HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

PUBLICATION NO. 34 2015

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Publication No. 34 — 2015

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe

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- ☆ The Society aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Zimbabwean history.
- ☆ The Society encourages all readers and their friends and colleagues to enrol as members.
- ☆ Members of the Society are not, by any means, all historians. Among our members worldwide are collectors of Africana, libraries and learned institutions wishing to acquire background knowledge of one of Africa's key areas whilst the majority are ordinary Zimbabweans interested in the story of their own country.
- ☆ 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.
- ☆ Membership is open to everyone and there is no joining fee.
- ☆ *Heritage of Zimbabwe* is published once a year and copies may be purchased by members from the Society. The articles will appeal to Zimbabweans as well as people beyond our borders who seek to understand our country.
- ☆ Each issue of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* contains a wide variety of articles on Zimbabwe's historic background: pioneering, military, transport, agricultural, political, biographical, literary, cultural and so on.
- ☆ History creates a sense of common purpose that develops into a healthy national consciousness. An active historical society can thus exert a tremendous influence for the good of our country.
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For further information please mail the National Honorary Secretary at mashchairman@historysocietyzimbabwe.org for the attention of Mr Charles Castelin.

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

ISSN 0556—9605

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

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

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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

FOUNDED: 1953 **P. O. Box CY35, Causeway, Zimbabwe**

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Every single edition of *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage of Zimbabwe* and an updated index of *Heritage* will be available online when the Society website goes into operation.

The index will also be available to buy in hard copy.

Editor's Foreword

This 34th edition of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* commences with the illustrated text of a talk by Brendan Tiernan (former Headmaster) on the early years of St. George's College, in Bulawayo, (before the school's relocation to Harare in the 1920's).

John McCarthy's talk at our Annual Lunch in October 2016 will focus on letters from the First World War trenches from boys who attended the Bulawayo campus before going to war, many never to return.

That school was opened in 1896 in the same year of the erection in Bulawayo of the "Rebellion Memorial", about which well-known historian and guide Paul Hubbard writes so well in our second article.

Geologist, historian and writer Peter Fey (now living in Australia) presents the third in his excellent series of articles summarizing the history of our country's Geological Survey (in this case the period 1950 -64), from which we are reminded, amongst other things, of the fine calibre of the geologists who have served this nation over the years.

Peter follows up with an article on Zimbabwe's first Director of the Geological Survey, the Cambridge-educated Herbert Maufe, also as part of a themed series of articles by him.

The tribute to Reg Bourlay by Mitch Stirling is a very interesting account of an accomplished airman, about whom I suspect little was previously widely known.

Some hopefully diverting trivia from the Government Gazette of a century ago is compiled by me, followed by Richard Wood's most interesting story of William Leslie Armstrong (an acquaintance and admirer of Selous), someone about whom also very little has previously been recorded.

His son David reminds us of the huge contribution made to the development of this country by the redoubtable Bill Irvine.

L. G. Hooley's article, (his thesis, first published in 1964) details the founding and passage of a light guage railway line that served the famous Cam & Motor gold mine near Kadoma in the early days.

This is followed by Peter Fey's detailed account of the disaster, costing 427 lives, which befell the Wankie Collery in 1972.

Prolific writer Peter Fey also contributes the next article, about Herbert Maufe's successor as second Director of the Geological Survey, the accomplished (and also Cambridge-educated) Major Ben Lightfoot.

Regular contributor Jono Waters produces an extract from the unpublished memoirs of Ellerton Fry, the man who mapped and photographed the progress northwards of the 1890 Pioneer Column, an article that in part answers the oft -raised query as to whether the arrival of the colonists in Zimbabwe (and the supposed protection and "civilization" they brought) was actually appreciated by the then-inhabitants.

New contributor Mike Tucker presents a well-researched article on the fights near Goromonzi in 1896-7 and the remarkable Major Colin Harding. We hope to publish further work by Mike in the near future (concerning happenings near the Insiza district in the Umvukela of 1896).

Penny Kirkman is another new contributor to *Heritage*, with a well-written account of the life in Zimbabwe of the exceptional Frank McEwen, the first Director of our National Gallery.

John Brettell provides a detailed history of the life and times of the pioneer and mining giant, (and great benefactor) John Mack.

Society stalwart Robin Taylor winds up the main articles with a record of some of the effects of WWI on the railway system of Zimbabwe and Zambia.

There are obituaries of pioneer Lowveld game rancher Ray Sparrow (by Alan Sparrow) and of noted historian Professor Terence Ranger by Paul Hubbard, and this edition ends with Paul Hubbard's reviews of recent books/booklets on our National Parks, on corporate giant Portland Cement and, with Edone Anne Logan, on the rich heritage of the Nyanga district.

The closing piece is your former National Chairman's Report for 2014/15.

I extend my grateful thanks to Felicity Naidoo for her typing and re-typing of tens of thousands of words in numerous drafts of the material appearing in this journal, to Rhona Sargeant for her invaluable work in type-setting the material and photographs, to our generous sponsors who kindly support the production of this journal every year notwithstanding the hard economic times, and to our members who faithfully buy the journal. Thank you all.

I hope that our readers will find more than one article of interest in this edition and I congratulate the authors on the admirable works of historical interest which they have achieved and have added to the body of our history. Without you no mean part of our history would be eventually forgotten and lost and, of course, your Society journal (the 74th since 1953) would not appear each year, and even more power to your elbows please.

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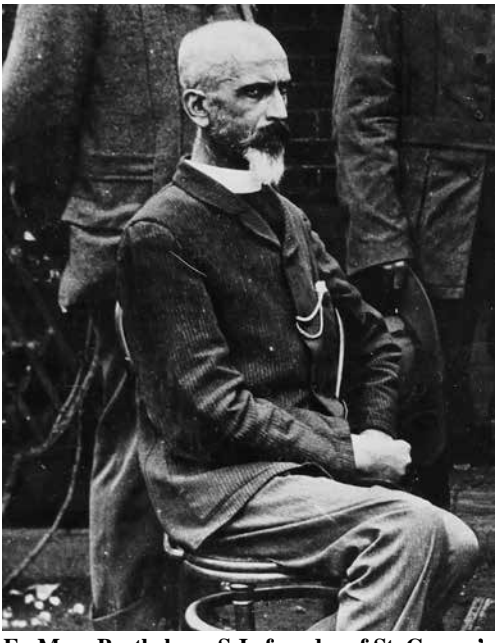
St George's College: The Early Years - Bulawayo 1896-1926

by Brendan Tiernan

In 2015 St George's College completed its 120th year of existence. It was founded in Bulawayo by the Jesuit priest, Fr Marc Barthelemy, one of those rare specimens, an Anglophile Frenchman who had great admiration for the English education system. The school started its life in January 1896 in a corrugated iron shed with two windows and a sloping roof. It must have been stifling in the summer heat and extremely noisy under the summer rains. Six boys were initially enrolled – Leopold and Lancelot Makin, Hubert and William Holder, Edgar Rorke and Otto Cooper – but before the end of the first school day they were joined by four more: John Nason, Christopher and Bertie Nelson, and Max Peters. Two more had joined before the end of the month, David Jacobs and George Max Kirchbaum and by the end of the year there were 27 names on the register. Fees for January were 1 pound, but an extra 10 shillings were charged for Arithmetic, Geography and History books, a Reader and a slate and pencil.

First school building, 1896



Fr. Marc Barthelemy S.J., founder of St. George's Boy's Public School, Bulawayo

Thus with very humble beginnings an educational enterprise commenced thanks to the faith of a quite remarkable Frenchman. In 1896 Bulawayo could not have been a particularly comfortable place in which to live. Remote, dusty and primitive, it was in hostile territory that promised much but so far had yielded little.

The Jesuits

So what of the motivation of Fr Marc Barthelemy?

First and foremost he was a Jesuit, a member of an order of Catholic priests founded by Ignatius of Loyola about the time of the Reformation in Europe. Ignatius had been a Spanish soldier who, after being seriously wounded in a conflict with the French, occupied himself in recovering by reading religious writings (all that was available to him) and underwent a conversion.

Ignatius went back to school at a mature age in order to qualify for the priesthood and thence to the University of Paris where, with a group of like-minded companions, he founded, informally at first, the Society of Jesus (alias the Jesuits). They took vows of poverty and obedience, and generally disdained the idea of clerical preferment (i.e. becoming senior office holders within the Church, such as Bishops and so on). It is interesting to note that, despite the Jesuits being a large order of priests which has existed for nearly 500 years, the current Pope, Francis, is the first Jesuit to have been elected to the Papacy.

Their founder, Ignatius, required that Jesuits be prepared to adapt themselves to circumstances without losing their essential identity of serving God, and to continually discern where their personal cooperation was most needed. Clearly, Marc Barthelemy recognized that the Bulawayo of 1896 required a boys' school and, in this recognition, Barthelemy in his own humble way was contributing to a dominant Jesuit charism (or priority), the furtherance of education, only second to their priority of evangelization.

(Go onto Google and look under "Jesuit Universities', "Jesuit Schools", and "Jesuit Scientists", and you will be amazed at the huge number of educational institutions and prominent scientists who are listed there from all over the world in their nearly five centuries of existence.)

The First Jesuit Missions in Zambesia

Marc Barthelemy was by no means the first Jesuit to arrive in the country. In April 1879, 10 Jesuits under the leadership of Fr Depelchin left Grahamstown, the Jesuit base in South Africa, and made their way via Kimberley to Shoshong in Bechuanaland and were received by Khama, chief of the Bamangwato people. They hoped to set up a base there, but were not encouraged by Khama who was more than satisfied with the work of the London Missionary Society, already established there. They moved on, and on 18 August they reached Tati, the site of a recent gold rush and a growing community of miners.

Fr. Depelchin` bought a house in Tati and left some of his party there, while he and two others continued their journey to Gubulawayo and Lobengula's country. On 2 September 1879 they reached their destination and the next day called on the King. He gave them permission to live near a village at Matsheumhlope. They made little headway. Two expeditions were conducted from there, one to Barotseland and one across the Sabi, both equally unsuccessful and both with loss of life. Doubts arose about continuing their mission; eight of 22 Jesuits who entered Zambesia had lost their lives through accident or fever since leaving Grahamstown. In one final effort Fr Depelchin acquired land and opened a school at Empandeni, but, as Lobengula had forbidden his people to convert to Christianity, this project was equally unsuccessful and was abandoned at the end of 1889, and the Jesuits withdrew from the country and their missionary attempts across the Limpopo.

One of their number had been Fr Hartmann who then, as Chaplain, accompanied the Pioneer Column back to the country in 1890.

Fr Barthelemy's Arrival

Marc Barthelemy came to the country for the first time in 1892 on the instructions of his superiors. He had been born into a family of architects in Rouen in Normandy in 1857, entered the Society of Jesus in 1874 and later studied at the Universities of Paris and Caen, taking degrees in 1883 and 1884. He taught in Jesuit Colleges in France and Ireland before coming to South Africa in 1886. He was ordained priest in 1887 and taught at St Aidan's College, Grahamstown until receiving orders in 1892 to go North. Having reached Fort Salisbury, he was in August 1892 transferred to Fort Victoria, but fell seriously ill with malaria in March 1893 and was sent back to Grahamstown to recuperate. Not much is known of his movements in 1894 and most of 1895, except that he arrived back in the country, this time, Bulawayo, in early December 1895, at the age of 38.The decision to open a boys' school would have required discussion with, and the permission of his Jesuit superiors; the Dominican Sisters at Fort Salisbury had opened a girls' school in 1892, and the Sisters in Bulawayo had followed suit in 1895. The need for a boys' school would have been clearly perceived, and Barthelemy's experience of schools in France, Ireland and at St Aidan's in Grahamstown would have prepared him for such an eventuality. In his random notes he had observed:" I love education. I would love to organize. I am made for everyday affairs, for looking after a house or school'". And in a letter he had written: "It will be a pleasure for me to lay the foundations of what will be (later) our College of Charterland." I assume therefore that he was sent to Bulawayo in December 1895 at least partly with the object of opening a boys' school there, which he did in January 1896, soon after he arrived.

The First Chimurenga

In February 1896 another Jesuit had joined Barthelemy at the school, Fr Victor Nicot; which was just as well, for in March there were signs of resistance among the Ndebele, and the First Chimurenga was about to begin, timed carefully after the capture near Johannesburg of about 400 settler men in the Jameson Raid. Every available settler was put under arms, a laager was set up in the Market Square, and the hospital and other buildings were fortified. Fr Marc Barthelemy was also affected as he was gazetted as Chaplain to the Company's forces with the rank of Major.

Fr. Victor Nicot S.J.

Captain Allen Bell, an officer at the time, wrote this about Fr. Barthelemy:

"One of the most striking instances of the carriage of silent endeavour that has ever come under my personal experience in warfare, was that of Fr Barthelemy who accompanied our column throughout the Matabele war. Even in those early days of the frontier town of Bulawayo, all the principal denominations were represented but in this instance this priest was the only one who accompanied our column and endured the dangers and hardships of the campaign. During the whole seven months, I can only remember him being absent on one occasion from camp and only for a few hours. (He was) in the firing line during the day, carrying out the wounded, absolutely ignoring all danger; in the field hospital most of the night attending the wounded and dying, until he was utterly exhausted … He was one of the most courageous men I have ever met, who by his actions and example called up the better qualities in every man with whom he was associated …."

However, the school remained open with the assistance of Fr Nicot and the help of Fr Daignault who had been parish priest to the Catholics of Bulawayo since the previous year. The fact that it did remain open throughout the First Chimurenga enhanced its reputation and earned it respect among the Bulawayo populace.

Major Barthelemy also enhanced his own reputation, and no less a figure than Col. Robert Baden-Powell commented at the time: "(Fr Barthelemy) is with our forces and doing grand work, as they all say, in helping the wounded and giving last rites to those who wanted them, whatever their creed".

I have often wondered whether there was some cross-fertilisation of ideas between Fr Barthelemy and Col. Baden-Powell with respect to the general education of boys. The Chartered Company's Administrator, Capt. Lawley, mentioned in 1898 that Fr Barthelemy had "long ago" approached him with the possibility of forming a Cadet Corps at the school as part of the Volunteer Corps, and that he as Administrator, was taking steps to carry the suggestion into effect. Thus commenced a long and proud cadet tradition at St George's which culminated in the presentation to the College Cadet Corps of its own Colour in 1946 by the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, in honour of the College's war dead in both World Wars. St George's was the only school Cadet Corps to be recognized in this way. The Colour was trooped before a reviewing officer every year on St George's Day until the disbandment of all school cadet corps in 1968, seventy years after their establishment.

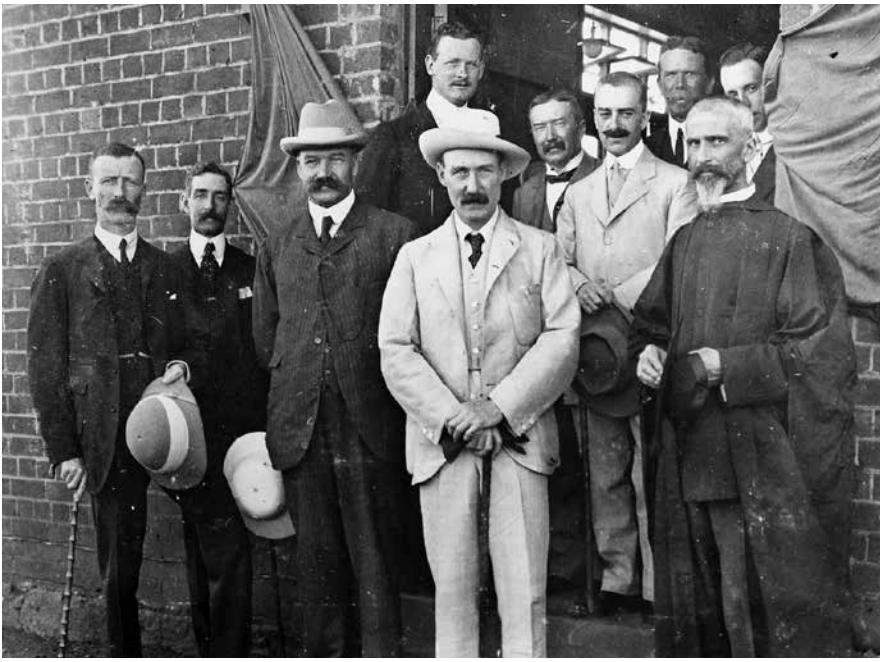
The First Chimurenga certainly had a depressing effect on the young colony and many settlers returned whence they had come. At the beginning of 1897 only 10 boys remained from the previous year. However 17 new boys joined and two additional Jesuits were sent to assist.

Undaunted, Fr Barthelemy made plans for a new building, despite unfulfilled financial promises from the Chartered Company. Morale was greatly boosted by the arrival of the railway line in November 1897 from the Northern Cape through Bechuanaland, skirting the two Boer Republics; and the new school building was completed in July 1898.

An article in the Bulawayo Chronicle of July 19 1898 complimented the dimensions of the new classrooms and noted that the Jesuit fathers laid stress on the fact that the primary objects in view were the imparting of a sound elementary and commercial education; the classics and music etc being looked on as a polish which could be given if required.

One wonders if the citizens of the Bulawayo of 1898 required much polish, excepting perhaps to the insides of their rifles as the prospect of a South African war between the

First brick built school, opened 1898



Visitors to the first school in 1906 – (front row): Col Ramsay, Capt. Jesser-Coope, Sir William Milton, Lord Selbourne, Fr Barthelemy. (second row): Mr Littleton, Sir Charles Coghlan, Mr C. Rodwell, Sir Francis Newton, Lord Windsor

British and Boers was now looming. As a consequence of this threat, by 1900 the number of boys dropped to 37 from a high of 50 in 1898. Fr Barthelemy had volunteered to serve with the Rhodesian Forces as Chaplain, an offer which Col Baden-Powell would gladly have accepted, but the Jesuit Superiors thought the school would be better served by Fr Barthelemy remaining where he was.

School group 1898, with Frs.J. Nesser and V. Nicot at the back, and the first two Rhodes Scholars, Albert Bisset (standing rear row second from right), and Woodford Gilbert (seated in front of Bisset)

Founding Fathers at St. George's circ 1909 (back row): Fr J. Nesser, Fr Goetz, Fr V. Nicot, Fr J. Gardner, Fr F. Johanny.

(front row) Fr M. Barthelemy, Fr I. Gartlan, Fr. J.Kendal

In 1901 the first boarders, five of them, were accepted at the school, beginning a long and sometimes dominant tradition which, of course, still continues. 1902 was a

memorable year for the young school. It was the year at the end of which their first three pupils matriculated, Harry Coker, Albert Bisset and Woodford Gilbert and Fr Barthelemy was able to announce that the latter two were the first ever pupils to be awarded Rhodes Scholarships. The Administrator, Earl Grey, wrote as follows to Fr Barthelemy: "I should like to heartily congratulate your boys and you on the proud distinction your school has gained in having secured the distinguished honour of supplying from the ranks of your boys the first two Rhodes Scholars that have been elected. I am glad that this honour should belong to the Jesuit Fathers, whose devoted and unceasing labours from the earliest moment of our occupation to the present time, in the interests of the white settlers and the native population of Rhodesia, have won the ungrudging admiration and gratitude of all."

The New Buildings

I think we can say that the end of 1902 represents the end of the beginning for St George's in Bulawayo. It had survived some severe tests and some very discomforting political and economic circumstances. Fr Barthelemy himself had become a well-regarded member of the Bulawayo Community and was also respected by the Administration.

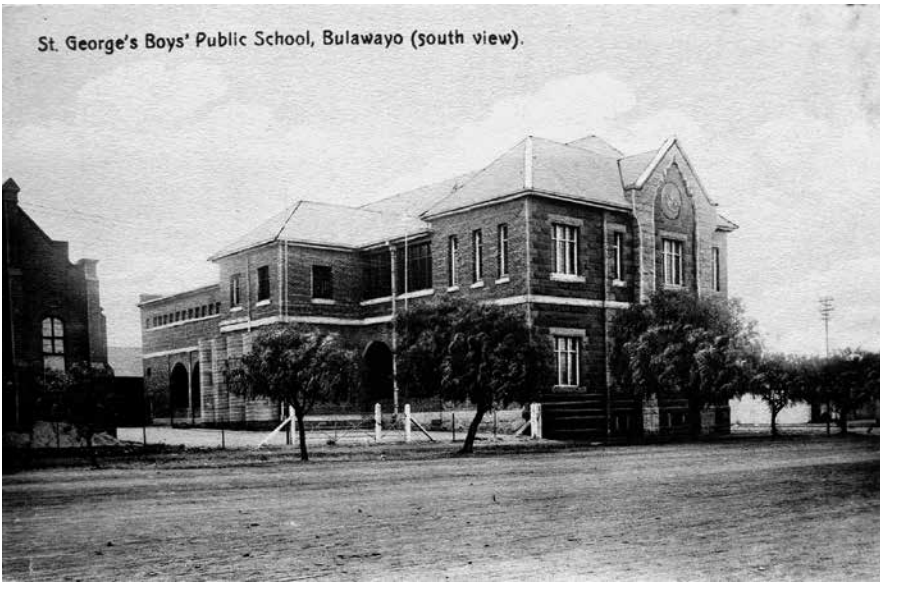
There was another school in Bulawayo that had been established by the Church of England, St John's Public School. (I am not sure of its foundation dates and believe it was eventually incorporated into Milton.) Perhaps it was a sign of more peaceful times that in 1903 interested people met in an organization that called itself the Bulawayo Public Undenominational Schools Association and endeavoured to persuade the Director of Education of the feasibility of establishing an undenominational, state-funded school in Bulawayo. The debate continued for a few years but it was only in 1910 that two government high schools, Milton for boys, and Eveline for girls, were opened in Bulawayo. Fr Barthelemy had steered clear of the controversy although, in 1908, stung by a letter in the Chronicle which had questioned the efficiency of the "voluntary schools" he replied in their defence. He was therefore particularly delighted when in 1909 two further St George's boys were elected as Rhodes Scholars, Patrick Walsh and Paul Wilmot. (Milton and Eveline Schools were fully funded by the Administration, but a capitation grant to the previously existing voluntary schools was continued.)

The Jesuit Superiors did everything they could to support St George's and by the end of 1909 they had supplied 10 priests or brothers to serve it in various capacities at various times; by the end of 1926 they had appointed 33 of their number to St George's, including Fr Goetz after whom the Bulawayo Observatory has been named, in recognition of his original scientific observations.

Fr. Barthelemy made every effort to meet the necessary demands of a now expanding school. In 1907 a large addition was added to the school building of 1898, but by 1910 he realized that the property was now too small to incorporate much future expansion. Undoubtedly his architectural family background and his dreams of "our College of Charterland" fed into his ambition.

After much lobbying of the BSA Co Board officials, as well as the trustees of the estates of Rhodes and Alfred Beit, he was able to acquire some 12000 sq. metres of ground on the northwest corner of Main St and 10th Avenue. The foundation stone was laid on 22 November 1910 and the formal opening of the new school building by Earl

Opening of new building, 1912 – Col Baxendale, Sir Charles Coghlan, Lady Grey, Maj. Gordon Forbes, Lady Coghlan, Mgr R. Sykes, Lady Sybil Grey, Lord Grey, Lt New, Fr M. Barthelemy



St George's, 1912

Grey, the Administrator, took place on 9 August 1912 amid much pomp and ceremony. Sir Charles Coghlan, a leading member of the Legislative Council and later the first Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia was also present. Coghlan, who had been educated at the Jesuit St. Aidan's College in Grahamstown, was always a great friend of the school.

For the Bulawayo of 1912, the building was an impressive one, with solid granite exterior walls, it comprised two storeys and a basement, and was designed by Fr

Barthelemy himself. The basement contained 5 playrooms, a storeroom and cellar and refectory; the ground floor five large classrooms; and the second floor two large dormitories, bathrooms, and bedrooms for the Jesuit Staff. The number of boys attending the school in 1912 was 130, including 50 boarders, which by the end of 1913 had

Fr Barthelemy's funeral cortege, Bulawayo, 1913

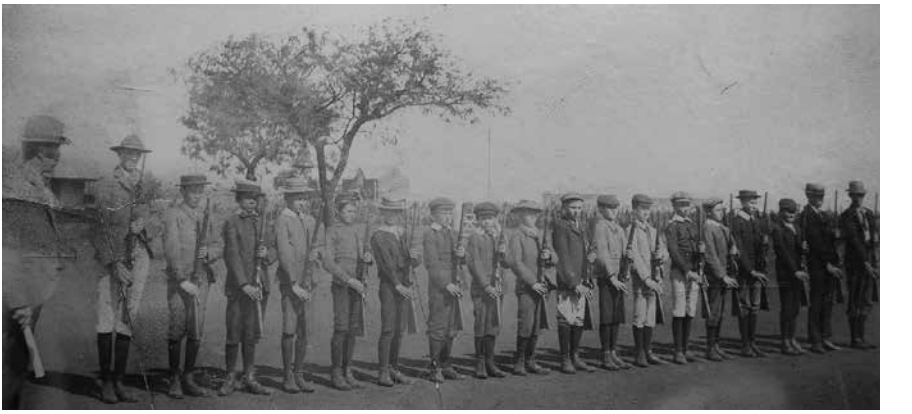
increased to 70. In addition Fr. Barthelemy had been able to lease from the Town Council some land nearby for a period of twenty years to be used as sports fields.

Death of Fr Barthelemy

So one can say that by 1913 Fr Barthelemy by dint of hard work, persistence and determination, had achieved his main objectives, with the support of his Jesuit Community. In 1913, besides Fr Barthelemy, there were seven Jesuit Fathers (Fathers Nicot, Nesser, Johanny, Gardner, Kendall, Madden and Earhart) and two Jesuit Brothers (Ashton and Smyers) in residence. (Jesuit Brothers were full members of the Order, taking vows of poverty and obedience; but they were not ordained as priests, and usually possessed some practical or technical skill, such as carpentry, which was useful for the furtherance of the Jesuit mission.)

Sadly in this year Fr Barthelemy's health had begun to deteriorate. Though only 56, hard work and an austere life had taken its toll on him. Even now he stuck to his task but by November he had been forced to retire to his bed. On the evening of 16 November he had been visited by the Chairman of the BSACo, Sir Leander Starr Jameson, who was on an inspection tour of the country; Marc Barthelemy died the next day, 17th November 1913, just short of 18 years since he had founded the school.

His funeral on the 19th November was military in tone, with the coffin being borne on a gun-carriage and a firing party discharging three volleys and the Last Post sounded at the graveside; certainly the biggest funeral in Bulawayo since that of Rhodes. He was succeeded as Vice Rector and Headmaster at St George's by his friend, assistant and fellow Frenchman, Fr Francis Johanny who had joined him at St. George's in 1899.



Cadets circa 1899

Extra-Mural Activities

Records on this topic were fairly scanty and were likely to remain so until schools began to produce their annual magazines. We know that Fr Barthelemy initiated the Cadets and was himself the Officer Commanding the College Cadet Force until 1911. In a frontier land and a pioneering atmosphere he considered this activity a priority.

Interestingly enough, he was very opposed to rugby considering it barbaric, and, no doubt influenced by parental complaints about boys returning home, after their informal rugby encounters, with their shirts torn irreparably. So the boys were eventually forbidden to play it even informally, and St George's was one of the last schools to take it up. Soccer was the principal winter sport, and continued as such until after the move to Salisbury.

There are frequent references to soccer and soccer fields, so this was the main sporting activity and probably played year round initially, though one wonders about the quality of fields in turn-of-the century Bulawayo.

In 1898 there is reference to school athletics taking place the day after prize-giving, and this included a bicycle race and tent-pegging on bicycles. There are also quite a few photographs of groups of boys and Jesuits on outings in the Matopos, usually with rifles or shotguns, which I am sure, were not simply for the purpose of self-defence. Gymnastics and boxing also featured more often as time moved on, and certainly St George's built up a reputation for boxing which carried through to Salisbury, until it was brought to an end as an acceptable school sport in the late fifties. (I personally recall, as a member of our School Dining Club, when Sir Roy Welensky, a notable boxer in his younger days, had been invited to dine with us, the Rector of the time arguing with Sir Roy about the merits and demerits of school boxing and why it had been brought to an end. Much to our schoolboy amusement, Sir Roy brought the Rector's arguments 'against' to a hasty conclusion by exclaiming: "Absolute rubbish, Rector!")

There is a reference to a St George's Cricket Team being raised in 1897, which entered the Bulawayo town second league as there were no schools to play against. The cricket clubs established at the time were Queens, Police and Bulawayo Athletics Club.

The quality of all sports at St George's improved significantly with the arrival from England in 1902 of Fr Thomas Gardner, a Jesuit with sporting interests and organizing ability. In 1904 an official 1st Cricket X1 was formed and games were played against the Seventh Hussars, then stationed in Bulawayo, and against various farming teams;

Cricket Team circa 1907, Fr J. Gardner standing left rear

and during the school holidays the team trekked the 100 miles to Gwelo to play the town team there. At speech day in 1907 Fr Barthelemy could report that the 1st X1 had won all their matches. In 1909 the school 1st X1, strengthened by a sprinkling of Old Georgians, competed in the Bulawayo 1st League, with the 2nd X1 in the town 2nd League. In 1910 the first school match took place between Milton, the new government school and the 2nd X1; and two years later commenced the fixtures against Plumtree. In 1912 St George's tied with Queens at the top of the senior cricket league and four of its schoolboys represented Bulawayo against Salisbury in the Logan Cup.

In 1912 the inaugural Rhodesian Interschools gymnastics and boxing championships were held at the Drill Hall, Bulawayo. Entries came from St George's, Salisbury High (later called Prince Edward), Umtali, Milton and Plumtree. The St George's gymnastics team carried off the Rhodes Cup, and the boxers triumphed in two of the four bouts in the finals.

In 1914 at the Interschools Bisley, Gymnastics and Athletics held in September it is recorded that St George's came first in the Senior Gymnastics, third in the Junior, first in the Athletics and won the Strong Cup for Boxing for the third year in succession.

Soccer must have had a difficult beginning, as initially there were no schools to play, and, unlike cricket, there would have been reservations about schoolboys competing formally with or against adults. Certainly by 1925 the school soccer team had established itself to the extent that it won through to the finals of the Upington Cup, reputedly then the most prestigious trophy in Junior Soccer in Southern Africa, and it won the final and the trophy.

But certainly it is clear that by 1914, school sporting activities at St George's had become significant, varied and fairly successful.

On the academic front too there were notable achievements: Rhodes scholarships were won in 1911, 1912, 1914 and 1915; and in 1914, St George's boys won six of the twenty Beit Scholarships available.

There can be little doubt that Fr Barthelemy and his fellow Jesuits had built a wonderful foundation from which to grow and flourish. It was sad that the outbreak of war in 1914 delivered terrible blows and setbacks to the world, to our country, and to the school, from which all would take many years to recover.

The War Years 1914 – 1918

Capt. Vere Elliott, circa 1917

The war years were fairly predictable: a question of holding on with fewer resources and endeavouring to preserve as much normality as possible, a normality that inevitably involved reduction and was too often punctuated by tragedies and sadness.

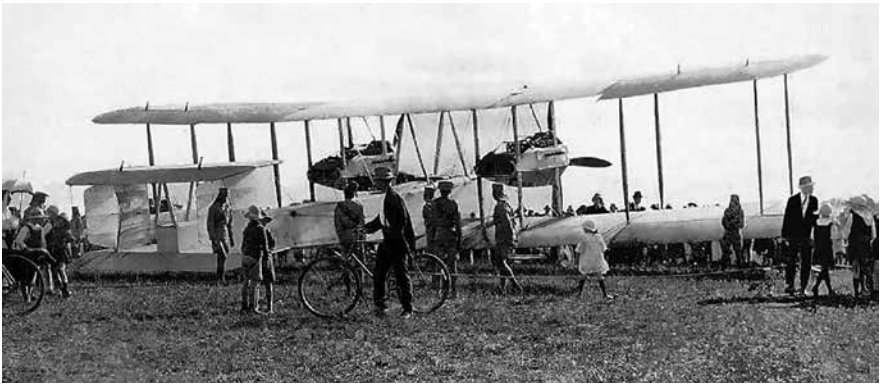
At the end of September 1914 the 500 strong First Rhodesia Regiment passed through Bulawayo: the Regiment included many ex-St George's boys and by the end of 1915 it was estimated that over a hundred of them were serving on various fronts. Over 200 Old Georgians had served by the end of the war and 26 were killed in action.

A tragic example of the latter was that of St George's pupil, Vere Elliot who had been awarded a Rhodes Scholarship in 1915 but had been given leave to postpone residence at Oxford for active service in France. At the end of April 1917 he had written to Fr Nicot: "As for myself I am just the same as when at school; always well and always able to extract a certain amount of pleasure out of life in spite of the desolate surroundings. Having survived the heaviest fighting of the Somme offensive and other battles, I am beginning to feel quite an old soldier. It has been a wonderful experience, but what a day it will be for us all when peace is declared … it will be like a dream to be able to walk about at one's leisure again without the constant anxiety of getting mixed up with splinters of a bursting shell." Promoted to Captain in 1918, Vere Elliot was killed in March of that year.

As if the war was not enough, severe epidemics of scarlet fever and then Spanish influenza raged throughout the school as elsewhere in 1918. There were two fatalities, one a schoolboy and the other an assistant matron who had assisted all the sick in the school hostel. Needless to say, the Armistice signed on 11th November 1918 was greeted with great jubilation, and the school endeavoured to get back to a peaceful normality.

Politics aside, the post-war highlight from a schoolboy's point of view would have been the first plane to land in Rhodesia in 1920, the Silver Queen, piloted by the South Africans, van Ryneveld and

Quintin-Brand en route from the UK to the Cape. The boys had been allowed to



Silver Queen, the first aircraft to land in the country, Bulawayo 1919

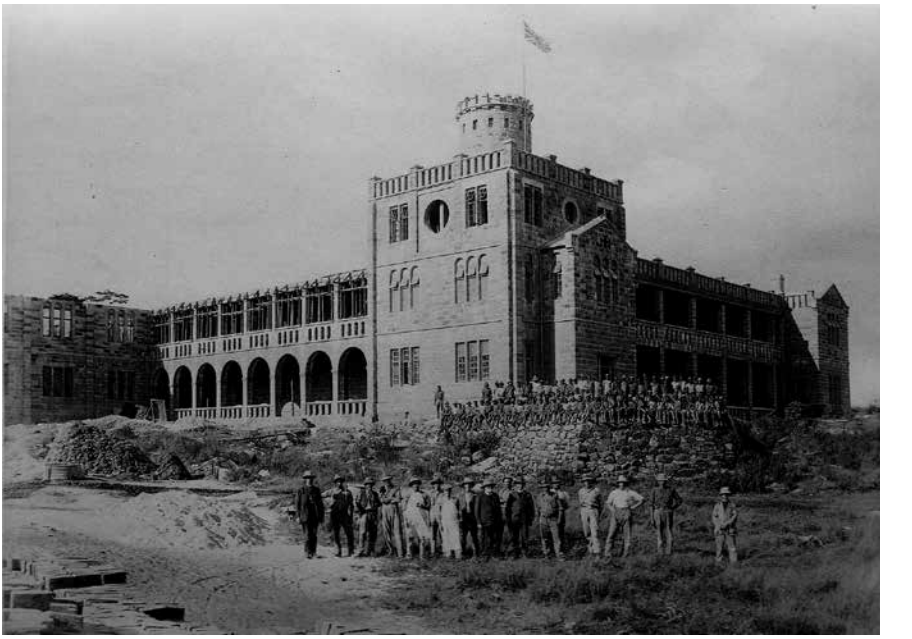
witness the occasion of its landing and to see it take off, and many of them collected "souvenirs" after it had crash- landed on take-off and broken up. Christopher Joseph Quintin-Brand had had a Catholic upbringing and visited the school a number of times while he was awaiting a replacement plane to take him and van Ryneveld on the rest of the journey to South Africa. On his first visit to the school he had terrified the boys, asking all those who had collected souvenir pieces at the crash site to bring them up immediately. When they did so, he autographed each piece, and gave them back, much to their relief.

The Move to Salisbury

Fr William Brand, who had been appointed full Rector of St George's, succeeded Fr Johanny in August 1920, arriving in the country fresh from England. He was replaced fairly soon by Fr Austin Whiteside in 1922 and it was the latter who had to preside over the possibility that had been raised of moving to Salisbury, which became an ever increasing anxiety. It was felt that a new site had to be found because the existing one was now surrounded by streets on all four sides, and traffic noise was a serious inconvenience to the work of teaching and would become worse. There was no privacy for the Jesuit community and insufficient space for games, with the school having to lease grounds some distance away. The demand for boarding in a developing country became more intense and the enclosed premises in Bulawayo left little room for the necessary expansion of the school. In so many ways the school had become the victim of its own success, with the number of places required frequently being underestimated.

Fr Hartmann, in recognition of his role as Chaplain to the Pioneer Column in 1890 had been given a grant of land just below the hill that now bears his name, a few miles north of Fort Salisbury. A cottage for the use of the Jesuits had been built there, but the land was otherwise unutilized as the Jesuits' main centre of operations was the mission at Chishawasha and elsewhere in Mashonaland.

The decision to move had been made by 1924, a brave one, given all the energy and dedication that had been put into the Bulawayo operations, and a public relations exercise now needed to be undertaken. The massive task of clearing a rocky site and building a boarding school at least the size of the one in Bulawayo had to begin. For the latter purpose they employed one of their own, the Jesuit Fr Lebouef, as architect,



St George's under construction at Hartmann Hill, 1926. Standing in front the team of Jesuit Priests and Brothers involved in the construction, including Fr A. Leboeuf , the architect (standing centre with white beard and pith helmet)

and they used various Jesuit Brothers to assist with the building. Brother Schonbrod was site foreman and principal iron worker, Brothers Goll, Conway and McGuigan were the carpenters, and Brother Mellon was the stonemason. (Much of Brother Conway's work has outlived him: the benches in the Chapel, many school desks, and the wooden paneling in the Beit Hall are examples). Brother Schonbrod's beautiful wrought iron gates for the first swimming pool were transferred to the new pool when it was built in 1975.)

The Government agreed to take over St George's in Bulawayo as a technical school, with the day of takeover being 1st January 1927. Since then, I believe Fr Barthelemy's building has had many owners, and its original purpose has long been forgotten. (Editor's note : it is now occupied by the Islamic Information Services of Zimbabwe). But I do think that much of the spirit of Fr Marc Barthelemy endured in the new establishment, and the names of the four competitive internal school houses at St George's quite rightfully memorialize the names of the Jesuits who had so much to do with the St George's foundation: Barthelemy, Gardner, Johanny and Hartmann.

Being prepared to make the move to Salisbury, and to do so successfully, were indeed examples of the essence of Fr Barthelemy's strength of will arising from his faith. It is no coincidence that the College's motto, "Ex Fide Fiducia" means 'From Faith comes Confidence'.

Brendan Tiernan 26.07.2015
(Headmaster, St George's College, 1997 - 2012)
Principal Source: T. McCarthy, "Men for Others".

The "1896 Rebellion Memorial" in Bulawayo: A Short History

by Paul Hubbard

Introduction

Over its 120 year history Bulawayo's architecture has changed significantly for many different reasons. Not least among these changes is the construction, modification and removal of various monuments and memorials. This article focuses on the life and importance of one particular memorial which was built to honour those killed during the *Umvukela*, as the war of 1896 is known in Matabeleland.

In part this article was inspired by the need to provide more accurate information about the history of this Memorial than is currently available (e.g. Baalbergen 2012). More broadly, the life story of the '96 Rebellion Memorial provides space for reflection on the meaning and importance of such memorials over time, especially in light of the major social and political changes witnessed in Rhodesia and then Zimbabwe.

Construction of the Memorial

Remembering those who died in a time of war through the construction of suitable memorials is a time-honoured tradition. In Zimbabwe, The Rhodesia Memorial Fund was created in late 1896 to commemorate those who died in the war by building various memorials and engaging in charitable works on behalf of the deceased. In Matabeleland specifically, the objects of the fund were to erect memorials at the graves of those who died in the war, to financially compensate those "incapacitated by wounds received in Matabeleland" and to build an extension to the Memorial Hospital in Bulawayo (Sykes 1897: 295).

The genesis of the Memorial eventually built in Bulawayo's Main Street[1] is mentioned by Sykes (1896: 295): "Note: It is proposed to erect a general memorial to those whose bodies are not recovered or whose graves cannot be identified". The Matabeleland committee took it upon themselves to build a memorial in Bulawayo, the "capital" of the province; the town council agreed on its location and work began once sufficient funds were raised. This took a few years due to the multi-faceted nature of the various commitments of the Memorial Fund.

Construction of the Memorial began on 15 April 1900 and was completed on 8 September 1900 (*The Chronicle*, 18 June 1980).[2] The Memorial was built from Pasipas sandstone[3] by Sherriff and Burgbacher, local stonemasons who followed the design of architect William Douslin (Bolze & Jack 1979: 96). At that time, the monument was

1 Renamed as Joshua M. N. Nkomo Street on 22 December 2013.

2 This information comes from a note inside a glass bottle that was discovered when the memorial was demolished on 17 June 1980. See *The Chronicle* 18 June 1980.

3 Pasipas Sandstone refers to a reddish sandstone quarried near Pasipas Siding, north-west of Bulawayo. It has been used in the construction of several buildings in Bulawayo, including the Post Office, Tredgold Buildings and Barclays Bank, Main Street Branch.

situated next to another of Douslin's designs: Willoughby's Building, which today is the Art Gallery and is known as Douslin House.

The upper faces of the monument faced the four points of the compass. The one facing south had an inscription in High Dutch which said "Ter Herinnering Der 259 Voorstichtersder Beschaving die hun leven verloren hebben in den Matabele Opstand van 1896". The north slab was an English translation of the High Dutch reading "In Memory of the 259 Pioneers who lost their lives in the Matabele Rebellion of 1896". The faces to the east and west were plain. It is possible the alignment of the slab in High Dutch to the south and the English to the north was deliberate. The English slab looking to the north may have reflected Cecil Rhodes' vision for the direction of British colonisation of Africa (cf. Maylam 2005) while the slab to the south highlighted growing relations with the Afrikaner states and the shared sacrifices in the Bulawayo laager in 1896 (Ransford 1968).[4] Below these, four slabs were inscribed with the names of those who lost their lives in Matabeleland province during 1896, civilians and soldiers alike.

In 1947 a minor fuss was raised when it was realised the English inscription was missing, and only the plaque in High Dutch was visible and this just before the impending British Royal Family visit! The plaque had been damaged in an accident at an unknown date and never replaced. A flurry of letters followed, between the City Council, the Pioneers and Early Settlers Society and various members of the general public, demanding that the English inscription be restored to salvage Bulawayo's civic pride.[5] The replacement was in place before the royals arrived in April 1947.

The "Poodle Lion" Saga

"The value of a good statue never diminishes; it becomes an asset to the town"—*The Chronicle*, 18 November 1905.

The Memorial Committee in Bulawayo had ordered a statue of a lion from Walter Macfarlane & Co. Ltd of Glasgow, Scotland.[6] The plinth had already been built and the marble slabs with the names installed by the time the lion sculpture arrived in Bulawayo. The committee asked that the lion be designed to resemble the figure on the reverse side of the British South Africa Company Medal issued to those who took part in the wars of 1893 (Matabeleland), 1896 (Rhodesia) and 1897 (Mashonaland). Ominously foreshadowing the great debacle, the *Chronicle* (30 September 1905) reported that "The great delay in bringing it out was occasioned, we gather, by differences of opinion as to its design". In the same article, the *Chronicle* reporter was initially complimentary about the statue, saying, "It is a fine and striking piece of casting work." This attitude was to change once the statue was mounted on its plinth on 13 October 1905.

The Bulawayo public were horrified by the lion's apparent insignificance compared to the size of the plinth afforded to it. *The Chronicle* reporter (14 October 1905) summed up the town's attitude: "It strikes us as being singularly small, badly shaped and out of all keeping with the idea which it is supposed to represent". The report continued disdainfully: "We do [not][7] know to whom the design was entrusted and having seen the artist's work, have not cared to enquire." Overwhelming public opinion was that the sculpture bore no resemblance to the lion on the BSA Co medal and in fact resembled a poodle more

4 My thanks to Rob Burrett for suggesting this idea.

5 Various correspondence in the Pioneer Memorial Section, "National Monuments file," Pioneer Society Library, Bulawayo.

6 Their foundry was better known as Saracen Foundry. The majority of their castings were made to a set of standard designs, a series of decorative iron works, from railings, drinking fountains, bandstands, street lamps, pre-fabricated buildings and architectural features (Nisbet 2015).

7 Word smudged in newspaper copy I consulted.

than a lion (Anonymous 1933). People used phrases like "laughing stock" to describe the now-completed memorial and strongly suggested it was not suitable to show to visitors as a symbol of Bulawayo's progress and pioneering town spirit (*The Chronicle*, 18 November 1905).

The furore surrounding the lion was so intense that a town meeting was called soon after the lion was settled on its plinth. Organisations invited included the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Mines, the Landowners' and Farmers' Association, the Scientific Association, the Museum Committee, the Ratepayer's Association, the '96 Memorial Committee, the '93 Pioneers Society and the '96 Pioneers Society. The Chamber of Mines committee did not attend but wrote of their approval to remove the lion. Of the societies and associations that attended, all were in agreement that the lion should be removed and a more fitting statue erected in its place (*The Chronicle*, 18 November 1905). The strength of feeling was evident in the anonymous suggestions that the lion be melted down or buried beyond the town's limits!

The meeting resolved that the lion be removed in accordance with the terms of the Building Regulations; a vote on the matter was carried by six votes to two. In addition, the meeting noted that "it seemed to be the common wish all over the town that they should have the figure of a pioneer to adorn the monument" (*The Chronicle* 18 November 1905). Town Councillors approved of this notion and stated the town council would be willing to fund the cost of this statute which was estimated would cost between £500 to £800. The statue was removed shortly afterwards.

After the lion was taken down, it remained in a yard for several years before it was moved to the City Park and mounted on a low pedestal. "Hundreds of happy children at play made it their 'horse'" (Anonymous 1933). The lion reappeared in the public eye for a brief time because an anonymous prankster painted it bright red in mid-April 1933. The City Council scraped off the red paint and applied a coat of yellow paint but the lion was once again re-touched with blue stripes a few days later (Anonymous 1933). The statue was repainted red in September 1933 (*Sunday News,* 30 April 1972) along with "obscenities" on the walls of the Exchange Building at the corner of Main St

and Selbourne Avenue[8] opposite its original home on the Rebellion Memorial. A police case was opened. The editor of the *Sunday News*, S. H. Veats, was imprisoned for 36 hours in contempt of court for refusing to relinquish the letter or to identify any sources he may have had. He was only released after a search warrant found the letter signed only with a non-de-plume—"The Painters"—and no evidence of his involvement was discovered.

The lion was removed from its plinth and abandoned in the Park in 1947, "among the rubbish heaps"[9] near a children's playground. The spears at its feet were lost. It remained forgotten in amongst a grove of canna lilies for several years more (*Sunday News*, 30 April 1972). The Bulawayo City Council, ahead of the Rhodes Centenary Celebrations, cleaned and presented the lion to Government House in 1952.[10] The statue was originally placed in the grounds, then mounted on a granite plinth at the entrance to Government House. In 1973 the lion was declared a National Monument in Government Notice 689. At an unknown date, but before 1985, it was moved into the grounds near the Indaba Tree and Victorian Trough, also National Monuments. The lion remains there to this day[11] and has survived an attempt to have it de-proclaimed as a National Monument.[12] While the lion remained mired in ignominy, the Rebellion Memorial continued to have a life of its own.

The Gardner Gun Era

The statue of a Pioneer, however desirable to the Bulawayo populace, was to prove too expensive an option. Thus the town council sought other possibilities. The idea of mounting a gun seems to have developed in September 1906 because H. H. Carstens, Chief Secretary to the Town Council wrote to Colonel Bodle, Chief Commandant of the BSAP to ask for an old 7 pounder Maxim-Lewis Gun[13] for the purpose of placing on the 1896 Memorial. Soon after the Gardner Gun was discovered and was deemed a more suitable replacement. The gun was mounted by early December 1906.

8 Initially 7th Avenue, today it is Leopold Takawira Avenue.

9 Letter from Geo. H. Johnson to Major Duly, 22 January 1946, Pioneer Memorial Section, "National Monuments file," Pioneer Society Library, Bulawayo.

10 Typewritten notes, '96 Pioneer Memorial Section, National Monuments and Memorials File, Pioneer Society Library, Bulawayo. See also the Sunday News, 30 April 1972.

11 Regrettably, because Government House is closed to the public (and researchers), it is difficult to confirm this with any certainty at this time.

12 Letters in National Monument File 152, Monuments Department, Natural History Museum, Bulawayo

13 More correctly known as an Ordnance RML 7 pounder Mk IV "Steel Gun", a rifled muzzle-loading mountain gun (cf. Hall 1979).

For something as simple as a weapon, the Gardner Gun mounted on the memorial was loaded with historical significance. This gun was very likely one of the original machine guns to be brought into the country in 1890 with the Pioneer Column (Tylden 1968; but see Anonymous 1967 for a different list of weaponry). How it became the weapon of choice for Bulawayo's Rebellion Memorial is probably more due to its role in the conquest of Matabeleland in 1893.

Writing to *The Chronicle* on 29 December 1906, "A '93 Pioneer" claimed that the Gardner Gun mounted on the plinth was that used in the Battle of Egodade (Bembesi), fought near the Bembesi River on 3 November 1893. The gun, part of the armaments of the Salisbury Column, was stationed at the corner of their laager that saw the hottest fighting. The gun saved the life of Trooper White who was surprised by Ndebele soldiers while on sentry duty and had to run for his life. Trooper F. Thompson who was with White was killed by the Ndebele. "When he fell, the Gardner's fire was directed just behind the other man [White] who had the presence of mind to run round and not directly towards it. The gun was so well-handled that its accurate fire brought the pursuing natives to a sudden stop and the trooper escaped" (*The Chronicle* 29 December 1906). The unknown writer also claimed that most of the Ndebele casualties in this battle were the result of sustained fire from this weapon. He concluded that "the gun is doubtless worn out and obsolete now but it has fought well for Rhodesia in its day".

Despite its age, the Gardner Gun was again hauled from storage during the investment of Bulawayo in 1896 and was mounted on a corner in the laager centred on Market Square. Perhaps thankfully, due to its advanced age, it was not needed because the Ndebele never attacked the laager.

In 1908 Isaac Nicholson[14] was asked by the Town Council to remove the firing shield from the Gardner Gun. The stated reason was that the wind was getting underneath it and moving the gun which was considered dangerous to traffic (*The Chronicle* 22 October 1976). Unwanted by the town council at the time, the Nicholson family kept the shield for nearly 70 years before John Nicholson, Isaac's son, returned it to the city council in October 1976.

The Memorial remained untouched for the next 70 years, save for necessary maintenance. Much of this maintenance was occasioned by brushes with traffic, especially large trucks making their way along Main Street. The city of Bulawayo grew rapidly around this memorial (compare pictures in Bolze & Jack 1979: 14–15 and *passim*).

In September 1977, the Bulawayo City Council mooted the Gardner Gun be removed from the top of the Memorial and placed under cover where "it would not deteriorate further due to exposure to the elements"[15]. The museum was the suggested venue. The Pioneer and Early Settlers Society strongly disagreed with the idea, stating the feeling of the Executive of the Society is that the Gardner Gun is best left where it is for the time being, with perhaps a new coat of paint to protect it... It is considered that any attention being drawn to memorials of this nature at this particular time is undesirable[16]

14 Isaac Nicholson's father, William Francis Nicholson arrived in Rhodesia in 1891. A stonemason, significant buildings he constructed include St John's Cathedral and the main Bulawayo Post Office.

15 Letter from I.J. Edmeades, Town Clerk to E.L. Johnson, Secretary, Pioneers Society, 1 September 1977. National Monuments and Memorials File, Pioneer Society Library, Bulawayo.

16 Letter from E.L. Johnson, Secretary, Pioneers Society, to I.J. Edmeades, Town Clerk, 17 September 1977. National Monuments and Memorials File, Pioneer Society Library, Bulawayo.

The committee was right to be wary of the changing public consciousness, especially as drastic changes were looming in Rhodesia, soon to become Zimbabwe.

Demolition and Dispersal

Despite objections from members of the public, in 1979 the Gardner Gun was removed from its commanding position on top of the Memorial, restored and given to the National Museum in Bulawayo[17] (Bolze & Jack 1979: 96) where it resides today in the Hall of Kings.

The memorial plinth and plaques remained in place for another year before they too were removed. Demolition and clean up took place in the space of a day on 17 June 1980. The decision to demolish the memorial was officially taken on 5 June 1980 at a meeting of the Bulawayo City Council which decided it was a "traffic hazard" (*The Chronicle* 18 June 1980). There does not seem to have been any immediate political pressure from the new government to remove the memorial. Nevertheless, the new Council may have decided to tactfully use the excuse of the memorial as a "traffic hazard" to remove a monument to those who died in a war the new government was describing as the First War of Independence.[18]

The six marble plaques with the names of the dead were carefully taken down and were initially destined to be built into the wall of the cloisters of the Main Street cenotaph located in the Post Office. These plans were quickly changed when protests began about the continued existence of this memorial in the early 1980's. There is a stone and concrete wall in the midst of Centenary Park next to Lendy's Memorial that has space for the six plaques but it was never used. Political expediency ensured the plaques needed to remain in safe obscurity. Today they reside in metal brackets, mounted on the wall of a house and office in the city centre.

17 Today this is the Natural History Museum.

18 I have been told by a few people that the rubble from the memorial was allegedly used to pave a driveway at a house in Bulawayo but I have been unable to confirm this to my satisfaction.

Conclusions

"Globally, monuments are important signifiers of the political order and consequently can be manipulated as political and cultural tokens" (Swanepoel 2009: 101). Additionally, public monuments help to establish and create a permanent memory on the landscape and in society as a whole. Thus we have seen monuments disappear and new ones built across Zimbabwe as the nation struggles with a colonial past that has come to be seen as intolerable.

At independence in 1980, several monuments and memorials were removed by city and town councils across Zimbabwe. Such removals often take place in post-colonial contexts and at the overturning of ideologies (Swanepoel (2009: 101). Tasked with chairing the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe Board in 1980, Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said, "the occasion... is not one of recrimination, but one of reconciliation—reconciling us to the reality of our independence, the death of colonialism and the natural aspirations of the people" (*The Herald,* 1 August 1980).

In Zimbabwe, these early removals between 1980 and 1981 were often instigated by a desire to "save" historical monuments—usually statues—by removing them in a professional manner rather than just tearing them down. Following the destructive celebrations that accompanied the removal of Rhodes' statue in Harare in late July 1980, the white-led city council in Bulawayo were determined not to allow similar scenes. In part this may be due to the fact that until barely a year previously, dignified commemoration of "The Founder" had been a regular feature of Bulawayo's civic calendar[19]. The statue of Cecil Rhodes at the intersection of Main Street and 8th Avenue was removed from its plinth under cover of night and supervised by several uniformed policemen in May 1980 and stored behind the Natural History Museum. Rhodes' statue was joined by that of Charles Coghlan, which was removed from its plinth in front of City Hall at the same time.

In Harare the statue of Alfred Beit[20] was removed to the National Archives in 1980 (Fisher 2010), The "Physical Energy Statue" that was removed from Zambia to Rhodesia in 1965 was moved again to the National Archives in 1981 (McCarthy 1994). Representatives of the reformed RF, under the leadership of Ian Smith, accused the government of deliberately antagonising the white community and argued that men such as Rhodes and Beit had "done a tremendous amount of good for the country" (*The Herald*, 29 September 1980). At the time of writing, South Africa is also undergoing similar controversial and painful upheavals, removals, reconstructions and reinterpretations of its statues and memorials to the pre-1994 era (cf. Swanepoel 2009, 2012; Thotse 2010). Perhaps most significant in these debates is the removal of a statue of Cecil Rhodes at the campus of the University of Cape Town (Grootes 2015; Hall 2015) which has been interpreted as a victory over the colonial past.

The demolition of the Rebellion Memorial fits into this wider narrative of simultaneous efforts to both overwrite and save the past by different sectors of society. The questions become: Whose past do we conserve? And why? Is one "history" better than another? If anything has become clearer in Zimbabwe in the last fifteen years, it is the fact that we need to confront our recent past, however painful it may be, and begin

19 See the file labelled Memorial Parades: Rhodes Statue Bulawayo, Pioneer Society Library, Bulawayo.

20 The Beit Memorial Committee presented to the town of Salisbury a statue of Beit in 1911. The figure moved locations within Salisbury at least five times between 1920 and 1965.

a healing process designed to create a stable nation. The desecration and destruction of historic monuments and memorials does not help this need and instead promotes an unwelcome intolerance of Zimbabwe's diverse and fascinating past.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank the Pioneer Society for allowing me unfettered access to their library in Bulawayo. Adrian Bolze and Joseph Mawere at Books of Zimbabwe are always unstinting regarding my use of their extensive collections. The Bulawayo Public Library kindly provided free access to the Historic Reference Collection. Natalie Swanepoel kindly shared her ideas about statues and their contested meanings. Finally Rob Burrett provided useful comments and revisions to this paper. All errors and opinions remain my own.

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The Geological Survey —the years 1950–1964

by Peter Fey

Introduction

This is the third of a 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 is based on departmental histories by Tyndale-Biscoe (1972) as well as Fey (1997) and follows on from articles previously submitted to this journal by Fey (1995, 2014). In this text the original spelling of place names is used.

The decade 1950–1959

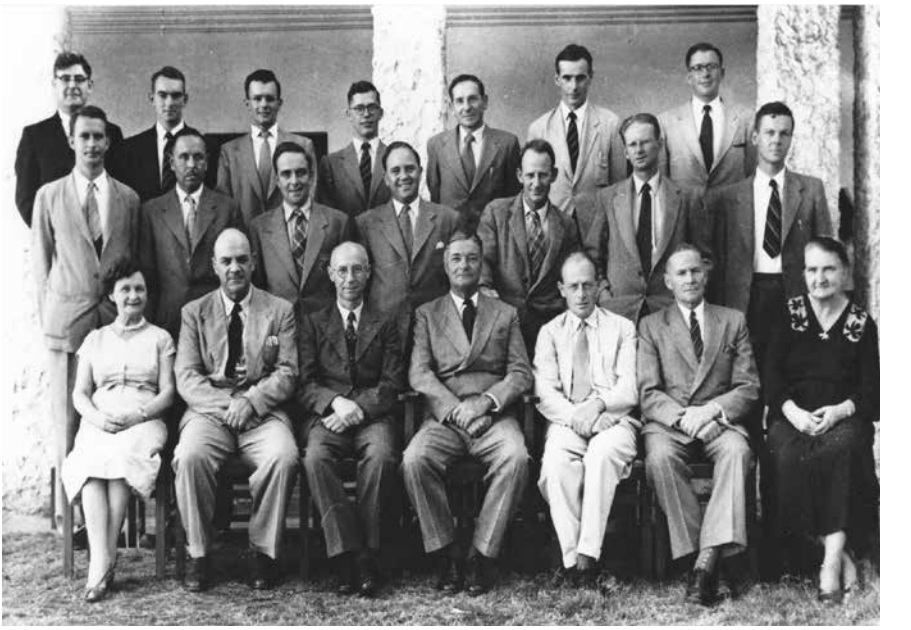
During this period, when the Geological Survey was under the directorship of J. C. Ferguson, the department was expanded to include sections for photography, spectrography and exploration. Throughout, B. B. Napier, who had joined the staff in May 1924, presided over the Drawing Office. Although the decade was one of considerable staff movements it ended with a net loss to the department of only one professional. The pace of geological mapping increased rapidly from 1950, when coverage by two geologists amounted to only 360 square miles, to an annual average of 3 337 square miles of detailed mapping achieved by between six and eight field parties in the years 1956–1959. During the decade the portion of the country covered by such mapping more than doubled to 31%. In addition large areas were geologically reconnoitred.

There were more frequent meetings of geologists from several African countries, and at such gatherings the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey was represented by a succession of its members. The meetings led eventually to the formation of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa south of the Sahara (CCTA), and the Southern Regional Committee for Geology of that organisation held its inaugural assembly in Salisbury during September 1955 under the chairmanship of the Director. With the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 there were moves, never to be finalised, to amalgamate the geological surveys of all three countries into one Federal survey organisation.

Besides undertaking geological mapping the department continued to actively contribute to the economic development of the country. Following a visit in May 1950 to the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Commission's iron ore deposits near Que Que A. E. Phaup (Fey, 2013), then in charge of the Geological Survey's Gwelo office, reported on the need for an intensive campaign of exploration. This duly eventuated and was overseen by B. G. Worst, whose expertise in geophysical prospecting techniques was subsequently utilised for numerous magnetometer surveys in a variety of geological settings. In November, assisted by colleague D. W. Cherry, he was able to extend his

investigations to other iron occurrences in the Que Que area, and to the Mwanesi Range northwest of Enkeldoorn. From the end of 1950 to 1952 Worst supervised a drilling campaign to quantify iron ore and limestone occurrences in the vicinity of Redcliff, from the results calculating reserves there of 15.6 and 16.5 million tonnes respectively for these commodities. In the following year he embarked on the mammoth task of mapping the 535 kilometre-long Great Dyke with its chromite and lesser asbestos deposits, and also visited the Buhwa iron ore occurrence southeast of Shabani, soon to be explored by the Messina (Transvaal) Development Company Limited.

Nor was coal neglected. With fieldwork and drilling completed on the Lower Sabi Coalfield (Fey, 2014, p 34) at the end of 1950 there was a reappraisal of resources in the southeastern portion of the Wankie coalfield. The work included diamond drilling and was initiated in 1950 at Entuba by J. M. Brassey, continued in 1951 by W. H. Swift and was completed in 1956 by Irishman Robert Lawrence Adeney Watson. He had joined the Geological Survey in September 1951 and published the results of these investigations as Bulletin 48 (1960) and Short Report 39 (1962).



Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, 1957
Back: H. J. Cottrell; I. R. Mackay; A. H. Barrie; D. E. B. Shepherd; R. B. Spratt; I. H. Green; D. O. L. Levy. Middle: B. G. Worst; A. J. Radford; J. F. Wilson; R. L. A. Watson: W. H. Swift; J. G. Stagman; H. J. Martin. Front: Mrs G. Saville; F. L. Amm; A. E. Phaup; J. C. Ferguson (Director); R. M. Tyndale-Biscoe; B. B. Napier; Mrs F. M. Thomas

Geologists Brassey and W. C. White resigned during 1950 and chemist E. Golding retired, having served the department since 1926. Thereafter the chemical branch was to have several incumbents until the appointment in November 1961 of Basil J. Radclyffe, who remained until 1976.

Also in 1950, J. G. N. Stagman began his long association with a suite of sedimentary

rocks, now classified as the Magondi Supergroup, by initially undertaking a detailed examination of the Molly and Norah copper claims located some 50 kilometres north of Sinoia. There he worked closely with the American mining engineer Raymond Brooks, who between 1949 and 1953 undertook drilling and underground development on these claims for Rhodesia Copper Ventures Limited. In 1958 the Messina (Transvaal) Development Co Ltd began production from the Molly claims (Jacobsen, 1964) where the new Mangula Mine became the country's major copper producer. Stagman subsequently proceeded to map the surrounding country (Bulletin 46), taking time off over weekends to play tennis at the Umboe Country Club. In 1954–1955 he extended the survey southwards into the Sinoia-Banket area (Bulletin 49), where A. E. Phaup and colleague F. O. S. Dobell had begun mapping in 1938, the latter continuing fieldwork into 1939.

In January 1951 the Director represented Southern Rhodesia at the centenary celebrations of the Geological Survey of India. Early in the year the fourth (1946) edition of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map sold out, and a reprint of 500 copies was received by the department in September. In June a new mineral map at 1:2 million scale was ready for distribution.

At this time all the geologists undertook routine mine visits. In the Annual Report for 1951 the Director instituted a new method of emphasising the economic work of the field staff by listing reports, with authors' names, on all mining properties visited. However, after three such lists had been published, it was very evident that one staff member, namely Phaup, was responsible for the vast majority of these reports. Thereafter names of the authors were omitted from the lists.

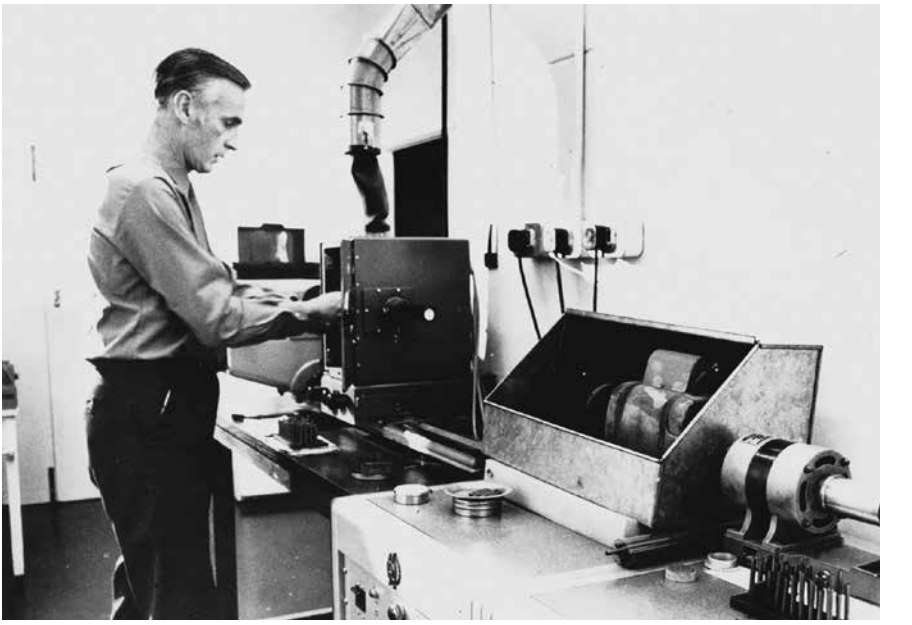
The first and only photographer, Harold J. Cottrell, began work in January 1952 but returned to England at the end of 1957 for health reasons. The year also saw the publication of the first seven titles, prepared by mineralogist N. E. Barlow and Senior Geologist R. McI Tyndale-Biscoe, in a Mineral Resources series. A further five titles were issued in 1955 and the series is ongoing.

In 1947 F. L. Amm had assumed responsibility for geological work in the region between Hartley and Que Que. Henceforth his time was taken up with visits to mines, initially mostly to those being worked under the Government's Mining Settlement Scheme for returned ex-servicemen. His expertise in locating both new ore bodies; as well as faulted extensions to known reefs, helped to prolong the life of several mines. He also found time for fieldwork and over the period 1953-1956 was able to periodically reconnoitre a large region south and east of the capital, where the granitic terrain has been intruded by extensive sheets of dolerite. Mapping the distribution of these was greatly facilitated by photogeological interpretation, and as a result of his work these Mashonaland Dolerites, of Proterozoic age, could henceforth be depicted on the 1:1 million scale geological map of the country.

Together with Stagman and Ferguson, Amm continued the department's association, begun in 1947 by Phaup (Fey 2013, p 129), with the Kariba Hydroelectric Scheme where geological advice was provided on periodical visits to the dam site between 1950 and 1956.

Whilst mapping the Odzi greenstone belt (Bulletin 45) at intervals over the period 1946-1952, Swift spent two months of 1951 on a detailed study of the Chishanya

alkaline ring complex, located just west of the Sabi-Odzi river confluence. Geologically similar to the Shawa and Dorowa complexes which are also located near the Sabi River but further upstream, Chishanya represents a potential resource of phospate. Over the years 1954-1957 Swift (1962) documented the distribution of the Umkondo Group sediments in the Middle Sabi Valley where economic interest centred on Bradley's Copper, subsequently to be worked as the Umkondo mine by the Messina (Transvaal) Development Co. Ltd. With several long interruptions this mapping was continued eastwards to the Moçambique border by Watson (1969) in 1957-1963. For his final year's fieldwork in the Chimanimani Mountains lack of roads obliged Watson to use carriers.



Spectographer Ian Green at work

In the Belingwe-West Nicholson area mapping begun by Ferguson in 1937 was finalised by Worst in 1951 (Bulletin 43) and the investigation of the Hartley gold belt, initiated by Amm in 1945, was completed over the period 1949-1952 and published by J. W. Wiles (1957). Although it lies immediately outside the western limit of the mapped area the Cam and Motor Mine, historically the largest gold producer in the country, was included in the survey. In the bulletin Wiles (1957, p 42-43) described, and through the microscope photographed, thin sections of ultramafic rocks with unusual textures. Studies subsequently undertaken by the brothers M J. and R. P. Viljoen (1969) in the Barberton Mountain Land of South Africa showed that such textures are characteristic of a hitherto imperfectly understood group of volcanic and lesser intrusive rocks (komatiites). Termed "spinifex" textures because of their resemblance to upside down clumps of Australian spinifex grass these textures are formed when magnesian magmas crystallise under varying rates of cooling.

World demand for uranium resulted in the 1953 visit to Southern Rhodesia of two geologists from the Atomic Energy Division of the Geological Survey of Great Britain (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 65) The Atomic Energy Authority finally established

headquarters in Salisbury in December 1955 and, under the leadership of K. Branscombe over the following seven years, investigated numerous parts of the country. The Authority made the Geological Survey a long-term loan of a Landrover fitted with "Cargo" automatically recording radiometric equipment. Although useful in defining boundaries between certain geological units the equipment did not lead to the discovery of viable uranium occurrences.

The 1:1 million scale provisional geological map (fourth edition, 1946) was again reprinted in 1953, and in October of that year Scottish geologist James Freeman Wilson joined the department. He was attached to the mineralogical branch until the start of the 1954 field season, when he initially worked with Watson at Wankie, then relocated to Mashaba where mapping had been begun by White in 1949. Wilson extended the survey eastwards beyond Fort Victoria to the Bikita Tin Field before returning to Mashaba, where his investigations earned him a doctorate in 1966 from the University of the Witwatersrand.

Henry Joseph Martin, formerly geologist with Rhodesia Chrome Mines at Selukwe, joined the department as assistant mineralogist in December 1954, succeeding Barlow when the latter retired in November 1956 after 26 years of service. Between 1955 and 1957 Martin was involved in the exploration by the Salisbury Cement Co Ltd of the Sternblick limestone deposit on the outskirts of the capital. He subsequently undertook extensive investigations of pegmatites, his study and map of the Bikita Tin Field forming part of Bulletin 58 (Fort Victoria), issued in 1964.

Over the period 1953–1956 Wiles, with fieldwork completed at Hartley, turned his attention to the Miami mica field northeast of Karoi. There he made strenuous efforts to revive interest by smallworkers in mica and beryl mining, which had declined since the war. His investigations, covering an area of 1480 square miles, were published in 1961 as Bulletin 51, for which his alma mater, Rhodes University, subsequently awarded him a doctorate.

Whilst thus engaged Wiles was in August 1955 afforded the opportunity to accompany the Native Commissioner Miami on a boat trip into the Lower Zambezi Valley. There he reconnoitred a large tract of difficult terrain, discovered chromite float and recognised a layered complex with similarities to the Great Dyke. He returned to the area by vehicle in October, found outcropping chromitite and produced a very creditable reconnaissance map covering approximately 100 square miles.

Power augering for gold near Chakari, 1961. Amongst the onlookers is geologist Neil Bliss (in centre, wearing shorts)

In September 1955 Wiles inspected bat guano caves in the Urungwe District, as a result contracting the rare fungal infection "cave disease" which subsequently

incapacitated him for several months whilst he was on annual leave in South Africa. Fortunately, he made a full recovery and, after spending some time on economic duties, was able to embark on his final mapping project at Sipolilo over the period 1959–1965, the results being published as Bulletin 63 in 1972.

Worst's detailed study of the Great Dyke spanned the 1953–1957 field seasons, during the last of which he mapped the section between Birkdale Pass and the northern extremity of the intrusion. At that time the region was still undeveloped, and the lack of roads through the rugged terrain obliged him to utilise carriers, supplied by the Native Commissioner, Sipolilo. In 1957 Worst received the degree of D.Sc. from the University of Pretoria for this study and the work was published as Bulletin 47 in 1960. He subsequently mapped the Buhwa and Mwanesi Range iron ore deposits, to be documented in Bulletins 53 and 54 respectively, issued in 1962.

In 1956–1959 Stagman undertook his valedictory mapping project in the Urungwe District west of Karoi. There he discovered extensive, as yet unexploited, occurrences of limestone as well as dolomite and proved the existence of major, hitherto unsuspected, thrusting (Stagman, 1962). A synthesis of his work in the Lomagundi region earned him a doctorate from the University of Bloemfontein in 1965.

During 1956 there was widespread prospecting for nickel and Phaup was kept busy examining claims in the serpentinite belts of the Gwelo district. Furthermore, the Copper King and Copper Queen base metal occurrences, located near the confluence of the Umfuli and Umniati rivers west of Sinoia and reported on in 1952 by Amm, were acquired and subsequently explored by the Messina (Transvaal) Development Co. Ltd. Their eventual exploitation is, however, a very recent development (Masters et al. 2010, p 264). With the arrival in August of Ian Harold Green, the department's spectrographic section became operational, thereby greatly assisting mineral identification.

In September 1957 Amm accompanied the Chief Government Mining Engineer to Canada as official delegate to the 6th Commonwealth Mining and Metallurgical Congress. Also at this time, as an experiment to speed up regional geological mapping, a contract was let for the preparation of a photogeological map covering an area of 1 100 square miles regarded as prospective for mineralisation northeast of Fort Victoria. The resultant data was checked on the ground and found to be satisfactory for incorporation into the proposed 1:250 000 scale map series, and the contract was completed in a shorter time than would have been required for conventional mapping. However, the costs were higher, leading Director Ferguson to conclude that mapping would best be accelerated by increasing the Geological Survey's field staff. This indeed eventuated with the appointment in July 1958 of Clive William Stowe, followed in 1959 by Neil Welbourne Bliss and Neil Michael Harrison, thereby bringing the mapping section to full strength. They were deployed to map the Selukwe, Umvuma and Fort Rixon-Shangani schist belts respectively.

A great loss to the department in February 1959 was the resignation, after more than 34 years' service, of Senior Geologist R. McI Tyndale-Biscoe over a dispute about his elected retirement age. The author of five bulletins as well as six short reports, he subsequently (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1972) produced the first history of the Geological Survey, covering the years 1910-1960.

In November 1959 Dr Isaac Goldberg, a former company geologist, assumed duty as District Geologist and head of a new Exploration Section, created by Amm, for which a Geological Survey branch office had been opened in Bulawayo. This section

was intended to assist the mining industry by exploring regions of poor exposure, using a combination of geochemical prospecting, principally soil sampling, and drilling. The prime target was gold, for which tractor-mounted auger drills, operated by the Department of Mining Engineering, were used to in an attempt to locate hidden reefs as well as auriferous rubble at shallow depths. Tested principally around Chakari, Queen's and Lonely mines the method proved to be of limited success and was terminated in 1964. However, undertaken concurrently with augering, there was also geochemical prospecting for gold, for platinum on the Great Dyke under Worst and for nickel both at the Noel claims in Lower Gwanda and at what was in 1969 to become Madziwa Mine north of Shamva (Stidolph 1977, p 234).

Regular contributor Peter Fey

The years 1960-1964

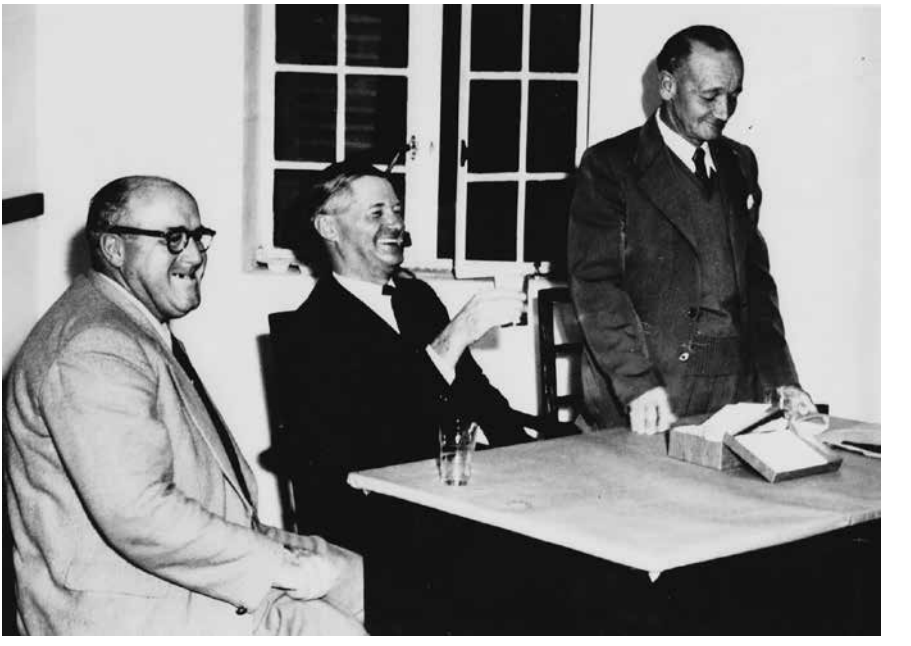
J. C. Ferguson took leave in March 1960 prior to retiring after twelve years as Director. He was succeeded by Amm, who in April 1962 became the second and last Director of Mines. He in turn was followed at the Geological Survey by Phaup, whose regional duties were taken over by Stagman only in August, forcing closure of the Gwelo office for several months. In the course of his directorship Phaup commissioned the reprinting of bulletins 32, 33 and 35, stocks of which had run out. This practice was continued by his successor, Wiles. In 1961 the first and only geological map of the Federation was published at a scale of 1: 2 500 000.

Staffing matters featured prominently during this period. Owing to financial stringencies two vacant posts for geologists were abolished in 1961 and there was a moratorium on the printing of maps and bulletins. Fortunately, by the following year the position had improved. One geological post remained frozen, another could not be filled. However, the fifth edition of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map, long in the making, was finally published in February 1962, with accompanying explanatory notes by Swift (1961). This map was followed at intervals during the year by a further 8 geological maps at 1: 100 000 scale.

Meanwhile mapping, undertaken by between four and seven parties in the field, continued without interruption. However, because geologists were often seconded for economic duties, coverage declined to 968 square miles in 1963 and 966 square miles in 1964. Fieldwork was completed by Bliss at Umvuma in 1960, by Stowe in 1961 at Selukwe, in 1963 by Wilson at Mashaba and at Fort Rixon by Harrison. Stowe, awarded a doctorate in 1968 from the University of London for his Selukwe study, began mapping in the Que Que region before resigning in February 1963 in order to

take up a lecturership at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury. His work at Que Que was subsequently completed by Harrison (1970). Having finished writing his bulletin on the Umkondo Group, Watson began mapping east of Shamva late in 1964, covering 250 square miles.

Meanwhile Worst was engaged in an assessment of the country's resources of iron ore and limestone, the task involving geological and magnetometer surveys, sampling, chemical analyses and specific gravity determinations. From mid-1964 he assisted the Exploration Section and acted as District Geologist, Salisbury. Swift, who in 1959 and 1961 had undertaken fieldwork in the Mtoko region, was also increasingly diverted towards economic duties. In 1960 he tested the applicability of geochemical prospecting in the Penhalonga Valley, and in August 1962 was placed in charge of exploration there comprising soil sampling, geological mapping and diamond drilling. These activities were undertaken by Penhalonga Exploration (Pvt) Ltd, a joint venture established between Government and the Rio Tinto Group in order to resuscitate mining in the Valley. In between fieldwork at Sipolilo Wiles also devoted considerable time to mostly economic matters. During 1959 he spent over two months assisting miners on the Miami mica field, then early in 1962 he was put in charge of a soil sampling programme at the Holdryhill nickel claims north of Shamva. Subsequently, as leader of the geological section of the Schools Exploration Society, he paid a further visit to what he had informally termed the Chewore Igneous Complex on the Zambezi River and collected additional specimens suitable for detailed petrographic study. In November, at the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy Symposium held in Salisbury, he read a joint paper with N. Tatham on "The Muscovite Pegmatites of Southern Rhodesia and their economic exploitation".



Retirement of mineralogist Eric Barlow (standing), December 1956. Seated (left to right): Noel Strathon, J. C. Ferguson (Director, Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey)

At the beginning of 1963 the Geological Survey Department was reorganised and the staff regraded following recommendations in the Paterson Report. As a result Wiles was promoted to District Geologist, Salisbury. New recruits Frank Paul Tennick and Peter Ryan Leyshon respectively were delegated to map the country north of Chakari and contiguous terrain to the west around the Copper Queen-Copper King base metal prospects. Bliss, who since 1961 had been investigating the country and mines around Gatooma, was awarded a Canadian Government post-graduate scholarship. He departed in September 1964 to commence studies at McGill University in Montreal.

By this time the Geological Survey was experiencing an acute shortage of office and storage space, the headquarters in Salisbury having been designed to accommodate only the Director and five or six geologists. However, since 1947 the establishment had totalled some 26 persons, including 9 geologists. The Director's annual report for 1963 states: "The problems of extra accommodation, decoration and proper furniture in the Geological Survey Office remain unsolved in spite of all efforts. The building is in a shocking and disgraceful state that has slowly become worse over the years. It has not been painted or decorated for the last twenty years, in fact not since it was built in 1940. Although the staff has increased, virtually no furniture has been obtained. Practically all the existing furniture is over forty years old and the geologists' offices are largely furnished with ancient relics and camp equipment".

Furthermore library, museum, drawing office and plan strong room were all too full for efficient operation. Fortunately, Maufe Building was completely redecorated over the period April-June 1964 by the Department of Works, which also installed a new floor, lighting and display cabinets in the museum. Regrettably, lack of accommodation and storage space were not addressed. Accordingly spectrographer Green, who during the year had analysed a record number (38 479) of samples, mostly soils generated by the Exploration Section, had to wait a further year before he was able to install the expensive source unit, purchased in 1962, in the new, dedicated spectrographic laboratory.

Highlight of 1964 was the 7th Annual Congress of the Geological Society of South Africa, held during July with the theme "The Later Precambrian Formations of Southern Rhodesia". The Geological Survey took a very active part in the organisation and running of the Congress, which was an international gathering attended by 141 delegates. There were excursions before and after the technical sessions at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Director of Mines Dr F. L. Amm delivered the opening address, and papers were presented by Bliss and Tennick, Goldberg, Watson and Wiles. On conclusion of the technical sessions the President awarded the Geological Society's highest award, the Draper Medal, to former Director J. C. Ferguson.

Acknowledgements

In addition to the references cited the author has drawn on Annual Reports of the Director, Department of Geological Survey, as well as on geological and historical data in his possession. Photographs were sourced from the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

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Herbert Brantwood Maufe, The Geological Survey's first Director 1910–1934

by Peter Fey

Introduction

Herbert Brantwood Maufe, MA, FGS, qualified at Cambridge University in 1900, then joined the British Geological Survey, working as a Field Geologist principally in Scotland but also in Ireland, with a short stint in Kenya. In 1909 the Geological Society of London honoured him with the Lyell Fund (and in 1930 with the Lyell Medal). In September 1910 Maufe was appointed as the first, and became the longest-serving, Director of the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey. During his tenure the Department published 27 geological bulletins and 29 short reports as well as the first two editions of the provisional geological map of the country. In 1918 Maufe was elected President of the Geological Society of South Africa, that organisation in 1934 awarding him its Draper Medal. In his retirement he returned to the understaffed Geological Survey in Salisbury between 1940 and 1945 in order to assist mineralogist N. E. Barlow. He died in London in May 1946.

The early years

Born in Ilkley, Yorkshire, on 27 August 1879, Maufe attended Bradford Grammar School. His early education was classical but, since he displayed such interest in the glacial geology of the Aire Valley, on which he wrote papers at the age of 16, he was transferred to the "Moderns" side of the school (Geological Society of London, 1947). In 1897 Maufe obtained a scholarship to Christ's College, Cambridge where, after a most distinguished academic career, culminating in the award of a B. A. (First Class) degree, he won the Harkness University Prize for Geology and in 1900 was elected to the Geological Society.

In 1901 he joined the Scottish Office of the British Geological Survey and worked as District Geologist under C. T. Clough, initially on the Lanarkshire Coalfield but also in the Western Highlands of Scotland. He was seconded for a period to undertake fieldwork in the west of Ireland, where G. W. Lamplugh was in charge of the British Geological Survey's Dublin office. Maufe used his spare time in Ireland to investigate, together with W. B. Wright, the pre-glacial raised beach of the country's south coast. Between December 1905 and September 1906 he was seconded to the Colonial Service in order to examine the potential for water supplies along the railway then being constructed between Mombasa and Nairobi (Muff, 1908). Later he collaborated with Clough and E. B. Bailey on a paper, published by the Geological Society in 1909, dealing with the cauldron subsidence of Glen Coe in Scotland.

For his studies in Ireland as well as his earlier research into glacial deposits Maufe was in 1909 awarded a moiety of the Lyell Geological Fund. His change of surname, from Muff to Maufe, is recorded in Volume XLVI (page 576) of the *Geological*

Magazine (1909).

Director, Geological Survey 1910-1934

The background to the establishment of a Geological Survey in Southern Rhodesia, with debate spanning almost a decade, has been documented in some detail by Tyndale-Biscoe (1972) and by Fey (1995a). During 1910 a decision was finally made by the British South Africa Company and, on the strong recommendation of former colleague Lamplugh, Maufe was appointed Director of the proposed Geological Survey. The Company owned the mineral rights of the country until these were purchased by the Government in 1933. With the granting of Responsible Government in 1923 the Geological Survey became a Government department but continued to be financially assisted by the Company until 1933.

Aged 31 Maufe took up his appointment on 17 September 1910, initially on a two year contract at £800 per annum, and based himself in Bulawayo in order to facilitate co-operation with the geological and mineralogical sections of the Rhodesia Museum. He was joined in October 1910 by Henry Stobie McVey, formerly also of the British Geological Survey's Scottish office. McVey combined the roles of draughtsman and clerk until the first Clerk was appointed in 1914.

It was decided that the new organisation could best serve the mining community by undertaking regional mapping, and by offering a free service comprising advice on all geological matters together with determinations and analyses of rocks, ores and minerals. Geological maps were initially based on available farm plans prepared by the Surveyor-General at a scale of 400 Cape roods to the inch (1:59 500). Until the advent of aerial photography in 1932 mapping was undertaken by plane table and alidade, altitudes being determined by barometer, and investigations were confined to areas of economic interest, principally the auriferous belts of Archaean greenstones. Until 1926 transport consisted of buckboard and mules, alternatively of full tent donkey wagons capable of travelling at two miles an hour. Apart from annual reports presented to the Legislative Assembly, Maufe decided to publish the work of the Geological Survey in two forms. Comprehensive surveys of an area, its mines and mineral occurrences are still described in geological bulletins, with results of less detailed investigations being documented in so-called short reports. Besides these official publications much geological information was disseminated in papers written by Geological Survey officers and published in various scientific journals. Furthermore, especially during the formative years of the Department, results of the fieldwork were documented in considerable detail in the Director's annual reports which, once printed, could be purchased by the wider public. Not published are details of routine mine visits, recorded in the department's Technical Files.

The new Director wasted no time in commencing fieldwork, although why he chose the Enterprise mineral belt 30 miles east of Salisbury instead of an area closer to Bulawayo, is not on record. By the time he returned to the office at the beginning of 1911 an area of 50 square miles had been mapped but the results were issued as Bulletin 7 only in 1920.

Early in 1911 Maufe familiarised himself with various types of mineral deposits both in Southern Rhodesia as well as in the Transvaal. In May of that year he was joined by Ben Lightfoot, a colleague from the Scottish office of the British Geological Survey, and by Arthur Edward Victor Zeally (Fey, 1995b), Curator of the Rhodesia Museum

in Bulawayo since 1909. Together the three geologists commenced work mid-year in the Selukwe gold belt southeast of Gwelo, the Director leaving his colleagues in August to visit the newly discovered Victoria tin fields as well as the asbestos quarries at Mashaba before completing his mapping of the Enterprise belt. Furthermore, a start was made with the establishment of a departmental library. Maufe (1913) was soon able to use data gathered by the Geological Survey to postulate the existence of a genetic relationship between acid igneous rocks and gold mineralisation. Fieldwork at Selukwe was completed in February 1914, the month in which the Director was advised that his application for appointment to the Fixed Establishment of the Civil Service had been approved, effective from the date of his original appointment. He was to receive annual increments of £25 until his annual remuneration reached £950. Meanwhile Lightfoot, who had earlier investigated coal occurrences in the Sabi valley and at Wankie, resigned in September of that year in order to take up the Sorby Fellowship at the University of Sheffield. This left the Director, assisted by Zealley and new recruit Alexander Miers Macgregor, appointed in July 1915, to continue mapping north of Bulawayo. However, Macgregor also resigned in February 1916 in order to enlist for service in World War I.

With the field staff reduced to two geologists over the period 1916–1917 mapping was suspended, fieldwork being limited to examination of prospects which might quickly be brought into production, and to reconnaissance surveys. During this time the Department dealt with a large number of requests for mineral determinations, brought about by increased demand for strategic minerals. Indeed, the war years were noteworthy for a number of discoveries, including the tantalum mineral microlite (Umtali district), barytes (Gwelo), chrysotile asbestos at what was to become Shabani, and platinum in the Great Dyke east of Gwelo.

Geological mapping was resumed following the appointment in April 1918 of Arthur John Charles Molyneux, geologist and pre-1893 pioneer (Fey,1994), who briefly joined Maufe north of Bulawayo before commencing fieldwork west of Sinoia, where copper and gold had been discovered.

By this time, however, it had become evident that too much was expected of the fledgling Geological Survey, which had been censured in some quarters as being too academic. Maufe, although a man of retiring disposition, was a prolific worker but his output of published work, and hence that of his Department, was limited by his passion for accuracy. Matters came to a head in 1918 when the then Secretary for Mines and Roads, E. W. S. Montagu, in correspondence to the Administrator, Sir Drummond Chaplin, criticised the Department's slow rate of publishing reports on areas of completed fieldwork. Montagu continued to castigate the Director for over a year and called repeatedly (fortunately to no avail) for his compulsory retirement; the issue has been treated in some detail by Tyndale-Biscoe (1972, p 22–26). Montagu was instrumental in the move, in May 1918, of the Geological Survey from Bulawayo to Salisbury. There it came directly under him and was located at the corner of Jameson Avenue and Second Street. In another setback two staff members, geologist Zealley and clerk H Cripwell, died of the influenza epidemic in October 1918,

Highlight of the year was undoubtedly Maufe's election as President of the Geological Society of South Africa. He delivered his presidential address, entitled "Recent advances in Rhodesian Geology", in Johannesburg on 17 March 1918.

Herbert Maufe

With Macgregor back from war service in August 1919 and McVey returning to work after war leave in October of that year, the Department was able to resume its principal role. Maufe continued geological mapping in the Bubi District north of Bulawayo and also inspected the site of the proposed new colliery at Wankie for faults which might affect the plant layout. Together with Molyneux he visited Lake Alice on the Gwampa River, northwest of the Lonely Mine, in order to record the geological succession there. A total of 70 specimens was collected from two new fossil localities at the base of the Kalahari sequence. Identification in England confirmed an upper Cretaceous age for these fossils.

In the course of the following year Maufe, together with Macgregor, continued with fieldwork north of Bulawayo and in addition undertook three traverses into the remote terrain north of Salisbury. There he visited the recently opened Miami mica field in the Lomagundi District, where he identified the mineral beryl (Maufe, 1920). He speculated on the potential (later to be realised) for flake graphite, as well as on the likelihood of the district being the source of the several indicator minerals occurring in the diamondiferous wash of the Somabula diggings. From Miami he travelled westwards to the vicinity of the Copper Queen claims in the Sebungwe District, and on another traverse he examined the chrysotile asbestos workings as well as the chromite occurrences of the Umvukwe Hills. There he commented on the synclinal nature of the seams as well as their younger age when compared with chromite deposits at Selukwe. A sad loss to the department was Molyneux's death of heart failure at age 55 in December 1920.

During the 1921 field season, in view of the perceived need for a geological map of the country, Maufe and Macgregor undertook geological reconnaissances in several outlying districts in order to gather data for this project. As a result the first edition of the map, at a scale of 1:1 000 000, was published in 1922. At Maufe's invitation Lightfoot returned to the Geological Survey in September 1921, to be immediately appointed Acting Director when Maufe proceeded on long leave. Whilst on this vacation he visited mica mines in India and, with a view to stimulating production and efficiency on the Miami field, returned with examples of mining tools as well as, importantly, the mica gradeograph. This latter was a template for standardising and classifying cut mica for the market (Broderick, 2013). The year ended satisfactorily with the appointment in October of mineralogist J. Reekie, who initiated the production in the Department of microscope

slides of rock specimens. Hitherto these had to be prepared in Europe.

Ill-health forced Reekie to resign in May 1924, leaving his work to be undertaken by Maufe and Macgregor. Lightfoot, appointed Mining Representative with the Rhodesia Section of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, was away for most of the year. In consequence systematic mapping had perforce to be suspended, being replaced by visits to numerous mineral deposits and mines, with Maufe reporting on, inter alia, the Mount Wedza schist belt and prospector H. Barnes-Pope's newly discovered corundum claims at Rusape. Draughtsman McVey was in March 1924 provided with an assistant in the form of Basil Bredell Napier, whilst in December of that year Reekie was replaced by a new appointee, geologist Ronald McI. Tyndale-Biscoe.

Following his identification in May 1925 of platinum mineralisation in samples brought in from near Makwiro, Lightfoot was equipped with a covered Ford motor wagon for fieldwork to establish the extent of the occurrences along the Great Dyke. This experimental mode of transport was so successful that for the 1926 field season the Geological Survey acquired a fleet of six Chevrolet half-ton vanettes, thereby permanently replacing mules and wagons. During the year the Department moved to 'temporary' accommodation on the corner of Jameson Avenue and Fourth Street. Maufe meanwhile undertook, mostly out of office hours, the compilation of sheets for Northern and Southern Rhodesia, as well as for the Bechuanaland Protectorate, for the International Geological Map of Africa. Later, whilst on a short leave, he visited the principal mining areas of Northern Rhodesia.

In May 1926 the Director represented the country at the International Geological Congress in Madrid, at which considerable interest was displayed in the geology and mineral deposits of Southern Rhodesia. In consequence, excursions through this country were planned by the Geological Survey as part of the proposed 1929 Congress, to be held in South Africa. During 1928, in preparation for this event, Maufe himself undertook the mapping of some 10 square miles around the Victoria Falls. He established the existence of eight separate basalt flows, elucidated the structural control for the gorges of the Zambezi River and discovered implements dating from the Early Stone Age. At the same time Lightfoot spent three months revising the geology of the Wankie coalfield, of which his original account (*Bulletin 4*, 1914) was by then out of print. In addition a second edition of the 1:1 000 000 scale geological map was completed for printing.

Maufe and Macgregor represented Southern Rhodesia at the very successful 1929 International Geological Congress, held mid-year in Pretoria. Some 100 delegates visited Southern Rhodesia where the Geological Survey had not only compiled a comprehensive 64 page guidebook but had arranged excursions led by several of its members. These field trips included Victoria Falls (Maufe), Wankie coalfield and Selukwe chromite deposits (Lightfoot), Sebakwe Poort as well as Globe and Phoenix Mine (Macgregor) and Shabani asbestos deposits (Keep). Unfortunately the time-consuming preparations for these activities, together with the resignation of geologists Keep and Morgan, adversely affected systematic mapping, (coverage for the year amounting to only 267 square miles).

Maufe was awarded the Lyell Medal by the Geological Society of London in 1930, a year in which he was on serious indisposition leave between 6th February and 3rd November, Lightfoot deputising for him. Although the Director continued to undertake short field trips, which in 1932 included visits to 14 mining properties, most of his time

was henceforth devoted to administrative duties. His final Geological Survey publication (Maufe, 1933) was a preliminary report on the mineral springs of Southern Rhodesia. In 1934, when he was honoured by the Geological Society of South Africa with its highest scientific award, the Draper Medal, Maufe presided over an organisation which over its 24 year history had grown to comprise 7 geologists together with a chemist, mineralogist, topographer, three draughtsmen as well as a librarian and clerical staff. With the focus very much on areas of economic significance such as the gold-bearing greenstone belts, the Wankie coalfield, Shabani asbestos occurrences and the chromite deposits of the Great Dyke, detailed mapping had been completed over an area of some 8 000 square miles, approximating to a little over 5% of the country, results being documented in 27 published geological bulletins and 29 short reports. In addition, there had been two editions (1922 and 1928) of the 1:1 000 000 scale geological map of the country. Fieldwork had resulted in a large collection of rock specimens and related microscope slides, whilst the many visits undertaken to mining properties were fundamental to the establishment of an important and valuable economic geology database of reports and plans. In addition, there was a steadily growing departmental library.

After a short period of leave Maufe retired on pension from the Geological Survey on 27 August 1934, to be immediately succeeded by Ben Lightfoot.

Minister of Mines Ian Dillon and Maufe's son Anthony

Epilogue

In notes compiled by F. L. Amm on the occasion of Director J. C. Ferguson's retirement in 1960 it is recorded that, during 1934 and presumably after his retirement, Maufe undertook an expedition up the Amazon River. There he met a fellow Rhodesian who refused to believe that two individuals from as remote a country as Southern Rhodesia could possibly meet up in the interior of Brazil. He accordingly tested Maufe's credentials as follows: "If you come from Southern Rhodesia you must know Fergie

(J. C. Ferguson)". The latter had joined the Geological Survey in 1930 and became the third Director in 1948.

In October 1940 the Geological Survey moved into its new offices, still in use today and known as Maufe Building. With the staff depleted through military service Director Lightfoot (1940) agitated for Maufe's temporary return. He noted that material yet to be moved to the new premises included over 100 cases which, stored in a Department of Metallurgy shed, had suffered depredation by white ants. Maufe's help was urgently required to identify and catalogue this collection which had been costly to amass.

Accordingly, the former Director duly returned to the Geological Survey on 10 December 1940 and remained there until 22 May 1945. His initial daily salary of £1, from which his pension was deducted, was raised to £32.10.0. per month from 10 December 1943. During this period he undertook limited fieldwork which included an assessment of the graphite potential in the Dett region (Maufe, 1943). In the office he used his petrographic skills to examine and catalogue the rock and slide collection, also assisting mineralogist N. E. Barlow with mineral determinations. Maufe was a man of few words, and it is recorded (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 56) that the two men worked together mostly in silence. In addition, he rearranged the palaeontological collections as well as the reprints file of some 1 400 papers. On his retirement he presented the library with sketch maps, papers, letters and photographs relating to early visits to the Victoria Falls and given to him by G.W. Lamplugh (under whom he had worked in Ireland). A bust of Maufe, made by cartographer D. O. Levy and placed in an alcove in the carpark between the two wings of the Geological Survey building, was unveiled in 1970.

Since he was a very private person virtually nothing is known of Maufe's personal life. As a scientist, and a man of the highest integrity, he was held in great esteem by his colleagues and peers. Besides geology his interests extended to archaeology and he built up a large collection of stone artefacts, collected principally from the vicinity of Victoria Falls. He married in 1914 (Geological Society of London, 1947) and after the Second World War returned to England overland (D. O. Levy, *pers. com.*), dying in London on 8 May 1946 aged 66. He was survived by one son, Anthony, about whom nothing is known, except that on 1st September 1975 he presented a portrait of his father to the Minister of Mines, the Hon. I. B. Dillon.

Acknowledgements
In addition to the references cited the author has drawn on Annual Reports of the Director, Department of Geological Survey, as well as on geological and historical data in his possession. Photographs were sourced from the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

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A Short Tribute to Captain Reg Bourlay

by Mitch Stirling

The Kamfinsa Hotel was a favoured watering hole for the residents of Greendale "back in the day". It was a fine place at "sundowner" time to relax with old friends and occasionally make new ones.

One evening, I met a fascinating old-timer who looked vaguely familiar.

To my delight I discovered that he was a retired pilot from the days of Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways (1933–1940) and Central African Airways (1946–1967).

Captain Reginald Arthur Bourlay MBE, was a remarkable man and I soon realized how privileged I was to be talking to one of the pioneers of aviation in Africa.

His flying career began in November 1931 at the Johannesburg Light Plane Club, situated to the south of the city at Baragwanath.

Reg Bourlay

'Bara-G', as it was affectionately known by generations of aviators, was the hub of aviation in Southern Africa where men like the legendary World War 1 pilots – Stan Halse and Rod Douglas dispensed flying instruction to groups of eager pupil pilots. Many new aircraft types were on the market at the time and stunt aerobatics and parachuting were all the rage. Crowds flocked there every weekend and, of course, the day's flying activities usually ended with very enthusiastic socializing.

Nyasa III being refuelled

DH.60G Gipsy Moth ZS-ABM, presented to the club by Sir Charles Wakefield in 1929, provided young Reg Bourlay with an introduction to flight, but he soon progressed to the more advanced DH.80 Puss Moths and a DH.83 Fox Moth ZS-ADH.

After a year of concentrated flying and written exams Reg qualified for South African 'B' Licence No 239 at the tender age of twenty. This allowed him to enter the world of commercial aviation. At a later stage he would become licensed to maintain the De Havilland Gipsy Moths and Puss Moths as well as fly them—a very useful combination of qualifications which he put to good use.

A brief visit to Nyasaland in 1933 to attend the air rally at the new Chileka airfield outside Blantyre convinced him that a position as a pilot with Christowitz Air Services (Nyasaland) Limited was a good career move for him.

So Reg Bourlay joined pilots Henry Hollingdrake and Danby Gray at Christowitz, a small charter company that had commenced operations in 1931 with a service to Beira. The fleet at the time consisted of two Puss Moths ZS-ACS and ZS-ACV, christened 'Nyasa 1' and 'Nyasa 111' respectively.

'Nyasa 11', a DH.60X Cirrus Moth was also on the books, leased to Christowitz as ZS-AAW and later registered as VP-YAO with Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways (RANA).

Keenly supported by the Governor, Sir Hubert Young, who opened Chileka Field

in 1933, Christowitz Air Services, expanded domestically using the newly-built Zomba and Lilongwe airfields. Lady Young, herself a pilot, was the first to land at the new Chileka Field in her DH Gipsy Moth VP-NAA.

The DH.80A Puss Moths proved to be very popular with passengers, mainly engineers and government officials, as they offered the comfort of the first commercially operated cabin-type aeroplane in the world.

In 1934 Reg qualified for Southern Rhodesia 'B' Licence No 15, by which time Christowitz Air Services had been absorbed into Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways. Puss Moth ZS-ACS was re-registered as VP-YAP, and ZS-ACV became VP-YAR.

Fox Moth ZS-ADH of Johannesburg Light Plane Club went to Ted Spencer at Victoria Falls as VP-YBD. It came to a sudden end when it crashed into a wall during aerial spraying in Oranjeville South Africa in 1958.

Reg Bourlay with Nyasa III

For the next three decades, until his retirement in 1963, Reg visited all the countries surrounding Southern Rhodesia and landed on just about every conceivable type of runway, from goat tracks in the bush to new blacktop internationals. His first-hand knowledge of unmapped territory and his uncanny ability to read the weather were invaluable and helped to establish his reputation as one of the best pilots in southern, central and east Africa.

As a bush pilot for Christowitz Air Services and Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways, an airline pilot for Central African Airways and a military pilot for Southern Rhodesia Air Services, Reg Bourlay flew a wide range of single and multi-engined machines during the course of his aviation career. These included de Havilland Rapides, Dragonflies, Leopard Moths, Beavers, Doves, a Westland Wessex, Vickers Vikings and DC-3 Dakotas.

The variety of his experience was astonishing. From delivering a consignment of gloves to the ladies of Nyasaland so that they might appear suitably attired at

a Government House garden party, to flying the first scheduled service between Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia, to delivering consignments of Royal Mail to the Empire Flying Boats at Beira, to search and rescue in the Zambezi Valley, to superintending flying and operations at Central African Airways, Reg Bourlay had been there, done that, seen it all.

In his personal life Reg was an avid photographer who recorded wonderful images during his airborne days, some of which appeared in the National Geographic magazine of October 1939. Barotseland was one of his favourite spots where he loved to camp and fish and bird watch.

Reg Bourlay departed to the big hangar in the sky in 1991.

Over the years I have been privileged to meet his two daughters, Geraldine and Anne, and his son Chris who very kindly sent me some of his father's photographs and entries from his log book, three of which are reproduced with this article. They are national treasures.

Some Trivia from the BSAC Government Gazettes of 1895

compiled by Fraser Edkins

January 1895

- By statutory instrument, whites or "coloureds" found in "African locations" in Bulawayo between 9 pm and 5 am faced a 10/- fine (about US$70 in today's money) and lights and fires had to be extinguished by 9 pm.

February 1895

- The Imperial Secretary revoked the powers of the Matabeleland Land Commissioners, notice of same being placed by his secretary, one Jan Smuts (soon to become more than a little famous).
- Arnold Edmonds (of Glen Lorne) advertised his Separator Butter ("untouched by hand in manufacture") for today's equivalent of US$23 per pound.
- Jesuit Father Nicol kept Salisbury's rainfall measurements.
- "Eggs (Mashona)" sold at $32 a doz. and "Eggs (colonial)" at $81 a doz. (in today's money).
- Just in February Liquor Licenses were issued for eleven premises in Pioneer Street alone (now Kaguvi Street).

March 1895

- Tenders were invited for the supply of 20 ft Yellowwood telegraph poles for the Salisbury/Umtali railway line—they had to be "fairly straight".

May 1895

- A Proclamation by Leander Starr Jameson on 1st May 1895 declared that the occupied territory ("South Zambesia") would henceforth be called "Rhodesia" (and set its geographical boundaries).
- Offences under Disciplinary Regulations for members of the armed Volunteer Corps included "going in search of plunder" and "treacherously holding correspondence with the enemy".
- Patent and homeopathic cures were known as "Dutch Medicines".

June 1895

- Bread cost $7 a loaf in today's money.
- Waterfalls Farm (now a Harare suburb) was surveyed. George Tully was owner.
- The Bishop of Mashonaland conducted the St John's Eve service for Freemasons.
- More liquor licenses were issued for Pioneer Street.

July 1895

- 25 year old butcher, John William Lafferty, had been "lost for the last 3 weeks near Hartley Hills, last seen going west to Gutuma's" (Kadoma). £10 was offered for information as to his whereabouts.
- Alice MacPherson of Brighton sued husband Hugh ("somewhere in Rhodesia") for divorce.
- A German shipping line advertised "Home (England) via the Suez Canal" (from Beira).

August 1895

- Lemon & Co (still going today) were dispensing drugs in Bulawayo (including perfumery).

September 1895

- Mr Jensen's "photo apparatus" (held up on the road from Tuli but expected shortly) guaranteed "first-class portrait work" to the Volunteer Corps (in their new uniforms).

October 1895

- Ferreira Brothers warned off hunters from "the Farm Enkeldoorn" (later Enkeldoorn and Ferreiraton townships and now Chivhu town).
- Farms were being surveyed in the Umvukwes Range (including that of the Wesleyan church and Barwick Estate).
- G. M. Braganza ("late of Bombay, Baroda and the Central India Railways") set up as a house and carriage painter.
- Today's Harare Agricultural Show Society held its very first General Meeting.

November 1895

- "A meeting of Scotchmen" was called for 7th November 1895 at the Hatfield Hotel to arrange "a suitable celebration of St Andrew's Night".
- It was announced that the fence at the tennis club adjoining the Wesleyan Church was to be put back a few feet to avoid a repetition of "the rather nasty accident" suffered by a Mr Fitt who "ran into the fence with

considerable force" and had to be carried off with "a severely sprained ankle".

- World record times at the USA v Great Britain track-meet in Manhattan were announced (including 9,45 seconds for the 100 yards). The Americans won most of the races. Work out for yourselves how far behind Usain Bolt the winner would have been.
- M. Muirhead & Co offered meatsafes for sale. (See Robin Taylor's article in Heritage 33).
- Well-wishers ("unhappily not comprising the whole population") subscribed 21 sovereigns for the Rev. J. R. Bayin, who was "departing the territory".
- Dr Andrew Fleming was on the Salisbury Town Board.
- Royal Baking Powder had arrived in the colony from the USA, so superior that food raised by it could be "eaten hot with impunity, even by dyspeptics".
- £12 000 (a fortune) destined for the African Banking Corporation in Bulawayo disappeared from a box on the Transvaal/Bulawayo coach. On the box being off-loaded it was found to contain nothing but sand. "Suspicion attaches to two men who left the coach at Pietersburg and the Crocodile (Limpopo) River respectively".
- Jameson's departure to Cape Town "to consult with Mr Rhodes on important business" aroused much speculation (and was of course connected with the Jameson Raid of January 1896, as were the numerous military appointments gazetted earlier in 1895).
- In a letter to the editor of the *Herald*, D. P. Craigie urged local directors to press their Chartered (BSA) Company colleagues in London to complete the extension of the railway line to Salisbury, describing Rhodesia as "a country worked by companies rather than by individuals".
- High Commissioner Sir Hercules Robinson gave the BSA Company jurisdiction over certain areas of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Botswana) with Jameson to be Resident Commissioner. (Frank Rhodes had procured this cession from the Chiefs concerned). This lasted only until the disastrous outcome of the Jameson Raid two months later.
- Joseph Saber was appointed Marriage Officer for the Jewish Community in Bulawayo.

December 1895

- Miss Brewin (Costumier) announced her move to the Causeway (to the "right" side of the Mukuvisi "tracks").
- The BSA Company offered "bona fide settlers" cattle at 50/- per head, payable over 18 months.
- Charlie Qali registered his cattle brand.
- The American Mission and the Moodie families had their farms surveyed (in the Eastern Districts).
- The Salisbury Club was looking for a Manager and Caterer.

- Government offices closed for a week from 24th December and on New Year's Day.

So ended the sixth calendar year of the occupation of the territory officially called "Rhodesia" since 1st May 1895. (The year 1896 was to witness momentous events including the fallout from the Jameson Raid and the First Chimurenga).

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William Leslie Armstrong

by Richard Wood

When Su Laver of Harare told me that she had the diary kept by her great uncle, William Leslie Armstrong, who accompanied the Pioneer Column up to Mashonaland and thereafter accompanied Selous on his post occupation wanderings around the country I was intrigued and asked whether I could borrow it. I thought that it would be relatively easy to identify him as one of the early visitors to Zimbabwe and indeed the surname seemed familiar.

It was not quite as easy as I thought it would be. My first port of call was Robert Cary's book "*the Pioneer Corps*" published by Galaxie Press in 1975. This book gives short biographies of all the men who were part of the column and also lists the civilians who came up with them. The only Armstrong listed was Owen Richard Armstrong and he was clearly not our man. I then wondered whether he could have been one of the five hundred odd policemen who, at the insistence of the British High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, were recruited to escort the column on its northward journey. I turned to Selwyn Hickman's work, "*Men who made Rhodesia*" published by the British South Africa Company in 1960. Hickman had been able to identify almost all of these policemen and also provided short biographies of them. A William Leslie Armstrong is included.

I then perused the documents that accompanied the diary. Included among them was an article by F. C. Selous reprinted from "*The Scottish Geographical Magazine*" for October 1897 entitled "*The Economic Value Of Rhodesia*" (a subject as relevant today as it was then) Endorsed at the top of the first page of this article in Selous' own handwriting is the following "W. L. Armstrong Esq. with the compliments of the Author—F. C. Selous." I turned to the diary itself and noted its heading "Year Book for 1890 and 1891. Wm. Leslie Armstrong" Towards the end of the diary is a table setting out in two columns the game shot on the trip made by Armstrong and Selous together. Under the column under the name "Mr Selous" are listed 3 Tsessabee, 1 Steenbok, 3 Elands, 2 Sable, 2 Wildebeest, I Hartebeest, 2 Duiker, 3 Roan Antelope, 1 Zebra, 1 Hyena and 2 Boars. Under Armstrong's column there is nothing listed,

Included among the papers given to me was an obituary of Sue Laver's grand father Albert Leslie Amstrong MC, Ma, FSI ,Msc, FSA, FSA (Scot.) who was William's brother. His obituary is a convenient way of starting his story because it is from this that one can glean details of William's background. Albert was born in Harrogate in 1878, the son of a printer. He was an art teacher at a school in Yorkshire. In 1912 he went to Sheffield where he worked as a surveyor and valuer. Serving as

an army officer in France during the First World War he was awarded the Military Cross for blowing up a bridge in the German lines and carried shrapnel fragments in his body for the rest of his life. Later he was drafted to the Egyptian front where he developed his interest in archaeology.

Between 1923 and 1927 he was involved in the uncovering of Sheffield Castle and in 1929 and 1931 he led expeditions to Rhodesia to excavate Bambata Cave in the Matopos and other archaeological sites. I would love to lay my hands on his report of these expeditions, published by the Royal Anthropological Institute which apparently is illustrated by photographs and coloured plates of the San paintings he saw.

Further archaeological work in the Dordogne Valley in France and in Britain followed, including the finding of the skull of a woman who had been murdered 30 to 50 thousand years ago by having a spear thrust through the same.

Details of his personal life are included. His wife, Eleanor, died young in 1927, leaving him with a son and 2 daughters. The son, Will, who had helped him in the archaeological investigations at Bambata cave, returned to Zimbabwe and settled there as a farmer. It was after a visit to him that Armstrong collapsed and died on the station platform at Johannesburg. This was in 1958 when he was eighty. As the obituary focused on his archaeological work there is little else about Armstrong the man, but the author, one J. B. Himsworth, does refer to him being " quiet and reserved in manner—yet he liked to meet people—he was never tired of answering questions"

The "quiet reserve" mentioned by Himsworth is also apparent when reading William's diary. This is not with an eye to posterity. There are no florid descriptions of his activities, no claims of "derring-do." It is a factual account of his activities, written as a personal record for his own purposes and , in a way, it is disappointing that he did not expand it with detailed descriptions and personal opinions. But in one regard this is its strength. One does not doubt anything that Armstrong writes. It is clearly the unvarnished truth.

The diary starts on 9 April 1890 and describes his 3 week long voyage from England to Cape Town. He does not appear to have any travelling companions and he gives no reason for coming out to Africa. The entry for 1 May reads "Thursday. Boat should have been in on Wednesday morning. Lots of people on deck all night. I turned in at 11.30 and heard Captain say distinctly at 3.45 "all ready—stand by—let go" Then followed the dash and rush of the anchor and we lay in Table Bay. Got into port at 9pm and got luggage off and through Customs by 1.30pm. Saw F. Bartho and had tea with him and saw F. Shutt afterwards at the station. Left Cape Town for Kimberley at 8.05pm. Obviously the young man was in a hurry to get to his destination but one would have expected some description of the beauty of Cape Town or how he felt stepping foot on Africa for the first time.

Then follows his train trip to Kimberley which takes 2 days and nights. The entries are equally laconic." 2nd Fri. Light at 5.15. Running over wide, undulating, sandy slopes, covered all over with bushes a foot high, colour of sage. Great mountains on all sides, Coffee 6d a cup. Beer 2/-. The Karoo has not changed much in the last 120 years, unlike the price of a cup of coffee. He spends several days waiting to see Mr Rhodes and to relieve boredom visits the High Court His entry for the 8th May is revealing not only of justice in those days but also for showing

Armstrong's sense of fair play. "Cold again. Sample of Justice in the High Court. White man shoots nigger within an inch of his life. Doctor said he would never be right again. Sentence 4 months hard labour. Nigger who was found drunk breaking into a house. Sentence 4 years hard labour"

(To preserve the integrity of the extracts from the diary I will not change the way he refers to Africans. In modern times the use of such words is offensive but their use 100 years ago was commonplace and did not signify a deliberate insult)

The next important entry is dated 12 May. It reads "Saw Mr. Rhodes at his office at 11am, and arranged to be tried for riding and shooting on Tuesday. Had a splitting headache and went to bed early" There is no indication whether this interview had been arranged before Armstrong left England. It would be surprising if it weren't. Rhodes was already a man of importance and within 6 weeks would become Premier of the Cape Colony but it may be that Armstrong made the voyage out to Africa without any prior assurance that he would be considered as a candidate to join the column and he still had to satisfy the recruiters that his riding and shooting was good enough.

In the event it was. His diary continues "14 Wed. Went down to Beaconsfield Rifle Range. A Major Brown tried my riding on his own horse, and then my shooting at 300 yards, when out of a possible 40, I made 27. Passed me."

"15 Thurs. Went to the BSA Offices, and was questioned by 5 Gentlemen, as to whether I would go beyond the Zambezi or not etc. Very kind, all. Left Kimberley at 5 pm for Mafeking." Note the absence of any note of self exultation. He does not say "Hurray—I've made it." He does not even say that he has secured employment and one is left to infer that he has been accepted into the BSA Company police force. All he says is that the panel were very kind to him.

Armstrong spends the rest of May and all of June 1890 in a wagon train slowly making its way up to the Limpopo. The routine is to trek for about 4 hours from 4 am and then to start again for a further 3 or 4 hours in the late afternoon and evening. The journey is relatively uneventful. A typical entry is that of the 18th May. "Trekked at 4 am and pulled up at 8am. Grand open plain, mountains in the distance. Cooked mutton, onions and rice. Champion. Spent Sunday morning gathering cow manure for fuel. Tea and biscuits at 4, trekked."

The route is via Barkely-West, Taungs Vryburg and Mafeking. Thereafter the country gets wilder and before it reaches the Crocodile River the wagon train loses the trail and spends 2 or 3 days wandering around until it is found... Armstrong comments; "Marvellous escape from bush 60 miles by 30 across. All our people out night and day. Fires, guns, shouting etc, Conductor went to a Native Chief, near whose kraal we were, and asked him to send hunting parties out. Chief laughed and said he had lost 3 of his own hunters in that bush, never found or heard of again. White man also lost—skeleton and gun found 6 months after."

By 16 June the wagons had reached the Crocodile River which downstream becomes the Limpopo and Armstrong notes the presence of vultures, toucans, parrots, partridges, pheasants and guinea fowl... I presume that the toucans were ground hornbills whose faces are vaguely similar. Although they reach the Limpopo water is short as the river bed is filled with sand. Armstrong sees baobabs for the

first time and also draws a leaf cluster which looks like Mopani, noting that the trees look like young Beech trees.

The base camp at the Macloutsie River was reached on 30 June. Armstrong reported to the Colonel (Pennefather?) on 1 July. His diary entry for that day reads "Went to Orderly Room and Colonel advised me to join B Troop, as this is merely a fighting force at present, and he promised in case Mr Colquhoun required me, he would set me at liberty." This suggests that Armstrong had more permanent plans than simply becoming a member of the ad hoc police force. He wanted to be a full time employee in the civil administration of the new country and this is what subsequently happened. In the meantime he would don a uniform. He records that the next day he drilled with a rifle and sword bayonet and that night slept very comfortably in a bell tent with 7 others. Hickman notes in his book that Armstrong attested on 1 July 1890 and was discharged from on 28 September 1891.

Armstrong and his troop spent a further 6 days at Macloutsie, most of which were occupied with drilling and parades and on the 6th July his diary records; "Full dress—for the first time in my life in full uniform. All the camp in bustle and confusion. Bags, rug etc, packing on all sides. Orders to march at 3pm. Full dress parade and inspection. Marched at 4pm. Outspanned about 6 miles out."

The next four days were spent in marching the 60 odd miles to Fort Tuli. During this period Armstrong feels the strain. The men are stiff and sore, the dust awful, the water bad and very scarce and the rations consist of 4 biscuits per day per man. They sleep the night of 11 July on the side of Tuli Fort and are off again early next morning. By now the wagon train stretches for 2 miles and it took a whole day for it to cross the sand bed of the Tuli river.

From hereon the column is on a war footing. For example the diary entry for 14 July reads "Reveille at 4.30. Off at 6am. Marched 6 miles. Outspanned at 10.30. Formed laager 120 yards square. Electric Light. Gardner Guns etc. at all corners." On 16 July after seeing elephant tracks they spot rhinoceros and kudu and someone sees a lion.. They cross a "sweet and clear" river which is probably the Umsingwani, and Armstrong records "Splendid breakfast of Barbel. Best feed on trip." On Saturday 19th they marched in double column through thick bush, this to speed up the formation of the laager if attacked and Armstrong notes the desertion of Matabele "boys' and expresses the view that fighting is imminent. The next day 9 Matabeles,with shields, plumes, assegais and axes come into the laager at midday. The entry for 25 July reads "Reveille 5am. Electric light turned on mountains. Matabele slaves live here on mountain top. Matabeles raided two months ago and carried off women, corn and cattle. Trekked at 2pm through most romantic mountain district for 9 miles. On outlying picket. Road party stopped. 3 000 Matabeles said to be ahead." On 1 August they reach the Lundi River by which time Armstrong has been allocated a horse and is put in charge of the water cart. The tension is rising all the time, the screws are removed from the ammunition boxes and they are being followed by an *impi* of 2 000 Matabele. They spend several days by the Lundi and it took the whole of one day for the column to get across the river. Armstrong comments that the moon rose "red as blood" that the heat was intense and men were suffering from Dysentery, etc. 3 lions were seen and that when crossing the river the current was strong and water came up to his knees while sitting on his horse. The natives were selling mealies, tobacco,

beautiful white rice, beans and nuts and the officers shot 3 hippo's resulting in a fine breakfast of boiled hippopotamus which he judged to be "beautifully tasty and tender and between beef and pork in flavour."

They leave this oasis and continue the trek. Armstrong reports that Colenbrander indicates that they are being followed by 9 000 Matabele and that " Khama's boys" and camp followers left the column and returned to where they had come from. (Chief Khama had provided the column with labourers to assist in cutting the roadway) His entry for 9 August reads "Laager formed and bush cleared, Small parties of Matabeles all round. Large body said to be near. Mountain scenery really grand. Heat gets greater daily. Lots bad with Fever, Dysentery, etc. Laager made so small we can scarce stir and smoke thick to blind us" and for the following day. "No bugle and no talking. 5 men to be on top of each wagon and 1 with bayonet between the wheels until 6.30. Every day we expect to be attacked."

On 11 August they cross another river which must be the Tokwe and on the 14th commence their climb up Providential Pass. Armstrong describes the climb as follows; "Now for the terrible pass! Open! and about a mile wide. Outspanned 5 miles up. Mountains splendid. On and out onto broad breezy plateau by 3pm after 6 weeks bush." There are many of us who have shared Armstrong's feelings of relief when climbing up this pass, particularly during the days of the Bush War.

The column spends a few days in what was to become Fort Victoria and then moves on leaving C Troop to man the place. There is little of interest in Armstrong's description of the remainder of the journey. He reports that 2 men get caught stealing a biscuit. They are discharged with disgrace and punished with a months hard labour and a fine. This seems harsh after their efforts in making the journey but Pennefather was known as a stickler for discipline. Armstrong mentions the lack of shade and great grass fires burning the country black as far as they could see. He notes the departure of Mr Colquhoun and his escort to go and negotiate with the Portuguese and the Colonel and escort for Mount Wedza. He complains about the lack of firewood and the cold at night which makes his hands stiff in the early mornings and his teeth chatter and he reports picking up a chunk of ice thicker than a 2/- piece. He is interested in the birdlife around him and identifies a house martin, swifts and crows which he says are bold enough to stand their ground 20 yards away. He hears a nightjar calling and flushes a strange bird with feathers quite a foot in length. This sounds like the same nightjar. He frequently comments on the buck and other game around and "beautiful flowers all over the veldt" A Troop is left to establish and man Fort Charter. The column eventually reaches its destination and Armstrong's entry for 13 September 1890 reads; "Reveille 5am. Full dress parade 10am. Union Jack run up, royal salute from 7 pounders and cheers for Queen Victoria. Fort Salisbury is to be the headquarters situated on an upland 4 960 feet plateau about 3 miles square, dotted over with large ant heaps, bare and burnt at present, river running down hollow in the centre. Game all round." This is an unusual way to describe the centre and avenues of the city but it was accurate at the time. The river running down the hollow in the centre starts where the Park now is and flows in an underground sewer into the Mukuvisi to the west of the railway station. In our parents' time at school, little boys would escape from

church parade by climbing down into it and creeping out below the railway station.

Armstrong spends the next thirty days working hard on building the fort and thatched huts. He is fascinated by the dust devils that blow through the camp. "One very striking thing here are the strange circular whirling pillars of dust which come rushing over the plain, carrying all before them in the shape of loose articles. Paper whipped up into the air 60 feet at least." On the 25th September he writes; "2 men prospecting for the Troop Syndicate. 50 claims, 250ft by 400ft given to B Troop, besides being allowed to peg 10 claims for each man" and later he comments "All being well, the 50 claims should bring us 400 pounds each at least." Such were the dreams of the early settlers, sadly mostly unfulfilled.

Just after the first rains of the season, Armstrong is despatched from camp to take a wagon and 12 oxen plus goods to Mr Selous and he sets off on the 11th October and reaches the Manyame River the next day. He reaches Sadza's kraal where he is offered ostrich eggs, chicken eggs, milk, honey, rice and a rhinoceros horn. He hears that Selous, who should have been at Mangwendes (then near Theydon), was still in Makoni. He waits there for several days where he is joined by Sergeant Bray, Trooper Knox and Mr Campbell. Bray was a sergeant in B Troop and Knox was under him. Bray died in Bulawayo in 1921 but poor Knox was dead before the end of 1890. Campbell is probably A. D. Campbell who was an early native commissioner but may have been Patrick W. Campbell, the estranged husband of the famous actress Mrs Patrick Campbell. At that time he was acting as Colquhoun's private secretary.

Commenting on the morals of the naughty nineties, Mrs Campbell famously said that she did not mind what people did to each other as long as they didn't scare the horses. Armstrong occupies his time there by getting to know the locals. This is his entry for the 18th October. "Great fun all day with the niggers, showing them their faces in the looking glass and flashing it upon them. Diminutive oxen, dogs and poultry. Women do all the work and children eating oily beetles alive. I shoot for them, dance, sing, march and drill. Had a visit from King Sadza. Pleasant looking middle aged old stick. Gave him a handkerchief, cartridge cases, caps etc. He, in return, sent me a pot of "M'kaka" Armstrong was beginning to pick up the language. His reference to children eating oily beetles alive does not surprise me. He is referring to flying ants which come out at the start of the rains and at junior school we used to do the same. We called them " butter-bums" and they were quite tasty.

Armstrong arrives at Mangwendes on the 23rd October and meets up with Selous. He mentions that Mangwendes was a post of the Portuguese and had very fine huts. He is offered and accepts traditional beer which he calls " guala " (hwahwa?) served in a hollow gourd attached to a stick handle and says that they hold a plate under the chin to catch the drops. After Selous makes a short trip to "Socies" (Soche's?) he sets of with Selous on the 29th October, The diary is not clear as to their destination and breaks off on the 1st November when they are at the kraal of " King Moraini. "I cannot identify this name or place but the visit may have been to buy mealies for the Fort at Salisbury." There is a break in the diary then until the 16th December when it is clear that Armstrong and Selous are preparing for a lengthy trip away from the Fort. Armstrong draws 3 month's rations—meal, tea, rice, salt and 40lbs of biscuits and notes that Mr Selous will

be taking the private stuff—jam, milk, sugar, medicine etc. Even in his private diary Armstrong always refers to him as "Mr Selous" although as the relationship deepens he allows himself to talk about "Mr S." The entry for the 20th December reads "One of my lifelong wishes realised. Off for at least 3 months visiting Kings. Mr Selous, wagon, 18 oxen, 4 horses, 2 cows, 4 donkeys, 2 calves, a foal and 8 Niggers." As usual he does not tell us where they are going but as he refers to "grand agricultural and picturesque country.' I surmise that this must be the Arcturus/Ruwa area. After a few days they reach 'Sakatoka's Kraal.' A perusal of Selous' account of the same journey shows that it was Sikadora's kraal that was reached and as the text shows this to be close to the Nora River, the kraal was in fact Nyandoro's who had carved out for himself a fiefdom in what in more modern times is called "Kunzwi" just to the north of Melfort. Nyandoro was the grandfather of the late nationalist leader, George Nyandoro. They continue their trek eastwards and Armstrong's entry for the 25th December, when one could assume that he was thinking about Christmas at home, is revealing. "Trekked from 5.30 to 10.30 through glorious country. Riding ahead with Mr S. I envied nobody at home. Mr S. shot 2 Tsessabees at outspan. Dinner, Antelope, Rice, Honey, Jam, Potatoes, Milk and Nuts. Skinned Tsessebe for British Museum" Armstrong was, quite clearly, enjoying himself tremendously. I cannot resist a personal note here. My late father in law, Arthur Pendered, who in 1926 came out from England to join the BSA Police, immediately after his initial training was ordered to take a horse out to Mutoko and rode the same route as was taken by Selous and Armstrong 35 years previously. He was roughly the same age as Armstrong when he did this and he told me that it was one of the most enjoyable experiences of his life.

Armstrong reaches Mutoko's old camp on the 28th December and the next day Selous starts negotiations with the chief's representatives. He was seeking a mining concession for the BSA Company but more than that. Rhodes knew that the Rudd Concession gave him no rights over Mutoko's country. The Matabele had no claim to it. Their raids had never reached the area. An alliance was sought with Mutoko and it was needed urgently. If any European Power could claim any influence over Mutoko it was the Portuguese whose Capitao Mor of Gorongozo province, Manoel Antonio de Souza more commonly known as Gouviea, had been trading and raiding in the area for some years and the Portuguese were beginning to assert their suzerainty over the area. This was why Selous had been sent on this mission. Negotiations progressed slowly and Selous and Armstrong were still waiting to meet the chief into the new year. They celebrated new years eve and, incidentally, Selous 39th birthday by a breakfast of boiled bustard, ,sweet potatoes, rice, milk, tea and cookies and followed this with a dinner of fried Eland udder, vegetable marrow, sweet potatoes, rice, milk, cookies and honey—all this recorded by Armstrong who enjoyed a good appetite and was proud of his cooking ability. On the 2nd January 1891 they moved on to Mutoko's kraal where they had to wait a further 4 days while the chief discussed the matter with his council. On the 6th January they were presented with a sheep and a bowl of rice as a present from the chief and were then led into his presence. Armstrong describes the meeting in his usual terse manner " Very old shrivelled man. About a 1000 people round.

Treaty signed under a green bough--- Great Council—King sitting on a cane mat. Dancing, yelling and rushing with axe and spear against imaginary foes. Very warlike people indeed."

In his book " *Travel and Adventure in South East Africa*" at page 398 Selous includes a letter he wrote to the Administrator of Mashonaland reporting these events. He records that "I travelled in a wagon and was accompanied by Mr W. Leslie Armstrong, an employee of the BSA Company, a young man whose services have been of the greatest assistance to me during the whole trip."

His account of the events is much fuller than Armstrong's but the two versions do not deviate. He explains that the preliminary talks were with the Mondoro or Lion God, a high priest of great influence in the area (Mondoro or lion is the totem or tribal spirit of the Budja people and the high priest would have been the svikiro of this spirit). After a delay of several days Selous and Armstrong were led into the chief's village which was on a gently sloping granite mass or ruware and were introduced to the chief who, as Armstrong noted, was sitting on a cane mat under a temporary structure of green branches. A crowd of over 1000 people surrounded but kept a respectful distance from the chief who had a marimba player on each side of him and his senior advisers around him. Selous says that the chief was the oldest looking person he had ever seen and must have been almost a hundred years old. He nevertheless showed a deep understanding, indicated that, like Mutasa, he wished to sign the proposed agreement of friendship with Britain whose protection he sought against the threatening Portuguese. His hand was too shaky to sign the prepared document and so he held Selous' hand while, in the presence of two of his sons, the interpreter and Armstrong, Selous entered a cross as his signature. Then followed joyous celebrations, mock battles and much shouting that Selous and Armstrong had become friends of the chief (shamwari a Mutoko).

As is clear from "*Travel and Adventure in South East Africa*", Selous was then commissioned by the Administrator to peg and lay out the wagon road between Odzi and Fort Salisbury and accompanied by Armstrong, he moved on from Mutoko to begin this task. Armstrong's diary records that they left Mutoko on 12 January 1891 and 2 days later he was woken before daylight by the noise of donkeys and horses breaking loose. He looked out of the wagon to see the glaring eyes of lions. They followed tracks and found one of the horses, mortally injured, its flanks torn by lions about 3 miles from the outspan. They shoot the horse and set up trap guns. They wait for two nights, and although spoor indicates the return of the lions and the trap gun goes off, all they find is the carcase of a hyena, shot through the lungs, but no lions. They reach Fort Salisbury on 21 January and are resupplied. While there, Armstrong is advised by the Administrator, Colquhoun, that in a letter received from his (Colquhoun's)step-mother in Harrogate, she asks after him. The connection might explain why Armstrong wanted to join the Column, how he was able to speak to Mr Rhodes, why he thought that Colquhoun might require his services and why he was chosen to accompany Selous on his various trips.

Selous and Armstrong set off again on 26 January and the next day cross the Nyagui River close to its source. The weather is extremely wet and they keep to the watershed. By 4 February they are in the Headlands area because Armstrong describes 'Miles of wide open grassy flats all round' and being able to see Wedza Mountain. His note for 6 February is interesting "Altitude still 5 500ft. All along

ridges between sources of rivers. Saw a large herd of cattle owned by Gouveia." That Gouveia should be using land west of Rusape for this purpose indicates how strong the Portuguese claim for suzerainty over this part of the country was and clarifies, in my mind, why the British Government was about to sign an agreement with Portugal. Recognizing this claim to all land to the east of the Macheke River. It was indeed fortunate for our country that before it did so, Portuguese students, angry at the way that BSA Company forces had defeated their countrymen at Mutasa and Massikessi, threw stones at the British Embassy in Lisbon, an impertinence which so annoyed the British Government that it withheld its signature to the treaty. In the result, the border was eventually fixed to the east of Mutare and Zimbabwe has been able to enjoy the beauty and other benefits of the Eastern Highlands ever since.

Selous and Armstrong then make a short visit to Nyanga over the period 9–16 February, the wettest time in a very wet year, Armstrong says the wettest in 12 years. He reports that 'a native told him that this was because King Makone had died.' They reached Mount Dombo on the 11th and for three hours tried unsuccessfully to climb it in their bare feet. They succeeded two days later. He reports "Set off for Mount Dombo and got to the top. Altitude 6 700feet. Magnificent view for at least 60 miles all round. Counted 250 mountain peaks. Heavy thunderstorm." The entry for the 15th reads "Fine morning. Got to the top of Dombo and got bearings all round. Left a box on top with names and date "Climbed Feb 1891 by F. C. Selous and W. L. Armstrong. Name Mt Dombo. Height 6 700ft" Weather set clear after 2 months incessant rain, but the country will be wet a long time yet. Three old stone forts close to our camp." In a subsequent note Armstrong expands. "Mt Dombo thought by Mr S. to be the highest point in SE Africa, no human being has ever been on top. We could see at least 100 miles, Anwa, Wedza and Mutokos Hill, we rode in wet yesterday and tried for about 3 hours, bare feet on bare granite. Got about half way up when mist came down and could see nothing. Great streams of water rolling down in torrents over the bare granite. Took off and wrung my trousers and rode to camp. All streams are swollen and the last quite a torrent. My horse rolled over with me and Mr S. stuck fast and both of us had to walk out. One grand thing is we have a good supply of biltong, meal, rice, pumpkins, milk, tea etc. and the only sickness up to now being 2 boys with fever." This is a surprisingly exuberant account of his adventure and shows remarkable resilience for a youth who had been subjected to 2 months incessant rain. In fact although Mt Dombo is an impressive granite dome which stands out to the west of the Nyanga Road in the Juliasdale area it is no means the highest mountain around. Inyangani and Rukotso are well over a thousand feet higher, but as they rise from a higher base they are not as physically impressive as Mt Dombo, which in dry weather is not that difficult to climb. Indeed I suspect that the box they left on top of it was probably picked up by a local African shortly afterwards who would have found it a useful container to store things in. Selous, in his above quoted work, also waxes lyrically about this mountain. This is what he says "Some of these (mountains), though formed of a single block of stone, are worthy to be called hills, notably the huge cone named Dombo, which, standing as it does on the extreme eastern edge

of Mashunaland, commands a truly magnificent panoramic view over an immense extent of country; for the plateau itself, on the edge of which Dombo stands, here attains a height of six thousand feet; and whoever climbs this naked crag will stand 6 700feet above the sea perhaps the highest point in South-Eastern Africa; for I doubt whether the loftiest hills in Manica attain a height of seven thousand feet.

It was in February 1891, during the height of the rainy season, that after two attempts, rendered unsuccessful by blinding storms of rain (during one of which, my companion, Mr W. L. Armstrong, was nearly washed down a fissure in the mountainside), we stood at last, compass in hand, on the summit of Dombo."

Armstrong and Selous then to road making and for the rest of February and the whole of March they are working on plotting and making the road between Odzi and Rusape. They are hampered by bad weather and young Armstrong spends many days camped on the banks of the Odzi River helping travellers across the river with ropes and wire cables. Included among his visitors is a Mr Bent who may well have been the early excavator of Great Zimbabwe. Armstrong notes with an under-current of exasperation that one of Bent's oxen fell down a game pit and died and another drowned when crossing the river. He also meets various police personnel such as Hoste, Hayman and Graham and helps them across the flooded river. Obviously many of the early travellers were in straightened circumstances. He hears that 20 men at "Umtarle" are unable to do their duties for want of boots and he comments on several visitors being short of clothes, men arriving with only their shirts on and he refers to "Visitors literally clothed in a hat and a pair of shoes." On 22 March he is sent off to Chief Makoni with presents... His diary reads "Had audience with the king…winding passage right through centre of the kraal to the king's private enclosure. Found him on a granite rock, sitting under Union Jack, granite slabs for throne and council all round. Fine view."

The diary breaks off on 7 April when the working party is between Macheke and Theydon, the last entry reporting that Mr S. was ahead and he was busy buying and writing all day. And here Armstrong's own words come to an end. However there is a further story to be found in Selous' book which illuminates Armstrong's character. It is a lion story which occupies several pages and refers to the nights of 8 and 9 June 1891 when they are at Umliwani's kraal on the Revui River near Mutare but in what is now Mozambique. On the night of the 8th lions stampede the oxen and kill one. Selous has a hide built next to the carcase, a flimsy affair, nothing more than a tepee of poles with holes to shoot through and the next evening they repair to this to await the return of the lions. They did not have long to wait because three lions came up to the carcase within an hour and Selous shot and killed one. And then another. A third lion then came up to the structure and tried to gain access by sticking his paw through the poles. Selous fired again and obviously scored a hit because the lion began to grunt and roar with pain and then retreated falling into a stream nearby where it continued to make a noise for some time. It was a dark night and they could see very little. But between midnight and 2pm two more lions visited the carcase and snarling at each other from time to time began to feed from it. Although the carcase was only ten yards from the hide, Selous could see nothing and decided to wait until dawn before attempting a further shot. The two men were determined to keep up their vigil and Selous remained very much awake waiting for the dawn to illuminate their target, but it was too much

for Armstrong. Selous describes what followed." It would be supposed that to lie thus in the wilds of Africa within ten yards of a couple of lions feeding noisily, and sometimes snarling loudly, would be a sufficiently novel experience to keep one awake; yet to show how 'Familiarity breeds contempt,' I may mention that I twice had to wake my young companion, and tell him not to snore, as the noise might disturb the lions "

As dawn was breaking the two surviving lions must have sloped off because the early morning light revealed four hyenas coming towards what remained of the carcase. A fifth appeared and when it was about 15 yards away, both Selous and Armstrong , now awake again, fired at it. Selous claims that his was the killing shot and that Armstrong's bullet broke one of its legs far down. I am not sure how Selous could be certain that this was so, but there it is. At least Armstrong can be credited with a hit. Apart from a crested crane near Makoni's kraal, Armstrong appears to have killed nothing up to this point. But to doze as Armstrong did in those circumstances shows nerves of steel and a *sang froid* which revealed itself in later exploits.

In the same book Selous has other good things to say about Armstrong "I had no white companion, but my cheerful, willing and intelligent lieutenant, Mr W. L. Armstrong, but as he and I got on very well together, neither of us ever felt lonely or got downhearted." He goes on to attribute Armstrong's immunity to malaria and other illnesses to keeping his mind and body constantly occupied. He pays further tribute as follows; "I must say that I have been most fortunate in the two Englishmen who were assigned to me to assist me in my road-making work. First I had Mr Armstrong, and then later on Mr Jesser Coope, both most excellent young fellows, and the stamp of young Englishmen that one wants in a new country—good-tempered and forbearing with the natives, not afraid to soil their hands by handling axe and spade, always ready to set an example of hard work, conscientious and intelligent, and taking everything as it came without grumbling. There are dozens more young Englishmen and Scotsmen like them in Mashunaland, but I cannot forbear paying a just tribute of praise to the two young men who were of such assistance to me."

Information on the remainder of Armstrong's stay in Zimbabwe has to come, not from his own writings, but from what can be gathered from other sources. On page 368 of Hickman's book there is a short biographical note. Col Hickman had the reputation of reliability and indeed most of the book is carefully researched. It is unlikely that a former Commissioner of Police would be careless in writing up the early history of the force he had commanded I did find it surprising that he describes Armstrong as a Zulu linguist who in 1894 entertained a first anniversary dinner of the occupation of Matabeleland by "rendering one of the droning Matabele chants in fine style". This did not sound like the quiet and unassuming person that I had been reading about—a youth who less than 4 years previously had come to Africa for the first time and who had spent at least some of this time in Mashonaland, I read on and noted that Hickman records him arriving in Bulawayo on 7 December1893 having ridden with Colenbrander and Mullins from Palapye in Bechuanaland with despatches for Dr Jameson which gave news of the Southern Column's movements

under Col H. Goold-Adams. This also struck me as odd as the Southern Column had arrived in Bulawayo on 15 November some 3 weeks previously. Hickman also notes that Armstrong was with Forbes' column in the pursuit of Lobengula which set off soon after the Southern Column arrived and continued until 4 December 1893 when Allan Wilson and his patrol met their deaths.

Hickman then records Armstrong being appointed as Native Commissioner at Mtoko's prior to the Mashona Rebellion of June 1896 but, fortunately for him, being on leave at the time of its commencement His temporary replacement, H. H. Ruping was murdered on 24 June 1896. Although he was very young, not more than 27, his appointment was a logical one. He had travelled in the area and for an extended period had worked well and patiently with Selous in making the roadway to Salisbury. It is not clear how long his period of leave extended. If he went home to England it would have been for months rather than weeks. There is no mention of him in the BSA Company Reports of the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia 1896–97 until he appears in a report by Inskipp, the Under-Secretary, Salisbury of an expedition led by Sub-Inspector Harding to recruit a force of va Budya, men from Mutoko, who were not friendly to the remainder of the Shona, to fight on the Government's side. This expedition, which set off on 4 March 1897 was guided by Native Commissioner W. L. Armstrong. As it passed through rebel held Murehwa it frequently came under fire but reached Mutoko safely and recruited a force of 500 men under the command of Chief Mutoko's son, Gurupira. On their way back, again in the Murehwa area, the column was attacked and although the rebels were beaten off, 300 of Gurupira's men deserted leaving a diminished party to continue its homeward trek. By 17 March they had reached the Nyagui River having been exposed to incessant dropping fire. Harding needed reinforcements and a message to this effect resulted in Col Moleyns with 25 men coming out to join them. A few days later more reinforcements arrived and the combined forces were able to clear the Domborembudzi Hill and drive the Shona from their positions. The sick white troops, all the policemen who had reached and returned from Mutoko, were sent back to Salisbury. The only white man not to go down with malaria was Armstrong. Encouraged by the success at Domborembudzi, 250 men from Mutoko joined or rejoined the column. They then moved on to dislodge other rebels on Shaungwe Hill but unfortunately in this operation Guripira was himself killed. On 27 April the Budya impi were paid off and accompanied by Armstrong made their way home. When they crossed the Nyadiri River and were in their own area again they began to become hostile towards Armstrong and the few whites left in the party. Fearing that they could be murdered, Armstrong and his companions did not stay with the impi but made their escape across country to Mutare.

Forty years later in 1937 Sub-Inspector Harding now Col Colin Harding CMG, DSO, wrote a book called "*Frontier Patrols*." On page 103 he has this to say; "To the Mutoko Country patrol, which has been so well described by Mr Percy Inskipp, I should like to make the following additional reference, especially as to the indefatigable work of the District Commissioner, Mr Armstrong, who contributed so largely to the success of the patrol." Like Selous, he obviously appreciated the work done by Armstrong.

What else is there to say about this fine young man? Hickman in his short biography asserts that towards the end of the Matabele Rebellion, Armstrong was

in action in the Matopos as one of a number of Native Commissioners unattached to any particular unit. When I read this my heart sank. Was Armstrong now going to disappoint me. I had in the back of my mind a memory that a certain native commissioner called Armstrong had led that unscrupulous American scout, Frederick Burnham, to a cave in the Figtree area where Burnham had shot and killed a Kalanga spirit medium and later claimed him to have been the *M'limo*, the main instigator of the rebellion. Patently that claim was false. The *M'limo* is or was a tribal spirit, not a human being, and as one historian put it, the claim is as ludicrous as saying that you have shot the Holy Ghost. I read Burnham's highly fanciful account of the incident in his book "*Scouting on Two Continents*." It occupies several pages of this work and stresses the risks involved, how they took two hours to cross the granite slope to the cave, covering themselves with grass to avoid detection by the people working in the fields below, how they observed the *M'limo* coming up the hill making cabalistic signs and uttering prayers, his face forceful, hard and cruel. The climax "I whispered Armstrong, this is your work. When he enters the cave you kill him." "No" he replied "you do it." So as the *M'limo* came in I made a slight sound and gave him his last chance to turn the white man's bullet into water. I put the bullet under his heart." They sprung out of the cave, ran down to their horses and after setting fire to the huts and veldt around galloped out of danger, being pursued for two hours by a Matabele fighting regiment which only abandoned the chase when they had crossed the Shashani River. It reads like a work of fiction, and apart from the cold blooded murder of an unarmed man, I believe it is a work of fiction It is in the style of Rider Haggard and, dare I say it, Baden Powell, the founder of the Boy Scout Movement, who, according to Burnham was keen to join the party but was at the last moment unavailable. The *M'limo* spirit medium who did stir up the Matabele to rebel was in fact Mukwati, whose cave was many miles away from this cave. The person shot was either a minor spirit medium or possibly just a tribesman who found himself in the wrong place at the wrong time.

It troubled me that this Armstrong could possibly be the quiet but highly competent subject of my article. Hickman does not say as much but there is the thought that he believed that they could be the same man. I was therefore very relieved when, paging through Heritage 14 (1995) I found an article by Tim Tanser entitled "The Lee Family of Mangwe." In it, on page 161, is a photograph taken at Mangwe Fort in 1896 of a group of men, including the then Native Commissioner of Mangwe, Bonar Armstrong, not William Leslie Armstrong. Burnham makes it clear that the Armstrong who accompanied him to the cave was the Native Commissioner Mangwe and that the incident occurred in June 1896. At that time William Leslie Armstrong was the Native Commissioner Mutoko, albeit on leave at the time. But one man cannot be the Native Commissioner of two areas 600 miles apart at the same time, and so my regard and respect for William Leslie Armstrong remains unblemished.

A last word. When Su Laver lent me a copy of her great uncle's diary, I, like her, did not know it was in the public domain. She had found it in a file amongst her late father's papers. I was therefore a little sad when I came across extracts

from it quoted by E. E. Burke in an article published in Rhodesiana No. 28 1973 and republished in Heritage No. 22 2003 entitled "Fort Victoria to Fort Salisbury. The latter part of the Journey of the Pioneer Column in 1890." The diary is lodged in the National Archives under the reference Hist. MSS AR4.

William Michie Irvine

by David Irvine

The following is an edited text of the talk given by Mr D. J. (David) Irvine to the Mashonaland Branch of the History Society on 29 March 2015.

My father the late W. M. (Bill) Irvine was born of farming stock on Mains of Drum farm at New Deer, north east Scotland on 17th June 1920. His father W. J. Irvine was a Justice of the Peace and the first owner of Mains of Drum farm. Since the mid-1800's the farm had been a tenant farm.

Bill Irvine attended the local primary school at Maud and then Peterhead Academy on the east coast. The late nineteen-twenties and thirties were times of great change in Scotland, with the Great Depression, followed by big changes in the farming industry. At this time millions of people were out of work and farmhands were paid once a year and fed from the farm kitchen, with free board. Rather like the television series Downton Abbey but without the glamour.

Farming was evolving with the rapid replacement of horses by tractors and steam-driven machines to do jobs like threshing. This mechanisation in the 1930's produced more food for the increasing population of the towns and cities. The family farm was affected by these changes, being breeders of Clydesdale horses, as the market declined with horses being replaced by paraffin-powered tractors and engines.

Bill left school at the end of 1937 and in January 1938 was apprenticed to John Henderson Engineers in Aberdeen at five shillings per week. His board and lodging cost seven shillings and six pence per week and his father paid for this. At this time he also joined the Territorial Army with the main attraction being the pay of ten shillings per week while on training camps.

The call to the Colours came on 1 September 1939. On 3 September 1939, the day War was declared, Bill embarked for France as part of the 51st Highland Division. Winston Churchill later described the 51st Highland Division as the finest fighting force in the British Army. Although the troops were good they were led by donkeys. One example of this was when troops were ordered to remove the HD flashes from their shoulders so that the Germans would not know there were Scottish troops in the area. However, this did not apply to officers, who also continued the use of bagpipes and kilts on parade.

Adolf Hitler invaded France on 10 May 1940 and, in so doing, completely surprised the Allies. The Highland Division was at Saint-Valery-en-Caux. The French troops on their right flank surrendered and the bigger part of the Highland Division had no choice but also to surrender and go into captivity for the rest of the war.

Bill's unit, 153 Brigade, had been sent to Le Havre to cover a possible evacuation.

They were forced south and were taken off at Cherbourg after France had surrendered.

After being evacuated, on his return to Britain, Bill was selected for an Officer Training Unit. He was later commissioned into the Royal Engineers and sent to India. On arrival in India officers were required to learn sword fighting because Japanese officers had been trained in this mode of fighting.

Bill was posted to the Madras Sappers and Miners and one of his achievements was to motorcycle from Madras (Chennai) to Bombay (Mumbai) a distance of about 1 200 miles. His unit then went to Calcutta (Kolkata) to join the 14th Army under Lieutenant-General Bill Slim, considered to be the best British General since Wellington. Gen. Slim defeated the Japanese at Imphal Plain and followed them south into Burma. The Madras Sappers and Miners built forward airfields including one on Ramree Island on the west coast of Burma. It was at this time that Bill met his future wife Kathleen and they married at the Presbyterian Church in Calcutta on 13th November 1945. At the end of the war it took some time for Bill to be demobilised due to a shortage of Engineers in the British army.

On his return to Scotland Bill completed his apprenticeship. A Labour Party Government had taken over in Britain just after the war and its socialist policies and the nationalisation of so many industries did not appeal to the young couple. They left Scotland for South Africa. However once again a change in Government following the defeat of Jan Smuts' United Party by Dr Malan's National Party led them to look further north to the then rapidly-developing Southern Rhodesia.

They arrived in Salisbury in late 1948. Bill worked for Lysaght's and they stayed first in a house opposite the Queens Hotel, then in Eastlea, and finally moved to Waterfalls.

Eggs and chickens were in very short supply in the early 1950's and Bill purchased someday-old chickens from Mrs YoeJones of Waterfalls Poultry Farm. These were brooded in the bedroom by Kathleen who became "the chicken lady" feeding the chickens, collecting eggs and later doing the bookings for day old chicks. Neighbours wanted eggs and chickens and Bill decided to breed chickens and put an incubator in his garage. He built pens in the backyard and bred White and Black Leghorns, North Holland Blues, New Hampshire's and Black Australorp's. The first incubator was a Gamble Incubator manufactured in Australia. In later years his company was to use some twenty of these inappropriately named but very successful machines. They entered the Federal Egg Laying Test held at Gwebi Agricultural College and won a gold medal and cup for the best laying hen.

Their original residential property in Waterfalls became totally inadequate for the fast-growing business, to say nothing of town planning and other legal constraints. In 1957 Bill purchased a 15 acre plot on Huxton Road on the edge of Waterfalls and the then City boundary. Jim Connon from Turriff in North East Scotland joined the business in June 1957 and took over its day to day management. Jim Connon was to remain with Irvine's Day Old Chicks until his retirement in 1995. He passed away in 1999.

In 1958 a purpose-built hatchery was constructed and the business really started to expand. A second plot, next to the original in Huxton Road, was also bought at this time.

The chickens, after an initial period in the brooders, were reared in portable arks on free range pasture.

Having been an Engineer as well as part-time poultry farmer, Bill embarked on a third career and went into politics.

In 1956 he was elected to the Waterfalls Town Management Board and became its Chairman the following year. He introduced a number of reforms which included:-

1. the appointment of a Building Inspector to enforce the relevant Bye Laws;
2. replacing the bucket latrine system in use in Parktown;
3. dealing with problems at the Ardbennie Hotel and putting a stop to its use for immoral purposes;
4. constructing housing for the Coloured community in Ardbennie;
5. instituting a big road tarring program, sadly now wrecked;
6. instituting a tree planting program throughout the Waterfalls area;
7. encouraging the development of new townships including Malvern and Midlands Number 5.

Bill Irvine contributed to the establishment of Frank Johnson Junior School which opened in 1955. He pressurized the Ministry of Education for a secondary school in the area. A Committee was formed and members canvassed every house in the Waterfalls, Southerton and Lochinvar areas. A huge petition was prepared and presented to Government. Mr Irvine interested Lord Malvern, first Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in the project. The school opened in January 1959 with Mr. I. J. McLachlan as founder headmaster. Mr McLachlan shared a temporary office with the Town Management Board Engineer, Mr. George Holling, and the pupils were taught in the Parktown Public Hall behind the TMB offices. The school buildings were ready for the third term with the formal opening taking place on 15th August 1959. In those days parents played a big part in school development with tractors and dam scoops being lent by Irvine's Day Old Chicks, Waterfalls TMB and CBR Bentall for the levelling of playing fields. Mr Les Tourle was a parent at the school and Managing Director of CBR Bentall. These fields were later named after contributing parents.

In 1965 Bill Irvine entered national politics and in a by-election was elected to the Marlborough seat vacated by Mr Harry Reedman on the latter's appointment as the country's diplomatic representative in Portugal.

During his time as a backbencher he served as Chairman of Parliament's Select Committee on Education. The Committee recommended a number of changes to the education system which were later implemented. He was then appointed Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee. This Committee was charged with ensuring the correct expenditure of all public funds voted by Parliament. It also investigated any irregularities or wasteful expenditure

and had the power to call Heads of Ministries and senior officials to appear before it to give evidence.

In the late 1960's Bill strongly opposed the proposed incorporation of the Town Management Boards in the Salisbury peri-urban area into the Salisbury City Council. He described the Salisbury City Council as the most irresponsible local council in the country.

He introduced into Parliament a Private Members' Bill on behalf of the Institute of Engineers to protect and regulate the profession. This process took some time as only Wednesday afternoons were set aside in Parliament for private members' business. It was eventually passed into law and one of its provisions entitled engineers to call themselves "Engineer".

In 1972 Bill Irvine was appointed to the Cabinet as Minister of Local Government and Housing. He immediately set about improving the role of smaller urban and rural councils throughout the country. He steered the Town and Country Planning Bill through Parliament which introduced major changes in planning and which, with amendments, is still in use today as the Regional Town & Country Planning Act Chapter [29:12].

Perhaps his biggest effort during his tenure was the building of low cost housing for African people especially in Salisbury and Bulawayo. Building Societies were roped in to assist with finance and arrangements were made with contractors such as John Sisk to mass produce houses. Simple designs were drawn up for ease of building. Seke Unit K was drawn by Gordon Merringtonand the design is still in use by Irvine's today.

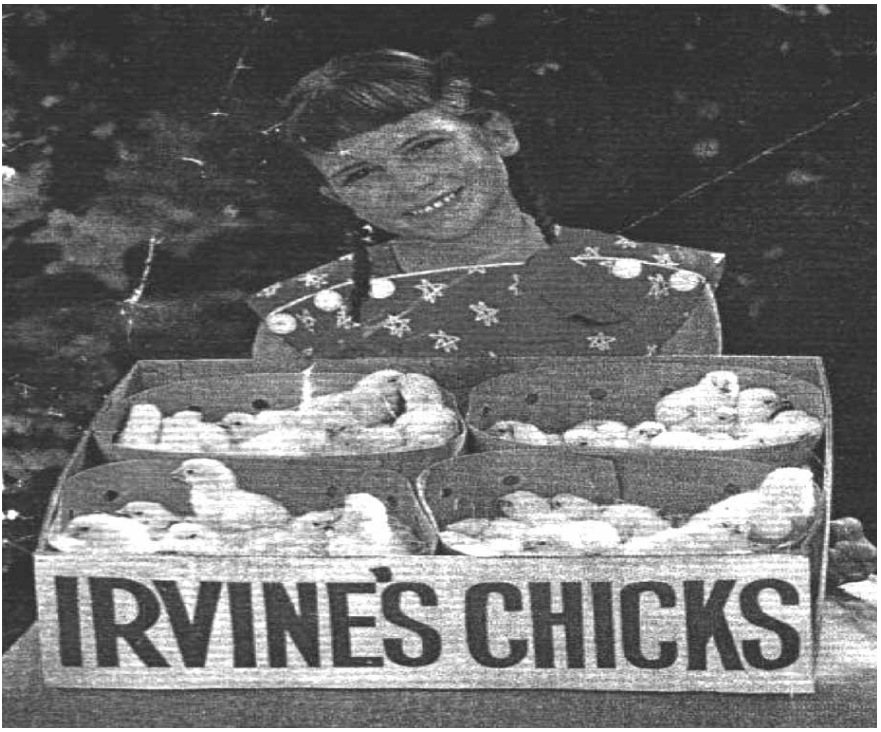
Bill established the Chitungwiza Urban Council, the first black urban council in the Country. This was difficult to accomplish at the time in the face of opposition from within Government and other interests. However he persevered and got a functioning Council into operation. With the internal settlement of 1978 he was appointed joint Minister of Transport, Power and Mines with the late James Chikerema. Their political views were very different but they got on well together as individuals and worked for the good of the country.

After the 1979 elections Mr Irvine was appointed Minister of Agriculture in Bishop Muzorewa's government. Maize production was declining at the time and the country faced a critical shortage of maize. In order to boost production he introduced an attractive bonus price for deliveries made by a producer in excess of those delivered to the Grain Marketing Board the previous season. This incentive had the desired effect and the maize intake was a record.

With the coming of Independence in 1980 Bill Irvine was elected to one of the seats reserved for the white community in terms of the Lancaster House Agreement. He was also appointed by the new Speaker, DIdymus Mutasa, to the important position of Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee. In 1983 he resigned from Ian Smith's Conservative Alliance Party as he felt the party's confrontational approach towards the new Government was not in the best interests of the white community. He won the Marlborough seat again in the 1985 election and remained a Member of Parliament until reserved seats were scrapped in 1990. President Mugabe then appointed him a non-constituency Member of Parliament until the 1995 election when he left Parliament after being a member for thirty years.

Chickens and eggs are the Irvine family's main legacy in Zimbabwe. The company grew through the 1990's into a major producer of chickens, day-old chicks and eggs. More land was purchased and chicken sheds, hatcheries, a processing plant and staff

housing were built. By the year 2000 Irvine's were the second biggest producer in the country.



The family continually invested in the company and sought out markets, including Botswana and Mozambique where it has spread today. Currently the company has markets in 17 countries. Bill's grandson Craig joined the business in 2001 and became the third generation of Irvine's in the chicken business.

The hyper-inflation of 2002-2009 put a stop to expansion as cash was eaten up by inflation and stockfeed became difficult to purchase, forcing a downsizing in production. Chicken production dropped from 150 000 per week to less than 20 000 and layers from 500 000 to 80 000. Priority was given to retaining breeding stock as this would be crucial to the eventual recovery of the business.

A joint venture with Innscor in 2009 meant that Innscor acquired 49% of the business with Irvine's retaining 51%. The business embarked on a major expansion program, including refrigeration, spiral freezers, incubation equipment and modern dark out houses to the point where it currently produces 250 000 broiler chickens, 1 000 000 day old chicks and 320 000 dozen table eggs per week. This makes Irvine's the biggest producer in the country and development continues. We take pride in our contribution to the country and in our facilities not only for chickens but for our staff in the form of modern housing with water, sewerage, electricity, clinics, schools and amenity centres. We also take pride in our contribution towards rural poultry production. Five hundred thousand day old chicks each week go into the rural areas and these, plus eggs, are worth an

estimated $170 million in production in those areas per annum. One-stop poultry shops and training facilities have been established and it is estimated that 35 000 rural dwellers derive an income from Irvine's supply of day-old chicks. In addition Irvines purchases some fifteen million dollars worth of produce from the small scale sector each year.

In conclusion, the three main areas in which my father contributed to this country since his arrival in 1948 are:-

1. developments of the Waterfalls area;
2. large scale construction of African housing and, in particular, the establishment of Harare's satellite town of Chitungwiza.
3. contributions to agriculture, both in politics and in the establishment of a modern poultry industry.

Bill Irvine passed away, aged 93, on 23 August 2013 leaving two sons and a daughter. His legacy is the large poultry business situated south of Harare the products of which can be seen in retail outlets throughout Zimbabwe and the region.

The Cam and Motor Mine Railway - A History of a Narrow-Gauge Light Railway in Southern Rhodesia

by L. G. Hooley

Introduction

The disappearance of light railways since the end of the Second World War has been a feature of railway operations generally. In Britain, many fascinating light railways have vanished, some unchronicled, and Ireland, which once boasted a really extensive system of narrow-gauge railways, has now abandoned completely its interesting and sometimes eccentric narrow-gauge railways.

The Cam and Motor Mine, near Gatooma (Kadoma), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), abandoned its narrow gauge railway system in 1966, thus keeping with the trend. Very little remains today of what was by British standards a fairly extensive narrow-gauge system. The track was taken up, and the locomotives and rolling stock scrapped, soon after the closure of the line. I was fortunate, however, in being able to contact Mr Pat Conway, of Gatooma, whose father owned the line from its early days, and who took it over when he died. Pat Conway has been my main source of material throughout this dissertation.

The railway itself was quite self-contained, having no physical connection with the main Rhodesia Railways system and, throughout its operational life, performed efficiently an essential service to the Cam and Motor Mine. Narrow-gauge railways are a rare feature of Zimbabwe's railway history, and have consequently received little publicity.

Why the Railway Was Founded

The fact that the railway existed at all was due solely to the Cam and Motor Gold Mine. The ore was smelted in large roasters, not in blast furnaces, and consequently a vast amount of fuel was consumed by these roasters in smelting the gold ore.

The roasting plant was set up just after the First World War, and the Cam and Motor Mine sent out tenders for the supply of wood fuel for the roasters. The supply was to be maintained by means of a narrow-gauge railway, the Cam and Motor mine supplying the track, locomotives and rolling stock.

A Mr Kanser tendered successfully for the task in 1920, and signed a contract to supply the Cam and Motor mine with wood for a period of 2 years, at the rate of 1000 cords per month.

The first two years of the railways' history marks a period of change and some confusion. When Kanser's contract expired in 1922, the next contractor was a Mr Wotherspoon, who backed out after a very short time, leaving Conway and Hayton as contractors for the job. Hayton withdrew later in 1922, leaving James Conway in sole charge of the railway and its operation. From 1922, members of the Conway family operated the railway until its closure.

When Conway took over, the line went to the Rhodesdale Estate, a few miles from the mine, after having first been laid to the Suri Suri river. After the initial confusion, the railway settled down to steady and regular working.

The two year contract signed by Conway was never renewed, the railway maintaining its supply of wood to the mine until 1946, under no form of contract from 1924 onwards. The railway was the sole supplier of wood to the Cam and Motor Mine until the mine stopped using wood as fuel in 1946.

Locomotives, Rolling Stock and Track

The Cam and Motor Mine obviously planned to operate a narrow-gauge railway some time before the railway was started for, in about 1915, two locomotives were bought. These locomotives had come from the original Beira Railway, which was at first a completely narrow-gauge route. However, conversion to the 3ft 6 in gauge had taken place by 1900 and thus many locomotives had been made redundant[1]. Two of them found their way to the Cam and Motor Mine, and were destined to spend the rest of their days on the mine railway.

The locomotives were built in 1895 by the Falcon Engine and Carriage Works, Loughborough, England, and were thus already 25 years old when they started work on the mine railway. They had been numbered 40 and 42 by the Beira Railways, and they bore these numbers on their cab sides until the end.

Built to the 2 ft gauge, these engines had a 4-4-0 wheel arrangement[2] and hauled a six-wheeled tender. In full working order, they weighted 14 tons (without tender). The engines had outside frames, (conventional practice at the beginning of the century), completely enclosed cabs with side windows, and an inside-framed 4-wheel bogie. The leading pair of driving wheels was driven from 2 outside cylinders, again quite conventional, with the second pair of driving wheels connected to the first by connecting rods. An unusual and interesting feature is the semi-elliptic leaf spring mounted above the footplate over the leading driving wheels. As originally built, the locos had cow-catchers on the front. These were removed from the locomotives at the Cam and Motor mine very early on for no apparent reason. The tenders belonging to the locomotives were originally six-wheelers, but it soon became apparent that this was not the most suitable wheel layout for negotiating the sharp curves with which most narrow-gauge railways abound[3]. Accordingly, the tenders were converted to 4-wheelers by the simple expedient of removing the middle pair of wheels.

It could be argued that these locomotives were totally unsuited to the task of hauling wood for comparatively short distances. To some extent this is true. Ideally, special locomotives should have been designed for the job (as was done to a large extent in Britain and Ireland), but this involves great expense, and will generally only pay on a heavily-used line. In the case of the Came and Motor line, it was obviously easier and far less expensive to buy second-hand locomotives from another railway. The best and most usual type of locomotive for light railways was undoubtedly the tank engine,

[1] What eventually happened to the twenty or so Beira Railway locomotives no one really knows. Several went to the Cape Government Railways, a few to the "Ayrshire" branch, and to the Cam. One has fortunately been preserved by Rhodesia Railways.

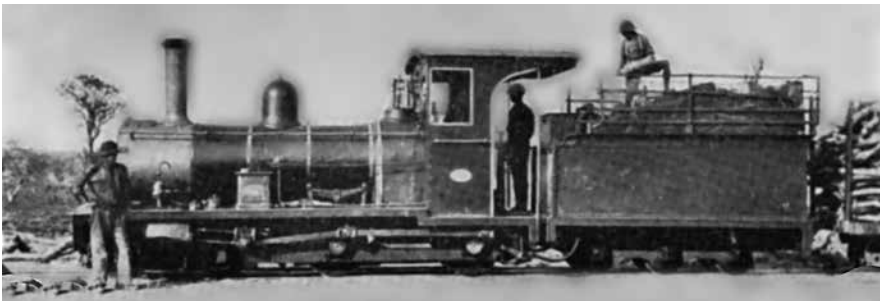
[2] Whyte notation. First figure refers to the number of wheels in the leading bogie, second firgue to the number of drivers, and the last to the number of trailing wheels.

[3] Narrow-Gauge railways in Britain and Ireland were often noted for their unusual, often unique, locomotive designs, each quite different and characteristic of local operating conditions. Best examples are provided by the County Donegal Railways of Ireland, and the two famous Welsh railways the Tal-y-Llyn, and the Ffestiniog, now preserved and maintained by enthusiasts.

which is a self-contained unit as regards fuel and water. The Beira Railway called for a larger, tender-type locomotive for hauling long trains over great distances, and the 4-4-0's that were delivered were ideal for the job. With the modifications mentioned above, the two locomotives bought by the Cam and Motor mine were in continuous service from 1920 until 1946.

There was however, one other locomotive in operation on the Cam and Motor railway. This locomotive was known as "Giant", and worked from 1920 until approximately 1928[4]. It was made in Germany, but beyond this fact, little else seems to be known about it. Fortunately, Conway had a picture of this locomotive in his collection, and from this may be gleaned a few facts. Most interesting is the fact that this is a tank locomotive, with the characteristic side tanks flanking the boiler, and the coal bunker overhanging the rear in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Great Western Railway practice. Unfortunately the photograph does not show the wheel arrangement, but another interesting feature is the tender which it is hauling. This is obviously from one of the ex-Beira railway locomotives, and appears to be loaded with wood[5]. The locomotive as a whole bears a strong resemblance to the engines operating in the Natal sugar cane plantations.

The actual rolling stock consists almost entirely of flat eight-wheel bogie trucks. This is undoubtedly the best type of vehicle for transporting large logs, being the easiest to load and unload. Each truck could carry about five cords of wood, and normally five trucks made up a train. The number of trucks owned was about fifteen, with five loading up, five unloading, and five empty, working in rotation. While five were being loaded up at the railhead, five were being unloaded at the mine, and five were travelling back to the railhead empty.



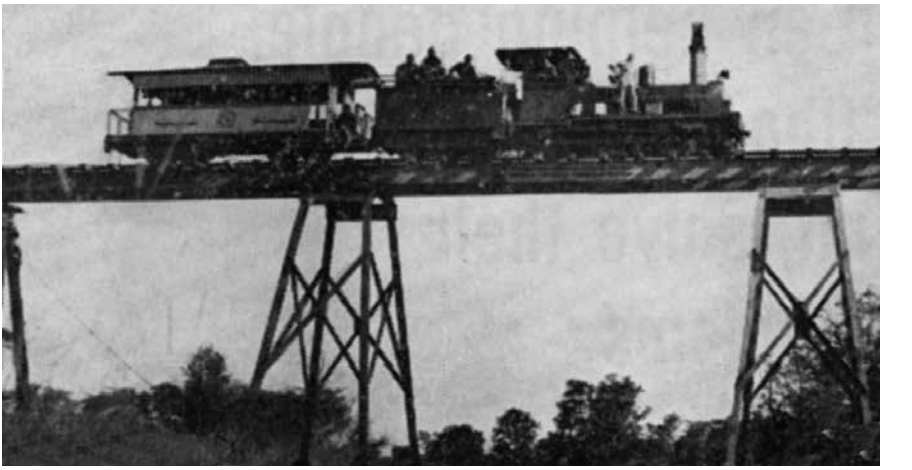
One of the Ex-Beira Railway locomotives referred to in the text. This was taken before a spark arrester was fitted, and the loco also has its original 6-wheeled tender. Shown clearly is the se3mi-elliptic leaf spring exposed above the leading driving wheel.

Ex-Beira Railway locomotive crossing a bridge in the Rhodesdale Estate. Note the spark arrester on the chimney. Also shown is the ex-Beira Railway 4-wheeled coach.

Other rolling stock consisted of the inevitable gangers' trolley, worked by a pump-

[4] 1928 is an approximate date. Conway said that it was in this year that the other two engines were re-boilered, and "by then the German locomotive was scrapped."

[5] Several photos show the locomotives with tenders full of wood, and spark arresters fitted to the chimneys of the locomotives seem to indicate that wood fuel was used quite often. Mr. Conway tells me that the locos were coat-fired in latter days, to achieve a higher boiler pressure of 120 lbs per square in, and for greater efficiency.



handle mechanism, and a most interesting passenger coach. This coach was another veteran of the Beira Railway, and was sometimes used for unofficial weekend picnics on the Umsweswe River by various citizens of Gatooma. The coach itself was of wood construction, with open balconies at either end, and mounted on a four-wheel chassis[6]. The initials "L.R.[7]" were carried on the boards which originally bore the legend "Beira Railway Company".

The only section of track known to have remained in situ is this short piece across this strip road by the Cam and Motor Mine. The photo was taken facing the mine, the track lying in a North-South direction. Shown clearly are the protection rails on either side of the running rails. These were to help lift the wheels of motor vehicles over the running rails, and to prevent the line becoming out of alignment.

The track itself, as too the locomotives and rolling stock, was supplied by the Cam and Motor Mine, and may possibly have also come from the Beira Railway. The track was laid to 2 ft g gauge on metal and wooden sleepers. In later years, metal sleepers were used almost exclusively, many of them coming from the Rhodesia Railways, which were modified to take the 2 ft gauge track by drilling holes in the sleepers to take a bolt and clamp inboard of the Rhodesia Railways' 3 ft 6 in gauge mounting points. The rails were the flat bottom type, which has great inherent strength, and requires fewer fixing and mounting components than does the bullhead type, which was used until after the Second World War on all British mainlines[8].

The bullhead track, apart from its tendency to buckle more readily than

[6] Four wheeled coaches are still in operation in some European branch lines, notably Germany, and are generally noteworthy for their rough-riding characteristics, as compared with bogie coaches.

[7] Light Railway.

[8] A massive and expensive conversion to flat-bottom rail is now under way in Britain.

flat-bottom rail, requires a complicated and expensive mounting. This consists of a heavy metal chair on each sleeper to carry the track, and requires constant maintenance. Flat-bottom rail, however, needs only a fixing clamp, and far less maintenance. On the Cam and Motor mine railway, these clamps were simply a 2 x 1½ inch piece of cast iron, lipped at one end, and fixed to the sleeper by a ½ inch diameter bolt. This raised lip held the flat bottom of the rail to the sleeper very firmly. The rail weighed 20 lb per yard, although on the Mombi bridge, this was increased to 60 lbs per yard, to give greater structural strength to the bridge.

Variations of Route and Engineering Works

Unlike most railways, which run from point A to point B, and usually remain fixed for the duration of their working lives, the Cam and Motor Mine railway had no fixed route. The railway remained based at the Cam and Motor mine, but the railhead was never constant. The very nature of the work necessitated this. The railway had to go to the wood, and when one area was exhausted, the track was taken up and relaid in a different direction to a fresh source of wood.

The base at the Cam and Motor mine was a fairly extensive one. There were, of course, sidings, most of which were laid in between the stacks of wood which were stockpiled before being consumed by the ore roasters[9]. There was also a weighbridge and a reversing triangle[10]. This triangle surrounded a huge wood stack, and enabled locomotives to be reversed by running up one side of the triangle, reversing along the second side, and going forwards down the third side. Thus the engine was turned round, and ready to face its next trip the right way round. Also at the main base were workshops, ash pits and a water tower.

The track, a single line, left the mine in a south-westerly direction. The line never went to the north of the mine, and by 1925 there were 15 miles of track, beyond the Mombi River. In that year came the first washaway. The Mombi River rose and washed away its frail mopani[11] bridge. Undaunted, James Conway relaid his track to the Rhodesia Railways' siding at Inyati River. For the rest of the rainy season that year, the Rhodesia Railways transported the wood to the Cam and Motor via their branch to the mine, normally used for transporting heavy machinery and other bulky loads. The bridge was repaired in 1926, as soon as the rainy season was over, and although it was still constructed from Mopani, it was a more substantial structure. The line also crossed the Umsweswe River, from where it went due West to the railhead, Maharati Camp. Later in 1926, the Umsweswe bridge was washed away and was repaired by Charlie Oppenshaw, still constructed from Mopani. The following year, a borehole was sunk at the Umsweswe bridge, and thereafter the Umsweswe river was a regular stopping place for water. The section of line from the Cam and Motor mine to the Umsweswe river remained constant throughout the life of the railway.

In the early 1930's, the track was taken up again and diverted due south from the Umsweswe for a distance of some 20 miles, making a total of 32 miles for the whole

[9] By 1930, these wood stacks held 7000 cords of wood.

[10] This is an inexpensive method of turning locomotives round, and is used throughout the world. Turntables are expensive, and are only justified when traffic is heavy and there is a necessity for quick turn round. Bulawayo has Rhodesia's only turntable.

[11] Mopani is extremely abundant in the Gatooma area, and is apparently an ideal wood with which to build structures such as bridges.

1927 Lister pump engine, used for pumping water from the Umsweswe River. It is still in use on Pat Conway's farm, near Gatooma.

distance from the mine. This new route to fresh woodland involved the building of three new bridges. The Chinjota and Chinoni Rivers were crossed on the usual Mopani bridges, but that across the Mododo River was built of steel – the first steel bridge to be built for the railway.

It was not long before the Mombi and Umsweswe bridges were washed away again, but it was to be the last time. This time the Mombi bridge was replaced with a steel one, while the Umsweswe was spanned by a Mopani and steel structure.

The final track alteration took place in 1938, after Pat Conway had taken over the line on the death of his father, James Conway. The last 14 miles of the track was lifted and relaid in a south-westerly direction to its new railhead, "Manganyani" (Wild Dog), the same name as had been applied to the previous camp. All the surveying for the track was done by Pat Conway, as was the designing of the four new bridges required for this new section of the line.

At each temporary railhead a reversing triangle for the locomotives, living quarters etc had to be built and boreholes sunk[12]. The buildings at each railhead were made of pole and daga, with corrugated iron lean-to's, and were thatched. Conway summed up building procedure at each railhead very neatly – "We just put the furniture on the ground and built the hut around it."

Gradients for railways have to be carefully worked out, of course, and the maximum gradient allowed for a loaded train proceeding to the mine was 1 in 100, while trains going out empty to the railhead were permitted a maximum gradient of 1 in 60. Signalling was considered unnecessary, as there were only two locomotives in use, and a train only left the railhead loaded after the empty train from the mine arrived.

Much of the land through which the railway passed was fairly flat, and thus no really extensive engineering works such as cuttings or embankments were needed. Nevertheless, the bridging of rivers the size of the Umsweswe represents a considerable achievement; the fact that it was achieved on a comparatively unknown railway makes it all the more interesting.

Personalities Concerned with the Railway

Throughout the life of the railway, from 1922 until 1946, members of the Conway family ran the undertaking. James Conway was in charge from 1922 until 1938, when he died. Pat Conway, his 21 year old son, took over until the war broke out, and was

[12] At one railhead, forty boreholes were sunk, only one of which was successful.

responsible for the surveying and laying of the line's last extension. For the duration of the war, Pat's brother, Charlie, was in charge, and it was Charlie Conway who was in charge when the railway was closed.

Running a railway, however small, is a complex affair, and consequently many people were employed, all vital to the whole operation.

Maintenance of locomotives and rolling stock is a most important part in railway operation, and in charge of this section of the Cam and Motor railway was a Yugoslav mechanic, Crnkovic. He worked on the railway from 1929 until 1946, but started inauspiciously by nearly getting the sack on his third day at the railway. He was unable to speak English, but was, in Pat Conway's words, "a first class mechanic", and able to turn his hand to any railway repair job. He was in charge of operations when the two ex-Beira Railways locomotives were reboilered once more in 1936, and this was a complicated and exacting task even with the best of workshops[13]. The fact that the two elderly locomotives were in full working order until 1946, speaks well of the mechanical ability of Crnkovic. Although these locomotives were sturdy and well-designed, any locomotive, however strongly built, will eventually succumb to poor maintenance. It must also be remembered that no railway can afford to have engines lying idle for any longer than is necessary. Crnkovic saw to it that operations on the railway were not held up through non-availability of an engine or rolling stock.

Maintenance of the line was the responsibility of Fritz, and he was also responsible for the constant re-laying of the track to fresh wood supplies.

One Kasmi was in charge of the ox-hauled wagons at the railhead. (The transporting of the wood to the railhead was by ox-hauled wagons, and is told in more detail later). To simplify maintenance, he built a standard design of wagon to carry the wood. Each wagon could carry 4 cords of wood, but little local material was used in their construction. The buck beams were made from Australian Jarrah, being 9" x 3" in thickness, topped by a 3" strip of metal. The naves and spokes of the wheels came from Thyssens, of Maydon Wharf, Durban, and the metal tyres were 6 inches wide. In 1930, there were 25 such wagons, each hauled by a team of 16 oxen.

Yotam, from Blantyre, worked on the pump at the Umsweswe River, pumping water into the storage tank to be used by the locomotives. The tank took nearly three hours to fill, he said, and it was filled about 2 or 3 times a day. He was employed from August 16th 1922 (Yotam is quite definite about this) until the railway closed in 1946.

Hetenayo, from Fort William, worked from 1938-1946, first a track-worker then as a truck loader. He enjoyed the work but, after he was married, he was transferred from track maintenance to truck loading. Track maintenance was a job for single men, as they were constantly on the move. He was daily paid, and earned 22/6 per month. (Hotam earned 25/- per month).

Most remarkable of the three labourers working on Conway's farm is Ndarua, an elderly man from Fort Jameson (now Chipota). He worked as a woodcutter from 1933 to 1946, and Conway, Yotam and Hetenayo, are unanimous in declaring him "the best

[13] Narrow-gauge railways in Britain had the advantage of being near to factories where their locos were built, thus rendering supply of spares comparatively easy. An important spare part would take several months to arrive from Britain at the Cam and Motor, and consequently many spares were manufactured "on the spot", using the mine's more extensive facilities.

woodcutter on the railway". He was only 5ft 4in tall, but he was renowned for his strength and prowess in cutting down trees. He spoke with pride of the trees he had cut down – Mopani, mnondo, mufti, msasa, and said that he was able to earn up to 4/- a day (woodcutters in 1938 earned 1/- per cord of wood cut) which was a very high rate of pay for pre-war days, and the ability to cut 4 cords of wood a day is quite remarkable by any standard.

"Farmer Webb", was manager of Pat Conway's farm. Webb was born in East London yet at 80 had a figure and looks that a man 20 years younger might envy. He came to Southern Rhodesia in 1913, and was connected with the railway from 1932 till 1937. He was responsible for buying, sorting and training the oxen used at the railheads. This was a part-time job, as he was running a farm in Que Que at the same time. The organization of oxen at the railheads was quite a complicated affair, and was essential to the running of the railway. The only way the wood could come from the outlying land was by ox-wagon. They were in-spanned at 3 am, out-spanned at 9 am, in-spanned again at 2 pm, and out-spanned at 8 pm. Each team made an average of 6 trips per day, and average 6-7 cords each per day. Almost 1000 cattle were kept at the railhead, and in time of drought, food and water had to be brought by rail, and a great problem was keeping the oxen disease-free. Consequently, the cattle had to be driven regularly to neighbouring farms for dipping, which might mean a distance of twelve miles or more.

Webb was an expert in managing cattle, and was the right man for the tremendous task of looking after the cattle used at the railheads. "You have to handle oxen like soldiers," he said.

Incidents and Stories Connected with the Railway

The Cam and Motor Railway has its own history of incidents peculiar to railway operation. There were derailments, of course, and a classic example occurred in the rainy season of 1939. A culvert under the line at the railhead had become blocked. As an engine ran on to this section of rail, the track subsided and deposited the engine rapidly and firmly on its side. It was quickly up-righted by means of oxen, block and tackle, the rails replaced firmly, and the engine continued on its way. (The driver on this occasion was Charlie Mortimer, who had deformed hands from a burst steam pipe incident some years before).

Pat Conway[14] remembers hurtling merrily along the track one day on the ganger's trolley. Speeding round a bend, Conway saw, too late, a log lying across the line which had been dropped from the last loaded train going back to the mine. It was too late to stop, and the trolley crashed into the log at full speed, scattering Conway and his labourers in all directions. With an assortment of curses, the trolley was put back on the rails and the journey continued.

In the days of James Conway, the line went through Hope Farm, owned by a Mr H Campion. As Campion owned cattle, he wanted the railway line fenced. James Conway said that he would think about it, but Campion accelerated matters by laying a sick cow across the line, and informed James Conway that one of the trains had knocked it down. James agreed to pay for half of the fencing, provided that Campion also paid for half[15]. Campion agreed to this and James Conway accordingly gave Campion a cheque for

[14] Pat Conway also drove a locomotive whenever the need arose.

[15] Gates were operated by gate men at the entrance and exist to each farm, but were later replaced by the familiar cattle grids.

60 pounds, representing his half of the agreement. Campion, who had long wanted a proper fenced paddock for his cattle, fenced one side of the track, and with the rest of the fencing made his paddock! Campion got his just desserts two years later – several of his cattle were killed by a train colliding with them. This time, not a murmur came from Campion!

Webb remembers an incident at one of the cattle dips. 'Dutch', an old ox near the end of its working days, was put into the 'hospital span', until fit enough to work again. Dutch's horns were thick and wide, and when it was Dutch's turn to be dipped, his horns caught on the side of the dip, and trapped Dutch's head under water. Pat Conway sprang onto Dutch's back, armed with a demo (axe). He tried to chop the end of one horn off, but the handle struck the horn and the axe-head sank into the depths of the dip. A second demo was grabbed, and this time he managed to cut ½ inch off the end of one horn, enabling Dutch to scramble to safety.

The woodcutters one day reported to Charlie Conway (Pat Conway's brother) that they had been fired on by poachers. Several herdsmen were sent out to look for the poachers, who were traced by a wisp of smoke rising from the bush. The herders returned with the news and Charlie rounded up 30 staff who set off on bicycles to the poachers' camp. At a pre-arranged signal (a shot), the labourers stormed the camp and, in the ensuing struggle, two of the five poachers escaped. The three prisoners were tied. One of the other two poachers returned to see what had happened. He was only a youngster, and was captured. He led his captors to where the sole remaining poacher was hiding, and he was captured without a fight. His rifle was found inside a dead tree. The poachers were duly handed over to the police, while the poached game was enjoyed by the captors.

Conclusion

In 1946, the Cam and Motor mine stopped using wood as fuel for its roasters, and used Wankie coal instead. This removed the very reason for the line's existence, and it was closed immediately. Tenders were sent out for the removal of track and the scrapping of rails, locomotives and rolling stock. Conway tendered for this, but ironically the tender went to a Mr Swarts.

As the Cam and Motor Mine was Southern Rhodesia's biggest gold producer even in 1920, it is somewhat surprising that the conversion to coal roasters was not made earlier. It must be remembered, however, that wood fuel was cheap and plentiful, and coal had to be brought a long way. However, as the mine consumed vast quantities of wood, it rapidly denuded the countryside for miles around. Eventually, continuing to use wood fuel meant that the fuel would have to be brought in from a considerable distance, as the mine's demands continued to make rapid inroads into the bush. Obviously, it could not go on using wood fuel indefinitely, and so the logical switch to coal was made.

Why was rail transport employed in the moving of wood from the outlying bush to the mine? Consider the alternative – there is only one. This is road transport.

When the mine purchased the two ex-Beira Railway locomotives in 1915, it obviously intended to use rail transport. At this time, motor vehicles were in short supply, as the First World War was preventing exports of almost everything from Britain and America. All the motor vehicles produced during the First World War were being sent into battle, and even if exports were possible, motor vehicles of every description

were being requisitioned by Governments for military use. Even America, which did not enter the war until 1917, was producing its motor vehicles (particularly heavy trucks) to fulfil British and French Government orders. The Cam and Motor owners obviously also realized that there would be confusion after the war while motor vehicle production and shipping reorganized itself. But even if motor lorries were freely available, there were many difficulties still to be considered. The lorry of 1920 was a somewhat frail affair compared with the tested and proved reliability of the steam locomotive, which had by then been under continuous development and improvement for eighty years. Also, one locomotive could haul a train carrying 25 tons of wood easily. This would obviously need five five-ton lorries, or one lorry doing five times the distance, and the consequent slowing down of wood supply. For 25 tons of wood carried, one would pay only one train crew (driver, fireman, brake man), as opposed to five lorry drivers. Roads also presented a great problem. They were cut through the bush easily enough, but during the rainy season would become impassable. Wood is a bulky and heavy cargo, and lorries would soon become bogged down to their axles. Consider also the speed of a fully laden five-tone lorry bouncing along a bush track. The railway, with its comparatively smooth track, was a far faster means of transporting the wood. The railway comes into its own when transporting heavy, bulky loads over long distances. In fact, moderns railways are today (in 1964) running at a profit mostly in heavy freight traffic, being the most efficient and logical way to transport large quantities of heavy goods. The question of fuel was also a deciding factor. Motor lorries would have to rely on imported oil and petrol. The steam locomotive needed only wood and water, the former being available freely, and the latter drawn mostly from the Umsweswe River.

The railway was the logical, most efficient means of transporting wood to the mine. The wood was needed by the mine in sufficiently large quantities to justify the use of a railway, and thus the conclusion must be drawn that the railway was the only practical method of fulfilling the needs of the Cam and Motor Mine.

Appendix

Specimen wage scale for some employees of the Cam and Motor Mine railway in 1938.

Engine Drivers	25/- per trip
Woodcutters	1/- per cord
Ox-drivers	2/- per day
Loaders/un-loaders	1/- per day

With the exception of drivers and engine crews (paid per trip), and woodcutters (per cord of wood cut), all employees were paid daily.

Sources

No books were consulted during research for this dissertation. Information was provided by Mr Pay Conway, who was the main source, with several items from his farm manager, Mr Webb. Three of the Conway's employees, Messrs. Yotam, Hetenayo and Ndarua also came forward with personal anecdotes.

All photographs were taken in April 1964, except for the locomotives which were extracted from "Rhodesia Railways Magazine", November 1963.

Wankie–a history of the Colliery, and the Disaster of 6 June 1972

by Peter Fey

Introduction

Forty four years ago, on the morning of 6th June 1972 an underground explosion at the Wankie No 2 Colliery resulted in 427 deaths. Rescue efforts commenced immediately but, in view of the dangerous conditions and lack of ventilation, were suspended after 3 ½ days and the workings sealed. A commission of inquiry into the disaster sat between September and October 1972, presenting its findings to the President on 22nd March 1973.The text below traces the history and development of the Wankie collieries. Coal mining practice and attendant hazards, as well as the disaster itself, are summarised, and the findings of the Commission are discussed.

Wankie-discovery and development

In 1893, whilst hunting and trading in the Victoria Falls region, the young German Albert Giese heard from local tribesmen about "black stones that burn". Unable to follow up this information owing to the presence of marauding Matabele warriors he abandoned his search but returned the following year. Travelling up the Hunters' Road along the western border of what was to become Southern Rhodesia he entered the area then known as Wankies on foot, since it lay in the tsetse fly belt, and located outcropping coal in the Kamandama River. He pegged the occurrence but, unable to comply with conditions laid down by the British South Africa Company which owned the mineral rights, could not exploit his discovery. During the year the Mashonaland Agency Limited acquired rights to a large tract of land in the Wankie district from the British South Africa Company and in 1895 engaged Giese to peg a concession covering 1037 km2 (400 square miles). In 1897 this concession was thoroughly explored over a period of 6 months by a mining engineer, Harvey, who sank five prospecting shafts. Additional exploration was undertaken between September 1900 and January 1901 by S R Price of the Cardiff firm Forster, Brown and Rees, who put down a further 15 shallow shafts (Lightfoot 1914, p 3).

In 1901 the Wankie (Rhodesia) Coal, Railway and Exploration Company Limited purchased the concession, commenced construction of a railway line to the property from the terminus in Bulawayo, some 300 kilometres away to the southeast, and began sinking the main drift (inclined shaft). This reached the coal seam in January 1902 and, with the arrival of the first train in September 1903, No 1 Colliery on the present Wankie town site, was open for business. Production for the year amounted to 47 620 tonnes (Lightfoot op. cit., p36). However, demand for coal was limited and the company went into liquidation, to be immediately reconstructed as the Wankie Colliery Company Limited which expanded steadily. In 1910 output was 182 949 tonnes; in 1927, when

No 2 Colliery was brought into production, it was 1 017 751 tonnes. The colliery was closed during the Depression but reopened in 1937. Production soon exceeded that of the pre-Depression years, climbing to in excess of 2 million tonnes in 1945.A portion of the original concession was surrendered on 29thOctober 1925 (Thompson, 1982, p 2). The concession area was further reduced following a report by the Wankie Coal Commission in 1949, leaving the company with 355 million tonnes of extractable coal (Wankie Report 1973, p 7).

L A Price became Assistant General Manager at Wankie in November 1948 and concentrated on mechanising No 2 Colliery. Completed in 1951 the exercise involved introducing mechanised loaders, shuttle cars and conveyor belts. Describing operations Price stated (Wankie Report op. cit, p 8): "…when I came to Wankie I found they were blasting off solid with 60% gelignite, and I was told there was no danger of explosion…. they had been doing it from 1903". Asked by the Commission (see below) if it was an open-light colliery he replied:"Yes, they were using candles, carbide lamps and blasting was done by fuses. It was a completely naked-light mine when I first arrived there". When Powell Duffryn Limited assumed responsibility for the Wankie Colliery Company Limited in 1950, T A J Braithwaite was appointed General Manager. He in turn noted (Wankie Report 1973, p 8) that: "The conditions were indescribably bad. It was all hand-working, using very small mine tubs which we subsequently replaced with tubs of larger size. Drilling was by man-drills or jackhammers occasionally. No protective clothing of any kind, boots or hard hats. The general system of illumination was candles and the officials carried carbide lamps."

Braithwaite was emphatic that stone dusting was not being practised when he arrived, nor during the 20 years of his sojourn at Wankie. He estimated annual production at the time to have been 1.52 million tonnes and, with increasing demand for coal from neighbouring territories, immediately set about raising output to at least five million tonnes per year, noting:"The decision was reached to equip No 1 Colliery to continue to produce at the rate of one million tons (1 016 000 tonnes) per year, to re-equip No 2 Colliery to produce at the rate of two million tons (2 032 000 tonnes) per year, and to sink a totally new colliery, No 3 Colliery, to produce also at the rate of two million tons (2 032 tonnes) per year."No 3 Colliery was opened towards the end of 1953, a year during which the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa Limited took over from Powell Duffryn Limited. According to Watson (1960, p 1) production in 1957 from the three collieries amounted to 4 246 000 tons (4 313 936 tonnes). However, with demand subsequently falling No 1 Colliery was closed in 1958.The remaining two collieries were by then each capable of producing 2 million tonnes annually, and were both operating at the time of the disaster in June 1972.Braithwaite left the mine in September 1970, to be succeeded by G J Livingstone-Blevins.

It is not clear when opencast mining began at Wankie but it has been practised for many years and continues to make a significant contribution to total output (Wankie Report 1973, p 7).

Regional geology and coal resources

In view of the economic importance of the Wankie discovery H B Maufe, Director of the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey which had been founded only in 1910 (Fey 1995, p1-10), lost no time in sending Ben Lightfoot, a Yorkshire man who had mapped the Lanarkshire coalfield in Britain, to investigate the region. This he completed between

June and December 1912, covering an elongated strip, 984 km² in extent and orientated east-west, of in part rugged terrain south of the Deka River. The country was covered in thorn scrub, with few roads and little water. In the absence of a topographical map the plane table survey had to be based on the concession boundary beacons (Lightfoot 1914, p 4).The geology is fairly simple, comprising granitic Basement overlain by a sedimentary assemblage. On fossil evidence the latter was equated with the Karoo System (now Supergroup) and the coal measures near the base were assigned to the Ecca Group, of Permian age. Lightfoot established the western limit of the coalfield, but not its extent to the south and east.

Subsequent mapping by A H Hooper, presumably undertaken for the Wankie Colliery Company Limited, extended over 2590 km² and resulted in a revision of the concession boundaries to again enclose an area of 1037 km². Thereafter, with his earlier publication (Bulletin 4) having sold out Lightfoot returned to the region in 1928 and in three months mapped a rectangular area of 880 km² straddling the railway line and extending southeast to just beyond Tshontanda siding. He revised his earlier estimate (Lightfoot 1914, p 41) of coal resources for the Wankie field from 600 million to 6000 million tonnes (Lightfoot 1929, p 53). As a result of later investigations by the Geological Survey Watson (1960, p 31) quoted coal reserves within the company concession as 1 000 million tonnes of which 350 million tonnes were extractable.

Wankie collieries

Of the three collieries in existence at the time of the disaster No 1 is located immediately adjacent to and west of the Wankie township whilst No 2 and No 3 collieries lie 6 kilometres west and 10 kilometres southwest respectively of the town, immediately east of the Kamandama River. Coal occurs as numerous thin layers within the Lower Carbonaceous Mudstones, but the only seam mined is the basal or Main Seam. In the No 2 Colliery this dips very flatly west, lacks discernible bedding but is highly fractured and locally cut by small faults. At the time of the disaster the depth of the workings below surface lay between 60 and 150 metres, and the seam, consistently 6 to 8 metres thick, was extracted in its entirety in two separate operations. Mining methods are detailed in the Wankie Report (1973, p 48 onwards) and have also been summarised by T A J Braithwaite in Watson (1960, pp 44-46).

On a dry basis unwashed coal from the base of the seam, classified as a bituminous coking coal, averages 13.5% ash, 26.5% volatile matter and 60.0% fixed carbon. Content of ash, volatiles and phosphorus increases upwards from the base of the seam.

The Wankie disaster

At approximately 10.25am on 6 June 1972, what was in all probability a methane-initiated coal dust explosion, occurred at No 2 Colliery and swept through the greater part, if not all, of the underground workings. Of the 427 persons in the mine at the time 425 died, as did two surface workers. Anyone surviving the explosion would have been overcome by poisonous fumes, notably carbon monoxide. Africans, drawn principally from Rhodesia, with others coming from as far afield as Tanzania (Dupont, 1978), made up 390 of the casualties. Amongst the dead were supervisors and other officials responsible for the underground operations. Seven persons were seriously injured. The

explosion wrecked the two fan installations on surface, and ventilation of the mine workings was only partially restored at 4am. on 8 June, some 41 hours after the accident.

Neighbouring countries, especially South Africa, assisted in the rescue operations, which were mounted immediately. However, the extent of the destruction thwarted all efforts to safely re-enter the workings and it became evident that the chances of anyone having survived the explosion were very remote. Safety concerns led to the withdrawal of the rescue teams on the 9 of June, 3½days after the explosion, and the entrance to the workings was sealed.

The Inquiry

Immediately after the disaster an inquiry was held at Wankie over the period 15 to 30 June 1972 by L. Bills, Regional Government Mining Engineer and Inspector of Mines who was based in Bulawayo. He interviewed several persons, took statements, examined records and had plans prepared. His report, submitted to B. Davey, the Chief Government Mining Engineer, formed the basis of the investigation which followed almost immediately.

By a commission issued on 4th September 1972 the body of persons named below was required "…in the light of the accident at Wankie No 2 Colliery, on the 6th June 1972, to inquire into and report on the following matters:

a) any question arising out of or connected with the said accident, which, in the opinion of the Commission, has not been adequately covered by any other investigation;
b) the principal system of coal-mining practised in Rhodesia, with special reference to safety;
c) the adequacy of the provisions of the Mines and Minerals Act (Chapter 203), and the regulations made there under concerning safety in coal-mines;
d) any amendments to the said Act and, additionally or alternatively, regulations as may be considered advisable and necessary in the interests of safety in coal-mines;
e) whether the supervision of mines exercised by the Ministry of Mines in terms of the said Act and regulations is adequate, and, if not, in what respects it should be improved in the interests of safety".

The Commission was chaired by Sir Vincent Quenet, QC and comprised Charles Henry Chandler, Albert Duncan Vos and Dr Miklos Derso Gyorgy Salmon, all men with mining qualifications. It sat in Salisbury between the 6 and 8 of September, visited Wankie between 18 and 23 September to inspect surface installations at No 2 Colliery, underground installations at No 3 Colliery and to hear evidence, then resumed hearings in Salisbury between 9 and 13 October 1972. Seven persons submitted memoranda and 25 gave evidence before the Commission. Amongst these were, Professor G. Bond from the University of Rhodesia, Dr J. G. N. Stagman, Deputy Director of the Rhodesia Geological Survey, Mr B. Davey, Chief Government Mining Engineer as well as the immediate past and present General Managers of the Wankie Colliery Company Limited, Messrs T. A. J. Braithwaite and G. J. Livingstone-Blevins. Dr H. L. Willett of the National Coal Board and Mr K. H. Saunders, a member of the National Union of Mineworkers, had come from Britain at the Commission's request.

The Commission's terms of reference are detailed below.

First Term of Reference

Under this heading the Commission investigated possible causes for the accident.

Background

Two separate ignitions had been recorded at Wankie before the disaster. In the first, which occurred at 9.30am on 29 December 1960, three persons were severely burned by methane igniting when a match was used to light a fuse igniter in No 4 area of No 2 Colliery. An inquiry into the incident was conducted by the Government Inspector of Mines then stationed at Wankie, R. Mooney. In view of minor, unreported previous ignitions he thought the incident was a timely warning since conditions could be expected to worsen as mining approached the Deka Fault. Accordingly, daily gas testing throughout the workings was instituted, the results to be summarised monthly and submitted to the Chief Government Mining Engineer. On 31 December 1960 Mooney wrote to the Acting General Manager of the Wankie Colliery, declaring Sections 2, 4 and 7 of No 2 Colliery fiery. After small amounts of methane had been detected at No 3 Colliery two sections in that mine were also declared fiery in February 1961. In a further letter dated 3 April 1961 the Inspector of Mines instructed the colliery management to implement dust suppression methods, comprising the regular removal of accumulated fines and wetting down. With reportable quantities of gas having been detected in February of the following year another part of No 3 Colliery was declared fiery on 4 April 1962, and on 8 August 1962 conditions under which welding and cutting could be carried out underground were laid out by the Inspector of Mines.

Curiously, in a letter dated 15 October 1965, presumably emanating from the Department of Mining Engineering, previous directives declaring parts of the two collieries to be fiery were revoked. As the letter explained:"In view of the fact that the original districts which were given the designation of 'Fiery Sections' can no longer be clearly defined by boundaries, notice of revocation is hereby given…". From this the Commission formed the opinion that the whole of Nos 2 and 3 collieries should have been declared fiery. Nonetheless, management at Wankie continued to treat No 2 Colliery as fiery, and on 18 December 1965 requested that a defined experimental section of No 3 Colliery be declared fiery and drew up a Code of Practice dealing with maintenance of flame-proof and other equipment. This, based on the South African regulations (Wankie Report 1973, p 31), was submitted to the Chief Government Mining Engineer but two subsequent codes, one on methane detection, the other on mechanised mining, were not.

The second explosion occurred at 3.10pm on 21 October 1970 in HE 3 panel of the same colliery, where during blasting a blown-out shot ignited methane which in turn may have (the evidence is contradictory) ignited coal dust generated by the blast. A "blown-out shot" occurs when explosives in a blast hole have not been tamped down properly, causing the blast from the explosion to blow out of the hole instead of exerting lateral force to fracture the rock so that it may be mined.

Surprisingly, no injuries were reported. The miner admitted that he had not tested for methane before firing the shots, and that for 10 minutes before the blast the auxiliary ventilation fans had been switched off. The incident was the subject of an internal investigation conducted by Assistant General Manager L. A. Price and there is doubt about whether or not it was reported to the Department of Mining Engineering. L. Bills,

Regional Mining Inspector in Bulawayo, was first advised of the matter by General Manager G J Livingstone-Blevins when he visited Wankie in March 1972.

Conclusions

1. The Wankie disaster was attributed to methane gas which was ignited, in turn causing a coal dust explosion in Matura Main of No 2 Colliery. Because the workings were subsequently sealed by management, the cause of the gas ignition remains speculative but, since it occurred at a time when blasting was normally carried out, may have been a blown-out shot (Wankie Report 1973, p 17).
2. Despite having available ample technical literature on the subject the colliery management failed to fully appreciate the danger posed by accumulations of coal dust. The long history of working the colliery as a naked light mine without major incident had engendered a false sense of security. General Manager Livingstone-Blevins in particular regarded coal dust as a health rather than a safety issue, to be mitigated by watering down of the workings.
3. Stone dusting, believed to have been practised at Wankie over a short period in 1948-1950, was discontinued for reasons not ascertained. Livingstone-Blevins stated that analyses of Wankie coal were very similar to those of coal produced in the Witbank (Transvaal) collieries, of which he had long experience. Operators there had as early as 1913 been required to adopt appropriate dust suppression methods, including stone dusting. However, in the absence of methane, and with coal dust present in only minor quantities, an appeal against mandatory stone dusting was successfully mounted in 1945 (Wankie Report 1973, p 26).
4. Breaches of the Mining Regulations, 1961 had been noted previously. Welding and gas cutting were being undertaken in intake airways closer than prescribed to working faces and diesel engines were used underground without scrubbers. In addition, coal faces approaching each other were allowed to advance until they were less than the prescribed distance apart without work in one of the headings being stopped. Any one such breach might have caused the coal dust explosion. "Scrubbers" are tanks (on diesel powered vehicles used underground) filled with water, through which exhaust fumes are passed in order to remove nitrous oxides.
5. Methane readings taken by mine personnel over the period May 1967 to May 1972 in No 2 Colliery were collated for the first inquiry by L Bills, Regional Government Mining Engineer at Bulawayo. During this period quantities of methane exceeding 1.5% were detected and, under Mining Regulation 81, should have been, but were not reported to the Department of Mining Engineering. This was found to be a serious neglect of duty on the part of the colliery management which, in its defence, claimed that since it was treating No 2 Colliery as fiery the reporting requirement was presumed not to apply. It was noted that there was no Inspector of Mines stationed at Wankie for the 18 months prior to November 1969.Regarding the next appointee it is recorded (Wankie Report 1973, p 38) that he lacked experience in coal mining, hence was unable to apply critical standards and form an independent judgment of conditions at the colliery. In this context B Davey, Inspector of Mines at Wankie until January 1959 should, on becoming Chief Government Mining Engineer in 1965, have kept himself informed of reportable quantities of methane being

detected at the mine.

6. The Explosives (Licensing and Use) Regulations 1970 prescribes that not more than two days' supply of explosives were to be stored underground, yet from estimates provided by the colliery management it appeared that double that quantity was being stored. The company had recently moved from a two shifts per day to a one shift schedule, thereby effectively halving consumption of explosives, but this fact had been overlooked and supply was maintained at the former levels. Sitting of the explosives magazine did not conform to statutory requirements. Although both breaches should have been noticed by the Inspector of Mines the Commission was satisfied that the disaster was not caused by an explosion at the magazine.

Second Term of Reference

The Commission investigated all aspects of coal mining in Rhodesia, with particular emphasis on safety. Topics included mine layout, mining methods, coal handling and ventilation.

Coal, coal dust and methane

Coal is the end-product of accumulated vegetable matter, mixed with varying amounts of inorganic material, which together has been compacted, altered and transformed into combustible rock. Occurring as layers of differing thickness within sedimentary rocks, coals can exhibit a wide range of properties. There may be slight differences in carbon content (rank), whilst inorganic matter gives rise to ash.

Generally occluded within the coal and released during mining is methane. Chemically CH4 it is a colourless, odourless and tasteless gas, lighter than air and also known as marsh gas or firedamp. Air containing 5-15% methane is explosive and easily ignited by a spark or naked flame. Such explosions are, however, restricted to areas where the gas occurs. Collieries where methane occurs are known as "fiery" mines.

A far greater danger is posed by the coal dust generated by mining operations. These are called "fines". If of the right composition, fineness and dispersabilty coal dust with a minimum concentration of 20-50 g/m3 is explosive if disturbed to form a cloud. This, if ignited by exploding methane, will become self-propagating and hence constitutes the greatest hazard in coal mining. A by-product of such explosions is the poisonous gas carbon monoxide. Collieries in Britain suffered 14 major disasters, each resulting in more than 100 deaths, in the 40 years before the General Regulations prescribing safety measures to combat coal dust explosions were introduced in July 1920. In contrast there were only two explosions of similar magnitude in the following 52 years (Wankie Report 1973, p 18). Comparable regulations, amended from time to time, have been in force in South Africa since 1910.

Prevention of explosions involves good housekeeping with clean mining and effective dust control. This includes wetting the coal as it is mined and loaded. However, most effective of all is stone dusting, which involves mixing the coal dust with non-combustible stone dust of appropriate fineness, and also erecting stone dust barriers. These comprise a series of shelves on which inert dust is placed, with the spacing of such shelves being critical for their effectiveness. The barriers are designed to collapse

when struck by the shock wave of the explosion, creating a dense cloud of stone dust just before the flame of the explosion arrives, thereby preventing further propagation.

Findings and recommendations

The Commission noted that whereas No 3 Colliery workings were well planned, those in the southern and western areas of No 2 Colliery were haphazardly laid out and poorly ventilated, with excessively long lines of communication between shafts and working faces. At the time of the disaster main roadways extended for some 3 800 metres from the outlet. This was regarded as excessive. Furthermore, the existing shaft system was inadequate for the passage of personnel and equipment into, and coal out of, the mine.

Overall, open-casting was deemed to be the safest mining method, to be followed at its economic depth limit by room-and-pillar mining. However, the panel gained an unfavourable impression of the way surface mining was carried out at Wankie. Overburden was not being stripped ahead of the advancing coal face and slope control was lacking, leaving the fractured face dangerously high and at times overhanging. Furthermore, dust raised by the drilling machines was inadequately controlled.

Of the fifteen recommendations made (Wankie Report 1973, p63) the following may be cited:

- There should be two means of egress from underground workings
- Room-and-pillar workings should be laid out in a system of panels and the number of entries to a panel through the circumscribing barrier pillar should be restricted to the minimum necessary to properly mine and ventilate the panel
- Any workings not stone-dusted and supported by pillars of doubtful strength should be isolated by stoppings capable of withstanding an air blast resulting from a pillar collapse
- Pillar dimensions should conform to recognised standards in order to prevent unintentional collapse of the workings, and surface subsidence
- A full-time, qualified ventilation officer reporting directly to the General Manager should be appointed, his duties to be clearly defined by regulation
- In relation to the shaft they serve mine fans and their connecting ducts should be sited so as not to be damaged in the event of an explosion
- Stone dusting of roadways should be implemented by mechanical means
- Personnel required to test for methane (miners, artisans, machinery operators) should be issued with the necessary equipment
- In the course of the working shift methane testing, independent of that undertaken by the miner, should be carried out by a shift boss or other official
- Attention was drawn to the observations regarding open-cast mining
- Curiously, the adoption of stone-dusting is implied rather than mandated.

Third and Fourth Terms of Reference

These relate to the adequacy of the provisions of the Mines and Minerals Act (Chapter 203) and the contained regulations regarding safety in coal mines, as well as to any amendments to the said Act and regulations as may be considered advisable and necessary in the interests of safety.

The Commission recommended, inter alia, that:

- Regulations governing coal mines should form a distinct and separate part of the Mining Regulations

- All underground coal mines should be controlled by the same regulations, thereby removing the distinction between fiery and non-fiery mines
- Codes of Practice dealing with safety techniques, and framed so as to serve as a practical guide, were deemed to be of real benefit to the mining industry
- Mine managers and subordinate officials, miners, applicants for full blasting licences and artisans working underground should be suitably qualified
- Mines were urged to appoint competent ventilation officers whose duties should be limited to matters of ventilation, underground environment and explosion hazards
- Both Ministry of Mines and Chamber of Mines should alert mine managers to any new information on coal, either in the form of literature or films, whilst the Department of Mining Engineering should keep itself abreast of current mining techniques and safety procedure

Fifth Term of Reference

This sought to ascertain the adequacy of supervision exercised by the Ministry of Mines under the Mines and Minerals Act (Chapter 203) and regulations. The following were amongst the seven recommendations made by the Commission:

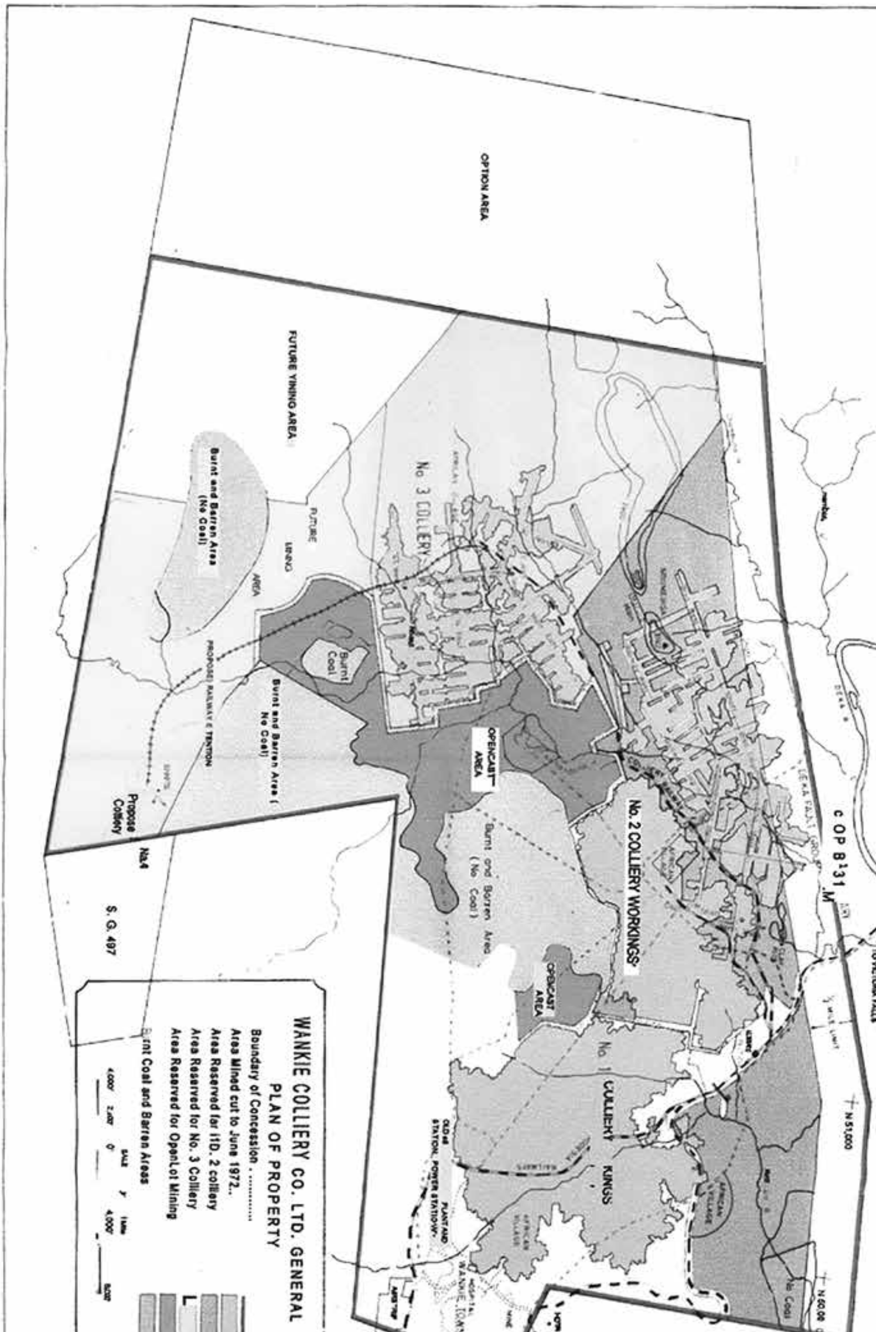
- Inclusion in the above Act of relevant sections of the South African Mining Rights Act, 1967 and the South African Mines and Works Act, 1956 as they relate to the duties and powers of officials
- •The Government Mining Engineer stationed at Wankie should be required to possess certain minimum qualifications, and to work under standing orders drawn up by the Department of Mining Engineering. The incumbent should be competent in the fields of mining engineering and mine inspections, as well as the licensing and use of explosives. In addition he would be required to conduct inquiries, attend trials and compile reports.

Conclusions

Whilst the cause of the methane ignition, which in turn which led to the coal dust explosion resulting in the Wankie disaster, must remain speculative some blame attaches to both the colliery management and the Department of Mining Engineering. Management consistently failed to fully appreciate the hazard posed by coal dust, and failed in its statutory obligation to report summarised methane readings to the Department. The latter for long overlooked breaches of the Mining Regulations in the colliery and failed to keep itself informed about reportable levels of methane. Tragically, it required an accident of this, magnitude to highlight the lax attitude to safety in the Rhodesian coal mining industry, and to initiate a review and overhaul of the Mines and Minerals Act (Chapter 203) and attendant regulations.

Acknowledgements

The Commission's report on the Wankie disaster was sourced from the website, www.mineaccidents.com.au/uploads, as was Figure I. Photographs were obtained from the Internet.


WANKIE COLLIERY CO. LTD. GENERAL
PLAN OF PROPERTY
Boundary of Concession
Area Mined out to June 1972
Area Reserved for No. 2 Colliery
Area Reserved for No. 3 Colliery
Area Reserved for OpenCast Mining
Burnt Coal and Barren Areas
OPTION AREA
FUTURE MINING AREA
Burnt and Barren Area (No Coal)
No. 3 COLLIERY
OPENCAST AREA
Burnt and Barren Area (No Coal)
No. 2 COLLIERY WORKINGS
No. 1 COLLIERY WORKINGS
Burnt Coal
Proposed No.4 Colliery
S. G. 497
TO VICTORIA FALLS
TO BULAWAYO
WANKIE TOWNSHIP
No Coal


L&T 300
300
P-8

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Major Ben Lightfoot - The Geological Survey's Second Director

by Peter Fey

Major Ben Lightfoot M.C., O.B.E., M.A.
The Geological Survey's second director
1934-1946

Introduction

Ben Lightfoot was a Yorkshireman and proud of it. Very forthright, he did not tolerate affectation, conceit or ostentation, especially in those in authority and was therefore seen by some as a rebel. In reality he was a friendly, genial man with a lively mind and a dry sense of humour who rendered outstanding service to the mining industry in Southern Rhodesia, accordingly stood in high repute and esteem, and was always a welcome visitor on mining properties. He regarded himself as practical rather than academic, but he was in fact a very good all-round geologist, with a flair for mine geology. He worked with initiative and enthusiasm, frequently under conditions hard to imagine today, and as a field geologist he was a pioneer, meticulous in his mapping. Although his aversion to report writing has left an unjustifiably poor record of his achievements, during his career with the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey he wrote three bulletins, five so-called Short Reports and co-

authored a further four bulletins.

Elected a Fellow of the Geological Society, London in 1912 he joined the Geological Society of South Africa in 1923, sat on its Council from 1936 to 1946, was Vice-President between 1937 and 1942 and President in 1939. He was made an Associate of the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy in 1932, became a Member in 1949 and for many years took an active part in the affairs of the Southern Rhodesia branch of the Institute. He enjoyed attending geological and mining congresses and, when recounting stories of his adventures and experiences, which he did often, he was not modest. The tales were always colourful, funny, not without exaggeration and frequently at his own expense. Very gregarious, he liked meeting people of all classes and was extremely helpful, especially to his colleagues in the Geological Survey, although he did not gloss over their shortcomings.

As an accomplished musician he was a member of the Bulawayo and Salisbury town bands. Later he played the piano and sang. With the advent of radio broadcasting, initially from an old, corrugated iron building opposite the Geological Survey office in the capital, he was amongst the enthusiastic group of amateurs who helped to intersperse programmes of gramophone music with live performances.

The early years

Ben Lightfoot was born in Bingley, Yorkshire on 30 January 1888 and attended the Grammar School in nearby Bradford. In 1906 he entered Peterhouse College, Cambridge to read geology, graduating BA with Honours in 1909 and in the same year was awarded the Harkness Prize, followed later by the MA degree. On qualifying he joined the British Geological Survey and mapped parts of the island of Mull as well as the Lanarkshire Coalfield. During this period he was stationed in Edinburgh where he made the acquaintance of H. B. Maufe, who was soon to become the first Director of the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey and who lost no time in recruiting the young geologist who, on 16th February 1911, signed a three-year contract in the London office of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) entitling him to a starting salary of £500 per annum, yearly increases of £40 and a first class return passage from England. Curiously, the contract did not contain any provisions for leave.

Lightfoot duly joined the fledgling organisation in Bulawayo on 26 May 1911 as its second field geologist after A. E. V. Zealley (Fey, 1995).Together with Maufe these men immediately started mapping the Selukwe gold belt in the centre of the country. During 1945, in a paper read to the Rhodesia Scientific Association, Lightfoot presented an interesting and amusing account of working conditions prevailing at the time; excerpts are quoted by Tyndale-Biscoe (1972, p 11)):

> "The Geological Survey, once started, began in a very small way, with a staff of three geologists and one draughtsman. Although this is only a few years ago, conditions in the Colony were entirely different to those of today, particularly in regard to transport. We moved in those days at a speed of two miles per hour in full-tent donkey wagons, of which we were very proud. In a new country geology is intimately connected with prospecting and mining ventures, and all our detailed work has been done in this connection, so that we were given no time to get a general idea of the geology of the country as a whole, but we

were sent to the Selukwe mining field, which happened to be booming at the time, and set to work mapping it."

"We found that there were no topographical maps on which to work, so we were compelled to make our own. We equipped ourselves with plane-tables on which the only surveyed points, ie. farm beacons, were plotted and used simple-sight alidades. None of us knew much about this class of work, but with the help of American text-books, combined with trial and error, we soon began to learn."

"We each took a section of the field which we mapped satisfactorily until we came to join up with the next man, when a belt of conglomerate would suddenly change to a felsite or a belt of banded ironstone diminish to one-third of its width, not to mention a violent shift in the main road."

With regard to mining Lightfoot (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 12) had this to say:

"Every prospector expected us to examine his mine. The main questions they wished to have answered were: 'Will the reef go down?' 'Will the stringers join together to make a mother lode?' 'Will the values improve with depth?'

Before these questions could be answered, we had to go down shafts, varying from 50 to 100 feet in depth, with one foot in a bucket, suspended from a headframe and windlass made of local tree trunks. We objected to this method of haulage and numerous minor accidents in the years which have elapsed have not improved our feelings in this respect. The two main words of command are 'panzi' and 'pezulu', but it is necessary to be anything but a pansy to use this form of transport".

Lightfoot ended the year with a reconnaissance of the Lower Sabi Coafield, on the west bank of the Sabi River some 40 miles below the Umkondo copper mine. He noted (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 13):

"At the end of that season somebody had found coal in the valley of the Sabi River and I was sent off in November to report on it. I left Gwelo in a cart with eight mules and after a rough trip reached the Umkondo Copper Mine on the Sabi River and the end of the road. From there I cut a track down the right bank of the river to the coalfield, which lay astride a tributary named the Mkwasini. This place was a regular den of lions and a few have managed to survive there until the present time. I mapped the coal area and took samples at all the coal shafts. I had never seen any Karoo coal before, but from the difficulty I had in making it burn I knew that my trip had been wasted. I had been advised to take salt to trade with the natives for food and grain, but I found to my disgust that this area was one of the only two areas in Rhodesia at which the natives make salt a real case of carrying coals to Newcastle. To add to our joys the rains broke over-early and a very battered party (less two mules) arrived back in Gwelo".

On completion of fieldwork at Selukwe Lightfoot was, during the dry season of 1912, sent to map the Wankie coalfield which had commenced production in 1903. Again his reminiscences (Tyndale-Biscoe, op. cit., p 14) are worth recording:

> "In order that I should not get too down-hearted, Mr Maufe sent me in the second year to survey the Wankie Coalfield. I was born on the Coal Measures and had worked on them all my life, and felt that I would soon settle Wankie. However, Wankie nearly settled me. There were no roads, the bush was extraordinarily dense, no water except in one river, great heat and constant trouble with wild animals, including a large herd of elephant. I was young and made some sort of job of it. I managed to work out the succession and so give them some idea of the magnificent coalfield they possessed. I estimated the tonnage very conservatively at 600 million tons."
>
> "Wheeled transport being impossible and native carriers unobtainable, I was reduced to pack donkeys-the world's worst form of transport".

Thereafter Lightfoot joined Zealley in the old Hartley District, where he worked in the Golden Valley area and corroborated Maufe's earlier finding that gold deposits are often closely associated with felsites (light-coloured quartzofeldspathic rocks). In 1914, when investigating the Karoo strata around Shiloh north of Bulawayo, he panned for and found traces of gold in the Forest Sandstone, leading him to speculate on the existence of alluvial deposits in ancient river valleys ("deep leads") cut into auriferous schists below the base of this formation.

Although his contract was renewed on 26 May for a further 3 years, Lightfoot did not complete his fieldwork because he had been appointed to the Royal Society's Sorby Fellowship at the University of Leeds, where he was to undertake a five-year research project on the Yorkshire Coalfield. Under the circumstances his resignation effective 1st September 1914 was accepted and, having finalised his maps, he left Bulawayo for England on 7th September. However, soon after arriving in England he enlisted and joined the Topographical Section of the General Staff. Between 1915 and 1918 he served in the Royal Engineers and rose to the rank of Major. Twice mentioned in dispatches he was awarded the Military Cross in 1915.

After the war Lightfoot went to India where, employed by the firm Perrin and Marshall in Hyderabad under an 'out and home' agreement at £1000 per annum, he prospected for coal.

The period 1921 to 1933

Because of the untimely death on 28 December 1920 of geologist A. J. C. Molyneux (Fey, 1994) Maufe lost no time in inviting Lightfoot to rejoin the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, which he was keen to do. However, the BSAC adopted a most inflexible attitude, insisting that Lightfoot was required to not only pay his own passage but that his reinstatement was conditional upon his arriving in Salisbury by September 1921 so as to be immediately available for fieldwork. Accordingly he was forced to break his engagement with Perrin and Marshall, with some difficulty secured a passage to England during the monsoon, then immediately sailed for Southern Rhodesia without a contract, which he was given only on arrival in Salisbury. On 20 July 1921 he married Miss E. (Elsie) Longbottom and the couple in due course produced two daughters.

There he commenced duty on 5 September 1921 and almost immediately found himself Acting Director since Maufe departed on long leave two weeks later. Lightfoot nonetheless spent a month in the field near Sinoia to finalise mapping begun

by Molyneux, then in the following two years worked in the Darwin and Mazoe districts where, for the first time, contouring of field maps was attempted. In 1922 he began his long association with mining properties by visiting gold mines and claims at Shamva, Mazoe and in the Salisbury District. In addition he spent 12 days on a reconnaissance of the Wedza schist belt where he discovered mineralised reefs at what was to become the small Dowa gold mine (Fey, 1976).Between 4 February and 30 November 1924 Lightfoot was in England as mining representative in the Rhodesia Section of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. During the year his position was secured in that he was placed on the Fixed Establishment of the Civil Service, back-dated to 5 September 1921. With mineralogist Reekie having resigned on medical grounds Maufe and Macgregor had to take on his role, with the result that no mapping was carried out. However, the year did mark the beginning of an expansion of the Geological Survey staff with the appointments of B. B. Napier as assistant draughtsman and R. McI Tyndale-Biscoe as mineralogist.

In view of the potential for platinum mineralisation in the Great Dyke Director Maufe, instructed by the Minister of Mines and Public Works, sent Lightfoot in early 1925 to the Lydenburg district in the Transvaal in order to study the newly discovered Merensky platinum reef, from where he returned with samples of ore and country rocks for display. Shortly thereafter, on 16 May, prospector R. Sacchi submitted to the Geological Survey rock specimens from near Makwiro on the Great Dyke, one sample closely resembling the Merensky Reef. A field inspection by Lightfoot confirmed the occurrence of platinum, with subsequent assays of samples returning up to two pennyweights per ton of platinum metals. The latter occur in a stratiform horizon but the mineralisation is of low grade and initially proved difficult to concentrate. Because of this, exploitation of the platinum and associated elements on the Great Dyke became feasible only towards the end of the century. Nevertheless, the discovery

led to extensive pegging of claims along the Great Dyke, of which Lightfoot made the first study. He began by mapping the section between the Hunyani and Umfuli Rivers, then the Makwiro area during August, followed by an examination of mining properties pegged as far south as Belingwe, the season's work being described in Short Report 19 (Lightfoot, 1926). The northern and southern portions of the intrusion were reconnoitred in the following year (Lightfoot, 1927).

Up to this time the Geological Survey had utilised mule wagons or donkey carts for fieldwork. Lightfoot, who had occasionally been left stranded when the mules ran away, pointed out that many farmers by then had motor vehicles and suggested that the Geological Survey trial this mode of transport. This was reluctantly agreed to and he was provided with a covered, one-ton Ford "motor wagon". Although this often came to grief in the black soil of vleis flanking the Great Dyke it allowed work to progress at a much faster rate than hitherto possible, and at one-third of the cost of mules (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 35). Accordingly, the department acquired a fleet of six Chevrolet half-ton vanettes, without doors or canopies, for the 1926 field season. They proved to be satisfactory and resulted in the permanent replacement of mules by motor transport.

With stocks of the first (1922 edition) 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of the Colony becoming exhausted during 1926 it was decided to prepare a revised edition, for which a great deal of reconnaissance was required. For this Lightfoot travelled to many parts of the country and also visited a great number of mines. In May 1926 he introduced colleague R. Mc I Tyndale-Biscoe to the Darwin region to continue the mapping begun earlier. In September he showed new recruit F. E. Keep (Fey, in prep) over his project area at Shabani, then proceeded to map the southern end of the Great Dyke. The northern extremity of this intrusion, much faulted and uncharacteristically folded, had to be reconnoitred on foot. He also continued regional mapping, concentrating on granite-schist belt contacts in the Victoria District as well as west of Mazoe and Concession, and by means of road traverses on Nuanetsi Ranch he investigated the distribution of Karoo rocks.

In April 1927 Lightfoot traversed, inter alia, parts of the Buhera District where he saw, but did not recognise as such, the Shawa and Dorowa carbonatite complexes (Phaup 1967, p 73) of which the latter was much later to be mined for its phosphate resources. In May he undertook two reconnaissance trips in the Darwin District, where one traverse took him into the Zambezi Valley north of the Mavuradonha mountains. On 7th June Lightfoot departed on long leave during a portion of which, the period August-September, he represented the Minister of Mines at the second, triennial Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress in Ottawa, Canada. There he visited numerous mines but, unfortunately, many of the excursions were marred by inclement weather (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 39-40). He resumed duty on 28th December.

With his first bulletin (Lightfoot, 1914) on the Wankie coalfield out of print and the concession boundaries having been revised, Lightfoot (1929 a) remapped the area, this task occupying him during June, July and October of 1928. As a result he was able to revise his previous estimate of the coal resource, increasing it tenfold to 6 000 million tons. At the beginning of August he visited Broken Hill in Northern Rhodesia, where he studied exploration methods employed by the Anglo-American Corporation on its mineral concessions. The year was significant for the award to

Lightfoot of the Geological Society's Lyell Fund, and for the issue of the new 1:1 million scale geological map of the country. Publication of this map, and the revision of the Wankie geology, were timeous, since some 100 delegates from the 1929 International Geological Congress held mid-year in Pretoria subsequently toured Southern Rhodesia, visiting the Victoria Falls as well as major mining districts. Lightfoot (1929 b, 1929 c) guided the excursions to the Selukwe chromite deposits as well as the Wankie coalfield.

Following a directive from the Minister of Mines and Public Works, Lightfoot and Tyndale-Biscoe spent three months between June and September 1929 reconnoitring the Copper King and Copper Queen base metal claims, located near the confluence of the Umfuli and Umniati rivers west of Sinoia. For the fieldwork the men utilised a base map covering 26 square miles (67 km^2) prepared early in 1926 by the Geological Survey's topographer V. H. Woram. The survey of this game-rich but tsetse fly-infested region, explored between 1925 and 1928 by the Southern Rhodesia Base Metals Corporation Limited, was inconclusive but showed the need for geophysical as well as geological investigations (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 43). These were eventually undertaken in the 1950s by the Messina (Transvaal) Development Company Limited, but a further 40 years were to elapse before mining of oxide ore from the Copper Queen deposit began in June 1995 (Oberthür, 1999).

With fieldwork completed at Copper King-Copper Queen, in October 1929 Lightfoot undertook an extensive vehicle traverse through the northern part of the colony in an unsuccessful attempt to solve the "Lomagundi puzzle", namely the relationship between rocks of the Lomagundi System and those of the Piriwiri Series (Wiles 1961, p6). As a result of subsequent regional mapping, principally by the Geological Survey, both sedimentary assemblages are currently regarded as separate but contemporaneous portions of the Magondi Supergroup (Leyshon and Tennick 1988, Master et. al., 2010).

In 1930 the third Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress was held in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia. As a delegate Lightfoot noted that the excursions through the latter country could not compare with those conducted in the previous year for the International Geological Congress. He spent the remainder of the year visiting mining properties, and also reported on the proposed realignment of the railway line between Deka and the Victoria Falls.

Thereafter, although he became increasingly involved in economic work, Lightfoot still periodically found time for fieldwork, completing his last major mapping project in 1932, when he surveyed 131 square miles (340 km^2) of country south of Bulawayo. In February 1933 he was granted permission to retire at the age of 60, and later became Acting Director between 30th June and 15th December whilst Maufe took leave. He also investigated the Victoria gold belt, in the process discovering the location of several half-forgotten mining locations (Lightfoot, 1933). He furthermore spent eight days in the lower Mazoe Valley, checking work undertaken by prospectors employed under a Government-aided scheme and carrying out limited reconnaissance.

Directorship 1934-1946

Lightfoot succeeded Maufe as Director on 28 August 1934 when the latter retired on

pension. With colleague A M Macgregor appointed Acting Director he took vacation leave for the entire second half of 1935 during which as the recipient of a Carnegie Corporation Visitors' Grant of £300, he spent he spent 65 days in the United States of America. There he studied geological survey organisations in Illinois and Washington D.C., and visited numerous mining ventures in Nevada and California, including the famous Comstock Lode. On his return to Europe he spent 10 days attending the International Congress of Mines, Metallurgy and Applied Geology in Paris.

After an experimental survey undertaken during 1932 over 80 square miles (207 km^2) of country east of Bulawayo by the Aircraft Operating Company of Africa (Pty) Ltd (AOC),the Government decided in 1934 to allocate £3000 annually towards the aerial survey of an equivalent number of square miles of terrain (McAdam, 1974). 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 (5184 km^2) 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.

In 1936 a further contract was let with AOC to fly an area of 3000 square miles (7776 km^2) in the Belingwe-Gwanda region. During the year, initially with J. C. Ferguson and later with Macgregor deputising for him, Lightfoot was transferred to the Department of Mines for 9 months from 1 April, becoming Acting Secretary to the Department between 13 June and 11 December. This transfer adversely affected fieldwork, with only three parties engaged in mapping. In his report for the year Lightfoot noted that the Geological Survey had outgrown its temporary cottage accommodation, making the provision of a new office an urgent necessity.

Despite the many calls on his time, throughout his directorship Lightfoot continued to do his share of routine mine visits, undertaking 42 of the year's total of 308 during 1937 and also inspecting two dam sites. Following a ministerial directive to investigate coal occurrences in the more remote parts of the Colony he spent four months in the field, completing three long foot traverses in the Lowveld and, in the middle of the year, accompanied by junior geologist F. O. S. Dobell, investigated two prospects in the Zambezi Valley (Fey, 2014). Lightfoot helped to design the proposed new office building, for which plans were prepared by the Director of Public Works.

Chief features of 1938 were the number and variety of traverses made by Geological Survey staff in boats, aeroplanes and on foot, as well as the big increase in mine examinations. Lightfoot spent the month of June investigating the inaccessible south eastern part of the country, hitherto left blank on the geological map. After an initial aerial survey made from Nuanetsi he reconnoitred all the roads and followed up with numerous foot traverses. All in all he covered an area of some 7 776 km^2 (Lightfoot, 1939) and found rhyolites (lavas of granitic composition) of Lebombo type as well as sandstone, later confirmed to be of Cretaceous age, but nothing of economic interest. In the latter part of the year he also undertook 72 mine visits.

The outbreak of war in 1939 prompted the resignations of geologists Phaup (Fey, 2013) and Dobell (Fey, in press). With another three staff members due for leave routine mapping virtually stopped and coverage for the year was a mere 296 square miles (767 km^2), approximately one-sixth of that achieved in 1938. At this time only one of the draughtsmen was called up for military service. During May Lightfoot

reconnoitred approximately 100 square miles (259 km²) around Mphoengs southwest of Bulawayo, a region of very few small gold workings. With fieldwork curtailed by an attack of malaria he proceeded on leave from the middle of June to the beginning of November, leaving Macgregor as Acting Director. It seems likely that Lightfoot repatriated his wife and family to England during this period of leave. On his return he occupied himself by undertaking 44 mine visits.

The year 1940 was significant in many respects. Nine staff members were called up for military duties and routine geological mapping covered only 553 square miles (1433 km²). It was carried out principally by Tyndale-Biscoe prior to his being conscripted at the beginning of November. Mine visits totalled 388, of which 82 were undertaken by Lightfoot. In March he gave his Presidential address, a summary of current knowledge on the Great Dyke, to the Geological Society of South Africa. As a result the well-known South African geophysicist Oscar Weiss undertook two traverses of the intrusion in an attempt to determine its downward shape. In July the Director investigated the then little known Mwanesi greenstone belt northwest of Enkeldoorn, where claims had recently been pegged for iron (Lightfoot, 1940).In October the Geological Survey was able to begin moving into its as yet unfinished new headquarters, Maufe Building, still in use today. At the same time Lightfoot agreed to become one of three examiners for a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Pretoria by F. L. Amm, the Geological Survey's first South African graduate. At his instigation Maufe rejoined the Department in a temporary capacity on 10 December, and on the 14th of that month Lightfoot applied to the Public Services Board, albeit unsuccessfully, for the post of Official Secretary to the High Commissioner's office in London.

Over the war years Lightfoot was kept busy with mine visits and periodical inspection of dam sites, besides attending meetings of the Trustees of the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia, Chamber of Mines and the Mining Federation. He was one of the technical advisers to the Silicosis Commission and also sat on the Royalty Review Committee which, with the increasing gold price, made available funds for the development of promising mines such as the Tebekwe at Selukwe. Lightfoot routinely visited mines covered by this scheme, which curiously included the Monarch Mine at Francistown in Botswana. Nonetheless, the gold mining industry began to decline during 1941, due in part to increased working costs as well as shortages of materials and labour, but also to the method of taxation which targeted gold output rather than profit, resulting in much low grade ore remaining unmined. Accordingly, from 1942, base metals chrome, tungsten, tantalum and micas began to assume greater significance and mine visits by Geological Survey staff were principally to producers of these commodities. In August of that year Lightfoot advised the Secretary, Department of Mines and Public Works that, with the transport shortage hampering operations, he was quite prepared to take immediate retirement. However, the Minister declined to support this offer.

Lightfoot, who in 1942 had been awarded the Geological Society of South Africa's highest honour, the Draper Medal, took overseas leave from 7 July 1943, Macgregor again deputising for him. In the following year he spent 100 days visiting 85 mining properties and also reconnoitred an area of 350 square miles (907 km²) covering the

Longwe-Ghoko Range south of Gwelo. There the dominant banded iron formation, although not auriferous, hosts ancient iron workings (Lightfoot 1945, p 37).

By the end of 1945 all staff had returned from military duties. Despite difficulties in re-equipping and reorganising the Department, together with delays in providing motor transport, which was usually in poor condition, it became possible to accelerate the pace of regional geological mapping, which had to be wholly suspended only during 1941. Lightfoot attended fortnightly meetings of the Mining Settlement Committee which oversaw the Government's scheme to resettle returning servicemen on mining properties, as well as less frequent meetings of other bodies. In addition he visited 80 mines. Maufe finally retired from the Geological Survey in May.

Not surprisingly, the strain of the war years and the separation from his wife and family, living in England since 1939, had affected Lightfoot's health and demeanour. On 4 February 1944, in response to an advertisement by the Miners' Phthisis Board, he advised that body that he had contracted phthisis as a result of his long exposure to underground mining. The Board's callous response was that the scheme was not intended to apply to Government employees. Lightfoot nevertheless continued in his quest to be granted early retirement. In a minute dated 30 October 1945 to the Secretary, Department of Mines, he stated that his failing eyesight was making him accident-prone and that underground visits had become too arduous for him. With the department almost up to strength, he again asked permission to retire. This latest request was approved by the Governor, Admiral Sir Campbell Tait, who directed Lightfoot to proceed on leave on 1 April 1946, pending early retirement. Whilst using up his accumulated 103 days of leave Lightfoot was to attend, as the Colony's representative, the scientific conferences of the Royal Society, to be held in London during June and July 1946. For this he was to be paid a subsistence allowance of £1 per diem through the London office of the High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia. Regrettably, his delayed departure from Salisbury led him to miss the first part of the conference. Fittingly, during his last year as Director, he was awarded the Order of the British Empire (OBE) for his services to the mining industry.

He was succeeded at the Geological Survey by A. M. Macgregor, who acted as Director until he was appointed to the post on 7 July 1946.

Epilogue

After his return to England Lightfoot worked as consulting geologist to the War Office for a number of years before finally retiring, initially to Maidenhead, and later to Barton-on-Sea in Hampshire.

Late in life he was diagnosed with a serious heart condition and died suddenly on 18 November 1966, sadly unaware that the west wing of the Rhodesia Geological Survey's headquarters, Maufe Building, had recently been named after him. In addition to his many other achievements Ben Lightfoot is also remembered for the following verse, which sums up prospecting in Rhodesia and was composed for a Christmas card which he sent to his smallworker friends:

"After miles and miles of granite
Lies a tiny patch of schist
Where the poor Rhodesian miner
Digs for what the Ancients missed"

Acknowledgements
The author has drawn extensively on the obituary by former colleague A. E. Phaup, as well as Annual Reports of the Director, Department of Geological Survey. Photographs were sourced from the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

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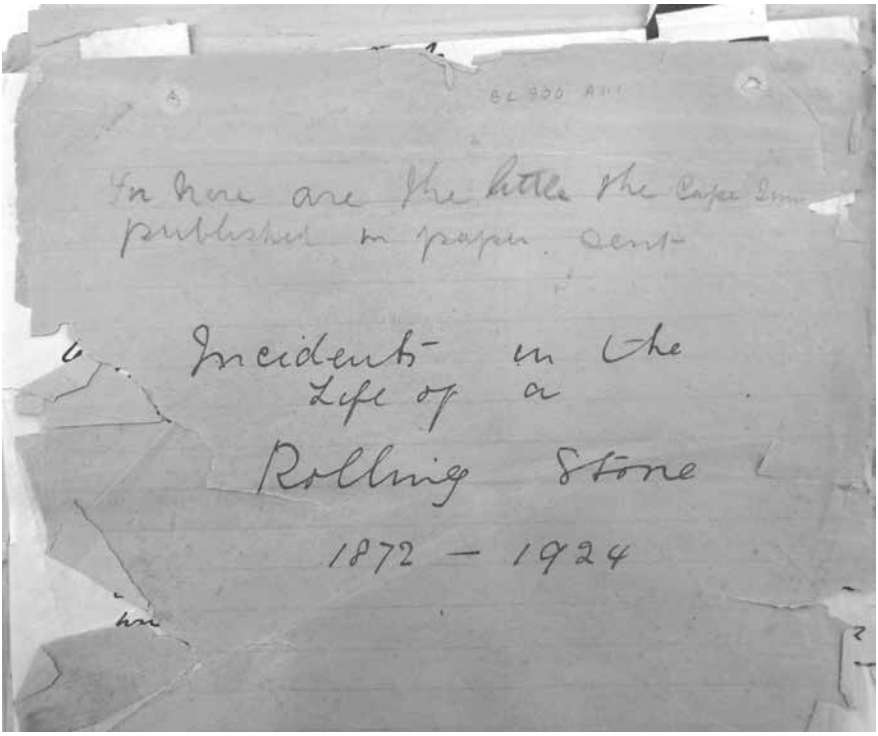
Incidents in the Life of a Rolling Stone 1872–1924

An Extract from Ellerton Fry's unpublished autobiography

by Jonathan Waters



The Cover of Ellerton Fry's Autobiography at UCT Libraries

Ellerton Fry photographed and mapped the Pioneer Column's trek northwards and his stunning pictorial essay The Occupation of Mashonaland capturing the progress was visually rich but contained limited text. While conducting a general search at the Cape Archives, I discovered a file of his papers had been donated to the University of Cape Town Libraries and was rather hoping to find some unpublished pictures, but instead found his badly ordered autobiography Incidents in the Life of a Rolling Stone 1872–1924, which had been donated to the university collection by his granddaughter. He wrote the book when he was 78 (he died on 24 June 1930) and in very neat handwriting (probably due to his skill as a cartographer).

As UCT Libraries said I would not be allowed to copy the whole transcript, I opted to concentrate on his account for the journey north. Fry (or his editor) crosses out many passages in pencil, so there is some redundancy, but I include his original

text as it appears. There are several new vignettes about the trip (the engine for the searchlight falling over on the Bubi was clearly of importance to him since he was in charge of it) and clearly he has some admiration for Edward O'Connell Farrell, the vet in the Pioneer Column and Avondale's first post-Occupation settler, who he calls "Paddy" as opposed to other accounts that have him nicknamed as "Daddy" (given his age). One interesting titbit is his marking of Victoria Falls in disputed territory, something for which we can thank the BSA Company.

Fry was recruited for the expedition from the Meteorological Commission in Cape Town, where he had been working for 12 years in a bid to "settle down". He had brought his family out from the UK in 1878 following a speculative hunting expedition with two unnamed "young fellows" that he met on the ship to South Africa. Here is his account of his recruitment and preparation for the trip.

"Then one day F. C. Selous an old friend of my brother's turned up and asked me if I wanted to join the Pioneer Expedition then being formed in Cape Town to occupy Mashonaland. The call of the wild was too much for me, I accepted the offer and threw up my billet in Cape Town. During the years 1878–1890 I had been Secretary and Computer to the Meteorological Commission with an office at the Royal Observatory in Cape Town.

Ellerton Fry

My work with the Pioneer Expedition was to fix positions for a map of the country to determine the latitude and longitude of the route etc; I also had charge of the search light carried and, in addition, took all the photographs along the route. Many of these photographs were reproduced in the 'Graphic' and other papers and books.

The effect of this Expedition in the first place was to occupy the country and thus prevent any other countries from doing so; secondly it was said to protect the poor Mashonas from the cruel Matabele, who undoubtedly did raid them (but today ask the Mashonas who they would rather be under!); thirdly the native was to be civilised!! Those who have lived amongst the natives would say they prefer them as nature left them without the white man's vices.

The headquarters of Major Johnson, who raised this Column, was near the top of St George Street, Cape Town. Men from all parts of the country came to apply to be taken on. My brother Tom was with Khama at Palapye, Bechuanaland.

In the office were Major Johnson (then Captain), his Secretary M. C. Gie,

afterwards Staff Sergeant Major; Captain Hoste, who left the Union SS Co, Ted Burnett, who was arranging the transport and Borrow and Heany, the co-contractors, were also there frequently. As soon as I had left my billet I was daily in attendance at the office.

The greater part of the force left Cape Town by train for Kimberley on the 15 April 1890. We stayed at Kimberley several days as a portable engine had to be built into a wagon to work a dynamo for the search light, and wagons and oxen had to be got together for our long trek to Mashonaland. Mr Rhodes came to say goodbye and wish us luck. The Expedition left Kimberley on 27 April. The engine and dynamo were not ready and I remained behind until they were and left a few days later. We reached Mafikeng on the 13th May and outspanned about three miles from what was then a very primitive little dorp. Horses were collected and everything forgotten made good as this was the last place on our route.

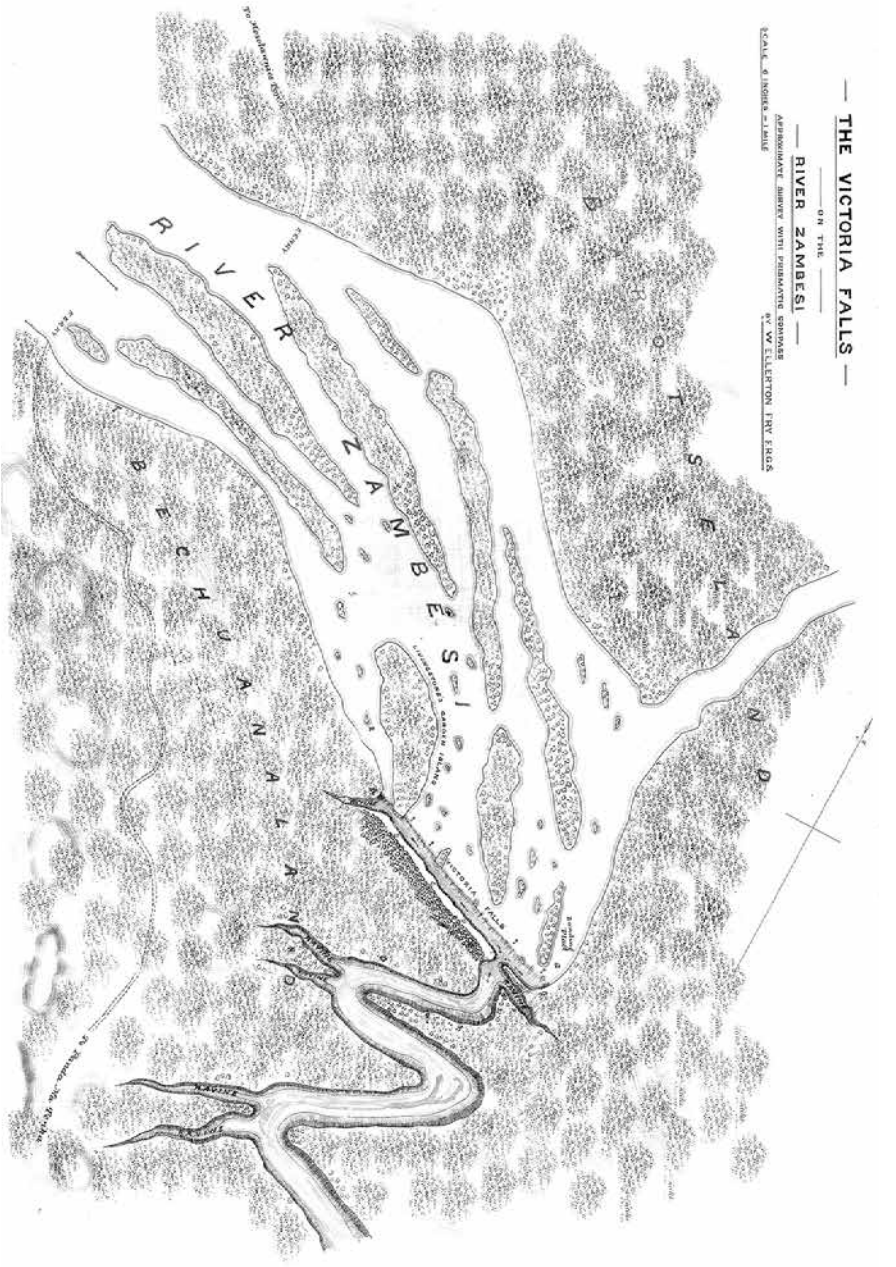
We reached the Macloutsie River on 14th June Lat 22°S Long 28°49E. Here a base camp was formed for the time being. There was also a base camp on the Matlaputla River where some 300 of the British South African Police were stationed. These were to accompany us when we left for Matabeleland. The Hon Paul Methuen, the Adjutant General in South Africa, came to inspect us to see that all was in order before we crossed the border.

Between the Macloutsie and Tuli rivers there was a considerable strip of ground which was called the disputed territory. It was claimed by Khama and Lobengula but neither substantiated his claim. From Kimberley to Macloutsie is about 720 miles. When at Victoria Falls in 1893 I made a rough sketch map of the falls and Zambesi and described this strip of land as being in Bechuanaland (the Falls are in what was then called the disputed territory). On my return to Cape Town I sent a copy to Mr Rhodes. One day came a wire from Rutherfoord Harris, the Secretary of the Chartered Company asking me to call and see him. I went and he said: "What do you mean by calling the Falls in Bechuanaland?" I told him he knew as well as I did that this strip of country was claimed by both Chiefs, so I had called it by the first name that came into my mind. He replied: "Call it Matabeleland and we will do anything for you."

Before this happened I had sent a copy of my map to the Royal Geographical Society, London (where it can no doubt be seen to this day) calling the part in question "Bechuanaland" but in all the other maps it is described as "Matabeleland".

The Tuli River was reached on 1 July. A hill overlooking the river was cleared of trees and bush and the search light was fixed on the highest point, the engine and dynamo being left at the foot of the hill with a cable from the dynamo to the light.

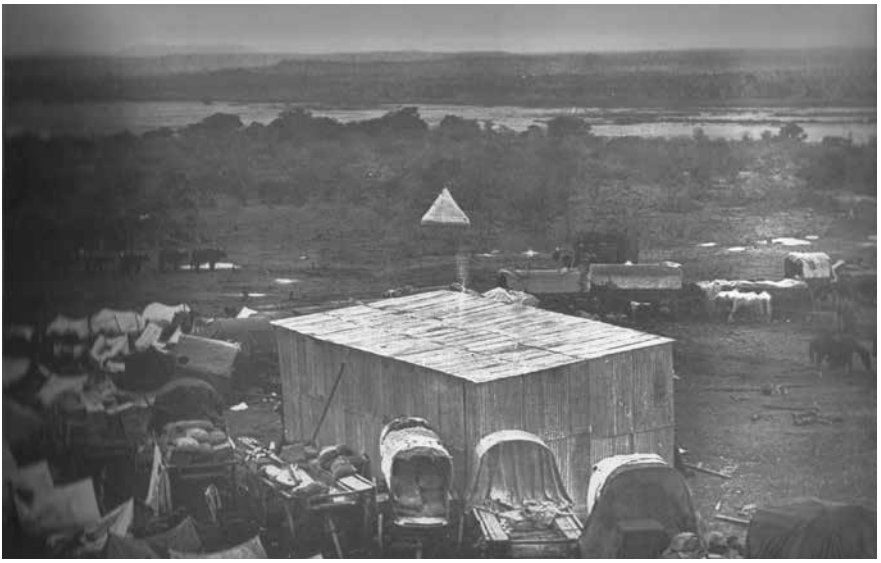
The guns were mounted at suitable points for across the river was Matabeleland, Lobengula's Country, and no one knew what might happen. Soon after our arrival, a large party of Matabele warriors in full war dress visited us. They asked: "What has the white man lost that he is coming into our country?" and told us the only road was via Bulawayo. An ox was given to them to eat and everything was shown to them. A buck sail suspended between two trees in the distance was used as a target; at night the searchlight was turn on to it, the machine and other guns were fired at it, blowing it to pieces. Mines were laid and exploded from my wagon by



Fry's 1892 map lodged in the RGS showing Victoria Falls in Bechuanaland

means of a cable.

The warriors looked on without a word; at times they drew their hands across the mouths, a usual gesture with them when highly impressed. This significant gesture



Search Light Stand at Fort Tuli

is the way they express their feelings when they think their case is hopeless – at least that is how it seemed to one. The native never really shows the white man what is passing in his mind.

The trek before we got to the Tuli river the Colonel in Command (Pennefather) and Selous made on to select a site for a fort. I went also to take compass bearings to fix its position. I was riding a fine horse Borrow had given me which was supposed to be salted, that is, a horse which had horse sickness and recovered. Such horses are supposed to be immune from further attacks. Near the river the horse fell with me I went to the Veterinarian surgeon Lieut Farrell who came and looked at the animal and the said: "Borrow gave you the horse, now go and ask him to give you a bottle of whisky to trade and save its life." I got a bottle and took it to "Paddy". He said "We better have a drink too." We each took a dop, the remainder being given to the horse. The poor animal died in the night. Paddy said "What a pity we didn't finish the bottle."

Paddy was a character. It was said that during a revolution in South America he had been stabbed in the back. The wound severed the muscles of his heart causing it to beat on the right side. It was also said that he had sold his body to the Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin for dissection. He was a good fellow, a fine sportsman. I have been told that the Transvaal Government offered a reward for him, alive or dead, when he was with the Freebooters in Stellaland. I believe "Paddy" is still in Bulawayo.

Going up a hill to get some compass bearings, Selous who accompanied me said: "Many years ago, I shot a giraffe here and skinned it under a tree and left my knife behind." After a bit he said: "There is the tree." We went to it and after a search found the knife. Selous' sense of locality was largely developed. With

hardly any instruments he made wonderful maps of the country which have since been proved to be mostly correct.

On the 10 July the Tuli river was crossed, a sandy stream some 400 yards wide. A few days previous a football match was played in the sandy bed—Pioneers vs Police. The Hon. Paul Methuen had accompanied us thus far and then returned to the Cape. I took a photograph for him of the Fort at Tuli as seen from laager.

From the river a road had to be cut through dense forest and bush. The 'B' troop of Pioneers under Capt Hoste went ahead doing this work, the column following when the road was passable for wagons etc. Afterwards it was realised that in case of an attack it would take time to form laager, so a parallel road was made.

After the crossing of the Tuli River the command of the entire expedition was taken over by Colonel Pennefather of the 6th Royal Dragoons—the Inniskillings. Near the Umsingwasie River many elephants were seen, as well as other big game, but no shooting was allowed as it might have caused alarm.

In crossing the Bubye River on 23 July, the wagon on which the engine had been bolted capsized going down the steep bank. Fortunately some artisans from HMS Boadicea who were with us were able with Captain Hoste's assistance to repair the damage. As this was supposed to be a dangerous part the Police lined both sides of the river until the job was finished.

At the Nuanetsi river (28 July) with its high banks and rocky bed, the only available place for a drift to be made was over a vast granite slab, flat and wide enough for a road. On either side were deep, dark holes full of crocodiles. The oxen could not get a footing on the slippery granite, so buck sails were put down on the rock; this did not answer, so every man stripped and hauled on drag ropes attached to the wagons, and eventually we all got across. I took a photograph of this crossing which was reproduced in the London "*Graphic*" and when I returned to Mashonaland after my trip to England I got my leg pulled for the "*Graphic*" had represented every one of us with a pair of bathing drawers on, whereas we were clothed as by native. Oh! The British public, what they know of such a life with all its realities. Let them look to their own false modesty and meditate.

***Graphic* cover depicting the Nuanesti crossing**

Day after day the column went on its way. On one occasion a small party of armed Matabele turned up—a fine lot of warriors. I remarked to Brett to whom I was talking that they were a fine lot of "boys". One of them who evidently understood the meaning attached to the word "boy"... [unfortunately Fry has pasted a note over this anecdote which reads: "This party of Matabele told us that they had been sent by Lobengula to see that the natives of this part did not hurt us, all

thought it was very kind and thoughtful of them??]...the wagons were all over the place amongst the boulders.

That night Colenbrander turned up with four indunas from Lobengula. The order from Loben was "To go back" otherwise we should all be slaughtered, the Matabele would rise like sand in the desert. Four pioneers were to be taken alive, Selous, Johnson and two others whose names I have forgotten. Colenbrander brought me a letter from my brother, (one of the Pioneers) who had been left at Palapye to forward transport. Colenbrander told me all he knew. He said Loben didn't want to fight but had difficulty in restraining his warriors who did. He left thinking we were doomed.

Next morning as soon as the scouts came in and reported "All clear" we hurriedly inspanned and started off to find an open space where we could laager and thus feel a bit safer. The remarks made by some of the pioneers were amusing. One man (I won't mention his name) was always to be found like a walking arsenal, revolver, Bowie knife, and no end of things on him. He said he thought the trip was going to be a sort of picnic, but he realised now what might happen. Nothing did happen just then, at all events, and we steadily trekked on.

One Sunday morning travelling through the broken mountainous country before reaching Providential Pass, where the grass and bush were very dense we (came across?) a fire, though not a soul was to be perceived. Had the fire encircled the wagons it would have been serious so we all gave a hand in beating it out. No sooner was this done than another fire appeared close by. It was most mysterious for scouts were all around trying to find the cause. Fortunately for us there was no wind. The locality was wild in the extreme. Huge granite boulders that had been rolled down the mountain side were everywhere, and the grass between them was very tall. We came to open space and laagered burning the grass around our camp. During the night fires were seen on the surrounding mountains. They were bush fires, they did not spread, so we concluded they were signal fires indicating our whereabouts to the natives. Nothing came of it that night but it was an anxious time, though for that matter we had had so many scares we were getting quite used to them. When the scouts came in the next morning we went on again crossing the Lundi.

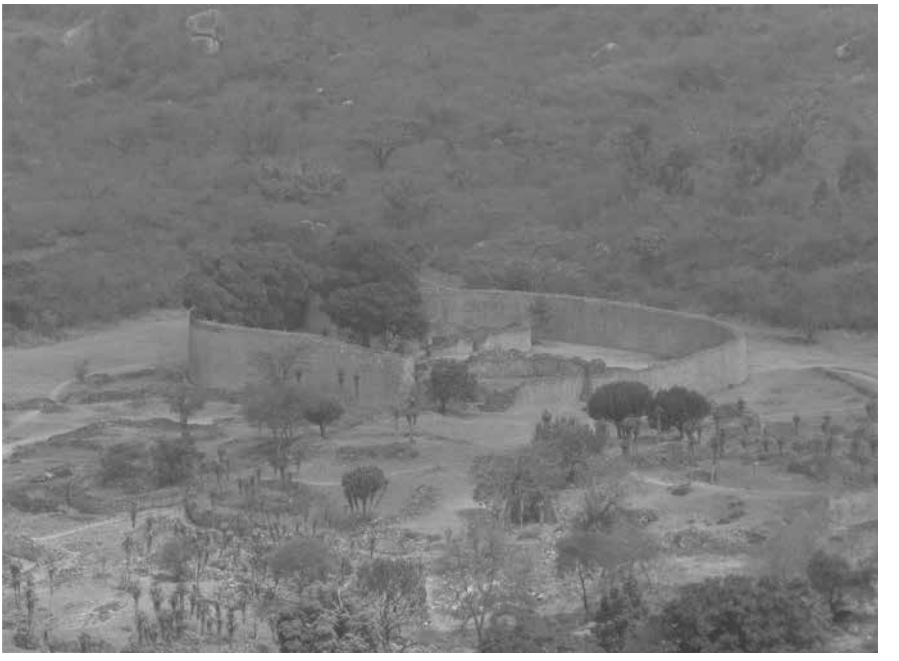
The Lundi river was reached on 2 August. This was one of the largest rivers we had crossed. In flood times this river was impassable for months and in subsequent years many deaths occurred through malaria when wagons were delayed in the long periods at this unhealthy spot.

The river was a sandy one, some 500 yards wide and all this stretch had to be corduroyed (trees cut out and laid side by side in the river bed) to enable the wagons to get over.

At some distance from our drift were many deep holes, the home of crocodiles and hippos. Three of the latter were shot and eaten. The flesh is very fat and good eating—not unlike pork.

On the far side are ruins evidently built by the same tribes as the Zimbabwe ruins but on a much smaller scale. Since the time of writing similar ruins have been found in many parts.

Great Zimbabwe's Great Enclosure captured by Fry in August 1890



The same view in September 2014

Providential Pass was named by Selous as it seemed it was the only way from the low country to the high veld for oxen and wagons. Had we been in a cul de sac, it might have been serious for the column so favourable for the Matabele.

We reached the Providential Pass and Fort Victoria, as it is now called, on 14

August. This fort is situated a short distance from the top of the Pass in more open country. We felt that the dangerous part of our trip was over and the excitement at an end. Some of us regretted it; I am sure that Daddy Farrell and others who loved a bit of spice in life did. Kipling's says in the "Lost Legion":

"There is a legion that never was listed,
"That carries no colours nor crest,
"But split in a thousand detachments
"Is breaking the road for the rest.
"Our fathers they left us their blessing,
"They taught us and groomed us and crammed,
"But we have shaken the clubs and the messes,
"To go and find out and be damned.
" Dear boys
"To go and get short and be damned."

We stayed at Fort Victoria some little time. Here John Willoughby overtook us; he was in command of another troop of police.

A few of us were sent to investigate the Zimbabwe Ruins. I was sent to take photographs; others were Harman, a geologist sent out by the Exploring Company, Ted Burnett Beaumont, afterwards killed by a lion, and others whose names I forget.

We took pack horses to carry our food and kit. When we reached the foot of the hill that overlooks the ruins, there was a great commotion amongst the natives who bolted and sent their women to a place of safety. It was said that they had never seen horses before. When we had settled down in the little camp, some of the natives came down the hill, but did not seem to care to show us round. They wanted us to be blindfolded. A present of some blankets thawed them a bit and eventually they took us around the ruins.

I took what photographs I could of the outer walls. The enclosure was overgrown with trees and bushes through which I had to cut my way. The natives could not make out what I was doing but I gathered they did not like my movements. I got what photos I could, the others took measurements etc and after a day or so there

Fry shoots Lieut Edward Carey Tyndale Biscoe raising the flag on 13 September 1890

we returned to our laager.

We were now in beautiful country, open, grassy plains with many running streams and luxuriant vegetation everywhere.

The development of the photos proved a difficult matter. Water being near at hand I attempted it at night in my tent. The search light playing round the laager all night made by task very trying. Once I left a few plates in a stream to wash them and on going to fetch them in the morning found that animals had walked over them in the night. Photography in those days was not the easy matter that it is now.

At last the fort was finished and leaving a troop of police to guard it the column moved on. I felt comparatively safe in this open country where we could hold our own. In the country we had cut through we never knew what was going to happen. Once during our trek I forgot to wind my chronometer, a most important part of my work in connection with taking the longitude. A report had come that a big body of Mat abele were on their way to attack us and, like the rest, my mind was occupied and my chronometer ran down. However I was able to pick up my time again having good time observations for our last camp.

Some 150 miles further on another fort was built—Fort Charter (4 September). The country round about this part was not particularly interesting. A further troop of police was left to guard this fort.

The next halt was Fort Salisbury which was reached on 12 Sept 1890. The site chosen by the Colonel was at the foot of a range of hills since then the town area has been removed to a more open situation.

Macloutsie to Fort Salisbury is 438 miles. So ended our long trek. When we left Mafikeng many were the predictions that we should never return. But these dismal prognostications did not dismay us, we all knew the danger and were ready and willing to face it.

We had much for which to thank Lobengula, cruel tyrant that he was, he kept his word to the white man and told his warriors that if they wanted to fight the white man they could go to Kimberley and fight him there. I always feel a bit sorry poor old Loben. came to such an end for, whatever else they are, the Matabele are men.

[Fry quotes from secondary sources on views of the Matabele and Selous' account in Travel and Adventure in South East Africa. There is no account of the flag raising and the first days of settlement—unless I missed it in the unordered papers]

After a few days rest the 179 Pioneers were disbanded—30 Sept. There was no ceremony beyond the hoisting and saluting of the old flag. Each one of the Pioneers was paid off and was free to go where his fancy led him. My work, however, the geographical part necessitated my returning to where I could get into communication with the Royal Observatory so that I could compare my time with the standard Greenwich time. This could not be done until I reached Mafikeng. The journey down was uneventful. Occasionally small bodies of Matabele were met with who had doubtless been watching our trek but they did not interfere with us in any way. The journey down from Salisbury was made in a wagon belonging to a friend—G. Nicholson. He was with Selous scouting. He too had reasons for returning to the Transvaal. Eventually Mafikeng was reached—he went to Transvaal and I returned to Cape Town. After a short stay in Cape Town I left for a visit to the old country in December 1890.

Fort Harding, Chief Chikwakwa and Headman Gondo's kraals and Warrendale Farm Police Camp

by Mike Tucker

GPS reference for Fort Harding: 17º52'09.31"S 31º23'48.07"E
GPS reference for Fort Harding cemetery: 17º52'14.94" S 31º23'38.91"E
GPS reference for Chikwakwa's kraal: 17º52'11.06" S 31º24'25.22"E
GPS reference for Gondo's kraal: 17º51'40.26" S 31º24'37.82"E
GPS reference for Warrendale Police Camp: 17º52'15.17"S 31º23'15.95"E

How to get there

1. For Fort Harding cemetery take the Mutare Road (A3) from Harare. Directions are from Ruwa / Chiremba Road junction: 5.2km turn left onto the Goromonzi Road; this has good tar as far as Goromonzi. 11.4km pass turnoff for Mashonganyika kraal; 17.3km turn right onto Eton Road just after the Goromonzi Police station. 17.8km turn right onto a gravel road, 18.3km cross the drift, 18.6km pass tobacco barns, 19.7km pass turn off to the right, then immediately afterwards, turn left onto the track taking the right fork along the edge of a field. 20.2km park at the junction where another track joins from the gravel road. The cemeteries are in the trees to the right of the road.
2. Fort Harding follow the same well-defined track around the end of the field bearing left of a farm house and following the track in a north east direction for 350 metres. Fort Harding is on a small knoll a few metres to the right-hand side of the track.
3. Chikwakwa's kraal is 1,050 metres east of Fort Harding. The main caves face north east and are below the summit of the kopje facing Gondo's kraal to the north.
4. Gondo's kraal is north is 1km north from Chikwakwa's kraal and 1.7km from Fort Harding in a north east direction.
5. Warrendale Farm Police Camp is on the same untarred road as Fort Harding; turn right onto a track 1.63km from the Eton Road turnoff and then 200 metres along this track.

Why visit?

- The Goromonzi area with Chiefs Seke, Chikwakwa and Kunzwe, together with Chief Mashingombi to the south west near the Mupfure (formerly the Umfuli) River formed the heartland of the Mashona Uprising/First Chimurenga. Kaguvi, the prominent spirit medium who had married a woman of Gondo's kraal, a daughter of Chief Mashingombi, and stayed for long periods at Gondo's kraal, just a kilometre north of Chief Chikwakwa. Kaguvi provided the moral and spiritual backbone of the resistance supported by Nehanda in the Mazowe/Amandas area.
- This small area played a central role and the way the action played out in the area

is typical of the Mashona Uprising / First Chimurenga in Mashonaland generally.

- Most of the places that played a part in this small piece of nearly forgotten history can be easily viewed within a small area as seen below on the Google Earth snapshot; Fort Harding, the cemetery, Chief Chikwakwa and Headman Gondo's kraals and Warrendale farm Police Camp.

Google earth image of the main locations

In Mashonaland the Uprising/First Chimurenga which broke out in June 1896 some three months after the Matabele Uprising/Umvukela caught the Europeans completely by surprise. Four companies of Mounted Infantry (380 troops) who arrived in Cape Town in mid-May to help in Matabeleland were diverted to Beira by sea, travelled 270 kilometres by rail to Chimoio, reaching Umtali (now Mutare) on 19 July 1896 and then travelled the remaining 260 kilometres to Salisbury (now Harare) by ox-wagon and on horseback. The strategy used by Carrington in Matabeleland of building forts to hold rebel ground was not used in Mashonaland by their commander Lieut Col E. A. H. Alderson, who preferred rapid strikes against Mashona strongholds by strong patrols that would then withdraw. Partly because of this strategy, the Mashona Rebellion/First Chimurenga dragged on through the rainy season of 1896 and only ended in October 1897.

The 1896 Uprising in the Goromonzi/Enterprise area

This article concentrates on the area from the Chinamora Communal lands around Domboshava and Makumbe Mission to the north east of Harare, through Chishawasha to the Enterprise valley and down to Goromonzi and across the Mutare Road, to the Seke and Manyame (formerly Hunyani) River in the south and to Marondera in the east.

Europeans present in the Goromonzi district

At this time, the Umtali Road was the main supply route into the country from Beira; the Beira Railway contract had been signed in August 1895, but the two foot narrow gauge railway had only reached Macequece (now Manica) and only reached Umtali in February 1898. Along this road were a few isolated stores and farms; the Ballyhooley Hotel on the Ruwa River, Law's store ten kilometres further on and after the present-day Goromonzi turnoff, Graham and White's store near Bromley and White's Farm, south west of Old Marondera (Ruzawi School today). The only concentrations of Europeans

were the Jesuit missionaries at Chishawasha and scattered prospectors and miners on the Enterprise goldfield.

Chieftainships

The paramount Chiefs were Seke, Chikwakwa and Kunzwe; their kraals were built on granite kopjes chosen because they could be defended against raiders and these men were the backbone of the Mashona uprising. Seke's main kraal under Headman Daramombe was at Cheshumba where the Manyame River was joined by the Musitkwe River; Headman Simbanoota's kraal was on a small tributary of the Ruwa River, south of the current Mutare Road and Headman Chiremba was near the present Cleveland dam and Headman Besa in the current Coronation Park area.

Chief Chikwakwa was four kilometres south east of present day Goromonzi on the western side of the kopje; his Headman Gondo lived a kilometre north in another kopje and Headman Mashonganyika was six kilometres south west of Chikwakwa and closer to the Mutare Road. All their kraals had been built with an eye to defence from Matabele raiders close to prominent granite kopjes. Chief Chikwakwa's brother Kahiya lived near Mashona Kop fourteen kilometres to the north and Chief Kunzwe lived about eight kilometres east of Chikwakwa's kraal on the west bank of the Nyagui River close to Shanguri Hill.

The spirit mediums played a very significant role and Kaguvi, the Shona Mhondoro, or spirit medium, had lived at Chief Chikwakwa's kraal; indeed had married a woman of Headman Gondo's kraal and a daughter of Chief Mashingombi, whose kraal on the Mupfure River (formerly Umfuli) lay between Beatrice and Hartley Hill. This became the hot bed of the Mashonaland Uprising. Mkwati, who had escaped arrest at Intaba Zika Mambo, also found his way to Chief Mashingombi's kraal, and this area was also the home of the Chaminuka oracle. The spirit mediums, as well as driving out the Europeans, sought to re-establish the powerful Rozwi Rule, an accomplishment that would have, perhaps, unified the Shona.

Mashona Uprising

The stage was set for a bloody uprising and on 15 June 1896, at Chief Mashingombi's kraal, Native Commissioner Moony was killed and two prospectors, Stunt and Shell were captured and thrown to the crocodiles in the Mupfure River. The following day, murders took place at Beatrice Mine and on the 17th Joseph Norton's Porta Farm was attacked and his entire family murdered along with three employees. The Hartley Hill laager was attacked on the 18 June by warriors from Mashingombi's Kraal. The same night the African Christian martyr, Bernard Mizeki, considered a "sell out", was also killed. Nesbitt's 'Mazoe Patrol' reached the laager at Alice Mine on the 20 June and rescued the survivors, but Herbert Eyre and Trooper Arthur Young of the MMP were murdered on 21 June in Mvurwi (formerly Umvukwes). Across to the east, Chief Makoni launched attacks on the Headlands laager, which was abandoned, the occupants making their way to Umtali. More farm murders took place in the Marondera and Charter district, mostly of farmers who had settled in the area.

On the 19 June the Native Commissioner Alexander Campbell rode out to warn Europeans in the Goromonzi district of the uprising and reached the Ballyhooley

Hotel on the Ruwa River before riding onto his younger brother George's farm near Mashonganyika's kraal where he had a friendly meeting with Chief Chikwakwa.

An hour later, on returning to his brother's farm, he saw his brother George struck down and killed by Headmen Gondo and Mashonganyika, and only just escaped by horse with Charles Stevens, his companion. A. J. Dickinson, a tailor and A. T. Tucker, the barman at Ballyhooley, H. Law of Law's store and J. D. Beyer, a local farmer, were all killed as they approached Campbell's farm. Dr Orton, a chemist and his wife were ambushed, but abandoned their cart and escaped by horse aided by a local cattle inspector, Manning and three of his employees.

At Mendamu farm, 20 kilometres from Charter, Captain Harry Bremner of the 20th Hussars was still in bed within the one roomed wattle and daub farmhouse when he was killed. James White drove off his assailants with a revolver but was badly wounded and wrote a last note, later found by Watt's patrol outside the farmhouse in August, reading "the natives have been here, Bremner is dead and I am badly wounded and will peg out soon from loss of blood. Goodbye to all my friends. James White". He was rescued by an African Catholic catechist, Molimile Molele who tried to take him to the Wesleyan Mission (now Waddilove Institute) but was waylaid by the same force and White, Molimile Molele and two African children were killed.

In the Enterprise gold field, J. D. Briscoe and four African workmen were murdered; two others were thrown down a mine shaft, but survived to give evidence later. White's partner, H. Graham, a transport rider called Milton and another European and two Indians were killed near Law's store.

Some 118 civilian casualties were killed in attacks that took place on isolated mining camps and farms running in a broad crescent from Hartley in the West, north to Mazoe and east to Makoni's area. By the end of the day on the 20 June the country outside Salisbury (now Harare) was abandoned, except for Chishawasha Mission where the Jesuit missionaries, joined by miners and prospectors from the Enterprise gold field, were just about to leave for Salisbury when Father Biehler arrived with ammunition and a small detachment of BSA Police. They fortified the mission house and resisted several direct attacks for five days before abandoning the mission and leaving for Salisbury. On the 29th June, the eight Jesuits returned with ten European and ten African Police to find the mission unharmed and Chishawasha became the only Police post east of Salisbury.

List of European Civilian and Military Casualties during the First Chimurenga

	Civilians		**Local Forces**		**Imperial Troops**		**Total**	
D Deaths W Wounded	D	W	D	W	D	W	D	W
Killed in Action			9		5		14	0
Died of wounds			3		2		5	0
Reported murdered	114		3		1		118	0
Accidentally killed	1		3				4	0
	115	**0**	**18**	**0**	**8**	**0**	**141**	**0**
Wounded in action				41		18	0	59
Accidentally wounded				2			0	2
Other wounded		8		1			0	9
Other died	2		6		1		9	0
	117	**8**	**24**	**44**	**9**	**18**	**150**	**70**

Mashona tactics

The Mashona warriors retired to their kopje strongholds, initiating little offensive action and confidently expected the Europeans to withdraw completely from the country. Clearly, the campaign was well-organised and co-ordinated, but lacked the conventional military strategies of the Ndebele.

European tactics

Initially, the European population followed the example of Bulawayo and went into laagers established at Forts Salisbury and Charter and later at Umtali, Fort Victoria (Masvingo) and even Melsetter (Chimanimani). A strategy of initially rescuing settlers in the outlying areas, followed by mounted patrols burning Mashona kraals, capturing livestock and collecting grain was followed. Usually the kraals were found deserted with the true strongholds within neighbouring caves where the defenders had an advantage by never showing themselves and shooting at attackers as they climbed the kopjes.

Capt. Taylor's Natal Troop burnt down Headman Chiremba and Besa's kraals and killed Headman Chiremba near Chishawasha.

On 25th June two Mounted Infantry companies under the command of Col. E.A.H Alderson of the Royal West Kent Regiment had arrived in Beira, originally destined for Matabeleland. These companies were diverted to the Mashonaland crisis where they pursued a 'commando' style mounted campaign against rebel Mashona strongholds, relieving them of their grain and cattle and burning down the kraals.

Troopers from the BSA Police and the Mashonaland Field Force at a site that might be Fort Harding

Alderson's first major offensive, with two companies of Mounted Infantry, was against Makoni's Kraal on 3 August; he established Fort Haynes in the process. Makoni was only captured on 4 September, during a second raid, tried by Court Martial, and summarily executed by firing squad, an act which was not without its controversy. A major skirmish took place at Headman Simbanoota's Kraal between 8 – 14th September, but Alderson's forces were beaten off, and another against Chief Mashingombi's kraal on the Mupfure on 5 October, but the stronghold was not taken. These were followed by offensives against Chiefs Mapondera, Gatsi, Chikwakwa and Tandi's Kraals during the ensuing month.

Alderson was much criticised because no 'thorough punishment' had been inflicted on the rebels; those responsible for brutal murders had not been arrested, nor had the rebel chiefs, except for Makoni, been brought to justice.

By November, the rains were about to break and the military situation was unchanged. In Matabeleland, the rebellion, or Umvukela had come to an end with the indabas between Rhodes and the Matabele Indunas. Rhodes and Earl Grey, the Administrator,

came to Salisbury to arrange the withdrawal of Imperial Forces to Beira after their five month campaign. During this time the Mounted Forces had relieved the towns, freed them of fear of further attack and restored the road links between the towns, including bringing supplies from Beira. The effects of the rinderpest were still being felt and the railway from the south only reached Bulawayo in November 1897.

The first detachment of the new BSA Police force, 180 strong, arrived in Salisbury on 10th December 1896 and Lt. Col. F.R.W.E. de Moleyns and Sir Richard Martin took over from Alderson two days later; by this date the Mounted Infantry were already travelling to Beira. From then on all military operations in Mashonaland were carried out by the BSA Police and the 7th Hussars who stayed on until the 7th October 1897.

Preliminary events to the attack on Chikwakwa's kraal

Maj. C.W. Jenner had burnt the deserted huts of Chief Chikwakwa in August, but he and his people had escaped into the nearby fortified kopje. On 16th November Campbell and Jenner, with a force of nearly 400, camped nearby his kopje stronghold and attempted to persuade him to surrender. Chief Chikwakwa remained behind his defences shouting down to Campbell and Jenner at the foot of the kopje for two days without agreement being reached, and the same happened at Chief Kunzwe's kraal east on the Nyagui River. Another unsuccessful attempt was made between Father Biehler and Earl Grey's private secretary, H. Howard with Daramombe, Seke's Headman, at Cheshumba.

Chief Chikwakwa's kopje (Mount Goromonzi) 1,050 metres east from Fort Harding

Headman Gondo's kraal 1,700 metres northeast from Fort Harding – still within range of the seven-pounder guns

With the failure of the talks, Maj. Jenner proposed building a fort and, although his advice was not acted upon for three months, a BSA Police post under Lieut. Harding was set up at the Ballyhooley Hotel site, near the Ruwa River.

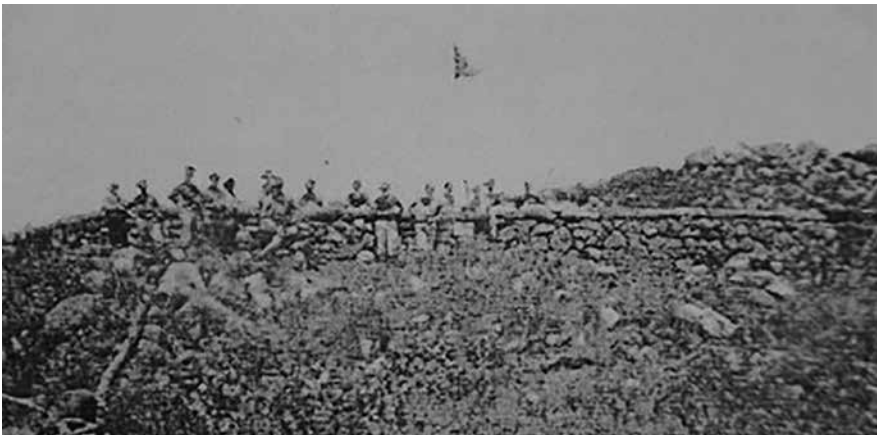
By the end of 1896, the authorities had at last recognised the importance of the spirit mediums to the Mashona cause. Lord Earl Grey wrote to his wife, "Kaguvi is the witch-doctor who is preventing the Mashona from surrendering." Whilst a Native Commissioner in Salisbury wrote, "If we capture Kaguvi, the war is over". From then on the military began to exert increasing pressure on the areas where Kaguvi and Mkwati had set up their headquarters.

Kaguvi decided to leave his base at Chief Mashingombi's kraal and, forewarned by the Jesuits, Lieut. Harding went to headman Cheshumba and offered £100 reward for Kaguvi's capture. On 10 January, Kaguvi's wives passed through headman Chiremba's kraal and stolen cattle were driven through Headman Simbanoota's kraal. Three days later, Harding and twenty-five BSA Police burnt the kraal down. On 18th January Kaguvi reached Chief Chikwakwa's kraal and settled in at Headman Gondo's kraal, a kilometre north.

On 25 January, Earl Grey, H. M. Taberer and Maj. A. V. Gosling had fruitless talks with Chief Seke and finally realised that he was just obeying instructions from Kaguvi. They returned at dawn to Headman Cheshumba's kraal and dynamited the caves. Then after a day's rest, the force of seventy Europeans and thirty African BSA Police moved to Chief Chikwakwa's, set up camp and started building a fort opposite the kopje, to be named Fort Harding, after its first commander.

Fort Harding – attacks on Chikwakwa / Gondo / Mashonganyika

The fort was a rough square about 15 metres across, made of low walls of piled granite topped with sandbags. It is on a small knoll about 1,050 metres west from Chief Chikwakwa's kraal with steep sides leading down to a stream and has excellent views of both Chikwakwa's and Gondo's kraals. Initially with just a single tent, later a strange corrugated iron store room / command post with a thatched verandah and sentry box on the roof facing the kopje was added in the centre of the fort. From its south side, a short road was cleared for the transport of guns and ammunition into the fort and thatched pole and dhaka huts erected for the garrison.



Fort Harding soon after completion – before the corrugated iron store room / command post was erected

The fort was completed on 30 January 1897, a hand-made Union Jack was hoisted and the scene photographed by E. C. Tyndale-Bristow. Lieut Harding was left with twenty European and twenty African BSA Police and two seven-pounder guns. The Native Commissioner of Mtoko (Mutoko) arranged a five day truce with Chief Chikwakwa to discuss peace with his people, although his Headman Gondo refused to take part and continued to strengthen his kopje's defences. When the truce expired on 4 February, Chikwakwa said his "young men" had rejected the peace terms.

On 7 February, Lt Col De Moleyns arrived with thirty BSA Police reinforcements, but Chief Chikwakwa's men continued jeering at the African Police. On 10 February, Capt. J. J. Roach arrived with an additional forty men and a third seven-pounder gun. Shelling commenced on both Chikwakwa's and Gondo's kraals from Fort Harding with little result as the Mashona were well protected by the boulders in both kopjes. An additional twenty-five BSA Police reinforcements arrived.

On 16 February at dawn Lieut Harding led an attack of twenty-nine Europeans and sixty-five Africans on Gondo's kraal supported by fire from the seven-pounder guns and .303 Maxim gun from Fort Harding. Although the sheer cliffs of Gondo's kraal look very formidable, there is rising ground almost to their base and the night approach would have been easier than climbing the slopes of Chief Chikwakwa's kraal. Headman Gondo's kopje was quickly taken, his cave surrounded and then dynamited, and a Police post established which commanded the easiest route to Chief Chikwakwa's main caves. These tactics also had the advantage that a Maxim gun could fire from the captured position and support the BSA Police force that rushed and successfully captured Chief Chikwakwa's main caves without loss. A week later, Maj. Gosling attacked Headman Mashonganyika's to the south west of Fort Harding, but did not capture the kraal.

Despite this success, all the leaders of the Mashona rebellion escaped. The spirit medium Kaguvi went north to Swiswa, on the edge of the Chinamora communal lands, whilst Chikwakwa sought refuge with Kunzwe east of the Nyagui River. Gondo and Zhante were at Tafuna Hill, near modern day Shamva.

The aftermath

After this the district was quiet for five months. Maj. Gosling led patrols through Chinamora and Makumbe Mission area, while Lieut Harding did the same in the Murewa area and in a sharp action on 19 March at Domborembudzi on the Nyagui River, Zhante's four sons were killed.

Maj. Gosling's Sketch of Fort Harding with its command post and sentry box facing Chief Chikwakwa's kraal

On June 19 Maj. Gosling returned to Fort Harding, presumably when he sketched the curious corrugated iron command post with thatched verandah topped by a sentry box facing the kopjes. He was accompanied by a formidable force of one hundred sixty European and one hundred African BSA Police and three seven-pounders and took Headman Mashonganyika's stronghold to the south west of

Fort Harding, dynamiting the caves so that only Mashonganyika's son Wampe escaped alive. Tpr. Close was killed in this action.

The same day Kunzwe's kraal to the east on the Nyagui River was stormed. Four African Police and Sgt. W. M. Robinson were killed in the attack, whilst Tprs. S. H. Bennison and G. Irwin died later of their wounds.

Fort Harding today

As indicated on the Google earth image above, Fort Harding is 320 metres to the northeast of the cemetery and the track to the Fort goes past the cemetery and leads around the edge of a ploughed field, then in a north easterly direction and to within 20 metres of the fort from where there are faint signs of the track that has been cleared directly up to the fort giving access for the seven-pounder guns and ox-wagons.

The fort is built on a small, natural knoll with steep descents on all sides, except to the south where the thatched pole and dhaka huts for the troopers and mess room were built on the level ground. The steepest descent is on the side facing to the east and Chief Chikwakwa's kraal which leads down to a stream. The walls are pretty much destroyed with rocks scattered down the steep slopes. The top of the knoll has been levelled off and from Google Earth you can see there the track leading close by the fort. Across the southern entrance to the fort, the cemented remains of the old National Monument plaque can still be found attached to a rock.

Remains of the National Monuments plaque

Another rock on the track looked like it might have been chipped by an ox-wagon wheel, or a seven-pounder gun.

Both Chikwakwa's and Gondo's kraals are easily observed from Fort Harding. The distance from Fort Harding to Chikwakwa's kraal is 1,050 metres. We know the BSA Police had three seven-pounders for the assault and Gondo's kraal, the furthest away, is 1,700 metres. Those seven-pounders, at least the mountain gun version, had a range of 2,700 metres, so both kraals were within range.

Although the distances do not tie up with those of Peter Garlake - he says the fort

is 600 metres from Chief Chikwakwa's kraal, we measured 1,050 metres and Garlake says the cemetery is 180 metres - we measured 320 metres; I am confident we have located the same place.

Square base of a green glass Gilbey's Gin bottle similar to the above was found

Although we looked for the detritus of a garrison, including rusted food tins and Martini-Henry cartridge cases, nothing much was found, except pieces of dhaka hut base, thick bottle glass and the base of a Gilbey's gin bottle. The walls of Fort Harding look as though they may have been deliberately destroyed with the stones rolled down its slopes.

Fort Harding was only occupied for eighteen months from 30th January 1897 until the middle of 1898; the Police post at Kunzwe's kraal was also abandoned in the middle of 1898 and they were replaced by Fort Enterprise, to the north of Chikwakwa's and near his brother Kahiya's kraal at Mashona Kop.

Fort Harding cemetery

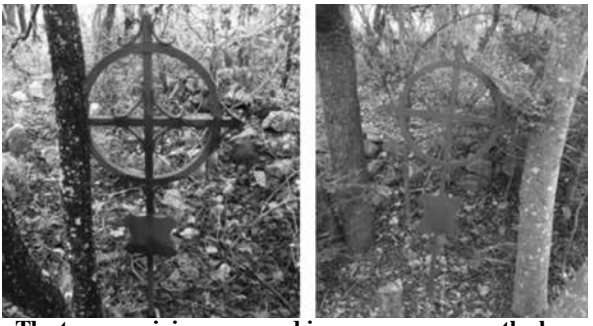
This is three hundred and twenty metres southwest of Fort Harding.

There are three distinct cemeteries:

1. The European BSA Police are within a stone-walled enclosure at Fort Harding cemetery, 2.5 kilometres south east of Goromonzi Police station, containing six graves, but only two have iron memorial crosses, without any name details. Garlake thought the crosses were for Tprs. C. Davids and H. White, but does not say why. He says Goromonzi Police accounts also record the burial of H. Standing in 1901, but there are no further details. The cemetery is very overgrown with trees; the first two graves on the west side have been outlined with bricks, the other four in the row with small stones which are still just visible. The last two of these photos show that the low stone wall that surrounds the cemetery is still in good condition.

Bennison, Sydney H.	416	Tpr	KIA	22 June 1897	Died from wounds received on 19 June 1897 during the storming of the stronghold at Kunzwe's kraal.
Brady, John Charles	53	Tpr	KIA	23 Feb 1897	Killed at Chininyika's kraal.
Close, John	424	Tpr	KIA	19 June 1897	Killed at Mashonganyika's kraal during the attack on 19 June 1897. Also recorded as Closs.
Davids, Charles	190	Tpr	DOAS	23 April 1897	Died of fever at Fort Harding (Chikwakwa).
Hales, A. J.	444	Tpr	DOAS	5 Dec 1897	Died of fever at Kunzwe's. Place of burial not known, but the obvious place is Fort Harding

Irwin, George	519	Tpr	KIA	22 June 1897	Died from wounds received on 19 June 1897 during the storming of the stronghold at Kunzwe's kraal.
Robinson, William Miller	492	Sgt	KIA	19 June 1897	Killed at Kunzwe's kraal.
White, Harry	174	Tpr	DOAS	23 April 1897	Died of fever at Fort Harding (Chikwakwa).



The two remaining unnamed iron grave crosses - the low granite stone wall surrounding the cemetery is behind

Although there is space within the boundary wall for two rows of six graves each, we only managed to positively identify six graves in a single row. Seven of the eight victims of fighting, or disease, died within the period February to June 1897; only Trooper Hales died later in December 1897. It would appear likely that all eight victims were buried together at Fort Harding, but the lack of indications for two of the graves remains a puzzle. The two remaining iron crosses are of the type typically used in the Harare pioneer cemetery at this time and are more ornate than those put in place by the Pioneers and Early Settlers Society. However unfortunately they lack any details of the person who is buried in the grave.

Brick-lined grave

Stone-lined grave


Northern and western walls of the cemetery

2. The graves of the four African BSA Police are adjacent to the walled enclosure and were formerly surrounded by a hedge. They were killed in action at the assault on Kunzwe's kraal, but their names are not known. The wooden name plaques were frequently eaten by termites, or burnt in veld fires.

The four graves are in a line starting in the foreground and leading towards the walled cemetery

3. The third is a small family burial ground a few metres to the north of the 1896 cemetery with five burials. Only one has a memorial plaque to William Frederick Ervine, died 23rd September 1959.

In marked contrast to the Fort, the cemetery is in good condition, as being sandwiched between the farm road and the track to Fort Harding has meant bush fires have not caused any damage.

Finally Peace

On 12 July 1897, Headman Cheshumba's kraal was destroyed; on 14 August Kaguvi's kraal near Swiswa was attacked, but again he fled prior to the attack.

On 2 September, de Moleyns, Gosling, Harding, Armstrong and Campbell met with the paramount Chiefs Mangwendi, Kunzwe, Seke, Ruseki and Chikwakwa and concluded peace terms. Native Commissioner Campbell went back to Fort Harding and from September to November 1897 arms were handed in and details taken of those who wished to surrender.

The trial of Zhante, commander of Chief Chikwakwa's warriors, Headmen Gondo and Mashonganyika was held in Harare. Mashonganyika and his sons Wampe and Rusere were found guilty of the murder of Tucker, Law and G. Campbell and executed, as was Kaguvi, the spirit medium. Zhante and Gondo were imprisoned for eight years for the attempted murder of Native Commissioner A. Campbell; Chief Chikwakwa was found not guilty and Chief Kunzwe was never tried.

Warrendale Farm former Police Camp

Because of health problems from malaria, the Police post moved at the end of 1900 from Fort Enterprise on Mashona Kop/Neptune Farms to Warrendale Farm near Goromonzi on the west side of the road leading to Chief Chikwakwa's kraal. All that remains are the outlines of eight rectangular brick buildings behind a stone gun emplacement.

George Milburn who worked in Arcturus tells of a sporting day at the Police Camp at Warrendale in 1924 at which they had tennis, shooting and fishing competitions. Based on site at the time was the Native Commissioner Maj. R. C. Nesbitt (1867–1956) who won the Victoria Cross for his Mazowe Patrol efforts in rescuing those at the Alice Mine during the 1896 Mashona Uprising/First Chimurenga.

Strachans Salisbury, brewed stone ginger beer stoneware bottle and glass bottle with stopper found on site

Foundations of one of the Police Camp buildings

Warrendale Farm Police Camp was occupied from early 1901 to at least 1924 before the Police station moved to the present day site at Goromonzi village.

What happened to Lieut. Colin Harding?

Colin Harding was the son of a gentleman farmer from Montacute, Somerset, but found that when his father died that he was not well off; so armed only with a good public school education and a good riding ability, he left England in 1894.

From the Cape he reached Bulawayo, where his first job was as a pit-sawyer's mate, cutting timber! He then became a brick-layer, before becoming chief clerk in a Bulawayo Solicitor's office. Finding life dull, he then went gold prospecting with a friend and at the start of the Mashona Uprising / First Chimurenga, he joined the Umtali Volunteers and was quickly promoted from Sergeant to Lieutenant and then Inspector commanding the African Police force within the BSAP.

Lieut. Col. E. A. H. Alderson in his book With the Mounted Infantry and the MFF 1896 gives an account of the attack on Simbanoota's kraal in which he says curiously: "the worst part was that, having got into the middle of it, we could not in common decency leave 'til it was over" but goes on to say that "Colin Harding particularly distinguished himself and paid no more attention to the Mashona bullets than if they were snowballs." In the same book in Chapter XI, Captain Sir Horace W. McMahon, BART., DSO says in clearing the granite range in the Mazowe valley [to the east of the Mazowe Dam] : "The Salisbury Rifles and Zulus on the right with Harding and Ashe, both most valuable officers, whose coolness and daring on every occasion it would be hard to beat, came in for most of the fighting, and drove the enemy back from one position to another, until a determined stand was made in Chidamba's kraal."

Harding was a galloper at the relief of the Hartley Fort in October 1896 and gets many plaudits from Lieut Col Alderson when at Mashingombi's Kraal, after some

Lieutenant Harding with the African Police force within the BSAP. Archer, Chief Makoni's son, is the bugler on the left

volleys were fired into a cave by the Mounted Infantry, a child's voice was heard crying. Harding asked leave to go in, although it meant certain death if the Mashona were still within, but in he went and came out with a little, but perfectly blind, Mashona child in his arms. Again, Harding as a galloper accompanied the Mounted Infantry and Rhodesia Horse and Salisbury Rifles on the Sinoia (now Chinhoyi) and Ayrshire Mine Patrol.

Clearly Harding played a very active and distinguished part in these 1896 events and Lieut Col Alderson records he dined with Harding several times before they left Salisbury for Umtali where the Mounted Infantry sold their horses to the BSA Company due to the rinderpest regulations and walked to Massi-Kessi (now Macequece) before catching the railway down to Beira.

As a Major, Colin Harding was first commander of the embryonic Barotse Native Police force from August 1900 to April 1901. Together with Capt. Carden, he selected a site for a new fort at Monze to replace the old fort which was at an unhealthy site, Chief Monze providing the labour force for the fort's buildings and ramparts under the supervision of Harding's deputy, Sergeant Macaulay. Monze is in the southern province of Zambia, located 190 kilometres south of the capital Lusaka on the Great North Road, and is on the route to Livingstone and Victoria Falls.

On his return from an 8 week trek to Bulawayo, Major Harding records that he was treated to a variety of delicacies procured as a surprise by his NCO's, including pigeons, various fowl, milk and meat, from which were produced pies, omelettes and other delicacies. Major Harding then set off with Trooper Lucas and fifteen of the new recruits, taking tribute from Chief Monze for King Lewanika, to Lealui, near Mongu.

On his way to Lealui, Major Harding met his brother William Hallett Harding at Nanzeela mission. William had been acting as Colin's secretary and had also been commissioned to update and prepare maps for the administration and the Royal Geographic Society. Short of staff, Major Harding gave his brother the command of running Fort Monze and its patrol area.

During the time his brother was away, William Harding visited the copper mines north of the Kafue River and N'kala before returning to Fort Monze on 5th November 1900 and then journeying to Victoria Falls for a survey team meeting. On his return he showed the symptoms of having black-water fever and died at Monze at on 11th April 1901.

As soon as he received news of his brother's death, Major Harding headed back for Fort Monze, where soon after his arrival, Cpl. Franklin also died of black-water fever.

Name	Name, Rank & Unit	Attested	Age	Death
Alfred William Welch	636 Trooper	16/03/1989	32	04/01/1899
Montague George S. Hare	595 Corporal	26/01/1897	32	03/07/1899
Josiah Norris	348 Troop Sergt Major	01/11/1896	30	01/12/1899
(Albert)Ernest Rice	780 Trooper	21/08/1897	23	14/02/1900
William Hallett Harding	Officer Commanding	n/a	34	11/04/1901
Benjamin Chas Franklin	786 Corporal	29/09/1897	28	30/041901

Colin Harding as Colonel wearing the CMG (Companion Order of St Michael and St George)

These deaths from black-water fever led to the temporary closure of Fort Monze, owing to the shortage of officers, before the fort was decommissioned in 1903, the memorial there today being erected in 1904. The location of the cemetery is about 0.6 Km from the Fort Monument.

In 1902, Major Harding escorted King Lewanika of Barotseland to London for the coronation of King Edward VII. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

As a Colonel, Colin Harding served in World War I as a Battalion Commander helping to raise the 2nd King Edward's Horse. When they moved into the trenches at Festubert in the spring of 1915, he was a Major and second-in-command. After a period in the trenches at Messines, he was offered the command of the 2nd Birmingham Battalion. He served finally as Provincial Commissioner in the Gold Coast Colony (Ghana) from 1918 – 1922. According to an obituary in the Glasgow Herald dated 5 January 1939, he died in a London Nursing Home aged 75 and is buried at Montacute in Somerset. There is a memorial plaque within the grounds of St. Catherine's Church at Montacute. He authored three books including:

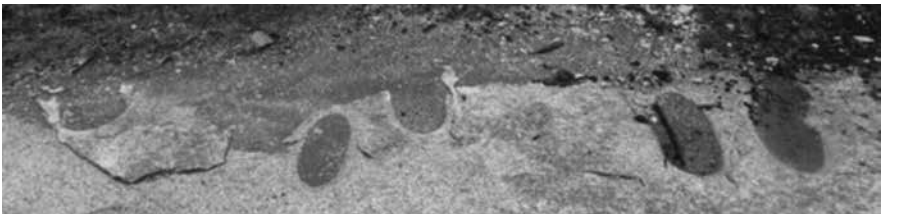
Far Bugles. Simpkin Marshall. 1933

Frontier Patrols: A History of the British South Africa Police and other Rhodesian Forces. G. Bell and Sons 1937

In Remotest Barotseland. Hurst and Blackett Limited, London. 1904

Chief Chikwakwa's kraal today

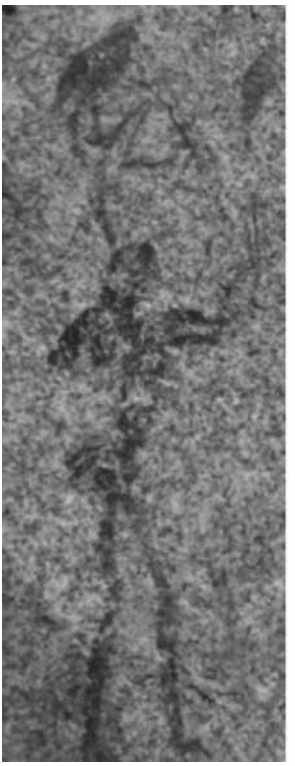
Chikwakwa's fortified kopje is directly east and 60 metres higher than the fort. In a nearby gulley within a stone walled enclosure Maj. Jenner negotiated with Chief Chikwakwa. Beyond are many small caves protected by hastily built stone walling, although the main caves are northeast immediately below the summit and not visible from the fort. Peter Garlake found pottery and rusted tins of a non-military type in the main caves which were most likely looted from Law's store, about fifteen kilometres away. We found numerous old Shona pottery fragments where the kraals were located on the plateau facing Fort Harding and within the main caves. Unfortunately, much rubbish is now being discarded by Apostolic Church members who make fires and camp out in the caves for extended periods.



Evidence for the grinding of traditional food crops such as finger millet (rapoko, or rukweza), bulrush millet (mhunga), and sorghum (mapfunde)

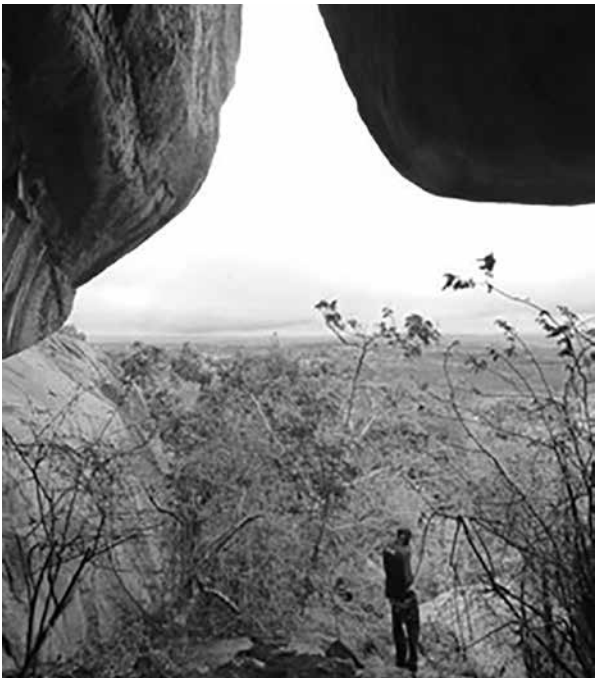
Portion of a dhaka hut base

Smoke damage in the main caves caused by fires from Apostolic Church members



San rock art painting of an armed hunter and a bird

Late Iron Age walling probably contemporary with Fort Harding within Chief Chikwakwa's kopje



There are many short sections of late Iron Age dry-stone walling structures which have been built in defensible positions between the boulders and leading up to the main caves.

Entrance to the impressive main caves at the summit of Chief Chikwakwa's kopje (Goromonzi Hill)

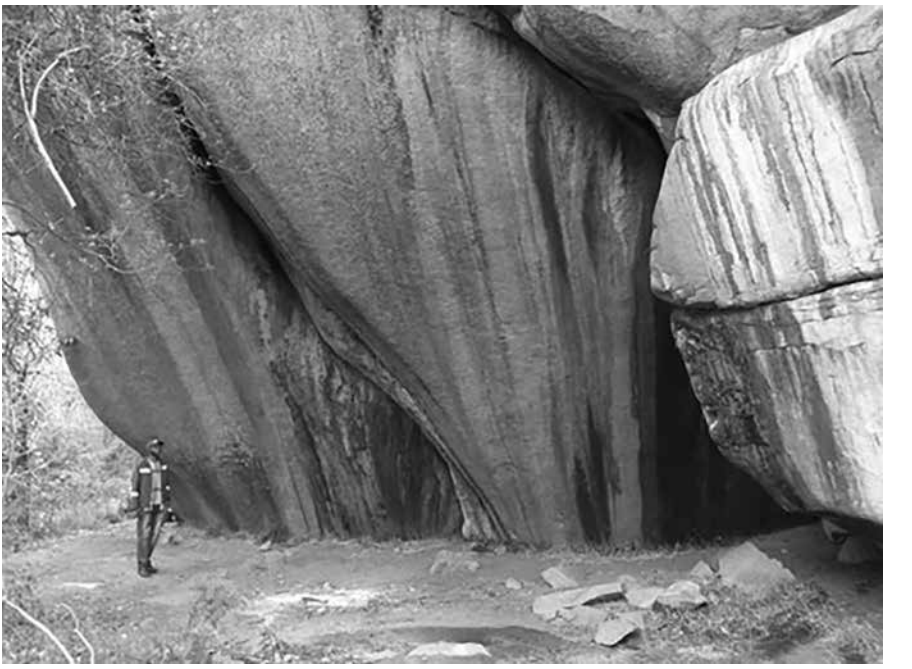
Directly after taking Headman Gondo's kraal at dawn on 16th February 1897, Chief Chikwakwa's main caves were rushed by Lieut. Harding and his force of BSA Police supported by a Maxim gun. The approach they took is in the photo below.

Looking south from Gondo's kraal to Chief Chikwakwa's kraal – this side is hidden from Fort Harding

Headman Gondo's kraal today

The kopje shows attempts at fortification with sections of dry-stone walling at defensible points and intensive habitation with much old broken pottery; signs of an iron-age furnace site were also found with sections of furnace pipe, or tuyeres.

Defensive fortifications of dry-stone walling using the steep ascents and large boulders at Gondo's kraal



Section of the main caves at Gondo's kraal

My thanks to Headman Musonza of Goromonzi Growth Point for permission to visit Chikwakwa (Goromonzi Mountain) and Gondo's kraals and to his son, Duke Musonza, who very kindly guided me; they are both keen conservationists and anxious to halt the tree felling in this very spiritual area.

Acknowledgements

P. S. Garlake. *The Mashona Rebellion East of Salisbury*. Rhodesiana Publication No. 14 July 1966. P1-11

K. McIntosh and L. Norton. *Echoes of Enterprise*. *Enterprise Farmers Association*.

E. A. H. Alderson. *With the Mounted Infantry and the M.F.F.* 1896. Books of Rhodesia. 1971

www.monze.com for information on Col. C. Harding in Zambia

Alfred John Shout, VC, MC and The British South Africa Company Police 1900-1907

by Dr Bob Challiss

Introduction

The Victoria Cross posthumously awarded in 1915 to Alfred Shout, (the most highly decorated Australian soldier of the Gallipoli campaign), was sold in Sydney in July 2006 for a record A$1.2 million.[1]

In 2009 a comprehensive Nominal Roll of the BSAP was published in a history of the force which included: "803 SHOUT Alfred John 11.7.1906 16.5.1907". The authors of the BSAP history did not mention that this was the great ANZAC hero, hence few people recognized the significance of the name on the Nominal Roll. Shout hailed originally from New Zealand but became an Australian hero.[2]

In April 2011 I gave a public lecture in Harare in which I discussed archival research which reveals that Shout was a deserter from the BSAP. [3]

No additional information came to light until recently, when I gave another lecture which included, apparently for the first time, an account of events that prompted Shout to join the BSAP on 4 July 1906.[4]

Born in Wellington, New Zealand, on 7 August, 1881, Alfred John Shout, apparently throughout his life, never knew that he was in fact a year older than he thought. When he applied for a commission in the Australian Imperial Force on 18 August 1914, he stated that he was thirty-two and born on 8 August 1882.[5] This conforms with his age, twenty-three years and ten months, given in his application to join the BSAP eight years earlier on 4 July 1906, when he was not asked to give his birth date.[6] The Australian Dictionary of National Biography states that Shout was born on 7 August 1881[7] which

[1] "Mystery buyer pays record price for casual hero's VC", from Bernard Lagan in Sydney, *The Times*, Tuesday, 25 July 2006, p.6 cols 1–2.

[2] Peter Gibbs, Hugh Phillips and Nick Russell, illustrated by Richard Hamley, *Blue and Old Gold The History of the British South Africa Police 1889–1980* (30 degrees South Publishers, Johannesburg, 2009), p. 485 col. 1; similarly overlooked was the VC awarded to " 409 RAMSDEN Horace Edward 17.10.1902–02.11.1903", Ibid., p.482 col. 2. Ramsden's was one of only two VC's won by men for saving the lives of brothers, Nora Buzzell, compiler, *The Register of the Victoria Cross* (This England, 3rd Ed., 1997), p. 351. Ramsden's award was earned during the siege of Kimberley on 26 December 1899, Ibid., p. 262.

[3] Dr R. Challiss, "The Victoria Cross to Rhodesians," Lecture (unpublished), at CONVENTION, Zimbabwe History, Medal, Numismatic and Philatelic Societies, at Borrowdale Brooke Golf Course, Harare, 9 April, 2011, citing National Archives of Zimbabwe, JG [Master of the High Court] 3 [Correspondence] 3 [Deceased Estates] 137 [Estate of Tpr Shout (Deserter)], Paymaster, BSAP Pay Office, Salisbury, to Master of the High Court, Southern Rhodesia, 2 September, 1907.

[4] "Gallantry Awards", History Society of Zimbabwe, Lecture (Recorded) and Presentation, by Dr R. J. Challiss, in the St. George's College Beit Hall, Harare, Sunday 26 June, 2006.

[5] Alfred John Shout: Application for a Commission in the 1st Battalion, Australian Imperial Force, 18 August 1914. (The apparent absence of a birth certificate for Shout and records in school registers citing different dates of birth seem to explain contradictory claims in historical accounts of his life. Vide https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Alfred Shout, Note 1 on uses of alternative dates of birth 7/8/1881 or 7/8/1882. Apparently, a birth certificate was located, which indicates 8/8/1881 to be correct, www spirits of gallipoli.con/families/families.htm)

[6] [National Archives of Zimbabwe Defence and Police/ Records of Service/1896-1923/] S 241/803-Tpr Shout/Attestation papers 4/6/06–11/5/06

[7] Matthew Higgins, Shout, Alfred John "1881-1915" in Australian Dictionary of Bibliography Vol. 11. (MUP 1988) adb.anu.ed.au/biography/shout-alfred-john- 8424 where it incorrectly states that the Shouts left for Australia in 1905 and

conforms with the date given by an internet web site citing a New Zealand birth certificate of 1881: "2472 [Wellington dist. Sep.Qtr]"[8]

Alfred was the eldest of the four sons and five daughters of Agnes and John Shout who had emigrated to New Zealand from England and Ireland respectively. Agnes was widowed for three years before the marriage and had two sons by her first husband, Fred McGovern.[9] A carpenter by trade, Alfred was employed for two years in the Parliament building of the New Zealand Legislative Council in Wellington before taking up arms in Southern Africa at the turn of the century.[10] One of his half brothers, Bill McGovern, also answered the call and served with Bethune's Mounted Rifles. Had Alfred known that he was a year older than he thought he might have successfully gained a place in one of the official New Zealand contingents that embarked for the Anglo-Boer War in 1900, which disfavoured the recruitment of volunteers who only recently had turned eighteen.[11]

As it happened, he made his own way to South Africa in 1900, apparently in the company of his half brother Bill. On 16 February 1900 Alfred attested at Durban with the Border Horse, one of the numerous columns in the South African irregular forces.[12] The unit was formed in February 1900 by Charles Preston Crewe (1855–1936), who was descended from the gentry of Cheshire, the Crewes of Crewe, and had emigrated to South Africa in 1878.[13] As a member of the Cape Mounted Rifles, Crewe served in the last Frontier War in 1878–9 and the Basutu War of 1880–81. He commanded the Border Horse as a Major until May 1901, when he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel.[14] A mobile mounted infantry unit of some seven hundred men from the Antipodes, South Africa, the United Kingdom and elsewhere, the Border Horse was soon engaged in the thick of the action, mainly against forces led by renowned Boer General Christiaan Rudolph de Wet.[15]

Five feet ten inches in height, with a fair complexion, blue eyes and brown hair, Alfred soon proved his worth and by 1901 had earned the rank of Lance-Corporal. Shortly before completing a year in the Border Horse, Alfred was to inspire and assist his comrades in one particularly notable engagement in ways that remarkably anticipated the actions that were to place his name at the forefront of supreme Anzac gallantry during the Gallipoli Campaign in 1915.

In 1901 four generals, Bruce M. Hamilton, Charles E. Knox, J. G. Maxwell and H. C. O. Plumer, their forces assisted by three mounted infantry columns led by Lieutenant-Colonels T. D. Pilcher and W. L. White and Major Crewe , were engaged in concerted efforts to contain de Wet in his attempts to escape from the Cape Colony. Major Crewe's column consisted of about seven hundred men drawn from the Border Horse, the Kaffrarian Rifles, the Queenstown Volunteer Rifles, the 44th Battery of the Royal Field Artillery and a team of men in charge of a Pom- Pom.[16] On 29 January, 1901, the

Alfred served in the Cape Field Artillery as a Sergeant—in fact Alfred left in 1907 and never rose above the rank of Corporal in the CFU.

[8] Anzac Individual Record—Capt. A. J. Shout, AIF www.anzacs.org/pages/AOshout.htm/

[9] Harry Willey, Alfred John Shout https:/www.facebook.com/anzacsonline/posts—Willey states that Alfred served as a Sergeant in the CFU from 1903 until 1907, when in fact he joined the BSAP in 1906 and never rose above the rank of Corporal in the CFU. Willey does not mention Alfred's civilian employment in New Zealand and the Cape.

[10] S241/803-Tpr. Shout/L.Stowe, Legislative Council, N.Z., 25/7/01

[11] David Deasey, "Alfred Shout First Boer War Soldier to win a VC in the AIF", in *Monumentally Speaking* (National Boer War Association Newsletter for NSW, SA and ACT), - Number 24, February 2015, page 8

[12] S241/803—Tpr Shout—Certificate of Discharge of No. 539, Sergt. Alfred John Shout, Border Horse.

[13] Walter H. Wills, *Anglo-African Who's Who and Biographical Sketchbook* (Jeppestown Press, 2006, reprint of Walter Wills' book, first published 1907 by L. Upcott, Gill, Drury Lane, London, UK, p. 85, cols 1-2

[14] Border Horse nominal role (Doctor Stephen Skinner) www.britishmedals.us/kevin/wo127.html.

[15] Louis Creswicke, *South Africa and the Transvaal War Vol VI* (T. C. and E. C. Jack, Edinburgh 1901) p.148.

[16] Ibid., Vol 567 (Kenneth Maclennan, Manchester, 1902), page XVI.

columns led by Crewe and Pilcher encountered about two thousand five hundred men personally led by De Wet on the slopes of Tabaksberg Mountain, a flat-topped V-shaped kopje, about forty miles north-east of Bloemfontein.

A fortnight later, the engagements that followed were described by *The Evening News*, in Sydney as follows:

> "Thanks to the military censorship on which we have before commented, the war is becoming more and more puzzling...The Lyddite from Colonel Pilchers heavy guns dispersed the Boers who streaming down the other slope of the range, encountered Major Crewe who had seven hundred men, three 15 pounders and a Pom Pom. The enemy who had at least two thousand men attacked both the flanks and the rear of the British. The Pom Pom jammed and was lost, despite desperate efforts to retain it. Major Crewe brilliantly seized some rising ground, just forestalling the Boers who then charged the position. The British fought a rear guard action against a terribly severe rifle fire until the ammunition failed and they then retired to their wagons in laager which they defended till night fall. Though the attack was renewed at daybreak ... Major Crewe and his convoy joined General Knox and both regained Bloemfontein. Evidently a very nasty British reverse, full news of which had been kept back by censorship in the hope that it would not be necessary to say anything about it until de Wet was caught, as he has again avoided being, this time dodging not only two columns but seven".[17]

Major Crewe attributed his successful withdrawal of his column "to the extreme bravery of the men [he had] the honour to command". This view was endorsed by General Knox and Lord Kitchener, who conveyed to Crewe "their admiration of the behaviour of all ranks that day".[18] In Lord Kitchener's Despatches of 8 March, 1901, Lt. M. G. Foxcroft received mention, Coy. Sgt. Major Johnston was promoted 2nd Lieutenant and Lance Corporal Shout was promoted Sergeant.[19] It was reported that Alfred "displayed great courage and assisted greatly in keeping men together, under heavy fire he brought out of the firing line a man of the 17th Battery, RFA, and took him to a place of safety".[20] Apparently, the rescued man had been manning the Pom-Pom. During the morning rear-guard action after the main battle de Wet captured two 15 pounders from the Kaffrarian Rifles and a maxim machine gun from the 44th Battery, RFA.[21] The Kaffrarian Rifles suffered the heaviest casualties with five killed and twenty wounded. Seven of the Border Horse were wounded and three went missing.[22]

Alfred served for a further four months in the Border Horse. Apart from intermittent, usually bloody encounters with the enemy, daily life in columns like the Border Horse must have involved great mental and physical strain: "The scouting and patrol work was constant, hard, and, from the nature of the country, very dangerous, and casualties were

[17] *The Evening News*, Tuesday, 12 February 1901, "The War" p.4 cols 2-3. For a fuller account see *Los Angeles Daily Herald*, V XVIII, no. 133, Monday, Feb. 11, 1901, p.1 cols 1-3 ; Pom-Poms accurately fired one-pounder shells over long distances and were first supplied to Boers by Maxim-Nordenfeldt and then to British forces by Vickers-Maxims—Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (Macdonald & Co., London & Sydney, 1st publ. 1979, First Futura edition 1982) p. 41

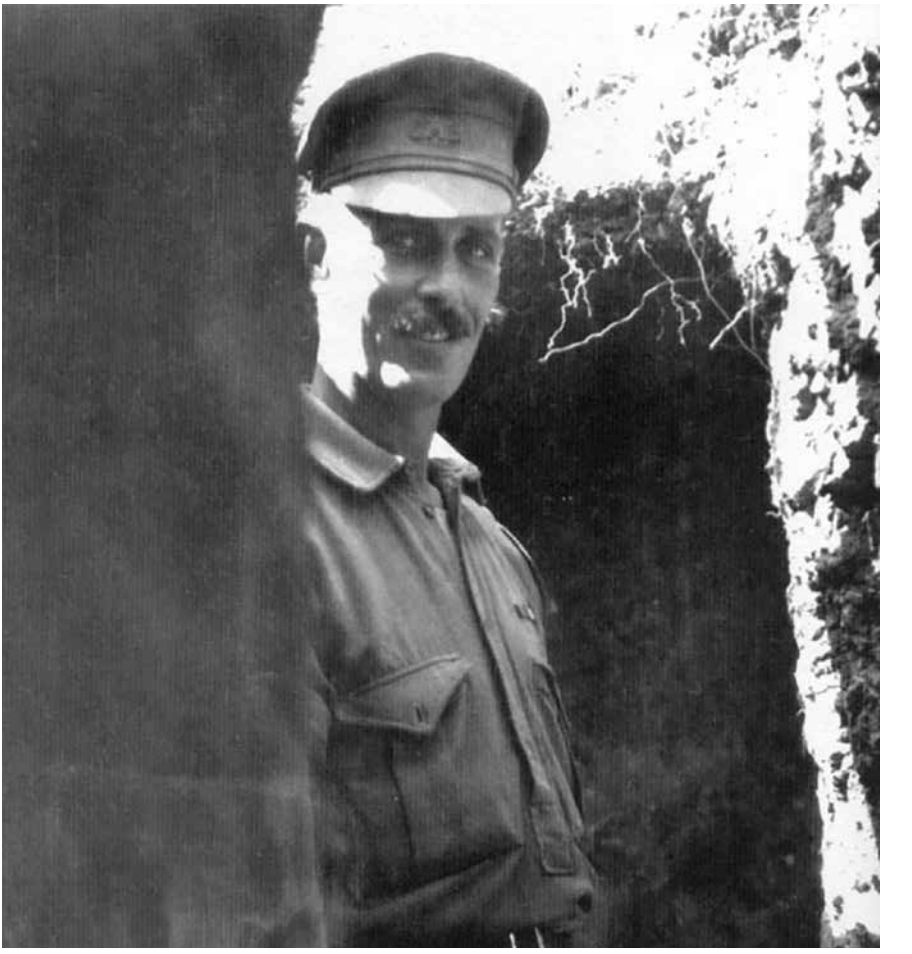
[18] Creswicke, VII, p. 173 (www.nationalanzaccentre.comau/story/alfred-johnshout)

[19] www.Angloboerwar.com/South African Units, Border Horse, p. 1

[20] *Evening Post* (Wellington), 23rd May, 1901, 1

[21] Creswicke, V1, p. 148

[22] "TABAKSBERG FIGHT", *The Examiner* (Launceston, Tasmania) Saturday, 9 March 1901, p.13



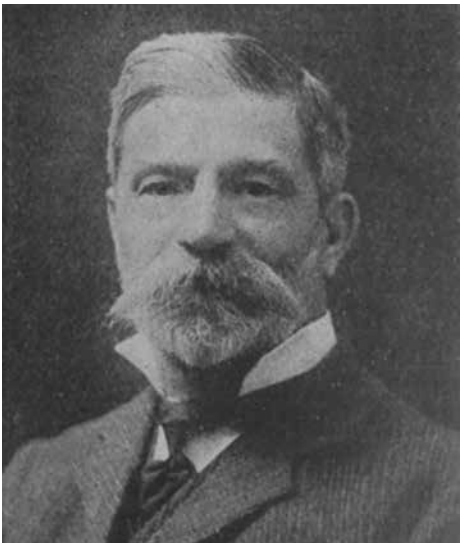
Alfred John Shout

John Robinson Royston

Horace Edward Ramsden

Christiaan de Wet

George Gover



Adolph Gislingham Howard

frequent". Mounted troops had "to keep long hours in the saddle, sleep rough, live on bully beef and biscuit, endure extremes of climate."[23] When Alfred was medically examined before joining the BSAP in 1906, a scar on his chest was evidence five years later, that he had not escaped physically unscathed from nearly sixteen months of continuous active service. He must have been greatly in need of rest and recuperation when he returned to New Zealand in 1901.

Actions had spoken volumes, so Major Crewe did not waste words in the testimonial that he handed to Alfred at Aliwal North in the Cape Colony on 23 May 1901:

"He is discharged time expired. His conduct and character whilst in the Service has been "Exemplary", promoted Sergeant for distinguished service in the field, vide army order dated Pretoria 23 Feb. 1901. Service towards completion of engagement 1 year and 97 days".

Alfred stated for his discharge certificate that he was a "farmer" by trade. Apparently he and his half-brother Bill McGovern worked as youngsters on a farm, briefly occupied by the family. When Bill returned to New Zealand "he settled into life as a farmer". 9

Alfred left for the Antipodes almost immediately after his discharge. Sailing on the "Damascus", he arrived in Melbourne on 6th June 1901.[24] Over a month later two prominent citizens in Wellington strongly recommend that Alfred should succeed in his desire to join the New Zealand army.

On 25 July, Leonard Stowe, a notable figure in the Parliamentary life of New Zealand, who had been Clerk of the Legislative Council since 1865 and Clerk of Parliament from 1889,[25] declared: "Alfred John Shout was employed for two years in the Parliament Building and I have much pleasure recommending his application for favourable consideration".

The day after Stowe's recommendation, Sir George Maurice O'Rorke, Kt. Bach, first appointed Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1874 and who retired in 1902, presented Shout with the following note :

Speaker's Rooms,
Wellington, N.Z.
26th July 1901.

Sir Maurice O' Rorke has every confidence in recommending that Alfred John Shout who has just returned from South Africa with an excellent character for military service be enrolled as a member of the Permanent Artillery. Sir M. O'R. is quite satisfied this young man will prove a credit to the body he desires to join.[26]

Nothing has come to light about the five months of Alfred's life from the issue of these two testimonials and his enrolment on 21 December 1901 in the Stellenbosch District Mounted Troops. 27 When Shout applied for a commission in the Australian Imperial Force in 1914 he did not mention his service with the Stellenbosch DMT.

All he wrote on the form about his service in South Africa was: "Border Horse 1900-2 (Sgt.)/Cape Field Artillery 1903-1907 (Sgt.)" This has resulted in puzzlement about his award of a re-named medal inscribed to number "359 Sgt A. J. Shout, South Africa Mounted Irregular Force", instead of "9216, Sgt A. J. Shout, Border Horse", which is inscribed on his Queen's South Africa Medal. Re-named medals were returned medals

[23] Rayne Kruger, *Good-bye Dolly Gray The Story of the Boer War* (Cassell, London, 1959) p. 386

[24] National Library of Australia, *Victoria Cross—Captain A. J. Shout, First Battalion, AIF*. (www.nationalanzaccentre.com.au/story/alfred-john-shout)

[25] See generally, Chapters 9 and 16, The New Zealand Official Year Book 1906 (https//www3stats.govt.nz/New Zealand Official Yearbooks/1906/nzoyb-1906.html)

[26] 241/803-Tpr Shout—Sir Maurice O'Rourke, Speaker's Rooms 26 July 1901.

re-issued to Colonials missing from the rolls of other units. Assuming that Alfred served only in the Border Horse and the CFA, and apparently unaware of his brief return to New Zealand in 1901, David Deasey suggested that Alfred was wounded and "whilst recovering...was assigned as cadre to support local defence units" like the Stellenbosch DMT , who "quite happily discharged him leaving the necessity to give him his KSA on a SAMF roll".

When Alfred left the Stellenbosch DMT on 4 July 1902, it was stated on his Cape Colonial Discharge Certificate that he was a Sergeant and his conduct had been "very good"—an opinion expressed by his Commanding Officer, Captain C. E. W. Spencer on behalf of the C. O. Headquarters depot, Cape Colonial Forces.[27]

For a period of almost eleven months after he had left the Stellenbosch DMT there is no information on how Alfred might have occupied himself until 22 June 1903 when he found employment as a carpenter in the Public Works Department of the Cape Colonial Government. For another period of eleven months he was employed by this body until "Reduction of Work" rendered it necessary to dispense with his services on 19 May 1904.[28]

Alfred was not entirely unemployed when he left the PWD for, two weeks earlier, he chose to re-enlist for voluntary military service, this time in The Prince Alfred's Own Cape Field Artillery. Alfred joined this force on 5 May 1904, and after a break between mid October 1904 and early in February 1905 he remained in its service until 11 June 1906.[29] In addition to claiming in 1914 that he had been in the CFA from 1903 to 1907, he indicated that he had done so as a sergeant. In fact, the highest rank that he held in the CFA was corporal.

After losing his PWD job in May 1904, Alfred apparently had to wait until early the next year before he could find civilian employment that would again provide him with a steady income. On 5 January 1905 a firm of building contractors, Messrs Rochelle and Smith, took Alfred on as a carpenter.[30] In the following month Alfred fathered a child but there is no record in any accounts of his life about when and where exactly he might have married the girl's mother.

Available evidence suggests that the birth in Cape Town on 11 June 1905, of baby Florence Alice Maud to Rose Agnes Maud Howe, an Australian resident in Cape Town, was to be kept a closely guarded secret, even, perhaps for a while, from the father, and for how long it is hard to say. However in what remains to be told about Alfred, resulting in his service with the BSAP, secrecy about his parental status must be a constant consideration in assessments of what happened.

About ten months after Alfred should have celebrated one of the happiest days in his young life, his work at Rochelle and Smith ended on 12 April 1906 because they had no further work for a carpenter. Evidently it was harder to find steady employment as a carpenter in the Cape than it had been in Wellington.

Alfred now had to look again for a way to earn a regular income. Apparently, the first opportunity for him to do this came early in June 1906 when a voluntary unit, Royston's Horse, needed recruits for the suppression of Zulu rebels in Natal.[31] Alfred

[27] Ibid., Cape Colonial Corps - Discharge Certificate
[28] P.W.D. Cape Town, Certificate of Service.
[29] Ibid., Record of Service. P.A.O. Cape Field Artillery.
[30] Ibid., Rochelle & Smith, C. T., June 24th 1906.
[31] Ibid., Lt. J.W. Ord, Drill Hall, C.T., 26th June 1906.

immediately set about answering the call by consulting the commandment of the CFA, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas John James Inglesby, VD, JP , on 11 June 1906.

The Colonel obliged by giving Alfred "A Record of Service" which outlined his military career since 1900 and described his character as "Very Good".

Alfred was recruited for the 2nd Battalion, Royston's Horse on 13 June, was passed as medically fit and attested in East London on 17th of that month. Surprisingly, the need for more men in the 2nd Battalion was then unexpectedly declared to be "not necessary", and Alfred was paid off in Cape Town on 21 June.

It seems Alfred could have again rejoined the CFA, for the Colonel had stated in his testimonial that he remained on "Strength of Force". He chose instead to try his luck with the BSAP. In the Border Horse and in later years Alfred must have learnt a lot about Rhodesians, notably those who served under Plumer in the Boer war and whose number included volunteers from the BSAP.[32] Indeed he might have visited Rhodesia, but perhaps not as an affluent visitor to the Victoria Falls, during one of the long periods unaccounted for during his career in Southern Africa.

No doubt, the first step that Alfred took when he decided to join the BSAP was to find out what applicants needed when they presented themselves for consideration at the recruitment offices in Cape Town. Here his C.O. in the CFA might have helped, for as a JP Colonel Inglesby sometimes officiated as a witness when recruits had applied for posts in the BSAP. Applicants had to be "recommended by some person of position" and should "hold good discharges and references from last employers". Alfred already had five testimonies going back to his work in New Zealand. All that remained to be done was obtain recommendations from his last three employers in Cape Town.

On 24 June 1906, from Rochelle and Smith he received the following:

"TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN The bearer, A. J. SHOUT, has been our employ from 5 January 1905 to April 12th 1906 as a Carpenter. During which time we found him a capable tradesman very trustworthy and have every confidence in recommending him to those who may require his services. No work for Carpenter is the reason for his non employment with us.

pp. Rochelle and Smith

GEORGE GOVER"

On 25 June , Lt J. W. Ord of the Duke of Edinburgh's Own Volunteer Rifles, in command of the Cape Town "Special" detachment of Royston's Horse, provided Alfred with a brief outline of his week long service with 2nd Battalion, and, rather effusively perhaps, added: "His conduct whilst under my command was exemplary. Shout was appointed a Provisional Sergeant by me".

On 29 June 1906, Alfred received the following certificate of service from the Cape Town PWD:

"I hereby certify that ALFRED JOHN SHOUT was employed in the PWD of the Government of C.C. in the capacities and during the period stated below".

Date of entry into service 22 June 1903, as Carpenter from 22/6/3 to 19/5/04, no special remarks.

Left service 19 May 1904. Cause. Reduction of work.

Character Good. Manner in which duties were performed Good.

A.G. HOWARD

for Acting Chief Engineer, 29-6-06. 28".

[32] See generally Robert S. Burrett, *Plumer's Men: The Rhodesia Regiment and The Northwest Frontier During the Second South African War, 1899-1900* (Just Done Publications, Durban, 2009); also *Blue and Old Gold*, Chs. 13-15.

Adolph Gislingham Howard, MSA, was the Chief Architect in the PWD. Born in Portsmouth on 22 January, 1853 and educated in Belfast, he emigrated to the Cape in 1876 and retired in 1908.[33]

The only recent referee likely to know about Alfred's parental status was George Gover who, like Ord, was a Lieutenant in the DEOVR. A builder by trade, he must have worked closely with Alfred and they had a shared interest in shooting. Gover won a National Rifle Association Silver Medal in 1892 and a Championship at Middelberg Cape Colony in 1906. Born in London in January 1863 Gover went to Australia in 1884, married Alice May Mumby, of Melbourne, in 1888, had four children and came to the Cape in 1902.[34] If he knew about the existence of Alfred's daughter, it was very unlikely that as a respectable citizen he would have agreed to keep quiet about it.

When Alfred filled in his BSAP form in Cape Town on 4 July, 1906, he stated that he resided at 249 Long Street, his age was twenty-three years and ten months, and his next of kin was his father who lived at Fraulein Hall, Marion Street, Wellington, New Zealand. In answer to "Are you single, married, or a widower, and if either of the latter, what family?" he wrote "Single" 6—which was accurate, even if he knew about the existence of his daughter Florence, aged thirteen months at the time.

Alfred's CFA Commander, Lt Col. Inglesby, as a JP, was appointed by the BSAP, apparently quite coincidentally, to witness his application. It seems unlikely that Alfred might have been unaware of the implications of withholding possibly relevant information, particularly a stricture that recruits should be single. Moreover, after their recent consultation about Alfred's wish to join Royston's Horse, perhaps there was a measure of informality in their relationship which might have prompted the older man to politely caution the younger one against evasiveness of any kind.

On the other hand, perhaps Alfred was greatly in awe of his former C.O. and even feared disciplinary action if he admitted fathering a child out of wedlock, for he was still "on strength" in the CFA.

Considerations similar to those just outlined, might also be applied to relations between Alfred and Lt Col. I. Herbert Cox, of B Company, Cape Medical Service Corps, who, apparently at short notice, and as a "person of position", 6 formally recommended Alfred's application to join the BSAP, and also conducted his medical examination. If Alfred did have sudden doubts about his suitability for the Force, arising from his parental status, he might have been more inclined to confide in Cox. It seems very likely that they had known each other for some time, going back at least to Alfred's enrolment in the CFA in 1904.

Colonel Cox at the Police and Casualty Hospital in Cape Town duly declared on 5 July that Alfred was "about the age" that he had given in his application—"23 yrs 10 months"—candidates from overseas had to be between twenty and twenty-five years of age - if locally born they could attest at eighteen. Alfred was declared physically and mentally "capable of bearing the fatigue incident to the performance of mounted military duty". His height was 5'10 ½", half an inch over the prescribed maximum for recruits, and his chest measurement (not inflated) was 34 ½", half an inch above the prescribed minimum. Incidentally, his hair, which had been brown in the Border Horse had become black.(6, 12). (Can any of our readers suggest why there was a height restriction?)

[33] Ken Donaldson (Ed.), *South African Who's Who,1912* (Ken Donaldson, Johannesburg 1912), p.208, col.1.
[34] Ibid., 1910, p.182 col.1

Within a week of submitting his application, Alfred arrived by train in Salisbury, where he was attested into the Force on 11th July 1906 by a man described by the well known historian Peter Gibbs as "a tradition" in the BSAP—Lt. Col. William Bodle, CMG.[35] Since 1888, Bodle had played important roles in virtually every major event concerning the history of the BSAP north and south of Limpopo. More significantly, perhaps, with regard to his brief association with Alfred, Bodle was "the personification of the 19th century soldier who had risen from the ranks and in the process had acquired the dignity of command".[36]

Alfred did well in the ten months in the Force, for he was promoted to Staff Corporal before he deserted on 16 May 1907. In those early days, promotions were few and far between and it was unusual to receive one so soon after joining the BSAP. Apparently, his desertion was prompted by his parental status, for the next irrefutable evidence of what happened to him in 1907 is that he went to Sydney where he lived in the company of Rose Agnes Maud and their daughter Florence Alice Maud. In that year his parents also emigrated from New Zealand to Australia.

On the cover of the file containing Alfred's attestation papers in the National Archives of Zimbabwe a hand written entry records that he "Attested 11.7.06 and Deserted 16.5.07". Just above the last word, in the same hand is written the word "Discharged". Col. Bodle was authorised to summarily dismiss "Any non-commissioned officer or constable" in the Force, apparently without even having to issue any discharge papers.[37]

Hopefully the "mystery" of Alfred's desertion from the BSAP will be solved before another century elapses. Did he really desert, or was he actually discharged, or did the discharge somehow justify his desertion? Our brief glimpse into his early life has shown that Alfred was a soldier to the core, hardworking, persistent, courageous in adverse circumstances military or otherwise, and clearly worthy of the high honour and esteem later bestowed on him.

I express my gratitude to Peter Dean for his assistance and advice.

[35] Blue and Old Gold, p.108
[36] Ibid., p.136 col.2
[37] S 241/803 – Alfred Shout - Attestation Papers, Conditions of Service, Clause 13

Frank McEwen, First Director of the Rhodes National Gallery

Talk by Penny Kirkman

OBE, Chevalier des Arts et Lettres, L'Officier des Palmes d'Academie, artist, teacher, sailor, Administrator and founding Director of the Rhodes National Gallery. (1907–1994)

For two decades in the 20th century, the Rhodes National Gallery in Central Africa, sat centre-stage in Western Art, having launched upon the world the most important sculpture movement since the turn of that century.

In the Rhodesias and in Nyasaland, (now Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi) the subject of an art gallery had been discussed in a lukewarm fashion across the white communities since the colony's birth – over dinner, in bars, clubs, at tennis and bridge parties – but there were always more pressing alternatives and the idea would be shelved, (with the outbreak of World War 2 putting a complete stop to any progress). This ambivalence changed with the death of Sir James MacDonald, when the ship he was travelling in, the S.S. Ceramic, was sunk by torpedo off the west coast of Africa in 1942.

MacDonald, biographer and close friend of Cecil John Rhodes, first met Rhodes in Kimberley in 1888 and arrived in Rhodesia in 1891, a year after the Pioneer Column. He became General Manager of Rhodes' Consolidated Goldfields Company, a Beit Trustee, an adviser to the BSA Company and, tellingly, was present when Rhodes visited World's View in the Matopos. His biography of Rhodes throws an intimate light on Rhodes' complex character. His many bequests included £50 000 for a young people's club in Bulawayo, £10 000 for whisky for his own club, and £30 000 for an art gallery to be built—a manifestation of Rhodes vision and a refining touch for the newly emerging nation of Rhodesia,

The MacDonald Bequest gathered interest, growing to £38 000 by 1953, when the Rhodes Centennial Gallery Act was finally passed. A Statutory Board of Trustees was set up to establish a National Gallery and Major Stephen Courtauld was appointed Chairman, gathering around him an exemplary court of knights and civil servants – Sir Ellis Robins, Sir Ernest Guest, V. W. Hiller, and Napier. With their memory of two devastating World Wars and their shared vision for the future, they began raising funds for building and equipping the Gallery.

In 1954, the Salisbury City Council made available a site on King's Crescent—(now Julius Nyerere Way) a main thoroughfare with fresh air, north light, trees and flowers. The new Gallery was expected to cost £150 000 and the Board appealed for financial assistance locally and abroad, but unsuccessfully. A London Appeal Committee failed dismally. All avenues exhausted, the Courtaulds stepped into the breach and Sir Stephen and Lady Virginia each contributed £25 000 to the Building Fund, the BSA Company £13 500, and four copper mining companies—Rhokana, Nchanga, Roan Antelope and

Mufulira—£5 000 each over seven years, with no assistance from the Federal or local Governments. In the same year, the Board dispatched the distinguished V. W. Hiller, (midwife to the Archives), to seek advice on building the Gallery. He was repeatedly pointed in the direction of one Frank McEwen, the British Council's Fine Arts Officer in Paris and one of Europe's foremost authorities on art.

Back in Rhodesia, an architectural competition was held for the design of the Gallery and the Board placed an advert in the London Times for the post of Director to which McEwen applied, encouraged by Roland Penrose and no less than Pablo Picasso. He led a field of 12 applicants, and a flurry of recommendations arrived before the Board from leading members of the art fraternity including:

Philip Hendy—Director, National Gallery, London

Gerald Kelly—Director, Royal Academy

Herbert Read—Director, Institute of Contemporary Art

Roland Penrose—Chairman, British Council

Anthony Blunt—Curator, Courtauld Institute, Keeper of the Queen's Collection (and fourth Cambridge spy)

Georges Salles—Director of all French Museums

McEwen's application was accepted. At the peak of his profession, he was looking for new challenges, anxious to pioneer art in the newly emergent Federation, seeing it as unique in concept and character on the continent of Africa, saying "I am not looking for a job but a mission!"

McEwen was born Francis Jack Bensusan, 300 miles north-west of Mexico City. His father, a mining engineer from the Aran Islands, off the west coast of Ireland, was "perpetually fleeing vengeful Indians" during one of the Americas' more turbulent eras. His mother returned to the Devon coast with young Frank, where "the sea entered his blood". He took on his stepfather's surname. Unusually for a child of those times, he grew up surrounded by his mother's Impressionist paintings, then considered revolutionary. His uncle was the French Impressionist, Lucien Pissarro. His playthings were his father's curios from West Africa. He attended Mill Hill School, intending to study science at Cambridge. Turning 18, he argued with his stepfather, tossed three coins to settle his destiny, deciding against University, and 'vamoosed' to Paris, to study under Foçillonat at the Sorbonne, and was influenced by Braque, Cezanne, Picasso, Monet, Matisse and Brancusi. He travelled across Europe, working in power stations, visiting galleries, painting, restoring paintings, and ultimately opened an art school in the mountains near Toulon, where he practised Gustave Moreau's teaching methods – "drawing out his pupils' innate expressionism, without filling them with unnecessary information".

After the outbreak of World War 2, life became difficult under Vichy rule in southern France and he fled across the Mediterranean to Algiers, arriving two years before the Allies. Disillusioned with the Free French, he was seconded as Liaison Officer between the Allied Forces HQ, the French authorities and the Arab population, where he learnt much about solving tribal disputes –grudges sometimes going back centuries to the time of the Roman invasion –and the transportation, housing, feeding and clothing of 16,000 North African tribesmen, heavily brainwashed by the retreating Axis forces.

In 1944, he became Fine Arts Officer to the British Council then forming in North Africa. The following year, the British Ambassador, Duff Cooper, had him transferred to Paris. As Fine Arts Representative for all of France, his mission was to foster Anglo-

French relations that were icy to say the least. His first exercise in thawing the mistrust was an exhibition in France in 1945 of English Child Art. Deemed unthreatening enough to melt any antagonism felt by the French, these small works charmed Paris, resembling little Matisse, Picasso, and Dufy drawings. A string of reciprocal exhibitions began crossing the Channel. One particular show, work by the English sculptor Henry Moore, influenced McEwen's future approach to his Workshop School. He organized further major exhibitions of the works of:

Turner-Blake
Picasso-Matisse
Braque-Roualt
Leger-Dufy
Contemporary British Painting for Unesco
The English Landscape
50 Years of French Art

Altogether, he notched up ten years with the British Council in Paris, forging close friendships with major artists and directors across Europe.

He took up his new post in Salisbury in 1956, choosing a novel way of travelling to Africa. Boarding his 15-ton ketch, Penelope Elle, lying in her berth at the Quai d'Orsay, he calmly sailed down the Seine out to the Azores, zigzagged his way to the Cape by way of the Cape Verde Islands and Rio de Janeiro. Dallying in Rio, the crew, seduced by the sensual city's fleshpots, could not be persuaded to leave and, at the last minute, a new crew was found. The entire journey was conducted under sail, his engine having broken down at the start. He was both becalmed in the Doldrums and tossed on the stormy Atlantic. He carried no radio transmitter. It took him ten months to complete his journey, exciting speculation in the local newspapers along the lines of "Where is McEwen?" Major Courtauld held the fort in Salisbury, observing the completion of the plans and the pouring of the concrete slab for the Gallery building.

McEwen's dramatic entrance in April 1956 captured the public's attention and he immediately threw himself into the building of the Gallery exclaiming "I am deeply in love with this sensational country of eternal spring."

The Rhodes National Gallery was tailor-made to suit the new director by the winning architects—Montgomery and Oldfield (former students of Le Corbusier). They complemented each other—the lean, clean-edged, light-filled building, purring on the edge of its sunny crescent and McEwen, a Fidel Castro look-alike dressed entirely in black—the quintessence of 1950's "cool". They designed a functional building of 50,000 square feet. The 20th Century had long abandoned the idea of static exhibitions for more easily moveable displays capable of showing any object to its greatest advantage—using floor-to-ceiling panels that permitted large or small galleries to be easily assembled. Further problems—noise, light, temperature—were solved by installing cork floors, Perspex roofing, forced ventilation, humidifiers, air-conditioning and, vitally, by providing spacious storage. The walls were painted a light grey and McEwen assembled the Mies Van Der Rohe chairs, still in use today. Salisbury's new Gallery was cited as one of the finest contemporary gallery buildings in the world. Deemed too modern, one Trustee suggested it trade places with the Town Hall believing 'ART' should reside behind Doric

columns—a commonly held assumption particularly apparent in municipal architecture south of the Limpopo.

Some of the Nyanga Sculptors
From left : John Takawira, Isaac Mapfurira, Amon Manyandure, Cloud Nyagwande, Douglas Sande, Joram Mariga, Clever Machisa, Patrick Takawira, Elias Sande

The final cost of the building was £178 000. £22 500 was needed for initial acquisitions, and £5 000 p.a. thereafter for annual acquisitions, leaving a shortfall of £30 000, which would be met by an anonymous donor—interest free. The donor was Stephen Courtauld, rescuing the Gallery once again with a loan of £40,000. Courtauld, as Chairman, battled against great odds to obtain administration grants from the Federal Government. His applications were vetted by Home Affairs and, if given a favorable wind, were sent to the Treasury, which inevitably opposed them.

Major Stephen Lewis Courtauld (1883–1967) came from an immensely wealthy family of textile manufacturers. His brother, Samuel, was one of the first Englishmen to become interested in Impressionism and assembled an extensive collection, founding the Courtauld Institute.

At the outset of WW1, Stephen enlisted in the Artists' Rifles. In 1923, he met in Egypt and married, Virginia Pierano, a lively Italian with a tattoo of a snake winding round one leg. Escaping the disapproval of London society, they began travelling the world searching for a peaceful home where they hoped they could share their good fortune. The author's father, Wing Commander Ross Kirkman, (RANA; RAF—North African and Sicilian campaigns,) rescued the Courtaulds when their small aircraft crashed in dense bush near Victoria Falls. A friendship developed and he went on to fly them deep into Kinshasa and the Congo on their quests for African artifacts, and also helped them find their future home, La Rochelle, in the Eastern Highlands.

Few know of Courtauld's labours on behalf of the Gallery. Only after after much persuasion did Sir Roy Welensky talk him into accepting a knighthood. He was Chairman from 1953-1961, when he resigned, weary of negotiating unsuccessfully with the

Government to increase the Gallery's grant. His reasons for resigning were explained to McEwen:

"The Government invited money from private sources to build and equip the Gallery, and got the best designed Gallery in the World presented to them – not costing a penny of public money. It was always understood that money for administration was to be found by the Government.

The Government accepted the gift of the Gallery, and refuses money for its running: it has acted in a dishonorable way.

The Federal Government has recently spent £250,000 on the new National Archives, granting it £30,250 p.a., nine times our £3,500 grant.

I can see no excuse for such meanness.

I have done my best, and failed, and now must make way for someone else who I hope will be more successful."

Courtauld's role in creating the Gallery cannot be emphasized strongly enough.

McEwen was not to receive the same support or encouragement from future Boards.

In 1956, McEwen scoured the Federation for work to cover the Gallery's bare walls. With the exception of Robert Paul's work, he abhorred "the Cult of the Amateur", that curiously provincial phenomenon – pretty daubs, coupled with the ubiquitous souvenir trade of soapstone carvings. (Nothing changes.)It was the same in Paris – "women of both sexes, in floral dresses and huge hats, lining the Seine with their easels."As no money was available for collecting Old Masters "the only road open would be to operate as an Art Institute and to promote art locally in a country where there was as yet no sign of artistic creations approaching international levels."

Unable to secure local works of art, McEwen returned to Europe and banged on old friends' doors to gather together a loan exhibition for the Gallery's inaugural show. No-one had heard of primitive Southern Rhodesia (population: 2,400,000), and, those that had, envisaged their cherished treasures "hanging in a jungle clearing, adorning the walls of a mud hut".

His charm and enthusiasm won them over, and the Gallery staged the biggest and best exhibition ever assembled South of the Sahara. Somehow McEwen had talked London's National Gallery, Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum, Paris' Louvre, in addition to other museums, into parting with 200 treasures for a Rhodesian show. The 200 works were flown across the continent in five well-packed planes, and the Queen Mother opened the Inaugural Exhibition, "Rembrandt to Picasso", on 16th, July 1957. During her visit, small rumblings of discontent were felt across the Federation. The catalogue was mouth-watering. McEwen was entrusted with paintings by Gainsborough, Turner, Constable, Rembrandt, Van Gogh, Braque, Cezanne, and Picasso, amongst others. The show was a resounding success, trumpeted across overseas newspapers, in contrast to few accolades locally.

An interesting aside: Salisbury sits astride a high, dry plateau, and the humidity can fall to an astonishingly low 30 percent on a winter's night. With the humidifiers not yet working, the lack of moisture stretched the canvasses as taut as drums on their ancient stretchers and McEwen and his new wife Cecilia, (née Nel), spent their nights dashing between their flat and the Gallery, draping moist towels over the paintings.

As funds became available, the Permanent Collection was built up carefully. There

were few donations. McEwen contacted art dealers across Europe and was advised when appropriate paintings became available. Every period is well represented and the Collection, augmented by gifts from the Courtaulds, is a source of great national pride. Private collections can give rare insights into their owner's peculiarities and McEwen's own collection, now housed at the British Museum, is no exception. Better known for its gaps, omissions and repetitions, his private collection is not comprised of the biggest or the best examples available. He was more interested in the artists themselves, and the sculptures he bought are reflections of his sculptors' progress under his influence. The sculpture McEwen selected for the Gallery, on the other hand, is particularly significant in that it is the most comprehensive and finest collection in the world.

After the Opening, he wheeled an astonishing series of exhibitions before the public – Henry Moore, Rodin, a rare collection of Medieval French tapestries and a powerful exhibition of British Contemporary Art. Gallery attendances were good. The press remained unimpressed, as did the hostile Old Brigade.

In July 1958, Dornford Yates, (author of the popular Berry and Co. books,) wrote, in an angry letter to the Herald: "About a year ago, I warned Mr. McEwen that Southern Rhodesians were not fools and that if he was hoping to "sell" Picasso and his like to this country he was wasting his time. I pointed out it was outrageous to extol the produce of such men to our Africans when they had never had the opportunity of considering the glorious heritage left us by the Old Masters." He went on to suggest asking for public donations towards purchasing reproductions, standard 2'x3' prints, from the Medici Society: "the Gallery walls would soon become a blaze of splendour". McEwen had to contend with a lot of that sort of thing.

It was McEwen's opinion that "Rhodesia with its complex, accelerating swell of tides and sublime weather is a glorious background for new experiment and endeavor" and that it must grow up and "not seek refuge in a dusty past".

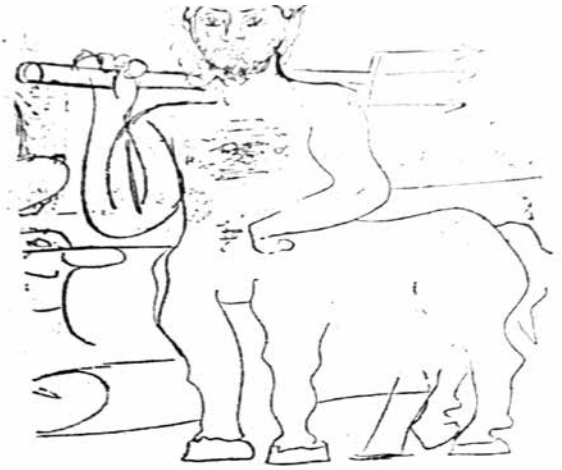
Within two years he established the concept of The Annual Exhibition, which was thrown open to the public and, with no finance at his disposal, he launched the Workshop School slowly introducing it to interested visitors and exhibiting it quietly in corners of the Annual Show.

McEwen's great experiment began in the Gallery foundations where he first encountered his gentle, reflective, mystic future artists—builders, waiters, and policemen. Vehemently anti-Art School, he organized the Workshop School along the same lines as a Renaissance studio, seeing his new sculptors as heirs to Brancusi, Rodin, Picasso and Henry Moore. Applying Gustave Moreau's techniques and providing individual attention for individual needs,

he coaxed the latent talent from the artists, encouraging them to enter a trance-like state before beginning work, drawing from their deep spiritual reserves and cultural backgrounds.

Initially, he provided all financial and material assistance. His ruthless selection process was the pivotal point of his teaching credo. Work below a certain standard was destroyed, and he was to sever all ties with the coordinator of one of the Workshop groups over the burning issue of quality. He was assisted by Pat Pierce in Inyanga and for a while, by Tom Blomefield at Tengenenge. He saw the work as a balancing of the scales—Europe had generously provided support for the young Gallery—now the Gallery could reciprocate. Warning of the insidious dangers of "Airport Art", McEwen predicted: "the blurring of distinctions between sincere art and the meretricious fake.

While the great excitement lasts, before institutional pomposity sets in, new and lively visions will be created."



Cartoon drawing of Frank McEwen by Pablo Picasso executed shortly after the IIWW before McEwen left Paris

In 1962, in testimony to his charisma, he won over the Pan Africanists with The First International Congress of African Culture (ICAC)—an extraordinary coup, the culmination of three years effort, little funding and no Government support—a priceless opportunity to improve the international image of the country. Its objective was to remind the world of the iconoclastic events that shook the art world at the beginning of the century—Europe's discovery of African Art and the birth of cubism, expressionism etc. "It was like the pattering of rain, announcing a violent squall. The squall blew up at the turn of the century while Africa was still in a great sleep and Spanish, French and German artists were blown before its blast like full-rigged ships."The event was to place Rhodesia and African Art firmly on the map. Locals, black and white alike, stayed away in their scores. Millionaires, collectors, artists, historians, international film units and journalists arrived in their droves, the event understated by the local press.

Alfred Barr, delegate and Director of The Museum of Modern Art, (Moma), New York, proclaimed: "It was not so much the public's fault, as inadequate reporting in the local press. The public would have been really interested had it been informed".

The 50 or 60 delegates never anticipated anything on this scale. Experts from the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Guinea, the Congo, Mozambique, London, New York, Paris, and West Berlin vied with each other in lively discussions over the effect of African art and music on Western culture.

The exhibits were dramatically arranged—the viewer passed from a dark room full of dimly lit fetishes, blackened by the blood of human sacrifice, into the light and magnificence of a room full of Yoruba masks and headdresses, IFE and Benin bronzes, and the delicate terracotta figures of the Nigerian NOK culture. McEwen juxtaposed African sculpture with photographs of work by Picasso, Braque, Brancusi—all profoundly influenced by the African art they had encountered at the turn of the century. A side section was devoted to the mass-produced sculpture that tourists buy, emphasized by arranging two lines of identically carved hippopotamuses and wrinkled old men. The Gallery throbbed to the strains of jazz and music from all over the continent. Dance troupes stamped, leapt, cavorted. The 20th Century art world was re-awakened to its African sources, and the Congress became the platform on which McEwen catapulted

his Workshop School before the world.

Ignored by Rhodesians, recognition came from outside the country for this shy and sensitive man. McEwen was awarded L'Officier des Palmes d'Academie–Napoleon's award recognizing special merits among artists for spreading French culture in France and abroad. In1963, this award was followed by an OBE.

The drumbeat quickened, and Roland Penrose arranged for an extensive exhibition of New Rhodesian Art at the Commonwealth Institute, followed by Contemporary Art in the Commonwealth in 1965.

Norbert Lynton in the Guardian: "The Rhodesian section consists exclusively of paintings and sculptures, offering remarkable contrast to the Indian stuff upstairs. Some of the paintings are very bad, but you will find that the worst ones are signed with European names. Among the others are some strange and remarkable things. Behind them stands the Workshop created by the Rhodesian National Gallery's Director, Frank McEwen, which provides material and opportunity for work without offering precepts of styles. The result is a mixture of fumbling and discovery, giving you the sense of the presence of personalities. One of the paintings struck me as quite outstanding: a middle-aged attendant at the National Gallery, Thomas Mu, gives his paintings titles like "Man fetching Magic at Night" and "Where I used to go with my Cattle". Using rich sonorous colours, he weaves fact and fantasy into marvelously strong compositions. I don't know whether to praise his innocence or his cunning."

The Herald began reporting the arrival of each millionaire and collector.

McEwen was appointed President of the Unesco Commission for Planning for Art in Africa in 1966. His letters from West Africa record the antagonism felt towards the newly independent Rhodesia and the consternation caused by the Russians' presence at various meetings—it was the middle of the Cold War. At the same time, the Rhodesian economy was experiencing straitened circumstances, having financial repercussions on the Gallery. Unwell, he took long leave from April 1966, to March 1967, later explaining that he was on the "Expulsion" list along with Shamuyarira and Samkange (Board Members) and fled accordingly. On 16th April 1967, Cecilia and McEwen divorced amicably, holding a "Divorce Party", with a chocolate cake, round which they chased each other with a knife.

A turning point for the Gallery occurred in the form of a very determined visitor in July 1967—Mrs. Webster-Plass, OBE, (70), a Trustee of the Philadelphia Museum, "as mad as a Hatter" but ranked as a foremost authority on African Art. She arrived, at the invitation of the Gallery, to study the work of the country's artists.After 29 hours of travel, she enthused until 2.00 p.m.on the great quality of the Workshop's art. Her enthusiasm escalated after discussions with the artists, almost 50 in number. She hatched a plan for the Workshop's big entry into the United States under the auspices of the Philadelphia Museum. Unfortunately, she collapsed on her return to America and the Philadelphia project was abandoned.

Nevertheless, a seed had been planted and, to revive the Gallery's dire finances, McEwen began his assault on America in September 1967, with a ten-month lecture tour of twelve mid-western universities. He was the first Leader Scholar to be invited to the United States by the Central States College Association. He was accompanied by an itinerant display of 70 sculptures for educational purposes.

He travelled from coast to coast, covering some 30,000 miles, flying every Sunday from one campus to another, often heavily sedated because of a back injury sustained

earlier in the tour. It was a lonely existence in deep mid-winter. "When I left Rhodesia, I was striking out to save the Gallery. I have received a thunderous reception. I accepted the invitation because I believe so much in the Rhodesian artists. I made myself popular and unpopular …people are furious at the appearance of authentic art."

The tour's success engendered such excitement that an invitation was prompted from the Museum of Modern Art for a show of 50–100 pieces, which would open in New York and then travel to all major centres. The press was antagonistic and his talks were often disrupted by mobs of politically agitated students.

Rhodesia had declared UDI on Armistice Day, 1965 and economic sanctions were imposed on the country, although cultural activities were permitted. Devastatingly —the catalogue printed, the work displayed— the State Department brought pressure to bear on MoMA to cancel the show. Conversely, this only served to whet the public's appetite and added value to the travelling show which continued to circulate, keeping the work alive and providing an aesthetic standard for the public, enabling the Workshop to continue to support itself and its growing international reputation.

McEwen and Bill Burdett-Coutts out sailing

McEwen was obliged to continue his promotional tour but his Board failed to comprehend the problems he encountered along the way. MoMA's storage facilities, for example, fell away, (rented from The Mob in the Bronx). Fortunately, McEwen's son from a previous marriage, Frank Aldridge, and a future mother-in-law, Mrs Watson-Blair, helped store the remaining work, saving the Gallery thousands of dollars. There were consequences. Sharp letters from Sir Athol Evans pursued McEwen around the mid-west. Evans, the Gallery's Chairman, was always uncomfortable with McEwen's independent spirit, in spite of McEwen's inestimable value to Rhodesia as roving cultural ambassador when Rhodesia's political reputation was in shreds. While McEwen was away, his reputation suffered and the importance of his lengthy and necessary absences was misunderstood.

In January 1969, McEwen married his fourth wife, Mary McFadden/Harari, an American millionairess, who played a vital role in the Workshop's development. Searching for greater peace for McEwen's sculptors, she bought Vukutu, "the place of the green dove", 5 000 acres of bald dome, jagged rock and ancient ancestral graves in Juliasdale—a home for the sculptors, affording them protection from unscrupulous dealers and the prying public. Before settling there, the ancestral spirits had to be appeased. Mediums prayed, fasted, and studied their dreams before finally receiving

a welcome. Sylvester Mubayi led the community until 1972 and was joined by other members of the Workshop — Thomas Mu, the Takawiras, Mteki, Ndoro, Moyo, Simon June, Botom Mbayi, Manyandure and the Marigas.

It was paradise in those heady days. Confidence was built up, enthusiasm and inspiration given, a rigid selection process provided and a careful sales policy placed dynamic works in suitable collections where they would not stagnate.

In recognition of McEwen's inestimable value to Rhodesia, the Rhodesian Government, in an unusual turn of events, increased the Gallery's grant from £7 000 to £17 000 in July 1969. Lance Smith in the Rhodesia Herald: "The Director has achieved a satisfactory role in bringing the Gallery to the notice of the public and in recognizing the culture of the local people, preserving it. The Director has earned valuable foreign currency and international recognition for the country."

McEwen's marriage to Mary lasted a mere year. Vukutu continued under Bill Burdett-Coutts, McEwen and Pat Lewis who rented it from Mary. The bush war spread and the sculptors began to drift away from Juliasdale. Mary McEwen came under fire at Vukutu, probably resulting in her leaving the country and relinquishing the community. Against a background of mounting public criticism over his lengthy absences, McEwen's focus turned towards Europe. 29 sculptures were exhibited in Contemporary African Art from the Vukutu Community at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris. "These works, no longer the product of a virgin culture, have absolutely nothing to do with the stuff produced for tourists. The vision is candid, the style expressionistic, and it shows on the whole an innate polished elegance … an African spirit that is not subjugated by European style". It aroused a fever of appreciation amongst France's art lovers.

In October 1971, the French show's colossal success encouraged the Rodin Museum, "the highest institution for sculpture in the world" to request a show—Contemporary Shona Sculpture. Sixty four of ninety nine works displayed were sold to collectors —"A progressive success story from the Paris Museum of Modern Art to that Mecca of sculpture—the Rodin. We are expecting our sculpture to be the most important center for sculpture in the world—far more significant than America or London." A ten-day strike disrupted Paris. McEwen manned the show alone, receiving over 400 visitors a day, with about 1,200 over weekends; he returned home exhausted. The Bulawayo Gallery opened in the same year. Burdett-Coutts and Lewis bought Vukutu from Mary McEwen renaming it Chapungu. In August, on his return from the Schlesinger show in Johannesburg, McEwen married his fifth wife, Margaret Anne Moseley.

On 5 May 1972, Solicitors Gill, Godlonton and Gerrans wrote to Gallery announcing an extraordinary act of benevolence by Virgina Courtauld.

We are proceeding with the execution of a Deed of Donation whereby, on behalf of Lady Courtauld, we shall make a gift of her present loan to the gallery, amounting to £80,000, and will also donate paintings, which are presently held at the Gallery.

In 1972, against tremendous odds, he summoned enormous reserves for his swansong at the Institute of Contemporary Art, London—Shona Sculpture from Rhodesia—arriving to face a press baying for his blood. The British Government stopped the sculptures from being off-loaded at the docks, which were strike-bound anyway; the exhibition's opening deadline was missed several times causing embarrassment, and funding from home never arrived. An old adversary of Ian Smith, Lord Goodman, had the impounded sculpture released ten hours before the opening. The tension was palpable. Once more, negative publicity worked in McEwen's favour, and the trickling crowds swelled to a

torrent. All 58 works were sold.

McEwen and his Bataleur who pined away and died when McEwen was away on long leave

Roland Penrose, Director of the I.C.A., said: "They have developed a style of their own in a different category to the traditional tribal art of Africa; at the same time, its appeal is not weakened by European influences. The sculpture retains the powerful native magic which has given African Art a position of great importance in 20th Century art."

Before McEwen left for London, he had searched for a site on which to settle his Workshop School, and found "an inspiring location, with kopjes and trees, protected from unnecessary visitors—a show place" close to Salisbury. Sir Athol Evans was commissioned to explain to the Land Board (which administered the apportionment of land between white and black) "the unique situation governing a unique national treasure which did not fit into any customary administrative pigeonhole" and to seek "permission for the difficulties with land tenure to be waived."

On his return home McEwen wrote:"It is an axiom that prophets are not without honour– for we have achieved brilliant success where success counts most – there is no longer any excuse for ignorance and misunderstanding regarding what we are doing. I believe (what we have achieved) is a miracle of value to Rhodesia. If this belated response to what we more than deserve is not forthcoming, I will be completely disgusted for I know the exact value of what has been done in 16 years and measure

this achievement against any lack of response."

But the same Government that had acknowledged his worth in 1969, along with his Board's cruel indifference, combined to hasten his departure. In April 1973, on the eve of his 66th birthday, after 17 years of unstinting struggle, unable to secure permission for a new Workshop site from the Land Tenure Board, tired and ill, he resigned and left the country—"a victim of unequal struggle from persecution and neglect by those he had served". Nevertheless, he had reached deep into the future to secure the movement's reputation and he had returned to Africa something of what Europe had taken at the turn of the century. But the sculptors suffered without his protection. There was no mention of either him or his sculptors in the first Annual Exhibition catalogue after his departure.

Michael Shepherd, the English art critic, claimed that nine out of the ten most significant sculptors in the 20th century came from the Workshop School and the top three were, in his estimation, finer and more spirited than Michelangelo, with Sylvester Mubayi at the apex, a remarkable tribute.

"In the twilight days of colonialism, Frank McEwen's story was beyond that of race and skin colour. His life was devoted to the belief that the highest spiritual values lie enshrined within every individual, and that creating art can draw them out—especially from the untrained."

McEwen's Obituary.

The TIMES, London, 1994.

John Mack: Mining Pioneer and Benefactor

by J. H. Brettell

That part of Zimbabwe where John Mack was prospecting for gold in the last decade of the 19th century had been inhabited several hundred years previously by an offshoot of Middle Zambezi Tonga people. They occupied an area that is now named Rimuka territory, the approximate boundaries of which are from the present-day Mubayira in the east to Sanyati in the west and from the Umfuli [Mupfure] River in the north to the Umsweswe [Musvezve] River in the south.[1] From about 1600 to the 1800s, a mere sixty or so years before John Mack was born, the Tonga people were actively engaged in gold mining. They were so successful in this activity that the Portuguese had built a fortified trading post or *feira*, called Maramuca, near the SuriSuri (ShuraShura) River. It was to this place, the most westerly of all the *feiras* in the territory that subsequently became Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), that the Tonga miners brought their gold dust, carried in porcupine quills sealed with beeswax,[2] which they bartered for cloth and beads. Archaeological investigations in the late 1960s revealed the existence of at least 130 "ancient workings" in Rimuka territory, of which 60 are in the present-day Golden Valley and Chakari areas.[3]

Nothing has been documented about the childhood of John Mack, apart from the fact that he was born on 9 February 1870 and that, when he was a Trooper in the Rhodesia Horse Volunteer Corps, in 1897, his address at the time was 180 Euston Road, London,[4] probably his home when he was growing up. When he was born, however, his parents: Patrick, a general labourer, and Mary were living in Whitecross Street, which is about three kilometres south-east of Euston Road. This latter road runs across parts of two London parishes: St Marylebone and St Pancras and a history of late 19th century London states that "St Pancras provided the most extreme example of administrative disintegration in the whole of London".[5] The average number of people living in each house in St Pancras was as high as ten in 1881. Disease was rife and in St Marylebone there were outbreaks of typhoid fever three years after John Mack was born, smallpox in 1875 and typhus six years later. In a part of St Marylebone which is less than half a kilometre south of Euston Road it was noted that in or about 1860 there was a group of streets "where almost every house was a brothel, common lodging house or tavern with access to upper floors". The streets of London at this time were dominated by horse-drawn transport: buses, trams and cabs and Euston Road was very congested. John Mack's home was close to the entrance to Euston Station, the terminus of the London,

1 Beach, D. N. (1984). *Zimbabwe before 1900*. Mambo Press; 88 pages.
2 Ellert, H. (1993). *Rivers of Gold*. Mambo Press; 194 pages.
3 Summers, R. (1969). *Ancient Mining in Rhodesia and Adjacent Areas*. National Museums of Rhodesia: Memoir No. 3.
4 Roll of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men entitled to the Medal or Clasp for Operations in Mashonaland in 1897.
5 Owen, D. (1982). The Government of late Victorian London: 1855–1889. Harvard University Press; 466 pages.

Midland and Scottish railway system. It has been noted that "During rush hours large numbers of cabs would be constantly arriving and departing from the station, with iron-shod horses' hooves and the running of iron-rimmed wheels on hard, often granite, road surfaces adding to the general noise. The smell and dirt from horse droppings was also offensive and rain converted the manure into a morass which was then splattered by passing traffic upon pavements".[6]

Such, then, was the grim environment of John Mack's childhood and early youth. But there may have been brighter aspects to his life, as there appears to have been a connection with a district about four kilometres north-west of Euston Road, called Maida Vale. In 1898, seven years after John Mack arrived in Rhodesia, he registered a mining block to which he gave the name Maida Vale.[7] Between London's Maida Vale and Euston Road lies the large expanse of Regent's Park, with a lake and the London Zoo. Could visits to the Zoo and seeing there animals from Africa and, perhaps, his reading of Rider Haggard's novel, *King Solomon's Mines*, published when John was at fifteen, have been spurs for his leaving England for South Africa at the age of about nineteen?

On some unrecorded date, but probably not earlier than 1889, the youthful John Mack left England for South Africa. Perhaps he was cast in the same mould as the young Selous who in a letter to his father when visiting Germany in 1870, wrote: "If you say that I am only 18 and that few people would let a youth of that age be quite alone in a foreign country, my answer is that as everybody says I appear about two or three and twenty not only in looks but in thought and manners, I think I ought to be considered of that age when any unlooked for occurrence arrives."[8] In any event, Mack was probably in South Africa when, on 29 October 1889, a Royal Charter was granted to the British South Africa Company. Among other provisions this allowed the BSA. Company to "establish and maintain a force of Police."[9] Recruiting for the new force started immediately with advertisements stating that only those that could ride and shoot would be accepted and they were required for an expedition to a region north of the Limpopo River, that would eventually be called Mashonaland. In response to the advertisements, many young men made their way to the collection centre at Kimberley, with large numbers coming from Johannesburg where a slump in gold mining had resulted in lost jobs.[10]

John Mack was among such recruits, and perhaps he learned to ride and shoot proficiently after only a short time in South Africa. In practice, these two requirements were not strictly enforced. Victor Morier, who joined the Police in June 1890, wrote to his parents: "I think the Police are an excellent body of men, but the 'bull's-eye' and splendid riders is a rather optimistic view to take of them. A large percentage of them have never been on a horse in their lives, and the shooting is nothing very wonderful, scores having never held a rifle."[11] The first group of attestations was early in November 1889 and on 27 February 1890, John Mack was one of 33 men attested into the BSA Company Police. Nearly all of this intake were drafted into 'E' Troop and then, having been issued with uniforms and equipment, they were taken by ox wagon from Kimberley

[6] Read, D. (1979). *England: 1868–1914*. Longman; 530 pages
[7] Claims Holders Ledger. National Archives reference MH1/1/1
[8] Chennells, A. (2013). Imagining Rhodesia: Themes in White Rhodesian Fiction. *Heritage of Zimbabwe,* No. 32, pages 1–16
[9] Blair, R. (1967). Selous—A Reassessment. *Rhodesiana* No. 17, pages 1–26
[10] Hickman, A. S. (1960). *Men who made Rhodesia: a Register of those who served in the British South Africa Company's Police*. BSA Company; 462 pages
[11] Morier, V. (1965). Extracts from letters and diaries, 1890–1891. *Rhodesiana* No. 13, pages 1–37

to Mafeking [Mahikeng]. Shortly after 1 March 1890, the recruits all rode on Police horses northwards from Mafeking to Fort Matlapatla near the Macloutsie [Maklautsi] river in British Bechuanaland [Botswana]. Training then started for the expedition. It should be noted that the men of the BSA Company Police were a different force from the Pioneer Corps. The Police force was recruited to protect the Pioneer Corps and to set up and man a series of forts along the road from Tuli to the final destination. Each Police Troop numbered about one hundred men, and each man was paid four shillings a day.

It was decided early on that only 'B' Troop would set up the final fort, with the other Troops being detailed to man various intervening forts. Thus 'E' Troop stayed at Fort Matlapatla to guard against any attack by the Boers in the Transvaal Republic; 'D' Troop moved to Tuli and set up a fort there; 'C' Troop went as far as Fort Victoria [Masvingo] and 'A' Troop set up a fort at Charter. It is possible that when John Mack realised that 'E' Troop would not even leave Bechuanaland, he decided to resign. Whatever the circumstances, on 23 March 1890 Trooper J. Mack was discharged from the BSA Company Police at his own request, with several other men obtaining their discharges at the same time.[12]

After leaving the Police, John Mack may have gone to Johannesburg and there met Arthur Reynolds, who was to be his partner for several years while prospecting in Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa [Mozambique]. That Arthur Reynolds indeed had connections with Johannesburg can be ascertained from the 1897 records,[13] in which Arthur's next of kin is given as G. Reynolds of Crown Reef, Johannesburg. Perhaps John and Arthur worked together on a mine in Johannesburg and, once they had saved enough money, decided to travel to Mashonaland with the idea of prospecting for gold and, with luck, starting their own mine. In any event, in 1891, the year he turned 21, John Mack, presumably accompanied by Arthur Reynolds, arrived in Salisbury [Harare].[14] In those days Salisbury can best be described as being rather quaint. An early visitor, Charles Finlason, had this to say about Salisbury in November 1892. "Some of the square huts are of a good size, and they are not waterproof; but this is because they are new. During the first rains the owner in his mackintosh and top boots, umbrella in hand, marks the worst places and when the weather clears for an hour or so, he hastens to make those places good, either with more grass or pieces of canvas. Long before it is done raining, the average Salisburyite, of an evening, can keep a candle alight without an umbrella over it."[15]

On 6 October 1892 Mack obtained a Prospecting Licence[16] and left Salisbury, travelling south-west. In reminiscences written much later he related that, "In the very early days I was working with a partner, A. J. Reynolds, near what was then becoming known as Hartley, but is now Old Hartley. There were no stores and we had to get our mail and supplies from Salisbury. We had no animals because of the tsetse fly then infesting that neighbourhood and we had to go on foot a matter of a little over a hundred miles (return journey) without roads. We grumbled at having to do it, but not seriously; it was accepted as a matter of course and all in a day's work. I walked that route many

[12] Hickman, *Men who made Rhodesia*
[13] Roll of Officers
[14] Letter from Mrs P. de Smidt (Secretary of The Pioneers Society) to Dr J. H. Brettell, dated 28 February 2000.
[15] Finlason, C. E. (1893). *A Nobody in Mashonaland* (originally published by George Vickers). Books of Rhodesia facsimile reprint, 1970; 330 pages
[16] Prospecting Licences Register, 1890–1914. National Archives reference: MH1/8/1

times."[17] In the same article he wrote: "When we first came to the country there were, of course, no roads and the paths and game trails we came upon often set off in the right direction but turned on themselves and we had to leave them. The sun and the stars and the compass were our guides."[18] On one occasion he related how, wanting to find the Sanyati River quickly, in order to replenish his supplies of water, he set out north-west on a compass bearing. His workers followed him reluctantly, because they were convinced he was heading in the wrong direction. They were greatly surprised when Mack led them to the banks of the river.

In 1893, John Mack and Arthur Reynolds moved from Old Hartley to near the Umsweswe River and were prospecting there when the Matabele campaign began in July. Because many of their workers were Matabele, they decided it would be wise to leave in a hurry and without telling them, so they abandoned their camp in the evening and marched rapidly throughout the night towards Old Hartley and thence to Salisbury.[19] Mack and Reynolds then volunteered to join the Salisbury Horse along with about 260 other men. This unit, which was commanded by Major Patrick Forbes, left Salisbury on 2 October 1893 and, two weeks later, joined forces with 440 men of the Victoria Rangers, under Major Allan Wilson. The combined force then headed towards Bulawayo. On their way, two battles were fought against the Matabele impis and on 4 November 1893 the Troopers reached Bulawayo only to find that Lobengula had fled.[20] Five days before Christmas the volunteer forces were disbanded; for having taken part in what became known as the Matabele War, Mack and Reynolds and all the others from Salisbury and Fort Victoria, were awarded a campaign medal.[21]

By this time John Mack and Arthur Reynolds had been in Rhodesia for at least two years, and maybe three if they had arrived early in 1891, and their only source of income, as far as we know, would have been whatever pay they got for their few months with the Salisbury Horse. They must have had some savings when they arrived in the country but by now the money was probably depleted. Mack and Reynolds returned to Old Hartley where they got employment in sheet metal working and plumbing during 1894 and the following year. Many years later, a former fellow prospector of Mack, Albert Olsen, jokingly referred to Mack as being "only a tinker tinsmith".[22]

Using the money they had earned in the Old Hartley area, Mack and Reynolds went to Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) in 1896 to prospect for gold. However, finding nothing of interest they made their way to Umtali (Mutare), arriving there in July.[23] A month earlier, what was later called the Mashona Rebellion (or the First Chimurenga), broke out. A British army contingent of 380 men arrived in Umtali, from Beira, on 21 July and, before moving on to Salisbury, the commanding officer, Col Edwin Alderson, called for volunteers to join them. About 130 residents of Umtali responded, among them Mack and Reynolds, and they were designated the Umtali Rifles.[24] They signed on to serve the BSA Company for three months, in any part of Rhodesia, and were

[17] Mack, J. (1930). Looking back to the 'nineties—early mining memories: Rhodesia and Portuguese East. *The Rhodesia Herald* Pioneer Number, 12 September, pages 93, 95, 97.
[18] *ibid*
[19] *ibid*
[20] Hickman, *Men who made Rhodesia*
[21] Roll of Officers, Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men entitled to the Medal and Clasp or Clasps for operations in Matabeleland, Rhodesia during 1893
[22] Mills, F. (1999). Interviewed by Dr J. H. Brettell, October and November.
[23] Mack, Looking back to the 'nineties
[24] Anon. (1936–1937). *Recollections of the Rebellion, 1896*. Native Affairs Department Annual, No. 14, pages 49–61.

paid ten shillings per day.[25] On 28 July 1896 the combined force left Umtali and, apart from some minor skirmishes, arrived without incident in Salisbury on 16 August. The records show that, for the remainder of 1896, the Umtali Rifles were on patrol between Salisbury and Umtali to guard, and repair if necessary, the vital telegraph lines between these two towns, their tour of duty having been extended by two months.[26] The Umtali Rifles were disbanded in April 1897 and Mack and Reynolds then joined the Rhodesia Horse Volunteer Corps as Troopers. Until the rebellion was officially declared to be at an end and all the volunteers disbanded on 7 October 1897, the Rhodesia Horse patrolled in various parts of Mashonaland. The Officers and Troopers who, like Mack and Reynolds, had qualified for a campaign medal in 1893 were, after 1897, awarded a clasp; in present-day terminology equivalent to a bar.[27]

While Mack and Reynolds had been in Portuguese East Africa, another prospector, Nils Wickstrom went early in 1896 to the area where the village of Golden Valley is now situated. There he would have found clear evidence of quite extensive "ancient workings", in particular an excavation 90 metres long by 25 metres wide and about 20 metres deep, while in a nearby vlei there were heaps of rubble.[28] Using this evidence of previous mining by the Tonga people, and possibly finding exposed but unexploited reefs, Wickstrom pegged, named and registered with the BSA Company three mining blocks, one of which included the large excavation. The registration date was 10th April 1896[29] and he named the blocks Golden Valley 1, 2 and 3. We don't know why Wickstrom chose this name as the area has been described as "flat, open bush country with few natural features."[30] Wickstrom was probably unable to start mining where the "ancients" had left off because a few months later he would have been caught up in the general unrest caused by the Mashona rebellion, which lasted from June 1896 to October 1897. Nothing further is known about Wickstrom as there is no record of him returning to his Golden Valley claims at any time. Shortly after being stood down from the Rhodesia Horse, Mack and Reynolds arrived in the vicinity of the Golden Valley claims, probably having heard from their fellow Troopers of the many "ancient workings" there. On 11 February 1898 they pegged, named and registered two mining blocks which they called Maida Vale 1 and 2.[31] One of these blocks included a relatively modest "ancient working" measuring 20 metres long and 5 metres wide.[32] Maida Vale 2, in John Mack's name, was adjacent to the Golden Valley blocks while Maida Vale 1, in the name of Arthur James Reynolds, was next to Maida Vale 2.

In those days, regulations concerning prospecting and the registration of mining "blocks", which are groups of ten claims, were laid down by the BSA Company. Once a prospector had found a gold-bearing reef, the claims, each measuring about 46 metres by 122 metres were marked by pegs stuck in the ground and bearing the person's name, and

[25] Alderson, E.A.H. (1898). *With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force, 1896*. (Originally published by Methuen & Co.); Books of Rhodesia facsimile reprint, 1971; 308 pages.
[26] *The '96 Rebellions (1975)*. (Originally published as The British South Africa Company's reports on the native disturbances in Rhodesia, 1896–1897). Books of Rhodesia facsimile reprint; 160 pages
[27] Roll of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men entitled to the Medal or Clasp for Operations in Mashonaland in 1897
[28] Summers, Ancient Mining in Rhodesia and Adjacent Areas
[29] Claims Holders Ledger
[30] D. J. B. (1978). The Golden Valley Mine. *Chamber of Mines Journal*, December; pages 34–37.
[31] Claims Holders Ledger
[32] Summers, *Ancient Mining in Rhodesia and Adjacent Areas*.

the name given to the claim. Blocks had to be registered within ten days and preliminary mining started, with a shaft at least 9 metres deep dug within four months. After that, the fortune-seeker could either go into full-scale mining, with half of his profits going to the BSA Company, or he could sell his claims for about £200 each.[33] Regarding the pegging of claims, Mack had this to say: "There is one thing for which the Rhodesian gold-seekers are almost unique. There were never any cases of claims being jumped. The pegging of another man's extension or encroaching on his ground was never known. The prospectors played the game and if a man put his name up they went on and regarded that part as his pitch, to be fully respected and his rights observed."[34]

In the same newspaper article Mack went on to describe the difficulties that the early miners faced. "The developing of gold claims in the early days was full of interest, but was not without special difficulties, and called for some ingenuity in devising ways of carrying out work. There was no iron for making windlass handles and no ropes and buckets to be purchased anywhere in the country. When sinking, one had to cut a suitable tree for a windlass barrel and hunt for two bent portions which could be let into the barrel to serve as handles. For ropes we used bark, which was found by the natives and made into rope. Naturally, they had to be replaced frequently. The buckets were made of raw-hide from the game that was shot and care had to be taken that they were let down the shaft at night or they would be eaten by jackals. Nails were also scarce and we frequently had to drill holes and use pegs of wood. On one occasion my partner and I arrived at a camp, but the owners were away. In those days a man's camp was always open to visitors whether the man was there or not, and we made ourselves at home. There were cooking utensils and provisions, plenty of meat, tea, sugar and flour, and we soon had a meal cooked. We sat down to enjoy it, but found the cookies we had baked were rather bitter. We struggled along with them and endeavoured to eat them, but finally gave it up. We afterwards discovered that the baking powder tin had contained quinine and we had eaten enough to protect us from malaria for years."[35]

For the next two years, 1899 and 1900, Mack and Reynolds were mining their two Maida Vale blocks but, after 1900, Mack's long-time friend and partner fades from the picture. On 28 May 1900 Mack (but not Reynolds) registered three more blocks, two of which were called Golden Valley D.B.1 and D.B.2 and the other, Golden Valley 1N.[36] According to a former manager of Golden Valley mine, "D.B." stands for "Directly Below."[37] On 9th October of the previous year Maida Vale 3, comprising only eight claims, had been registered by the Mashonaland Consolidated Development Company.[38] This block was adjacent to Maida Vale 2. Early in 1901 Mashonaland Consolidated bought the eight mining blocks that it did not already own; that is, the three blocks previously pegged by Wickstrom, four blocks altogether pegged by Mack and one by Reynolds. Going by the selling price of £200 per claim, quoted earlier, Mack would have received £8000 and Reynolds £2000, all of which were tidy sums of money for that time.

Having received his money Mack left the Golden Valley area in early March 1901 and went back to Portuguese East Africa, specifically to the Macequece district, where he investigated alluvial gold fields. Stopping off in Salisbury on his way back, he was interviewed by a reporter from the Rhodesia Times newspaper. However, Mack

[33] Morier, Extracts from letters and diaries, 1890 – 1891
[34] Mack, Looking back to the 'nineties—early mining memories
[35] *ibid*
[36] Claims Holders Ledger
[37] 22. Teasdale, W. (2001). Verbal communication to Dr J.H. Brettell
[38] Claims Holders Ledger

"declined to give a personal opinion on the value of the alluvial gold fields."[39] While Mack was away in Macequece the same newspaper had this to say in its mining section: "Work will shortly be started on the Golden Valley property, one of the most promising propositions in the Hartley district but despite all endeavours, rapid progress, under the present labour and transport conditions, is out of the question."[40] Due to the acute shortage of labour for mines throughout the country, Major Frank Johnson seriously proposed bringing in labourers from China. He was quoted as saying: "The actual cost of Chinese labourers indentured for five years, and delivered in Salisbury, would be ten pounds per head. It is not proposed to flood the country with Chinese labour, but only permit Chinamen to be employed on permanent working mines."[41] Of course, such a scheme never materialised and it took a whole year before mining started in earnest at Golden Valley, in March 1902.[42] This preliminary development was being undertaken by Mashonaland Consolidated in the Golden Valley blocks that had been pegged almost exactly five years previously by Nils Wickstrom.

Mack returned from Portuguese East Africa to take up the post of manager on the new mine. A newspaper report had this to say: "The Golden Valley mine is going to surprise Mashonalanders. Mr J. Mack, the genial manager, is hard at it and development work proceeds apace."[43] John Mack vividly described the many problems in getting equipment to the site of the new mine. In his own words: "The mine was 27 miles (about 43 kilometres) from Hartley and, of course, there was no road. The first work was to cut a road, and that we did. But at that time there were tsetse flies along the route and to get machinery to the mine a traction engine was hired. But here we were faced with a great problem, because the engine needed water every six miles and to supply it we sank a number of wells. But when the wells were wanted, it was found that the water had been consumed by natives and none was left for the engine. Finally, the difficulty was overcome by buying six mules, a trolley and tanks, and rushing backwards and forwards, sometimes a distance of twenty miles. But we succeeded in moving the machinery and getting the traction engine back to Hartley."[44]

For a time, in the early 1900s, the village that is now called Golden Valley was called Gootomba. A newspaper report stated: "Gootomba township is, or rather will be, situated thirty miles from Hartley and ten miles from the railway siding to which Messrs Siggins and Rockbang are constructing a road. The local store keeper, Mr Siggins, is erecting commodious hotel premises (near the Golden Valley Mine) which include dining and reading rooms, a dozen bed-rooms, stabling, etc."[45]

In June 1902 Mashonaland Consolidated formed a subsidiary company called Golden Valley (Mashonaland) Mines Ltd which would later become the owners of the mine. This arrangement was confirmed in a Memorandum of Agreement, dated 29 September 1902, between the BSA Company and the other two parties. In the meantime it was reported that: "Assays from the first level show most satisfactory results and the resident engineer reports that 2 250 feet [about 690 metres] of development work has been effected during

[39] *Rhodesia Times*, 24 April 1901, page 3
[40] *Rhodesia Times,* 1st March 1901, page 7
[41] *Rhodesia Times*, 15th March 1901, page 5
[42] *Rhodesia Times*, 12th July 1902, page 3
[43] *Rhodesia Times*, 21st June 1902, page 7
[44] Mack, Looking back to the 'nineties
[45] *Rhodesia Times*, 21st June 1902, page 7.

the past four months. The water level was reached at 144 feet [44 metres] and it is most gratifying to learn that the reef maintains its auriferous values below this level."[46]

In the latter half of 1902, John Mack took leave and went to England for the first time since he had left, some thirteen years previously, presumably to visit his parents. He returned in time for Christmas of that year. Possibly Mack had been prevented from going home sooner because of the Anglo-Boer War, which ended in May 1902. By early 1903 the community centred on the mine was increasing in numbers and some form of entertainment was starting to become desirable. There was, of course, the bar in the hotel but some people had other ideas on how to spend an evening out. A newspaper report has the following: "A very successful concert came off at Siggins' Store on Saturday evening last when the employees of Golden Valley Mine met and held the second of a series of concerts inaugurated by the Secretary. The programme included the latest operatic music and popular songs rendered by a phonograph brought out lately by the manager of the mine. The vocal performers who assisted greatly in contributing to the success of the entertainment were Messrs J. Mack, T. F. Siggins (whose banjo accompaniments were very good), J. Angus, R. C. Eustace and J. Calvert. A vote of thanks to the Chairman, Mr Mack, wound up a very pleasant and successful evening for the go-ahead little community."[47]

John Mack, 1870 – 1955

Later in the same year it was reported that: "A meeting of the residents of this District took place at Meikle's Store for the purpose of starting a Sports Club. It was resolved that the club be called the Golden Valley Sports Club and the committee was composed of Messrs. J. Mack (Chairman), Ralph Smith (Secretary), A. C. Harvey (Treasurer), J. Dewar, J. Calvert and D. G. Morris. Tennis is to be the first sport taken up as Mr Morris has just completed an excellent court."[48] The Meikle's Store mentioned in this news item could either be new premises or, perhaps, the Meikle family bought the store that had been built some years before by Mr Siggins.

Meanwhile, mining operations were proceeding satisfactorily but all the rock extracted was being stockpiled. Towards the end of 1903 a 5-stamp battery, for crushing the ore so that gold could be extracted mechanically and chemically, was installed and put into operation as described in a long news item entitled Starting the Golden Valley Battery, of which the following are some extracts: "At 11 o'clock on Wednesday morning (18th November) the inhabitants were *en fête*, it being the occasion of the starting of the first mine battery in the District. Mrs Montague Groves smashed a gaily be-ribboned bottle of Pommery and Greno over the stamps, as they lifted and dropped for the first time. The good wishes for the successful run of the stamps was drunk in various beverages and these were supplemented by refreshments of a more solid nature provided by Mrs A. C. Harvey, the District's first lady-resident. Work on this mine was not begun until less than two years ago, since when, what was at that time bare veld, has been transformed into a producing mine, and this is mainly due to the active and energetic manager, Mr John Mack."[49]

[46] *Rhodesia Times,* 12th July 1902, page 3
[47] *Rhodesia Times*, 23 January 1903
[48] *Rhodesia Times*, 26 June 1903
[49] *Rhodesia Times*, 26 November 1903

Early in 1906, a resourceful trader named Godwin erected two huts close to the railway line at or near Gatooma's (Kadoma's) present-day railway station. One hut became a "bush canteen" while the other was used to store small consignments of goods. John Mack, in his capacity as mine manager, was Godwin's first and, for a time, only customer. On the basis of this, Godwin assumed the grand-sounding title of Forwarding Agent but Mack soon discovered that the storage facilities were not satisfactory during the rainy season. This led, eventually, to the Rhodesia Railways constructing wood and iron sheds which formed the nucleus of a settlement that grew to become Gatooma.[50] It has been said that Gatooma is the only town in the country that started as a railway siding.

The mine continued producing without any problems until late in 1906 when the euphoria surrounding the mine came to an abrupt halt because the quartz, gold-bearing, reef was lost due to geological faulting. In the three years since the stamp mill had been installed, gold to the value of almost £52 000 had been produced.[51] However, these funds were not enough to allow sufficient underground work to be done to locate the lost reef, so the company went into liquidation. In April 1908 a new company was formed, Golden Valley Gold Mine Ltd, John Mack being one of three directors. For only £4 788 all the assets of the previous company, including claims, machinery, plant, tools and furniture were purchased.[52]Soon afterwards, in an agreement signed on 3 July 1908, Mack became a tributor on the mine. A year later three new directors, one of whom was Frank Johnson, the former commander of the Pioneer Corps, were appointed, replacing the original three.[53]

When Mack became a tributor on the mine his first, urgent, task was to find the lost reef. This took time, and money was needed for the blasting operations. In his search for the reef, John Mack was assisted by a friend, Albert Olsen, a Norwegian smallworker who said, many years after the event, that it was he who had encouraged Mack, when he was on the point of giving up because his funds were almost depleted, to try just once more, and this proved to be the decisive blasting operation, which revealed the reef.[54] If the reef had not been re-located our story might have ended right here and so Mack's friend requires more than just a passing reference. Albert Olsen, born in 1879 in Norway, ran away from home at the age of 14 and joined the merchant navy. While he was a seaman he became a skilled carpenter. On some unrecorded date he was shipwrecked off the Cape coast, survived and eventually came to Rhodesia as a prospector. Because of Olsen's help and encouragement in finding the lost reef he was, for the rest of his working life, always welcomed by Mack to do carpentry work at Golden Valley Mine. For instance, in a report by the mine manager, Norris Dumbleton, it was noted in May 1940 that "shaft timberman Olsen was engaged to equip Pioneer Shaft."[55] This was just one of many such jobs undertaken by Albert Olsen. However, on these occasions he only stayed long enough, usually about a month, to earn enough money to allow him to return to his own not very successful smallworking and he never made his fortune in gold mining. In view of Olsen's skill as a carpenter it seems it seems likely that when Mack reminisced about his early days as a smallworker and wrote: "The skip was a

[50] *Gatooma Mail*, 30th March 1972, page 9
[51] D. J. B. (1978). The Golden Valley Mine. *Chamber of Mines Journal*, December; pages 34 – 37
[52] *ibid*
[53] *ibid*
[54] Mills, Interviewed by Dr J. H. Brettell
[55] Teasdale, W. (ca. 2004). *Golden Valley Mine History*. Published privately; 79 pages.

wooden one and the wheels were made from sections of trees. There were no rails in the country and we experimented with wooden ones",[56] he had Olsen as his partner. Following a stroke, Albert Olsen died in Gatooma hospital on 24 March 1960, at the age of 81, and was buried in the town's cemetery.[57]

By 1912 Golden Valley Mine had changed owners again and was now the Goldfields Rhodesian Development Company, though John Mack was still a tributor.[58] One of the directors of this company was the financier, Herbert Latilla. From written accounts at the time, Mack must have been leading a hectic life from 1908 to 1913. Not only was he tributing at Golden Valley Mine, he was also doing so at Kyrenia-Primrose and Milkyway Mines and was the owner of two other mines in the Golden Valley district: Kruger and White Rose. In July 1912 it was reported that Mack was "doing exceptionally well at White Rose Mine, his new property."[59] Furthermore, at some time prior to 1912, it was noted that the Rouge Mine "was originally opened up by Messrs Mack and Hampton and has returned handsome profits to both partners".[60] In view of all these activities it is not surprising to learn that "at a time when most people were struggling to make a living out of mining, Mack quickly became really wealthy."[61] He was, by this time, a leading citizen of the district and when four enterprising people in Gatooma formed a syndicate with the object of printing and publishing a weekly newspaper, he was invited to start the press for the very first issue. The following is an extract from the second issue of the newspaper: "The formal opening of the Gatooma Printing Works took place on Saturday 30 March [1912] when Mr John Mack, after starting the press and running off the first number of the *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette*, proposed the health of the proprietors and wished success to the paper and works."[62]

In 1913 Mack persuaded Frank Johnson and Herbert Latilla to invest in a new venture, called John Mack & Company, for the large scale development of Golden Valley Mine.[63] When the company was formed as a partnership between himself and the other two, Mack made it clear, and had it written into the partnership agreement, that he was the boss, and they would have no say at all in the running of the mine. Johnson and Latilla were quite content with this arrangement, as they were convinced that their money was well invested.[64] Following the formation of the new company, Mack's interests in his other mines became little more than "side-shows", but an exception was the Kruger Mine, which was situated very close to Golden Valley Mine. There is a charming story to be told about the former mine: "The cow, Patch, became a part of history when, in August 1917, she fell down a shaft of the Kruger Mine. This mine was first pegged in 1906 and passed to John Mack who mined it from 1910 to 1922. Following the death of his, presumably, favoured animal in this accident, he changed the name to Patchway, after the style of the nearby Otherway, Partway, Highway, Milkyway and Whichway Mines."[65]

As if all these mining activities were not enough, at about this time John Mack became involved in commercial farming ventures. In 1910 he bought Orange Grove Farm, north

[56] Mack, Looking back to the 'nineties
[57] Municipality of Gatooma, Burials Register
[58] Albertson, R. W. (1912). *Gatooma's gold mines*. Souvenir of Golden Gatooma, Rhodesia; Gatooma Publicity Committee; pages 14–44.
[59] *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette*, 13 July 1912
[60] Albertson, Gatooma's gold mines
[61] D. J. B., The Golden Valley Mine
[62] *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette*, 6 April 1912.
[63] D. J. B., The Golden Valley Mine
[64] Wigley, F. L. (1979). Address given at the opening of the John Mack Hall in Gatooma; 3 November; 6 pages of typescript
[65] Williams, B. (1993). Patchway Mine—enduring star of the Golden Valley. *Zimbabwe Mining World*; pages 14–16.

of Gatooma, and was one of several local farmers who were experimenting with the cultivation of oranges and lemons. He was also rearing livestock, and a photograph of Orange Grove Farm in the publicity booklet: 'Golden Gatooma—1912' shows, not rows of citrus trees, but a herd of cattle. In 1915 it was reported that Mack intended to exhibit cattle at the "forthcoming Bulawayo Agricultural Show, in the Champion Bull competition",[66] Mack's breed being Herefords. On that occasion he did not win any prizes but at the Hartley Agricultural Show in the following year, "Mr J. Mack was presented with a certificate, cup and £10.10s for the best Hereford bull".[67] If we now go forward thirteen years, it was reported that in the Bulawayo Agricultural Show "a Mashonaland exhibitor, Mr J. Mack, a well-known farmer and miner from Gatooma, won the Thousand Guinea Trophy for the Champion Bull at the show". He won with a Hereford bull bred in England and imported into Rhodesia six months previously. John Mack told the reporter that he had been an exhibitor at the Bulawayo Show for many years and was glad to have "bagged" the trophy at last. He went on to say: "I came to this very spot with the Salisbury Column in 1893. I little thought, then, that one day I should win the Thousand Guinea Trophy on this ground."[68] During the 1920's, Mack successfully grew tobacco on Lion Hill Farm, near Golden Valley. In 1935 he sold Orange Grove Farm to James Dalton[69] and in the following year disposed of Lion Hill Farm. Anfield Farm was later bought by John Mack & Company. This farm has never been used for agricultural purposes but is the site of several mining blocks. Golden Valley Mine, which is on State land, is very close to the eastern boundary of Anfield Farm.

In 1913 Mack was admitted to hospital in Gatooma to be treated for a mild attack of Blackwater Fever, which can be a severe complication of malaria, and was discharged towards the end of February.[70] Later in that year the manager of the Assay Office in Gatooma, Mr L. Hyland, agreed to become acting manager at Golden Valley Mine. Mack booked a passage on a Castle Line boat for himself, a widow named Mary Jane Williams and her five year old son Ernest.[71] They left Golden Valley in October, bound for England, Mack for a well-earned holiday but principally to marry Mary Jane or "Poppy" as she was known to everyone.[72]

Like her husband to be, we know almost nothing about Poppy's early life. She was born in 1879 and worked for a time as a barmaid in the Adelphi hotel in Liverpool. Sometime in the early 1900's she had married William Charles Williams, who may have been a fellow employee at the Adelphi. Their son was born on 19 December 1907 and christened William Ernest Charles.[73] Shortly afterwards her husband, known to all his friends as Billy Williams, went to Rhodesia and became the manager of the Golden Valley Hotel. Poppy, accompanied by Ernest, arrived in Golden Valley in 1909, quite a hazardous undertaking travelling to such a far off place with so young a child.[74] Sadly, only three years later, Billy Williams was taken ill and died "at Gatooma Nursing Home, aged 33 years, on 3rd April 1912 of (i) Malaria; (ii) Delirium tremens; (iii) Heart Failure.

[66] *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette*, 21 May 1915.
[67] *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette*, 16 June 1916.
[68] *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 10 August 1929.
[69] Teasdale, *Golden Valley Mine History*
[70] *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette*, 22 February 1913.
[71] *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette*, 16 August 1913.
[72] D. J. B., *The Golden Valley Mine*
[73] Arnold House School Admission Form, September 1917.
[74] Teasdale, *Golden Valley Mine History*

Buried the following afternoon."[75] Since Golden Valley Hotel had been built close to the mine, Poppy and John Mack would have met each other soon after she arrived from England. After their wedding John and Poppy returned to Golden Valley in 1914, but Ernest stayed behind in England to start his education.

Up to mid 1917 Ernest was educated privately in the town of Leigh, between Manchester and Liverpool, but was living, presumably with a relative of Poppy, in the nearby village of Culcheth. In September 1917 Ernest was admitted to Arnold House, a boarding school in a suburb of Blackpool.[76] He spent the summer holidays at Golden Valley and in June 1923 won a clay pigeon shoot at the mine.[77] He left Arnold House in July 1926 with a Pass in the Cambridge School Certificate Examination and in September of that year Ernest enrolled at Loughborough College in Leicestershire.[78] Throughout his school days he was called William Williams, but when he was at Loughborough, and for the remainder of his life, he used the name Ernest Williams Mack. He studied at Loughborough for five years and left with a 2nd Class Honours Diploma in Electrical Engineering.[79]

Poppy inside John Mack's House 1968

After their return from England in 1914 John and Poppy settled into their new life together. Towards the end of the year it was reported that: "The residence of Mr John Mack is now complete and is said to be the finest house in the district. It is equipped with electric light, hot and cold water supply and all modern conveniences." In the grounds there was an extensive vegetable garden and an orchard, as well as a tennis court, bowling and croquet greens.[80]

From 1914 until his death some 40 years later, his home was in the small community of Golden Valley though until the mid 1930's he retained two farms which were looked after by resident managers. His mining interests were centred on Golden Valley Mine though he also owned, until 1922, the nearby Patchway Mine and, until the following year, Turkois Mine which is near the present-day town of Chakari. Patchway Mine was sold to Albert Olsen and a partner named Milburn. This was a typical smallworking with a 2-stamp mill and a modest monthly output, for example in April 1923, of gold valued at £360. By comparison, in the same month, Golden Valley Mine produced £2 530 worth of gold, while the largest mine in the district: Cam and Motor, east of Gatooma, produced gold to the value of £33 480.[81] The history and development of Golden Valley Mine from the early days to 2000 has been dealt with in some detail in

[75] Municipality of Gatooma, Burials Register
[76] Arnold House School Admission Form, September 1917
[77] *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette*, 8 June 1923.
[78] Loughborough College Admission Form, September 1926
[79] Letter from Ms J. G. Clark (Loughborough University Archivist) to Dr J. H. Brettell, dated 9 April 2014.
[80] *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette*, 6 November 1914.
[81] *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette*, 1 June 1923

two publications (The Golden Valley Mine, *Chamber of Mines Journal* and Teasdale, W. *Golden Valley Mine History*) and so will not be repeated here.

In 1935 a Canadian mining engineer, Norris Dumbleton, became the manager of the mine, a post he held until 1962. This enabled John and Poppy to travel away from the mine from time to time. Since Golden Valley, at an altitude of 1100 metres, can be unpleasantly hot in summer, John and Poppy, from about 1940, started to spend October to March in Cape Town and the remaining six months in Golden Valley. In Cape Town they always stayed at the Mount Nelson Hotel where they had a permanent suite and a car. In September 1948 they travelled to England, stayed at the Connaught Hotel in London's Mayfair district and then flew to the island of Jersey to visit Lady Johnson, the widow of Sir Frank Johnson, who had died some five years previously.[82]

By the early 1930's the road between Golden Valley and Gatooma had improved somewhat and in 1933 Mack bought from Wilson's Garage in Gatooma a sturdy and fairly luxurious Humber Pullman car. In the following year, Miss Ella Cashel (later Mrs Ella Angles) having just left high school, came to work in the spares department of the garage and she remembered John Mack as being "quite a jolly sort of person" and "shortish" in stature. When she was older, and working in the Standard Bank in Gatooma, where Mack was a customer, Ella got the impression that he was "a very good businessman, very efficient; things had to be done just so."[83] In 1950 Fred Mills started work as an engineer at Golden Valley Mine and he has related that Mack was something of a perfectionist and perhaps a bit old-fashioned when it came to machinery. For example, a Bellis-Morcom compressor had been imported from England and installed at the mine in 1938. When another compressor was needed in 1952, Mack wanted exactly the same type of Bellis-Morcom. When told that that particular model had long since been discontinued, Mack was not at all put out and instructed the manufacturer to make a "one-off" compressor identical to the 1938 model. This was done at a cost of nearly £6 000, which Mack was quite happy to pay. When the compressor arrived, Mack, at the age of 82, took a personal interest in Mills' task of setting up and checking the compressor's operation. It was not that he did not trust Mills' ability, but he was genuinely interested in engineering matters. Mack inspected the equipment carefully to satisfy himself that it really was identical to the original compressor.[84]

Ernest Mack left Loughborough College in July 1931, having qualified as an Electrical Engineer, and then went to Malaya where he got a job on a rubber plantation owned by the Ryecroft family but it is not known for how long he was there. At the outbreak of World War II Ernest joined the Malayan Volunteer Air Force, becoming a Pilot Officer. Following the capture of Singapore by the Japanese army in February 1942, he became a prisoner of war. The records show that at the time of his capture he was employed by the Perak River Hydro-Electric Company in western Malaya. Ernest was taken to Japan and imprisoned in Tokyo camp. Tragically he died there on 29 June 1943 of an acute intestinal infection.[85] However, it took until 15 February 1944 for Ernest's death to be recorded officially, and the distressing news only reached John and Poppy while they were in Cape Town. He was buried at the Yokohama War Cemetery, some

[82] Teasdale, *Golden Valley Mine History*
[83] Angles. E. (1999). Interviewed by Dr J. H. Brettell, November
[84] Mills, Interviewed by Dr J. H. Brettell
[85] Colonial Office, Register of Deaths, No. M. 1-5, Folio No. 7, Serial No. 37

30 kilometres south of Tokyo.[86]

John Mack was 74 when he received the news of Ernest's death and this event prompted him to consider how his share of the profits from Golden Valley Mine might be bequeathed after he and Poppy had died. John and Poppy did not have children of their own and neither did they have any close surviving relatives. John has been described as "being very public- spirited from the earliest days and a generous donor throughout his life to charities and sporting associations."[87] It is likely that, at least in the beginning, he discussed various options with his friend, Colin Campbell,[88] who himself was a significant donor to Gatooma's Library and Theatre. Early in 1951 Geoffrey Ellman-Brown, a partner in the accounting firm of Derry, Ellman-Brown and Fraser, that for a long time had been Golden Valley Mine's auditors, "set down his own views in a letter to Mr Mack and it bore fruit when, not long afterwards, Mr Mack became seriously ill. Fearing the worst might happen, he sent a message to his solicitors and to Mr Ellman-Brown that a trust deed was to be drawn up that day and brought to him at the mine. Somehow this was done, the document was signed and Mr Mack recovered."[89] What was described in legal terms as "a notarial deed of donation and trust" was signed on 12 March 1951 providing for his one third share of the annual profits of John Mack & Company to be donated to a Trust. During his own remaining lifetime, the income from the Trust would go to him and after his death (he assumed, correctly, that he would die before Poppy) his wife would receive all the income from the Trust. The original plan was that, after Poppy's death, the capital remaining in the Trust fund would be divided equally between 15 named institutions.[90] However, in the event, instead of a single lump sum being paid out to the beneficiaries after Poppy's death, another Trust was put in place which enabled regular monthly payments to be made to each of the beneficiaries for as long as the Golden Valley Mine continued operations.[91] This was then termed the Second John Mack Trust.

John and Poppy Mack's house (now the Mine Manager's Office).

The illness in March 1951, which caused the Trust to be drawn up, was followed in February of the next year by two blackouts and then a serious haemorrhage which landed him in hospital in Cape Town.[92] By April 1952 it was reported that he was back in Golden Valley and recovering his health. Three months later the new 1938 model

[86] Commonwealth War Graves Commission, ref. Brit. Se. J. B. 11
[87] Wigley, F. L. (1979). Address given at the opening of the John Mack Hall in Gatooma; 3rd November; 6 pages of typescript
[88] Angles, Interviewed by Dr J.H. Brettell,
[89] Wigley, F. L. (1979). Address given at the opening of the John Mack Hall in Gatooma; 3rd November; 6 pages of typescript.
[90] Ellman-Brown, G. and Wood, K. T. (1969). Report on the John Mack Trust; 17th February; 8 pages of typescript.
[91] Ellman-Brown, G. and Wood, K. T. (1970). Second report of the John Mack Trust; 30th April; 4 pages of typescript.
[92] Teasdale, Golden Valley Mine History.

compressor arrived and John Mack was fit enough to take an interest in its installation. However, John Mack's long and eventful life was drawing to a close. While in Cape Town in late 1954, he became ill, then recovered somewhat, but his health deteriorated again and he was taken to a nursing home on the morning of 3 January 1955 but died in the late afternoon of that day.[93] He was buried in Maitland Cemetery two days later;[94] the headstone on his grave reads: In Beloved Memory of John Mack of the Golden Valley Gatooma (Southern Rhodesia) Died 3rd January 1955 Aged 84 Years.[95] As many as 80 people attended the funeral service at short notice, so he was obviously well known in Cape Town.

Following her husband's death Poppy became Managing Director of John Mack & Company but a Management Committee was formed of people who were more knowledgeable than she about the practical aspects of running a gold mine.[96] Poppy had come from a working class background in England; she never quite lost the common touch and she was once mistaken, in her own office, for an elderly cleaner, by a visitor from Salisbury.[97] She continued to spend about six months of every year at the Mount Nelson Hotel and was visited there quite often by the Ryecroft family who by this time had left Malaya and were living in Cape Town. Poppy died in Cape Town and was buried alongside John, the inscription on the headstone being extended to read: Mary Jane Mack Died 24th January 1969 Aged 89 Years Rest in Peace. [98] In her Will Poppy bequeathed all her personal moneys to Andrew Ryecroft.[99]

After Poppy's death, discussions were started and meetings convened which led eventually to the Second John Mack Trust being executed on 21 August 1970. The original 15 beneficiaries of the Trust were, in Salisbury (Harare): Fairways Home for Aged Persons, Saint Joseph's Trust, Salvation Army General H. Q., The Children's Holiday Society, The Children's Home; in Gatooma (Kadoma): The Anglican Church, The Gatooma Sports Club, The Gatooma Library, The Campbell Theatre and Social Centre; in Bulawayo: Saint Gabriel's Home, The Pioneers Society; in the United Kingdom: Dr Barnardo's Homes, Saint Dunstans, The British Red Cross Society, The Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund. However, in 2000 the two latter institutions were changed, respectively, to The Zimbabwe Red Cross Society and the Zimbabwe Branch of the RAF Benevolent Fund.

At the start, each beneficiary received about 6 000 Zimbabwe dollars a year but by 1979 the annual amount had increased to ZWD 80 000, due to the rising price of gold rather than any increased output from the mine;[100] in 1980 ZWD 120 000 was paid to each beneficiary. In the early 1980s, one Zimbabwe dollar was approximately equal in value to one United States dollar but as the years went by the local currency declined in value and by 1994 the exchange rate was about ZWD8 to USD1.[101] Payments to the beneficiaries of the Second John Mack Trust continued during the early years of the new century even though hyperinflation was officially deemed to have occurred in May

[93] Letter from F. B. Johnson to N. Dumbleton, dated 12 January 1955.
[94] Municipality of Cape Town, Burials Register, Grave No. 12615B.
[95] Matiba, P. (2003). Verbatim copy of gravestone inscription.
[96] Teasdale, Golden Valley Mine History
[97] Mills, Interviewed by Dr J. H. Brettell
[98] 58. Matiba, P. (2003). Verbatim copy of gravestone inscription
[99] Teasdale, *Golden Valley Mine History*
[100] Wigley, Address given at the opening of the John Mack Hall in Gatooma
[101] Anon. (2011). The Zimdollar, 1981–2009: An Historical Record. New Zanj Publishing House Calendar for 2012.

2002.[102] However, mining operations were starting to become problematic because of the collapse in value of the Zimbabwe dollar and, as a consequence, disbursements to the Second John Mack Trust ceased in June 2008. Later, the provision of power by the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority became so erratic that it was too dangerous to continue underground mining operations and in September 2008, after one hundred years of continuous operations, Golden Valley Mine stopped working. As a result, the mine was totally flooded with some equipment submerged underground. After dollarization in early 2009 the mine's management resolved to re-start underground mining at some time in the future. Consequently, a massive dewatering programme was started in June 2009 financed by borrowing capital and generating revenue from dump retreatment operations.[103]

Those beneficiaries which had relied so much on regular payments since 1970, struggled to keep going when the funds were stopped in June 2008. However, a communication from the mine towards the end of 2014 stated that "It is the intention of the mine to provide the stakeholders in the Second John Mack Trust with a distribution of US$10 000 each in the near future."[104]

The Second John Mack Trust is indeed a fitting memorial for a man who achieved so much from small beginnings.

[102] *ibid*

[103] Emailed update for period: June 2008 to December 2012 from A. R. Watson (Secretary/Accountant of John Mack & Company), to Beneficiaries of Second John Mack Trust, dated February 2013.

[104] 61. Emailed update for period: January 2013 to July 2014 from A. R. Watson to Beneficiaries, dated 2nd September 2014.

A Note on the Effect of WWI on the Railways in the Rhodesias

by R. D. Taylor

When railwaymen living in the towns and villages of Southern and Northern Rhodesia, or individually in the two hundred lonely ganger's cottages situated beside the railway line between Beira and copper-rich Sakania just over the Congo border, heard of the outbreak of war with Germany on 4th August 1914 very few would have imagined that this was the start of a war which would last four long years and claim the lives of millions including thirty six of their own colleagues.

The railway system was at that time the prime means of moving people and goods in the territories it served. After construction of the main lines and some branch lines the system settled down to a period of steady development. The First World War was to change all of that.

Early in the war the workshops in Umtali prepared armoured wagons with gun mountings, as it was feared the South African rebels led by Generals de Wet and Beyers, who were active in the Transvaal, might attack trains on the main line passing through Bechuanaland to their north. No such attack took place. The workshops also produced Maxim gun tripods and shields for the troops operating in East Africa, while castings and other machinery was supplied to mines which found themselves unable to import from traditional suppliers overseas due to the war.

In the early stages of the war import traffic in particular showed a substantial decline, which had an adverse effect on railway revenue. Prior to March 1916 Portugal, and therefore its colony of Mozambique, were neutral in the conflict and this led to less usage of the port of Beira, which before the outbreak of war had been the main port serving the country. The Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways operated the line through to Beira thus any decline in the volume of traffic affected revenue, which was not compensated for by increased traffic passing over the alternative line through Bechuanaland as that line was operated by South African Railways right up to Bulawayo.

Later the war sucked in ever-increasing amounts of men and materials. Some 350 railwaymen, or about 25% of the staff, were allowed to proceed on active war service. This loss of staff placed a much greater burden on those left behind. Faced with increasing traffic the railway administration in May 1917 were compelled to refuse to grant further war leave owing to a shortage of staff and difficulties being experienced in maintaining the train service.

Train miles run from 1914 to 1918 increased, eventually by nearly 400 000 miles per annum, and indicates the war demands placed on the railways.

The movement of minerals also increased substantially, in particular copper, asbestos and coal.

Cement traffic increased from 390 tons in 1914 to 8 353 tons in 1918. The Premier

Portland Cement Company works outside Bulawayo started producing cement there in September 1914.

Copper originated from the Falcon Mine in Umvuma and the Katanga Province of the Belgian Congo. The Northern Rhodesia copper mines only commenced production from 1931.

Asbestos came from the mines at Shabani and was moved by ox wagon to the railhead at Selukwe. The branch railway to Shabani only opened in 1928.

Coal was railed from Wankie to the copper mines in Katanga, to Beira for ships' bunkers and for local usage in Southern and Northern Rhodesia.

At the outbreak of war the Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways possessed a steam locomotive fleet comprising of fifty 7th Class locomotives (which entered service between 1899 – 1903) and seventeen 8th Class locomotives, (ten of which entered service in 1905 with the balance of seven entering service in 1911) and eighteen 9th Class locomotives (which entered service in 1912) and seven 10th Class locomotives (which entered service in 1913).

In order to handle the increased traffic new locomotives were ordered and placed in service during the war, viz: 9th Class locomotives in 1915 and in 1917, 9A Class in 1917 and 11th Class in 1918 – 1919.

In 1915, six of the 7th Class locomotives were sold to South African Railways for use on the lightly laid lines in the newly occupied German colony of South West Africa.

An example of increasing costs was the 1912 batch of 9th Class locomotives which cost 5 020 pounds apiece, the 1915 batch 6 044 pounds each and the 1917 batch 8 124 pounds apiece. The Class 9A was very similar in design to the Class 9 but, because British locomotive builders were fully committed, the American Locomotive Company of Schenectady, New York State, won the order and added some aspects of American practice to the design. These locomotives cost 8 067 pounds each.

Other stores also increased in price, many by 100 – 350% over pre-war price levels.

The newer classes of locomotive were capable of hauling heavier trains for a goods load on the Umtali to Salisbury section, viz: 7th Class 270 tons, 8th Class 360 tons, 9, 9A and 10th Class 400 tons and 11th Class 480 tons.

In addition to new locomotives twelve passenger coaches, one dining car, ten brake vans and one hundred and sixty two goods wagons of various types were placed in service during the war period.

To cater for the traffic between Umtali and Salisbury the Working Time Table (No. 16) introduced on 1st September 1913 made provision for twenty one goods trains and three passenger trains per week in each direction between the two towns. The Working Time Table (No. 21) introduced on 23 November 1919 showed a train service of twenty six goods trains and two passenger trains per week in each direction, (an increase in the number of goods trains but a reduction in the passenger service). The newer locomotives were capable of hauling heavier loads and this factor plus more trains meant the total tonnage being moved increased considerably over previous levels. The increase in the service in Northern Rhodesia was more dramatic. Goods services between Broken Hill and the border at Sakania increased from six to fifteen per week in each direction plus two mixed trains, i.e. passenger coaches and goods wagons on the same train.

It has already been recorded that some 350 railwaymen were given leave to proceed on active service. 36 of these employees fell during the war. The Railways erected a Memorial Tablet to their memory. The Tablet, in bronze, which is about 1,5 metres

in height, was placed in the Booking Hall of the Bulawayo Station building and is inscribed as follows:-

"Beira = Mashonaland=Rhodesia Railways

In Honour and Grateful Memory of our Comrades who fell in the Great War 1914-18

AGNEW G.	JARVIS A.H.
BAKER L.	KARRANI V.
BAKER T.E.	KELLCHER J.J.
BEATTIE W.G.	MACRAE E.
BOLTON H.W.	MARTIN A.
BROWN C.S.	Mc LAREN J.
CULLIS T.W.	MILLER H.
CUTHBERT A.J.	MILNE J.W.H.
DOHERTY T.D.	MILNE T.H
DOWENS J.	SAUERMANN C.H.
DICK T.	SIMPSON C.
FINNEY V.J.	SIMPSON J.F.
FYNN B.C.H.	SPENCER W.K.
GARDENER J.G.	SWAN A.
GREY F.H.	TENNANT E.E.
HEATH W.C.	TILBLURY W.
HOLLINGSWORTH F.	WELLS E.M.
INNES R.J.R.	YOUNG S.W.

FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH"

The Memorial was dedicated by the Bishop of Southern Rhodesia the Right Reverend Dr H. F. Bevan on 23 February 1923, assisted by the Venerable Archdeacon Harker and Rev. Howard Young. The unveiling ceremony was performed by Corporal S. D. Evans, a member of the railway staff who served with distinction gaining the Military Medal and bar. A gathering of about 500 came to honour the gallant railwaymen who made the Supreme Sacrifice.

The service opened with the singing of the hymn "O God Our Help in Ages Past" by the Choir of St. John's Church. The General Manager of the Railways Lt-Col. C. F. Birney, followed by the Bishop, delivered short addresses, after which the "Last Post" was sounded by Cadet Buglers and a solemn two minutes silence followed. Then came Reveille and the National Anthem.

In more recent times the Memorial Tablet has been removed from the Booking Hall and placed in the grounds of the Bulawayo Railway Museum.

In 1918 railway services were severely affected by natural causes. At the end of January 1918 the line between Salisbury and Beira was completely cut in two places. Very heavy rain swelled the Odzi River to the extent that the pier on one side of the bridge settled and on 26 January three 100 foot spars collapsed. A pontoon was placed across the river and passengers, mail and urgent packages were ferried over. It was only on 21 April 1918 that the bridge was brought back into use. The rains also affected the

Pungwe River in Mozambique and the embankments either side of the Pungwe Bridge were washed out. Between 28 January and 4 April 1918 the train service between Umtali and Beira was completely cut.

In October 1918 the first cases of Spanish Influenza started in Bulawayo. The epidemic spread rapidly and was to claim the lives of forty six railwaymen, more than those lost in the war. The Railway Institute in Bulawayo was converted into a hospital and train services reduced to a minimum or cancelled altogether. No trains ran from Bulawayo to Victoria Falls and beyond for two weeks as train crews were either ill or nursing families. At some smaller stations the entire staff were ill in bed.

The First World War had a profound effect on the railway system. These effects were slow to be felt at first but, as traffic levels increased, and intensified U-Boat warfare affected shipping, greater reliance had to be placed on the Railway Workshops and local suppliers for spares and stores items which had traditionally been imported. The difficulty in obtaining new stock and materials for repairs plus staff shortages meant maintenance and renewals got into arrears. The arrears of maintenance to locomotives and rolling stock were only finally overcome during 1921. Labour was also in an unsettled state and staff were disturbed by numerous changes consequent on so many men having gone on active service. It was only in his 1923 Annual Report that the General Manager was able to state that the difficulties caused by the Great War had been largely met.

The railways played a vital part in moving men and raw material exports. Like so many aspects of life in this country the railway service would never be the same again in the years which followed.

In preparing this paper I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the Director and Staff of The National Archives of Zimbabwe.

The following publications have been consulted:

Railways of Rhodesia. A. H. Croxton published by David and Charles Newton Abbot ISBN 0 7153 6025 6

Rhodesia Railways Bulletin (Various issues)

Obituary: Ray Sparrow 12 April 1935– 27 November 2015

by Alan Sparrow

When the history of game-ranching in the Lowveld of south-east Zimbabwe is written, the names of several pioneer ranchers will be prominent. These include Despard Bridges of Devuli Ranch, Ian de la Rue of Ruware Ranch, C. E. Sparrow of Fair Range, George Styles of Buffalo Range, Stanley Stockil of Essanby Ranch, Derek Henning of Samba Ranch and Ray Sparrow of Lone Star Ranche, among others.

Ray Sparrow started Lone Star Ranche in 1949, after serving a stockman's apprenticeship on Devuli Ranch. In Ray Sparrow's own words, "I spent considerable time on Devuli Ranch hunting predators—lions, leopards, hyenas, wild dogs—that plagued the livestock in heavy bush country. I also spent a great deal of time maintaining and repairing stationary engines and pumps, on which all the inland sections depended for watering cattle. This was good training for my future plans".

Ranching cattle in the harsh Lowveld was a challenge in those early days due to the high number of predators. Ray followed the local Hlengwe (or Shangaan) practice of not dehorning the heifers, to allow the cattle to defend themselves from lion attacks. He employed a Hlengwe tracker named Nyarhi, who was to hunt with him for many years. The second major challenge was the provision of water for cattle and wildlife. The drought-prone lowveld is a harsh, unproductive environment without water. Ray built several dams and weirs, the largest of which is the Malilangwe Dam. The provision of water was to provide for the management of wildlife in the seventies, when Lone Star became one of the earliest private ranches to start hunting safaris in Zimbabwe. Lone Star Ranche also pioneered the capture and translocation of a wide variety of wildlife, notably rescuing young elephant from the culling programmes in Hwange National Park. He was a staunch supporter of protecting endangered species in Zimbabwe such as the Liechtenstein's Hartebeest and introduced white rhino onto Lone Star.

After nearly sixty-four years on Lone Star (now Malilangwe Trust) Ray Sparrow passed away in 2014 at the age of 92. He was held in high regard by a wide spectrum of people and communities in the Lowveld and the country at large. Such was this respect that his funeral was attended by leading traditional and community leaders. Ray Sparrow was the first to acknowledge that, without the unwavering support of his beloved wife "Dossie" Sparrow and his family, he would not have succeeded. After his love for family, his passion for all things natural governed his life. His knowledge of trees, plants, animals and the Hlengwe language and culture has not been equalled by any other.

His passing represents the end of an era.

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Obituary: Terence Osbourne Ranger

by Paul Hubbard

Professor Terence Ranger, who died on 3 January 2015, was certainly a titan in Zimbabwe's rich historiography. Since his passing, there have been numerous tributes published in various journals and newspapers, all of which have emphasised his prodigious scholarship, unrelenting human rights work and deep appreciation for Zimbabwe's convoluted past, warts and all. Much of his early life is told brilliantly in his autobiographical work Writing Revolt (2013) and readers are referred to this book for further information on his personal life. As there have been many other obituaries about this eminent historian's career I wish to focus on a personal selection of his publications to provide an insight into Ranger's varied life and career.

I only met Terry a few times, although I like to think we enjoyed an irregular but rich correspondence on a variety of subjects, most especially about Matabeleland and the Matopos, where I found much to learn and debate in his seminal book *Voices From the Rocks* (1999). I found his discussion of the motivations and actions of white conservationists too harsh but this dissent has provoked my own reading and study on the creation and evolution of the Matopos as an exceptional conservation area, especially post-Independence. What is clear, in the Matopos and other National Parks, is that the government's environmental conservation policies have met with mixed success and the current community-oriented approach holds hope for an inclusive and mutually-beneficial relationship. The convoluted historical past of the Matopos is well summarised in the booklet *Malindidzimu: A Guide to the People and events associated with the "View of the World", Matopos*, with contributions by Rob Burrett, Anthony Chennells and myself. Ranger's lucid and compelling examination of the fight over Rhodes' Grave, amplified with biographies of those buried on the hill, has proved to be another best-seller as the book is now in its third edition.

More recently, as part of my own studies examining the end of the independent Ndebele state, I have begun to read *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia* (1967) and I look forward to reading its nominal sequel *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia* (1970). Revolt was a best-seller, issued to "every Native Commissioner as a guidebook to African revolt!" claimed Ranger in Writing Revolt (2013: 177). Revolt became a standard Rhodesian history book for decades and was to provide historical validation for the burgeoning armed struggle launched by many of Zimbabwe's National Heroes with whom Ranger shared the early fight and whom he often supported for many years afterwards. Ranger's conclusions in Revolt have been challenged—especially those relating to religious influences during the wars of 1896, but it is the pioneering impact on Zimbabwean and African scholarship that helps the book retain its importance into

this century.

To my mind, *Bulawayo Burning* (2010) is one of the most important books ever published on the history and development of Zimbabwe's second city. I attended the launch of the book in Bulawayo in November 2010, bought it and then spent the rest of the night reading it. Bulawayo's fights—political, social, economic—in its founding years are wonderfully documented in Ranger's characteristic dense detail that should satisfy any urban historian. The juxtaposition of Bulawayo's histories, those of the townships versus the city and suburbs, makes for compelling reading and should provide a basis for any future study of Bulawayo from 1960 to the 2000's. I truly wish Ranger had had the time to write this necessary sequel.

Ranger's skill at finding the voice of the voiceless in his historical research is superbly shown in his least-referenced book, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe* (1985). From the outset the book makes it clear that the major events so beloved of study by historians entered the rural consciousness intermittently and from outside. It is the exploration of this "ordinary" perspective that made Ranger into a superb historian. The focus on the rural peasantry, the majority of Zimbabwe's population even today, instead of the political and urban leaders, reveals much of what made and still makes the country tick. The failure to appeal to, and mobilise, rural voters, especially regarding land distribution, explains much of the one-sidedness in contemporary Zimbabwean politics, something this book and Ranger's associated articles reveal very well, albeit in historical perspective.

The heart-rending social history of Matabeleland dominated Ranger's later life. The book *Violence and Memory: One hundred years in the 'dark forests' of Matabeleland, Zimbabw*e (2000) written with Jocelyn Alexander and JoAnn McGregor can be regarded as the beginning of his critique of the Zimbabwean government's excesses in the 1980s (*Voices From the Rocks* does so too). The book investigates the violence in the Nkayi and Lupane districts from the 1890s to the 1980s and makes for horrific reading. It remains an essential guide to the history of violence that characterises the modern state of Zimbabwe. Perhaps made compulsory reading, many of the excesses of the early 21st Century would be diminished. In part because of his critique of the government-sponsored violence in Matabeleland, Ranger has been labeled a "sell-out" and traitor by many in the state. Several condemnations of his work appeared in the radical newspaper *The Patriot* in January 2015—one is not surprised at their lack of courage in publishing these grotesque parodies of obituaries while Ranger was still alive and he would have enjoyed crafting many ripostes—that amply show the narrow mindedness of what Ranger later called "Patriotic History" which vilifies those who do not slavishly follow a biased version of Zimbabwe's history.

An excellent summary of other aspects of Ranger's career appears in *The Guardian* newspaper of 18th January 2015: "Throughout his career, Terry brought African history into mainstream institutions and debates: he was the first Africanist fellow of the British Academy and the first historian of Africa to sit on the board of the historical journal *Past and Present*; he co-edited major collections, the most influential being *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) with Eric Hobsbawm. His contribution to Africanist institution-building was also important. He was co-founder of the Britain-Zimbabwe Society, president of the African Studies Association of the UK, and a key figure in innumerable journals

and societies."

Personally, I think of Terry Ranger as a great human being as well as an excellent historian although he might have rejected my characterisation here! His many charitable commitments throughout his life are too numerous to discuss in detail. From his fight against the "colour bar" in Salisbury in the 1960s to his involvement with asylum seekers in the 2000's, always with his wife Shelagh leading the campaigns, Ranger lived as he wrote, with an interest in the common people and their complex and inspired ideas and motivations.

Ranger's great friend John McCracken wrote an obituary published in the *British-Zimbabwe Society Newsletter* (2015: 10) and this remains my favourite sentence: "Yet by nature and conduct he remained, as he had begun in Rhodesia, one of A. J. P. Taylor's troublemakers, a natural dissenter, never happier than when he was challenging authority or defending the marginalised and the obscure." This was the Terence Ranger I knew, both in his writings and personal correspondence. His legacy lives on through his prodigious writings but I feel it is in the many, many people he and his family helped over the decades that will become his most enduring contribution to the future of Zimbabwe. That is as great a legacy as anyone could hope for, much less a historian.

Book Review: National Parks and Wildlife Management Rhodesia and Zimbabwe - Michael Bromwich

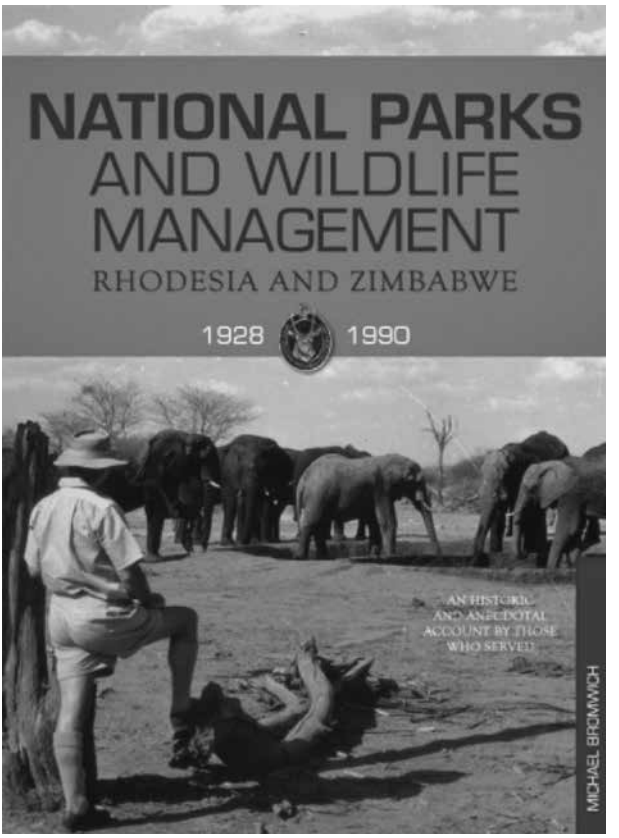
by Paul Hubbard

Mike Bromwich (ed.) 2014.
National Parks and Wildlife Management Rhodesia and Zimbabwe 1928-1990. An Historical and Anecdotal Account by Those Who Served. Bulawayo:
Michael Bromwich.
640p.
ISBN 978-0-620-61929-5.
Price: US$75.

It is surprising that we have not yet had an official history of an organisation that manages approximately 16% of Zimbabwe's land area. The surprise is amplified when you realise this land area is largely responsible for bringing in around 11% of Zimbabwe's GDP through tourism receipts and thus deserves some sort of scrutiny from historians as to why this is so. The history of what is known today as the Zimbabwe Parks & Wildlife Management Authority remains to be told in full but in this book of stories Mike Bromwich has done Zimbabweans invaluable service in bringing to light the stories of the people who conserved the natural wonders we take for granted today. This book is not a history of the Department but what it is—a smorgasbord of anecdotal information—is more than enough for now.

The story of Zimbabwe's National Parks can rightly be said to begin with the bequests made in Rhodes' 1902 will, leaving his properties in Nyanga and the Matobo Hills to the people of this country. These properties were managed in a variety of ways but the idea that land could be set aside for education and enjoyment of the public was a persuasive one. In November 1926 Major W. J. Boggie proposed that the government should proclaim a game reserve. Two years later, in an unprepossessing publication of Government Notice 124 on 24 February 1928, Hwange National Park was born under the able and exemplary stewardship of Ted Davison, who remains one of the true icons of wildlife conservation in Africa.

The rest of the story can be found in the 16 chapters and eleven appendices spread over the 640 full colour pages that make up this book, and what an inspiring story is to be found within these pages, from the fight to save Zimbabwe's endangered black rhinos to the development of world-class community-based wildlife conservation



initiatives. Of special interest are the many stories from the "Daga Boys"—ex-National Parks employees and their families—about their experiences and achievements in Zimbabwe's wild areas. Their dedication and passion are probably the main reason why we have these wilderness areas today, especially when one considers the land hunger that has characterised this country for decades.

Duffy (2000: 31) points out that "wildlife conservation is one of the most racially controversial areas of public policy in Zimbabwe, because conservation has a tradition of being perceived as a white domain and its demands for large areas of land means it is in direct conflict with the social and political aspirations for land distribution." In practice, the setting aside of land for wildlife management has been criticised by advocates of land reform as the denial of land to "farmers," although much of that land is not suitable for agricultural purposes of any sort. The fact that wildlife tourism – both hunting and photographic—brings in millions of dollars for Zimbabwe should silence these critics and their unreasonable demands. Chapters 10 and 11 provide some basic information as to inception and implementation of the revolutionary wildlife management concepts in the Department although Duffy (2000) remains a better source.

A book of this size cannot be reviewed in full without using several thousand words so I will content myself with making a few observations. The first, which this book amply demonstrates, is that the work done by the Department of National Parks should be about much more than simply collecting money from tourists who pay high fees to visit our natural wonders—as often seems to be the prime focus today. The breadth of research projects initiated by Parks staff until the 1990s is awe-inspiring, ranging from crocodile management to the domestication of Eland. This research was matched by a steady record of publications in both scientific and

popular fora that arguably form the foundation of our understanding of the ecology and management of many species and wilderness areas in Zimbabwe.

Secondly, the efforts of the men and women in the Department to simultaneously combat rampant poaching while dealing with tight budgets and an ever-increasing responsibility as more land was added to the Department's purview are impressive. Something of especial interest to me was the fact that much of their work was funded by the government and local sources and very few international donors. The budgets always shrank but much was achieved from which we still reap benefits today. The situation today is mainly the reverse and occasionally, it seems, with much less to show for it. The controversies surrounding wildlife management in Zimbabwe reported weekly in the national press are indicative that the current system is broken and needs fresh stewardship to rectify it.

Thirdly, the war record of the Department in the 1970's is something that has been overlooked by nearly every history of the conflict and the many stories of sacrifice and tribulation here deserve a wider audience. Some of the war stories closely resemble encounters with modern-day poachers which shows the current seriousness of this epidemic of wildlife destruction. Poaching of wildlife, wood and other natural resources, although always an issue, does not seem to have been as serious a problem as it is today.

One striking impression in the history of National Parks is that it was an overwhelmingly masculine department. Women—usually the wives of the staff officers—had as much to offer although, from reading Chapter 5, it would seem their function was mainly administrative and in the home. This is not to deny the importance of the contributions of keeping an efficient office and happy home nor is it to downplay the importance of keeping a family together in the remotest areas and in straitened circumstances (see also Peach 2003). I am nevertheless struck by the impression that more women were not inducted as rangers and wardens before the 1990s. There seems to have been little encouragement to even do so. Today there are women to be found at the forefront of bush patrols as well as heading various National Parks as Area Managers (the new and ungainly corporate phrase for "Warden").

This book is nowhere close to being a history of the Department. We still await the research and publication of a complete history of wildlife management in this country although aspects have been covered in Child (1995), Davison's classic (1967) and Duffy (2000) among others. But that does not detract from the value of this book, both as a starting point for a serious history but also as an insight into the operations and achievements of one of Zimbabwe's most strategic departments.

Reading this book is not something to be attempted in a day or two. Lavishly illustrated with pages crammed with text, the stories in this book are something to be savoured. Mike Bromwich should be heartily congratulated for producing an outstanding book that deserves a place on the bookshelf of every person interested in the story of the conservation of Zimbabwe's wildlife and natural spaces.

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Book Review: Building the Nation - Rob Burrett

by Paul Hubbard

Burrett, Rob. 2013.
Building the Nation: A history of Zimbabwe's First Cement Company 1913–2013.
Bulawayo:
Portland Holdings Ltd.
80 pages.
No ISBN or price available.

Decent corporate histories are relatively rare in Zimbabwe beyond the fluff pieces occasionally published in local newspapers. Thus the appearance of this booklet is to be welcomed as a concise but detailed history of one of Zimbabwe's iconic companies. Simply designed, the booklet tells two stories concurrently: the text on the history of the company from 1913 to 2013 is juxtaposed with a series of pictures, historic and modern, illustrating the variety of buildings, dams and other projects that the Premier Portland Cement Company's products have been used to construct. The list is impressive and hardly comprehensive but gives an excellent indication of just how much development in this country has relied on a single company until fairly recently. Unicem, known today as PPC Zimbabwe, has a justifiable pride in their history and contribution to the development of the region, something adequately revealed in this booklet.

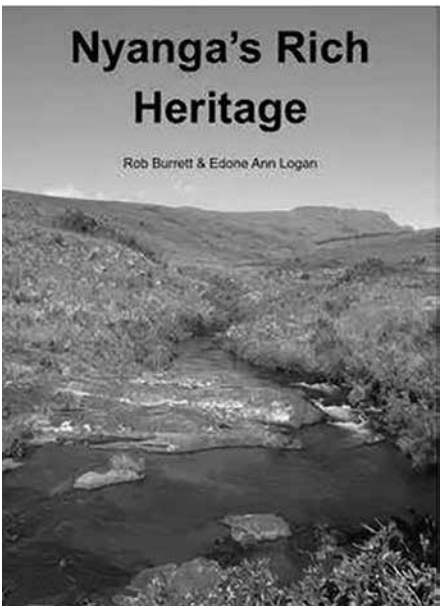
Book Review: Nyanga's Rich Heritage

by Paul Hubbard

Burrett, Rob & Logan, Edone Ann. 2016. Nyanga's Rich Heritage. Bulawayo: Khami Press. 104 pages. ISBN 978-0-79-74-9765-8. US$5.

Arguably Nyanga's Rich Heritage is the first guidebook to this beautiful area since Garlake's (1966) booklet. It is long overdue and complements the other guidebooks in the series produced by Khami Press. The booklet begins with a discussion on the environmental geography of the area and explains the geology, climate, flora and fauna in fair detail. The deliberate introduction of exotic tree species is of special interest given the recent drive to eradicate them across the country.

The archaeology of the area is covered in 22 pages, starting with the Early Stone Age and ending with recent community history. The brief discussion on the Stone Age is a pointer to the desperate need to initiate research on this remote period of Nyanga's history. The section on the farming communities is well-written and, without directly mentioning recent theories (cf. Kritzinger 2007), deals with the strange claims behind the creating and development of the Nyanga Culture between 1400-1800 AD. It is certain that the pit-structures, terracing and enclosures are the product of a diversified yet specialised farming community who developed techniques and technology to make the best use of the poor soils and exploit sometimes harsh climatic conditions.



Knowing very little about the later history of the area, I enjoyed reading the discussion covering the period 1891 to 2016. This included stories of early farming activities, the rise of nationalist politics in the 1960s and 1970s, the development of the National Park and tourist facilities and brief notes on the many Christian missions established in the district.

The booklet ends with "a roadside guide for the visitor". The section contains many more fascinating historical nuggets and several sensible itineraries. As an occasional visitor to Nyanga, this section made me realise I

have barely begun to scratch the surface of what is available to see and to do. I would have preferred seeing the sketch maps placed where relevant in the text, instead of having to flip back and forth.

Oddly the contents page is reproduced at the back of the book. Many of the pictures are produced at a very small scale in a dark greyscale that makes them very hard to see. Perhaps some images could have been sacrificed in order to allow for others to have been made more visible. The use of the Portuguese spelling "Moçambique" instead of the usual (and United Nations-endorsed) name "Mozambique" is a strange choice. There are a few spelling and grammatical errors in the booklet but these do not detract from the reading experience.

Nyanga should be on the itinerary of every visitor to Zimbabwe and this booklet is perhaps the best argument why this should be the case. Reading it in my office in Bulawayo makes me want to head back to the misty mountains and continue to explore and enjoy this outstanding area.

Reference

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The Chairman's Annual Report for 2014-2015

Welcome to the 62nd Annual General Meeting of the Society (founded in 1953). The responsibility of the National Committee is the production of the Society's publications, the holding of the Annual Luncheon, and any other matter of historical interest that may arise (whereas it is the Mashonaland Branch Committee that organises our monthly talks). The present members of the National Committee are Messrs Roberts, Tanser, Atkinson, Edkins, McCarthy, Stephens, Taylor, and Sykes, and this is a matter that will come up later under Item 6 of the Agenda.

Since the last AGM the 33rd issue of *Heritage* (cover date 2014) has appeared under the energetic editorship of Fraser Edkins. It carried a wide variety of interesting articles and in fact was a bumper issue as regards the number of pages. We are now fully up to date and I am sure that Fraser will keep it that way as long as members and speakers continue to make their contributions available. We are indeed grateful to Fraser and all the many contributors—and indeed to the Mashonaland Committee who find our speakers from whose talks many of the published articles are derived.

Also nearing completion is a new Index of *Heritage* by Mike Fox and Chris Halse, and I am sure that it will be a very useful reference work for all of us.

Lastly, under the subject of publications, is our forthcoming new venture of Occasional Papers, which is for manuscripts which are too long for *Heritage*. The first of these is about 100 pages long and is going to the printers next week. It is the reminiscences of Francis J. Clarke who came to southern Africa in 1895, was unwittingly involved in the Jameson Raid, and then came to Bulawayo in 1897. He became a Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, serving in many Districts of the country until he retired in 1930. The manuscript has been transcribed by his grandson, Duncan Clarke, who has taken it wherever his career has carried him— to Scotland, South Africa, Switzerland, Australia and now England. We are lucky that such memoirs have survived, and even luckier that Dr Clarke has generously funded this new venture, to preserve first-hand accounts of our history that may otherwise be lost. And members are encouraged to identify other such memorials, so that we make may make them widely available.

The National Committee has in hand for some time the proposal to establish a website that will make our activities known to a wider audience and make our publications, going back to the first *Rhodesiana* in 1956, more widely accessible. However, many complications and alternatives have emerged and these are still under active investigation.

The Annual Luncheon was held on 19 October at Meikles as before. Unfortunately I was absent for medical reasons but from everything I have heard and read the occasion was a real success with a great turnout of members and their guests, and with an entertaining guest speaker, David Grant. Both on behalf of myself and our ordinary

members I would like to thank the National Committee whose combined talents and energy make this occasion the highlight of our year.

A special role in that is played by Dennis Stephens who manages the booking and financial details and indeed looks after our finances generally; as Treasurer he will make his own report which will show how much the Society owes to his careful stewardship, which enables the Society to function and indeed subsidize some of its activities to a small extent. Of particular note is Dennis's liaising with our many sponsors, listed in Heritage, who do much to sustain that publication.

The Society continues to take a keen interest in the preservation of historic buildings and matters of history generally in the country, and through Robin Taylor maintains contact with our small number of members in Bulawayo where there is considerable activity but not yet an actual branch of the Society.

In the AGM of the Mashonaland Branch which will follow Robin Taylor will report on its monthly talks which are the Society's life-blood, and on behalf of the National Committee I would like to acknowledge the vital contribution made by the Branch and indeed by all the ordinary members who sustain the Branch in their attendance at the talks and generosity at the door.

R. S. Roberts,
National Chairman.