never before had Salisbury been treated to the sight of so many aeroplanes in the air at the same time. And one can well imagine it—3 Fairey Gordons, 7 Hawker Furies, a twin motor Vickers Valentia and a three motor DH Hercules.

Event six consisted of aerobatics by a civilian pilot who went on to astonish the crowd with his daring display. The programme stated that he would turn the aircraft onto its back in order to get a closer look at all the ladies assembled down below!

The seventh event saw the return of the military aircraft in Air Drill exercises. The 3 Fairey Gordons gave a demonstration of supply dropping by parachute which the crowd enjoyed. Then it was the turn of the nimble SAAF Hawker Furies and three of

these aircraft participated in an astonishing display of aerobatics that were timed to the split second, evoking many aaah's and oooh's.

Fairey Gordon

Event eight staged a Utility Demonstration and Race wherein a number of light aircraft were housed within a hanger, wings folded. The crews were then required to wheel out the aircraft, spread their wings, start motors and take off, fly around the course, land, and re-house the aircraft. This display was intended to demonstrate the practicability and efficiency of modern light aircraft in the year 1936.

Item nine saw two of the SAAF Hawker Furies back in the air demonstrating the agility of fighter aircraft as they performed individual aerobatics, the sound of their Rolls Royce Kestrel engines at full throttle sending shivers down the spines of many down below.

Item ten entitled "Pageant of Transport Race" proved to be a relay race between runners, ox wagons, horsemen, motor cars and finally aeroplanes. This essentially light hearted display portrayed how advances in transport had speeded up the modern scene in the world of today.

Hawker Fury

Item eleven, the final number, literally went up in smoke somewhat earlier than had been the intention. A highly inflammable model of a river steamer had been constructed on a section of the aerodrome some distance from the public. Its "crew" had allegedly been charged with "evading foot & mouth restrictions by smuggling aspidistras" and were therefore to be set upon by police aircraft (Fairey Gordons) that would fly overhead and bomb the steamer to smithereens!

Unfortunately the "steamer", quite unintentionally and most unexpectedly, caught fire prior to the event and was prematurely reduced to ashes well before the RAF bombers had had a chance to take off and work their will upon the wayward crew and their vessel!!

Thus ended the largest flying display staged in the country up to that point in time. The organisers had originally anticipated an attendance of around 8 000—but no less than 20 000 members of the public had showed up—the response had been truly fantastic.

What became of Harry Grant?

by Ian Johnstone

Harry Grant is a name one encounters in the context of pre-colonial GuBuluwayo, but what became of him after the BSA Company's conquest of Matabeleland in 1893? Living at Lobengula's capital before the Anglo-Ndebele War, like almost all of the white community there he fled GuBuluwayo due to the conflict, and one concluded that he never returned to this country. Even his own descendants did not know what became of him after the days of Lobengula. It turns out that he never left the country.

The mystery about him may be because he had in effect two different identities, which no-one seemed ever to have married up: Harry Grant the pre-colonial trader, builder and hunter of Matabeleland; and Henry James Grant the colonial farmer of Mashonaland.

Grant's place and date of birth and parentage are unknown but it would appear he was born in about 1850: either in Scotland, or perhaps in South Africa to an Afrikaner mother. E. C. Tabler[1] found that Grant first came to Matabeleland in late 1869 and in early 1870 was in GuBuluwayo, where he lived until 1893 as a hunter, trader and builder. Tabler could find no record of the man after July 1893; and there is no known photograph of him. According to family legend, he was a "Dr Grant" who used to travel south and bring back medicine and other supplies for Lobengula.

It is known that in about 1876 Lobengula gave a girl called Zibi to Grant; they stayed together for the rest of his life and had three or four children. Family legend has it that she was a daughter of Lobengula, and another story says she was Lobengula's sister: but Professor Ray Roberts, an authority on Lobengula and his times, has said that Lobengula would not have given a sister or daughter to a commoner like Grant. Zibi herself in her 1897 testimony (see below) did not claim to be royalty: she simply said that Lobengula had "given" her to Grant.

On 31 December 1879 Father Depelchin, one of the Jesuit missionaries who had arrived in Matabeleland earlier that year, wrote of Lobengula's European-style house. "Mr Grant built for him a roomy, single-storey house of stone, rather like the Boer houses in the Transvaal. In exchange Grant received, though solely as a dependent of the king, the enormous property [land], a portion of which he would like to cede to ourselves." Lobengula had given the Jesuits permission to negotiate with Grant about this, and he proved willing to cede them half his land. It was about 18 miles from Old Bulawayo, and was called Homoshlangi [possibly from "inkomo yohlanga", the cow given by the husband to his mother in law]. An

[1] *Pioneers of Rhodesia* (Cape Town, Struik, 1966)

earlier letter from Depelchin (19 November 1879) said "It is of course his [Grant's] interest to have us there. Himself being a trader and batchelor [*sic*] cannot stop at the place and cultivate the ground." Concerning Grant's possible origins, it is of interest that the following was also recorded: "A Boer called Grant is to give us a piece of land with the King's consent." The editor of the published Jesuit letters (2)[2] noted "… but at the last moment Lobengula forbade the purchase."

In 1890, selected whites living in GuBuluwayo were offered mining claims in Mashonaland by the BSA Company. The latter's Secretary wrote to Johan Colenbrander on 5 December of that year saying that claims would only go to people "if in Mr Moffat's opinion they have shown themselves loyal to the British South Africa [Company] and had given substantial proofs that they were likely to remain so … you should authorise Grant to peg out 30 claims. He is to proceed to Fort Salisbury—report himself to Mr Colquhoun there and show him an authority from you to peg out the claims. I will also advise the authorities at Mount Hampden of this fact."[3] Moffat had written to the Secretary on 20 November saying "… I forgot to mention Grant as a man who ought to have some consideration. He has all along kept himself quiet and has served the Company in his way not a very brilliant one giving no trouble whatever. He has much local knowledge of Mashunaland & might I think be useful there if he could be got to go, and could get out of this country, but that is really not so easy a job."[4]

Likewise, favoured GuBuluwayo whites were granted land in Mashonaland: Henry James Grant was awarded 1 500 morgen on 5 November 1892, with a New Certificate of Right (in lieu) being issued on 5 May 1893[5] [6]. There is however a note that the grant was unclaimed and thus cancelled. This may be the same grant as that in a land register entry dated 26 April 1893 which records Land Title no. 1 888 as being Grant's, "On Inyati [Umniati] River, next Colenbrander."[7]. This was in the Charter District and in turn may have been or may have been in addition to—"Grant's Farm", 15 miles north-east of Inyati [Umniati River] on the Hartley Road, touching the southern base of "Taba Simambu" and bounded on the southwest by the "Selongwe River." The right (no. 943) was granted on 24 April 1894, but was recorded as Abandoned on 29 October 1894[8]. Yet Grant may have re-claimed all this, as it is known he was farming in that area (the Charter District) just two years later, when the name of his farm was recorded as Granton.

Grant's documented life after the latest date recorded by Tabler (July 1893, when he was still in GuBuluwayo) began with a 25 October 1893 entry in the diary of James Fairbairn, printed in *The Times* of London on 19 December 1893 just after the Anglo-Ndebele War. Fairbairn and William Usher were the only two whites to remain in GuBuluwayo before the BSA Company's forces arrived in early

[2] *GuBuluwayo and Beyond: letters and journals of the early Jesuit Missionaries to Zambesia 1879-1887*. Edited by M Gelfand. (London, Chapman, 1968). *Journey to GuBuluwayo*. Edited by RS Roberts. (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1979). Translations of the letters and diaries of the Jesuit missionaries 1879-1882

[3] 1.CO 4/1/1, Historical Manuscripts Collection. Papers of Johan Colenbrander

[4] 1.MO 1/1/5/3, Historical Manuscripts Collection. Out-letters of John Smith Moffat

[5] 1.L 7/4/1, Register of Land Grants

[6] 1.L 7/3/1, Register of Certificates of Right

[7] L 7/4/1

[8] LB 4/1, Register of Farms, Bulawayo District

November 1893. "Boy came from Grant (man sent to Salisbury with cattle). The people have been troubling him, but I hope by this that he is safe." The diary entry of 28 October 1893 confirmed that Grant had left GuBuluwayo just in time. It was now impossible to get out "as all roads are closed by large numbers of men sent out this last week only." On the same day a dramatic telegram was sent by Grant, now at Charter, to Johan Colenbrander: "Am out safely escaped narrowly thanks warning."[9] It is interesting that Grant chose to flee east, to Mashonaland, whereas the rest of the white community at GuBulawayo went south to seek refuge. This may be because he was familiar with Mashonaland, owned land in the Charter District (as did Colenbrander), and had also been granted mining claims in Mashonaland by the BSA Company.

When he came to Mashonaland in late 1893 Grant took up farming—a complete change from his Matabeleland existence as a hunter, trader and builder. As noted above, he did possess land in Matabeleland, but appears not to have used it primarily for farming purposes. He may in fact have returned to Matabeleland after the Anglo-Ndebele War: on 22 October 1895 Henry James Grant was given a Special Grant of land, which was pegged and registered as Mvubu [Hippopotamus] Farm, about 60 miles north of Bulawayo[10]. (Members of the BSA Company's invading forces were rewarded with farm rights in Matabeleland, and the Company did not forget Grant although his role had not been military). And on 7 December 1895 one Harry Grant was fined forty shillings for allowing his servants to cut down Bulawayo Commonage trees[11].

At about this time Grant's eldest child, his daughter Emma, entered into a relationship, in Bulawayo, with a Cape Coloured named William Carter. Their first child was born in about 1896[12].

By early 1896 Grant himself was still—or was back—in the Charter District. Here he was murdered in June 1896 following the outbreak of the Shona Rising. The Reports on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia 1896–7[13] gave his date of death as "about" 18 June, at Altona Farm. [It was in fact at his farm Granton: Harry Posselt[14] later said that Altona Farm was "Mr Shaw's trading station", deserted at the outbreak of the Rising]. In the section on the Charter District the BSA Company's Reports said "On the 19th word was brought in by a Zulu servant that a large impi had attacked the homestead of a farmer named Henry James Grant, who had managed to escape, and was hiding in the bush, but was subsequently, as we believe, caught and murdered by the rebels." This account was in the report dated 29 October 1896 compiled by Hugh Marshall Hole, Civil Commissioner of Salisbury. A second account appeared in a letter dated 27 February 1897 from the Salisbury Board of Executors to the Administrator[15], seeking assistance for the destitute Mrs Grant and evidently relying upon information provided by her. "James Grant was left in this country by some Traders twenty five or thirty years

[9] CO 4/1/1, Historical Manuscripts Collection. Papers of Johan Colenbrander
[10] S 1106/1, Register of Land Rights: Anglo-Ndebele War, 1893
[11] D 4/1/1, Register of criminal cases, Magistrate, Bulawayo
[12] JG 3/3/334/210, Deceased Estate file of William Carter, Master's Office, High Court
[13] London, BSA Company, 1898
[14] Harry Posselt, "The Rebellion of 1896 and the Relief of Charter" in NADA No. 8, 1930
[15] SA 13/1/2/1, Historical Manuscripts Collection. Out-letter book, Salisbury Board of Executors

ago, he being then a mere child. He was with Lo Bengula's father [Mzilikazi] for many years and married a Matabele woman. On her death, some eighteen years ago he married a second time…" He was murdered together with his two youngest children. "Mrs Grant was present…and after the murder of her husband saw the children tossed about on the assegais of the [illegible]. She was taken by the rebels to Matslangombi's stronghold on the Umfuli River, but managed to get into Salisbury after several months' captivity." Much of this, as with other information provided by Mrs Grant (see below) seems inventive. The next account appeared in the judge's notebook recording the trial of the men who were alleged to have murdered Grant[16]. The case was heard in Salisbury on 23 November 1898 before Justice Watermeyer. Grant's Farm was described as being in the Thaba Insimbi range, about 15 miles northwest [in fact, about 25 miles southwest] of Charter. It was three miles from Vavasseur's farm Stonybrook (Robert Vavasseur was also killed in the Rising, and had earlier managed Colenbrander's farms in the area). It was said that Harry was about 45 years old and that his younger brother Willie was farming with him and was killed with him. (However the lists of casualties in the Reports on the Native Disturbances did not include a William Grant, nor was a deceased estate file created for him, nor do any other accounts mention his existence). Harry also had a worker called Jim Zulu [presumably the "Zulu servant" mentioned in the Reports on the Native Disturbances who reported the death of Grant]. The accused were Mahughlu, Marubiri and Matapi. The account said that Grant had the native name "Dlalinyana" [a diminutive from the word "dlala", to play indicating perhaps that Grant was considered a bit of a comedian]. The Native Commissioner for Charter, William M Taylor, said that "Harry Grant was about forty five years, short and rather stout, dark haired. He had a beard when I saw him. I visited him at the farm." Jim Zulu said "About three or four months ago I went back to the farm. I found some bones close to the homestead – others down below the hill. I found a skull and some small bones at each place. I brought the bones into Salisbury and gave them to the Magistrate Mr Bayley." [They were brought into the Court]. One witness said "I saw Mahughlu fire his gun and the white man [Harry Grant] fell. Matapi went up and stabbed him with an assegai. Matapi took the white man's gun… Marubiri chased the other white man who ran down off the kopje into the flat. Marubiri had an assegai only… I didn't see the white man killed. I lost sight of him and Marubiri as they ran down the hill… The white man I saw killed was a medium sized man, stout with a grey or white beard." In reply to a question he added "Grant was standing just outside the door of his hut. His gun was leaning against the hut. When he was hit he caught hold of his gun but fell before he could fire. He staggered from the door to where he fell." This witness also said that the attack took place early in the morning, about sunrise. Marubiri was found Not Guilty [presumably because there was no witness to his killing of the second white man, although he was fortunate in this because he was seen in hot pursuit, brandishing an assegai, and bones were later found in the vicinity]. The other two were sentenced to death. It is notable that nowhere in this account did it say that Grant was killed in front of his wife, or that their children

[16] S 2953, Criminal Cases, Registrar of the High Court. Judge's notebook

were also killed. If this had been the case she would have been summonsed by the Court to give evidence as an eyewitness. She and the children were not mentioned at all. Possibly they were spared Grant's fate because she may have been Shona herself, captured by the Ndebele on one of their raids. The criminal case file[17] clarifies, in the evidence of Jim Zulu at the Magistrate's Preliminary Examination on 12 July 1898, that "Grant had a (native) woman & two children by her, but they were not there." Finally, years later in 1935, a fourth account was recorded in the reminiscences of an unnamed farming family nearby who had managed to escape in time[18]. Concerning Grant, "… he had some wonderful Afrikander type cattle which he was crossing with Native stock… He had taken to wife a reputed sister of Lobengula and had several children by her…" This account asserted that his wife knew of the Rising in advance and told an official, who reported this to the authorities in Salisbury, but they felt it was a false rumour. Grant himself allegedly said "… with a Native wife, children and such fine cattle he certainly would never be molested." According to this account, "Mrs Grant came into the Charter laager to report that her husband and her children had been killed before her eyes, after which she had been allowed to go…"

The register of 1896 Compensation Claims recorded that on 16 December 1896 Grant's executor, RK Eustace of the Salisbury Board of Executors, claimed compensation of £881.15.0 for Grant's estate[19]. People whose property was looted or destroyed by the insurgents, or heirs of people murdered by them, were entitled to claim compensation from the BSA Company for their losses. Grant's deceased estate file[20] confirms that he left no Will, Eustace was appointed Executor and the Company, after assessing the claim, awarded the estate £449.7.6 compensation. The Death Notice was compiled by the Magistrate of Salisbury, H. Marshall Hole, who (like Depelchin before him) recorded that Grant was unmarried, and left blank the section "Names of children of the deceased." Hole noted that Grant left a farm and cattle; the farm, "Granton" was sold for £220. A document of 5 December 1896 named Grant's children as Harry (16 years old), Emma (five years old) and Jim (three years old). But a later document, dated 24 February 1897, said "deceased was married twice & has 2 sons in Bulawayo from a former native wife… One son Harry by present wife." The present wife, it was noted, could not speak English, and the son Harry was illiterate. Unfortunately neither wife nor son could claim the funds in the estate because the marriage was not recognised by Rhodesian law, due to it having been neither a Christian ceremony nor one registered before a Magistrate. On 20 September 1897 the wife submitted a legal document as follows, claiming compensation from the estate for livestock owned by her and her children:

"I, Zibi, a native Matabele woman, now in Salisbury, do solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

1. As a young girl I was given by the chief Lo-Bengula to the late Harry I. Grant, who cohabited with me for about 20 years.

[17] S401/380, Criminal Cases, Registrar of the High Court.
[18] "Before the Charter Laager, 1896" in NADA No. 13, 1935
[19] T 8/4/1/2, Treasury Dept. Register of compensation claims, Mashonaland
[20] JG 3/3/41/135, Deceased Estate file of HJ Grant, Master's Office, High Court

2. As the result of our co-habitation three children were born named respectively Harry Grant—now in the Black Watch [the "native police"] Emma Grant—the eldest child and Jim Grant, the youngest child.
3. The two children Emma and Jim were killed by the natives during the rising about a week after the death of their Father…"

[Point 3 is strange, as Zibi would have known that her daughter Emma was alive and well in Bulawayo at this time, in a relationship and with at least one child. Yet Emma herself evidently never heard of her father's death, or surely would have claimed part of his estate. Indeed Emma's descendants never knew what became of their forefather. As for Zibi herself, her name can be translated as "unneeded and no longer useful remnants". The word is usually associated with dirtiness and as such would be derogatory if applied to a person. No Ndebele would give their child such a name, so it is likely that Zibi was not in fact "a native Matabele woman" but amahole of Kalanga or Shona origin, perhaps captured on a raid as a child and contemptuously named by her Ndebele captors].

In response to her claim Zibi was given £64.10.0, on the grounds that this represented the value of her personal livestock. Harry got £4, being the value of the livestock of the supposedly deceased Emma. The remaining £397.18.9 went to the Master of the High Court's trust account for "unknown heirs."

Lesley Daloz (resident in France) great-great-granddaughter of Harry Grant

The authorities knew of the existence of Zibi and Harry in 1896/7, so (as noted above) it is odd that they were not called to give evidence in the 1898 court case, especially as Zibi claimed that two of the victim's children were also murdered by the culprits.

What in fact became of Grant's children? I have found nothing at all on Jim, the youngest. It may be that he was indeed killed in the 1896 Rising. We know that Harry Jnr was in the native police in 1897; and the Orders Book of the Mashonaland Division, BSA Police confirms, under "Native Strength", that Harry Grant attested on 8 March 1897 as a Driver[21]. A Harry Grant was taken before the Magistrate's Court, Charter District, in 1902 for non-payment of goods acquired from Deary & Co.[22]. It is not impossible that this was Harry Grant Jnr, especially as Charter was the district in which his father had been farming just a few years before. After this he too disappears. Emma Grant died in Bulawayo in 1952[23]; some of Harry Grant's descendants through Emma prosper to this day, and family legend has it that Emma had a sister called Anna, who married an Irishman named Maloney.

Every now and again over the years the Master of the High Court advertised in the local, South African and British press the details of trust accounts in hopes that the "unknown heirs" would read them, and apply to receive their legitimate inheritances. Harry Grant's deceased estate file shows that this actually happened on 16 January 1925. One Henry James Grant of Southampton, England, wrote to the Master wondering if he was related to Harry Grant. He said he was born in 1898 to John Henry Grant in Southampton. "I understand a relative of mine left this Country many years ago, and nothing further was heard of him after his departure…" Nothing seems to have come of this claim: presumably he was unable to prove the relationship. It does seem likely, however, that the family of Harry Grant indeed heard nothing of him after he left them. Rhodes House Library in Oxford, England, holds the ledger of James Fairbairn, who was another pre-colonial trader in GuBulawayo.[24] Fairbairn sold postage stamps to the other whites there, whose letters were taken south for posting (or posted in GuBulawayo itself when the runner post was extended there in 1888). Although his ledger lists quite a few whites who bought stamps from him between 1878–1890, they do not include Grant. So it may be that when Harry came to Matabeleland he cut all ties with his family in Scotland or South Africa and never wrote to them. Thus they never knew when he died, or they would have probably claimed the nearly £400 that he left. In the language of the time, he seems to have "gone native"; this is also indicated in the fact that his wife of 20 years never learned to speak English, and that he never taught his son Harry to read or write.

It is poignant that someone whose pre-colonial life here went as far back as 1869 and who was friendly with Lobengula, and who was so integrated into indigenous society, should have it brutally terminated by the Shona insurgents of 1896.

[21] S 183 Vol. 1, Orders, Mashonaland Division of the BSA Police
[22] S 214, Register of civil cases, Magistrate, Charter District
[23] S 1212/1952/Bulawayo, Form of Information of a Death
[24] Rhodes House Library, Oxford. Mss. Afr. S226. James Fairbairn: ledger of trade at GuBulawayo.

REFERENCES

All alpha-numeric references apart from no. 24 are to sources in the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. This research was originally commissioned by Lesley Daloz, France, a descendant of Grant's daughter Emma. Ms Daloz has kindly given permission for these notes to be published.

2. My thanks are due to Professor Ray Roberts for supplying useful references and advice; to Dr Bob Challis for another reference; and to S. Bhebhe of the National Archives, Bulawayo, for translations of Ndebele words.

A Brief Account of the Early Days of the Ward Family at Tanganda

by James Ward ("the Eighth")

I am the eighth "James Ward" in my family line. My son is James IX. The first James Ward (or "Old James" as he was known) was born in Belfast in 1720 and lived to the age of 97. His father had emigrated to Ireland from Devon in 1688.

My grandfather ("James VI") was the first of my direct line to arrive in Zimbabwe on 24 October 1909, together with his wife Amy and my then-two year old father, James Ward ("the Seventh"). They had sailed from Liverpool to Beira and then by wagon overland to Melsetter (now Chimanimani) via Mutare.

My grandfather's sister, Mary Ward, (formerly a teacher at the Girls' High School in Pretoria) had earlier arrived in the Melsetter district, following the first Moodie Trek of 1893, to take up a post as a teacher. There she met and married William Rose (the local doctor), the marriage ceremony being performed at the home of the Resident Magistrate, Mr Longden.

Mary spoke highly of the area in her letters to her brothers James and Arthur.

New Year's Gift, Agust 1912. (Kraal and shed for livestock)

My grandfather James had been a sapper in the Royal Engineers (specialising in surveying) and had served in the British Army in South Africa during the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902. His father had bought him out of the army and he was looking for a new life. His brother Arthur Ward was a tea-planter in Assam in India. James VI decided to visit Mary and look at the new country himself. He liked what he saw and decided to settle, inviting his brother Arthur to join him in partnership. With a loan from an aunt in England the farm "New Year's Gift" (including Buffelsdrift) was acquired in 1910 for £486 (which equates in 2014 to approximately £42 000). (This aunt enjoyed a comfortable income from the profits of Tanganda until her death in 1962).

The property straddled the route taken by the Tom Moodie Trek, which had crossed the Tanganda river on New Year's Day of 1893. To commemorate the crossing the area was called New Year's Drift. When the farm was demarcated an error by the surveyor saw the word "Drift" appear as "Gift" on the title deeds.

Tanganda Towers. From the left James "the fifth", Ward the artist, James VI, James 7 (seated) Sheba (kneeling), others unknown.

My great-uncle Arthur Ward arrived from Assam in 1910 and development of New Year's Gift began in 1911, initially modest cattle ranching and some crops, including maize, wheat and barley.

The first reported tea bushes planted in the country were those cultivated by the American Mission Board at Mt Selinda in 1900. It is recorded that a few ounces

of made tea were exhibited by the Board at the Umtali Agricultural Show in 1911. This venture was apparently abandoned and it was not until 1924 that tea was once again grown in Southern Rhodesia (by James VI and Arthur on New Year's Gift) with a view to possible commercial development.

Following the 1910 acquisition of the farm James and Arthur constructed a daub and wattle homestead (called "Tanganda Towers") on the east side of the Tanganda river. (The west side of the river was deemed more amenable to crop development). From the actual source of the Tanganda river, in the mountains overlooking the

From the left, infant James VII in hammock, James Ward (6th), Mary Ward and Arthur Ward.

farm, an irrigation furrow was constructed bringing water across the farm and then flowing into the Tanganda river. This furrow is still the main source of water for the upper farming area (and the source of water for the game "Pooh-Sticks" played by generations of children to this day). An orchard was planted and foundations laid for a permanent homestead.

Money was short and in 1914 Arthur returned to Assam to build up some capital for the venture. Upon the outbreak of war in that year James VI (a reservist) was recalled to his unit in South Africa. My grandmother Mary and my father and his sister Sheba (aged 7 and 4) were sent to live at the British Army barracks at Simonstown near Cape Town.

From 1914–19 New Year's Gift was left on a "care and maintenance" basis under the eye of an African foreman, but by and large was unavoidably neglected and fell into disrepair. James VI served mostly in Eritrea during the war. In 1919 he returned to revive the farming venture. In 1920 his father came to live on the farm. First priority was to build a permanent homestead on the foundations constructed before the war. Funds were not sufficient to cover the original, ambitious, foundations but a new house was erected and, with modifications, extensions and renovations, still stands today.

In those immediate post-war years the farming industry in Chipinge were depressed, with poor communications and remote markets and consequent marginal rewards from agricultural industry. My grandfather's experience in the war had left him shell-shocked, from which he never completely recovered, and he spent some years making furniture at New Year's Gift and at his sister's farm Lemoenkop (and some of that furniture is still in the possession of various members of the Ward and Rose families). He also spent time store-keeping, running the RMS depot and managing the Chipinga Hotel.

In 1924 Arthur Ward returned from Assam with a friend and fellow tea planter Grafton Phillips and his wife Florence. Arthur had suggested they retire in Rhodesia and might possibly join the New Year's Gift partnership. Florence ("Aunty Flo") made a preliminary exploratory trip in May 1924 and, although the area did not at first sight appear suitable for tea growing, with their background it was natural that it be tried experimentally, if only for sentiments sake. Flo smuggled a small box of tea seed out of India—then a prohibited export. In 1927 the farm, including livestock, was valued at £4 200 (according to the internet, about £194 000 in "today's money"). The enterprise became known as Ward and Phillips Limited.

James VI and Arthur constructed a homestead for the Phillips—today it is the Group Engineer's house. Shortly afterwards James VI sold his half share in the farm to Arthur and Grafton and left the partnership.

An experimental tea nursery was planted in 1924 with Aunty Flo's smuggled seeds. They germinated successfully and, in 1927–8, Grafton used this stock to plant more acres of tea bushes under flood irrigation from the Tanganda river furrow. Subsequent expansion stemmed from this field trial which had proved for the first time anywhere that tea could be grown satisfactorily under irrigation.

In 1928 the first leaves came off the bushes (mainly from an expanded nursery) and were made into tea in the Phillips homestead kitchen. Samples were sent to brokers in London and Calcutta. Favourable reports resulted in the formation of the Rhodesia Tea Company to which Messrs McLeod, Russell and Company (tea agents of London) subscribed, through a principal Alec Watson (whose family, 90 years on, still holds shares in the successor company Tanganda Limited).

The consequent £12 000 injection of capital enabled the founders to broaden their horizons. 480 pounds of seed were ordered from Assam. This delivery and subsequent imports proved initially disappointing but, by 1932, the estate was able to rely on its own production from the original nursery planted in 1924. 1924 may therefore be appropriately described as the founding year of the Tanganda tea company and its successors.

The new company, Ward & Phillips, Limited was registered in 1930 with Flo, Grafton and Arthur, as well as neighbouring farmer Noel Reid, as its founding

directors. Reid's farm Ratelshoek was acquired by the company. Coffee was grown on Ratelshoek but, after some years of marketing ground coffee, the crop was abandoned and replaced with tea.

My grandfather died aged 50 on 8 November 1932.

In 1934 the Rhodesia Tea Company Limited merged with Ward & Phillips Limited, changing its name to Rhodesia Tea Estates Limited in 1935.

Production had continued to rise. The first commercial crop was of 1400 pounds weight in 1930, rising to 4 000 pounds in 1931 and 10 000 pounds in 1932. The company had decided to blend the local tea with tea imported from Ceylon and pack and market it from New Year's Gift, a unique venture for tea planters.

In 1933, however, pure unblended local tea, under the brand name "Tanganda" appeared in Rhodesian retail shops (and remained there in steadily increasing quantities).

Planting acreage increased (initially restricted to 1000 acres at the request of the Southern Rhodesia Ministry of Finance & Commerce as a condition of entry to the International Tea Control Committee).

1930 saw the opening of the first company school (for adults) in order to secure labour. Primary schools (to Standard 3) followed in 1935 on New Year's Gift and Ratelshoek (with boarding facilities).

Housing and recreation facilities improved to a high standard over the years. The labour force was nearly 1 300 by 1950.

Improved manufacturing and packing facilities were developed. The first factory had been constructed in 1932. The 6 horse-power electric plant of 1925, (acquired from a defunct tea estate in Natal and bearing an 1890 nameplate), was supplemented in 1932 with a 22 horse-power machine. During breakdowns the factory was known to be powered with a flat belt from the rear wheel of an Austin 7. (It was not until 1950 that fundamental changes were made in tea-processing, and the 1890 machinery at New Year's Gift was in service until 1965).

My great-uncle Dr. Rose was retained by the company as visiting physician and surgeon until 1948.

Yields of the 10 000 pound crop in 1932 were estimated at 400–600 pounds per acre. By 1941–42 the yield was 400 000 pounds at 1 000 pounds per acre.

Exports to South Africa commenced in 1936 and in that year company tea exhibited at the Rand Easter Show won a Gold Medal.

The very first dividend was declared in 1938.

Sales discontinued during World War 2 to conserve local supplies. They rose to 250 000 pounds by 1951 but, for various reasons, exports to South Africa were again discontinued between 1951-66.

Sporadic exports were made to the United Kingdom until 1929 (in which year 60 000 pounds were shipped).

In 1940 the company offered 50% of its shares to the Mazawattee Tea Company (of South Africa) but the latter declined the offer.

In 1941 tea retailed in Rhodesia at 2/6d a pound. A highlight of 1941 was the purchase of a second-hand Ford lorry. In 1949 tea retailed to the Rhodesian public at 2/10d a pound, compared to Five Roses at 5/3d a pound.

In 1943 the Thomas Meikle Trust and Investment Company acquired a controlling interest in Tanganda and opened Meikles Store in Chipinge the following year. In 1943 further properties were acquired and further considerable expansion was made in many respects over the years, but that is "another story".

Arthur Ward died on 8th May 1947. He left a widow Lucie (nee Haynes), but no children.

Grafton Phillips died on 18th May 1951, aged 81, at Adams Ridge, Melsetter. He had served as Chairman or Director since 1928. Florence passed away in 1956. Both are buried on New Year's Gift.

Grafton's salary and commission in 1947 was £1 650 (about £47,500 today). (In that year Rhodesia House in London reported that "Twinings of London were astonished at the quality of Tanganda tea, which they compared with Darjeeling teas and were prepared to take all the Tanganda tea Rhodesia produced").

Noel Reid died in Tenerife, aged over 100 years. He had left the company on the outbreak of World War Two in 1939 to join the Southern Rhodesia Army (in which he attained the rank of Lt. Colonel). To this day Ratelshoek is referred to locally as "*Kwa Reidy*".

My father James Ward CBE (James VII) had a long and very distinguished career (and he and I both chaired Tanganda) but he was never based at New Year's Gift farm (and nor was I). The first recorded date of my appearance at New Year's Gift was 1943, as an infant. (I remember it well).

Coal in the Zambezi Valley
A history of prospectors and prospects

by Peter Fey

Introduction

In Southern Africa coal occurs in the lower portion of the essentially sedimentary Karoo Supergroup, deposited between the Carboniferous and early Jurassic periods. In Zimbabwe this lithological assemblage, already correlated in 1908 with the eponymous strata of South Africa by the pioneer Geologist Molyneux (Fey, 1994a), covers some 15% of the country's surface (Stagman 1978, p.84) and was deposited in two main basins. These lie northwest and southeast of the country's principal watershed and contain several subsidiary basins. In the economically more significant north-western Zambezi Basin, coal was discovered in 1894 by A Giese (Lightfoot 1914, p.3) near what is now Hwange and has been exploited since 1904, when the railway line reached the developing mine. Not long afterwards there were lesser discoveries, documented by Broderick (1981) and Barber (1988), in the Zambezi Valley, a term here used in the geographical sense. Coal occurrences north of Lake Cabora Bassa in Moçambique are not considered in this text.

The history of coal prospecting in the Zambezi Valley is a brief but interesting one. This article seeks to focus attention on the prospectors who, working at the beginning of the last century in remote and unmapped terrain, very quickly located the few exposures of potentially prospective Lower Karoo strata, and actually found coal outcropping at two adjacent localities in the lower valley of the Angwa River. To date both occurrences remain essentially untested since it soon became apparent that they did not compare in quality and size with the Wankie deposits. Given their remote location and lack of infrastructure, exploitation remains highly speculative.

Neglected by explorationists for much of the 20th century, the Zambezi Valley became a hive of activity after 1980. Although coal was not targeted, there was, inter alia, a successful search for uranium by the German firm Saarberg Interplan Uran as well as an investigation into the hydrocarbon (oil and gas) potential carried out under a joint venture between the Zimbabwe Government and Mobil Oil Corporation. Much new data was gathered, leading to a better understanding of the valley's sedimentary fill (Broderick 1984, 1985, 1990) and to the beginning of regional mapping there by the Geological Survey. Commencing in 1988 and continuing until 1994, this organisation mounted campaigns focusing on the Precambrian Chewore Inliers (Both 1991, 1992; Fey, 1994b and in prep; Goscombe and Both, 1994; Goscombe et. al., 1994) as well as on immediately adjacent terrain blanketed by younger sediments (Zizhou and Lunga, 1994; Oesterlen, 1998).

Coal- prospects and later discoveries

Until 1980 only the two original coal discoveries, named Strange's (Kamota) and Carlaw's (Mashambanzou) prospects, were known from the Cabora Bassa sub-basin east of the Chewore Inliers (Figure 1). Since then regional mapping of the Dande West area (Oesterlen, op. cit.) has shown these, as well as two other nearby but lesser occurrences in the Maunde and Manyima river valleys to lie within small, in part fault-bounded, depositories of the (?) but locally developed Lower Karoo Mkanga Formation of Permian age. In all occurrences the coal seams are thin and of poor quality. Because of their low rank none hold any potential for coal-bed methane.

In addition, two other occurrences, both from the Upper Karoo, have been recorded on the south-eastern and northern flanks of the Chewore Inliers (Oesterlen, op.cit., p 69; Fey, in prep).

Strange's Coal Area (Kamota)

The first reference to this discovery is a short, hand-written letter dated 7 February 1912, from prospector Charles E Strange to Lord Winchester, Chairman of Directors, British South Africa Company (BSAC). In an appended, also hand-written and highly optimistic report which was accompanied by a map, Strange (1912) described his coal claim, which lay some 90 miles due north of the then railhead at Eldorado and approximately 140 miles from the latter along the Labour Bureau route via the Ayrshire Mine. He purported to have also discovered, inter alia, book mica, gold, iron and manganese ore, as well as diamondiferous wash, in the country traversed by this route. Furthermore, he was highly enthusiastic about a range of topics including the location of his coal claim as well as the climate and agricultural potential of the Zambezi Valley, where the natives were raising two crops per year. In particular he pointed out that a new railway line from Eldorado to his claims and across the Zambezi, which he thought should not be costly to bridge at Feira, would cut 653 miles off the existing route from Salisbury to Broken Hill via Bulawayo and Victoria Falls, leaving a mere 225 miles of new track to be laid between Eldorado and Broken Hill.

Strange's claim covered an area of 2550 hectares (6300 acres) and lay along the Mwanzamtanda River, some 25 kilometres south-southwest of Kanyemba. Much later Geologist Macgregor (1938), on his foot traverse from Kanyemba to Sipolilo, was to record the presence of coal shale as well as one piece of coal float in this river near Kamota Hill, immediately downstream of the former claims, on the latter coal in three subhorizontal seams of thickness 0.9, 1.5 and 2.4 metres outcrops at two locations along the river, some 3 kilometres apart. Subsequent mapping by Oesterlen (1998) has shown that the Kamota coal actually comprises up to 10 seams developed within the largest exposure of the Lower Karoo Mkanga Formation in the Dande West region. In his report Strange stated that the coal did not light easily but, once alight, burned with a yellow flame, produced great heat but little smoke, leaving a residue of approximately 25% ash. Based on his maritime experience he opined that the material in all three seams was likely to make a good steaming as well as coking coal and quoted a resource for one block of 20 claims (127.6 hectares) of 65.25 million tonnes (Barber, 1988). He also noted

the widespread occurrence of petrified wood in the vicinity.

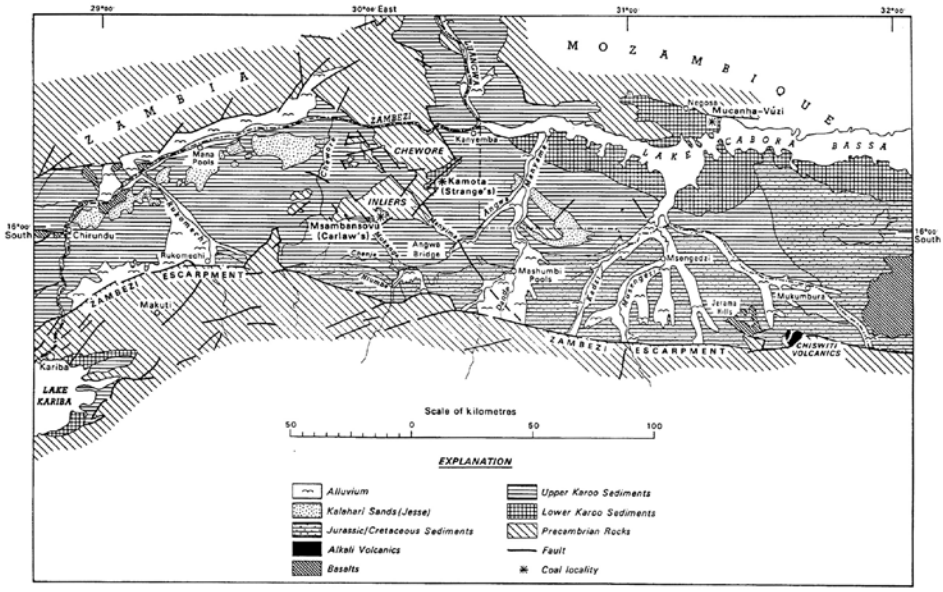


Figure 1: The regional geology and topography of the Northern Coal Area, Zimbabwe (from Barber, 1988)

In the second half of June 1912 Strange appears to have had a meeting with BSAC's Mines Development Company Limited General Manager, P. J. Pickering at the company's Bulawayo office. An internal company memorandum dated 22 June 1912 mentions that Strange's coal area had in November 1911 been visited by a Gold Fields engineer who, after a 35-day round trip from Salisbury, had brought back samples which "did not lead to any business and…carried…a rather high percentage of ash". The company believed that exploration of the coal would entail either diamond drilling or shaft sinking and declined to undertake an independent visit to the claims unless it was advised of other prospective ground in the immediate vicinity.

With the coal reservation expiring at the beginning of October 1912 Strange, unable to develop the occurrence himself, requested the Mining Commissioner, Salisbury to advise Pickering. The latter replied on 24th October 1912, stating that the inaccessibility of the area precluded the BSAC's Mines Development Co from pursuing the matter. There are no records of further prospecting on the Kamota coal claims, nor of Strange's later life.

However, documents in the Geological Survey Technical Files provide some background on Strange. Presumably born in the United Kingdom he worked as an "improver" in the engineering department fitting shop of the firm Alex Stephens & Sons in Glasgow between March 1892 and April 1894. Thereafter he evidently trained as a ship's engineer and, as documented in subsequent testimonials from

places as far apart as Rotterdam, Nova Scotia and Calcutta, sailed the seas until at least October 1901, on 19th March 1900 gaining the Certificate of Competency as First Class Engineer in the Merchant Service. He is everywhere recorded as being honest, competent, industrious, attentive to his duties and at all times strictly sober.

Strange next appeared in Southern Rhodesia. There he worked as a fitter on various mines from the end of 1904, was retrenched at least twice and left his last employer, Battlesfield [sic] (Rhodesia) Limited early in June 1907 "for the purpose of further qualifying in mining work". For this he returned to England, enrolled in the Manchester Municipal School of Technology as a day student and, apparently until early in 1909, took courses in physics, electrical engineering, electric wiring and fitting. According to a testimonial dated 10th May 1909 from E. L. Rhead, Head of the Metallurgical Department, Strange completed two sessions in that department, where course work included, besides metallurgy, chemistry, mineralogy, Geology and surveying. In addition Strange "especially devoted himself to the assaying of Gold and Silver, and the detection of the rarer metals. He has also paid special attention to the cyaniding of gold-tailings, and the Chemical work pertaining thereto". He was stated to be a careful and accurate worker, and Rhead was "highly pleased" with his work.

Thereafter Strange returned to Southern Rhodesia. The last testimonial on file notes that from 9th October 1909 he worked as a fitter for mining companies Battlesfield (sic) (Rhodesia) Limited, the Mashonaland Agency and the Eldorado Banket Gold Mining Company. Between 4th February and 31st May 1911, when operations were temporarily suspended, he was in charge of pumping arrangements at the Ayrshire Mine. It is not clear if he was then retrenched or left voluntarily. However, the testimonial noted that he intended to go on a prospecting trip "northwards" and is presumed to have pegged his coal block shortly thereafter. In his report to the BSAC (Strange, 1912) he mentions working there "with pick and shovel" on the hottest days between June and December of that year without ill effect. In view of this activity it seems reasonable to question why more exposures of the three coal seams were not created at this time in order to better evaluate the occurrence.

Carlaw's Coal Area (Msambansovu, more properly Mashambanzou)

A. V. Carlaw, of the Gondia Mine west of Sinoia, and his partner J. Morris had pegged a 2913.7 hectare reservation over coal occurrences along the Mkanga and Kabvura rivers near their confluence, approximately 30 kilometres southwest of Strange's coal area (Barber, 1988). Early in 1914 the pair offered the Mines Development Company Limited, subsidiary of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), an option over the coal and also reported the discovery of oil. A site visit was proposed (Ackermann, 1914a) and it was agreed that Carlaw should arrange for carriers at the company's expense and was to receive £20 for his time. Should the option be taken up he would become entitled to a 10% free carried interest.

The plan was put in place and in due course the party, consisting of the BSAC's Acting General Manager, Filley, as well as the Resident Mining Engineer A H Ackermann and his wife, were met by Carlaw on 30th April 1914 at the Eldorado

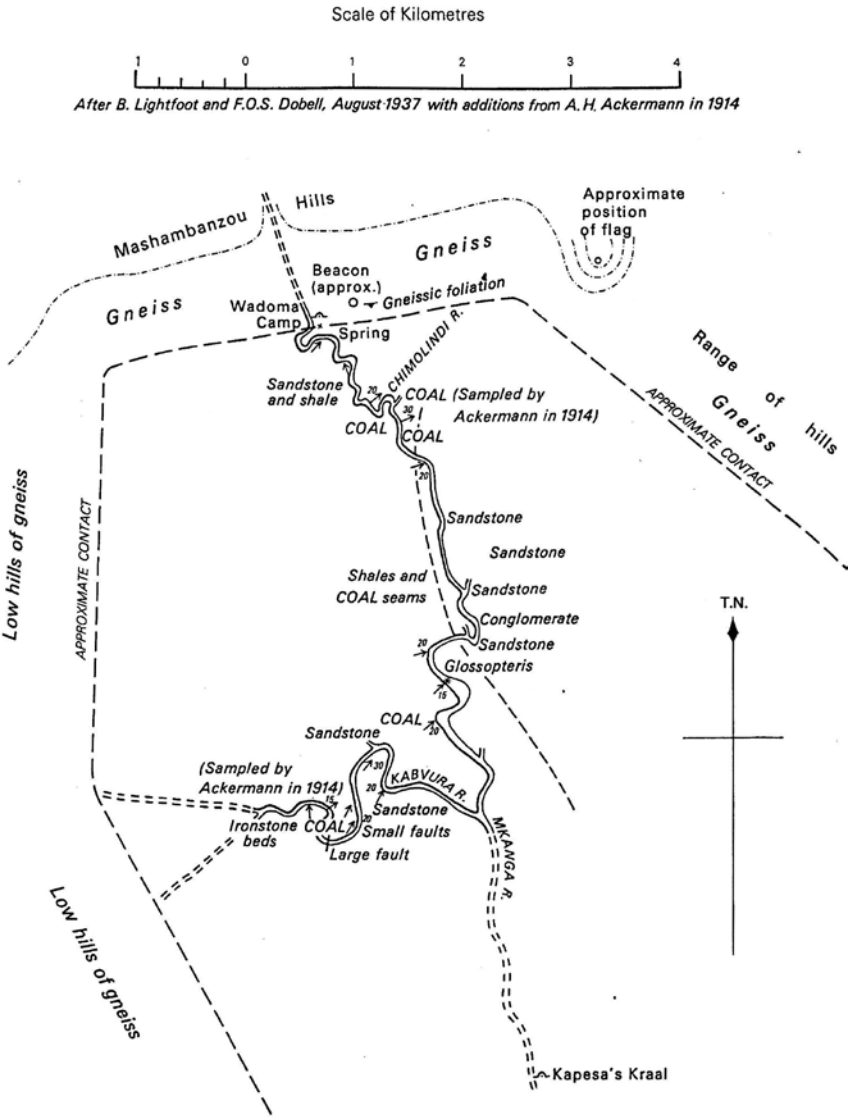


Figure 2: Sketch map of coal areas on Mkanga and Kabvura rivers, Urungwe District (after Lightfoot, Dobell and Ackermann)

railhead. From there the group travelled by cart to a large kraal near the mountain Tchetchenini, 25 kilometres northwest of Doma. Here they met the carriers and completed the journey through the fly belt to the coal reservation on donkeys. Beyond Tchetchenini the path was little used and water scarce. The Zambezi Escarpment was stated by Filley to be "extremely precipitous", and the Angwa Valley, reached at Chisunga's kraal, "extremely fertile" with crops of mealies and native corn 15 to 20 feet high. Both Ackermann (1914b) and Filley reported on their trip as well as on the coal.

Carlaw's prospect lies at the eastern extremity of the gneissic Mpambadziwa Ridge and the coal, present as up to 20 flatly northeast-dipping seams ranging in thickness from 0.2 to 0.6 metres, with a maximum of 1 metre (Oesterlen 1998, p 69), is exposed chiefly along the steep banks of the Mkanga and Kabvura rivers a short distance above their confluence. The two principal occurrences lie some 2.4 kilometres apart and development work, restricted to the Mkanga River exposures, comprised a few pits, dug to water level at 3 metres. Two composite samples of coal, collected by Ackermann and Filley from each of the rivers, were on analysis shown to contain less fixed carbon but a considerably greater amount of ash than a representative sample from Wankie, whilst the report of oil was found to be based on hearsay, the occurrence actually lying in Portuguese territory north of the Zambezi River.

Having considered the difficult access to these remote claims, the limited thickness of the coal seams and their low grade, as well as the work required to properly evaluate the exposures the BSAC decided not to pursue the matter.

However, in 1937 the Minister of Mines instructed Ben Lightfoot, then Director of the Geological Survey, to re-examine the occurrence. Lightfoot, a Yorkshireman familiar with the British coalfields, had late in 1911 reconnoitred the Lower Sabi coal occurrences, subsequently (Lightfoot 1914, 1929) mapping the Wankie coal deposits. On 28 July 1937, accompanied by a recent recruit to the Geological Survey, Frederic Osborne Storey Dobell, Lightfoot drove from Salisbury to Mulimbika's kraal, situated on the highveld some 60 kilometres beyond Miami in the area now known as Chundu, northeast of the mountain Manyangau. At the kraal the Geologists met carriers engaged by the Assistant Native Commissioner, Miami and the following day the party began what was to be a foot journey estimated

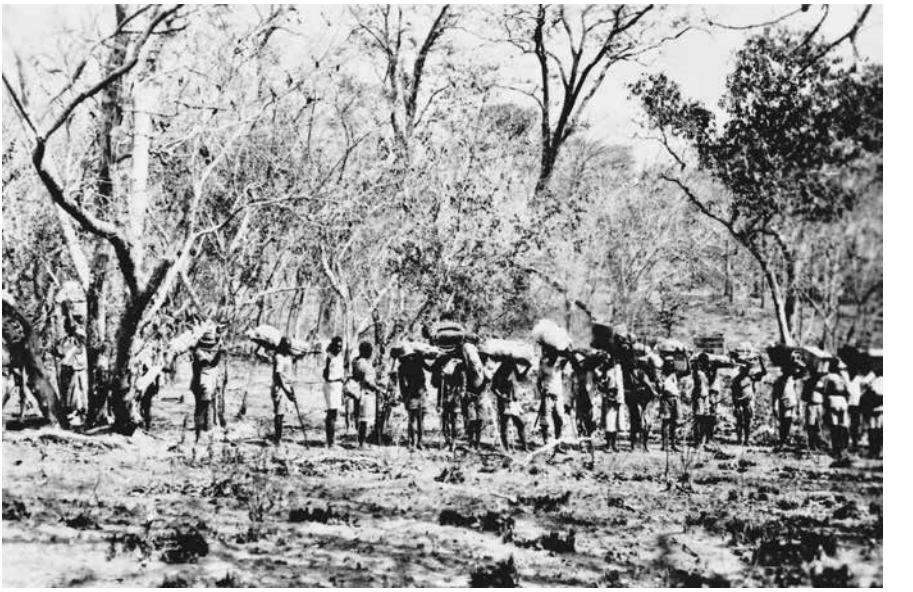


Plate I: Carriers on Lightfoot and Dobell's coal reconnaissance in the Zambezi Valley, 1937

by Lightfoot (1937) to have been at least 200 kilometres in total length along native paths. Initially closely following the Chewore River on its descent of the Zambezi Escarpment the men continued as far as Mashapure's kraal before striking eastwards to reach the Mkanga River on the morning of Sunday, 1st August.

The Geologists spent two days mapping the sinuous course of this south-flowing river and its tributary, the Kabvura, by tape and compass (Figure 2). Narrow beds of coal were seen to occur within a sequence of conglomerate, sandstone, and blue, Glossopteris-bearing shales. Minor faulting was noted. All coal outcrops were examined and their burning qualities tested in open fires. One sample was collected from the Kabvura River and subsequently analysed by chemist E Golding at the Geological Survey offices. In view of its high ash content Lightfoot (op. cit.) rated the coal as of poor quality and, given its location, expressed doubts that the occurrence would ever be of commercial importance.

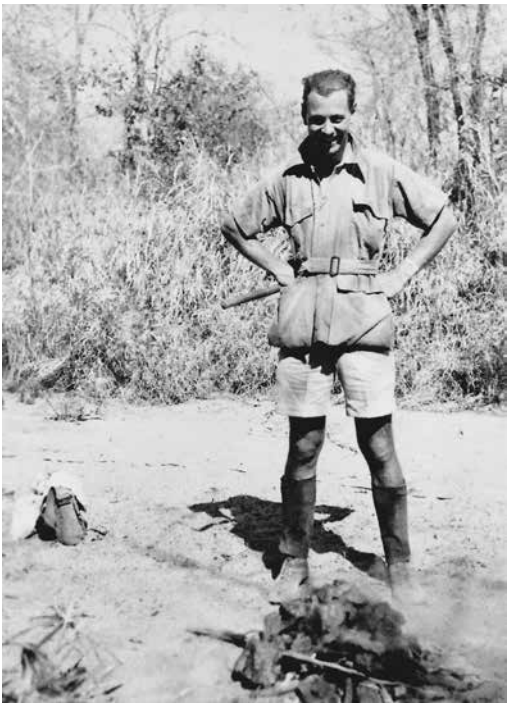


Plate II: Frederic Osborne Storey Dobell in front of coal fire in the Zambezi Valley, 1937

Commencing their return journey on 3rd August the Geologists traversed up the Uti River in which green sandstone and conglomerate, later (Fey, in prep.) to be assigned to the Lower Karoo Kondo Pools Formation, were observed (Dobell, 1939). The following day was devoted to climbing the most prominent landmark in the valley, the flat-topped mountain Chirambakadoma (1133 metres above sea level) where a tree was isolated for a future topographical survey. Thereafter the party rejoined the path taken on the outward journey and returned to Mulimbika's kraal.

Both men left individual records of their observations on the expedition. Lightfoot (1937) noted that the trip was "singularly unpleasant because of the heavy tsetse fly" and, as expected of the expedition's leader, dealt at some length with the coal occurrence, for which the plant remains found confirmed a Karoo age. He also mentioned coming across "the home of a family of nomadic natives named Wadoma", ostensibly the first such sighting by an official. In contrast the account by Dobell (op. cit.), evidently completed just before he left the Geological Survey in order to return to England, provides rather more information about the journey itself, as well as on the landmarks and Geology encountered along the way.

Other coal occurrences in the Zambezi Valley

Only two are known, both within strata assigned to the Upper Karoo.

Coal outcropping at the Manyima River bridge in the Lower Angwa Valley was discovered in 1980 by V Stocklmayer (pers.comm.), formerly of the Geological Survey and the site was revisited in 1984 by Broderick (1985). The coal seam, 1.5 metres thick, occurs in fine-grained cyclic sediments of the Angwa Sandstone Formation and is rich in remarkably well preserved plant fossils of Molteno (Triassic) age. Two, possibly related, coaly layers were intersected in a water bore drilled at Chisunga School, 4.5 kilometres to the east-southeast, while coal float was found 7.5 kilometres to the northwest. The seam is evidently extensive and may well be thicker than the 1.5 metres recorded from the only outcrop. However, three analyses indicate that coal rank and quality are poor (Oesterlen1998, p 70).

During subsequent mapping of the Chewore Inliers to the northwest (Fey, in prep.) a coaly layer 10 centimetres thick, occurring within schistose, micaceous sandstone, was found outcropping in the lower reaches of the Mwanja River, just above its confluence with the Zambezi. The seam occupies a similar stratigraphic position to the Dande West occurrence described above, but is regarded as being of rather lesser significance.

Acknowledgements

Figures 1 and 2 have been taken from Barber (1988) and Lightfoot (1937) respectively. The photographs are from the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

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Herbert Hayton Castens: Cricketing Lawyer

by Richard Wood

Herbert Hayton Castens
35 years old in 1898

When I discovered the hand-written record of the criminal trials that followed on the Mashona Rebellion of 1896/97 (the First Chimurenga) kept by the trial judge, Mr Justice J. P. F. Watermeyer, (see "The 1898 Criminal Sessions" in *Heritage* 6, 1986) I noticed that the Public Prosecutor in all these trials was H. H. Castens. The name meant nothing to me then and, after reading through the trial notes, I formed the impression, perhaps unfairly, that the judge had no great regard for his prosecutor. For example, lying between the pages of this book is a loose note in the judge's hand-writing which he would have passed on to his assessors. It reads "This is the witness who Mr. Castens said would take four minutes". The "four minutes" is heavily underlined, a sign of the judge's irritation at the length of Casten's examination of the witness. In another trial the judge makes a note of the defence counsel's submissions but in regard to Casten's arguments simply records that he addressed the court "at length".

Years later I was given an interesting book written by Heinrich Schulze called "South Africa's Cricketing Lawyers", published in 1999 by Interdoc Consultants (Pty) Ltd, and to my surprise H. H. Castens has pride of place as the first mini-biography in this book of thirty two lawyers who represented South Africa at cricket. Zimbabwean readers will be interested to know that the book also contains biographies of Sir Murray Bisset, who was Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia between 1927 and 1931 and had captained the South African cricket team in 1899, 1901 and 1910, and of John Traicos, an attorney with Winterton, Holmes and Hill between 1978 and 1990, who played three cricket tests for South Africa in 1970 and several more for Zimbabwe in 1992 and 1993, a test career that was interrupted for almost twenty three years. This interruption is a world record unlikely ever to be broken. (It is equally unlikely that another test cricketer will ever be born, as he was, in Zagerzig, Egypt). A person of great distinction is John Traicos, now resident in Australia. He was, however, not the first Greek to play cricket for Zimbabwe. Theo Passaportis, Trephon Deftereos and Nick Frangos all preceded him and there may have been others but, according to Heinrich Schulze, he was only the second spin bowler of Greek extraction, after the great Xenophon Balaskas, to have

played for South Africa.

Herbert Hayton Castens, commonly known as "Fatty" Castens, was born in Pearston, Eastern Cape in 1864. He was educated at Rugby and Brasenose College Oxford where he graduated with a BA in law and obtained his rugby Blue. He was called to the English Bar in 1889 then returned to South Africa where he practised for several years, either as an attorney or an advocate, in Cape Town. The fact that Heinrich Schulze has not been able to discover which would perhaps indicate that he did not shine as a lawyer in the Cape. He did, however, shine with some brilliance as a sportsman. He has the distinction of being the first, and only one of two men, to have captained South Africa at both cricket and rugby. He captained South Africa in the first rugby test that South Africa ever played. This was in 1891 against WE MacLagan's British touring team. South Africa lost that match 4–0. Castens was a front row forward in that team. He never played rugby for South Africa again.

Western Province XVIII against WW Read's English touring team December 1891
Back row: G. Cripps, V. A. van der Bijl, V. van der Bijl, Lieut. Boyle, E. S. Steytler, G. P. Pemberton, C. H. Thomas (umpire)
Middle row: H. Calder, C. H. Mills, Captain Wright, W. H. Milton (captain), H. H. Castens, F. Hearne, C. S. Hickley, T. W. Routledge.
Front row: E. Allen, M. Bisset, Drummer Ellis, J. Middleton.

His cricket career was of longer duration. He played wicketkeeper for Western Province during the period 1890 to 1894 and captained the Western Province team in the first Currie Cup tournament played at Newlands in the 1893/4 season. At the end of that season he was appointed captain of the first South African cricket team to tour England and Ireland. The tour was blighted by poor weather but had its highlights. South Africa defeated the "MCC and Ground", a team captained by W. G. Grace, at Lords. Castens was not successful as a batsman averaging only 9.19 in 24 completed innings with a highest score of 58. This did not do justice to his usual excellent batting. In 1890/91 in a match against Eastern Province he made 165.

What made him come up to Rhodesia, which he did in April 1897? The answer to that question may be found in the substantial form of William Milton, the colony's Administrator. I have recently come across a team photograph of a Western Province cricket team of 18 players picked to play against W. W. Read's touring team of 1891. Milton captained that team and next to him, sitting in the middle of the front row with his pads on, is H. H. Castens. Interestingly, in the front, sitting below Milton, is a very young looking Murray Bisset, then aged 15. Also in the picture is one T. W. Routledge. Could there be a connection to one of the heroes of Mazoe?

William Milton had also excelled on the sports field. He was educated at Marlborough and was an English rugby international in 1874/75. He joined the Cape civil service and when Rhodes was Prime Minister of the Cape he was his Private Secretary. Cricket was his great love and he did much to foster the game in the Cape, captaining Western Province in the late 1880s and early 90's. Following the debacle of the Jameson Raid, Rhodes persuaded him to come up to Rhodesia to serve as Chief Secretary and Secretary for Native Affairs. He arrived in August 1896 and in November 1896 he became Administrator of the Colony, a position he held until his retirement in 1914, by which time he had become Sir William Milton. One of his first tasks in Rhodesia was to set up and establish a professional civil service which he recruited mainly from the Cape and Natal. He regarded sporting skills as a good barometer of a man's worth and it is interesting to note how many of those early civil servants were good at sport. I think of Sir Clarkson Tredgold, the father of Sir Robert Tredgold, who played rugby with Castens for Villagers, a leading club side in the Cape, Alfred Richards who shared with Castens the distinction of captaining South Africa at both cricket and rugby, W. S. (Sonny) Taberer who played cricket for the colony and ended up as a senior Native Commissioner, and who was the grandfather or great uncle of the late Tony Taberer (who himself scored a century playing for Rhodesian Country districts against New Zealand in 1961), H. S. Keigwin who played cricket and rugby for the colony, Freddie Brooks, that most talented all round sportsman who was the country's star batsman, tennis champion, best athlete, Mashonaland soccer captain and Rhodesian rugby captain all roughly at the same time, and Colin Duff and L. G. Robinson, both talented national cricketers. The list goes on, all encouraged to join the civil service by Milton. He did many good things for the young country, not least of which was to secure free title to the Salisbury Cricket Club (now Harare Sports Club) the cricket ground which still today hosts our national matches.

I am sure that Castens was invited by Milton to join the civil service. He came to the country four months after Milton became Administrator. Within a month he was appointed acting Public Prosecutor in the department headed by his old rugby comrade, Clarkson Tredgold. He prosecuted throughout the 1898 Criminal Sessions and in 1899 he became Chief Secretary to the Administrator, William Milton, a position he held until 1908. Thereafter he went to Bulawayo and at some unknown later date to England where he died in obscurity in 1929 and lies buried in an unmarked grave at Kew, London.

Jonty Winch in his book *Cricket's Rich Heritage* says that Castens was "a noted barrister in Rhodesia and ultimately a member of the Legislative Council" and Schulze indicates that "he was a member of the first Rhodesian Council". I wonder whether these statements are correct. The first Legislative Council was established in or soon

after 1898 and consisted of the Administrator and 5 civil servants ("its most able and senior officials") and four unofficial elected members. I cannot trace a record of their names among my books and being out of the country I do not have easy access to the National Archives but I doubt that Castens would have been a full member of this Council. He was, in effect, Milton's Private Secretary and may have attended meetings of the Council as taker of the minutes or in some other clerical capacity. He certainly was never "a noted barrister" whatever that phrase implies.

In a letter to the *Cape Times* written by Sir Clarkson Tredgold after Castens' death he is described as "a curious but lovable character" and tribute is paid to his sporting achievements but nothing is said about his legal or political career. In fact, as Schulze describes it, he seems to have struggled to keep afloat for most of his later life. He left Oxford owing money to his college for his board and lodgings. He applied to have his BA degree converted to an MA but this required him to make certain payments, which he started to make but then requested a refund so that he could meet certain financial obligations. The refund was made and Castens never obtained his MA degree. When he captained the South African cricket side in their tour of England "the tour was apparently unhappy, with Castens unable to handle the British journalists and not making many friends. The tour received scant newspaper coverage as a result of some 'undiplomatic' behaviour by Castens towards certain members of the London press on the team's arrival in Plymouth" (Schulze).

All in all, it does seem that Sir William Milton, who made many good decisions in the administration of our fledgling country, did not choose wisely in the case of poor Castens and the suggestion by W. D. Gale in his book *Heritage of Rhodes* that "the prospect of promotion in the Civil Service might be affected by one's batting average" does appear to have had some validity. G. H. Tanser makes the same point in his book *A Scantling of Time* and Lord Blake, at page 152 of his *History of Rhodesia*, echoes this with "A criticism levelled at his (Milton's) appointees was that cricket, to which he was devoted, often seemed their principal qualification. However they appear to have been none the worse for that".

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"The Place of Suffering": Bulawayo's Early Days

by Paul Hubbard

The name Bulawayo was deliberately mistranslated as "the place of slaughter" by missionaries eager to see the destruction of the Matabele State. The name actually translates as "the place of suffering" or even "place of persecution". Lobengula renamed his royal town at the time of his coronation, from Gibixhegu (take away the old men) to Bulawayo, in rebuke to those who had violently opposed his ascension to the throne. Bulawayo has a history punctuated by war, epidemics, shutdowns, strikes, violence, economic stagnation and loss of faith in its future, which has often been followed by a period of recovery and growth. The object of this anecdotal article is to share the story of the city's founding and early years. My aim is not to be fully comprehensive but rather to tease out threads that have resonance today. These were uncertain, often fearful, years that tried men's souls and I feel much of the current pessimism and toil is nothing new or even unanticipated. Bulawayo has seen worse and will recover.

Cecil Rhodes had already seen the fulfilment of one of his life's ambitions when the British flag was raised on 12 September 1890 over a collection of tents in a dusty corner of Africa, thus forever securing the road north. The settlers in Salisbury, (as that settlement became known), grew rapidly in number yet felt threatened by their southern neighbours. The Matabele kingdom was marking 30 years of tumultuous existence and remained the single biggest threat to Rhodes' dream of an Africa united under the British flag. The Matabele had to be "squared", by fair means or foul.

The Anglo-Matabele War began in 1893 for a variety of reasons, not least the intransigence of the opposing sides. The royal town of Bulawayo, incorrectly labelled the capital city by the BSA Company and popular press, was the prime objective. The initial clash on 25 October was the first ever field test of the Maxim machine-gun and it wrought fearful havoc on the fearless Matabele warriors. The Battle of Shangani (Bonko) was followed by the even more decisive Battle of Bembesi on 1 November 1893, which broke Lobengula's spirit and caused the destruction of the second Zimbabwean city, named Bulawayo. Hearing of the defeat of his forces, Lobengula fled Bulawayo so suddenly that he had to send Sivalo Mahlangu back to the town, saying "I can't leave my home like that. Go and burn it down". Sivalo and the Inyati *ibutho* complied on 3 November. Traders James Fairbairn and W. F. Usher, still at Bulawayo, reported seeing flames rise up from the centre of the town and then the explosion of so much ammunition that it sounded like a battle. They later estimated over 80 000 rounds must have gone off.

While Bulawayo burned, the advancing soldiers were lamenting the loss of the loot promised them as their due as conquerors. Frederick Burnham records with sorrow that the fire *"had burned up an immense amount of ivory and treasure, along with valuable hides, horns and skins that [Lobengula] had accumulated in his storehouses. We made a great effort to put out this fire, but it was impossible to do so, and we saved very little of what must have been one of the most extraordinary collections ever made."* Of course the idea of Lobengula's treasure was an additional spur to send a column in pursuit of the king, with disastrous results for Patrick Forbes and Allan Wilson and their men.

Leander Starr Jameson, having met Rhodes on 4 December and listened to his plans for the new city, was as ever impatient and eager to see work begin on the newest outpost of civilisation in Africa. It must be accounted one of Bulawayo's greatest strokes of luck that Patrick Fletcher, an old hand from the 1890 Column and a railway surveyor, was appointed to the job, in very trying circumstances. Jameson's interview with him has been reported widely: *"You are the man I've been looking for days and days for I hear you are a surveyor and whatever you may be yourself, you come from good stock. I want you to survey a township under my direction"*.

Fletcher got on with the job and surveying began on January 15, 1894 and took several months. Hampered by a lack of tools and other equipment, Fletcher "made a plan" and created surveyor's chains from barbed wire, pegs from wooden poles and assegais, and used paper salvaged from military biscuit tins to draw his plans and make notes. He initially created a grid comprising 13 blocks north to south and seven blocks east to west; extra roads were later added to this pattern. Jameson wanted the blocks to be a quarter mile square, while Fletcher preferred a tenth of a mile. Jameson, always a headstrong man, was only convinced by a demonstration. Walking around a test block, and arriving back to Fletcher red-faced and thirsty, Jameson agreed that a tenth of a mile square was just fine. Exactly 732 stands were planned, although three were inexplicably omitted from the first plan of Bulawayo. The first sale of stands took place in early March 1894 and on 8 June, the last inhabitants of "Grass Town" moved to their stands. The former was immolated.

Jameson declared the town open in what must be the most informal civic event ever. Standing outside the half-built Maxim Hotel, with a temporary bar opened by Tottie Hay inside, he climbed onto a crate and said: *"It is my job to declare this town open gentlemen; I don't think we want any talk about it. I make the declaration now. There is plenty of whiskey and soda inside so come in."* Development of the town proceeded apace and Rhodes continuously expressed his astonishment at how quickly buildings appeared and businesses opened. The spelling of Bulawayo was announced as the standard by the Bulawayo Chronicle on 4 March 1896 and Bulawayo was declared a municipality on 27 October 1897.

The years before the uprising in 1896 saw many institutions created that are still with us today. Bulawayo Athletic Club was founded in July 1894 with 100 members. It held its first sports meeting on November 5, a hot day which "necessitated frequent walks to the refreshment department". The *Bulawayo Chronicle* first appeared on Friday 12 October 1894 with four pages of eight

columns each. It then appeared only on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Queens Sports Club was founded in October 1894, and the Chamber of Commerce met for the first time on 1 November 1894. The Turf Club first met on 8 November with a £150 prize on offer. Bulawayo's Caledonian Society was created on 16 November which included Jameson as its first Chief. The Rhodesia Chamber of Mines was formed on 7 June 1895 reflecting the confidence in the idea of a "New Rand" around Bulawayo. The first rugby match took place on 20 July 1895 and Queens defeated the Matabeleland Mounted Police by 9 points to 3. The first Jewish wedding took place on 4 December 1895 between Aaron Jacobs and Miss Rose Franks.

Water, or rather the lack thereof, is a consistent theme in Bulawayo's history. Rhodes chose the site of Bulawayo deliberately, hoping to emphasise the conquest of the Matabele State and thus inherited all the disadvantages of the dry environment and unpredictable rains. Transport rider and author Stanley Portal Hyatt gives one of the most brutal descriptions of Bulawayo highlighting many of the advantages but still more disadvantages to its location:

> "Bulawayo was... typical of the results of the system of government by company. Men of the type who built up our Empire, the real Empire makers, adventurers risking their own lives, and not merely the lives of the employees and the money of shareholders, would never have dreamed of founding a township on that forsaken stretch of veld, in an out of the way corner of the country, with the Kalahari Desert to the West, the dry bush veld to the South, the dreariness of the high veld to the north. A private individual who had thought of placing the principal town of a new colony in such a location would, rightly, have been considered a lunatic".

Beyond being theoretically able to turn a full span of oxen in the broad streets, Hyatt felt Bulawayo *"had no merits whatsoever. When the ground is dry, the red dust is abominable, choking everything; whilst a single shower of rain changes that dust into slimy red mud."* I find it remarkable how many pictures of early Bulawayo show buildings with water tanks attached to serviceable gutters, catching overflow from shiny, clean roofs. Water harvesting, as currently advocated by the city council, is nothing new and was de rigueur in the city from its earliest days. Reliable piped water took several years to develop, no thanks to the Bulawayo Waterworks Company which could not live up to its monopoly as sole water provider to Bulawayo. Most people had to rely on wells or collect rain water.

Writing in 1897 the explorer, H. M. Stanley, commented that *"The great defect of Bulawayo is the smallness of the water supply and the badness of it. At present the inhabitants depend on wells, and water is easily obtainable at 30 and 40 ft. but the water is of a hard and indifferent quality... Daily it becomes apparent to me that the inhabitants of Bulawayo should lose no time in studying the art of water conservation. In a country just within the tropics, an abundant supply of water is essential, and thirty gallons per head per day would not be excessive. Ten thousand inhabitants should be able to command 300,000 gallons daily... if I were a citizen of Bulawayo my anxiety would be mainly on the subject of water."* Presaging the

Zambezi water project, Stanley would later write that *"the water question is not at all an insoluble one, because... Bulawayo will have always the Zambesi tributaries to fall back upon, especially the Guay (Gwaai) River."*

Water had been a concern from the earliest days, even before Bulawayo was surveyed. Patrick Fletcher raised objections to the siting of the city, claiming the lack of open water was a real concern. Jameson burst out with "*We are not Dutchmen, we will get water by sinking wells and making dams... we can leave our successors to fight that out... get on with the job!"*

A regular supply of water was much debated upon during an important episode of Bulawayo's history: the investment of 1896. The *Umvukela* (Awakening) started on 26 March 1896 and spread like wildfire across Matabeleland. This is not the place to go into all the details about the war and its causes, but rather to explore the impact it had on this fledgling town. The city's population swelled mightily as refugees, black and white, poured in from the surrounding districts, each with their own tales of horrors witnessed and narrow escapes and hardships faced. At first, understandably, panic reigned as the authorities considered measures to deal with the situation. A Council of War was formed followed by the creation of the Rhodesia Horse Volunteers, soon reconstituted as the Bulawayo Field Force. After a great deal of uncertainty and confusion, including one wild night of panic, things began to get organised.

The citizens hunkered down and set about creating what Frederick Courtenay Selous labelled the strongest laager ever built in Southern Africa. The Market Hall was surrounded by two rows of waggons chained together and packed solidly with sandbags. Beyond were three separate barbed wire fences and a belt of broken glass 30 metres wide. Bundles of oil-soaked wood were placed at intervals in the streets to be ignited in case of a night attack. A Hotchkiss or other machine gun was placed at each corner of the laager. Some expressed doubts that there might be problems with the guns since one needed a new carriage after the previous one was found to have been completely devoured by white ants.

A frightening array of dynamite-based mines, that could be set off with either an electrical charge or if fired upon by marksmen, surrounded the laager. Some of these improvised charges contained over 130kg of explosive and, to add to the stress, it was rumoured that if these were ever used, they would immolate the laager as well as any unfortunate attackers. The signal for everyone to fall back to the laager was initially three rifle shots, later changed to the ringing of the bell at Market Hall. Various points were strengthened and reinforced as the weeks went by, one of the most photographed being the bullet-proof screen of iron piping placed in front of the Sanitary Board's meeting room which doubled as the town's magazine. Henderson relates: *"The man who owned the store [where he lived] was called Perkins and he sold gin, whisky, etc. He asked me to make a laager inside the store with the cases of liquor. This I did. Then I found him altering the laager when I got back. He explained that I had placed some of the cases broad-side to the line of fire, so that if a bullet came through it might break half-a-dozen bottles while the end of a bullet would break only one bottle. Whisky was then about 30/- a bottle"*.

A reliable water supply was not immediately available within the laager but the irrepressible Francis Issels supervised the digging of a well, which was soon supplying all the water needed. Later a windmill was erected and became a

landmark for many years afterwards.

Several other outposts around Bulawayo were also fortified, including Memorial Hospital, the gaol on Grey Street, the incomplete Bulawayo Club house, and the reservoirs. Bulawayo's position was desperate for quite a time, the authorities having to feed and protect 4 200 people with exposed and vulnerable supply lines. The rinderpest, one of the prime causes of the uprising, left innumerable rotting corpses of trek oxen along the roads and hampered any chance of getting food, arms, medicines and other necessities, to the population. Starvation and disease were feared although neither seems to have actually occurred. Strict rationing and sanitary measures were enforced and helped the citizens hold out until relief forces arrived from the south.

The BSA Company was forced to provide food for the townspeople (and let it be said, did so much against its wishes) and those who could afford it bought from the meagre supplies of tinned food brought up with the mail coach. Herbert Henderson noted that by early March whiskey was already 30/- a bottle. Henderson (1968: 47) claimed that *"food was very scarce in Bulawayo. I had some donkeys in milk, and I found I was most popular about afternoon tea time as my friends could get donkey's milk in their tea"*. (He also jokingly said that his donkeys lived on the optimistic fare of the Chronicle bulletins since they were never seen to eat anything else). On 8 May, the Commissary-General for the BSA Company reported that, in addition to full rations for 400 men for 10 days which were being kept in reserve for the provisioning of the Gwelo Patrol, there were only 90 bags of flour and 78 bags of meal and a small amount of "general groceries" in the Company's stores.

Accommodation within the laager was miserable. Many people lived in their own wagons and so many arrived that they soon formed a third row inside. Conditions were so bad that even in the earliest days of the war many people lived at their homes, only rushing to safety when they heard the alarm. With an experienced journalist's eye, Frank Sykes vividly describes a typical alarm scene: *"Men and women hurrying hither and thither on the general principle of sauve qui peut. Whimpering children dragged and carried. Anxious enquiries as to the cause of the alarm. Some of the more provident were seen to be laden with what articles of property, provisions and valuables they were able to carry, others caring for nothing so long as their immediate safety was assured. From all points of the compass the startled inhabitants, impelled by the dominant instinct of self-preservation, made for the common shelter in the centre of the town"*.

The *Sketch* dutifully reported on the various attempts to lighten the mood in town as various people took it upon themselves to organise cultural events. Thus we read of concerts given by Bandmaster Neal in Market Hall, Mr Pingstone's lantern-slide lecture and small theatrical productions. More of a diversion were the ways in which citizens tried to contribute to the defence of the town. The most famous of these was the silk hot-air balloon made by Francis Issels using all the silk petticoats the ladies of the town could provide. With real ingenuity, he made a furnace to provide enough hydrogen to fill the balloon but, as the report tells us, *'the materials obtainable were defective'* and it leaked faster than it could be resewn.

Bulawayo was not prepared to wait for help, however, and its soldiers and civilian fighters were determined to break the investment. A remarkable number of sorties and patrols were launched from Bulawayo in the months of March to April 1896, despite the lack of weapons, ammunition and reliable horses. The Matabele had not surrounded the town but were content to menace the citizens from afar and fight any soldiers that ventured forth from the town. Thanks to the harsh lessons of 1893, the Matabele were not going to repeat their mistake of attacking fortified laagers.

The patrols sent from Bulawayo were regularly attacked and casualties were consistent, but low. It was only on 25 April that the investment was considered broken with the gallant actions of Mickey MacFarlane and his men. Many hoped normal life could resume as imperial reinforcements were on their way and the "rebels" were retreating into the Matobo Hills. It would be several more months before this was actually true. Once Plumer arrived at the end of May, a more military air settled on the town. Ransford sums it up best when he relates that Bulawayo *"was no longer a beleaguered outpost whose fall would presage chaos spreading across southern Africa; instead Bulawayo had become a firm military base from which European control would be reimposed on Rhodesia."*

Sport and other activities restarted and one of Lord Grey's daughters wrote home with an air of surprise, noting that the town had a golf course, polo ground, a cricket ground, a football ground, a very good race track and a bicycle track. The cycle track was a real piece of work and Thompson, in his *History of Sport* in this country, noted that the track banked on the home corner only, with the result that riders often went over the top into Grey Street. Ladies of negotiable affection made a stunning public debut in sleepy Bulawayo, working for Wilson at the Empire Bar. This enterprise flourished for several weeks, with queues of 10 or more at a time outside their residence known as Virgin's Rust, until Colonel Baden-Powell made indignant protests that military secrets were being shared with the ladies and they were sent back to their usual haunts in the Golden City of Johannesburg.

The war progressed in fits and starts, only being ended in dramatic fashion with the *indabas*, for Rhodes "one of those moments that make life worth living". The white settlers wanted revenge for their losses and privations. The Bulawayo Sketch thundered on October 17, *"The iron hand must now be felt beneath its glove covering"*. There was a great deal of fury in the town at seeing many of the chiefs kitted out with their horses, and motley uniforms, and many settlers did not view the settlement as anything less than a personal betrayal of the country by Rhodes and the administration. It was only later, and with historical revision, that this series of meetings was seen as Rhodes' finest hour.

Bulawayo's future was assured with the end of the war and the return to normal commercial activities, although the shortage of women was a cause for concern. There were over 6 000 men in the town at this time and fewer than 100 women. According to Davis, the editor of the Bulawayo Sketch, the town started life as *"a hearty, devil-may-care, kicking, smoking, concerting Bulawayo" becoming a "stern, earnest, sobered Bulawayo with corpses in the veld," and, with the coming of peace, "the romance and fun was fast-disappearing and a steady, composed and keen look of business was taking its place"*. A sign of future ambitions were the small houses and buildings, which Davis plaintively noted, *"looked like matchboxes*

beside the wide roads".

Sharrad Gilbert was skeptical of Bulawayo's future at the turn of the century. *"Bulawayo is a town built on faith. It is a town of magnificent distances... There are miles of streets and sidewalks to be kept in repair, and one imagines it would be a great relief to the groaning ratepayers if the town were to be squeezed into a third of its present size. But perhaps Rhodesian ratepayers don't groan."* Gilbert visited the Park and was not impressed, despite the best efforts of the town's gardener. *"The park is much too large for present needs. Therefore only part of it is laid out—and well laid out—in shady walks, and beds of flowers and seats, and forms a most pleasant retreat for one weary of business and men and dust. The rest is wisely left to Dame Nature to clothe with... a carpet of wild flowers and trailing plants between... The Matsheumhlope is not a large river—one can easily jump it without having the limbs of an athlete, but the mouth of a music hall comic is absolutely necessary in order to pronounce it."*

Jameson's famous instruction to town planner Patrick Fletcher, in designing the layout of the town, to *"remember to leave room for the railway to come in"* came to fruition on 22 October 1897 when an engine puffed down an avenue of cheering men and pulled up at the improvised station building. Railway magnate George Pauling kept his promise to lay 400 miles of track in as many days at £3500 a mile, an amazing achievement. Flags and bunting were strung everywhere with one waggish inscription titled *"Two roads to progress—railroads and Cecil Rhodes"*. The *Bulawayo Chronicle* excitedly proclaimed the new railway marked *"the beginning of civilisation in its entirety"*. The decision to take the railway line past Hwange's coalfields and to cross the Zambezi at Victoria Falls changed Bulawayo's fortunes for the better. It converted Bulawayo into the most important railway junction in the country, a position it arguably enjoys today, although the actual contemporary importance of the railways is debatable.

The railways brought many amenities and improvements to Bulawayo and its architecture. Although touted as built on gold, it was commerce in its myriad forms that allowed Bulawayo to grow into Zimbabwe's largest, wealthiest town, a position it held until the advent of Federation in 1953. The railways allowed the import of essential equipment like stamp mills and cast iron frames for larger buildings as well as more frivolous luxuries for those who could afford them. Johan Colenbrander installed the first swimming pool in Zimbabwe at his house "Honeycomb", just opposite Queens Sports Club. More formal dress became the norm as businesses expanded, and we learn from one account that men had taken to wearing the stiff collars so inexplicably beloved of the Victorian era, although they were advised to *"go in for those white celluloid collars, which you simply wash over with a wet sponge"*.

Cultural life blossomed and many theatre productions were performed, the town band that kept up spirits during the 1896 siege expanding its repertoire and membership. The Bulawayo Musical and Dramatic Society came into being in 1901 followed soon by the Bulawayo Municipal Orchestra and later a music academy. The Museum opened in the library building and would grow into the largest and best in the country, a position it still enjoys. Schools, churches, societies and

sporting clubs flourished and a remarkable social life developed for those who chose to indulge.

"Skies". "Bula-fufu". *"Kontuthu ziyathunqa"* - the smoking city. "The City of Kings". Zimbabwe's second city is soaked with history and much of its current charming character was created in these early days. Amazingly, in 2013 Bulawayo has a population of just over 650,000 people, a third of Harare. It has somehow managed to combine the character of a city and a village, a town that embodies the qualities of Africa and the West. It is a proud, hardworking and independent town, filled with kindliness. Past glories inspire and provoke hope of better days to come although there is no real sense of waiting for handouts. By the existence of this modern city, we can suggest that the name Bulawayo has been transformed from its primeval meaning of "place of suffering" to the embodiment of its civic motto, *Si ye Pambili*, let us go forward together. Long may it remain all of this and more.

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Some Aspects of the Jury System in Zimbabwe (1898–1971)

by Fraser Edkins

- *Trial by jury in criminal cases in Zimbabwe was introduced in 1899.*
- *Trial by jury in civil cases has never been known in this country.*
- *Women have never been permitted to serve as jurors in Zimbabwe.*

The last (two) criminal trials before a jury in Zimbabwe were held in Harare in 1970. Trial by jury in criminal cases was abolished in 1971 following that recommendation by the Courts Inquiry Commission of 1971, ("the Commission").

Following the annexation of Mashonaland by the BSA Company Pioneer Column on 12 September 1890 a proper system of laws for the occupied territory became necessary. The British High Commissioner for South Africa proclaimed on 10 June 1891 that the law of the Cape Colony on that date would also be the law of the occupied territory backdated with effect from 12 September 1890. Accordingly, the Cape Colony laws were to apply as far as juries were concerned, but for most of the first decade of Occupation the institution of trial by jury was not in fact in use.

The early history of our jury system appears from the report of the Commission at pages 30–31: "In the context of pioneering conditions, a small and unstable population and the troubled conditions associated with the Matabele War of 1893 and the rebellions in 1896 and 1897, it would have been difficult to implement a system of trial by jury. Two cases which occurred in 1898, however, show that there was some desire among the inhabitants of the country for the introduction of trial by jury. In the first, one Staples, who had been convicted of theft by a judge and assessors, appealed to the Cape Supreme Court and then to the Privy Council on the grounds that, as a British subject, he was entitled as his birth-right under Magna Carta to be tried by a jury. In the other case, the plaintiffs in a civil action requested that the matter be tried by jury. In both cases it was held that trial by jury was not part of the law of Southern Rhodesia. It remained, however, the wish of the inhabitants of the country that a system of trial by jury be introduced. This wish was later attributed by the Attorney-General of the day to the general desire of the British people to carry their institutions with them wherever they went. With the increasing measure of social stability, the increase in population and the introduction of a representative system of government under the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 1898, the Administration felt able to respond to popular feeling on the subject and one of the first ordinances to be introduced into and passed by the Legislative Council, was the Juries Ordinance, No. 4 of 1899 (which provided for trial by jury in High Court criminal cases).

The Juries Ordinance, 1899 provided that all High Court criminal cases, whatever

the race of the accused, must be tried before a jury of nine good and lawful men. A unanimous verdict was required. If nine men were not available, the trial could proceed before not less than five. If even five were not available, the trial could proceed before the judge alone or the judge could call in up to four advisory assessors black or white. The Ordinance did not expressly limit juries to persons of European descent but the property and literacy qualifications (men only, between the ages of 21–60, registered on the Voters' Roll) were such as to make it unlikely that any African would qualify. No African was ever in fact summoned to serve as a juror".

In the absence of a jury the final judgment was reserved to the Judge, but he was expressly required to consult the Assessors and to record any dissent on their part.

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

Those exempt from jury service included High Court Judges, members of the Legislative Council, ministers of religion, newspaper editors and reporters, advocates, attorneys, law clerks and law agents, doctors, dentists, chemists and druggists, soldiers, policemen, civil servants, BSA Company employees, school masters, railway employees and sheriff's officers (largely those considered employed in essential occupations).

Jury service was liable to be performed in one's "Jury District", which was the nearest courthouse within 25 miles of one's residence, (or within forty miles if 54 men, the equivalent of six juries, could not be found within the lesser radius). Every year, by 31 December, the local police had to compile an updated alphabetical list of those liable to jury service, and deliver it to the local Magistrate, who was required to post it on the courthouse door (defacing it was an offence), and publish it in the Government Gazette.

Objections to jury service by any listed person were specially heard on a fixed day. (It was an offence to tell a lie in this regard).

Persons otherwise qualifying were exempt if deaf, blind or mentally or bodily infirm.

Jurors' names were publicly drawn from cards shaken in a box (thereafter setting aside those cards bearing names of people who had already served within the previous 12 months or within successive sessions, or who were closely related, or lived or worked together).

Jurors then had to receive at least ten days notice of the trial at which they would sit. (Up to 27 were summoned for each case).

The validity of verdicts was not automatically affected by reason of any disqualification on the part of a juror becoming known after the trial.

If, despite the aforegoing, nine jurors could not be found on the day of the trial (e.g. due to challenges by the accused or "no-shows" by jurors) the Sheriff could press-gang as a juror any qualified person found "within the precincts of the Court, or being at the time in the town or place" (in which the Court was being held). No-shows were liable to a fine.

Once sworn in, the jury was kept apart until they reached a verdict. The Court could swear in a fresh jury and recommence the trial if the jury appeared unable to reach a verdict.

Any attempt to corruptly influence a juror was a serious offence (as was the submission by a juror to that influence). The same applied to bribes taken by any policeman or court official to exempt a person from jury service.

The first amendments to the Juries Ordinance were made on 7 August 1908, the main change stipulating that one was now liable for jury service (subject to the same existing exemptions) if one was a male British subject of European descent, aged between 21–60 years, who had in the preceding 6 month period:

(a) owned or occupied immovable property worth at least £75 within his jury district; or

(b) was the registered owner of reef or alluvial claims within the jury district; or

(c) earned a salary in Zimbabwe of not less than £50 per annum.

Apart from anything else, this amendment, in a stroke, disqualified the (black) majority of the population from jury service (and see the article by Professor Ray Roberts in *Heritage 32* as to the respective white/non-white populations of Zimbabwe in the first decade of white settlement).

A further change required jurors to spend at least 2 hours conferring (unless they came to a unanimous verdict within 2 hours of deliberation).

As the Commission put it: "By 1908 experience with the working of the 1899 Ordinance had shown the need for some change in the law. Apart from the fact that jury service was burdensome in a small community, there had been a great deal of criticism (much of it rejected during the debates in the Legislative Council) of trial by jury in cases with a racial element, as a result of several scandalous verdicts. Thus, many in Rhodesia, South Africa and Britain were outraged at certain unjustified acquittals of Europeans charged with offences against Africans and some baseless convictions of Africans charged with offences against European women.

The amendments effected by the 1908 Ordinance were not, however, particularly directed to avoiding a repetition of such cases.

The main changes were these:-

(a) the qualifications for jurors were changed and the requirement of European descent introduced;

(b) the provision allowing a trial to proceed before a jury of less than nine was repealed;

(c) seven to two majority verdicts were allowed."

Subclause (c) was clearly intended, however, to limit the chances of perverse verdicts arising from one or two "hold-outs" preventing a unanimous verdict and thereby creating a "hung jury", but, as the Commission observed: "The new system was still not always equal to the difficult task of disposing justly of cases with a racial element. The situation was considered to be so unsatisfactory by the Imperial Government that the High Commissioner informed the Legislative Council that, unless it amended the law, he would do so himself under the powers to legislate by Proclamation. In 1911 there was a particularly unfortunate acquittal of a European charged with murdering an African. Moreover, professional opinion in the Native Department was unanimously in favour of the view that trial by jury was not suited to cases in which the accused was an African, because European jurors had little or no knowledge of African custom or way of life. Few of them spoke the vernacular and few had any conception of the working of the African mind. As a result, as a tribunal, the Rhodesian European common jury was quite unsuitable for trying African cases. While the view of the Native Department was not accepted, some change was clearly necessary in the system of trying cases with

a racial element. The result of much deliberation was the Special Juries Ordinance No. 13 of 1912.

The 1912 Ordinance provided that trial would be before a special jury of five men —"where the accused is charged with the crime of murder, culpable homicide, rape or robbery for an attempt to commit any of those crimes or any assault with any special intent and where such crime is committed by a European against a native or by a native against a European."

This law as to trial by Special Jury (later amended to apply only to European accused) remained in force until 1971.

A majority verdict of four sufficed for conviction. The Special Jury was to be appointed from "a special list" of persons designated by the Administrator from amongst the names on the ordinary district jury lists (and approved by the Legislative Council). The Administrator in 1912 was Sir William Milton.

The prosecutor and the accused person each had the right to challenge one of the jurors (without having to give a reason for such challenge). The Judge could "top-up" with up to four Assessors if five Special Jurors were not available. Having regard to the prominence of those duly chosen as Special Jurors, these amendments were made, of course, to reduce the risk of perverse judgments in serious cases by local jurors based on racial considerations. Regulations were made for allowances to be paid to jurors.

A list of eighty five Special Jurors appears, by way of example, in Government Notice 3/1913. For the Harare District, the list includes ex-Mayors Cleveland, Lawson and Lezard, engineering pioneer W. D. Craster and A. P. Dorward. The Bulawayo men included Thomas Meikle and W. H. Haddon. Mutare special jurors included Lionel Cripps and John Meikle. The decision as to the facts found proven in every serious case listed above therefore rested (as at 1913) in the hands of five (or a majority of four) of only 85 men countrywide (although questions of law were reserved to the Judge).

Over the years the number of jury districts were slowly reduced until virtually all jury trials were heard in the principal towns.

Jury boxes can still be seen today in the beautifully panelled "A" courts in the Bulawayo and Harare High Courts.

The Native Department was not satisfied and, as the Commission report puts it: "Between 1912 and 1927 support increased for the Native Department's view that trial by jury was unsuited to cases in which the accused was an African. In 1925 the Legislative Assembly adopted a motion calling for such cases to be tried by a judge and assessors. Although most speakers felt that juries had generally speaking performed their duties satisfactorily, stress was laid on the need for persons with knowledge and experience of the African mind and language to try Africans and on the inconvenience caused to the community by jury duty. In 1927 the Criminal Trials (High Court) Act, 1927, was passed as a result of the movement for change.

The position in Zimbabwe, when the Commission sat in 1971, dated from 1927. The Commission found it interesting to note that the Attorney-General in 1927 was in favour of abolishing the ordinary jury and having the special jury for all cases but was outvoted by his parliamentary colleagues in a free vote. He had said: "One appreciates quite well that any tribunal for the administration of justice must have the confidence of the people of the country...and if there is a genuine feeling that the common jury should remain, if the ordinary person in this country thinks there is any doubt about his getting a fair trial with the special jury...then the ordinary jury should remain..."

The Commission noted that the main effects of the 1927 Act were:

(a) to provide for all Africans to be tried by a Judge and two assessors;

(b)to allow a non-African (white) accused to elect to be tried by a judge and two assessors instead of by a judge and (ordinary or special) jury.

The main principles of the law as to trial by jury in 1971 were recorded by the Commission as follows: "An African accused may not be tried before a judge and jury (unless he has a non-African co-accused who does not agree to trial by a judge and assessors). The court established for the trial of African accused consists of at least one judge of the General Division and two assessors to be selected by the judge from persons who are or have been Secretaries for Internal Affairs, Deputy Secretaries for Internal Affairs, Provincial Commissioners, District Commissioners, Chief Native Commissioners, Assistant Chief Native Commissioners, Provincial Native Commissioners or Native Commissioners, each of whom has served not less than ten years in the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the Department of Internal Affairs or the Native Department, or in any two or more of them. In other words, the assessors must be persons who have knowledge and experience of the African mind, customs, way of life and language.

The assessors are members of the court with a full voice in deciding matters of fact, on which they may outvote the judge. Matters of law and admissibility of evidence are for the judge. The judge alone is responsible for sentence but may consult the assessors.

A non-African accused may elect to be tried by a judge and two assessors rather than face trial before a jury. Where such an election is made the two assessors are selected by the judge from persons who have in the opinion of such judge experience in the administration of justice or skill in any matter which may have to be considered at the trial.

The position of the assessors as members of the court is the same as that of the assessors in cases involving an African accused. In practice such assessors are selected from among the senior magistrates and the Bar.

If an accused who is not an African does not elect to be tried before a judge and assessors, his trial must proceed before a judge and jury. In certain cases the jury must be a special jury. Section 216 of the Act makes a special jury obligatory where;

(a) a European accused is charged with the crime of murder, culpable homicide, rape or robbery (or an attempt to commit any of those offences) or with assault with an special intent; and

(b) where such accused is alleged to have committed such crime against an African.

A special jury consists of five men chosen from a special list. A majority verdict is possible but at least four of the five jurors must concur in the verdict.

The idea behind the special jury was (and is) the selection of men of higher calibre for the trial of cases in which a common jury's objectivity might be suspect. Special juries are appointed from a special list prepared for each town in which the High Court may sit. They are persons specially designated by the President from the list of common jurors and each list must be approved by the House of Assembly.

If five special jurors cannot be raised, the trial may proceed before not less than three such: if not even three can be raised, the judge may hear the case alone but may call in not more than four advisory assessors. A trial before a special jury is limited to

European accused and is not available to Coloured and Asian accused.

Where an accused who is not an African does not elect to be tried by a judge and assessors and the provisions for trial by special jury do not apply, the trial proceeds before any one or more judges and a common jury.

The common jury consists of nine men of European descent between the ages of 21 and 60 years inclusive who are citizens of Rhodesia, can read and write and fulfil a property or means qualification which is by no means a high one.

Unanimity is not required—the verdict may be returned by concurrence of seven of the nine jurors. If nine jurors cannot be raised the trial may proceed before the judge alone but the judge may call in up to four advisory assessors. Such assessors (and the advisory assessors called in when a special jury cannot be raised) may be either African or of European descent; they must be consulted by the judge before he delivers his judgment; and he must record any dissent on their part from his judgment. (As has already been mentioned, this provision for advisory assessors is a relic of the system in use before trial by jury was introduced in 1899. It has never been used since 1899, as far as is known.)

Prior to 1908 there was no specific limitation of juries to persons of European descent only, but in practice no African was ever summoned for jury service, although at that time Africans too had to be tried before a jury. Even before 1908 few, if any, Africans would have qualified as jurors in view of the property and literacy qualifications. Thus, European women, Coloureds, Asiatics and Africans tried together with a non-African co-accused are all liable to be tried by a jury although they cannot serve on a jury.

Jury trials have not proved popular in Rhodesia in the last decade (the 1960's). In the majority of cases non-African accused have elected to be tried by a judge and assessors rather than by a judge and jury. (Statistics show) that, overall, jury trials are very rare occurrences indeed in Zimbabwe".

The Commission then went on to discuss a variety of published views as to the advantages and disadvantages of trial by jury: "A great deal has been written in many countries and in many languages about the advantages and disadvantages of trial by jury. The Commission has only been referred to a small portion of these writings. The Rhodesian and African articles and the South African parliamentary debates, on the other hand, illustrate the difficulties of applying the system in Africa and in a multi-racial community".

What was the main thrust of the "Rhodesian Articles" referred to by the Commission? There were opposing views. I have looked at two.

C. J. "Charlie" Allen, a Harare barrister, wrote an article in 1961 on the subject of "Juries and Lay Magistrates".

Allen thought the jury system could succeed and contemplated the idea of African lay Magistrates and "special juries" comprised of African members.

Allen described his article as "avowedly political, touching on the most difficult problem in the Federation (of Rhodesia and Nyasaland)—African advancement."

He wrote that, "After the final annexation of the Cape by the British in the 19th Century, Juries existed and were grafted onto the (Roman Dutch) High Court system (in the Cape Colony) but never took really firm root on the affections of the rulers of the people, or the people themselves. Juries were perhaps an institution least suited to the many talents and virtues (of the Cape Dutch) who showed a lack of capacity for agreed decision…though not for endless discussion."

He asked "if one of the basic requirements of the law was to maintain order and European control of a primitive mass, and if this same law, as it did from the first, held itself out as administering even-handed justice, how then in cases of violent crime could trust be put in the decision of a committee of the very people it sought to control"?

He went on: "It must be frankly admitted that the jury system has been responsible for some notable miscarriages of justice in the past in Southern Rhodesia. This has been particularly so in cases concerning two different races, and is directly responsible for the low esteem in which juries are now professionally held. There is also, as happened in at least one case, the tendency, after a very proper conviction for murder has been returned, to avoid the moral responsibility therefor by finding extenuating circumstances where none in fact exist. But this is not conclusive proof that the system is itself wrong, or that it cannot be relied upon to produce justice between man and man of differing backgrounds. It was recently possible to obtain a conviction by a European jury in Kenya of a European for murdering an African. The conviction was upheld by the Privy Council and the man was hanged in Nairobi. And this after a long period of native rebellion sponsored by a cult exclusively anti-European in its aims, and still in semi-active existence. (Writing in 1961, Allen was referring to the Mau-Mau).

Any law, to be effective, must have the support of the majority of the population. The support need be tacit only. It is not necessary, for the majority to have had any hand in the actual formulation of the law. It is possible to excite the antipathy of the populace against a certain law by pointing out that if they had had a major hand in affairs it would not have found its way on to the statute book. But experience has shown that parliamentary majorities do not often represent anyone but themselves, sometimes represent a large minority, and only occasionally an actual majority of the electorate. With notable exceptions, and taking the world in general, the leaders of the parliamentary majority parties are not men conspicuous for intellectual capacity, a decent personal humility, a respect for the feelings of a defeated minority, or an unassailable sense of natural justice in causes which touch their own or party interest, policy or prejudices. Such virtues as popular parliamentary leaders may once have possessed atrophy with increasing years of office. The sense of infallibility, of the acquisition of the attributes of God, sycophantic deference from subordinates, tactful silence by opponents under the alternative of ruthless destruction, in the end destroy the ordinary mortal afflicted with great power, on which his own lack of breeding and national traditions impose no customary restraint. Before his political demise, however, the commonalty suffers grievously and have no redress. The laws are passed, the "majority" (procured or engineered by some artifice or other, or by plain threats) sanctifies the oppression. Exaggerated respect for the machinery and edifice of the law perpetuates the existence of oppressive laws themselves. Officials officiate. Administrators administer. Judges judge, as like as not in their own cause, being appointed by the party in whose interest the law was passed and is now upheld. Stand on the Kopje in Salisbury and stretch your arm to any point of the compass. At a greater or less distance, south as well as north, there will be a man of the sort described. In the end, like Caesar, they all want their heads on the coins of their realms, and Christian hymn tunes are adapted and verses modified in proper adulation of the new god—for a little while.

Whatever the early virtues of authoritarian legal systems in a developing country,

they are tailor-made instruments of oppression for this stage of political development (1961). But if the Law is of the populace and entrenched in their most inner beliefs, prejudices and liberties, and largely administered by them, as in England, there rests the best safeguard of freedom under the Law.

It is of the utmost significance that of the hundreds of popular leaders, parties and quasi-religious in political guise which have swept the world, and are now in vogue in Africa, not a single one has advocated or succeeded in establishing a system of trial by jury and an extensive and efficient system of lay magistrates. Without exception it is power these new popular leaders want, and they intend to retain the old well-tried instruments of it. For this there is no better weapon than an established qualified official with a pension in view. Against this there is no more intractable an obstacle than a jury or lay bench of local dignitaries who resolutely and in the face of all the evidence refuse to convict because of the natural injustice of the law concerned. As a device for mercy and justice it was frequently employed by juries and actively connived at by judges before whom trials for theft took place when the old law existed in England in all its rigour. Juries found as a fact that stolen goods were worth less than a shilling, and a child or woman or hungry and desperate man was saved from hanging.

Further, where there is a political Attorney-General with long experience and practice at the Bar and knowledge of juries, his advice to a Cabinet that of course they can pass the proposed law, but that no jury would convict, is almost certainly conclusive in its rejection. If such arguments do not weigh with the Cabinet, they certainly will with individual Members of Parliament. Almost daily with the jury and lay magistrate system the laws they make are submitted to common administrative use and appraisal. Members of Parliament must therefore be careful to represent their constituency and not just themselves or their party. The possibility of having to answer awkward questions from a constituent who has had close and unfortunate experience of the effect of new legislation while serving on a jury is another salutary check on the Member. Further, Members are often active and experienced lay magistrates themselves, and having had to administer law, sometimes bad law, in actual practice, do not fall easily to legislative or party or party leaders' delusions of grandeur or infallibility, or their belief in the power of the law to coerce effectively on all occasions.

This may be summarised the virtues of juries and lay magistrates in the case of oppressive laws. Very often a desirable law is obstructed in operation by the prejudice of the community. Law is not a means of altering the morals, prejudices and manner of life of the whole population, or the majority, or a significant section of it. This is in itself the hardest lesson for genuine reformers, as well as every type of busybody and "do-gooder", to learn. Perhaps the most outstanding example is the failure of the liquor prohibition laws in the United States. Another is the universal failure of legislation throughout the centuries and in every country to even reduce prostitution in its many forms; a third the widespread evasion of the Immorality Act in South Africa, a fourth the fact that the Southern Rhodesian Native Pass Laws were virtually a dead letter before recent repeal.

Once it is accepted, as all experience teaches, that a majority of public opinion in favour must precede and not follow a law reform, this objection to juries falls away. Popular political parties, and popular reformers in their inexperience have ever been intolerant of or rejected this cardinal principle. But where popular opinion has not followed them within a reasonable time, they have in the end been forced to retract and amend the law, or it has fallen rapidly into disuse, or they have been ousted from power.

It remains to consider the value of juries in the administration of accepted, not controversial or recent, law. There was once a time when public service was considered to be a privilege for the exercise of which a man was expected to pay out of his own pocket. This of necessity confined such activities to the more well-to-do, established and stable members of the community. For centuries in an agricultural economy this was accepted as the natural order of things, and few would have questioned it. The rise of industrial activity and its early attendant working-class poverty and misery led in the end to the necessity of having Members of Parliament representative of the new subsistence-level classes. Pressure of work on the well-to-do, now no longer leisured if they wished to retain their status, and the social composition of many districts made it difficult to appoint suitable lay magistrates until the arrival, after nearly a century, of the working man, trade union subsidised and welfare state supported, as local MP and lay justice. In the interim the stipendiary magistrate became a necessity, but the general effect has been that public duties such as jury service, service as a lay magistrate, and the most ancient common-law obligation of all—military service—have come to be regarded by many ordinary men as onerous and unpleasant burdens to be avoided or curtailed by all means, and preferably to be undertaken by paid servants of the state. The connection of the subject with the administration of his law or his defence has become attenuated. Jury and lay magistrate service provides one of the last links between the common man of his day and the active administration of his government, as opposed to election to some council or legislative body where his responsibility and effectiveness is minimal. The rest of government is carried out by civil servants who in fact if not in name (and again of regrettable necessity) are too often civil masters.

The fatherly civility and courtesy, and the scrupulous fairness in the witness box of the average British policeman is in large part due to the knowledge that if his evidence is to be effective he must make both its presentation and his general attitude acceptable to twelve ordinary men. The juryman's sympathies and prejudices will be torn many ways. Most will earnestly strive to decide, in accordance with their oaths, according to the evidence. But if a question of credibility of a police witness arises, they will be swayed by what they know of the police reputation in general. The police know this and there is always a marked difference between the demeanour towards the public of British forces used to juries, and continental type police.

The last and most important advantage lies in the actual experience of the law afforded to twelve or nine men in each jury case. Each listens to all the evidence and has the law or part of it explained at least twice by Counsel, and the whole of it and its application by the Judge. All three are carefully and properly flattering to the jury and nurse its susceptibilities. The Judge may well make great play with the fact that the case is not being tried by him but before him. It is being tried by the jury. And if a conviction ensues it is a fairly safe assumption that it is an entirely proper one. Individual jurymen in their new found knowledge of the law, and conscious of a public duty well performed, are not slow to pass on their experience or knowledge, especially if the case was a cause célèbre. The law gains in popular esteem and support. This one case forms the average juryman's only actual serious contact with the law during a lifetime. But if he were asked to sit once in five years this would not be too high a price to pay for the long-term political advantages—in the widest sense—which such service brings.

The jury system is in practice slower, more expensive and (unless criminal prosecutions are really skillfully conducted) more unpredictably erratic, than trial by a judge and assessors. On any conception of ordinary logic it is difficult to defend as a legal instrument. Except for libel which is quasi criminal in nature it has been abandoned for most civil trials in England. But the practical and long term political advantages where the life or liberty of the subject is at stake are of inestimable and proven value, and in fact it works better than tidier or more logical systems. In the present stage of development of Southern Rhodesia, which is passing with great speed, despite all setbacks, from a pleasantly easy-going tobacco colony into a fully fledged member of the Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth in the forefront of the Cold War, these advantages can no longer be ignored.

It remains to find a formula whereby the educated and mature section of the community can enter into its undoubted heritage—participation and administration of its own law—without weakening the authoritarian and paternal nature of the control now exercised over the emerging, tribal populations.

In the last ten years (the 1950's) the European community in Southern Rhodesia has changed out of all recognition. It can now in all the larger centres and in most of the older settled rural areas, support a normal jury system and lay magistracy. There is no reason why benches of lay magistrates should not sit with the general jurisdiction of assistant magistrates and advised by the Clerk of the Court. With improved roads jury list areas can now be greatly widened. In general all European householders (with the normal statutory exceptions) employed in the country should be liable for jury service.

In general the jurisdiction of lay magistrates should not extend beyond that at present exercised by assistant magistrates. More serious cases must go to the High Court. The present enormous jurisdiction and powers of punishment of magistrates or special magistrates especially under certain statutes, sitting as sole judges of fact and assessors of punishment, is wholly indefensible except as a temporary and emergency administrative measure. The burden of reviewing magistrates' judgments placed as a matter of routine on judges of the High Court can be made the subject of most unfavourable comment, by inference, on the magistrates' professional standing.

The inevitable question which bedevils every ordinary issue in Southern Africa is the participation of Africans. Africans tried in the High Court in Southern Rhodesia are in practice tried by a judge and two European assessors, usually retired Native Commissioners who understand the language and the people, and they sit on the Bench with the Judge. It would seem to be but a simple step to increase the assessors to three Europeans and add two Africans, and place them in the jury box. For long let them remain assessors still. But once the experience of the Court showed that it could safely rely, and the Court allowed itself to be customarily bound by their findings, a special jury they would be in fact. The Africans should be lay African magistrates acting as assessors. I am informed that at least fifty Africans of moderate views and in a substantial way of business could be found from the Harare and Highfields area of Salisbury alone. They should all be offered appointments to a Commission of the Peace for the Salisbury area, and starting with two assisting each professional magistrate, gradually take over in benches of not less than three, the minor criminal cases of their areas where the accused are Africans. Concurrently with this they should sit when reasonably available as assessors in the jury box of the High Court as set out above.

The whole essence of the system is a sensible ad hoc approach; capabilities and

speed of learning will vary vastly from area to area. A clinical efficiency should not be expected or aimed at. The policy is long term and will only be slowly achieved. The love of ordered liberty under the law inherent in the English people is the result of nine centuries of this system. The Norman conquerors of England brought political cohesion, central administration, and a co-ordinated and powerful government such as many European countries did not attain until nine centuries later. Similar benefits were brought to this country by the Occupation. But after three-quarters of a century we must now begin to take the next step. The brilliant success of the Norman administration in unifying Norman-French and English customary law must be repeated. The order and law of the conqueror must be woven into the lives and faith of the people themselves. And this applies no less to the lay European element, which has presently no part of the legal administration in its hands, than to the African. Order of course came before the law. But in imposing and retaining order we have in a large measure lost our own heritage of liberty as the Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth knows it. Our task is to regain it for ourselves; our second to train the indigenous population in our own self-disciplines and acknowledged virtues, and this will be a long slow process bitterly opposed by every political leader who thus sees power denied him. Part of the remedy lies in training the population, European as well as African, from the educated and substantial commonalty upwards, to administer efficiently its local communities and its own law in accordance with ancient proven principles, not on the rapid superimposition of a Parliament of power-drunk popular political mountebanks on an illiterate and credulous peasantry. In our proven conception of progress, the steady participation of lay magistrates, and the cumulative popular experience of and respect for the law through the widespread use of the jury and at first the assessor system, are irreplaceable."

In 1962 Advocate Mahomed Adam, (later a Judge of the High Court of Zimbabwe), took issue with C. J. Allen in an article in the RNLJ entitled "Trial by Jury in Southern Rhodesia". He propounded as follows:

"The jury system has had an unusually chequered career in Southern Rhodesia. The system has departed greatly from the English original, and is obviously unsatisfactory. Africans cannot be tried by jury; a different type of jury is empanelled to hear certain charges against Europeans when the complainant is an African; only Europeans can serve on a jury, although any non-Africans can be tried by one; and the unanimity rule has been whittled away.

The author suggests either the complete abolition of the jury system or a series of reforms to introduce a uniform non-racial system.

Professor Goodhart has recently said that: "Magna Carta crossed the oceans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because the Colonists brought these doctrines with them."

However, as far as the reception of the jury in Southern Rhodesia is concerned this is not entirely true, for, whatever the position might have been when the first pioneer column entered the territory in 1890 from South Africa there is little doubt that, after the Matabele War in 1893, the true status of Southern Rhodesia was up to 1923 that of a conquered country.

In Salisbury Reef Gold Mining Co. v. British South Africa Co. (1898) 15 S. C. 375, Watermeyer J, at 377, when delivering the judgment of the High Court of Matabeleland,

said:

"…But since the establishment of this Court in 1894 there never has been a trial by jury in a criminal case. I do not know if the matter has ever been argued, but certainly it seems to have been heretofore assumed that the right of trial by jury in criminal cases did not exist. The Court has always acted on this assumption. The practice has been recognized by legislation providing for assessors in criminal cases—see the High Commissioner's Proclamation of July, 1895. The Proclamation seems to me quite inconsistent with the right of trial by jury in criminal cases."

This being the case, if we regard Southern Rhodesia not as a settled Colony but one that was at first conquered then annexed in 1923, it is safe for us to say that the origin of the jury system lies in express legislation and not in the common law introduced from the Cape.

The reason for change by 1899, from the satisfactory assessor system, was because of social stability and increased population which favoured the emergence of common attitudes amongst the new inhabitants, but it was more so because of the general desire of the British people to carry their institutions with them wherever they went than for any other reason. This is clearly illustrated by what was said in the Legislative Council. "We have always been accustomed to trial by jury"—a statement by Mr. Clarkson H. Tredgold K. C., Attorney-General of Southern Rhodesia, and subsequently Senior Judge: see Hansard, 1912, at p.61. On another occasion in the Legislative Assembly someone "claimed that he was entitled to be tried by a jury as a birth-right of every British subject"—per Sir Charles Coghlan, Premier of Southern Rhodesia.

From this it can be seen that the jury system was brought in at the express wish of the European inhabitants of this country by legislative enactment. It never came in here as a part of the common law which settlers usually carry with them. In the appeal in the Salisbury Reef Gold Mining Co. case the question of the reception of trial by jury in civil matters was discussed. In interpreting section 26 of the Matabeleland Order in Council of 1894 which introduced into Matabeleland the law of the Cape Colony "as nearly as the circumstances of the country permit" to see whether the above Acts applied in Matabeleland, it was held that the circumstances of the country at the date of the Order in Council had to be looked to, and that consequently, even if trial by jury in civil cases became practicable with the subsequent development of the country, it could not be held to have been introduced by the Order in Council if impracticable at the date of such Order. De Villiers C. J. said at 381:

"…In my opinion the law relating to trial by jury in civil cases never was in force in Rhodesia. The fact that there has never been a trial by jury either in civil or criminal cases, although not sufficient to abrogate the law if once introduced, goes far to prove that the circumstances of the country were considered not to admit of its introduction".

Over a period of nine years the institution of trial by jury operated fairly satisfactorily until 1908 when some cases—the so-called "inter-racial" cases—occurred which resulted in, amongst other things, letters appearing in the press. These cases were:

1. R. v. William Hobkirk Laidlaw (reported in the *Rhodesia Herald* of 8 May, 1908), where a farmer residing near Salisbury was charged with the murder of an African named Nete in circumstances pointing to cruelty and indifference to human suffering. The evidence produced went to show that Laidlaw, after causing his unfortunate victim to be bound hand and foot, beat and kicked him, and finally had him tied up to a tree,

where he was left to pass the night and was found dead in the morning. The assault was unprovoked, and Laidlaw's principal excuse was that he believed the man to be a deserter from someone else's employ. The case was first tried at Salisbury but, as the jury could not agree upon a verdict, it was removed to Bulawayo, where Laidlaw was found guilty of a common assault and sentenced to six months' hard labour.

2. R. v. Murdo Macaulay, John Fraser, George Andre Murray, James McBryde —popularly known as the Battlefields Case—(reported in the *Rhodesia Herald* of 4 November 1908), the accused, residing at Battlefields, were charged with culpable homicide and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. There were three counts on the indictment. The medical evidence given at the trial as to the condition of the three victims showed that they must have been punished with extreme cruelty, and in summing up, the judge remarked that the condition of the two who died could only have been produced by very brutal measures. The accused did not deny having flogged the men. Their defence practically amounted to a plea that they were endeavouring to discover the perpetrators of a series of thefts in the neighbourhood. The jury, after deliberating for ten minutes, returned a verdict of "not guilty" on all counts, and the accused were discharged.

This case caused the *Rhodesia Herald* to describe the verdict as "amazing". The paper wondered what would have been the verdict had a white man been similarly treated by the accused. Several letters also appeared, one of which called for the abolition of the jury system, since the public was, in many bad cases, apparently unable to mete out justice.

3. In R. v. Singena (November, 1908, from the Court's record), an African was indicted for assault with intent to commit rape. Two separate descriptions of the assailant were given to a police sergeant and a trooper. In a search instituted by the police sergeant he came to the accused's hut where he saw the accused and formed the impression that from the description given him the accused was not his man. The trooper, on the other hand, on conducting a search, formed the impression that the accused was his man. At an identity parade the complainant failed to spot her assailant but shortly afterwards when the accused was being brought into the police station she recognized him as the assailant. Two witnesses were produced by the defence who said that they were with the accused on the day in question.

On this rather thin evidence of identity and on scanty evidence as to the particular intent required for the offence, the accused was convicted and sentenced to death, which was commuted to 10 years' imprisonment. Two months later, a free pardon was granted to the accused.

This led the then Attorney-General to say that: "The more he saw and the more he heard of it the deeper became his feelings…with regret…juries here were in many cases actuated by ideas and principles which should never be allowed to influence them… they brought in verdicts which, as far as he could see, were based on nothing but racial influence… He would like to abolish the jury system and revert to a judge sitting with assessors": Hansard, 1908.

This brought angry responses in the Legislative Council, their general tone being that the Attorney-General's remarks were nothing less than something going to the discredit of the country and a disgrace to the community.

Outside the Legislative Council the vibrations of these miscarriages of justice carried further afield. An official report to England in 1908, it was stated, contained the following:

"It must, I fear, be considered that in a rough mining community, in a territory where one race is dominant and the other is regarded as a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, trial by jury becomes a farce".

The full jury system of the English common law was at first introduced with no restrictions as to offences triable or as to the race of the accused. Nor were the provisions regarding qualification of jurors put on a racial basis either, though they were such as to ensure that few if any Africans would qualify. From this good start, though it meant in effect that Africans and Europeans were to be tried by a predominantly European jury, a later amendment was introduced to the qualification of jurors by confining it to "men of European descent only". In practice this made little change but in theory and in its implications it was a retrograde step of far-reaching consequence. It meant that a case, in which an African was charged with an offence against a European or vice-versa, would be tried by a jury composed entirely of one race, and in the then prevailing social conditions it was to be expected that injustice would result.

In the Presidential address to the Legislative Council in May 1909, a despatch from the High Commissioner was read "drawing attention to certain cases in which juries have failed to convict Europeans charged with committing crimes upon natives and urging consideration of alteration in the present system…in order to prevent a serious miscarriage of justice": per the President of the Legislative Council, Sir W. H. Milton (Administrator): Hansard, 1909, at p.3.

To this may be added the resolution adopted by a conference of Superintendents of Natives in 1909—"the Committee records its unanimous opinion that the system of trial by jury is unsuitable for cases in which natives are charged with crimes". A committee was deputed by the Legislative Council to look into the matter. Of the opinions submitted to this committee, the one from the judges was to the effect that any failure of justice had not been greater in Southern Rhodesia than in other South African colonies.

The common characteristic of these 1909 debates and opinions was resistance to any indictment against the prestige of the community.

In 1911 the Legislative Council was reminded of the alteration made to the Jury Law in 1908, which amendment it was thought would have satisfactorily met any case of complaint against the jury system. Sir Charles Coghlan, prominent lawyer and first Premier of Southern Rhodesia in 1923 stated in 1911 that: "He regretted to say that there was a certain class of case which happened in this country that imposed too great a strain upon jurymen and in these cases it was better to relieve them of the responsibility—the serious and grave responsibility—of having to consider these matters and not allow their natural feelings to influence what should be their verdict according to law… A change has become necessary…and a system should be devised so that the system of justice should be above reproach": Hansard, Second Extraordinary Session, 1911, at p.17.

He then went on to move the following resolutions:

"(1) that the present system of trial by jury has proved unsuited to cases where Europeans are charged with the commission of serious crimes against natives.

(2) to ensure proper administration of justice it is necessary that a satisfactory system be substituted in such cases.

(3) such change being necessary, it is advisable to extend it also to cases where natives are charged with the commission of similar offences against Europeans."

Coghlan was an earlier champion of no change to the prevailing system. His change of heart we presume was actuated by, amongst other factors, the decision in R. v. Samuel John Lewis (reported in the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, May, 1911). May Lewis, aged 15, the daughter of the accused, stated that for about three months before his death the deceased had been making indecent advances towards her and her sister. This culminated in the girl's father shooting the culprit.

For the Crown it was submitted that the evidence showed an intention to kill because the accused had had knowledge of the facts for some time, and his possession of a revolver also showed prior intent. Counsel for the defence asked for an acquittal on the ground that the accused was protecting the chastity of his daughters and was driven beyond human endurance.

After the Judge's summing up the jury was unable to reach even a majority verdict so the accused was tried a second time.

The evidence led was similar to that in the first trial except that the police stated that as far as they knew the accused was not in the habit of carrying a revolver with him, and the accused's wife stated that the weapon was normally kept in a deed box, suggesting premeditation.

In his summing up, the Judge warned the jury not to be influenced by the character of the deceased and told them that the accused was not entitled to take the law into his own hands. He also gave directions as to what amounted to self-defence in law. On the question of provocation, the learned Judge agreed that the circumstances should be considered in judging how the complaints made to the accused acted on his mind. The only thing that could excuse the accused was his ignorance that he was doing a wrongful act.

After an absence of ten minutes and obviously against the evidence the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

Press comment was strong in its denunciation of the acquittal and rightly so. The *Rand Daily Mail* said that it was the first case "where a man admittedly guilty of murder of a fellow creature has been held by a jury to be innocent of any offence before the law". The verdict was considered a blot on the name of British justice. The *Rhodesia Herald* pointed out that the machinery of the law could adequately have dealt with the culprit, and the verdict meant that every white man had the right to be judge, jury and executioner in cases of insult by natives to white women.

The resulting reappraisal of the situation by former antagonists brought out some fantastic statements and departures from opinions previously held, particularly when some of the opinions expressed in the Legislative Council are examined. One speaker, Mr. Forbes, felt that: "Some people, chiefly from sentimental reasons, might object to the doing away with the jury system…but many of those old traditions and customs did not stand transplanting": Hansard, 1911, at p.178.

Sir Charles Coghlan, "did not admit that prejudice was guilty to such an extent that the black man did not get full justice… Those who challenged his statement should go

to the judge…and they will find in every case that the black man did get justice. It was only where the white man was charged with crimes of violence against natives that the system broke down": Hansard, 1911, at p.188.

The situation was only partially recovered, as far as justice was concerned, when trial by judge and assessors was introduced for Africans instead of trial by judge and jury in 1927. However, even this change, which was introduced according to members of the Legislative Assembly on "grounds of equity and justice"—dissociating themselves completely from the more likely ground of public convenience of not being able to spare the time to serve as jurors in African cases—did not introduce the type of justice that the English were used to speak of, for there was still a general feeling amongst the Europeans of a "second-rate quality in the assessor system".

The 1927 Criminal Trials (High Court) Act made two important changes. First, jury trials for Africans were completely abolished and replaced by a judge and two assessors "who shall be, or shall have been, senior officials each of whom shall have served no less than ten years in the Native Department", which in fact meant two European officials. The court's decision was to be by majority if necessary. Secondly, Europeans were given the right to elect to be tried by a judge and two assessors "holding or who have held the office of Magistrate or Assistant Magistrate" if they so desired, instead of trial by jury.

Thus, the sway of the jury was partially broken.

The question whether juries are today (1962) necessary or desirable or whether they have outlived their usefulness has been examined by many writers. In England there has undoubtedly been a remarkable decline in the use of juries in civil litigation.

In Southern Rhodesia figures for the five years 1956–60 speak of the popularity of the jury system. These were furnished by the Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs recently in the Legislative Assembly (Hansard, Vol. 48, 18 August 1961, at p.29):

These figures, in comparison with those in England, clearly reflect that about 45 per cent of criminal trials where the accused was a European were tried by a jury. This figure seems startling, particularly as about 75 per cent of those tried by a jury were in fact convicted. The reason for this we would hazard to say lies not in the intrinsic superiority of the jury system as a judicial instrument over that of the assessor system, but purely on two grounds: first, unlike England, where the magistrate—both the lay and the stipendiary—has merited the trial of most of the indictable offences triable summarily, here we do not have an equivalent popular system to attract people away; secondly there is what we may call the "prestige-value" of the jury; for it was introduced at the express wish of the European community and any decay in the jury system would be a clear reflection on the prestige of that community.

It has been suggested that:

"The system of trial by jury as developed in England can only work properly if three conditions are satisfied. First, the community in which it operates must be socially homogenous, that is, there must be no big racial, cultural or linguistic divisions. Secondly, the people in the community must be sufficiently advanced educationally and otherwise to understand the responsibilities cast on them as jurors and to set the fulfillment of those responsibilities above private prejudices. Thirdly, the people of the community must be in basic agreement with the laws which, as juries, they require to enforce": Jearey, (1961) Journal of African Law at p.46.

I heartily endorse these views with a slight reservation. It is very true that in Southern Rhodesia we do not have a community answering to these conditions. However, as

the present state of the law is so unsatisfactory in that it lays the legal system open to charges of racial discrimination, the common law principle of one law for all persons in a community is one to be established as a matter of urgency. For this reason, we make two suggestions for serious consideration. It is our humble submission that either the jury system should be completely abolished, and the assessor system (with assessors from a wider category of people) substituted for all irrespective of race, or the jury system should be retained but with major alterations to the present system".

The Commission summarised as follows some of the general arguments advanced for and against the jury system:

a) A juryman is more likely to place himself in the position of the ordinary man and therefore is better able to test the reliability and credibility of the witness.

b) The jury system enables the ordinary man to play some part in the administration of justice.

c) Juries temper the strict law with the morality of the day.

d) Juries allow compassion to enter judgments.

e) Nine heads (be they only the humble heads of the "common man") are often better than the one bewigged head of the learned judge, when it comes to judging facts.

f) The system educates the public in the ways of the courts.

g) The system is a safeguard against repugnant laws and therefore a lamp of freedom.

h) The jury system keeps the law free from over-complication and legal jargon.

i) An accused who wants to be tried by his fellow men should in fairness be allowed to have this form of trial.

While these arguments have much force in a country where jury trials are frequent occurrences and where the community is a homogeneous one, they carry much less weight in a country like Rhodesia where jury trials are so infrequent and where the community is far from homogeneous.

Very briefly, again, some of the more general arguments advanced against the systems are these:

a) Juries often usurp the prerogative of mercy, making trials a travesty of justice.

b) A jury trial is suppose to be a trial of a man by his peers, but a trial by peers logically requires a trial of the member of a group by other members of the same group. It is impracticable to give expression to this principle because it is not feasible to secure a group of jurors all of whom belong to the same social group as that of the accused. In Rhodesia this particular difficulty is emphasized by the multiracial character of its society, which divides the country broadly into two separate ethnic groups.

c) Because of the exemptions from jury service, notably of the professional classes, many persons who are most suited to serve on juries are excluded from jury service.

d) Responsibility and not human weakness is divided by nine; responsibility unrelated to a desire to maintain a judicial reputation.

e) If the jury merely follows a judge's directions it is unnecessary, and if it disagrees with the judge it is nearly always wrong.

f) A juryman has no experience in weighing and sifting evidence.

g) A typical juryman finds himself in a strange milieu in court and will be influenced by irrelevancies.

h) A juryman's judgment is often the result of prejudices, experiences, antipathies, and his own view of life.

i) Many of the absurdities of the law of evidence are a direct result of the jury system.

j) A judge, having daily contact with offenders, has a better general understanding of life than a juror.

k) No mere nine people are a gauge of public opinion.

l) Jury trials waste time and for that reason are more costly than other forms of trial.

m) The composition of a jury is too limited to provide any real cross-section of views.

n) The average juryman is quite incapable of appreciating the complexities of a difficult and complicated case; nor is his memory sufficiently retentive to remember all the vital evidence given in a lengthy trial.

o) A juryman is more susceptible to corruption and threats than is a judge.

These are all very cogent arguments against trial by jury but the majority of them are all arguments which apply equally well to countries other than Rhodesia, and it is most significant that in other countries, particularly in England, there is a most experienced and influential body of opinion which remains in favour of retaining the jury system. In England, the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, which reported in 1959, favoured retaining the system. The first Commonwealth and Empire Law Conference, held in England in 1955 (except for the South African delegation) was in favour of retaining the jury system. An extensive research survey undertaken by the University of Chicago, in America, in 1966, showed on balance that the jury system in America worked well.

Despite, therefore, the cogent arguments which can be advanced against trials by jury, if the conditions in Rhodesia were similar to those in England with its homogeneous society, we would not be prepared to disregard this impressive body of opinion which is in favour of retaining the systems. Conditions in Rhodesia are not, however, the same as in England. As will be explained later, there are two fundamental differences, the one that, in relation to the whole population, trial by jury is an almost unknown form of trial in Rhodesia, and the other (which is by far the more important) that trial by jury, principally for the reasons set out later herein, is denied the vast bulk of the population.

As a result of the infrequent incidence of jury trials, judges and practitioners alike are dealing with an institution with which they are unfamiliar. In eliciting evidence counsel have to ensure not only that the evidence is elicited but also that it is elicited in such a way that laymen will appreciate its significance. In addressing the jury similar problems arise. The judge in his summing-up must also try to guide these laymen along the right lines in arriving at their verdict. Judges and counsel have a difficult enough task as it is and it is expecting a lot of them if about once a year they must learn to adapt themselves to what to them is a strange form of trial. Many counsels who have prosecuted and defended cases in the High Court for many years have never prosecuted or defended in a jury trial but, of course, there are a number who have done so. A judge may preside over a jury trial once a year or at even less frequent intervals. For example, there were only three jury trials in 1969 in Salisbury; in 1970 there were only two. There was one jury trial in Bulawayo in 1969 and in 1970 there was none.

The fact that trial by jury is at the moment denied to the majority of the population is, however, the fact which influences us most. One thing which the administration of justice in Rhodesia cannot afford is to give the impression that it favours a particular race. This, however, is precisely what the system of trial by jury in Rhodesia does. A

trial by jury is only available to non-Africans and only European men may sit on the jury. It is not without significance that the jury system was regarded in 1964 by the Constitutional Council as being inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights in the 1961 Constitution. Similar provisions to those which were in the 1961 Constitution are to be found in the present Constitution. Whether or not the jury system is consistent or inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights may not be a question of importance, but what certainly is a question of importance is whether the existence of the jury system in its present form gives the appearance that the administration of justice in Rhodesia favours a particular race. That it does give this appearance seems obvious. If this criticism of the present position in Rhodesia is to be overcome there are only two alternative ways of overcoming it, one to revert to jury trials for all sections for the community, the other to abolish jury trials altogether.

Rhodesia already has had considerable experience of trying African cases with European juries and this form of trial proved so unsatisfactory that it had to be abolished. There is no reason to suppose that the Rhodesian experience between the years 1899 and 1927 would not be repeated today if this form of trial were reinstated. Another objection to this form of trial is that an African so tried would not truly be tried by his peers and his trial, therefore, would lack one of the fundamental features of a trial by jury. We thus reject as undesirable the trial of Africans by a court consisting of a judge and a European jury. An alternative is to try the African cases with African juries and the European cases with European juries. The Commission has given earnest consideration to this suggestion. The evidence we have heard, however, convinces us that trial by jury is something quite alien to African custom and thinking. While in the traditional African trial many take part in expressing their views on the guilt of the accused, the final determination is left to a few of the accused's superiors, the chief and "elders", and is not left to any form of popular vote. Furthermore, tribal prejudices still exist, particularly among rural African tribesmen. In a normal criminal session, where there are a couple of dozen of African accused of different tribes, it would be quite impracticable to empanel an African jury consisting only of jurymen who were members of the accused's own tribe. An African accused convicted by a jury comprising members of other tribes would be likely to be dissatisfied with his trial. We are satisfied that the average African accused would prefer to be tried by a judge and impartial assessors rather than by a judge and a common African jury, some members of which jury are likely to belong to a different tribe from his own.

It seems clear also that African juries have not been a success in Africa to the north of us. The fullest review of jury trial in Africa to the north of us is by Jearey. In outline, he shows that juries were introduced in the old West African colonies at the instance of the European settlers, and in Rhodesia and Kenya for generally similar reasons, but exclusively for non-Africans. Juries were introduced in Zanzibar as a result of influence from Kenya, but subsequently abolished. The residue of the jury system in West Africa was not flourishing in 1960 when Jearey wrote, and the picture is painted in more detail by Nwabueze, "*Machinery of Justice in Nigeria*" (1963), who at p. 217 points out that juries did not operate in the Eastern, Western or Northern regions, but only in Lagos for certain purposes. At pp. 231-2 he quotes the adverse report of the Minorities Commission in 1958 which killed a proposal to introduce juries into the

Eastern region. This commission was strongly of the view that tribalism would make the system unworkable. The author suggests that the whole system should be scrapped. The only author who makes any plea for the extension of juries in African territories is Knox-Mawer (a Chief Magistrate of Aden), but he concedes the system has been criticized by judges and other lawyers particularly qualified to speak on the subject where it has been applied in Africa. Nevertheless he seems to think that the sense of duty of the citizen might make the system workable.

We therefore reject the solution of trying African cases with African common juries.

As this is our conclusion it follows that if the administration of justice is to be uniform for all races, as we are convinced it must be, the only solution is to abolish jury trials entirely. We point out that this was also the view of every single witness (bar one) who gave evidence or who submitted written representations.

It is to be noted here that in the Republic of South Africa, where problems in connexion with trials by jury are very similar to those in this country, trial by jury was abolished in 1969.

RECOMMENDATION

The Commission, therefore, recommends that trial by jury be abolished.

The Commission then went on to consider what form of trial should replace trial by jury in criminal cases in the High Court, (which is "another story", but our lady readers will be happy to know that, amongst many other recommendations, one was that women, hitherto not qualified to be jurors, should not be disqualified to be Assessors).

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Acknowledgments

My thanks are extended to Professor Geoff Feltoe for useful discussion concerning the topic of this article and to my secretary Felicity Naidoo for her typing of many drafts.

Book Review
Do Zimbabweans Exist?

Review by Paul Hubbard

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni. 2009.
Do Zimbabweans Exist? Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity Formation and Crisis in a Postcolonial State.
Oxford: Peter Lang.
ISBN 978-3-03911-941-7.
(softcover) xiii+412 pages. US$86.95.

Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni is perhaps Zimbabwe's most theoretical historian. Certainly he is one of the most prolific, continuously contributing to journals, the popular press and writing at last count at least four books on nationalism, particularism and contemporary politics across Africa. This book arguably is one of his best, not least due to the fact that it raises awkward and unanswered questions regarding the evolution of the "Zimbabwean State". Reading this book makes one wonder if such a term is appropriate to use, given the contested meanings and counter-claims for what the country is, what it should be, and where its citizenry should place their loyalty.

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni

The critical tone is set early in the book (p.22) when he argues that Zimbabwe is currently held hostage to a shrewd, partisan and sanitised version of history focused on a romanticised idea of the liberation struggle. What the rest of the book aims to do is show how the Zimbabwean Nationalist movements failed to create a durable and stable national identity. Zimbabwean politics are marked by a lack of cohesion and set policy which, in a multi-party democracy, is often essential to promoting the dialogue and compromise necessary to build a nation. This has not happened yet in Zimbabwe, the author argues, because "elite struggles for power and elite disunities have resulted in conflict" (p.300) which have created fragile and unstable transitions of power which often revert to the status quo.

The Zimbabwean national project—if I may loosely define this as the attempt between 1962 and 2014 to create an unquestioning, unitary identity focused on the liberation parties is, as Ndlovu-Gatsheni argues, far too celebratory. Previous historical

accounts have all but ignored the darker side of the struggle for Zimbabwe, the violence, authoritarianism, militarianism and intolerance which have permeated daily life in Zimbabwe from the earliest inception of the independent state to the present day, although the degrees to which these have been exhibited have varied. This is exemplified by the case study (p.149–188) of the rise of Ndebele nationalism which threatened the single state idea and has been suppressed. "Violence has compromised the prospects of building a happy nation" (p.191). Just what this "happy nation" should be is unanswered in this book, although there are ample examples of what is should not be. The book ends with a look at the tumultuous year of 2008 and the fragile transition ushered in, which ended one of the most turbulent periods in Zimbabwe's modern history.

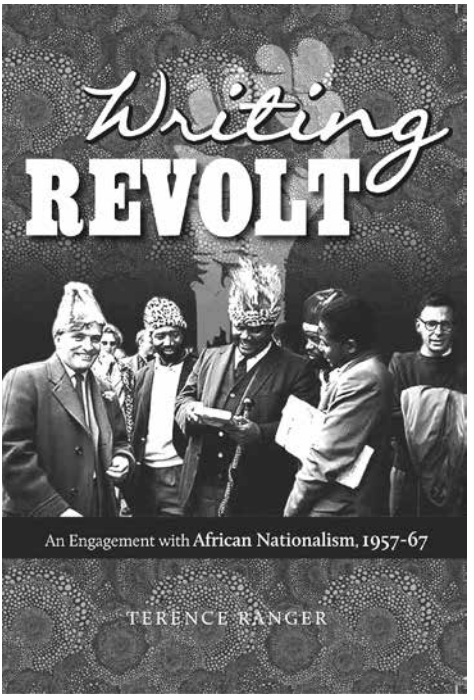
The book is well written although there is an over-abundance of acronyms and jargon which, as I read, often detracted from the valuable information and thought-provoking historical analysis of events. Zimbabwe struggles today to instil a culture of respect for human rights, and to follow democratic transitions of power at all levels of society (and a useable history). The book is an excellent introduction to the reasons why this is so, although at the high selling price is unlikely to be widely read in sections of the community that need access to this sort of historical revisionism the most.

Book Review
Writing Revolt

Review by Paul Hubbard

Ranger, T.O. 2013.
Writing Revolt. An Engagement with African Nationalism, 1957-67. Harare: Weaver Press.
ISBN: 978-1-77-922-215-2.
(softcover) xii+206 pages. US$30.

"There was no doubt that in 1961 the name Ranger attracted wide opprobrium among Rhodesian whites" (p.107). The cover of this book provides a clue as to why this was so. A sepia-toned picture shows Terence Ranger, Shelagh Ranger, Maurice Nyagumbo, Joshua Nkomo, Robert Chikerema, Robert Mugabe and John Reed at Salisbury airport on the day of Ranger's deportation, 27 February 1963. In many ways this book is an explanation of this iconic picture, narrating the journey of a British expat into the heart of African Nationalist politics. Ranger was to provide one of the key road maps for this fight for independence when he published Revolt in Southern Rhodesia in 1967. It became a best-seller, issued to "every Native Commissioner as a guidebook to African revolt!" (p.177). Revolt became a standard Rhodesian history book for decades and was to provide historical validation for the burgeoning armed struggle launched by the people with whom Ranger shares the cover. The writing of it, as Ranger relates, was hardly inevitable and for a time it seemed as if other concerns would triumph.



Inspired by an article in *The Times*, Ranger applied for, and received, a lectureship in history at the new University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (today the University of Zimbabwe). Ranger freely confesses his unfamiliarity with African history and current affairs: "I arrived in Southern Rhodesia deeply ignorant and this book itself is really a year-by-year record of

what I discovered about its realities and what I tried to do about them" (p.8). Ranger's ideals, formed in post-WWII British society, shine through in the early pages, relating a showdown over the racial integration of dormitories at the UCRN that became a national sensation, even creating a fuss in the Rhodesian parliament. Ranger's position won through and his ideals soon led him into the politics of the day. As he says, "it is clear that I was a natural dissident" (p.181). He attended the inaugural meeting of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress and met many of the men (and women) whose names we take for granted in the nationalist history of Zimbabwe.

Ranger was involved with and/or recounts many of the major political events in the Federation between 1959–1963. I feel the book provides a personalised counter-narrative to many published analyses of events. Given his wife's dedication to the political scene, Ranger was "very much Mr Shelagh Ranger" (p.63) in the nascent Nationalist politics of 1959–1963. At times sacrificing his own research prerogatives, he was to play a significant role in the development of the constellation of political parties—SRANC, NDP, ZAPU, ZANU—although he plays down his input at times. His frank manner of speaking did not always win him friends among the nationalists, some of whose authoritarian tendencies were developing even at that early stage.

Never one to back down from a fight for right, Ranger's account of his role in the Citizens against the Colour Bar (p.110–118, 123–124), successfully fighting segregation in the streets of Salisbury, is stimulating and enlightening. The Rangers aided many of the Nationalist leaders and their families while they were in prison or under restriction. The support networks that developed for these liberation fighters at this time is something not fully acknowledged today—but it should be. Ranger's book is enlightening for revealing the extent to which academics were initially at the forefront of nationalist politics, not merely writing unhelpful critiques, as often seems to be the case today. Leadership grew from their greater learning. The early 1960's was a tumultuous time in Rhodesian politics and the Rangers were to pay a large price for their leading role in the fight for democracy; he was declared a prohibited immigrant in early 1963 and both were deported from the country. Ranger would complete his best-seller Revolt in Tanzania.

History and its importance to the evolution of the Nationalist movement shines through on almost every page. This may be a factor in Ranger's own style of writing and his perception of the importance of his political awakening in light of his research into the 1896 wars. Writing this book must have been difficult for Ranger, who possibly had to balance memories of the heady optimism and clear-cut nature of the fight against minority rule in the 1960s against descending into the cynicism of the socio-economic disappointments of the post-2000 era.

The book ends with a wistful few paragraphs outlining the essence of his political thoughts. Describing a "liberal nationalism," Ranger argues that the difference to what actually developed was that "after the achievement of secure majority rule there would be no need for repression and that varying opinions could and should be tolerated" (p.182). Would that these noble ideals, and the practices of the 1960's nationalism which Ranger witnessed and so eloquently described in this book, had triumphed.

History Society of Zimbabwe National Chairman's Annual Report

by Fraser Edkins

Welcome to the 61st Annual General Meeting of the History Society of Zimbabwe (founded 1953).

The main business of the National Executive Committee (NEC) is the production of Heritage magazine each year and the holding of the Society's Annual Luncheon. (The Society's monthly talks are organized by the Mashonaland Branch Committee).

Heritage 31 and 32 have been published since the last AGM and appear to have met with a positive response. I give my thanks to all of the contributors (in particular to our regular authors upon whom we have come to rely) and to all who have assisted me in compiling and editing Heritage 32 (the Diamond Jubilee issue). The contents of Heritage 33 (2014) have been compiled and it will appear this year (as will separate occasional papers, too lengthy for inclusion in Heritage, to be compiled by Prof. Ray Roberts and others). This will bring the publication of Heritage right up to date.

To reiterate my request in 2013, members are urged to keep their contributions to Heritage coming and new contributors are in particular cordially invited to submit papers. Please do not worry for a second about the perceived quality of your articles—get them written down (with photos where possible) and give them to Fraser Edkins. We have editors to help with any polishing-up that may be required. It is vital that we record as much as possible of the heritage of our country, so please go to it.

Members can look forward in 2014 to a new Index for Heritage presently under compilation by Mike Fox and Chris Halse. Thank you to Mike and Chris for their sterling work.

My sincere appreciation also goes to Rhona Sargeant who gives of her skills, time and advice to format our journal before it goes to the printers.

Appearing online shortly will be the History Society of Zimbabwe website where all of our Rhodesiana and Heritage journals from day one will be available online, in addition to other interesting material.

Editions 29–32 of Heritage, can be purchased from Cecil House, 2, Central Avenue (791415) during business hours Monday to Friday. Our other hardcopy back copies of Rhodesiana and Heritage now reside with Jono Waters and can be purchased by e-mail arrangement with him at mcc@yoafrica.com.

My thanks to Jono for this service. He is a generous member and supporter of the History Society of Zimbabwe in many ways.

Our Annual Luncheon was held in the Stewart Room at Meikles on 7 October 2013 (at a cost subsidized by your Society). It was well attended by over 100 members and, I think, was a great success. Tim Tanser, our Guest Speaker, entertained members on humorous happenings in the early days of Harare. His talk has been published in Heritage

32. My grateful thanks go also to Dennis Stephens (who was responsible for the general organization of the lunch and the free parking) and to all of those who contributed in the way of organizing the public address system and the wine and flowers including Tim Tanser, Robin and Jenny Taylor, John McCarthy, Keiran Torr (of Torero Flowers), and Bill Sykes.

Thank you also to all of you who supported your Society with your attendance at the lunch. Our Finances: Our Treasurer Dennis Stephens will present his financial report and accounts shortly and members will note an ongoing improvement in the finances of your Society. We are fortunate to have available to us the skills, guidance and investment talent of Dennis (and long may he be part of the Society).

We extend our appreciation also to the many Sponsors of Heritage magazine (whom Dennis grows and keeps on board year after year). I also extend my gratitude to Jo and Dennis Stephens and Robin Taylor who have skillfully undertaken the tedious task of keeping minutes of the meetings of the NEC over the last year.

Bill Sykes will report shortly on the activities of the Mashonaland Branch of our Society (with which Committee your NEC regularly liaises) but I would like to say that the NEC feels Bill and his committee members performed a sterling job in the presentation of talks over the last 12 months and are to be congratulated.

Members are reminded that Bill Sykes has a number of DVD's for sale concerning the heritage of our country (including the excellent three short films on Operation Noah and the formation of Lake Kariba and that concerning hyperinflation in Zimbabwe).

Efforts continue on the part of the NEC with regard to advising on the protection and preservation of historic buildings by the Department of National Museums & Monuments.

Robin Taylor continues to monitor the activities of the Bulawayo branch and it is hoped that its revival will continue through 2014. It was our great pleasure in 2013 to receive from Paul Hubbard excellent talks on the early history of Bulawayo and the Shangani Patrol.

To repeat what I said last year, throughout my year in office I have received nothing less than the full help and co-operation of all of the members of the NEC and being Chairman has been not only a privilege but has also been made much easier with so many competent and conscientious Committee members to whom I have been able to delegate chores and responsibilities. Thank you all.

In conclusion, (notwithstanding the hard work of our excellent Committee members) the History Society of Zimbabwe would be nothing without the wonderful support of its ordinary members. With that support we continue to be, in my opinion, the most successful private society in Zimbabwe. We average between 80–250 attendees at each of our talks (in all sorts of weather and braving all sorts of traffic conditions). Thank you all for that support and we look forward to the same in 2014/15, with Ray Roberts and Tim Tanser taking the Chair and Vice Chairmanship respectively.

Your NEC consists of Messrs Roberts, Tanser, Atkinson, Edkins, McCarthy, Stephens, Taylor, Kimberly and the incumbent Mashonaland Branch Chairman, Bill Sykes (who will be Robin Taylor in 2014/2015). All are available for election for 2014/15. There have been no advance nominations of any other persons.

F.A. EDKINS,
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN,
HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE