HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe

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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

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

Edited by

FRASER EDKINS

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

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

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The index is available to buy in hard copy.

Editor's Foreword

This is the 36th annual volume of our journal Heritage of Zimbabwe and our 76th volume since the History Society of Zimbabwe began to publish in 1956.

It emerges a year late, for which your Editor takes responsibility.

This issue begins with a deeply-researched major article, by the prolific and learned Paul Hubbard, on the evolution of our country's borders since the 19th century, and of border issues unresolved to this day, and which must be regarded as now the leading article on the subject, in your Editor's opinion. Paul will deliver an expanded talk on this subject to the History Society of Zimbabwe in 2019.

Following on is a transcript, expertly edited and annotated by Prof. Ray Roberts, of the reminiscences of Charles Quinche (apparently pronounced "Karnsh"), a coloured teacher of Swiss/Ndebele parentage, making his way against the odds in the teaching profession in early 20th century Matabeleland, Botswana and South Africa (a humbling and unique insight into a neglected part of our history).

The learned Peter Fey contributes fine articles on Ronald Tyndale-Biscoe (in a continuation of his series of occasional papers on personalities in Southern Rhodesia's Geological Survey) and follows that up with the last of his series on the history of the Survey, covering the period 1980-2016. We are hoping for a comprehensive book from Peter on his field of expertise.

The history of the Italian Chapel near Masvingo is described by Maurizio Muraro, with input by the indomitable Rob Burrett, another of our leading historians.

Your editor contributes the third in his series on our early Government Gazettes (in this instance the year 1896).

This is followed by a very thorough article from Mike Tucker on the Loyal Women's Guild, inaugurated in 1907 by Lady Milton (wife of the Administrator) and their work in erecting memorial crosses (or "Gregory crosses") dedicated to the registration of Pioneer and early settlers' graves.

Regular contributor Robin Taylor's wide knowledge on poultry matters is once again evident in his fine piece on poultry showing and judging in Zimbabwe since 1897.

The erudite and ubiquitous Mike Tucker's detailed and well-illustrated article on the Charter Estates is next. Is there anywhere in Zimbabwe not traversed by Mike?

Rob Burrett re-appears as editor of Evan Llewellyn's account of his 1897 trip by rail from Cape Town to Bulawayo. Llewellyn is, incidentally, great-great-grandfather of former British premier David Cameron.

Recounted by Roy Roberts is the remarkable life of the indomitable Lionel Cohen, a barely-known member of the 1893 Victoria Column (in the war of that year against Lobengula) and his various other adventures in later life Cohen was one of the first Jewish pioneers to the country.

We close with a short but interesting piece by returning resident Richard Wood on place names in Zimbabwe, (welcome home Richard) a correction notice, book reviews from Ray Roberts and Paul Hubbard, then an obituary of Peter Birch and committee reports for the years 2016/2017.

I hope everyone will find something of interest in this edition and I extend my thanks to the authors for their excellent contributions, to our sponsors and members for their support and to our type-setter Rhona Sergeant and my secretary Felicity Naidoo for their invaluable skills.

F. A. Edkins
Editor, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*
edkins@cwg.co.zw

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

Lines and Lies: The Evolution of Zimbabwe's National Border

by Paul Hubbard

We have been engaged in drawing lines upon maps where no white man's feet have ever trod; we have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that we never knew exactly where the mountains and rivers and lakes were - Lord Salisbury, British Prime Minister, 1885.
Empire-building had never profited from scruples - Peter Gibbs, historian, 1955.

Introduction

To a human, a border usually defines belonging and, at a national level, shapes identity and political consciousness. As such the demarcation of such an important facet of human life occupied many states in the 19th century during the heyday of Europe's colonisation of the world with the attendant consolidation of control. Borders define the limits of a state's jurisdiction and political sovereignty and are hotly contested; wars have been fought for territorial claims and Zimbabwe, in this respect, is no different to the rest of the world. The cut and thrust of the politics of the Scramble for Africa in which this process is situated are convoluted and expansive (cf. Pakenham 1991). Thus the focus of this article is purely on the Zimbabwean frontier; reference is made to events within other countries only as they affected the development of Zimbabwe's national border.

The seminal article on the evolution of Zimbabwe's borders is perhaps that by Best & Zinyama (1985), but this has been somewhat superseded by improved access to crucial archival documents and the development of sustained academic study on "boundary issues" in Africa (e.g. Herbst 1989; Nkiwane 1997; Touval 1966; Zoppi 2013). Owing to the fact that most archival documents, books and articles dealing with the topic are widely scattered and now largely unobtainable, it was decided to publish an expanded article dealing with the same, while also focusing attention on the political processes involved.

Spiritual Sovereignty: Pre-Colonial Frontiers

Before the advent of colonisation, African states and empires had loosely defined boundaries, often favouring natural features or relying on the direct control of their armies over any surrogates. Arguably, the land where people lived carried many intangible meanings and significances that were more important to the inhabitants than mere geography. River courses, prominent hills and valleys were all features used by the pre-colonial inhabitants of Zimbabwe to define their homeland, political territory and sense of belonging. As the work of Beach (1986, 1994) and to an extent, Mazarire (2009a, b), has shown there were also distinct socio-political differences between societies in the lowlands versus the highlands of Zimbabwe. One theme that emerges is that as important

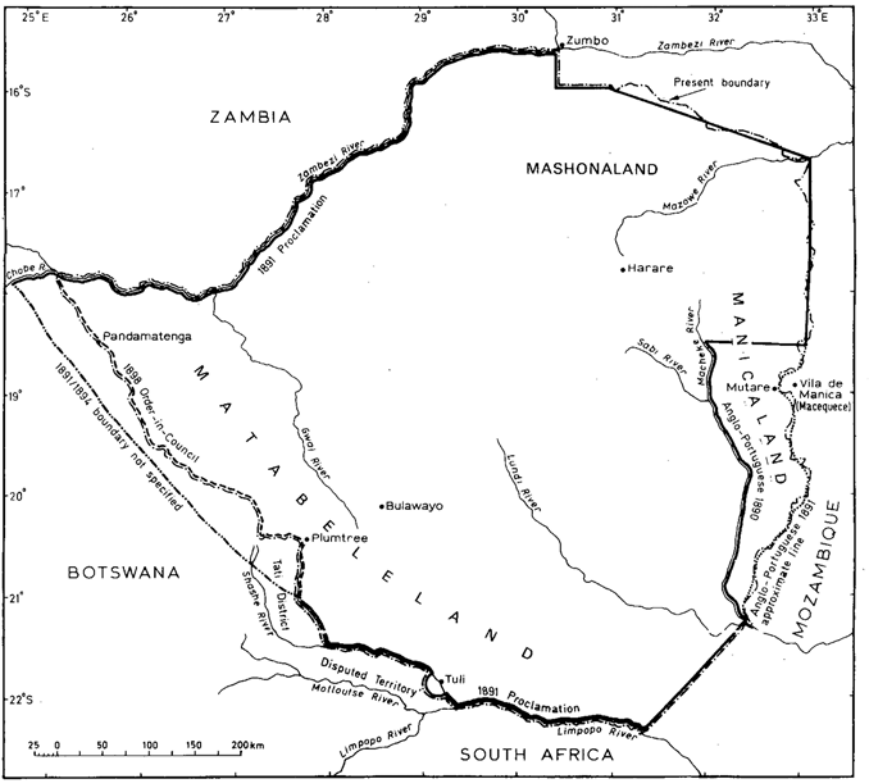


Figure 1: Zimbabwe, showing the sequence of early definitions of the boundary by international treaties and government proclamations. Modified from Best & Zinyama (1985: 421).

as landscape may have been to establishing the identity of a people, migration to new areas in response to political difficulties or environmental catastrophes is a recurring process in Shona history from the 1500s to the early 1900s (Mazarire 2009b: 11-29). Thus there remains a question of just how important clearly defined and defended territorial boundaries were to these societies — it would appear that such constructs were fluid, negotiable and, from a long-term perspective, impermanent.

A major problem with modern boundaries is that they "often threaten to superimpose an unhistorical identity on African history" (Dachs 1971: 1). The consequence is that relationships between peoples can often be overlooked or over-emphasised. From a Zimbabwean perspective, prime examples of this skewed focus are the exploration of Ndebele/northern Shona relations (e.g. Cary 1970; Gann 1969; Mlambo 2014; Summers & Pagden 1970) while, for example, almost ignoring the Ndebele-Tswana and Ndebele-Kalanga conflicts (cf. van Waarden 2012) to the west or forgetting that the eastern Shona kingdoms once covered a much larger area than considered today (Bannerman 2012; Figure 2). In addition, as Mazarire (2009: 1) notes, much of the focus of pre-colonial history has been on the rise and fall of empires on the Zimbabwean plateau, with attendant debates on their extent and power, while little focus has been paid to the autochthons living on the frontier of empire.

At one time, it was common for historians (e.g. Hanna 1960; Hughes 2001;

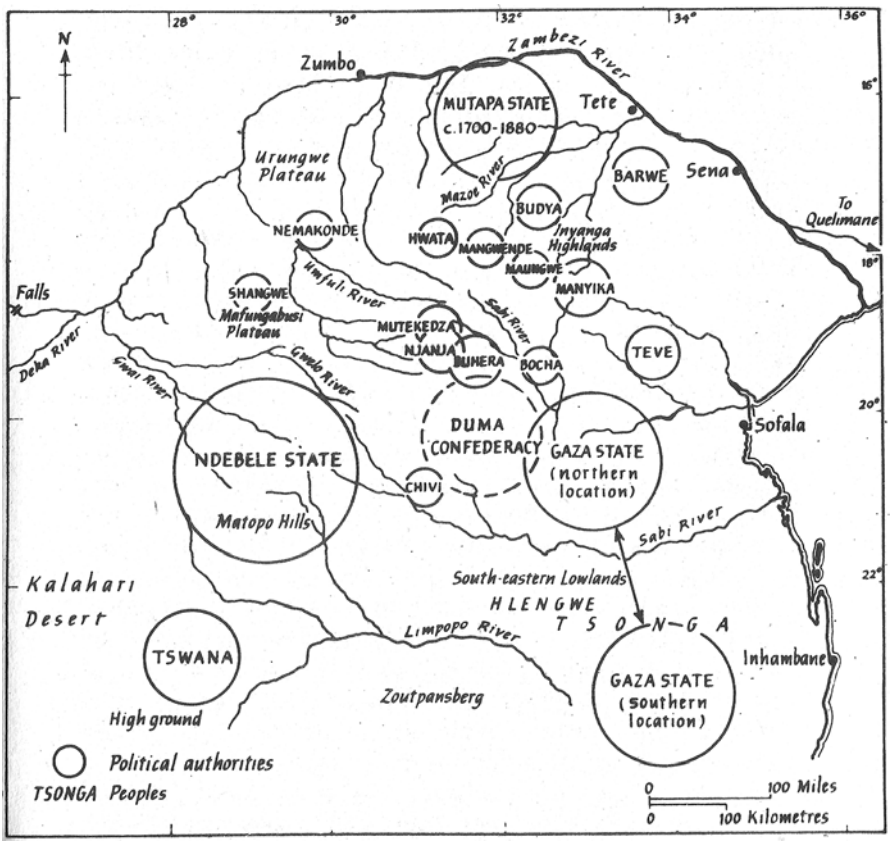


Figure 2: Precolonial political authorities and spheres of influence in central southern Africa. Modified from Beach (1984: 59).

Latham 1970; Summers 1960; Summers & Pagden 1970) to claim that from the 1830s to the colonial occupation of the 1890s, two kingdoms partitioned much of what is now Zimbabwe. The argument was that the Ndebele conquered southern and western Zimbabwe while the Gaza-Nguni controlled the eastern side, with only a thin sliver of independent but also subservient peoples to the north and along the Zambezi River. As per the story, the Shona chiefdoms were tiny, with ill-defined boundaries of the territory under their control due to the dominance of the Nguni peoples. Allegedly, the Ndebele and Gaza Nguni established the Mutirikwi River as the boundary between their zones of raiding (Latham 1970: 26) although there is no independent verification of this claim.

This convenient narrative is challenged by the work of David Beach (1984, 1986, 1994). Under these kingdoms, dynasties ruled by chiefs occupied hilly outcrops and held authority over neighbouring hinterlands. Beach (1986: 46) describes the makeup of territorial concepts in the 18th and 19th centuries in Zimbabwe:

> One essential point to be noted is the differences in political geography between the Shona territories of the undulating, badly-watered lowveld and those polities of the high plateau and the broken country where the rivers cut from the highveld to the lowlands. In the lowveld, territorial

> boundaries were rather vague and enclosed large areas in which the people often moved long distances in order to find water, grazing or game. In the mountains or on the plateau, territories tended to be smaller, and demarcated by definite borders along streams or ridges. In both cases the people usually lived on or near rocky hills that constituted natural fortresses, and if the frequency with which such strongholds are mentioned in early traditions is a clue, then the Shona preference for such places predated the Ngoni invasions.

As Beach (1994: 6-8, 30-38) relates, the creation of maps showing the distribution of Shona totems — identity markers meant to help people avoid incest and observe certain traditional mores — was a process fraught with difficulty owing to the complicated relationships between families and dynasties as well as an ongoing tendency for disaffected family members to migrate to new areas and establish themselves there. Beach's (1994) dense account of the myriad Shona dynasties existing from the 1750s to the early 1900s reveals much about how the concept and context of "*nyika*," alternatively meaning "country" or at a smaller scale, "territory," was influenced by familial, totemic, political and many other considerations. To a western mindset, with little appreciation of the nuances of the local culture, this can be mind-boggling and explains the many contradictory maps of local political alliances and relationships published in the *NADA* journals and early colonial histories. An acceptable conclusion is perhaps that exact definitions of borders of territories were relatively unimportant to the pre-colonial Shona dynasties when compared to their spheres of influence and alliances over large areas. This is not to imply that smaller dynasties or families would not jealously define and then guard their lands. Research by Hughes (2001) shows a remarkable territoriality amongst chieftainships in the eastern highlands from the late 1800s, while Beach (1986, 1994) reveals the same for sections of the northern Zimbabwean plateau.

The Nguni migrants who settled in Zimbabwe in the 1830's were much more cognisant of the territory they held directly in addition to the lands over which they exerted influence. As Cobbing (1976: 45) relates, the area of Ndebele settlement covered an area of around 10,000 square kilometres, roughly bounded by the Gwaai River in the west to the Shangani River in the east, and from the Ncema-Umzingwane Rivers in the south to the Umguza in the north. "In the west and east, boundaries were more amorphous, being expanded or contracted for defensive reasons, as when after 1890 several *amabutho* [chieftaincies] were sent beyond the Shangani in the north-east to guard against an expected European invasion" (Cobbing 1976: 45; parentheses added). It is clear that the local of primary Ndebele settlement was chosen for defensive reasons, abutting the rugged landscapes of the Mambo and Matobo Hills with smaller mountain ranges to the north (cf. Cobbing 1976; Summers & Pagden 1970). The entire kingdom was "further surrounded by a complete ring of tributary peoples whose function for the Ndebele was to ensure safe grazing for cattle and an early warning system against invasion" (Cobbing 1976: 45-47). This tributary state has often been conflated with the core area of the kingdom by several writers, most especially during the heady of days of the Scramble for Africa when disputes arose over just how much territory King Lobengula could feasibly claim (see discussion below).

As noted, the Ndebele monarchs and their subjects were aware of the lands that they

controlled, primarily for defensive reasons. Once in full control of their new kingdom, they used border control agents, such as Chief Mswazi in the in the Matiengwe River area (Cobbing 1976: 134) and John Lee in the Mangwe area (Tabler 1955c), who would facilitate permission to enter the country and receive an audience with the King (see, for example, discussions in Selous 1881 and Tabler 1955). That the incoming Europeans were well aware of these boundaries and how they were defined is shown, for example, by the exaggerated care in the route chosen for the Pioneer Column in 1890 to avoid Ndebele lands (Johnson 1940; McLaughlin 1982; Selous 1893) and the diplomatic tussle over Ndebele raids in central Zimbabwe in 1893 that ultimately led to the Anglo-Ndebele War (Beach 1986; Cobbing 1976; Gibbs 1955).

The Berlin Conference, 1884-1885

The boundaries of modern African states owe their origin, almost without exception, to the influx of European empire-builders in the latter part of the 19th century. After more than four centuries of contact, the European powers finally laid claim to virtually all of Africa in less than a decade. Parts of the continent had been "explored," but now representatives of European governments and rulers arrived to create or expand their African spheres of influence for their patrons and rulers (Pakenham 1991). Competition was intense. Existing tribal regions and autonomy were of no consequence. Spheres of influence began to crowd each other and disputes developed that could ultimately have led to violent conflict in Europe.

Mainly to advance his own colonial ambitions, King Leopold II of Belgium assisted by Otto von Bismarck, the German Chancellor convened a conference to help resolve some of the issues. On the initiative of Portugal and with the support of the British, Bismarck called on representatives of Austria–Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden–Norway, the Ottoman Empire, and the United States to take part in a Conference in Berlin to work out imperial policy. Olusoga and Erichsen (2010: 44) note:

> It is a common misconception that the Berlin Conference simply 'divvied up' the African continent between the European powers. In fact, all the foreign ministers who assembled in Bismarck's Berlin villa had agreed was in which regions of Africa each European power had the right to 'pursue' the legal ownership of land, free from interference by any other. The land itself remained the legal property of Africans.

Bismarck was initially more concerned with Livingstone's "three Cs"—Commerce, Christianity, Civilisation—and wanted the conference "to promote the civilisation of the African natives by opening the interior of the continent to commerce" (Pakenham 1991: 241). Bismarck stressed that the conference was not concerned with establishing sovereignty but the processes and rules by which this would be acquired (Pakenham 1991: 241). What was not mentioned were the secret deals already ratified by Germany, recognising Leopold II's claims to the Congo in exchange for following the principle of "free trade" in this territory.

The General Act of the conference fixed the following important points:

1. The Free State of the Congo was confirmed as private property of the Congo Society and thus belonged exclusively to Leopold II.

2. The 14 signatory powers insisted on free trade throughout the Congo basin as well as Lake Niassa and east of this in an area south of 5°N.
3. The Niger and Congo Rivers were made free for ship traffic.
4. An international prohibition of the slave trade was signed.
5. A Principle of Effectivity was introduced to stop powers setting up colonies in name only; they had to have a physical presence in the territory or a treaty with the African rulers.
6. Any fresh act of taking possession of any portion of the African coast would have to be notified by the power taking possession, or assuming a protectorate, to the other signatory powers.
7. Which regions each European power had an exclusive right to 'pursue' the legal ownership of land; (this would be "legal" in the eyes of the other European powers).

Of the terms agreed, the fifth point of the Berlin Treaty was the most important from the view of Cecil Rhodes' plans. The "Principle of Effectivity" stated that powers could hold colonies only if they actually possessed them: in other words, if they had treaties with local leaders, if they flew their flag there, and if they established an administration in the territory to govern it with a police force or army to keep order. The colonial power had to make use of the colony economically. If the self-proclaimed colonial power did not fulfill these needs, another power could do so and take over the territory. It therefore became important to get leaders to sign a protectorate treaty and to have a presence sufficient to police the area.

The clause resulted in the acceleration of the "Scramble for Africa" because there were numerous claims that had to be enforced on the ground. The result was a string of political conflicts that went on for years. Exploiting the conditions of this clause would be an important part of Cecil Rhodes' political maneuverings in the 1880s and early 1890s against the Portuguese with their much older and possibly more valid claims to the Zimbabwean plateau (see below).

Rhodes and the Concession Hunters

Cecil Rhodes' imperial ambitions and achievements in southern Africa have been discussed in exhaustive detail by several authors (e.g. Keppel-Jones 1983; Rotberg 1988) so only a brief summary of the salient points will be presented here. The Portuguese had been active in southern Africa for nearly 400 years by the time Rhodes' political career began. Rhodes arrived in Africa in 1870, and made several fortunes in the mining and agricultural spheres before finding his inspiration to become involved in the colonial politics of southern Africa.

Rhodes studied at Oriel College, Oxford University, where he was exposed to the ideas and ideals of the influential writer and art critic, John Ruskin, who believed in the innate superiority of Victorian British Society. Ruskin's inaugural lecture, quoted in Keppel-Jones (1983: 26), was a call to arms to expand the British Empire that Cecil Rhodes internalised:

> "There is a destiny now possible to us — the highest ever set before a nation to be accepted or refused… will you, youths of England, make your country again a royal throne of kings; a sceptred isle, for all the

> world a source of light, a centre of peace… [England] must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her most energetic and worthiest men;—seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and there teaching these her colonists that their chief virtue is to be fidelity to their country, and that their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea…"

Cecil Rhodes cherished a long-hand copy of the lecture; it supported his own view of the British Empire (Symonds 2000: 691). Rhodes was able to garner immense influence and political power, in no small part thanks to his wealth and the talent it allowed him to hire. From his entrance into the Cape Parliament in 1881 and, until his death in 1902, Cecil Rhodes may be identified as the driving force behind British imperial expansion in southern Africa, with an influence extending into eastern and central Africa. His first imperial foray was into the "Bechuanaland Dispute," whereby Britain annexed the area north of the Cape Colony and south of Matabeleland to create a British Protectorate, thus preventing the Afrikaners and the Germans from laying claim. In several speeches, Rhodes referred to the territory as the "Suez Canal" of the Cape Colony, and would later refer to the Zimbabwean plateau in much the same manner (Keppel-Jones 1983: 27).

Throughout the 1880s, Rhodes continued to harbour a deep desire to see the majority of Africa under British rule, but instead of action, was concentrating on consolidating his financial base to better independently fund his political ambitions (Rotberg 1988; Figure 3). It was with some alarm that he heard rumours that the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*, (the Transvaal), led by President Paul Kruger, had signed a treaty with the Ndebele monarch, Lobengula. The Grobler Treaty of 30 July 1887, would have allowed the Boers to settle in the interior under the protection of the Ndebele. Lobengula had believed it was merely a treaty of mutual friendship, and upon his hearing the Boer claims he quickly renounced the treaty, signing a new one with the British in 1888, the Moffat Treaty.

Figure 3: The Rhodes Colossus, illustrating Cecil Rhodes' broader "Cape to Cairo" concept for British domination of Africa. Drawn by Edward Linley Sambourne, published in *Punch* on 10 December 1892.

The Moffat Treaty promised eternal friendship between the British and the Ndebele. It also forbade the Ndebele from entering into any contracts without official British approval. Rhodes wanted more. He despatched his trusted friend and business partner, Charles Rudd, along with Frank Thompson

and Rochfort Maguire, to the Ndebele capital to negotiate a new treaty. The Rudd Concession, signed on 30 October 1888, gave the grantees exclusive rights over all mineral rights in the country together with full powers to do whatever they deemed necessary to procure them. The extent of these rights was considerable and it is clear that Lobengula had been deceived as to exactly what the terms of the treaty meant (Keppel-Jones 1983). Despite several attempts to repudiate the agreement, Lobengula had to proceed carefully, given his recognition that any attempt at armed resistance, the preferred tactic of his senior advisors, would be inimical to his kingdom's independence — and survival.

The Major Concessions and Treaties defining Zimbabwe's borders, 1853-1899

Date Issued	Name	Purpose
1853	Joubert Treaty	Afrikaner-Ndebele Friendship
1861	Umzila Treaty	Luso-Eastern Shona Friendship
1870	Tati Concession (Leveret)	Mineral exploitation in Tati
1871	Baines Concession	Mineral exploitation in Mashonaland
1882	Tati Concession (Edwards)	Mineral exploitation in Tati
1885	Bechuanaland Annexation	Extension of British influence to 22nd parallel
1887	Johnson Concession	Mineral exploitation in Mashonaland
1887	Wood, Chapman & Francis Concession	Mineral exploitation between Shashi and Motloutsie Rivers
1887	Grobler Treaty	Afrikaner-Ndebele Friendship
1888	Tati Concession (Francis, Beit, et. al)	Mineral & settlement rights in Tati
1888	Moffat Treaty	Anglo-Ndebele Friendship
1888	Rudd Concession	Mineral exploitation in Mashonaland
1890	Banyailand Concession*	Afrikaner land rights in Mashonaland
1890	Schulz Concession	Anglo-Gaza Alliance
1890	Mutasa Treaty	Land and mineral rights
1890	Doyle Concession	Anglo-Shangaan Friendship
1891	Lippert Concession	Land rights in Mashonaland and Matabeleland
1891	Gazaland Concession*	Commercial and mineral rights in Gazaland and Manicaland
1899	Anglo-Portuguese Declaration	Rhodesia/Mozambique border delimitation

*Disputed legality or applicability

Given the usual focus on the Rudd Concession in most accounts, it is worth mentioning here that there were several concessions and treaties issued by both Ndebele monarchs for mineral exploitation rights, timber cutting, grazing rights and eventually land rights in the periphery of the Ndebele kingdom (Table 1). This is not the place to discuss each concession in length but the role of the concession hunter in the development of Zimbabwe's borders needs to be highlighted. Several people made a brief career of seeking concessions, and men such as these would often be employed by a financier, of which there were several at the time competing to win a concession and then, if successful, assert their rights to land, minerals or other considerations. In the period 1870-1893, Lobengula suited the settlers' needs because there was only one person

they had to sign with, who (misleadingly) claimed he was the overlord of Mashonaland. "Independent Shona chiefs were a diplomatic liability; if they were acknowledged to be independent of the Ndebele, they would be claimed by the Portuguese" (Keppel Jones 1983). Much of Mashonaland was on the fringe of Ndebele power as they would raid the area but were not able to occupy it permanently—"real control lay with the Shona rulers, whose hold was not in fact broken until the war of 1896–7" (Beach 1990: 21).

In the case of the various Tati Concessions, it is possible that Lobengula granted mining rights in these areas to strengthen his claims to this disputed territory (see below). By having European concessionaires paying him fealty and taxes, Lobengula behaved as the owner of the area and thus came to be treated as such by most people. Arguably, the story of the Wood, Chapman and Francis mineral concession in the area between the Shashi and Motloutse Rivers is a cautionary tale in the gamble Lobengula was employing here (Wood 1893). The claim of Ndebele sovereignty in the north and east is a similar tale (see below). By granting concessions to exploit a particular territory, Lobengula began to define the borders of his kingdom in a more precise manner than he may have wished. As discussed above, the Ndebele had a good idea of where their borders lay, but they also had an appreciation of their sphere of influence, defined by their raiding activities (Cobbing 1976).

In March 1889, Rhodes arrived in London to negotiate with the Imperial Government for a Royal Charter that would give him more than mere business rights; he wanted administrative rights to annex new territories, establish administrative structures and exploit the economic possibilities that his concession from Lobengula purported to offer. The Royal Charter was finally granted in October of the same year, paving the way for the creation of the invasion force, later known as the Pioneer Column. In the second half of 1890, occupation forces marched into the area known as Mashonaland and took over – at least according to the maps they drew. The occupation of Mashonaland brought the settlers into conflict with not only the Shona and Matabele but also with the Portuguese and potentially the Afrikaners and their German allies.

Taking advantage of the doubts that had been raised regarding the Rudd Concession's grant of ownership of land in Mashonaland, Edward Lippert obtained such a concession from Lobengula. E. Ramsay Renny-Tailyour, acting as Lippert's agent, returned with a concession dated 22 April 1891 without Lobengula's distinctive signature but endorsed with his elephant seal. The BSACo and Rhodes voiced considerable doubts as to the authenticity of the concession and thus Lippert personally obtained a copy, dated 17 November 1891 and authenticated by John Smith Moffat, by this time, the British Assistant Commissioner for the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Cunningly, the Lippert Concession granted the holder (Baxter 1969: xvi-xvii):

> the sole and exclusive right, power, and privilege for the full term of one hundred (100) years to lay out, grant, or lease for such period or periods as he may think fit, farms, townships, building plots and grazing areas; to impose and levy rents, licenses and taxes thereon… provided always that the said rights and privileges shall only extend and apply to all such Territories as now are, or may hereafter be occupied by or be under the sphere of operations of the British South Africa Company

Despite rumours of Lippert making hundreds of thousands of pounds directly from

the sale of his concession to the BSACo (Gibbs 1955), it was actually bought for £30 000, bundled with 15 000 shares in the Company and all the expenses of the journey to Matabeleland (Gann 1969: 106). "When Lobengula heard about this arrangement he was very much put out, having thought that Lippert and Rhodes, the German and the Englishman, were deadly enemies, and imagining that he might play one against the other. But now there was nothing the Matabele could do, and for nearly two decades the Lippert Concession was regarded as one of the mainstays of Chartered land rights in Southern Rhodesia" (Gann 1969: 105-106).

Rhodesia's First Borders

The 1889 Royal Charter authorised the BSACo to operate in a vaguely defined area, extending into "the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese Dominions" (Akers 1973: 428). As Dachs (1971: 2) observes, the British government was deliberately vague in the hope that the BSACo would become wealthy and powerful enough to supervise this and other areas. In 1891 further attempts were made to define the company's territorial limits with some clarity in a proclamation that made reference to recognisable physical features. The area was described in the Order-in-Council of May 1891 as "the parts of South Africa bounded by British Bechuanaland, the German Protectorate, the Rivers Chobe and Zambezi, the Portuguese Possessions, and the South African Republic." In part this was "the exercise of jurisdiction… without the responsibility of formal annexation" (Dachs 1971:2).

Due to pressure from the ambitious territorial claims of the Germans and Portuguese in central Africa, the British Government in April 1891 declared the entire area from the Transvaal border to the Zambezi River to be a Protectorate under the jurisdiction of the BSACo. With this official protection, it effectively meant that the sphere of operations of the BSACo were now technically part of the newly expanded Bechuanaland Protectorate, until the Charter expired in 1923 and self-government was granted (Dachs 1971: 2). That the technicality of the exact location of the boundary of the new Protectorate was appreciated by the BSACo at the time is clearly shown in the comments by Ellerton Fry, who in his unpublished autobiography, noted that after submitting a sketch map of the Victoria Falls, showing them clearly located in Bechuanaland, to Cecil Rhodes, he was called in by Rutherfoord Harris, the Secretary of the BSACo. "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 land 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… calling the part in question "Bechuanaland" but in all the other maps it is described as 'Matabeleland'" (Waters 2015: 105). In practice the BSACo governed its entire territory with near impunity.

Following the defeat of the Ndebele kingdom by BSACo troops in 1893, an Order-In-Council in July 1894, delimited the territory under the company's jurisdiction as "the parts of South Africa bounded by the Portuguese Possessions, the South African Republic to a point opposite the mouth of the River Shashi, by the River Shashi and the Territories of the Chief Khama of the Bamangwato to the River Zambezi, and by that River to the Portuguese boundary, including an area of ten miles radius round Fort Tuli, and excluding the area of the district known as the Tati District."

The Southern Rhodesia Order in Council, 20 October 1898 amalgamated the two provinces of Mashonaland and Matabeleland into the company-ruled territory of Southern Rhodesia (Figure 1). The geographical extent of the new territory was briefly defined as:

> "The parts of South Africa bounded by the Portuguese Possessions, by the South African Republic to a point opposite the mouth of the River Shashi, by the River Shashi to its junction with the Tati and Ramaquaban Rivers, thence by the Ramaquaban River to its source, thence by the watershed of the Rivers Shashi and Ramaquaban until such watershed strikes the Hunter's Road (called the Pandamatenka Road) thence by that road to the River Zambezi, and by that river to the Portuguese boundary. The said limits include an area of ten miles radius round Fort Tuli, but exclude the area of the district known as the Tati district as defined by the Charter. The Territory for the time being within the limits of this Order shall be known as Southern Rhodesia."

The Disputed Territories of the Western Border

Relations between the Ndebele and the Ngwato, the largest of the Tswana tribes, were never amicable, mainly due to the brutality of the Ndebele during their migration through Ngwato territory in the late 1830s (Cobbing 1976). From that time, Mzilikazi and then his heir, Lobengula, regarded the Tswana as no more than their vassals, and thus felt that Ngwato territory fell under direct Ndebele jurisdiction. The Tswana had a different view, and were to play a shrewd, long-term strategy against both the Ndebele and BSACo to retain autonomy over territory they regarded as theirs.

King Lobengula of the Ndebele and Khama III, (referred to by missionaries as Khama the Good) of the Bamangwato, argued over two strips of land, located broadly between the Zambezi and Shashi Rivers for many years. Within this region, the main areas of contention were a narrow piece between the Shashi and Motloutse Rivers and the area around the gold-rich Tati District (Burrett 2001; Hilton-Barber 2013). In both of these areas, the Ndebele would hunt and Khama's people would graze their cattle (Quick 2001). Khama claimed his land stretched as far east as the Gwaai River but with no sign of settlement or other activity there by his people, his claims were little more than hollow aggrandisement.

The question of who owned the Tati area became particularly pressing once Henry Hartley, the grizzled elephant hunter, discovered the first goldfields there in 1865, which were confirmed by explorer and geologist, Karl Mauch in 1867 (Tabler 1955c). Several prospecting parties to Tati were organised, much to the horror of Mzilikazi, who in late 1867 proclaimed that the area now fell under his direct control. Mzilikazi was concerned about protecting his western flank from the Afrikaners, whom he regarded as once again trying to invade his territory (Cobbing 1976). John Lee, who had settled in the Mangwe District, was appointed governor of the Tati Goldfields area, with the authority and responsibility to interview diggers and check their claims (Quick 2001: 30).

With Mzilikazi's death in 1868, the situation was exacerbated by the contested succession of Lobengula and the heightened suspicion of the Ndebele. Nonetheless, prospectors continued to arrive and eventually in 1870, Arthur Levert, Managing Director of the London and Limpopo Gold Mining Company obtained the mining rights for the

whole district in a concession granted by Lobengula. This company went out of business in 1872 and a new series of concessions were negotiated concerning mining and other interests by Dan Francis, W.J. Tainton and Sam Edwards, who, with Lobengula's favour, now became de facto governor of the Tati area (Hilton-Barber 2013: 33-35). In 1888 their company became Tati Concession Mining and Exploration Co. Ltd. (TM&ECo) and had Alfred Beit and Edward Lippert on the Board of Directors - both were also heavily involved with the BSACo which was not initially seen as a conflict of interest, given burgeoning imperial plans.

Arguably, it was the actions of Frank Kirby, General Manager of the TM&ECo, which kept the whole area from the control of the BSACo (Burrett 2001:13-14). "On November 1, 1893 the British flag was hoisted at Tati, and the following proclamation was read publicly: 'To whom it may concern: whereas war has been carried into this territory by the British South Africa Chartered Company assisted by the British Government with troops and its ally Khama, and whereas Bulawayo the capital of Matabeleland has been taken and is now held by the above Chartered Company, and the

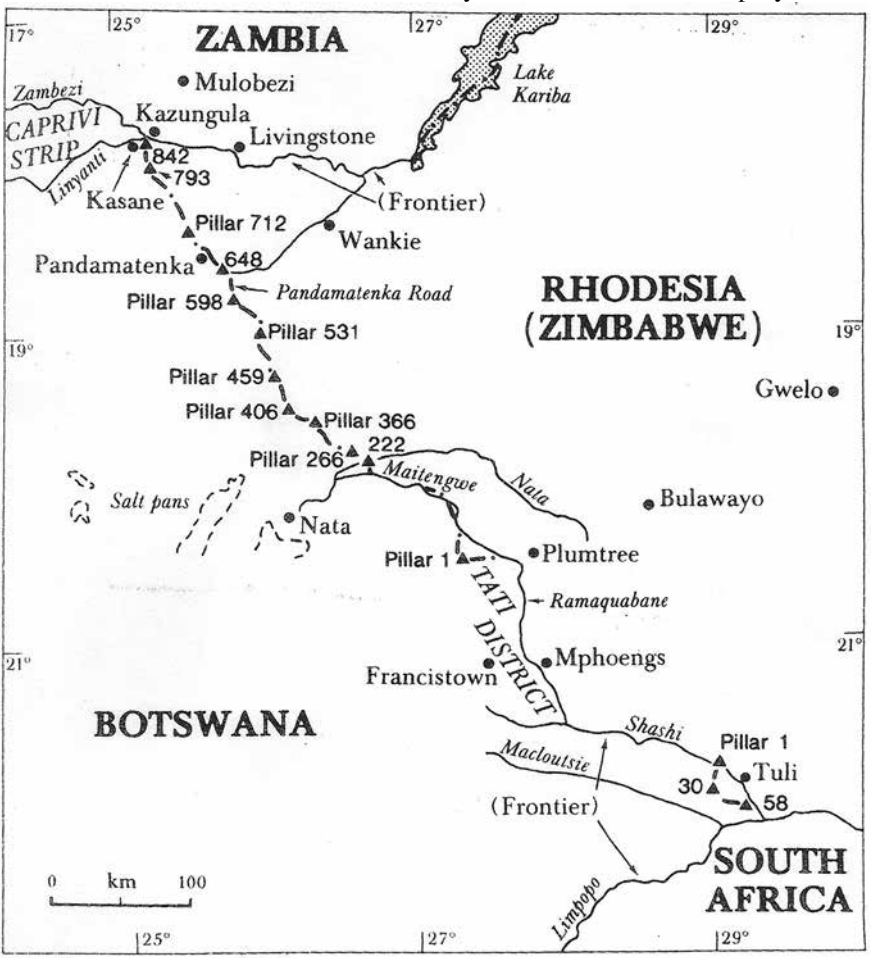


Figure 4: The border between Botswana and Zimbabwe. (modified from Brownlie & Burns 1979: 1080).

King of the Matabele, under whom this territory was formerly held, has now fled and his whereabouts are not known, I, William Frank Kirby, in my capacity of Political Agent for the Tati Concession Mining and Exploration Company Limited, do this day hoist the British flag here at Tati, and proclaim all that country between the River Shashi and the River Ramaquabana to be British territory'" (Glass 1968:142-3). This proclamation brought to public notice that the Tati area was held under a separate concession and thus needed to be treated separately (Burrett 2001: 13). There were several conflicts between the BSACo and the Tati Concession holders over cattle ownership, land claims and collection of hut tax (Burrett 2001). A truce was declared in 1903 when efforts were made to more clearly define the border line, culminating in the 1907 boundary commission (Burrett 2001; Hilton-Barber 2013).

A feature that was to become the route of Zimbabwe's western border was created in August 1872 by trader and hunter, George Westbeech, when he cut the legendary Hunter's Road or Westbeech Road as it was called by Emil Holub (Tabler 1955a, b). This stretched from just north of Tati to Pandamatenga, where he had a famous trading store that was frequented by nearly all early visitors trying to reach the Victoria Falls. While there were several other tracks in the area, this road, about 200 kilometres long, went via the main pans and water sources in the arid Hwange region. The road defined the western edge of the tsetse fly belt (Summers 1967: 8), meaning it was usually safe to travel along its length. With the frequent traffic from trading waggons (Tabler 1955c), the Westbeech Road became a landmark for all travellers. It is tempting to speculate that, if the road had been made further to the west, the border too would have been placed much further west than currently and Zimbabwe would have been just that much larger. It was used by the 1907 boundary commission to align the first major boundary beacons, which were placed no more than three kilometres apart.

When the Rudd Concession was granted in 1888, the Tati area was specifically excepted as it also was from the BSACo sphere of operations, defined in the 1889 Royal Charter. At the insistence of Lord Knutsford, Colonial Secretary, the Royal Charter did however define the field of operations for the BSACo as lying "immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland," thus incorporating most of what is modern Botswana. As Dachs (1971:2-5) has convincingly shown, the aim of the Imperial government was to avoid annexation of the territory at all costs while promoting its development through the BSACo. To this end, all other concessions were rejected and the local chiefs were all encouraged to deal directly with the BSACo. From 1889, Rhodes and the BSA Co had argued that the land as far west as the Makadikgadi Pans was in Lobengula's domain and therefore came under the terms of the Rudd Concession. Questioning the validity of the concessions held by the Tati Concession Mining and Exploration Co., Sir Henry Loch, High Commissioner, brought the Tati district and much of eastern side of the country within the boundaries of the Bechuanaland Protectorate in late 1892, snubbing previous BSACo claims (Main 1996: 123).

Decisively in 1895, a delegation of Chiefs from the Bechuanaland Protectorate—Khama, Sebele and Bathoen—had visited London to seek a guarantee from the British government that their land would remain a protectorate and not be brought under the BSACo. The new head of the Colonial Office, Joseph Chamberlain, favoured a dynamic imperial policy and was concerned about protecting the rights of the Chartered Company

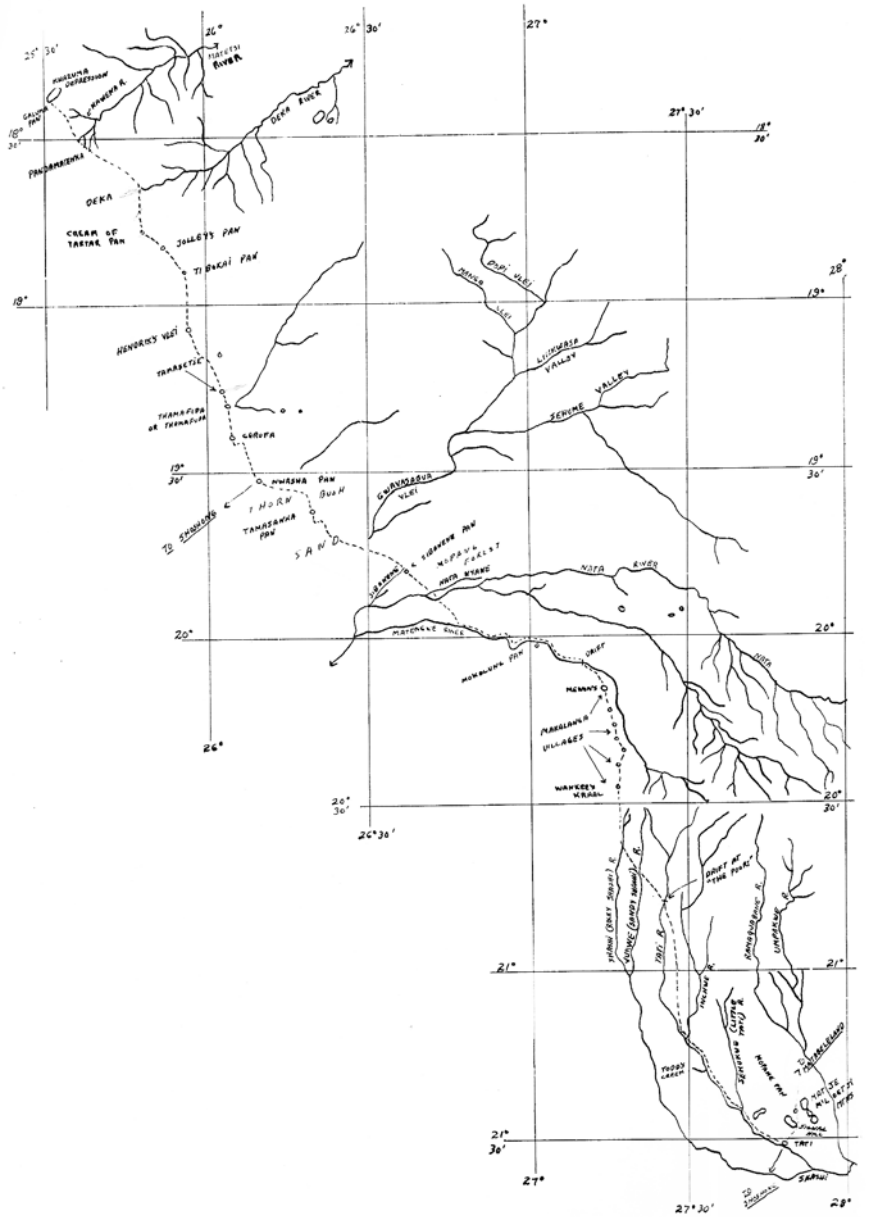


Figure 5: Sketch map of the Westbeech Road (from Tabler 1955a).

and their plans to build a railway. He decided that the chiefs should surrender to the Crown the administration of the railway strip and that the people and the lands that they occupied would be confirmed as theirs while the remainder (misleadingly called "unoccupied territory") would go to the BSACo (Main 1996: 125). Chamberlain also agreed to appoint an impartial boundary commissioner to define and demarcate these lands; after a short selection process, Bechuanaland authority Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams was chosen.

This was all agreed in November 1895. The agreement defined the limits of the tribal areas in the Protectorate, including that of Chief Khama whose northern boundary was described as "the Shashi River from the Tuli-Shashi junction to the source of the Shashi; thence a line running as nearly north as possible, so as to include Khama's present cattle stations, to where that line will strike the Maitengwe River; thence along the Maitengwe to its junction with the Nata River, along the Nata to its junction with the Shua River, along the Shua River to where it joins the Makarikari Salt Lake." The northern boundary of Chief Khama's territory as defined in the agreement with the chiefs closely followed the south-western boundary of Southern Rhodesia, which stretched up to the Maitengwe-Nata confluence.

In the aftermath of the disastrous Jameson Raid of 1896, whereby BSACo forces had invaded the Transvaal, the British government became extremely wary of Rhodes' imperial motivations and intentions. "Their failure alone prevented the British Government transferring administrative control within the Protectorate to the Company" (Dachs 1971: 9). Instead, Chamberlain restored the northern territories of the Bechuanaland chiefs to the protectorate. "It was only the over-ambition of Rhodes that preserved the northern Tswana from Company rule" (Dachs 1971: 9). Significantly, the BSACo was able to retain the corridor through Bechuanaland where the railway was to be built the following year.

As noted above, the Botswana-Southern Rhodesia boundary was finally and formally delimited in Article 4 of the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of 20 October, 1898. The boundary sector along the Pandamatenga road was demarcated by official commissions, the first in 1907 (Tabler 1958). Lieutenant G. Thornton, BSAP, and Sub-Inspector H.V. Eason of the Bechuanaland Border Police formed the Commission, and displayed a remarkable amount of common sense during their work. The 1898 Order in Council had declared the Hunter's Road to be the boundary, but as Tabler (1955a, b, 1955a, b) shows there were several tracks to choose from. Many of these had been cut by George Westbeech as the tsetse fly retreated (Summers 1967; Tabler 1955c). The commissioners found a well-used road that their informant, the hunter Klaas Afrika, told them had been in use since 1882. This was marked with 226 beacons made of steel poles sunk three feet into the ground, and stones or earth piled around them. The number of

Figure 6: East bank of the Ingwezi River, the drift of the Hunter's Road. (from Tabler 1959).

the beacon was painted on the top of the pole. Odd-numbered beacons were placed on the east (Rhodesian) side and even-numbered beacons were on the west (Bechuanaland) side (Tabler 1958: 11). This road was later used by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association to transport men from the Zambezi to Francistown and then to the mines in Johannesburg (Tabler 1958: 13).

The second commission in 1959 was a joint one, with the main aim to revise and realign the boundary as it had been defined in 1907. New beacons were made inter-visible (at a distance of 0.5km apart) along the old Pandamatenga Road. Pioneering use was made of aerial photographs to assist with relocating old boundary features, along with taking advantage of "local knowledge" to find the beacons from 1907 (Bechuanaland Protectorate-Southern Rhodesia Boundary Commission 1959).

Perfect Blip: The Tuli Circle

Described as "a settlement without a society [offering] only heat, fever, snakes and whisky," Fort Tuli was established as "the gateway to Rhodesia" in early July 1890 (Shinn 1974). It was mistakenly named Fort Tuli owing to the belief that it was on the Tuli River, which in fact was some 15 miles upstream (McLaughlin 1982: xiv), and the Pioneers were instead camped on the banks of the Shashi River. As "the gateway to Rhodesia," Tuli was merely the latest in a long line of entry points to the country north of the Limpopo that also included Mangwe, the Save-Lundi Rivers, and the Hunter's Road (see above).

The Pioneer Column began to cross the Shashi on 10 July 1890 and had cut the road to Fort Victoria by 13 August 1890, reaching Fort Salisbury on 12 September of that year. A thriving settlement developed in the area around Fort Tuli, especially once the safety of potential settlers and visitors from Ndebele attacks was all but guaranteed (de la Harpe 2004). It had hotels, a rough hospital, police depot complete with prison, a printing press and local newspaper, with several permanent residents catering to the needs of travellers (Shinn 1974).

The perfect half-circle around Tuli originated in 1891, when the first magistrate arrived, from a concession of land granted by Chief Khama to the BSACo (Shinn 1974). The company wanted to use the land as a cordon sanitaire against indigenous cattle that might be infected with disease; unsurprisingly, Khama was of the same mind but with a view to the animals belonging to the whites! The biggest fear was of lung disease (Shinn 1974: 21). The concession consisted of a piece of land south of the Shashi river and within a 10-mile radius of the fort on the south bank of the river at Tuli.

According to legend the radius for this distance was agreed upon using the average distance of a day's waggon trek in this rugged area. Such distance can be calculated from looking at the route and distance covered by the Pioneer Column (Darter 1914; Johnson 1940; McLaughlin 1982). Alternatively it is reported that the radius was decided as the range of a cannon fired from the fort's battlements (de la Harpe 2004). This is unlikely because the Pioneer Column was only armed with two 7-pounder muzzle loading 200lb. pieces, also known as RML 7-pounder Mountain Guns and two 24 pounder Hale rocket tubes on stands (Tylden 1968; Hall 1979; Cross 2016). The maximum range for the Mountain Guns was only 2,700 metres while the rockets could reach only 3.5 kilometres at best (Tylden 1968; Hall 1979; Cross 2016). During the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), larger calibre field guns were used that had greater range (Burrett 2009), but the informal boundary was well-fixed by the time by Article 4 of the Southern Rhodesia

Order in Council dated 20 October 1898. The siting and construction of boundary beacons was not done until 1954.

Rivers Divided: The North and South Boundaries

Agreements reached between the British and the Boer-led South African Republic between 1881 and 1890 confirmed the Limpopo as the boundary between the Transvaal and the territory of Lobengula to the north. The frontier is described in the Pretoria Convention of 3 August 1881 and the London Convention of 27 February 1884, simply by reference to 'the course of the Limpopo River' (Brownlie & Burns 1979: 1299). In an exchange of notes dated November 11, 1957, and March 11, 1958, between the British High Commissioner for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Secretary for External Affairs of the Union of South Africa, it was agreed that their common boundary was the median line of the Limpopo, but this still remains to be ratified by an official treaty.

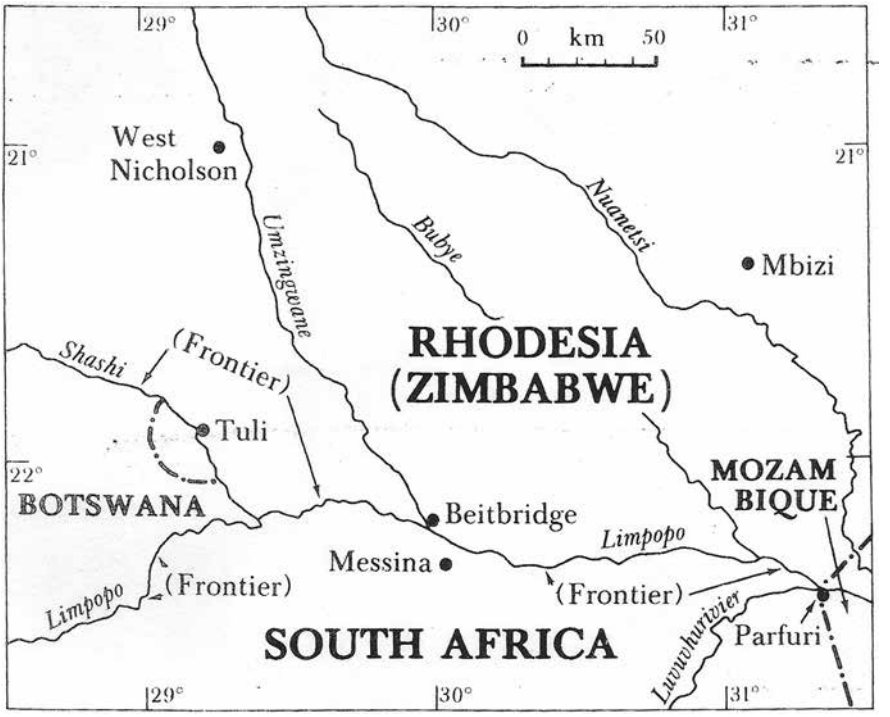


FIGURE 7: The border between South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

It is worth mentioning that southern Zimbabwe nearly became an Afrikaner (Boer) Republic (Beach 1971). There was an expedition to Mashonaland which arrived in the Chivi area in July 1890, just before the Pioneer Column entered the territory. It was led by Louis Adendorff, who managed to obtain a concession from Chivasa, later revealed as a subordinate of chief Chivi and Musvovi of Nyajena. This concession ceded to Adendorff and his allies, the land between the Zambezi and the Limpopo stretching 430

kilometres in width (Mazarire 2007). As per their manifesto published in the *Transvaal Observer*, this territory was to become the Republic of Banyailand, founded under the principles of the Transvaal Constitution of 1858, and authority was to be shared amongst the members of the group, who immediately set out to organise an army of occupation (Main 1996: 75).

This whole episode was seen as a threat to the terms of the Rudd Concession and thus the Royal Charter of the BSACo. This was because many politicians and policy makers in South Africa doubted the very idea on which the Charter was based: that Lobengula was the overall ruler of Mashonaland up to the ill-defined Portuguese frontier. Even the guide of the Pioneer Column, F.C Selous, intimated that Chivi might be an independent area and that the leaders would do well to make an agreement with Chief Chivi, which was done in early August 1890 (Beach 1971). The irony was that neither group had made an agreement with the legitimate chief and had instead dealt with vassals (Beach 1971: 14-15).

Undeterred by the foreboding British presence, and armed with the Banyailand concession, a group of about 1000 trekkers, led by Colonel Ignatius Ferreira, marched north to establish an independent republic in the area of Masvingo province. They never made it across the Limpopo, even then the border. On 24 June 1891 they were met by BSACo-fortified positions at the three main drifts (crossings) (Darter 1914: 168-175; Mazaririe 2007; Ash 2012: 134-137). Jameson bluntly informed the leaders that he had no intention of recognising a Boer concession for Banyailand and would be prepared to use armed force to ensure no one crossed without submitting to British authority. Some of the Trekkers, including Ferreira, submitted and were allowed to cross the river (Darter 1914). Many turned back and established homes in the Transvaal and elsewhere. Thereafter the southern boundary was secure.

In 1891, the field of operations for the BSACo was extended to the territory under British influence north of the Zambezi and south of the territories of the Congo Free State and the German sphere of influence in East Africa. The Chartered territory did not include Nyasaland. After the Jameson Raid in 1896, the High Commissioner in Cape Town

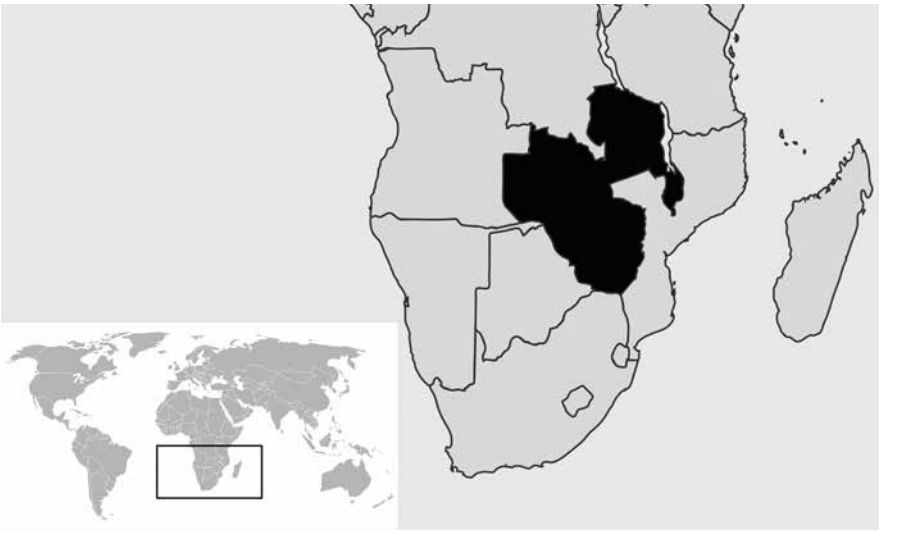


Figure 8: The national boundary of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

exercised control over Company officials in Northern Rhodesia who were responsible to him and not the Administrator and Council in Southern Rhodesia. Although the BSACo was responsible for the administration of both Northern and Southern Rhodesia, in the years after 1896 Northern Rhodesia was constituted essentially as a colonial protectorate with the powers of government exercised by the Company on behalf of the Crown. In the north, the Zambezi, from its confluence with the Chobe downstream to its confluence with the Luangwa river, was established as the boundary of Southern Rhodesia by an Order in Council of 1898 following the British government's decision to establish a separate jurisdiction for Northern Rhodesia.

From 1925, there were numerous proposals for a union of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, yet the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was only constituted with the Order in Council of 1 August 1953. Within the Federation, each unit retained its previous constitutional status so Southern Rhodesia was a colony and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were considered protectorates. The Federation was dissolved with effect from 31 December 1963 and Northern Rhodesia became independent as Zambia on 24 October 1964. With UDI on 11 November 1965, the UK then revoked the rights of self-government and declared Southern Rhodesia to be a colony under British legal control, with the Southern Rhodesia Act 1965. The politics had no effect on the alignments between Rhodesia and her neighbours and there was no threat to the continuity of law in boundary matters.

The boundary line along the Zambezi River was imprecisely defined until the promulgation by Britain of the Order-In-Council of December 20, 1963, a few days

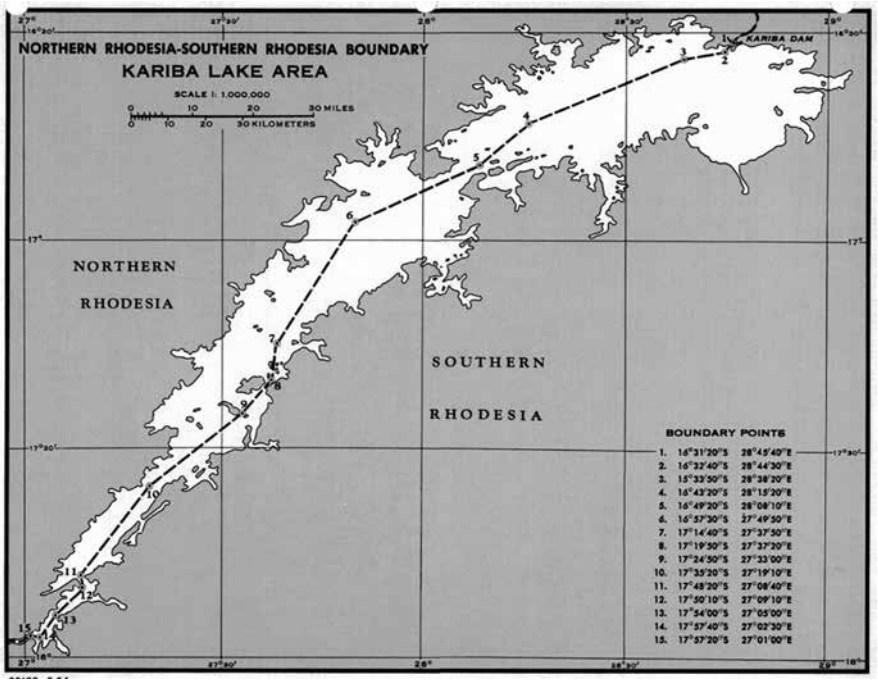


Figure 9: The realigned boundary after the completion of Lake Kariba.

before the break-up of the Federation. The Order-In-Council sought not only to clarify the boundary along the river, but also to establish a new one in the recently-completed Lake Kariba which had drowned the river channel. Except in the section within the lake, the boundary was now definitively demarcated to run along the exact middle of the Zambezi from the Mozambique border in the east to Kazungula in the west. Within the lake, the boundary was demarcated by means of points identified by their latitude and longitude and joined together by straight lines (Figure 9). Nevertheless, the boundary within the lake closely follows the submerged river channel.

With the Order-In-Council of 20 December, 1963 in the area of Victoria Falls, Livingstone, Princess Helena Victoria, Princess Margaret, King George VI, Queen Elizabeth, Canary and Palm islands were given to Zambia while Princess Victoria, Princess Christian, Princess Marie Louise, and Kandahar islands remained Zimbabwean. The boundary was refined to cross the Falls to the west of Livingstone Island. West of the islands, the boundary again joined the median line of the Zambezi River (IBS 1964).

Eastern Shenanigans: The Contest with the Portuguese

This section of the article deals with the construction of the eastern border of Zimbabwe, at a time when Anglo-Portuguese diplomatic relations were at a low ebb. It would be fascinating to know what the local peoples involved in the events described below were thinking about these events, but there is a dearth of oral accounts, other than brief mentions in Hughes (2006) and Warhurst (1962). Most of the primary actors and observers in this story were Europeans and thus it is their narrative that dominates. Perhaps one day there will be research conducted into the African perspective of this story, but that remains outside the scope of this article.

Permanent Portuguese influence in southern Africa dates from the establishment of a coastal trading post in 1505 in Mozambique. Shortly thereafter the East African territory came under the control of the Portuguese office of the Viceroy of India, an arrangement which lasted until 1752 when Mozambique was placed under the administration of a resident governor general. As Nowell (1947: 1) harshly notes, by the early 1800s, the "whole colony was poor and stagnant," populated by prisoners who usually sickened and died due to the unhealthy country. The Golden Age of Exploration, whereby much of the interior of Africa had been traversed and traded with, was a fond memory by the time of the Scramble for Africa. The Portuguese were determined to hold onto their territories throughout the following events. By constitutional amendment in 1952, the colony of Mozambique became an overseas province, and as such and in every way, the Portuguese Government considered Mozambique to be an integral part of Portugal until the coup of 1974. This, however, lay in the future when the first moves were made against the Luso-African lands.

In the mid-1850s, David Livingstone crossed Africa from Luanda to Quelimane, the third recorded person to have done so after the Portuguese-Angolan slave and explorer Pedro João Baptista and Amaro José, who had done so together in 1815, walking from Cassange to Tete. The main consequence of Livingstone's achievement was, in the 1860s, to re-focus European—especially British—attention on an area the Portuguese had long considered their domain. There grew great public pressure to grow and defend the burgeoning Luso-African empire, partly due to a patriotic interest in the Portuguese imperial past. "The nation had lost two colonial empires, one in the Orient and another in Brazil. Now there could be a third one in Africa, a second Brazil to serve as a new

field for Portuguese settlement and the spread of Lusitanian civilisation" (Nowell 1947: 9). Up to this point, it is fair to conclude that the Portuguese had been "concerned less with effective conquest and exploitation than with nominal sovereignty, which if recognised by other European powers might be turned to good account later, at leisure" (Keppel-Jones 1983: 189).

Hamstrung by an insolvent government, the Portuguese only began to take action in 1875, creating a permanent Central Geographical Commission attached to the Ministry of the Navy and Colonies followed by a complementary Lisbon Geographical Society. Both were tasked to promote the exploration, mapping, expansion and development of the Portuguese empire. An African expedition was launched in 1876, with the purpose of linking the two coasts through hydrographic mapping. In 1878, the Portuguese parliament approved Zambezia province in Mozambique for exploitation by Major Joaquim Paiva de Andrada, who came to devote his life to the development of that country. Despite some government opposition and poor funding, Andrada was able to attract some investment and interest into Mozambique. One of his first achievements was to explore the Pungwe River, later sending Emygdio Fronteira, a naval officer, to map the bay. The city surrounding the magnificent natural harbour today is known as Beira, established in 1891, and named for the Duke of Beira, then the infant heir-presumptive to the Portuguese throne (Warhurst 1962).

The terms of the Berlin Conference merely served to strengthen Portugal's resolve regarding their territorial claims in southern-central Africa. The country signed treaties with France and Germany in December 1886, resolving some wider border issues and lending support to their claims in *quid pro quo* fashion. In both treaties Portugal laid claim to a belt of territory throughout the Zambezi Valley, linking Angola to Mozambique, "without prejudice of any rights other Powers may have previously acquired" (Warhurst 1962: 3). To bolster these claims, Portugal published a map of Africa in 1887 in which her claims were coloured pink or rose, including all of what is currently Zimbabwe and large parts of modern Zambia and Malawi (Figure 10). The British Government, via

Figure 10: The extent of the Rose-Coloured Map.

Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary Lord Salisbury, protested such claims, denying that Portugal had any evidence of effective occupation of the area. "It did not matter to him how many ruined churches, forts, etc could be claimed as vestiges of Portuguese exploration—'archaeological arguments' he called them—the test was to be be: what is there now?" (Warhurst 1962: 3-4).

In the winter of 1889, the Portuguese acted at last, using a combined force of the government and the Companhia de Moçambique. Led by the indefatigable Andrada, a force of African soldiers and carriers marched onto the Mashonaland plateau, and covered vast distances in a diplomatic offensive unknown since the Seventeenth Century — they regarded the northern Mashonaland plateau as part of Zumbo province (Keppel-Jones 1983: 191). On 7 November 1889, Portugal officially proclaimed this district as encompassing the area along the whole border of their Manica province, from south of the Zambezi, west to the Umfuli along its whole length, and the Sanyati from its junction with the Umfuli to the Zambezi (Keppel-Jones 1983: 197). Handing out at least 1,100 Lee Enfield rifles with ammunition and powder, a wide range of Shona rulers were approached in this area, from Gutu and Makonde, to Nyandoro, Seke and Nyamweda, almost all of whom "accepted the blue and white Portuguese flag and rejected any suggestion of Ndebele rule. The Nehanda medium apparently recalled that it was good to see the Portuguese again after so many [nearly 200!] years, and that the people would be freed of the whip of Ndebele raids" (Beach 1990: 21). This show of force, combined with discussions with local leaders and generous gift-giving was meant to create an unassailable basis for Portuguese rule over the area. But not all were impressed—or convinced.

Writing for the *Times* in January 1890, Frederick Selous echoed the burgeoning official British Imperial view:

> "it is a fact that… during the last 25 years English hunters and travellers have explored every nook and corner of Mashonaland. They have chopped wagon roads through the forest, and made practicable fords across all the large rivers; they have established the most friendly relations with the natives, by whom the advent of the hunters' wagons is anxiously looked forward to and expected every year; and some of them have made very careful and accurate route-maps of their various journeys, and published accounts of the capabilities and natural resources of the country" (quoted in Warhurst 1962: 8).

Allowing for his great ambitions, and given the terms of the Rudd Concession and Royal Charter, Rhodes was determined that Manica, described to him by Selous (1881, 1893) as healthy and mineral-rich, should belong to Britain. Rhodes wrote to E. A. Maund in late 1889 saying: "I have claimed as the boundaries that they should recognise no claims of the Portuguese west of a straight line drawn down from Tete" (Cary 1970). Rhodes wanted control of the whole territory claimed by Portugal including the port of Beira, which would have given his company a much shorter route to the sea, had he not been restrained by the British government (Cary 1970).

In their haste to lay claim to the territories of Mashonaland and Malawi, Britain and Portugal forgot about the attitudes of the local leaders. For the purposes of this article, the only one of note was the Ndebele King Lobengula, who from the grant of the Rudd Concession, had come to strongly view the entire Mashonaland plateau as within his domain. In the UK, popular opinion found "no evidence of effective occupation

by any power other than Lobengula of the lands claimed by the British South Africa Company" (Coelho 2006: 4). The Portuguese never claimed Matabeleland, but denied Lobengula's claims that his kingdom's influence stretched to the Kafue and Mazoe rivers. Lobengula allegedly accepted the Save River as his eastern boundary, dividing his kingdom from that of Gungunhane's Gaza (Coelho 2006: 4, but see discussion on Ndebele frontiers above).

Due to the myriad treaties and concessions that had been granted or claimed in the years 1885-1889, the respective spheres of influence in southern and central Africa began to overlap and conflict seemed inevitable. From the perspective of Lord Salisbury, the main inducements for Britain to take an active role in the colonisation of this territory were the presence of Scottish missionaries in the Shire and Nyasa areas, the treaties made there by Commissioner and Consul-General Harry Johnston, his own antipathy to the slave trade in central Africa, and inducements from Cecil Rhodes for Britain to claim its rightful share of the African dream (Cary 1970; Coelho 2006; Warhurst 1962).

A memorandum sent to the Portuguese Government by Lord Salisbury on 11 January 1890 demanding the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from the Shire-Nyasa region (Malawi) and Mashonaland (Zimbabwe) is taken today as the moment of official acknowledgement of British sovereignty over the territory Portugal had claimed for centuries (Coelho 2006; Warhurst 1962). When Portugal consented, it was seen as a national humiliation and the government and the King were denounced and held responsible for it. The government fell. As a direct consequence of the high feelings over the Ultimatum, there was an attempted rebellion on 31 January 1891 in the city of Porto, which was the first large threat felt by the monarchy and a sign of what would come almost two decades later, when the monarchy fell. Incidentally, the British Ultimatum inspired the original lyrics of the Portuguese National Anthem, "A Portuguesa."

Despite the furore in Portugal, Lord Salisbury was in no hurry to deal with Portugal, partly because of his desire to settle with the Germans. This was done in the Heligoland Treaty dated 1 July 1890, giving Germany the Heligoland archipelago and the British the rights to the Zanzibar region in East Africa. Negotiations with the Portuguese only began on 6 July 1890, the day after the vanguard of the Pioneer Column left Fort Tuli for its march into the disputed territory of Mashonaland (McLaughlin 1982: xiv). The Treaty was agreed to on 20 August 1890 (Hertslet Vol. II 1894: 715-727), the day after the Pioneer Column left the newly-established Fort Victoria, aiming for Mount Hampden (McLaughlin 1982: xv). A fortnight later, a small group separated from the main body of the Pioneer Column at Fort Charter, to make for Manicaland to sign treaties with Mutasa to gain that portion of the country for Britain (see below). The treaty was not ratified and it lapsed. A "standstill agreement" was then agreed, whereby the terms of the treaty would be observed in practice and without prejudice to either side.

On 3 September 1890, following secret instructions issued in May of that year (Cary 1970: 93), the Administrator of Mashonaland Archibald Colquhoun, with his secretary Harrison at his elbow, accompanied by Leander Jameson (representing Rhodes), Captain Frederick Selous, Lieutenant Adair Campbell (BSACo A Troop), Lionel Cripps (later, the first Speaker of Parliament) and several others left the Pioneer Column to head eastwards. Their mission, then only known to Colquhoun and Jameson, was to make for the home of Chief Mutasa, also known *Mafamba Busuko*—the Lion Who Walks By

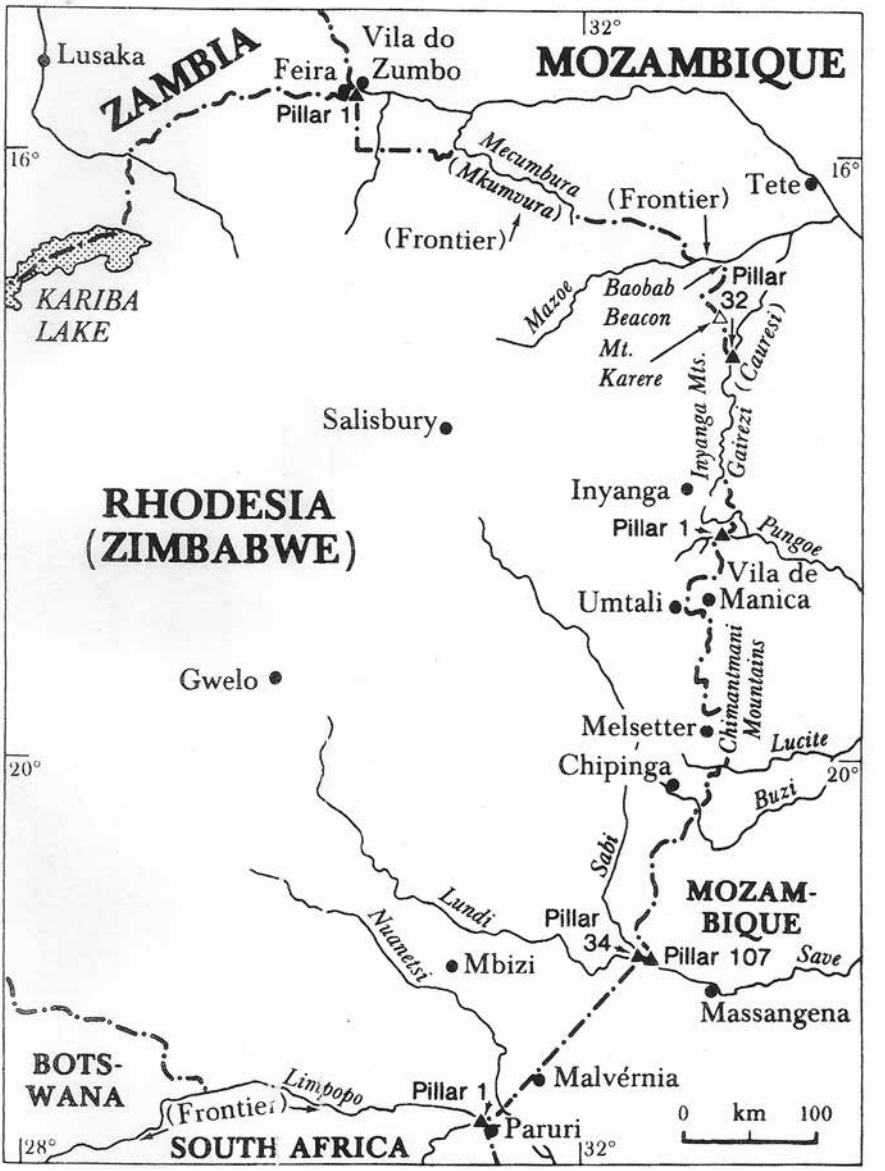


Figure 11: The convoluted eastern border of Zimbabwe.

Night—and convince him to enter into a treaty with the BSACo. Jameson was injured in a fall from his horse and returned to Fort Charter with Cripps and others (Cripps 1933: 92). The remainder of the small group arrived at Mutasa's home, some 40 kilometres north of Mutare, on 13 September 1890 (Cripps 1933: 92), the same day that the British flag was raised over the nascent Fort Salisbury.

Colquhoun first confirmed that Mutasa had not signed anything with the Portuguese. When asked about his relationship with the Baron de Rezende, the representative of the Companhia de Moçambique at Massi Kessi, Mutasa said, "I allow him to live there. He sometimes gives me presents, but I have not given him my country, not have I ever

concluded any treaty with him" (Selous 1893: 387). The Chief did later admit he had given permission to the Portuguese to dig for gold within his territory. Mutasa claimed that he feared the "spear" that the Portuguese had pointed at him, in the form of the person "Gouveia." This was the sobriquet of Manuel Antonio de Sousa, an Indian-Portuguese warlord and regent who, by force, controlled the entire region between the Pungwe and Zambezi Rivers (Lipschutz & Rasmussen 1989: 223). Excitedly Mutasa claimed that if he lied about having a previous alliance with any Portuguese officials, the whites could cut off his right hand. The treaty was signed and witnessed on 14 September 1890, and it gave exhaustive rights to the BSACo. These included mineral rights, the right to establish Christian missions, the appointment of a British Resident, the appointment of a BSACo-controlled police force, manufacturing protections and permission to create public works, banks and other civil administration necessities. The king's sovereign rights over his people were to remain intact.

The full text of the treaty is in Cripps (1933), but a key section is that where Mutasa agreed:

> "to bind myself and my successors and nation not to enter into any treaty or alliance with any other person, Company, or State, or to grant any concessions of land without the consent of the Company in writing, it being understood that this Covenant shall be considered in the light of a treaty or alliance made between the said nation and the Government of Her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria"

By agreeing to such intrusive demands, Mutasa perhaps saw a chance to free himself and his people from the depredations of Gouveia. Before Colquhoun's party were allowed to depart, they had to leave behind a policeman, Trooper Trevor, and an interpreter, as representatives of the BSACo and proof of British authority (Selous 1893: 388).

Selous continued east to Massi Kessi with an instruction from Colquhoun to make similar agreements with neighbouring chiefs. Running short of supplies, Selous headed for Massi Kessi where he was given a cold reception by Baron de Rezende (Selous 1893: 384-385). The Baron objected to the British presence saying the whole area was Portuguese territory. Colquhoun sent a formal reply acknowledging the complaint but once back in Salisbury, he despatched Captain Patrick Forbes with a small police force to Manicaland to counter any Portuguese moves in the area.

Recovered from his accident, Jameson left once again for Manica with Frank Johnson and John Henry Hay on 5 October 1890 to explore the route of the Pungwe and explore the possibility of an east coast road to the coast (Cary 1970: 95). Johnson (1940: 163) claims the idea of claiming territory to create a shorter route to the east coast for the BSACo territory was his idea, but it is clear from myriad correspondence between the directors of the BSACo—especially Cecil Rhodes—that this was part of the long term plan (Cary 1970: 91-120). Written in his typical bombastic style, Johnson's (1940: 162-193) account is the main source of information on this dangerous and arduous trip that ultimately served very little practical purpose owing to high-level political manoeuvres that rendered intentions and events on the ground irrelevant.

The two rival companies—BSACo and the Companhia de Moçambique—were making their moves to physically claim "their" territory. Andrada decided that Portuguese authority over Mutasa should be (re)imposed and he developed a plan with Gouveia

to send troops into the area, but not to confront Mutasa directly. On the British side, Rhodes, inspired by the failure of the August Treaty (and reports of a gold reef running from west-east into Manica from Matabeleland), decided to exploit the Principle of Effectivity and gave the order for Manicaland to be occupied. It was not to be an overt force like the Pioneer Column, but more a "drift" of prospectors and farmers into the area (Barnes 1975: 4). Captain Henry Montagu relates how he was approached to help the BSACo (Jones 1953: 60-61):

> "We had been at Hartley Hills about a month prospecting when Captain Heany came to me and asked me if I thought I could get some forty of the old pioneers to 'drift' into the Umtali district and occupy it as the chief had given the Chartered Company a concession. I managed this alright and we went back to Salisbury where we got 200 rounds of ammunition for Martinis per man, and a wagon and oxen, and a certain amount of food, and we made for Umtali, passing Rusawe, Headlands and Devil's Pass down to M'tasa's"

Forbes arrived with a small force of men at Mutasa's on 5 November 1890 and Gouveia followed on 8 November 1890 with a force of 270 men (Barnes 1975: 4). Forbes decided to wait for reinforcements, which were already on the way. On 11 November, Andrada arrived and was immediately asked via a letter by Forbes to leave. The request was ignored and Andrada had an interview with Mutasa followed by a meeting with the entire clan on 15 November. "Over them waved the blue and white royal flag of Portugal. Andrada made a speech in which he asserted that Manicaland was Portuguese and Umtasa supported him. The Chief denied having made over his country to the English but he refused to state that he had ever made it over to Gouveia" (Warhurst 1962: 28-29).

As Warhurst (1962) notes, Mutasa here showed a certain astuteness in his strategy since by denying any British connection, he could always claim duress but to have accepted any earlier Portuguese claims would have been harder to explain away. The fact that Mutasa was prepared to deny the latter cast grave doubts on Portuguese claims to sovereignty although he was technically their subject due to his payment of tribute to Gungunhana, the king of the Gaza people, who themselves were nominally under Portuguese suzerainty (cf. Cary 1970: 109). Jameson, with and through BSACo agents, Dunbar Moodie and Dr Schultz, later managed to extract the Gazaland Concession from Gungunhana acknowledging the British as his allies and protectors on 9 March 1891 (Ash 2012; Cary, 1970 Sinclair 1971). This was never formally acknowledged by the British authorities and remains little more than further evidence of the various ploys by the BSACo to gain a route to the sea by any means during the uncertain times of 1891.

The November 1890 indaba with Mutasa ended and Forbes acted: his two columns made their way into the village and surrounded the huts where Andrada, Rezende, Gouveia and colleagues had been meeting with Mutasa. On hearing the commotion, Andrada emerged into the sunlight, to be confronted by a uniformed Forbes who arrested him for "intriguing and conspiring with the natives in British territory" (Warhurst 1962: 29). After an attempt to escape, Gouveia submitted and some of Forbes' men began the journey back to Fort Salisbury with their prisoners. When they arrived, Colquhoun sent them on to Cape Town. Along the way, they were met at Fort Tuli by Jameson, who ordered the immediate release of Andrada and Gouveia. These men continued on to Cape Town where before boarding a ship for Europe, they lodged formal but futile

protests at their treatment with the relevant authorities. Forbes meanwhile had continued east in the hopes of acquiring further territorial concessions from independent chiefs on the way to the coast.

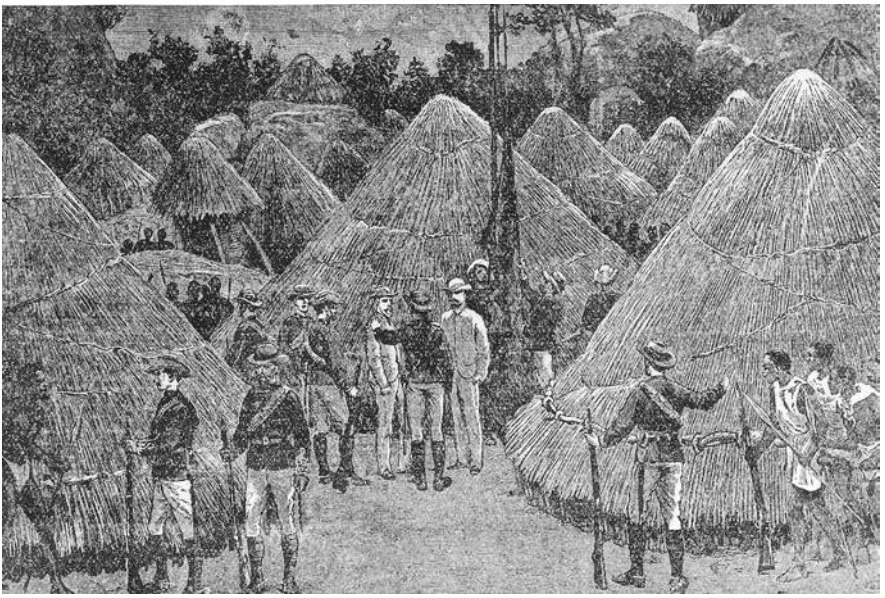


Figure 12: Major Forbes arresting Colonel d'Andrada Umtasa Homestead, sketch published in November 1890.

Forbes has been unkindly described by historian Peter Gibbs (1955), as "a typical British bulldog with as little sense" and credits him with almost single-handedly starting a war with Portugal when arresting their representatives, and occupying Massi Kessi. A privately published biography of the man paints a much more sympathetic picture (Altham 1928) and gives some detail not recorded elsewhere. Forbes marched for Beira hoping to take that coastal town. He was stopped on 29 November 1890 and recalled less than two days travel from the coast by Colquhoun on behalf of the British Government who had made a temporary agreement—*a modus vivendi*—with the Portuguese on 23 November. The status quo was to be maintained pending the conclusion of a new treaty to settle the question of the boundaries once and for all. "The Portuguese naturally enough regarded it as confirmation that the Sabi River was still their western boundary - that is Manicaland was well within their sphere of influence" (Barnes 1975: 5). Rhodes sent a telegram asking that Beira be occupied but it arrived on 14 December, too late to make any impact. "The opportunity to acquire a seaport for the new British territory had, like a grain of sand, slipped between closing fingers" (Barnes 1975: 5).

The bickering over the territory continued and in April 1891, rumours surfaced that a large Portuguese force was gathering to attack the eastern border so Colquhoun sent reinforcements to Manicaland. On 11 May 1891, Captain Melville Heyman led an attack on the Portuguese fort of Massi Kessi (cf. Barnes 1975). The Portuguese had about 100

whites and 300 blacks while the British had under 50 men. With imaginative use of his seven-pounder cannon and accurate rifle-fire, Heyman was able to throw the Portuguese forces into confusion, who then retreated, leaving 30 dead. Heyman later occupied the fort at Massi Kessi and sent a small force of no more than seventeen men, under the command of Lieutenant Eustace Fiennes (grandfather of modern day explorer Sir Ranulph Finnes) to push for the coast. Whilst making plans to storm Chimoio, Fiennes met up with the redoubtable Bishop Knight-Bruce (Knight-Bruce 1895) who informed him that Major Herbert Sapte was close behind, carrying instructions that were to change the make-up of the whole eastern frontier.

Herbert Langton Sapte is an unsung hero amongst the annals of Zimbabwean history —for he is one of few people who can claim to have almost single-handedly stopped a war (Langham-Carter 1974). The son of an English churchman, he holds a small yet significant role in British military history since he is the last person to buy an officer's commission in the British Army. Sapte had worked for British High Commissioner for Southern Africa Henry Loch as his Military Secretary since 1889 and thus, in 1891, was seen as just the man to ensure that Whitehall's orders were carried out to the letter (Langham-Carter 1974: 39). The British government ordered that any future advance eastwards was forbidden and that the soldiers were to withdraw to Mutare. After a long and difficult journey, Sapte was able to deliver his instructions to Heyman in person on 2 June 1891, and soon afterwards, the Portuguese abandoned their claim to the country east of the Sabi and Britain its claim to Macequece and the Manica Mountains were recognised as the main boundary. Rhodes was furious at the despoliation of his plans and later is said to have remarked to Heyman: "But why didn't you put Sapte in irons and say he was drunk?" (Langham-Carter 1974: 42). All was presumably forgiven later by Rhodes as Sapte joined Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, later becoming its Managing Director (Langham-Carter 1974: 42-43), later dying a wealthy and accomplished man.

The Anglo-Portuguese Conventions and Boundary Commissions

As noted, the events leading to the first Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 20 August 1890 had nearly caused the downfall of the Portuguese monarchy and did cause the government to fall. This agreement was never ratified and negotiations restarted against the backdrop of the various BSACo machinations described above. It had become increasingly clear that the British government was negotiating from a position of strength but the Portuguese held firm on their demands and rights and, broadly speaking, managed to save face.

The second Anglo-Portuguese Convention was signed in Lisbon on 11 June, 1891 between British Queen Victoria and King Carlos of Portugal. It shifted the boundary in the north-east slightly to the east and clarified its point of origin in the north. Significantly, the agreement also shifted the middle section of the boundary eastwards, bringing much of Manicaland within the British sphere of influence, but excluding Gazaland. In tracing the boundary line along the eastern slope of the highlands, the Portuguese were not allowed to come further west than 32°30'E nor were the British allowed to go east of 33°E. A slight deflection westwards was made so as to include the settlement of Massi Kessi within Portuguese territory.

Another significant change, though not seen as important at the time, was that the boundary had to run along the upper part of the eastern slope, rather than along

the main line of summits or anywhere to the west. This definition formed the basis for inclusion within the British sphere of a large portion of the Eastern Highlands, comprising the scenic Nyanga and Vumba Mountains in the north and centre and the rugged, Chimanimani Mountains in the south. By dint of encouraging settlers allied to Britain to move into the area (Jones 1953: 57-59), the gold rich region of Penhalonga now belonged to Rhodes' BSACo by virtue of the "principle of effectivity." This was a delicately insecure process as there were already several prospectors in the area, working under Portuguese licence (Johnson 1940: 168-169).

To accurately determine and then to mark out the border as agreed in the 1891 Convention, an Anglo-Portuguese Delimitation Commission was formed in 1892 (Grant 1893; Leverson 1893, 1894). Similar Commissions were to be formed in the years to come to decide the myriad questions over the eastern border (Brownlee & Burns 1979). Major J.J. Leverson was chosen as Commissioner for the British. The Commissions in this instance worked almost totally independently of each other (Grant 1893; Leverson 1893) and the Portuguese Government would argue over almost every record and claim produced by the British. The Commission members made their base at Massi Kessi, where they spent the month of June determining its longitude because it "was foreseen that the adjustment of the boundary between Massi-Kessi and Umtasa's would be a difficult task" (Grant 1893: 340) because it was here that the British and Portuguese settlers were most likely to come into conflict due to their close proximity. From July to October the Commission was preoccupied with surveying the boundary south of Massi Kessi to the Sabi River and thence on to the confluence of the Limpopo and Pafuri Rivers. Returning to Massi Kessi after an exceptionally arduous trip, the Commission took it upon themselves to travel to the north of that settlement, past the Pungwe and Odzi Rivers to survey the mountainous terrain.

In 1894 when negotiations failed to produce a final agreement, the dispute was referred to an Italian government minister, Paul Vigliani, for arbitration. The result

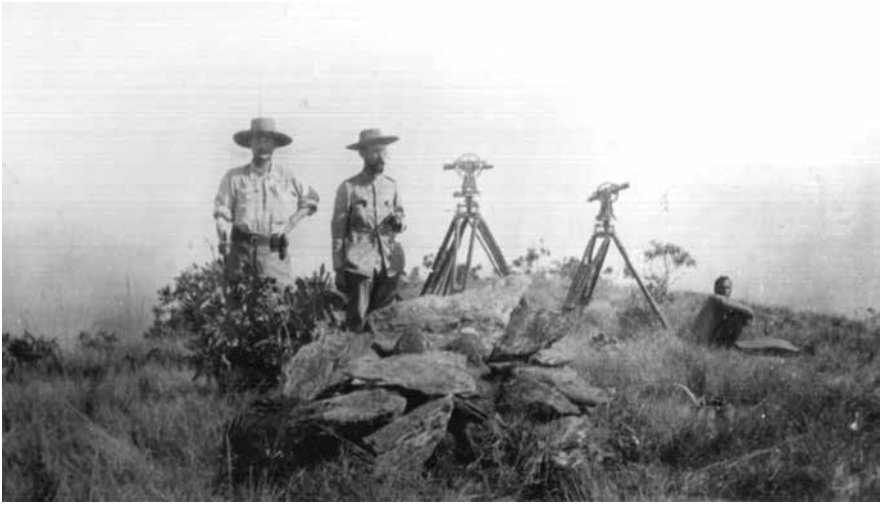


Figure 13: Lt. Brown (right) and Capt. Rosado surveying atop Mount Inyamahowa, Anglo-Portuguese Boundary Commission, 1898. (Bulawayo Public Library Collection)

of the arbitration was submitted in January 1897 and accepted by both governments. In all, Britain was awarded approximately 3,461 square kilometres and Portugal 826 square kilometres of the 4,287 square kilometres in dispute (Best & Zinyama 1985: 428). Disagreements continued over the exact path the boundary line should take. The southern sector between the Sabi and the Limpopo rivers was only demarcated in 1903. An agreement covering the two sectors from 18° to the Limpopo was signed in 1907. Between 1932 and 1937 a joint boundary commission adjusted and re-demarcated the boundary from 18° to the Limpopo river and final agreement on this stretch was reached through an exchange of notes between Britain and Portugal in October 1940.

The alignment which resulted from the Anglo-Portuguese agreements of 1891 and 1893, together with the Arbitration Award of 1897 concerning the Manica boundary gave rise to a prolonged sequel of demarcations and modifications, ending in 1940 (Brownlee & Burns 1979: 1221-1226). The most important include:

1. The definition of the Zambian tripoint as the junction of the thalweg of the Zambezi and the thalweg of the Loangwa in the Agreement of 1911, Annex 2.
2. The section of the Mazoe River to the Honde River (Barue Section) was accepted by British and Portuguese Commissioners in the period from 28 June to 6 December 1898. The understanding was completed by an Exchange of Notes on 4 March and 28 April 1902 and an Exchange of Notes on 18 January and 12 April 1904.
3. From the Honde River to the Sabi River (including the Manica Boundary) was described in the *Proces-verbaux* signed by British and Portuguese Commissioners on 2 and 28 June and 14 and 15 December 1898. In an Exchange of Notes on 3 June 1907, the two Governments gave definitive status to the line described in the four *Proces-verbaux* of 1898. In the period 1932

Figure 14: Trigonometrical point at Mount Inyangani, just behind the highest point in Zimbabwe. The pile of rocks is the first boundary marker in the area, now replaced with a more permanent structure made with concrete. (Bulawayo Public Library Collection)

to 1937 a mixed commission introduced local modifications and redemarcated an entire sector by reference to beacons numbered 1 to 107. This demarcation was approved by an Exchange of Notes on 29 October 1940. The tripoint with South Africa is the intersection of the final straight line sector and the thalweg of the Limpopo River.

4. River Sabi to the River Limpopo was determined in a Minute signed by the British and Portuguese Commissioners at Beira on 3 July 1903. This line was agreed on a provisional basis in an Exchange of Notes on 21 December 1903 and 19 July 1904. The boundary was given definitive acceptance in an Exchange of Notes on 3 June 1907.

The entire alignment is demarcated by artificial beacons and rivers (Hughes 2006). To the present day, the sectors between the Zambia tripoint and the Mazoe and Honde Rivers are dependent upon markers placed in the period 1898 to 1904. Some re-demarcation may be necessary since some of the original markers were rather simple in construction, using wooden posts and stone cairns, and may not have survived.

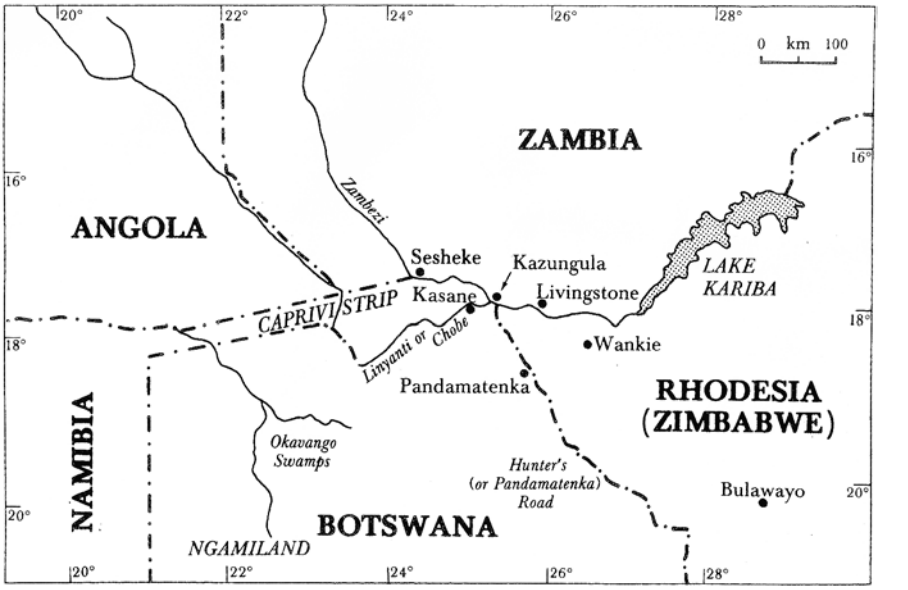
Unresolved Border Issues

By the end of 1891, less than a year after the occupation of Mashonaland and Manicaland, the general outline of the new country that became Zimbabwe had already been set. At a time when little of the country was known by the new colonial regime, physical features provided easily recognisable points of reference for the allocation of territory and the initial definition of the boundary. Thus rivers came to define the boundary to a much greater degree than seems to be common for the rest of tropical Africa. Consequently, there are two major unresolved issues:

1. Most maps of the area of the Zambezi-Chobe confluence show the four international boundaries of Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia converging near Kazungula. Yet the alignment of the boundaries in the Zambezi River in this area has never been resolved. The Botswana-Zimbabwe boundary is demarcated only as far as the south bank of the Zambezi River. Any projection of the boundary into the river would require the agreement of all four countries concerned as to the alignment of their lines into the water.
2. In the south, it is still not formally established whether the boundary with South Africa follows the median line or the thalweg (the middle of the chief navigable channel of a waterway) of the Limpopo River.

Both minor issues have the potential to become much larger problems. In recent times, it is the uncertainty of the configuration of the border at Kazungula that has become an issue (Figure 15). The direction in which the Botswana/Zimbabwe boundary projects (if it does at all) cannot be determined based on existing agreements and treaties. The 1898 Order in Council was silent and the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council 1923 added little. The question turns upon the position and direction of the Hunter's Road, and the only evidence for its position in 1898 comes from contemporary maps, which could not be checked later after the trail had fallen into disuse (cf. Tabler 1959). The question remained of whether the line taken by various Boundary Commissions is correct, and whether it should be prolonged into the river.

In 2007, the Governments of Botswana and Zambia announced the ratification of



BOTSWANA–ZAMBIA (QUADRIPOINT ISSUE)

Figure 15: Map showing the quadripoint issue at Kazungula between Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia and Nambia. See also Figure 5.

plans to construct a road-rail bridge at Kazungula, linking the two countries by crossing the Zambezi River (*Times of Zambia*, 03 December 2017). The intention was to replace the dangerous antiquated system of using ferries with the attendant delays. Making his submission to the Zambian Parliamentary Committee in 2008, Works and Supply Permanent Secretary, Biwayo Nkunika, disclosed that the Zimbabwean government was demanding to be part of the project owing to the fact that the original design needed a single pier on an island claimed by Zimbabwe (*Sunday Standard*, 13 July 2008). As *The Herald* (10 March 2018) related, "Many challenges had impinged construction of the bridge including the frosty relations between Zimbabwe and its two neighbouring countries over the specific boundary and site of the bridge. The political uneasiness between Zimbabwe and Botswana during President Mugabe's era also affected cooperation on the project."

Nkunika further claimed that the bridge would have to rest on some parts of Zimbabwean soil to connect directly to Botswana because the beacons installed on the southern bank of the Zambezi River made it impossible for Zambia to connect directly to Botswana (*Sunday Standard*, 13 July 2008). Construction was delayed until 12 September 2014 *(Lusaka Times*, 13 September 2014) while a new design was tested and feasibility testing completed. The bridge, under construction at the time of writing, will have a total length of 923 metres, with middle deck sections of 129 metres, and four piers in the river. It follows a curved alignment layout, passing over Namibian territorial waters, to avoid the border area in the Zambezi River between Botswana and Zimbabwe, where the exact border positions have not been ratified. Zimbabwe was incorporated into the project on 10 March 2018 (*The Herald* 10 March 2018). This brief episode shows the need for all border issues to be resolved as soon as possible.

Conclusions

A question, mired in philosophical considerations, is the extent to which the shape and extent of a country's borders can influence the character of its citizens, history and politics. Zimbabwe is a remarkably compact country, with an incredible diversity in the range and type of natural environment found within its borders (Kay 1970). Speaking on Southern Rhodesia, Roger Summers (1960: 291) argued that the country, although:

> "an artificial unit whose boundaries were determined as a result of nineteenth-century politics in Europe, nevertheless possesses an individuality—indeed a personality—which differs from its neighbors [sic]. This personality arises partly as a result of the geographical factors of mountain and desert, but these have proved less important than the presence of noxious insects-tsetse flies-which effectively converted this area into a kind of "land-locked island," where cultures have developed, sometimes in comparative isolation but sometimes stimulated from outside, and in turn stimulating other areas. The country's natural wealth has stimulated local development from the Later Stone Age onwards"

Within the modern border, almost-identical themes in the promotion of tourist attractions have been noted with the use of Great Zimbabwe, Victoria Falls, Hwange National Park, the Nyanga region, the Zambezi River, and from 1960, Lake Kariba. Luise White (2015) has argued for a continuation in political thought and process from the 1960s to the present day. Like the Rhodesians from 1964 to 1979, the Zimbabwean government from 1998 to 2017, led by Robert Mugabe, promoted the concept of a nation under siege from powerful, foreign enemies due its own (illegitimate) political and moral stance. To what extent such events and processes are the result of the shape of Zimbabwe's borders is debatable but the concept of a boundary, separating the nation from its neighbours, is subtle and powerful (cf. Nkiwane 1997).

The shape of the country has become a powerful unifying force but not for all residents, in part, owing to the perceived neglect by the central government since the 1980s, coupled with the civilian massacres of the 1980s (termed *Gukurahundi*). This has seen a growing faction in Matabeleland province call for secession to become masters of their own destiny (cf. Maphenduka 2015). Using a multitude of names reflecting the different factions within this nascent movement, the multi-faceted Mthwakazi movement has laid claim to a large portion of Zimbabwe's current territory. Such ideas have been based on a deliberately distorted view of applicability of old concessions and treaties (Maphenduka 2015: 29-44) as well as an oversimplification of the lands once controlled by the Ndebele kingdom prior to colonisation (*Bulawayo News24*, 15 June 2017):

> "The border of Mthwakazi and Zimbabwe which was signed between Sir Star Leander Jameson and King Lobengula in 1891. The border is the Munyathi River, and that exists between Mthwakazi and Zambia is Zambezi River. The Border that exist between Mthwakazi and Botswana is Ramaquabane and the border that separate Mthwakazi from South Africa is Limpopo River."

Although treated with contempt and derision by the government (e.g. *The Chronicle*, 14 July 2017), and with a confused leadership (e.g. *NewsDay*, 21 November 2016; *NewsDay*, 26 June 2017), this secessionist movement nonetheless articulates real

Figure 16: Map showing the imagined extent of the proposed Republic of Mthwakazi, complete with suggested province names. (Source: http://1893mrm.org/Mthwakazi-Restoration Last Accessed 09 May 2018). Note use of colonial spelling for Kwekwe.

grievances felt by many people in the south and west of Zimbabwe. Given Zimbabwe's adherence to the AU charter (Zoppi 2013) and a lack of support for such movements in southern Africa, it is unlikely that the Mthwakazi movement would ever succeed in their aim—without resorting to devastating armed conflict, as has happened in places like Sudan. If the issue becomes heated enough, a federal solution may be adopted, but that too, in the current political climate and peaceful unity desired by the majority, is an unnecessary pipe dream.

Endnote

In the course of researching the necessary background for this article, a simple question raised its head: Where are the original concession documents stored? As Table 1 shows, there were several different concession documents created in Zimbabwe during the Scramble for Africa. Perhaps of only minor concern to most researchers, given the fact that almost all have been published elsewhere (cf. Akers 1973), I strongly feel that the question of the location of such invaluable historical documents needs to be resolved. In three years of research, I was unable to confirm the location of a single original concession document mentioned in this article, although several leads need to be investigated further. The National Archives of Zimbabwe (Harare) is an obvious

place to start, as is the internal archive of the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (Harare and Bulawayo), followed by the Museum of Africa (Johannesburg), the various archives in South Africa, especially those in Cape Town, the company archives of Anglo-American (Harare and Johannesburg), De Beers (Johannesburg), and the Chartered Consolidated Company itself (London-based, but acquired by Colfax Corporation, an American company, in January 2012). It is possible that many of these documents were irretrievably lost when the London offices and archives of the BSACo were bombed during the Blitz in May 1941 (Baxter 1969: xxx) rendering the question moot. One hopes that future researchers will be able to resolve the niggling question one way or another. Zimbabwe's historiography deserves nothing less.

Acknowledgements

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The Reminiscences of Charles Quinche (1900–96)

A Bulawayan of Swiss–Ndebele Parentage

'an extremely able teacher and a man of great influence for good'[1]

Transcribed by F. Hawkins from the Brown Family Papers[2]
Edited and annotated by R. S. Roberts

Charles Quinche was born in 1900 in Bulawayo of a French-speaking father, Emile Quinche, and an Ndebele mother whose name is not remembered. But his father died in 1908 and his father's brother appears to have left the country in 1911. Thus he was effectively an orphan and the little left of his inheritance had been spent by 1914 on schooling and board at Inyati mission. Thereafter he was completely dependant on the charity of the mission and well-wishers. Nevertheless he made the best of what life offered and did very well with his studies and became a teacher. There are the occasional longueurs in his account of his scholastic attainments and teaching duties, but to him they were victorious milestones in a life of loneliness and hardship. For he had to make his way alone in a society that was geared almost exclusively to the provision of services for Europeans and Africans. And it was doubly hard for youngsters like Charles, even within his own community, for it is a sad, but little known, fact that the Cape Coloureds who predominated were more prejudiced against those with African mothers than Europeans were! So much was this so that some historians deny that there was really a Coloured community as such—it was a colonial construct of false consciousness. But it may be argued that the ultimate success in life of people like Charles shows that this was not so. As no other members of the Coloured community, as far as is known, have written the story of their lives, this document is presented as a unique insight into a neglected part of our history.

Editorial Note: The reminiscences are presented as in the original, poor typescript, probably from extempore dictation. Thus the sentences are often short, not fully punctuated, with sparse and inconsistent capitalization and hyphenation. But, the only editorial changes that have been made are to punctuation where essential for clarity, especially where the spoken word is involved; similarly a few deletions to avoid repetition have been made (indicated by . . .) and a few insertions have been made to improve clarity (indicated by their inclusion within square brackets). The

[1] D. G. H. Flood, 'Education and the London Missionary Society in Matabeleland 1890–1953' (University of Bristol, M.Ed., 1974), 108. Flood interviewed Quinche in 1970.

[2] Frances Hawkins is the wife of David Hawkins, who inherited the papers from his mother Kathleen (neé Brown, 1916–2015). Kathleen had met Donald E. Hawkins from England, when he was member-in-charge of the B.S.A.P. at Tsholotsho in the 1930s. After their service in the Second World War they married in 1947, by which time Donald had gone farming, ultimately on the farm he renamed Harlesden in Nyamandhlovu. Kathleen was the elder daughter of the Revd William George Brown (1881–1956, born in Wiltshire) and his wife, Kate Elizabeth Godwin (1884–1995) who had married in Oldham in 1915. Mr Brown was a builder but in Nottingham in 1914 he had been ordained as a minister of the Congregational Church and volunteered for service with the London Missionary Society (see below, fn. 9). Thus he came to the L.M.S. mission at Inyati in 1916 and was tasked with the development of a new out-station in the Shangani Reserve. There he began a long and distinguished career as missionary and educator, some of which appears in these reminiscences (see below, fn. 35, 45). Both the Browns and the Hawkins were good friends of Charles Quinche and his family; and this explains the discovery of his reminiscences among the Brown family papers, the rest of which Frances Hawkins will soon be publishing as a book.

few indisputable misspellings have been corrected without comment and similarly some sub-headings have been introduced and paragraphing changed to improve the flow of the text. Names of places, rivers etc are as in the original but post-Independence changes are indicated in square brackets at the first occurrence.

I was born in Bulawayo in an area that was then known as the Brickfields where my father, a Frenchman had a plot.[3] He was a market gardener and strawberries were his speciality. He was short, quick tempered, industrious and versatile. He was a blacksmith and wheel-wright. He built his own one-horse cart in which he conveyed vegetables and strawberries to market. The horse, a large docile animal with big hoofs served three purposes. He drew the cart, a single furrow plough and was ridden. I think he was an Australian horse. Dad manufactured containers for strawberries on his home-made press. These had fluted corners like old fashioned jelly moulds. He built his own house and was also a welder. He and his brother, my uncle Maurice built two row boats. There was a dam on the property. Uncle was a man of annoying practical jokes. He would take one for our row in the dam and deliberately capsize the boat. If his passenger could not swim he saved him and had a good laugh. I was keen on building. I put up a little structure with stones and mud. Uncle would come along, [and] say, 'That's a nice house you have built, now let's see if it is strong.' He would put his foot on it and flatten it. He had to run with stones flying after him.

Dad could play the mouth organ, concertina and accordion. He may have had some rank in the French army. In his bedroom there were two swords hanging on the wall. They were crossed and in the centre hung a holster with a heavy six chamber service revolver. Dad and uncle often held shooting competitions. They lined up empty soda water bottles as targets. The type of soda water bottle of those days had a neck which was constricted at two points one above the other. In the centre bulge was a glass marble. This arrangement may have had to do with controlling expansion and contraction. I don't know. However, I had no lack of marbles as there were many of these bottles in a dump near our place. All I had to do was knock off the neck of each bottle. Dad and uncle liked having a bit of fun. Some of it, a bit doubtful. They made themselves stilts and would strut around the yard on these.

A short distance away from our plot was a hole in which obsolete ammunition was dumped and a fire lit to explode the bullets. When all was quiet Dad or uncle would go along there and pick up live bullets that had been hit out of the hole. These were taken home, a fire started in the forge and the bullets thrown in. The explosions were counted. One day they must have mis-counted. Dad had to work on some iron. A fire was started in the forge and I worked at pumping the bellows when there was an explosion. I was thrown to the ground by a mass of charcoal. Fortunately I was unhurt.

As for religion, there were no prayers or grace before meals. The only hint of it was when Dad told me that I'd burn for my misdemeanours. Once when Dad and uncle were away for a few hours I was left in the care of a Coloured family living in our neighbourhood. At lunch, closing our eyes and someone seemingly talking to nobody was so funny that I burst out laughing.

I have no recollection of what my mother looked like. She was a 'Ndebele soaked

[3] Brickfields was part of the municipal commonage where plots were held on lease. There have been several brickfields there but this one was probably in what has become Thorngrove, historically the poorer area for Coloureds (I am grateful to Paul Hubbard for help concerning Bulawayo). Charles's father was, in fact, francophone Swiss: Emile Quinche (c.1870–1908), born in Switzerland, son of Henry [Henri] and Emily [Emilie] Quinche, Natl Arch. of Zimbabwe, Harare (all codes to documents are of files in this Archive), JG 3/3/146 (Master of the High Court: Deceased Estates: D.R. Series), D.R. 11/41.

in the traditions and beliefs of her race. From old Jim, my father's faithful assistant I learnt that I cut top teeth first. This meant that I was an ill-omen and should be disposed of. Old Jim must have tipped off Dad who on his horse followed mother into the bush and rescued me in time. What happened to mother I shall never know. From then on Dad looked after me himself. Dad and uncle did their own cooking

One year Dad went home to France leaving me in uncle's care. He returned with his sister Aunt Adele and grandpa. I then had my first experience of being mothered. Unfortunately this was short lived. Auntie fell ill, was taken to the Memorial Hospital and died of black water fever.[4] Grandpa returned to France and died there.

I spoke three languages, French, Sindebele and English which I picked up in my association with white playmates. I was born in 1900. The exact date is unknown. My kind were not registered in those days. Uncle could not remember the exact date but was sure of the year. The 30th of June was later adopted for legal reasons.[5]

Of my early memories one was a scourge of red locusts that ate everything to the roots between 1904–05. The other was Dad and Uncle in deep conversation and tracing with their fingers on what I believe was a small map of South Africa. I believe they were discussing the tail-end of the Boer war.

Of children's peculiar ideas and escapades I had my share. I found that when I shut my eyes tight it was dark and [I] strangely believed that the surroundings were also; so when someone came after me for something I had done I ran, dodged and decided to bring on darkness. Needless to say the experiment was to my cost.

Our W.C. was a deep pit over which was a structure composed of a wooden frame-work. The walls and roof were thatched with grass. One day as I approached the W.C. a snake slithered into the grass wall. I ran to the house, got a box of matches and set the grass on fire. That was the end of the snake but the total result shocked me. I was given a sound thrashing. Another wooden frame work was erected and this time the walls and roof were corrugated iron. I considered my thrashing worthwhile.

Close to our fowl-run were two bee hives. I decided to see what was happening. I lifted the roof of one hive and I knew no more. I was stung all over. My head felt heavy, my eyes were swollen and I could not see for two or three days. Dad successfully treated me himself. We lost over a hundred fowls. In hot weather bees are very vicious.

Dad intended sending me to Cape Town for my education, but in 1906[6] he also died of black water fever. Malaria fever was rife all over the country in those days. Uncle was left to run the business and take care of me.

One day in 1907,[7] I think it was towards the end of the year, Uncle packed a supply of clothes into a small portmanteau and he took me to the station. I had never been there before nor had I ever been near a train. I was ushered into what to me was a very small room. There was a white gentleman there who was to take care of me and see that I

[4] Ibid., grandfather was Henry [Henri]; Adele Quinche, born in Switzerland c.1878, was described as a housekeeper of Brickfields when she died on 16 Apr. 1906 of a cardiac arrest and pneumonia, S1212, 1906, Entry No. 54 . Charles never forgot this brief period of 'motherly' care, for he named one of his daughters after Adele over thirty years later.

[5] Similarly his name Charles must have been formalised at some stage; in his father's will he was referred to as Charli, S3508 (High Court, Master's Office. Harare, Correspondence, Wills, 1900–68), 697.

[6] In fact on 16 Nov. 1908 and of dysentery after 25 days in hospital, S1212, (Registrar-General of Births, Deaths . . ., Information of Death (European and Africa), 1904–61), 1908, Entry No. 146.

[7] Logically it must have been 1909; and for confirmation of that see, JG 3/3/ 146, D.R. 11/41, Messrs A. D. Webb, Bulawayo, to Master, High Court, 22 Oct. 1910,

Inyati Church, of a typical L.M.S. design

got off at Insiza Station. After a few minutes I was surprised when the room began to move. Railway coaches of that time had no corridors. Each compartment had a door on each side. The top half of each door had a sliding window. At Insiza I had to wait in Mr. Wilson's Store[8] for transport to take me to the London Missionary Society's Mission at Inyati [now Inyathi].[9] The Rev. Bowen Rees a Welshman was in charge.[10] Late in the afternoon a scotch-cart drawn by two oxen arrived. I was lifted into the cart and we set out on a 30 mile cross country journey and arrived at Inyati just before sunset. The Rev. Bowen Rees looked so much like my Grandfather that I greeted him in French and was disappointed when he responded in English. Another coloured boy older than I was, was there. He was George Stuhardt of German and African descent. He helped me to fit in. His father who was a farmer in the Insiza district had died. His two

[8] At about this time there had been a G. Wilson and an A. Wilson at Insiza, both described as butchers; perhaps they were partners of the one store.

[9] The London Missionary Society was founded in London in 1795 as a non-denominational evangelical body, closely aligned with the Congregational Church. Southern Africa was one of its chosen areas for missionary work and its mission at Kuruman in the northern Cape became famous in the history of this country because the Moffat family there (into which Livingstone married) made contact with Mzilikazi. This led to their obtaining permission to open a mission at Inyati in 1859 and at Hope Fountain in 1870. Their missionaries played a very prominent, public role in Matabeleland for the next thirty-five years, but they made very few converts. After 1896 and the consolidation of the European presence the L.M.S. redoubled its efforts (some of which appear in the text) but their resources were always inadequate and they never became the force that they were in Bechuanaland. Indeed in their centenary year, in 1959, their African membership in Southern Rhodesia was a derisory one per cent of the total number of avowed Christians. One of the main reasons for this will appear below (fn. 43) in connection with the strike at Inyati in 1932. As a consequence of this the L.M.S. in Matabeleland, despite its pre-colonial fame, has not had its history documented and published in the same detail as other missions have.

[10] Bowen Rees (1857–1929): born in Llandybie, Carmarthenshire, son of a stone-mason, he started work at nine years of age. The family belonged to the Congregational Church and the young Bowen was inspired to missionary work by Thomas Morgan Thomas in 1873–4 when he was fund-raising in order to return to Matabeleland as an independent missionary. So Rees went for training to the independent Bala College from 1880 to 1884 and was then ordained as a minister in the Congregational Church and joined the L.M.S. After a brief posting to the Lake Tanganyika area and some medical training he was sent to Inyati in 1888 to help the sickly Revd William Elliott. In 1890 his betrothed, Susannah Davies, sailed to Cape Town where they married before travelling to Inyati. From 1892 to 1918 they were the only missionaries at Inyati where they had six children (three dying young) and then the youngest, Llewelyn, who appears in the text, born in Wales in 1905. Rees had quickly won the trust of the Ndebele and he offered to stay with Lobengula as Jameson's Column advanced on Gubuluwayo in 1893. In the Rising of 1896 he and his family were allowed to leave Inyati and go to Bulawayo. He was critical of the British South Africa Company's treatment of the Ndebele and became a friend and advisor to Lobengula's son, Tshakalisha. He later taught at Tiger Kloof, as will be seen, briefly returned to Inyati in 1919, and then returned to Tiger Kloof before retiring in 1922 to Wales, where he died.

brothers Peter and Jack were later admitted.[11]

Mr. Rees had been on furlough and returned by himself. Mrs. Rees and their youngest son Llewelyn arrived later. On the first Sunday after Mrs. Rees arrived I was in our room putting on my shoes when she called. I told her what I was doing but that was not good enough. My shoes were taken away together with some of my clothes. I never saw these again. My companions were barefooted and I suppose I had to be.

We had to have our meals with the servants but had our own sleeping quarters. We had thick porridge made with coarse mealie-meal. We had to grind the mealies ourselves in a hand grinder. If we dared to adjust the machine to produce fine meal we got into serious trouble. We were told that we were wearing out the teeth of the machine; but I have a shrewd suspicion that the old man made sure that we got some roughage. Most of the time we had skimmed curdled milk with the porridge. Occasionally there was some meat.

There was no separator so after the cows were milked, the milk was poured into large basins and left to stand till the next day when the cream settled at the top. This was skimmed and put into a bowl or a hand propelled churn depending on the quantity. Most of the rest was fed to the pigs. The pails for the pigs' food had to be scrubbed and washed spotlessly clean. As we never seemed to have enough to eat, whoever was lucky to be delegated to feed the pigs, took a jam tin with him and helped himself when he got to the sty.

On Sundays depending of course on the mood of the old people, after lunch we were called to the dining room bringing our

The Revd and Mrs Bowen Rees.
***The Brown Family Papers*.**

Flag Cigarette Packet

[11] Gunther Stuhardt (c.1860–1907), born in Germany; he owned and lived on Magholo Farm in the Insiza area; described as unmarried when he died of asthma in 1907, S1212, Entry No. 16 of 1907. However, in his will (S3508, 612), he left everything he owned in Southern Rhodesia (a working farm and a property in Bulawayo that was rented out) to his children and their mother, Maxinazi Mayo (Maqinase Moyo) who, he said, had saved his life. John (Jack) Gunther Stuhardt appears to have been the youngest of his sons and he was involved in the public affairs of the Coloured community, notably as a founding member in 1931 of the Coloured Community Services League, the first organisation to speak for both Cape Coloureds and Rhodesians with an African parent.

plates. We lined up in single file and were given food from their table. Anyone guilty of a misdemeanour was sent away empty. We easily got round the problem by sharing on the quiet. One day I heard Mr. Rees say to a friend, 'These people are difficult to handle. You cannot treat them as black or white. They are in between.' I suppose that is why we were somehow treated as both. I was sometimes patted on the back and told that I had more white than black blood in me, but if I did anything wrong I was black in and out!

The Reeses were very strict. We daren't kick a tennis ball around on a Sunday. One day I got into trouble for having miniature playing cards which I got out of 'Flag' cigarette packets.[12] When I was 14 to my regret I asked Mr. Rees if Jack Johnson, the Negro boxing champion had won his fight.[13]

On my first Sunday I had been warned that in Church I had to be absolutely still. During the service I wanted to go out badly. In the end I let go. A fine Christian African lady who became our life long friend attended to me as though I were her own child. In those early days the Church was packed. Even old men and women clothed in their traditional way attended. Young men wore boots. The more these squeaked, the more popular they were. One would strut into Church late so as to draw attention to himself. This was soon stopped. Boots had to be left outside. Two services were held, commencing at 11 a.m. and the other at 3 p.m.

On Christmas Day virtually the whole population of the mission turned out. After a Church service they were supplied with mealie-meal and an ox or two. An ox was either shot or stabbed with a spear. The throat was quickly slit and the blood collected in a pot. Pieces of fat were added to this and then cooked. This black pudding had to be stirred continually and allowed to simmer slowly. The people had to bring their own pots. Some of these were large enough to take the whole hind quarter of an ox. Those who could, brought wooden platters with them. The meat was boiled. Some strips were roasted on the coals. Some of the meat was placed on leaves. The people sat in circular groups. One would take a chunk of meat which would be passed round, anyone having a knife cut off a piece for himself. If not he bit a piece off and passed on the rest. Chunk after chunk disappeared. After the feast there was singing and dancing. There was one interesting dance I have never seen since. This was done in two rows. A row of young men facing one of girls. A translation of the song is:-

"Flesh of a male, choose whom you love!"

A young man would dance towards the girl of his choice [and] if acceptable she would join his row. The young men crossed over in turn. Another song I remember them singing and dancing to, said:

'Don't be taken in by his suit, he is riddled with V.D.'

This was actually a warning to the girls to avoid a particular individual.

We had daily chores to do: weeding or sweeping the yard, watering and weeding the garden, feeding the pigs and fowls and rounding up the mules whenever they were required. Now and then one of us would go out with the cattle herd. I went out twice with this old man, and each time I went we killed several snakes. The next time he refused to go with me. 'This boy's head is bad', he said, 'every time I go with him we encounter snakes.' We had to look for eggs and got into trouble if we didn't find any. The fowls were on free range and laid anywhere in the surrounding bush.

[12] Flag was a popular brand imported into southern Africa from W.D. & H.O. Wills in England, the first company to mass-produce cigarettes and to pioneer the use of cigarette-cards.

[13] 'John Arthur 'Jack' Johnson (1878–1946): American boxer who was the first Afro-American to become the world heavyweight champion (1908–15). The fight that interested Charles was probably the one in April 1915 in which Johnson lost his title to the White boxer, Jess Willard.

There was a well in the yard but the water was useless for washing, drinking or cooking; so early every morning we inspanned two oxen to a scotch cart with a square tank to fetch water from the river about a mile away. With bare legs and feet this was an unpleasant task in winter.

Our general treatment tended to be harsh and at times gave us a feeling of being unwanted. One day I was scolded for something and told: 'We are not obliged to keep you, you know.' I said 'Well let me go.' To which he replied, 'Where would you go, the wild beasts would get you.' It may be that they acted on the principle that, 'The devil finds work for idle hands to do', but we found being pushed all day long so irksome that we dodged whenever we could.

We had no W.C. so whenever we went out into the bush we stayed there as long as we dared. We got away with it if we were not called in our absence. Peter and I tried to run away several times. If one of us happened to be missing, the bell was rung summoning the whole populace to search for us. I don't remember ever being found. I suspect that those who spotted us were the sympathetic ones who just turned a blind eye.

The mission house was apparently built on the site of an old African village. A short distance from the yard there was tall grass which was another of our hide-outs. Under the grass there was old cow dung. One day Peter and I were prodding this with sticks when we struck something hard. We scraped away the dung disclosing a flat stone about two feet square. We lifted this and found an abandoned empty corn bin. It was perfect and polished to a fine gloss. Two of us fitted in comfortably and whenever we wanted a break we disappeared into our new hide out. One day we didn't realise that we were being watched. The game was up and we had to fill the bin with refuse.

At my present age I ask myself, 'Was it as bad as all that?' It could have been worse. What would have happened to us if no one took us under their wings? So I look back without rancour.

Our first school building was a rectangular pole and clay structure with a thatched roof. There were empty openings on each side for windows. The new block of three classrooms was near completion. The teacher knew no English, so we had to learn to read and write 'sindebele. We also learnt very simple number work. We must have been the last of the stone-age people. We had no paper and lead pencils, but did our work on slates. This was most unhygienic. To clean their slates some children just spat on them and wiped them with their hands. It was not until my third or fourth year that we had teachers who had a smattering of English. We read 'Step by Step' a series of phonic primers. In less than a year I knew more than my teacher. Academically the first five years of my school career were largely wasted.

In 1910 we saw Haley's Comet and trembled at the stories of the impending end of the world. We heard about the death of King Edward VII. There was an interdenominational Missionary Conference at Inyati. Here I met some old missionaries, including the Rev. C. D. Helm who on seeing me thought I was from the Cape and addressed me in Afrikaans.[14]

[14] Charles Daniel Helm (1844–1915): born in the Cape Colony, son of an L.M.S. missionary. He himself also trained as a missionary at a Congregational college in London and joined the L.M.S. After returning home he was sent to Matabeleland to open a new mission station at Hope Fountain, nearer to Gubuluwayo than Inyati. He soon gained the trust of Lobengula and was often used as interpreter, most famously in the case of the Rudd Concession. He died in Bulawayo.

Inyati to Tiger Kloof

In 1912 the Reeses were going on furlough, [and] I was to travel with them to Tiger Kloof. From Inyati we travelled to Bulawayo by mule cart. We spent the night in the Carlton Hotel.[15] I had my meals in the kitchen and slept on the floor in the old people's bedroom. The next morning I was called to meet a gentleman I had not seen for five years. Asked who he was I could not place him. It was Uncle Maurice. He was allowed to take me for an hour. He took me on his bicycle to have a look at the plot which had been sold. One of the new owner's sons had my B.S.A. air-gun.[16]

Later we boarded the Cape train. I was placed in a compartment with a Coloured man who had been a mule driver for the District Surgeon at Inyati. When we arrived at Tiger Kloof Siding, George Stuhardt who had preceded me was there to meet me. The Reeses travelled on to catch their boat in Cape Town.

Tiger Kloof Native Institution as it was designated,[17] was a school set up primarily for Africans mainly those from Bechuanaland, but pupils from all over South Africa were admitted. There were also as many as 60 or 70 Coloured students. This was due to the fact that the fees were the lowest in the country. Fees covered food, bedding and clothing and for trades were on a sliding scale. The value of the work done during apprenticeship was considered as part payment. Each trade was for four year course with no fees for the fourth year. 10 shillings a year was for medical attention. We had a monthly medical check-up. After reporting to the Principal [Rev. W. C. Willoughby][18] all suitcases or trunks were handed in and stored in the basement under the dining hall. We then lined up at the tailor's shop and [were] issued with uniforms. These consisted of khaki coloured corduroy trousers and tunics with brass buttons for week days, blue serge trousers and tunics with silver buttons for Sundays.

Shirts and vests were also provided. We had peaked caps similar to what our postmen wear, with a silver badge and number on the forehead. Apprentices were issued with veld schoens. The rest of us had to find our own shoes. I, and a few others who had no money were barefooted and suffered in winter. The climate there is one of extremes. The Principal Rev. W. C. Willoughby wrote a letter of protest to the Rev. Bowen Rees about

[15] The Carlton Hotel in Abercorn Street (now Jason Moyo St). Built in the early twentieth century between 8th and 9th Avenues, it was extended in 1923 to the corner of 8th Avenue but was always bigger and grander than the market could sustain. The building was rebuilt in the 1950s but ran into financial difficulties in the 1960s and lingered on until finally demolished before Independence. A multi-storey and multi-use building replaced it in the 1980s and is usually referred to Edgars which occupies the ground and first floors.

[16] This is not a reference to the British South Africa Company but to the Birmingham Small Arms Company (1861–1973).

[17] It seems that the idea of better education, nearer than Kuruman, for the Tswana came from the chiefs and their visit in 1895 to London to see the Colonial Secretary and the Queen in order to ensure that they remained a Protectorate and not fall under the British South Africa Company. The Revd W. C. Willoughby of the L.M.S. at Serowe had accompanied them and in 1903–4 it was decided by the L.M.S. to establish a training institution with Willoughby as Principal (see the next footnote for Willoughby). The farm Waterloo (Tiger Kloof was a hill thereon), on the Kimberley–Bulawayo railway line, near Vryburg in British Bechuanaland, the northernmost part of the Cape Colony, was chosen because the L.M.S. could not purchase freehold land in the Protectorate; to begin with this alienated Khama's people from the school but over time they were reconciled and Seretse Khama and Quett Masire, the first two presidents of Botswana, were students there. The objectives of the school, according to Willoughby, were to train African ministers with true leadership, knowledge, and spiritual vision for an African Church; to train African teachers (male and female) for African schools; to educate the sons and daughters of the comparatively high-born and wealthy natives so that their public opinion should be essentially Christian; and, lastly, to train the men as craftsmen and teach the women skilled work.

[18] William Charles Willoughby (1857–1938): born in Redruth, Cornwall and educated in Tiverton, Devon; ordained in the Congregational Church in 1882. He volunteered for missionary work with the L.M.S. and went to an area south of Lake Victoria. He soon returned to Britain and ministered to several congregations until 1893 when he rejoined the L.M.S. and went to Palapye in Khama's country. In 1903 the L.M.S. resolved to build a Central School for Bechuanaland as Khama wanted. Willoughby was appointed Principal in the following year and selected the site for Tiger Kloof Native Institution. The school progressed well enough but Willoughby had a nervous breakdown and resigned in 1914. He briefly returned to missionary work among the Bakena before undertaking a round-the-world tour visiting L.M.S. missions. In 1919 he was appointed Professor of African Missions in the Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford, Connecticut. He retired to England in 1931 and died in Birmingham.

my having to go around barefooted. Mr. Rees gave authority for me to be supplied with a pair of veldschoens. Not a single pair fitted me and Mr. Rees was obliged to send me some money to buy shoes in Vryburg, seven miles away. I assume he paid out of his own pocket as I had nothing from my father's estate.[19] I was so small and skinny that special uniforms had to be made for me.

At Inyati I gained a religious background which was invaluable. Apart from Church Services the Reeses held regular prayer meetings in their lounge first thing in the morning and last thing at night. We all had to attend these including the African workers. At one point in my life I was so depressed that I considered life not worth living. Then I recalled that an African Teacher evangelist in his sermon on a previous Sunday had pointed out that, 'Thou shalt not kill,' applied as much to killing another person as to doing away with one's own life. When I came to Tiger Kloof I had already been received into full membership of the Church at Inyati. At Tiger Kloof they would not accept this. They thought I was too young and could not believe that I was 12. Another two or three years elapsed before I was received. Strangely I was often selected to act as a steward during Holy Communion Services.

When we were allotted classes I was placed in Standard II. We were subjected to almost military discipline. We were roused by a bugle call in the morning. There were bugle calls for meals and lights out. The school bell was rung for classes. We had prayers, scripture lessons and drill every morning—now we call it physical education. There was a pipe band and a brass band which played on alternate Sundays. After a church service, we fell in, in fours, were strictly inspected and marched to the playground with one band leading. I was three years in the fife band and five years in the brass band. Unfortunately for lack of money this talent soon rusted away after I left school.

Physical drill at Tiger Kloof.

The dining room and classrooms were lit with gas piped from a central acetylene plant. The residue from the carbide was used for white washing the stones that lined the roads. Our dormitories were in blocks of four. Between each pair was a wide corridor with basins on one side. Very often in winter the water in the tanks froze and there were occasional pipe bursts. Each dormitory accommodated 15 pupils, one of whom was the Dormitory Chief—what we now call a prefect. He was distinguished by a chevron on

[19] Charles was too young to know it but he had in fact inherited a one-third share of his father's estate, some £90, but this had been exhausted by school and boarding fees by 1914, JG 3/3/146, D.R. 11/41, Master, High Court, Bulawayo, to Messrs A. D. Webb, 27 Oct. 1914. Charles's uncle Maurice had given his power of attorney to Webb on 21 Oct. 1911, probably because he was leaving the country; certainly there appears to be no further record of him in Southern Rhodesia. It seems that the Revd Bowen Rees was looking for some sort of sponsorship for Charles, and it will be seen below, in the text, that he succeeded.

one sleeve and epaulettes.

I was a Dormitory Chief for four years. We were supplied with soap to do our own washing and one candle a week. I used to go round from dormitory to dormitory offering to clean their candle sticks. They never knew why. I collected the candle grease and asked the cooks to melt it for me. I had a bicycle pump casing with a piece of string in the centre, poured the tallow into this, allowed [it]t o cool—[and] pushed out a home-made candle. I used these candles to put in some extra study into my lessons in some corner or at the bottom of a stone quarry.

How the school was named 'Tiger' Kloof I've never been able to establish. There are no tigers in Africa. Over the cliffs on either side of the kloof I noticed many tree stumps which suggests that there might have been wooded areas. An odd leopard might have been seen which probably lived in some cave in the side of a cliff. Rock rabbits and land iguanas abound here.

The original Tswana name of this area was 'Moeding' which means at the fountain, a reference to the springs that existed here. When I arrived in 1912 the springs had all dried up. There was a channel leading water from one spring to a swimming pool carved out of the rock. This also was no longer in use. What became a Bible School was originally a laundry. We carried our washing in pillow cases to the kloof where there was a stream with more or less permanent pools of water. Some bigger boy always took over my washing. While our clothes and sheets were drying on the grass we walked around and climbed up a cliff. At the top the land was flat with scrubby moretlwa bushes with very sweet berries.[20] One day while picking berries I spotted an old live bullet on the ground. There was a small anthill. I scratched around with a stick and unearthed more bullets. I think this was a legacy of the Boer War. My friend and I lit a fire over the bullets detonating then.

The pupils were a cross section of Botwsana tribes, Xhosas, Swazis, Zulus, Griquas, Kalanga, Ndebele and Coloured. One friend I had was [a] 6 ft, broad shouldered Griqua who bought me a tooth brush and a tin of toothpaste (Gibbs Dentifrice).[21] He was the bass drummer of the brass band.

Soccer was run by clubs formed by the pupils. I was lucky to have a sponsor who paid the fees and lent me a pair of boots. I spent 8 years at Tiger Kloof and came out top of my class right through. I was considered clever, but I know it was solid consistent hard work that did it.

I earned some pocket money by watering two or three flower gardens for some members of the staff. They offered me 1½d. an hour but always gave me more. On Saturday afternoon[s] an Indian fruit and vegetable vendor came from Vryburg by mule cart. I managed to buy something. My dormitory chief looked after my money and somehow I never overspent. He trained as a teacher, taught in Vryburg where he died. I inherited nothing from my father's estate, and therefore cherish the kindness of fellow pupils and members of the staff to this day.

Travelling southward from Vryburg we pass through bleak and desolate looking country. After seven miles tall gum trees and stone buildings show up to our left. This is the girls' school and some distance further we see the boys' school. The first building to attract our attention is the dining hall with a four faced clock on a 40 foot tower.

As soon as I got a drawing book I spent hours sitting on some grass and drawing

[20] Moretlwa is the Tswana for the berries (velvet raisins) of the Brandybush: *Grewia flava* DC. of the family Tiliaceae.

[21] The Gibbs family were originally English soapmakers who in the nineteenth century developed a dentifrice which was not really a toothpaste as we know it today but a solid block that was lathered with a wet toothbrush.

the front view of this building. One day the principal, Rev. W. C. Willoughby came up to me, looked over my shoulder and asked me to draw a copy for him. The clock was donated by Chief Khama.

The inspector of schools travelled by mule cart from Mafeking [Mahikeng] as far south as Taungs [Taung]. He had a suitcase full of Arithmetic cards which he distributed personally from class to class [for the pupils to do tests]. The teachers invigilated. The inspector corrected the papers himself. He then listened to individual reading class by class, selected a passage and a number of words for what was termed 'dictation and spelling'. The teachers did this but the inspector marked the papers.

Classes ranged from Sub. Std A to Std VII during my time and there was no difference in the curricula for white and non-white. We had African teachers up to Std IV and from there on white teachers. The trades were inspected by departmental instructors from Cape Town. In spite of the fact that the apprentices did drawing theory and practice, the powers that were did not regard this department as a technical college but a trades school.

In 1912 and [19]13 I went through Stds 2 and 3 top of the class. In 1914 I was kept at Inyati, the idea being that I should work, help at the school and do a number of chores to pay for the two years I had been at Tiger Kloof.

Journey to Prince Tshakalisa's Village

Mr. Rees decided to let Peter Stuhardt and me go on a holiday to Tshakalisa's village in the Shangani Reserve (now T.T.L.).[22] Prince Tshakalisa was a son of Lobengula[23] and a very close friend of the Reeses. Tshakalisa's son Dabulamanzi was a pupil at Inyati.[24] Late one afternoon we set out by donkey cart. Our party consisted of a driver who was a Khumalo of the royal clan, Tshakalisa's son, Peter Stuhardt and myself.

We arrived at the Lonely Mine[25] later in the evening, outspanned on the western outskirts of the compound and spent the night under the cart which was covered with a sail sufficiently wide as to overhang to the ground on all sides. The four donkeys were tethered to stumps of trees close by and given a feed of crushed mealies. We had to sleep with one eye open so to speak for fear of being robbed. I, in particular was rather suspicious of folk who spoke a foreign language and associated this with cannibalism. I heard one of a clique say, 'Let them sleep . . .' and finished his sentence with an unintelligible remark; so I nudged my companions and warned them. The dawn of the next day was a great relief to us.

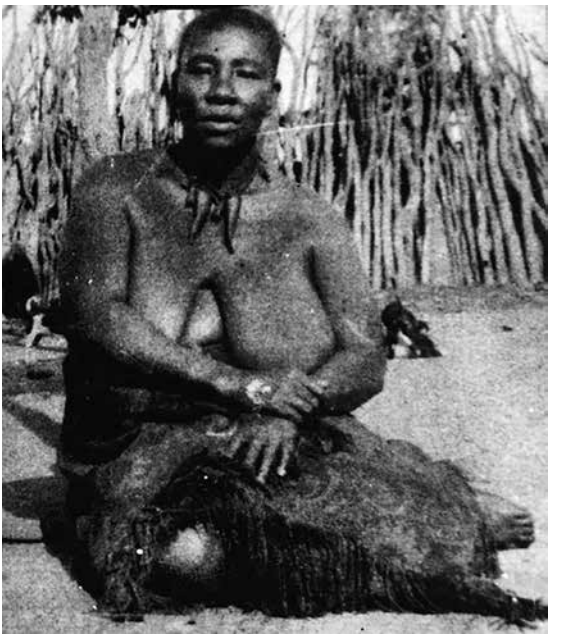
[22] The Reserves were renamed Tribal Trust Lands in 1961. In 1982 they became Communal Lands.

[23] Tshakalisha, also called Sintinga(ntinga) (c.1869–1928): was a younger brother of Nyamande, the oldest son of Lobengula; both were born before Lobengula became king and therefore not considered as 'royal', at least by the Southern Rhodesian government. Their mother was Mbida, daughter of Lodada Mkwananzi of Inqobo in the Ingwigwisi valley. Mbida was regarded as one of the most important and favoured wives after Lozigeyi and Xwalile and certainly the most important wife to give Lobengula a son. Tshakalisha was active in the Rising of 1896 but thereafter he was of even less importance than Nyamande. Tshakalisha in 1906 was one of earliest to move north with his cattle from the Ndebele heartland into the Shangani Reserve, which had been created in 1894 but was regarded as a 'wild forest' by the Ndebele. He welcomed the L.M.S. to the Reserve and became friendly with first the Revd Bowen Rees and then the Revd William Brown.

[24] Another of Tshakalisha's, sons, Qedilizwe, also went to school at Inyati.

[25] About 84 km north-east of Bulawayo, just north of Inyati: the gold mine was opened in 1906 and was closed in the 1990s; but it has recently been acquired by an Australian mining company.

Visiting Queen Losekeyi



Queen Lozigeyi. ***Bowen and Susannah Rees, courtesy of M. F. Clarke.***

The next stage of our journey brought us to the Queen's Kraal on the Bembesi River. Prince Tshakalisa's son Dabulamanzi was a grandson of Lobengula so we were obliged to call on Queen Losekeyi.[26] We were ushered into a large round stuffy hut, where in compliance with 'Ndebele custom we squatted on the floor in perfect silence, the Queen, a six foot tall corpulent figure reclined on a mat, her head propped up in her right hand. Within her reach lay a huge snuff box, a dagga pipe and a large wooden platter with meat, a Royal relish in it, namely an ox's dewlap and a large can of African beer.

The Queen was bare from the waist up. She wore a black glossy skirt which appeared to be a mass of tassels. At first I wondered if she had wound a number of old fashioned black silk shawls; but was told that the skirt was made of an ox hide, which was scored with a metal comb with sharp points until it was all tassels except for a band along one edge to form a girdle. The tassels were then rubbed with fat and soot which gave the skirt a glossy appearance. The odour was anything but pleasant. [Section transferred, see below.]

The awful suspense was at last broken when she greeted Dabulamanzi and asked several questions about Peter and me. We were then given 'amasi' (curdled milk) and some boiled meat. No sooner had we disposed of these than she ordered a calabash of beer for us. We excused ourselves to no avail. Fortunately the driver drained three quarters of the calabash so that our scheme of merely dipping the mouth in and passing the calabash on proved a success, much to the driver's delight, who in the end gulped the last drop.

During the meal she made remarks about my nose, ears through which she could see the sun, and wonderful intelligent looking eyes. She gaped when I entertained her with string tricks and rubbing a chalk mark right through a solid wooden bowl. According to the 'Ndebele idiom she was so amazed that she had no saliva left.

[Transferred from above.] Before we left [the] Queens Kraal we saw a gruesome

[26] Lozigeyi (c.1856–1919): wife of Lobengula, daughter of Ngoko Dhlodlo of Nqameni, sister to Mnthwani who was a prominent leader in the Rising of 1896. Despite not producing a son she became a favourite of Lobengula and so very influential. During the Rising she co-operated with Nyamande and Tshakalisa; and thereafter she became something of a mother-figure for the shattered Khumalo family, described by an official as 'a most dangerous and intriguing woman'. She also, like Tshakalisa, welcomed the L.M.S. missionaries. The Queens Kraal, properly the Queens (Native) Location, of 10 000 acres on the Bembesi River was designated in 1898 as a home for the widows of Lobengula. In the 1930s it became part of the new Native (Purchase) Area (No. 3) of the Bubi District.

spectacle. A young African lad while swimming in a pool was attacked by a crocodile which bit a buttock to the bone. An African herbalist treated the boy. He knew something about cauterisation. He used an African heart shaped hoe. This was heated and passed as close as possible to the wound and then powdered herbs were sprinkled on it.

Continuing our journey, we wound our way through thick forests where the sun could hardly be seen and outspanned at half a dozen unknown villages. The driver knew them well enough for he had a girl at each of them and so he was artful enough to arrange that we call at these at midnight. We learnt afterwards that this was the cause of our delay.

Peter and I lost all sense of direction. The sun seemed to rise in the west and set in the east. Now and then we were terrified by the howl of hyenas. Travelling at night someone had to carry the thick bark of a tree with glowing embers on it. Hyenas are treacherous creatures and would creep up from behind. One day we came to a river which was said to be infested with crocodiles. As donkeys are averse to wading through water, we decided to drive them through as fast as possible; but when we were in midstream they would not budge. One began to urinate and after the manner of donkeys they all did the same. We were told that we were now quite safe, the urine would ward off the crocodiles.

On the fifth day we arrived at Tshakalisa's. He knew us from his frequent visits to the Reeses and soon made us feel at home.

Our stay with Tshakalisha

Tshakalisha Khumalo in the Shangani Reserve. ***The Brown Family Papers.***

Our diet here consisted mainly of amasi (curdled milk). The gourd or calabash served many purposes. It could be used as a cup for drinking water, as a beer mug, or for scooping water into another vessel to be carried home. The one used for amasi is called ighula (pr[onounced] ee-goo-lah). This is wide in the middle and has a neck tapering towards the top. The top is cut off leaving a mouth anything up to two inches wide. At the bottom on one side a small hole is drilled as an outlet for the whey. Fresh milk is poured into the ighula; the top is closed with a wooden carved stopper or a mealie cob. The whey outlet is plugged with a portion of a layer from the 'sore eye' (Buphone) bulb.[27] It is twisted and pushed into the outlet. The milk is allowed to stand for a day or two when the 'ighula' is placed over another vessel, the top and outlet are opened allowing the whey to drain into it. The whey may be drunk for a mild laxative or it may be poured into a milking pail. The milk from the cow is directed into the pail containing the whey. The immediate result is junket. The amasi was used as a relish with 'isitshwala' (sadza) or mixed with umcaba. This is sorghum partially boiled and bruised on a grind stone. We had plenty of meat. Either boiled, roasted over the coals or pot roasted. We were given beer in small mugs and told this

[27] Tumbleweed: *Boophone disticha* (L.f.) Herb. of the family *Amarylli daceae*.

was food which we must not refuse.

Tshakalisa

Prince Tshakalisa was very moderate himself and when he invited people to a beer drink he timed them. Before sunset he announced, 'It is now time to go home.' Anyone dilly dallying got a taste of his sjambok.

He was a tall erect figure with a straight nose, large eye balls with tight lids and a lady's voice. He was a superb horseman and crack shot. One day he and Mr. Rees were sitting and chatting on the stoep. Mr. Rees saw a francolin in the grass beyond the yard. He handed his shotgun to the prince who said, 'You will not eat that bird.' He fired and all that was left was mince meat mixed with sand and feathers. The Africans described him as one whose bullet never hits the ground. He traded in ivory and skins.

Tshakalisa believed in God but he was soaked in the traditions of his ancestors. Often when he went out hunting, he left his attendants at some spot and went off alone to visit his father's [Lobengula's] grave, the exact location of which was a dead secret in those days.[28] He was outraged if a child killed a harmless creature. One day we told him there was a snake in the cattle kraal. We described it and he said that was an 'ihole' (one of low caste) and he didn't bother to go and see it. He had a fiery temper when provoked. I remember one day seeing him chase his wife, children, servants, chickens and dogs out of the village with a sjambok.

Mazawattee Tea Tin

I soon became a favourite and helped him count money when he had payments to make. The money was kept in a two pound Mazawattee tea tin[29] and consisted of gold sovereigns and half sovereigns. I helped him build a stable for his horse. I noted that he was muscular. He stripped to the waist when doing heavy work. He did minor repairs to his waggons and used a three-foot rule intelligently although he could not read it.

Now and then I was allowed to go out with the herd boys. Then I learnt a good deal about their bush craft, their amusements and beliefs. Peter more often went out helping with ploughing and herding. I ran an evening school round a log fire. This was often interrupted by some traditional observance. One evening I slapped a girl who annoyed me by her silly giggling. The next day someone told me she was the old man's mistress. Had it been reported to him it would have been the worse for her.

We wore shorts and had no shoes. Our feet itched and swelled. This was caused by a sharp edged poisonous grass. The poisonous part was the hairs along the edges of the blades of grass. We also had several attacks of malaria fever for which we had to depend on being smoked with herbs and drinking doubtful looking concoctions.

Our return journey after four months was uneventful except once when we were

[28] For the history of the grave see R. S. Roberts, 'The treasure and grave of Lobengula: Yarns and reflections', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (2004), XXIII, 23–53, where it noted that Nyamande, Tshakalisha's older brother, used to visit the grave; but this is the first record that Tshakalisa did the same.

[29] Most tea in Britain was sold loose from tea chests and put into paper bags until some merchants hit on the idea of branding as an assurance of a uniform quality and taste; this in turn led to individual packaging and brand labelling. The brand name Mazawattee (a made up word from Hindi and Sinhalese) was one of these early brands in the 1870s and the idea of packaging in decorated tins followed. They are now collectors' pieces; see illustration.

trapped between two rivers and had to make the best of mouldy mealie meal and a chicken full of stringy worms.

Back to Tiger Kloof

It was January 1915 and I had to return to Tiger Kloof. I boarded the train at Insiza. This was supposed to arrive in Bulawayo at 7 p.m., but when we were in the vicinity of Lochard Siding[30] a passenger coach jumped the rails and sank in the mud. All passengers were ordered out and there we stood ankle deep in mud while the engine driver and crew using special jacks toiled to get the coach back on the line. I dare not mention the guard's language!! We arrived in Bulawayo at 8 a.m. the next morning.

I arrived at Tiger Kloof on a Sunday night and went to bed with a severe attack of malaria fever. I was bed ridden for six months. To make my condition worse my feet were swollen and the soles were a mass of festering sores. Those were the days of hot poultices. Bits of brown unsifted Boer meal bread were soaked in boiling water, squeezed and bound on my feet. It was very unpleasant but effective. Doses of castor oil and tablets of quinine were not pleasant either. The doctor said I could not be moved, so I could not return to Inyati or go to hospital seven miles away [in Vryburg].

The boarding master was very kind to me. School food was too heavy for my condition and he often brought me something light from his own house. Every morning after prayers the Principal (Rev. A. J. Haile)[31] and staff stood around my bed [to pray?]. I was told [later] that at one point I had gone into a coma.

When I got back to attending classes, the headmaster insisted that I go to his house during interval for an egg flip, warm milk and sometimes custard or rice pudding.

In spite of losing six months [of lessons], I came out top of the class in Standard IV at the end of the year. [In] 1916 in Standard V I was top of the class again. It was done by sheer hard work. [In] 1917 I spent at Inyati working to pay for the previous two years. I was awarded a Mission bursary for the years 1918–21 after signing a contract to teach in any school where I would be placed. It was a foregone conclusion that I would be placed at Inyati.

[In] 1918 the Rev. Bowen Rees had retired and he, Mrs. Rees, daughter and youngest son were at Tiger Kloof. World War I was on and owing to the hazards of a sea voyage he was not allowed to sail with his family. Fortunately the Bible Tutor at Tiger Kloof was on leave and Mr. Rees was asked to fill in for him.

Towards the end of the year, within about three weeks to examinations I was down with scarlet fever and [was] placed in quarantine for seven weeks. Mr. Rees regularly peeped in at my window and brought me reading matter and other goodies. The post master and school accountant sent his son and daughter with magazines, cake and fruit. This was risky especially at the most infectious stage when I was shedding skin.

It looked as though I would lose out on my Standard VI examination, but a serious scourge was rapidly moving northwards from the Cape—Spanish Influenza. The examinations were postponed. Two weeks after I was out of quarantine the flu struck Tiger Kloof. On a Friday that week, a pupil whose bed was next to mine fell off his

[30] About 43 km from Insiza en route to Bulawayo a further 100 km away. Named after Loch Ard Estate nearby owned by the Mashonaland Agency. Loch Ard is in the Stirling area of Scotland

[31] Alfred John Haile (1888–1982): son of an L.M.S. missionary in Madagascar; he was Principal from 1915 to 1945, and under his leadership great development of the school took place.

bed and died. During this period we had to sleep out in the open and had regular salt and water gargles. I was fortunate in not contracting the flu as I was still weak after the scarlet fever. I and a few others had to serve soup to the sick and by evening I was worn out. Each morning when we heard blasting [the rock to make graves] we knew someone had died. If I remember correctly we lost six pupils. I came out top in Standard VI. From Std. V we had white teachers.

[Deletion of repetition of the Rev. Bowen Rees becoming temporary Bible Tutor at Tiger Kloof]. As the Bible Tutor's house was out of bounds, I had to get permission from the Rev. Tom Brown[32] who was acting principal while Rev. A. J. Haile was on furlough. Rev. Tom Brown for reasons only known to himself hated me. On my return from visiting the Reeses, I had to report to him and often he denied that he had given me permission [to visit them]. He went as far as suggesting that my bursary should be cancelled and I be expelled. Fortunately I had the rest of the staff on my side. If I were asked what the highlight of my life was and still is, it is

'Loved by so many people that I don't know my enemies.'

In 1919 I began my teacher training, [and] the Reeses left for home in England (Wales).[33] Before he left Mr. Rees got a teacher who was the school organist to give me lessons. He was not a professional player. It was easy for him to get me started because I could already read music. I went to his cottage on two afternoons a week. He had a folding organ like the one that was presented to me by Mrs. Rees and a lady's Guild she presided over in Wales.

What are now called Teacher Trainees were Pupil Teachers then. My results were:-
1919 P.T. I (Junior) First grade pass—3rd in the Cape.
1920 P.T. II (Junior) First grade pass—10th in the Cape.
1921 P.T. III (Junior) First grade pass—4th in the Cape.
I was top of my group all through.

The P.T. III Junior Certificate qualified us to teach from Sub. Std A to Std IV. This somehow did not work in practice because whilst we had lectures on the theory and practice of teaching we continued with our academic subjects. We did our teaching practice in the elementary school. We were encouraged to take up optional subjects. I did a four year course of woodwork and then Branch I Teacher's Woodwork (practical). Unfortunately I could not afford the necessary text books for Branch II which involved theory.

In music I got certificates for Junior Elementary and Senior Tonic Sol-fa, and also three grades for Staff Notation. The teachers examinations took place during the first week of the school holidays while the rest of the pupils had gone.

To reduce my luggage I asked a pupil who was from Inyati to take my parcel containing valuable books and my music certificates. Somehow he lost these on the way. Rather than ask for duplicates I decided to study for the S.T.M.C. (School Teacher's Music Certificate of the Tonic Sol-fa College, London.[34] A teacher and a fellow student each had the necessary text book. By borrowing from one or the other and making notes, I managed to study. The entry fees for the exam were half a guinea for the practical

[32] John Tom Brown (1860–1925): son of an L.M.S. missionary in Bechuanaland, with no connection to the family of the Revd W. G. Brown. J. Tom Brown was first stationed at Kuruman, in 1885, and he later moved to Tiger Kloof. He was a published expert on the language and culture of the Bamangwato. Died at Kanye.

[33] This seems to be an error for the Reeses returning to Inyati in 1919, and they then appear to have returned to Tiger Kloof, before retiring to Wales in 1922; see above, fn. 10.

[34] Established in 1875 by the Revd John Curwen to propagate his simplified method of teaching singing and reading music. The Curwen College of Music in London is its successor.

section and half a guinea for the theory. I didn't have any money.

While on holiday at Inyati I approached the missionary in charge who happened to be the Rev. W. G. Brown[35] and asked him if I could be advanced the sum of one guinea to take up the music examination and I would repay that when I came back to teach. He said he didn't see that there was any scope for this. He wouldn't have been allowed to do this for me out of mission funds.

I mentioned this to an African teacher who was a friend of mine. I put up my name, prayed and hoped. The examination was to be on a Monday. On the previous Saturday I received a letter containing £2 from the African teacher. I was successful in obtaining the S.T.M.C. Certificate and when I returned to Inyati I was choir master for ten years.

At the end of 1921, fourteen of us completed our Teachers Course. The principal in his valedictory speech among other things he said, gave us a motto, 'Teach much, learn much'. I found this true throughout my teaching career.

Before the school closed for the holidays in 1921, a friend introduced me to a Miss Emily Malgas who had just completed a domestic science course. Her character appealed to me. Her father was white and mother Xhosa. What I didn't know was that she was brought up as a Xhosa and therefore bound by Xhosa traditions. Her sister who was married to a Xhosa died, and according to custom Emily had to take her place.

Herbert Keigwin

Appointed to Inyati Mission

I started teaching at Inyati Mission in 1922. The Rev. John Whiteside was the principal and the senior teacher was a Xhosa, Mr. Solomon Makeba who got his P.T. III Junior Certificate in 1908.[36]

There was a move to introduce manual training and agriculture in African Schools. The idea was initiated by an ex N.C. (now D.C.)[37] and two government training schools were opened, one at Tsholotsho [now Tjolotjo] (Matabeleland)

[35] See above, fn. 2 for early career. He came to Inyati in 1916 and then went north into the Shangani Reserve to establish an out-station because many Ndebele were being moved off of their ancestral lands alienated to European settlers where they had been living on sufferance since 1894. (He was occasionally back at Inyati standing in first for W. W. Anderson and then for John Whiteside (see next footnote) until 1924.) In 1923 Keigwin (see below, fn. 38), and the Native Development Department wanted to co-operate with the L.M.S. and make use of Brown's talent for industrial work; and they even tried to poach Brown by offering him the headship of Tsholotsho. This caused bad feeling and the L.M.S. decided to develop their own industrial training at Inyati with Brown in charge. Thus he moved from Shangani in 1924. He made a great success of this but resigned in 1932, as will be seen. He was then asked again to take over the government Tsholotsho Industrial School; and this time he accepted and Charles Quinche joined him. He retired in 1937 and was planning to return to England when he was asked by the Presbyterians to develop industrial training for them; thus in 1938 he established and built the Boys Industrial School at the Gloag Ranch Mission not far from Inyati Mission. In 1943–4 he finally retired and went farming, ultimately on Mount Prospect Farm, Nyamandhlovu. He died in hospital in Bulawayo.

[36] Whiteside had been in charge of the mission at Insiza 1906–7 and then at Dombodema 1907–19. He then went to Inyati from 1919 until the Revd Brown moved there from Shangani in 1924. Whiteside then went back to Dombodema until 1937; while there he is said to have influenced the young Joshua Nkomo and to have had an interest in the greater use of Kalanga. Nothing has been discovered about Mr Makeba.

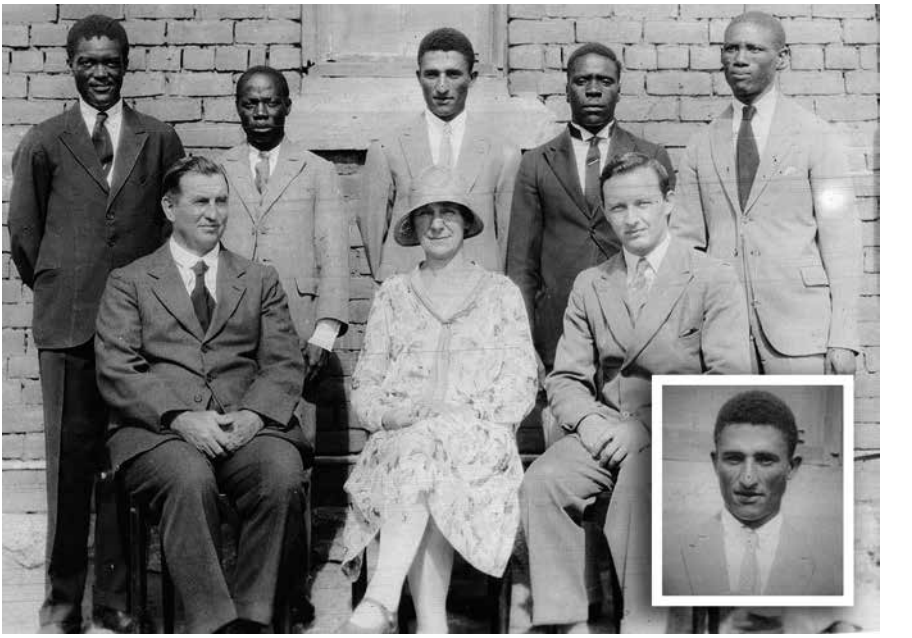
[37] Native Commissioner: the Native Affairs Department's official in charge of the 54 Districts that the country was ultimately divided into for matters of local administration. In 1962 the Department was subsumed into Internal Affairs and the official's title changed to District Commissioner. In 1980 it changed again, to District Administrator under the Department of Local Government.

and the other at Domboshawa (Mashonaland). The education offered was to have an African bias and so much emphasis was placed on manual training that instructors were paid higher salaries than the scholastic teachers.

During my last year in training the N.C. Mr Keigwin mentioned [i.e. the ex N.C. above],[38] visited Tiger Kloof and when told I would be teaching in Rhodesia asked me when I would teach my pupils to work with their hands. I indicated that one using his hands has to use his brain as well and that African languages were inadequate to interpret even the simplest of technical terms; because of this I believed that grounding in English was necessary and that the academic and practical were complementary.

The Rev. J. Whiteside did his best but admitted he was not qualified to run the school at Inyati as required and I think it was in 1924 that the Rev. W. G. Brown who was a builder in England before he trained as a missionary, took over. Mr. Makeba resigned and I was asked to take over as Senior Teacher although I functioned as a Head Master. There were no non-white headmasters in those days.

On the industrial side pupils were taught building, carpentry and agriculture and later a tannery and leather work department was added. Mr. Brown taught the pupils to make and burn bricks. He discovered deposits of good limestone in the mission farm



Charles Quinche (back row centre and insert) with colleagues and the Revd William Brown (front row left) and his wife, with N. Davies, the headmaster, at Inyati in 1926. ***The Brown Family Papers.***

[38] Herbert Stanley Keigwin (1878–1962): born in Colchester, Essex (not in Cornwall in 1880 as is often said) and educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge. He and his two brothers were noted sportsmen, especially as cricketers (Herbert represented Southern Rhodesia in 1909–10). In 1902 he joined the Native Department in Southern Rhodesia, and from 1910 to 1919 he was N.C. Lomagundi (Sinoia), where he was the first to see the potential of Kariba as a dam-site. His real interest was education and adapting the ideas of Booker T. Washington of Tuskagee for Africans and their need for appropriate training to meet the practical needs of the community rather than academic and religious learning. His proposals to this end were accepted by the Administration in 1920 and he was appointed Director of Native Development. Thus he established the two training schools mentioned in the text; and in recognition of this work he was created M.B.E. in 1924. In 1926 he became Director of Education in Sierra Leone; when he retired in 1940 he settled in South Africa and spent the last seventeen years of his life at St Matthew's Mission in the Ciskei.

and had this processed. Surplus lime was sold to some mines in the district.

Mr. Brown had the tremendous task of making the school self-supporting. A vegetable garden was planned. A reservoir was built in the hill side and water was led from this to the orchard and vegetable garden. Surplus vegetables were sold to the mines, the N.C. and staff, including the police. Now and then some bricks were sold to build up school funds. It cost more per pupil than the fees they paid.

My task at this point was complicated. First I had to take stock of available staff. Then I had to divide the roll into two sections so that while one was out on industrial work the other was doing academic work. Until more teachers and instructors were employed, it was sometimes necessary to combine classes under one teacher or instructor. I drew up a large master time table in consultation with the principal who was building instructor as well as overall supervisor. From this each teacher drew up a time table which concerned him. All round it was an exacting job.

Mr. Brown was industrious and so energetic that he could not tolerate dawdling on the part of anybody. To get around supervising he rode a bicycle. Unfortunately the relation between white and non-white in those days was, 'Do as you are told. Don't argue.' In fact you dare not even make a suggestion. We lost several teachers who could not take this. It was clear though from the quality of his instruction and the high standard of work produced that Mr. Brown was not in the least prejudiced. From his observations in the Shangani Reserve (now T.T.L.), he had suggested such training to the L.M.S. District Committee to improve the African's standard of living.

My cottage was within easy reach of the dormitories. This facilitated my control over the boys and made me easily available for consultation. During winter the boys had fire places outside. Periodically I went round and spent a few minutes chatting with one group or another. I was thus able to note any hot heads. I had the confidence of the majority of the boys. If the conversation in a group seemed to suggest trouble brewing I joined them and discussed the matter with them and even if their complaint happened to be a legitimate pin-prick I would ask them to consider whether their complaint was of more value than what they came to school for. The matter was amicably settled. As the staff increased and the roll grew the problem of control became more difficult.

There was no department for African education but the inspectors of European schools were always willing to pay us courtesy visits and assess our work and advise. When a director and an inspector were appointed and the department designated the Native Development Department was inaugurated, [and] the powers that were decided that there should now be a European Head Master.

In 1929 I went on a visit to Bulawayo by a bus owned by an Indian friend who carried passengers to the Lonely Mine and back. There were no bridges over the rivers along this route. On my return it rained and when we reached the Umguza it was full and [so] we spent the night there; [and] the next morning it was still impossible to cross, so I decided to walk. I crossed on a narrow suspension bridge and did the same when I got to the Bembesi River. When I reached the Turk Mine[39] the spruit there was overflowing. I was already wet as a storm had caught me along the way, so I waded through clothed and carrying my knapsack.

On my way to Inyati Mission I found the Ngwigwisi River[40] full. Fortunately an

[39] About 58 km north-east of Bulawayo, in Bubi District. The gold mine recently resumed production.

[40] Ingwigwisi, tributary of the Bembesi river.

Indian friend who was a gardener lived close by. He kindly put me up for the night. The food was loaded with chillies and [so] I ate very little. The next morning I was able to wade across.

At that time mails were carried by Zeederberg's mule coach between the Bulawayo [Post Office] and the Lonely Mine. Inyati Mission collected the mail from the Post Office at the N.C.'s . . . Prior to this mails were carried by an African, Singondo, from Insiza past the mission to the N.C.'s. As he went past the Mission he blew his bugle and did this when approaching his destination. During World War I Singondo was recruited and served as bat-man to an N. C. . . . They were posted to what was German East Africa where both were captured. When they returned after the war Singondo told me he was absolutely fed up with white people. He said that he had been promised land after the war and all he received was a military overcoat and a bugle. I believe anti-white feeling started growing from that point.

The day after I arrived at the Mission I heard that Zeederberg's mule coach had been washed away at the Turk Mine spruit. I think the driver must have stupidly tried to cross the current at right angles; because wading through I went with the current but gradually edged towards the opposite bank.

I became ill and Mr. Brown suspected appendicitis. The District Surgeon was not available so the Lonely Mine Doctor was called and he confirmed this. I was taken to the Memorial Hospital in Bulawayo. I underwent an operation which was considered a major one in those days. I was kept in hospital for a month. What I found very uncomfortable was a binder with overlapping straps. This was in 1929.

Meeting Miss Ella Clark, marriage and back to Inyati

One day while I was still in hospital a Mrs. Williams whom I knew from Inyati paid me a visit bringing a new found friend Miss Ella Clark with her. We were introduced, looked at each other and knew that we had found each other. On January 14th 1930 we were married in the Church of Christ in Bulawayo. Mr F. L. Hadfield, a New Zealander, estate agent and self supporting missionary[41] officiated. Ella and her sister Rhoda whose father died during World War I were brought up by Mr. John Sheriff, a New Zealander, stone-mason and self supporting missionary.[42] He ran a mission and school at Forest Vale in Bulawayo. Several Coloured children attended the Forest Vale Mission School. There was no Coloured school at that time. When Mr. Sheriff was in Cape Town, Ella and Rhoda were taken over by an American missionary Mr. W. N. Short in what was

[41] Francis Leslie Hadfield (1873–1966): born in England but brought up in New Zealand. He became a bicycle mechanic and was a member of the Stone-Campbell inspired Church of Christ. In about 1904 he was recruited by John Sherriff (see next footnote) to help him in Bulawayo with his missionary work. Thus he started a school for Coloured children there in 1906. He was also one of the founders of a naively idealistic Labour Party in 1920 and won a Bulawayo seat in the general election of that year; but the growing influence of trade unions with a willingness to strike led him to resign and in 1924 he joined Coghlan's new Rhodesia Party and won a different Bulawayo seat. However in 1927 he defected and joined the new Progressive Party but failed to win a seat in the 1928 general election. Like most Progressives he then moved into the new Reform Party but failed again in the 1933 general election to win a Bulawayo seat. He chaired a parliamentary commission of inquiry into the education of Africans which reported in 1925 and led to the creation of a separate Department of Native Education. He also founded a newspaper for Africans, the *Native Mirror,* in 1931 (later became the *The Bantu Mirror*). He died in Bulawayo.

[42] John Sheriff (1864–1935): born in Christchurch and became a member of the Church of Christ. He felt the call to help Africans and arrived in South Africa in 1896 where undertook evangelistic work in the major cities before settling in Bulawayo in 1897–8. Having made several African converts he brought F. L. Hadfield (see footnote above) to join him in about 1904; and Churches of Christ in New Zealand, Britain and Texas began to support his work. With this help he bought the 300-acre small-holding Forest Vale (now part of Bulawayo west of Entumbabe and south of Emakhandeni), where he established a training institution for practical skills for all races. He established missions in not only Matabeleland and Nyasaland but also Northern Rhodesia and Mashonaland, as will be seen in the following footnotes. His role in spreading Christianity in south-central Africa has been greatly neglected. He died in Bulawayo.

J. Sheriff (middle row, centre), F. L. Hadfield (back row, centre), other staff and students of the Church of Christ Mission, Bulawayo. ***Bible Advocate, 15 Jan. 1904.***

then Northern Rhodesia.[43] From there the Sheriffs took them to Huyuyu Mission in Mashonaland.[44] They returned to Bulawayo and that went into service. Rhoda looked after the children of a family in . . . Suburbs and Ella looked after the children of a Jewish Rabbi.

When we were married Mr. Brown allotted us three rooms in the old mission house where the Reeses had lived. It was destroyed during the Matabele rebellion and rebuilt afterwards. Our house was out of bounds as far as the school boys were concerned.

The school progressed to the stage where we had a white headmaster. The classes ranged from Sub. Std A to Std VI. A teacher training department was started and this caused a bit of a flap in certain quarters. Girls were being trained at Hope Fountain Mission. I now became method master for the teaching of 'Sindebele.

On October 10th 1930 our daughter Blanche Margaret was born and I began seriously taking stock of my position. In 1922 I started on a salary of £3.6*s*.6*d*. a month and the highest I reached was £8.6*s*.8*d*. I had laid the foundations for the new headmaster. There was no prospect of my earning sufficient money to send my children to a boarding school in Bulawayo. I saw no future for my children there.

On September 1st 1932 our son Maurice John was born. In 1933 I handed in my resignation and tried to get a post in a Coloured School in Bulawayo. There were few Coloured Schools and they were fully staffed at the time. However, I was promised that as soon as there was a vacancy my appointment would be considered.

The boys at Inyati went on strike. I can't remember the reason for this and the first time I heard about it was when they were on the rampage; the police had been called in and were being stoned on the hillside. I was asked to try and muster them for a meeting in the Church where their grievances would be discussed. I got them to assemble but they had become wise to the business of noting ringleaders and none would speak. In the end the District Committee of the L.M.S. came in to look into the matter.[45]

[43] Will N. Short (1894–1980) had come from the United States to help Sheriff in Bulawayo in 1921. After a couple of years there he went north to help develop the Sinde Mission near Livingstone. Although the assistance of the Shorts and other Americans who followed was a welcome addition to what the New Zealand and British Churches of Christ could offer, it did sow the seeds of dissension as most of the Americans came from the 'a cappella' tradition (that is no musical-instrument accompaniment to hymn singing).

[44] This was at Wuyu-Wuyu (Guyu-Guyu) in Mrewa South, often referred to the Macheke Mission, which had been built up from nothing by Jack Mzirwa, a Nhowe, whom Sheriff had trained at Forest Vale. So impressed was Sheriff that he went to live there in 1927 to develop it further. To this end he also brought Will Short down from Northern Rhodesia, but as Sheriff lay dying Short effectively destroyed the mission by his banning of musical instruments and by other innovations. It is said that the church there, which Sheriff built with his own hands, remains standing. The influence of other Americans like Short was also to undo much of Hadfield's work in Bulawayo some twenty years later.

[45] There were two strikes in fact, both ostensibly about food: the first in 1931 and the second (referred to in the text) in 1932. Brown had made an enormous and successful effort to develop the industrial training at Inyati (enrolment went from 42 in 1924 to 186 by 1930); but this had put him under great strain, trying to do too much with too few resources. As a

Move to Tsholotsho

Mr. Brown resigned and was approached by the Director of Native Development and asked if he would take up the post of principal at the Tjolotjo Government School. He accepted this. He asked me if I would go with him to take charge of the academic side. I saw this as a stepping stone to an appointment in a Coloured School and I accepted. I left Inyati in June 1933 and worked . . . [at Tjolotjo] for four and a half years.

On June 16th 1936 we had another daughter, Joan; after a short time she had a virulent form of [gap in original].[46] No treatment was effective and her health degenerated gradually. We were in Bulawayo when she had diphtheria and on the evening of August 20th 1938 she passed away.

Move to McKeurtan School, Bulawayo

On September 14th 1937 I took up my post as assistant teacher at what was then 'Bulawayo Coloured School' now McKeurtan School.[47] At that time there were prejudices among Coloured people themselves. The Cape Coloured tended to look down upon the Rhodesian Coloured who had a black parent on one side.[48] My appointment here was not welcome to the Head Master and a number of other Cape Coloured folk. Not only did I have an African mother but to make matters worse I had been trained in what they termed a . . . [now unacceptable term for African] school. So as far as these people were concerned it was a foregone conclusion that I would prove a failure. The Head Master told me there had been a lot of correspondence and discussion over my appointment and he didn't know if I would cope with the high standard of the school. I believe he must have influenced the Inspector of schools with whom I was supposed to have an interview. I went to his office and he was not in, so I stood around and waited. When he came he just glanced at me and walked into his office.

I took over a class from a teacher who was on transfer. I was given no clue as to the

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consequence he had become distant from the pupils, harsh corporal punishment by another member of staff went unchecked, and Brown and his family over-reacted to the strike. Also the religious and academic teaching had been marginalised and this was probably the real cause of the discontent (the pupils at Keigwin's Domboshawa had gone on strike earlier and had forced him to provide more academic teaching than the government had wanted). But this was not just at Inyati under Brown: the L.M.S. as a whole had succumbed to this attitude. Indeed the Revd Neville Jones at Hope Fountain was to resign in protest against it in 1935; and it is the explanation of the strange fact that in their centenary year, in 1959, the L.M.S. in Southern Rhodesia was sixth in the number of pupil enrolments at missions but only twelfth in the number of Christian adherents (see also above, fn. 9). On the other hand Brown's policy found favour with the government and Huggins regarded Brown as a sane counterweight to the silliness of missionaries such as Shearly Cripps. Charles Quinche himself felt strongly on this issue (see his comment in the text earlier about the need for English) and in an interview with Flood in 1970 he admitted that he had become rather unhappy with the situation at Inyati, perhaps marginalised by the headmaster, N. Davies. The resultant inquiry was thus so critical of Brown that he resigned, as indicated in the text, and he probably felt relieved to move to Tsholotsho. Charles Quinche, however, still had great respect for Brown and joined him at Tsholotsho, as will be seen. Frances Hawkins's forthcoming book on the Brown Papers will have more on this painful episode from the point of view of the Browns.

[46] According to the Death Notice, 413 of 1938, Ella Joan aged two years died from heart failure due to congenital heart disease, >https://www. familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939N-CN9Q-5Q?i=412&cc=1838530<.

[47] Thus P. Nyathi, 'Reverend Brown: Promoting industrial education for African boys', *The Sunday News*, 27 July 2014, is in error to say that Charles joined W. G. Brown at the Gloag Ranch Mission Industrial School. The McKeurtan School was named for Mary McKeurtan (*c*.1861–1939): neé McFee in Scotland; married John McKeurtan in Bloemfontein in 1878. They came to Bulawayo in 1903 and she threw herself into charitable works in many different fields. She built the school in 1917 and it still exists (off of 6th Avenue, near Thorngrove); later she handed it over to the government. She was created M.B.E. in 1920 for her charitable work, especially during the First World War when she had become known as the 'Soldiers' Friend'. It may appear strange, in view of her work for Coloureds and Africans, that she was a strong advocate of segregation; but that was prompted, it seems, by the fact that her husband was notorious for his sexual pursuit of women of colour and probably fathered Coloured children who were being educated at her school; but as she had funded it from her husband's prosperous undertaker's business, he was paying for his sins.

[48] Indeed in 1932 the parents' advisory committee at the School resolved to screen applicant-children according to their 'cultural background', meaning in fact to exclude children with an African mother no matter whether the father was Coloured, Indian or European. This problem continued for a long time and became an issue again in 1949 at McKeurtan and at Moffat School in Salisbury. Such divisive attitudes inevitably led to the formation of sectional organisations such as the Euro-African Patriotic Society—evidence for some that the Coloured community was not a really a community at all.

composition of this class but discovered later that is was a composite class comprising some pupils from Standard IV and V who were lagging behind in the classes from which they were drawn. This was a new challenge for me in that these were young boys and girls. At Inyati Mission I had been dealing mostly with adolescents. This was the last term of the year. I was given no advice whatever and to set about assessing these pupils I had to do [it] myself. The previous teacher's schemes and records of work looked quite impressive, but when I questioned the class to discover how much had gone [got?] across I was terribly disappointed. Reference books that were listed in the records of work were non-existent. I was told that for any misdemeanours I was to send the children to the office and [on] no account was I to punish them myself. When I sent some to the office they returned all smiles. I discovered later that all that happened was that I was discussed.

The Director of Education had thoroughly inspected my efforts at Inyati Mission and felt that I deserved an opportunity to serve in a Coloured School. I had to prove myself but this was deliberately made difficult. Our H[ead] M[aster] did not know that I had had any contact with the Director of Education. At the end of the term I had an adverse report. My work was described as dull and lifeless. No advice as to how to improve my work was given. [At] the end of the first term [of] 1938 it was alleged that there was still no improvement. From the second term [of] 1938 there was a new inspector of schools who saw through what was going on. He looked over my work and gave me valuable advice. During this term one of the lady teachers asked me if I could make her a little model cottage for the three bears. When this was completed the H[ead] M[aster] congratulated me. He began to realise that given a chance I had something to contribute. At the end of the term I got a slightly encouraging report. At the end of the third term I had a letter of appointment to the regular staff.

Soon after this one child did something silly and I punished him. The H[ead] M[aster] came rushing into my classroom and said, 'Didn't I order you to send children to my office when they did something wrong? ' I replied, 'Yes Sir, but if I send children to your office for every petty offence, it is a sign on weakness in my part and I am not taking any more of this.' From then on we respected each other.

The Education department organized a number of Vacation Courses for teachers. These proved very useful not only as refresher courses but we were also made aware of new trends in education. There was a variety of Educational aids on display. We made some of these during the course. We also learnt new methods of presentation. At first courses for Coloured and Asian teachers were held separately from those for European teachers, but later we had combined courses. The latter were on a strictly no fraternisation basis. The atmosphere was queer.

On December 5th 1939 our third daughter, Adele was born. In 1941 under a new Headmaster I was called upon to take a class of educationally retarded pupils. They were drawn from all the classes in the school and the result was that I had an imposing group of 46. All the teachers were evidently keen to get rid of their laggards. I had not had any special training for this type of class but I did have patience.

I first set out to make individual assessments of the three R's and kept records. I regarded the pupil as my best text book on psychology. I recorded the history of each child as this would in certain cases pin-point the cause of the child's retardation. They

were at a disadvantage in a normal class in that they could not keep up with the other children. Now they would work individually and later some would merge into groups working at the same level. The daughter of a New Zealand missionary gave me a folder in which she had filed copies of the New Zealand Teachers' Journal. These were very useful as a good deal of research into the disabilities of children had been carried out in that country. It also contained useful diagnostic tests and remedial exercises.

When the inspector came he asked me for my schemes of work. I told him I had none. He asked why and I told him I was still busy finding out what there was to build upon, and showed him my records of individual assessments. He was pleased.

The results of the tests indicated that (a) several children had serious gaps in their knowledge, (b) had no idea of basics, (c) could not grasp anything presented to them in an abstract form, (d) some were very slow, (e) started school late in life and because of their age could not be placed in K[inder]G[arten] classes, and (f) two or three were apparently ineducable.

I had to make and collect my own aids: measuring bars—a variety of containers for teaching capacity—clock faces; I made a scale and obtained weights from an Indian friend. I drew up sets of individual work cards. This took a lot of time but it paid off. I made a cage for Nature Study. We reared caterpillars in this and observed the changes taking place. We also kept praying mantises and observed how they had laid and covered their eggs, and how they caught their prey. It was a case of having a tray of green grass to feed the grasshoppers and grasshoppers to feed the mantises.

I collected magazines and cut out suitable pictures. These were used for oral or written English. The children also made up their own scrap books. As teachers when writing out school reports very often we don't realise that we condemn ourselves. A teacher writes 'James—no imagination.' Ask if anything has been done to stimulate that child's imagination and you draw a blank.

The more advanced pupils also had individual study reading cards based on a Geography or other text book. After a term 12 out of the 46 were back in their normal classes. I did this work for 34 years and acted as Headmaster on three occasions. Cooped up in an office I felt like a caged bear.

On March 20th 1948 our third daughter, Annette was born. In 1960 I retired and was away from teaching for six months after which I was offered a temporary appointment to start a special class at Founders High School. I spent two terms there, felt out of place and resigned. I was posted back to McKeurtan School and employed a term at a time until 1974 when I felt that after 52 years of teaching, I had had enough and so retired finally.

'Teach much, learn much.' How true this is. After 52 years I still cannot claim to have all the answers, and in all that period I have never had all the facilities and equipment I should have had.

[Details of his four children and grandchildren omitted; other afterthoughts are very difficult to read and are also omitted.]

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Ronald McIver Tyndale-Biscoe
B.A., M.A. (Cantab.)
1902–1996

by Peter Fey

This text continues the series of occasional articles, begun by the writer in 1994, on the lesser known members of the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, men who nevertheless made a considerable contribution to geological knowledge of the new country. As before, the original spelling of place names has been used.

Born in India and educated in England Ronald McIver Tyndale-Biscoe qualified at Cambridge as a geologist. No doubt influenced by his uncle Lieutenant E. C. Tyndale-Biscoe who, as a member of the Pioneer Column, had raised the British flag in what was to become Salisbury, Ronald came to Southern Rhodesia in 1924 to join the fledgling Geological Survey. By avoiding administrative burdens he remained a field geologist throughout his 34-year career with the organisation, and during that time visited most parts of the colony in order to undertake geological mapping, and to inspect mines as well as mineral occurrences. Results of his fieldwork were published in six geological bulletins and six of the less detailed, so-called Short Reports, whereas reports of each of his many inspections of mining properties are contained in the department's voluminous Technical Files. In addition Tyndale-Biscoe co-authored, with mineralogist N. E. Barlow, the initial 7 volumes of the Mineral Resources Series, issued in 1952, and furthermore published numerous articles in scientific journals.

After leaving the Geological Survey in 1959 he spent three years as Keeper of Geology at the Bulawayo Museum, then in his retirement published a history covering the first half century (1910-1960) of the Geological Survey.

As the last of the dedicated band of pre-Second World War geologists Tyndale-Biscoe, an extremely modest man, was held in great esteem by his colleagues, friends and the mining community. Married twice and outliving both wives he died at the Borradaile Trust retirement village in Marondera.

Introduction

Ronald McIver Tyndale-Biscoe, later often affectionately known as RTB, was born on 20 October 1902 in Rawalpindi, India where his father Albert Sandeman Tyndale-Biscoe was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army. Ronald's uncle Edward Carey Tyndale-Biscoe, who had served in the Royal Navy and seen action in the Red Sea, established a family connection with what was to become Southern Rhodesia by becoming a lieutenant in the Pioneer Corps and raising the flag at Fort Salisbury on 13 September 1890 (Waters, 2012). He subsequently pursued mining interests in the country (Henderson, 1992) and also took part in the battle of Massi Kessi as well as the Anglo- Boer War; a synopsis of his interesting life and career is given by Carey (1975, p 56). Another uncle, Cecil, retired to Southern Rhodesia from India after that country attained its independence in 1947

Ronald McIver Tyndale-Biscoe. Image extracted and enlarged from Geological Survey staff photograph dated 1948

and wrote his memoirs, entitled "*Tyndale-Biscoe of Kashmir*" (Tyndale-Biscoe, 2015).

Aged only one year Ronald, together with his elder siblings Evelyn Alberta and Norman Edward, was brought to live in Britain where, because his father remained in the Army, the family changed domicile frequently. Through one of their governesses the children became fluent in French which proved a boon on holidays in France. Ronald

later schooled at Marlborough College in Wiltshire. From an early age he showed a deep interest in fossils, hence it is not surprising that he went on to King's College, Cambridge to read Natural Sciences, specialising in mineralogy and petrology. On qualifying he was offered a choice of country, either Canada or Southern Rhodesia, in which to make his career. No doubt influenced by his uncle Edward he opted for the latter and in 1924 undertook the three-week sea journey from Southampton to Cape Town, continuing by train to Salisbury. There he joined the Geological Survey in December and was appointed Mineralogist, a position he held for two years.

The early years

The Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey (Fey, 1995) had been founded in September 1910 by H. B. Maufe in Bulawayo and, at the instigation of the Secretary for Mines and Works, E. W. S. Montagu, moved to Salisbury in May 1918. Tyndale-Biscoe's appointment heralded a rapid expansion of the establishment which at the time comprised Director Maufe (Fey, 2015 a), geologists B. Lightfoot and A. M. Macgregor, draughtsman H. S. McVey assisted by B. B. Napier, and clerk Miss D. Holland.

When Dr J. W. Lunn was appointed Mineralogist in May 1926 Tyndale-Biscoe was able to join the field staff. His timing was perfect since, following on from Lightfoot's experimental use of a motor vehicle in the course of 1925, the Geological Survey acquired a fleet of 6 Chevrolet half-ton vanettes in 1926, resulting in the permanent replacement of mules by motor transport. Over the period 1922-1923 Lightfoot had begun fieldwork in the Mt Darwin region, indicated to the Director by the Secretary for Mines and Works as a suitable "outside district". There he had trialled contouring the maps and now initiated Tyndale-Biscoe into the art of plane table surveying. However, since Lunn served for only one year before resigning Tyndale-Biscoe was obliged to periodically stand in as Mineralogist, notably for the entire first half of 1930, until long-term incumbent N. E. Barlow was appointed to the position on 3 July.

In 1927, when he continued the mapping westwards from Mt Darwin into what was later developed as the Centenary Block of tobacco farms, Tyndale-Biscoe became the first Geological Survey geologist to be accompanied by a topographer, V. H. (Victor) Woram, who had joined the department in September 1925. Since the northern portion of the region was then unpopulated African labour had to be recruited to make motorable tracks, which totalled some 65 miles and included one to Bandilombizi (now Banirembizi), a mountain 16 miles north of the mapped area on the edge of the Zambezi Escarpment. These tracks took their toll on the mens' vehicle, which on one occasion had to be towed for a considerable distance by a team of oxen, procured from the nearby reserve, in order for a new rear axle to be fitted in Mt Darwin. Nonetheless, as recorded by Tyndale-Biscoe's elder son Jeremy, this early training made his father a consummate off-road driver. Game was plentiful in the region, where it was necessary to shoot for the pot. However, the first two weeks were meatless since Woram was a marksman with poor eyesight whereas Tyndale-Biscoe could see well but was a poor shot (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 38). The problem was overcome by making hunting a collaborative exercise, one person spotting, the other shooting.

On completion of fieldwork at Mt Darwin, documented in Lightfoot and Tyndale-

Biscoe (1931), the latter then spent portions of the following two years investigating the country around the Shamva mining centre (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1931) where, for his study between April and June 1928 of the eponymous gold mine which then operated a 60-stamp mill, he was for 2 months accommodated in comfortable quarters and fed in the staff mess.

At the time it was mandatory for civil servants to take three months leave outside the colony every three years. On his first return to Britain during vacation leave taken between December 1928 and May 1929 Tyndale-Biscoe met Margaret Baker, then a Norland (specialist nanny) nurse working in Pretoria. The couple married in August 1929, Margaret adapted to life in the bush and in due course produced children Jeremy Ronald (1930), Janet Margaret (1933) and Richard Hugh (1937).

With fieldwork extending over some 6 months of the year the family's bush camps, as recalled by Jeremy, had to be "a home from home". In Tyndale-Biscoe's case they generally comprised two large tents placed end to end comprising bedrooms and bathroom (with tin bath), an outside kitchen and long-drop toilet. Bath water was heated over the fire in what had originally been petrol or paraffin tins, and lighting was by means of candles or paraffin lamps. The kitchen, a grass structure, burnt down on one occasion when Richard was playing with embers in the fireplace, and he was very fortunate to be rescued by the family's cook, Hlupe.

In order to shorten the railway journey from Salisbury to Northern Rhodesia via Bulawayo and Victoria Falls there had for many years been talk of constructing the "Sinoia-Kafue cut-off". For this an engineer, J. L. F. Jeffares, had surveyed two alternative routes through the very broken country of the Zambezi Valley, one to the upper end of Kariba Gorge, the other to Chirundu. To help decide between these a "traffic survey" (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 41) was proposed to examine the economics of the plan. On this survey, undertaken over three weeks between September and October 1928, Tyndale-Biscoe was accompanied by experienced Land Inspector R. C. "Ching" Boyes, the former reporting on the mineralisation potential of the region, the latter on the agricultural possibilities. With a retinue of some 16 porters the men set off from the Norman Mine northwest of Sinoia, traversed down the Charara River valley to Kariba Gorge, then proceeded along the right bank of the Zambezi River as far as Chirundu. Regrettably, results of the survey were not encouraging and, almost a century later, the rail link remains to be built.

On one occasion during the expedition "Ching", possessed of an acute sense of humour and an infectious laugh, was advised by the messenger in charge of the carriers that game had been sighted nearby. Although he had spent most of his career in the field "Ching" had acquired a but rudimentary knowledge of the local *lingua franca*, hence misunderstood the word "*chipembere*" (rhinoceros) for "*tendere*" (guineafowl) and immediately set off to shoot for the pot. A while later he returned empty-handed but chortling, highly amused at the thought of tackling a rhinoceros with a shotgun.

In 1929, following a directive from the Minister of Mines and Public Works, Tyndale-Biscoe and Lightfoot spent three months between June and September 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, prepared early in 1926 by topographer Woram.

The survey of this game-rich but tsetse fly-infested region, which had been explored between 1925 and 1928 by the Southern Rhodesia Base Metals Corporation Limited, was inconclusive but showed the need for geophysical as well as additional geological investigations (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 43). These were eventually undertaken in 1953-1955 on behalf of the Messina (Transvaal) Development Company Limited, but a further 40 years elapsed before mining of oxide ore from the Copper Queen deposit began in June 1995 (Oberthür, 1999).

In the course of this survey Tyndale-Biscoe discovered a fossil which he assumed to be a plant of Permian or Triassic age. However, this resisted all attempts at identification by Dr S. H. Haughton in Cape Town.

While engaged in fieldwork at Shamva and at Mt Darwin Tyndale-Biscoe periodically reconnoitred peripheral portions of the central Mazoe Valley north of Bindura during 1926 and 1929. He then spent parts of 1930 and 1931 mapping the remainder of this region, for most of which the topographic base had been prepared by V. H. Woram, small areas in the southwest and north respectively being surveyed by his brother P. J. (Percy) Woram and the geologist. The report and accompanying map (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1933) were reprinted in 1972. Between October and December 1931 Tyndale-Biscoe investigated the surroundings of the Alpes Mine just north of Salisbury. Results were published in 1932 as Bulletin 19, for which the accompanying geological map lacked a topographic base. His notes on several of the gold mining properties in the Mazoe Valley appeared in *The Rhodesian Mining Journal* in 1932 and 1933, while unpublished reports on visits undertaken at the time to the Idol and other mica mines in the Chimanda Tribal Trust Land, Mtoko district are contained in the Geological Survey's Technical Files.

In 1933 Tyndale-Biscoe, awarded a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship, was granted two years special leave. In addition he took 6 months vacation leave from 18 March and, accompanied by his young family, travelled via Britain to the United States of America. There he attended courses at several universities, including Harvard, and examined a number of mining properties. For the latter purpose he acquired a used Plymouth sedan which, on the journey across North America to the Pacific coast, burnt a lot of oil and eventually required an expensive engine rebore. This was undertaken over 3 days in Minneapolis, at the time sweltering in 100º F heat. Some 7 months later, having spent several weeks mapping an abandoned copper mine in Arizona, Tyndale-Biscoere turned to the same but by then very cold city to work in the geology department under Professor F. F. Grout. To balance his studies he played a little hand-ball, the American version of 'fives'. Over this period the family was accommodated in an apartment conveniently located near the hall where symphony concerts were periodically conducted by Eugene Ormandy. Meanwhile, the Plymouth spent the winter parked in the street under a blanket of snow, but later carried the family safely back to the east coast, where they boarded the liner Majestic in order to cross the Atlantic once more.

The Geological Survey, since August 1934 led by its second director, B. Lightfoot (Fey, 2015 b), had already conducted regional mapping in southern Matabeleland, with A. E. Phaup (1932, 1933) surveying the Antelope and Lower Gwanda gold belts, J. C. Ferguson (1934) documenting the geology of the Filabusi region. During Tyndale-Biscoe's absence from Southern Rhodesia mining activity had increased enormously.

Accordingly, having resumed duty on 17 September 1935 he was immediately posted to West Nicholson in order to map the Gwanda greenstone belt, which by 1938 had produced almost a million ounces of gold from 268 mines. After the previous, poor rainy season the country was parched, with decomposing carcasses of cattle much in evidence, reminding Tyndale-Biscoe of conditions he had experienced but a few months earlier in the Arizona desert. By 1938 he had mapped 1536 square miles, the task being facilitated by the use of aerial photographs produced during 1936 by the Aircraft Operating Company of Africa (Pty) Ltd of Johannesburg. A preliminary description of the geology and mines appeared as Short Report 30 (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1937), to be followed by Bulletin 36 (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1940), which was reprinted in 1972. Furthermore, Tyndale-Biscoe (1938) published, in the Transactions of the Geological Society of South Africa (TGSSA), a description of a monzonitic (granitic) complex in the region.

Salient features of 1938 were the large increase in mine examinations, as well as the number and variety of traverses made by Geological Survey staff in boats, aeroplanes and on foot. Director Lightfoot had instigated this reconnaissance of remote, little-known regions in order to update information for future editions of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of the country. Tyndale-Biscoe contributed to the exercise by reconnoitring the country east of Beitbridge in 1938 and the Nuanetsi valley in the following year, publishing his findings in the TGSSA during 1949.

The war years

In 1939, after reconnoitring some 1500 square miles of the southern Gwanda and Chibi districts, Tyndale-Biscoe and his family undertook the obligatory, triannual holiday in Britain, travelling on Ellerman & Bucknell Line's ship *City of Paris* and arriving in London on the day war was declared, September 3. This fact notwithstanding the three-month holiday was uneventful and the family embarked for Cape Town on the same liner which, in the interim, had been repaired after encountering a mine. The *City of Paris* departed Tilbury in a convoy of 18 ships escorted by three destroyers as far as the Bay of Biscay, after which the vessel followed a zigzag route in an attempt to evade the already very active German submarines. This strategy, although successful, extended the journey by a whole week (Tyndale-Biscoe, 2015).

With the beginning of war systematic regional mapping was drastically reduced and, in an attempt to stimulate mineral production, members of the Geological Survey's field staff were assigned to economic work. For this it was deemed advisable to appoint a geologist, precursor to the later Regional Geologist, to each major mining centre. Under this arrangement Tyndale-Biscoe was sent to Bulawayo, F. L. Amm to Gwelo and new appointee W. H. Swift to Gatooma. However, since mining records and services were centralised in Salisbury these geologists were severely hampered in their operations, and all eventually returned to the capital.

Conscription of staff members began in 1940, a year during which the purpose-built Maufe Building, still the headquarters of the Geological Survey in Harare,was completed and occupied. Director Lightfoot, on learning that the Royal Air Force was looking for ten Intelligence Officers from Southern Rhodesia, suggested to Tyndale-Biscoe that he apply. In this he was successful, although the medical examination had shown him to be colour blind. However, before being drafted he had a remarkably varied and productive

year with mine visits and regional reconnaissance, as well as detailed mapping north of Balla Balla. The year's work is documented in the department's Short Reports 31 (Norton Gold Belt), 32 (Geology and mines of the Insiza-Fort Rixon Gold Belt) and 34 (Geology and mines of the Mashaba District), all published in 1940. In November 1940 Tyndale-Biscoe became, as he wrote in his journal, one of "ten Rhodesian gentlemen" in the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve who were flown to Cairo for two weeks of training in the Intelligence Unit. Thereafter he served in the Western Desert, where his colour blindness materially contributed to his success in recognising camouflaged enemy positions on aerial photographs. Later he spent the period February-October 1941 in Malta at the height of the siege. When it was discovered that he possessed only one kidney he was invalided out of the Royal Air Force and returned home in August 1942. Ever after the sound of thunder disturbed him, reminding him of the bombing he had endured in Malta.

Because the war had triggered a great demand for the strategic metals tantalum and tungsten Tyndale-Biscoe was immediately dispatched to the Bikita and Rurgwe tin fields east of Fort Victoria. There, without the aid of aerial photographs, he spent 3 months on a topographical and geological survey which covered 80 square miles and included the eastern extremity of the Fort Victoria schist belt. This effort, together with his subsequent studies at Bikita (Tyndale-Biscoe 1951), was primarily responsible for focussing attention on the vast lithium potential of the field's pegmatites. Early in December 1942 Tyndale-Biscoe accompanied Government Mining Engineer W. Ralston on visits to three mines elsewhere in the colony, including the CSC scheelite claims in the Wedza Mountains, part of the largest greenstone belt in a granitic region mapped some 30 years later by the author (Fey, 1976).

During 1943 mica production increased, leading Tyndale-Biscoe to spend two and a half months surveying 100 square miles of the most active portions of the Lomagundi mica fields. He made further visits to the CSC mine and also reconnoitred the Shawa Hills some 30 miles to the south. There concentric ring structures were recognised as being made up of carbonatite, a rock of controversial, possibly magmatic origin hosting deposits of the micaceous mineral vermiculite.

In 1944 systematic regional geological mapping was resumed with Tyndale-Biscoe, the only available field geologist, covering 450 square miles around Gwelo. For this task he utilised aerial photographs on loan from the Southern Rhodesia Survey Unit, and within this region also undertook detailed mapping by plane table over two small areas of special geological interest. In addition he visited 72 mines, including the Big Ben near Gwanda and the Turk north of Bulawayo.

The period 1945-1963

By the end of 1945 all serving members of the Geological Survey staff, with the exception of 3 draughtsmen who had lost their lives in the war, had returned to duty with the department. Regional mapping was resumed in earnest and, shortages of equipment as well as transport notwithstanding, areas of 2000 and 805 square miles respectively were reconnoitred and mapped in detail during the year. In July 1946, when Lightfoot retired as Director, he was succeeded by A. M. Macgregor (Fey, in prep).

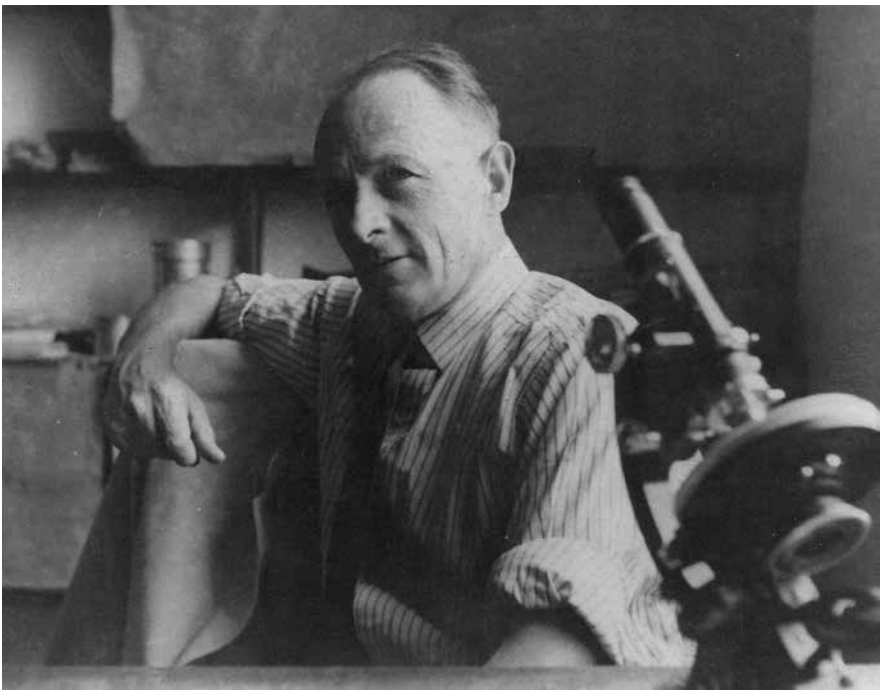
The survey of the Gwelo-Selukwe region occupied Tyndale-Biscoe until 1947. It includes a revision of the geology around Selukwe, originally mapped by Maufe,

Lightfoot and Zeally between 1911 and 1914, and was published as Bulletin 39 (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1949), reprinted in 1972. Despite remapping and reinterpretation by later workers Tyndale-Biscoe's original concept, namely that portions of the Selukwe greenstones had been structurally inverted, then thrusted, has been retained.

Since he was becoming increasingly occupied with economic work this was to be his last detailed mapping project, although he continued to undertake reconnaissance surveys in many parts of the country. Towards the end of the war the Government, with an investment eventually approximating to one million pounds (Macgregor 1948, p 1), had established the Mining Settlement Scheme for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen, suitable candidates being installed on prospective, dormant mining properties; details are given by Tyndale-Biscoe (1972, pp 58-59). The scheme, in which he became very involved, entailed making a great number of inspections of participating mining properties, such visits by him totalling 101 in 1947. In January of the following year Tyndale-Biscoe, now promoted to Senior Geologist, replaced new Director J. C. Ferguson on the Mining Settlement Committee. While on overseas leave in the second half of the year he, together with A. M. Macgregor, attended the International Geological Congress, held in London during August.

For the first 5 months of 1949 he worked continuously for the Committee, attending sittings in Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo and Gatooma. He visited 47 properties associated with the Mining Settlement Scheme, which is believed to have been wound up during the year, and also made a special examination for the Mining Affairs Board of the Silverside, Norah and Molly copper claims at what was to become the Mangula mining centre. In August he accompanied members of the Natural Resources Board on visits to Umtali, the phosphate deposits at Dorowa and the vermiculite workings at Shawa. During Ferguson's absence on vacation leave Tyndale-Biscoe was Acting Director from 26 May to 8 November. In October he showed three representatives of the North American Economic Co-operation Administration's Strategic Minerals Group over chromite mines in the Umvukwe Range and at Selukwe, the Silverside copper mine and the Bikita Tinfield, where the visit stimulated the exploration for and subsequent exploitation of beryl in the country. It is worth recording that to the end of 1961 Bikita had the largest beryl production in Southern Rhodesia, contributing 33% of the total (Wilson and Martin 1964, p 128).

In 1950 Tyndale-Biscoe devoted eight weeks to the examination of mining properties in the Filabusi gold belt, for which an updated geological bulletin was planned. This, however, was deferred until after the region had been remapped in the 1980s (Baglow, 1998). He paid four visits to Bikita, and during June inspected mines at Palabora in the Northern Transvaal in order to compare vermiculite occurrences there with those at Shawa, and to study methods of prospecting and mining. Later he lamented the lack of capital hindering exploitation of the Shawa deposits. He also spent time supervising drilling on the Lower Sabi Coalfield, where exploration for coal by the Geological Survey (Fey, 2014) was nearing completion. During the following year, besides visiting 27 mining properties he gathered data over some 200 square miles of the Gwanda and Nuanetsi districts for the next edition of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map, reconnoitred the Beatrice gold belt and made two inconclusive aerial surveys over the Mtoko district, following up on a reported sighting, from the air, of a ring complex. In addition he began a long period of intermittent reconnaissance mapping, commencing with the Salisbury region.



Ronald McIver Tyndale-Biscoe. Photograph provided by Jeremy Tyndale-Biscoe

Tyndale-Biscoe's pioneering work at Bikita finally resulted in the establishment, during 1952, of Bikita Minerals (Private) Limited, a company which began to exploit the lithium pegmatites of the eponymous field, over which it had acquired a controlling interest by 1959 (Wilson and Martin 1964, p 115). In April 1952 Tyndale-Biscoe visited the new wolframite camp immediately south of Karoi, then spent the period June-July in the Filabusi region where, although gold output was declining, asbestos and scheelite production had increased dramatically. He also undertook reconnaissance mapping over a small area of the Great Dyke near Belingwe as well as on several Government Forestry Reserves covering 80 square miles in the Melsetter district. The year furthermore saw the publication of the first 7 titles, compiled with Mineralogist N. E. Barlow, of a Mineral Resources Series which is ongoing.

During 1953 Tyndale-Biscoe continued his association with Bikita and Shawa but the number of mine visits which he undertook decreased, amounting to only 21. Aided by aerial photographs he carried out a reconnaissance survey over 80 square miles around Felixburg, following up the recent discovery of beryl there. During August and October he began his long association with the Inyanga district by mapping 700 square miles along the border with Moçambique in an attempt to correlate the local Umkondo Group sediments with those occurring at Melsetter. He mapped a further 300 square miles in the following year, made 18 mine visits and in September, while again deputising for the Director from mid-June to mid-October, attended the Nairobi conference of the Association of African Geological Surveys.

In 1955 he spent the Easter holidays investigating a small area in the Chimanimani

Mountains, followed by a fortnight in May during which he accompanied members of the Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society to the mountain Bandilombidzi (now Banirembizi) at the northern extremity of the Great Dyke. Later in the same month he and Dr Geoffrey Bond, Keeper of Geology at the Bulawayo Museum, undertook a journey through Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, ending at Mbeya in Tanganyika, principally in order to study the correlation between the Frontier (Southern Rhodesia) and Muva (Northern Rhodesia) Systems. In September, at the inaugural meeting in Salisbury of the Southern Regional Committee for Geology, part of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (CCTA), Bond read a joint paper on their findings. These, however, were not supported by later studies.

In July 1956 Tyndale-Biscoe mapped the limestone occurrence at Colleen Bawn, later to become the site of a cement factory, and in August accompanied two members of the Institute of African Geology, Leeds University to an area of Nuanetsi Ranch where a study of aerial photographs had revealed the existence of a gabbroidal intrusion. There he roughly mapped an area of some 125 square miles and in 1959 published a paper on alkali ring complexes in Southern Rhodesia. He continued fieldwork at Inyanga and north of Umtali during September, then over the period October-December completed his reconnaissance of the Enterprise district east of the capital; his unpublished map of the eastern portion is dated 1959. The 18 mines which he visited during the year included the Umkondo and Muriel mines, investigated for the purpose of producing a revised edition of the Mineral Resources Series volume on copper. There was also an inspection of the Kyle Dam site near Fort Victoria.

At the 20th International Geological Congress, held in Mexico City during 1956, the stratigraphy of Southern Rhodesia, with contributions by Maufe, Bond and Tyndale-Biscoe, was placed on record.

With mapping of the Salisbury region finalised in the first 3 months of 1957 the results were published in December as Short Report 36. In April Tyndale-Biscoe accompanied a party of uranium experts from overseas on visits to uranium claims south of Umtali, as well as to Bikita. Amongst the several hitherto unknown minerals discovered there is bikitaite, a hydrated lithium aluminium silicate identified and named in 1957 by Dr C. S. Hurlbut, under whom Tyndale-Biscoe had studied at Harvard University during his visit to the United States of America.

In May he completed fieldwork at Inyanga and in June reconnoitred the Mtoko district to gather data for the next edition of the 1:1 million scale map, at the same time investigating an occurrence of limestone in the region. With world demand for uranium increasing the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority had established an office in Salisbury in December 1955, and made the Geological Survey a long-term loan of a Landrover fitted with "Cargo" automatically recording radiometric equipment. Tyndale-Biscoe used this vehicle during July to undertake road traverses in various parts of the country. However, although useful in defining boundaries between certain geological units the equipment did not lead to the discovery of viable uranium occurrences.

In July 1958, at a joint meeting of the Association of African Geological Surveys and the three CCTA Regional Committees for Geology held in Leopoldville, where the Geological Survey was represented by R. L. Watson, a paper by Tyndale-Biscoe and colleague J. G. Stagman on copper deposits in Southern Rhodesia was read. Short Report 37 (Inyanga) was issued during the year in which Tyndale-Biscoe surveyed 80 square miles of the Belingwe schist belt, thereby filling a gap between maps published

in Bulletins 12 (Shabani) and 43 (Belingwe and West Nicholson). He again deputised for the Director between August and December. Mining properties visited totalled 11; they included the Zeus emerald claims at Sandawana and a limestone occurrence on the outskirts of Hartley. This was in all probability the Lambourne deposit, exploited later as a source of agricultural lime.

Between his other commitments Tyndale-Biscoe found time to revise A. M. Macgregor's earlier account of the Basement Complex for inclusion in W. H. Swift's "An outline of the geology of Southern Rhodesia" (Bulletin 50, 1961). His description of the geology appeared in the *Handbook of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nysaland* and was utilised in material prepared by the Geological Survey for the 7th Commonwealth Mining and Metallurgical Congress, held in Salisbury during May 1961.

Regrettably, Tyndale-Biscoe's career with the Geological Survey was brought to a most unsatisfactory end with his enforced retirement on pension at the end of February 1959, when he was only 56½ years old. Much earlier he had elected to retire at the age of 55 but then, together with everyone else, had forgotten the matter which was later raised by a conscientious auditor. Tyndale-Biscoe, advised that he had overstayed, tidied his office and simply walked out-there was no farewell. Happily, a valediction in the form of a surprise party for him,given by the very appreciative mining community, had earlier taken place at the Marvel Mine near Filabusi,

However, there was to be a new lease of professional life. In 1960 he succeeded Dr Geoffrey Bond as Keeper of Geology at the Bulawayo Museum, Bond having resigned in order to head the geology department at the fledgling University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Tyndale-Biscoe remained in his new post until he retired for good in May 1963, commenting that he had wasted too much of his life on rocks and would henceforth devote himself to bird watching, a hobby which he pursued enthusiastically.

Retirement

Tyndale-Biscoe returned to Salisbury in 1964 and settled in Avondale West, but continued to maintain an interest in his profession. After the death on 18th April 1966 of F. P. Mennell, doyen of Rhodesian geology, he delivered a talk entitled "Mr Mennell—a memorial lecture" to the students' Mennell Society at the University College of Rhodesia. Shortly afterwards he was elected president of that society but resigned from the position in June 1967 although remaining an Honorary Member.

He subsequently compiled the first history of the Geological Survey (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1972), completed in 1968. The work, written in a delightfully informal style, contains anecdotes and much information not found in the Annual Reports of the Director. Occasionally he wrote to the latter, requesting an update on events, and T. J. Broderick (*pers. comm.*) replied to at least two of these letters. It is to the writer's lasting regret that he never met the man on his rare visits to the Geological Survey offices during the 1970s.

Tyndale-Biscoe was invited to attend an open day celebrating the 25th anniversary of Bikita Minerals (Private) Ltd in 1977. For this he and his wife were flown to Fort Victoria from where, since the bush war was still in progress, they were driven to the mine with an armed escort. His last public appearance as a geologist was in May 1985, when he and his wife were guests of the Geological Society of Zimbabwe at

the inaugural A. M. Macgregor Memorial Lecture. This was presented by Professor J. F. Wilson, who had begun his career with the Geological Survey during the decade when Tyndale-Biscoe ended his.

Tyndale-Biscoe's first wife Margaret died from cancer in 1965. Later, through his interest in bird watching he again encountered Stella Constance Wise, a lady he had met and become attracted to on the ship which was taking him to South Africa in 1924. The couple married in 1971, and in the late 1980s moved to the Borradaile Trust retirement village in Marondera. Stella died on 15th June 1995, followed by her husband, then aged 93 on Good Friday, 5th April 1996. The funeral service for him was conducted on 11th April by the Reverend Richard Holderness in St Mary Magdalene Anglican church, Avondale where the couple used to worship, and the Geological Survey was represented by former members Ian Green, David Levy, Euen Morrison and Professor J. F. Wilson. Obituaries were published by the Geological Societies of Zimbabwe and South Africa,also appearing in the *Zimbabwean Chamber of Mines Journal, Zimbabwe Science News* and the 1997 *Annual Report for King's College*, Cambridge.

The man, his ways and his children

Ronald McIver Tyndale-Biscoe is remembered by his elder son Jeremy as a thorough gentleman, scrupulously honest, academically gifted, self-effacing yet with a wonderful, dry sense of humour. Through his legendary absentmindedness he lost countless pairs of binoculars by leaving them on the cab of field vehicles. Wholly uninterested in making money for himself, through his achievements he assisted other, more commercially attuned individuals to become wealthy. Outside of camp he never referred to his work, but was nevertheless held in great esteem by the geological and mining fraternity of the country. Although it is not on record if he was ever considered for the post of Director he was promoted to Senior Geologist in 1947 but continued living the life of a field geologist as before, undertaking reconnaissance mapping, visiting mining properties, writing and publishing scientific articles.

A fitness fanatic, he would never drive if he could cycle. He was also eccentric and, where possible, camp life was continued at home. Irrespective of where he was, after a bath or shower Tyndale-Biscoe would invariably dry himself with a flannel instead of a towel. Furthermore, when carving a roast at the table he would always don a raincoat, which he regarded as obligatory to prevent fat splashing on to his clothes. One evening in 1956 Jeremy had invited his new girlfriend Pauline, later to become his wife, to dinner at home. His mother had gone to much trouble to make it a special occasion and had instructed her husband to wear his best suit. When the roast arrived on the table Tyndale-Biscoe disappeared briefly, then returned wearing his macintosh and began to carve, after which he discarded the garment. With no sign of rain, and the rest of the family remaining wholly unperturbed, Pauline was most intrigued by the proceedings and became very pensive. After the meal Jeremy, anxious not to jeopardise the developing relationship, was obliged to explain to her his father's logic behind the carving ritual.

There are few details about Tyndale-Biscoe's private life and outside interests. Very fond of classical music, with favourite composers including Beethoven, Brahms and Haydn, as well as Gilbert and Sullivan, he was a member of the Salisbury Cathedral choir in 1929 when Reverend Richard Holderness (see above) first met him. He initially became a member of the Geological Society of South Africa in 1928, rejoining for the period 1949-1963. Throughout his career he published scientific articles and presented

papers at various geological congresses.

He and his wife led an active social life, counting amongst their friends Geological Survey colleagues F. L. Amm, W. H. Swift and D. O. L. Levy. According to the latter (*pers. comm.*), nothing was too much trouble for Tyndale-Biscoe. Once, after a function at the family home Levy found his car parked in by other vehicles. Rain notwithstanding, Tyndale-Biscoe took an axe and removed a small tree in order to clear a way out. On another occasion guests attending a Christmas party decided on a game of tenniquoits. Although the grounds of the residence were not marked out for this game he immediately took a *badza* (hoe) and cleared the lines.

Of Tyndale-Biscoe's three children the youngest, Richard, followed in the footsteps of one great-uncle by joining the Royal Navy, finally serving in Simonstown. He later farmed, became involved with the Inyati copper mine near Headlands and eventually settled in Swaziland. Daughter Janet qualified as a doctor and subsequently became an anaesthetist. Jeremy, of artistic bent from early childhood, was educated at Ruzawi School near Marandellas and Bishop's in Cape Town, then studied art at the Regent Street Polytechnic in London. Returning to Southern Rhodesia in 1955 and unable to make a living as an artist he took up teaching art and ceramics at Churchill School in Salisbury. He and Pauline eventually moved to Ireland, there to teach and make ceramics at a new craft centre. Some 18 years later, in 1997, they retired to the south coast of Spain.

There are nine grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Acknowledgements

For this biography the author has drawn on comprehensive notes compiled by colleague T. J. Broderick, on the obituary by Wilson (1996), as well as on relevant Annual Reports of the Director, Geological Survey. Erin Maberly, Richard Tyndale-Biscoe's daughter, kindly furnished contact details for her uncle, Jeremy. He in turn generously provided his own and his brother's recollections, as well as relevant portions of his father's memoirs and a photograph. Jeremy's wife Pauline is sincerely thanked for permission to quote from her book, referenced below.

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The Zimbabwe Geological Survey 1980-2016

by Peter Fey

Introduction

This is the fifth and last of a series of articles documenting 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 part of an earlier history by the writer. Throughout the period described in this final chapter, when no official photographs of Geological Survey staff appear to have been taken, the majority of newly recruited Zimbabwean professionals did not remain long and the functions of the department were maintained by a small nucleus of long-serving senior personnel. Since there were never more than five staff geologists in the field at any one time the bulk of regional mapping was carried out by expatriate geologists working under one or other of the numerous technical aid programmes, implemented from 1981 onwards and funded by several donor nations. Major achievements of these programmes include the mapping of the Nyamapanda-Rushinga region northeast of Mutoko, the Harare and Bulawayo greenstone belts as well as an extensive tract of country along the Zambezi Escarpment north of Centenary and Guruve. In addition there was an exhaustive study of the structural controls to gold mineralisation, as well as an evaluation of the hydrocarbon potential of the Zambezi Valley. Other aid programmes enabled, inter alia, the implementation of airborne geophysical surveys over much of the country and the establishment of a National Remote Sensing Facility. Regrettably, the important role played by the Geological Survey in attracting exploration investment through the provision and dissemination of maps and reports detailing the country's geology, mines and mineralisation potential appears never to have been fully appreciated by the post-1980 regime, which soon came to regard many of the department's roles and functions as "traditionally donor-funded". Disparities in pay and conditions between posts in Government and industry led to attrition of experienced professional as well as technical personnel during the first decade after Zimbabwe's independence. Staff losses continued during the exploration boom of the following decade, which furthermore saw the completion of most foreign aid programmes. Together with continuing underfunding of the Geological Survey these factors inevitably led to what may well be the terminal decline of a once proud and productive organisation.

The period 1980 to 1984

When the bush war ended early in 1980 military duties for civilians ceased, international sanctions were lifted and Zimbabwe rejoined the wider world. Intense foreign interest in the country's mining industry resulted in a large influx of visitors, a flood of enquiries about investment opportunities and offers, not all of them altruistic, of intergovernmental

technical co-operation. In June Geological Survey Director E. R. Morrison took part in the International Geological Congress held in Paris. He attended few presentations, instead meeting with senior personnel of organisations such as the *French Bureau de Recherches Géologiques et Minières* (BRGM), the British Geological Survey (BGS) and the German *Bundesanstalt für Geowissenschaften und Rohstoffe* (BGR). On a visit to Canada in November he established that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) would consider undertaking airborne geophysical surveys over Zimbabwe. These efforts laid the groundwork for later, significant programmes of technical co-operation involving German, British, Canadian and Japanese experts over the next decade, during which senior Geological Survey staff continued to attend periodical technical meetings, geological gatherings and workshops within Zimbabwe and abroad.

The above achievements notwithstanding the Annual Report of the Director for 1980 highlighted the dismal staff position. Although the Establishment, in 1977 fixed at 57, had remained constant with 26 geological posts, there were 19 positions vacant, including those of 12 geologists and 3 cartographers. During the following year the Establishment was increased by four posts with some having been regraded, but vacancies had increased to 25, a number which included 11 posts for geologists and 8 for cartographers. Accordingly, recruitment of staff was to occupy much of the Director's time during his remaining period in office. While junior positions could be filled with little difficulty there was a dearth of suitably qualified senior personnel, and, although the new Government lifted its initial ban on employment of foreign nationals, major hurdles to augmenting staff numbers remained. These included the woefully tardy performance of the Public Service Commission in approving new appointments and, as a perennial problem, the ever-increasing disparity between salaries in the public and private sectors.

The attrition of staff witnessed in the late 1970s continued throughout 1980 and 1981 when several senior members of the organisation departed. They included Dr V. R. Stocklmayer (Chief Field Geologist), Dr J. G. Stagman (Editor), N. M. Harrison (Deputy Director), P. Fey and P. A. Stidolph (Regional Geologists based in Harare and Bulawayo respectively), as well as geologists S. A. Milner and A. O. Thompson, the latter the department's Karoo Group and coal specialist. The loss of Thompson was partially offset by T. J. Broderick, the sole remaining field geologist, who had spent the first six months of 1980 on a specially arranged coal study in South Africa. On his return he succeeded Stocklmayer, with C. B. Anderson continuing as Economic Geologist. The drawing office also suffered depletion through numerous resignations, including those of Chief Cartographer D. O. L. Levy, who had joined the department in December 1943 and was succeeded by H. A. Barrie, and cartographer P. M. ("Paddy") Belstead, on staff since 1960.

It is worth recording that the Geological Survey headquarters in Harare, Maufe Building, were repainted during 1980.

Of the first three black geologists to be appointed, in rapid succession, during the second half of 1980 David Edgar Hoover Murangari initially shared the duties of Regional Geologist, Mashonaland with Fey's understudy C. W. Duke. Dr Abdon Ngazimbi Ncube assumed the role of Mineralogist vacated in July by Mrs S. M. Anderson, thereafter becoming Assistant Economic Geologist (1982—1983). Last of the trio, Obadiah Kudzaishe Bwerinofa was immediately appointed Co-Deputy Director, then

succeeded Harrison as Deputy Director (1981—1982). Following Stidolph's resignation in December 1981 his assistant, I. Sutcliffe, was confirmed as Regional Geologist, Bulawayo. In Harare Mrs I. Goromonzi replaced Ncube as Mineralogist in March 1981, and S. Simango joined the staff in November.

After Stagman's departure in December 1980 editing was over several years undertaken jointly by Anderson, Broderick and Morrison, who as a team held the fabric of the department together for much of the decade.

Regional mapping, one of the department's principal functions, had been suspended at the end of 1977 because of the deteriorating security situation. Sadly, the Geological Survey's pre-eminence in this role was never regained. Although fieldwork was resumed in mid-October 1980, when A. J. Fountain began mapping at Hope Fountain southeast of Bulawayo, the maximum number of field geologists who could be deployed thereafter peaked at five. Accordingly, figures for annual mapping coverage by departmental staff could not emulate those achieved by geological teams working under the various foreign aid programmes during the period under consideration. Noteworthy is the outstanding contribution made by local graduate N. Baglow, appointed in January 1981. During his decade with the Geological Survey he completed fieldwork in two project areas each of which, some 4400 km^2 in extent, was 50% larger than the standard quarter degree map sheet normally published. He began with the remapping of the Filabusi region, first investigated by Ferguson (1934), and covered 800 km^2 during the season.

In 1981 the geophysical unit, disbanded in 1976, was resuscitated by P. P. Zhou, employed part-time whilst completing an MSc degree in applied geophysics at the University of Zimbabwe. Gravity measurements were resumed in 1982 when geophysicist M. T. Hawadi joined the team. Concurrently Ambrose Balamanja Made began the groundwork for a National Remote Sensing Facility, which he managed from his appointment in 1981 until 1990. Established with German aid the facility, initially housed within and part of the Geological Survey, was intended to be multi-disciplinary with involvement in, inter alia, forestry, agriculture and mineral resources. Professor K. A. Viewing, Director of the Institute of Mining Research at the University of Zimbabwe, later became Chairman of this organisation.

Meanwhile, projects forming part of the various foreign aid programmes began in August 1981 when French BRGM geologists Drs A. E. Prost and P. Rolin commenced reconnaissance mapping, coupled with ground radiometric prospecting for uranium, in an area covering some 6900 km^2 along the rugged Zambezi Escarpment north of Centenary. Fieldwork was completed during the 1982-1983 seasons by a team comprising Messrs J. J. Bache, Dr S. Dallas and J-F. Milian. British aid, amounting to slightly in excess of one million pounds, was provided to finance secondment of six geologists for up to three years as well as vehicles and field equipment necessary for the remapping of the country around Bulawayo (4300 km^2) and Harare (4400 km^2). Concurrently there was to be mapping and stream sediment sampling from Rushinga through Mudzi to Makaha, a region covering some 8000 km^2 in the extreme northeast of the country. Given the size of these areas they were surveyed within a remarkably short time, fieldwork being completed over the period 1983-1986. All three British aid projects have been documented for the Geological Survey in bulletins by Baldock (1991), Barton *et. al.* (1991) and Garson (1995).

January 1982 saw the appointment of S. P. Kalbskopf, who succeeded Regional Geologist Murangari when the latter was elevated to Deputy Director (1983-1985). In April, under a North Korean aid programme, Dr M. G. Choe and compatriot G. H. Choe were seconded to the department for a year during which they mapped an area of 660 km^2 covering the post-Karoo Mutandahwe Complex in the far southeast of the country. Their report, which also documents the copper-tungsten mineralisation associated with the complex, was edited and partially rewritten by Professor J. F. Wilson of the University of Zimbabwe, then published as Short Report 50 in 1998.

Of the three German BGR geologists who arrived in May for a two-year period Dr M. Resch undertook mapping at Matamve, some 45 kilometres northeast of Beitbridge, whilst sedimentologist Dr J. Lepper and coal specialist H. H. Palloks respectively documented aspects of the Lower Karoo sequence and reviewed all coal deposits in the northwest of Zimbabwe.

Because of dissident activity in the west and south of the country the security situation there deteriorated during 1982, resulting in the violent deaths of three members of the mining community. It led to the curtailment of departmental mine visits in the Bubi, Gwanda and Matobo district, and mapping near Bulawayo was temporarily suspended early in October. At Matamve Dr Resch at times required an armed police escort and the geophysical team, while undertaking a gravity survey between Wankie and Kariba, had to be accompanied by a large army contingent. Despite this state of affairs, which was to extend to other parts of the country and persisted to at least 1986, mapping around Bulawayo, Filabusi and Matamve continued.

Highlight of 1982 was "Gold 82", an international scientific symposium organised by the Geological Society of Zimbabwe. Held at the University of Zimbabwe late in May it was preceded and followed by excursions to a large number of mines exploiting a variety of mineral deposits in various parts of the country, and was attended by many delegates from overseas, including the writer.

In 1983 five geologists resigned, amongst them Ncube and Fountain, as well as the department's chemist, H. J. Jordan. The geologists were replaced by six new recruits of whom two, namely Miss E. Sherini (soon to become Mrs Muchemwa) and B. Barber, a British geologist who had led coal exploration at Lubu and Buzi, joined the department's coal section. This had been the domain of Chief Field Geologist Broderick, but he increasingly assumed responsibility for the planning, organisation and supervision of the regional mapping programme. In addition he was periodically required to visit and provide geological advice on dam sites for the Ministry of Water Development, oversaw the functions of the A. E. Phaup Library and edited the *Annals* of the Geological Survey. Furthermore, the current uranium exploration and associated focus on hydrocarbon potential of the Zambezi Valley stimulated his interest in the region, leading him to undertake an aerial photograph interpretation extending over some 1800 km^2 of the Zambezi Valley north of Mt Darwin (Broderick, 1984 a).

Of the three departmental geologists engaged in fieldwork Baglow covered an area of 1340 km^2, completing the Filabusi map sheet. Simango, assigned as counterpart to the BGS team, investigated part of the Mudzi District whilst G. Madzima documented the geology of the Darwendale water tunnel.

The Bulawayo region was remapped by Dr M. S. Garson (BGS) who, during his earlier time with the Malawi Geological Survey, had become an expert on carbonatite (T. J. Broderick, *pers. comm.*), a carbonate rock of apparent magmatic origin. For this project Garson revised the original mapping by F. L. Amm (1940) as well as recent work by Fountain. Meanwhile BGS team leader Dr J. W. Baldock began to survey the geology of Harare and environs.

Over the period 1983 to 1990 CIDA covered two thirds of Zimbabwe with an airborne magnetic survey which, in selected areas, was combined with electromagnetic surveys. From 1985, ground follow-up of anomalies led to the testing of targets in the Midlands by diamond drilling utilising rigs donated to the Geological Survey and subsequently handed over to the parastatal Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation (ZMDC). There was an attendant four-year training programme for local counterparts, drawn from the Geological Survey as well as from industry.

Beginning in 1983 the Japanese International Co-Operation Agency (JICA) funded mineral exploration programmes, undertaken by the Metal Mining Agency of Japan (MMAJ). Each programme lasted for three years and continued into the 1990s.

In 1984 the BGS team was augmented by cartographer D. Bushell and, for a short period, by petrologist Dr M. Styles as well as geochronologist Miss J. Evans, the latter collecting some 300 samples for age determinations from all three areas mapped by the British geologists. The Geological Survey lost three geologists including I. Sutcliffe, the Regional Geologist in Bulawayo, who died in August and was succeeded by P. Mahati. New recruits comprised chemist T. Yin as well as four geologists, three of these expatriates. J. N. Lauderdale, a Bristol University graduate, was employed on contract to map granitic terrain hosting the alkali ring complexes of Dorowa and Shawa, immediately south of the Wedza map sheet area surveyed by Fey (1976). Compatriot Dr D. S. Bartholomew joined too late in the year to embark on fieldwork, hence began data compilation for his Mineral Resources Series reports 22 (base metals and industrial minerals) and 23 (gold), both issued in 1990. J-F Milian, a member of the French BRGM team, was re-engaged as the Geological Survey's Assistant Regional Geologist at the Gweru office which, closed in mid-1971, had been reopened in January 1982 under C. W. Duke and catered for the needs of the Gweru and Masvingo Mining Districts.

During the year the department's geophysical team continued the national gravity survey, completing five 1:50 000-scale map sheet areas. It also carried out two ground magnetic traverses in the Zambezi Valley in order to provide supporting data for the interpretation of the airborne magnetic survey undertaken by the German firm Saarberg Interplan Uran GmbH in its search for uranium. In addition the team participated in exploration, sponsored by JICA, for massive sulphide mineralisation in an area centred west of Bindura. Potential nickel targets identified by the geophysical survey were tested by eight diamond drillholes, but mineralised intersections proved to be subeconomic.

The years 1985 to 1989

In 1985 the compliment of geologists numbered 26 and was almost at full strength. However, since most of the incumbents were recent graduates there was a great lack of experience. Only three of the geologists had been with the Geological Survey for 15 years or more, and there were none in the 6 to 14 year service bracket. A lengthy period

of in-house training of new recruits was foreshadowed in the Director's annual report.

German coal specialist Palloks ended his association with the department in April. Of the three geologists who resigned during the year D. E. H. Murangari was promoted to Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Mines. C. W. Duke, recruited early in 1980 as the writer's understudy, was elected to Parliament in July 1985, and became Deputy Minister of Mines for the period 1987-1990. T. H. C. Nutt, a member of staff since December 1983 had, besides assisting Kalbskopf in his regional mining role, revised and completed earlier sub-standard geological mapping in the 15 kilometre-long Darwendale water tunnel. He left in March to take up a lecturing post in the Geology Department at the University of Zimbabwe, and later became a well-known industry consultant. Following a move to South Africa he was, tragically, murdered on 12 April 2003, allegedly by radical Islamists, whilst undertaking exploration in western Eritrea. The Society of Economic Geologists has established a trust fund in his memory.

With the appointment of four Zimbabwean geologists it became possible for a short period during 1985 to deploy five mapping parties. S. Simango continued with limited fieldwork, including stream sediment sampling, around Kotwa in Mudzi District, and Baglow commenced the remapping of some 4500 km^2 of granite-greenstone terrain centred just west of Bindura, where he covered 1140 km^2 during the year. Lauderdale pursued his study of the Buhera District whilst recent University of Zimbabwe graduates Messrs C W Makuni and R Z Simango worked together on two contiguous 1: 50 000-scale map sheets south of Norton. Their survey, extending over 1350 km^2, was published as Short Report 52 in 1987. Another new recruit, K B Zhou, was stationed in Bulawayo where he soon became Assistant Regional Geologist. Meanwhile, fieldwork on the various BGS projects was nearing completion.

Continuing during 1986 were the long delays experienced by the Geological Survey in its dealings with the Public Service Commission on staffing matters, and the great salary differential between posts in government and those in the private sector. In January the post of editor, vacant since December 1980, was temporarily filled by H. Bichard. In July he was replaced by Dr M. S. Garson who, having completed his contract with the British Geological Survey, obtained sponsorship from the United Nations organisation and joined the department on a two-year contract. Economic Geologist Anderson was appointed Deputy Director in April, and the following month saw the retirement of I. H. Green, the department's spectrographer since August 1954. Geologists Gumbo, Makuni, and R. Z .Simango resigned after each had served for only one year, followed at the end of the year by Mrs E. Muchemwa, then Acting Mineralogist, who left after four years of service. All took up positions in industry. These vacancies were filled by three locally trained Honours graduates, Messrs D. R. Chatora, K. G. Chenjerai and D. S. Shoko. Lauderdale completed his fieldwork south of Dorowa in the Save Valley, Bartholomew began a survey of the last, unmapped portion of the Magondi Supergroup between Doma and the Shamrocke Mine while Baglow spent the entire year compiling the text of his Filabusi bulletin.

In the course of the year, a new programme of geological mapping and reconnaissance geochemical stream sediment sampling under German (BGR) aid began in the Guruve District. Three teams were fielded under Drs L. Hahn, M. Resch and L. Steiner, local counterparts being the department's N. A. Mtsvanga and K. G. Chenjerai. All were

visited in August by the German ambassador and senior embassy officials. Rugged terrain along the Manyame River valley on the Zambezi Escarpment forced Resch to use porters and fly camps. In the following year, after having been chased consecutively by a rhinoceros as well as an elephant, he sustained a back injury as a result of which his field programme had to be completed by Dr G. Ott.

Also undertaken with German assistance was a magneto-telluric survey covering the eastern portion of the Zambezi Valley, where a sedimentary succession up to 12 kilometres thick was indicated by interpretation of an earlier airborne magnetic survey. Hydrocarbon potential of the region was subsequently addressed in several technical reports.

Under a second three-year co-operative exploration project funded by the Japanese International Co-operation Agency (JICA) a three-man team investigated four areas between Chakari and Hunter's Road over the period August-September, targeting gold, tungsten and nickel mineralisation.

The year 1986 was also noteworthy for vehicle accidents, of which there were nine, equalling the number for the period 1980—1986. Most could be attributed to driver inexperience and, although there were no serious injuries, all resulted in varying degrees of damage to vehicles and some of the drivers were disciplined.

The department continued to be plagued by staff losses during 1987. Because of delays in renewing his contract temporary editor Bichard resigned in January, and Chenjerai departed in November to take a year-long diploma course in geochemical exploration in Germany. Geologists Shoko and Zhou as well as Milian, Acting Regional Geologist in Gweru since January 1985, left to take up posts in industry. New recruits comprised W. Magalela, appointed Regional Geologist, Gweru, F. Mugumbate and A. J. Du Toit. The latter initially accompanied Bartholomew in the field, and Baglow completed the text of his Filabusi bulletin before resuming mapping at Bindura. Services provided by the Government Printer continued to be woefully tardy.

In an effort to encourage exploration of platinum resources the Geological Survey took the unusual step of mounting a CIDA-assisted diamond drilling programme of four holes on the Great Dyke between Lake Robertson and Selous. Costs were borne by the Ministry of Mines, core logging being shared by Professors A. J. Naldrett and J. F. Wilson as well as Dr A. Wilson from the universities of Toronto, Zimbabwe and Natal respectively. *Bulletin 90* (Lister, 1987), one of only two not written by a member of the Geological Survey, was published during the year, which also saw the Geological Society of Zimbabwe sponsor as well as host the 5th Magmatic Sulphide Field Conference. This took place over the period 3—13 August and attracted 66 local as well as international delegates. The event comprised two days of technical sessions followed by field excursions extending over seven days.

In 1988 the drawing office, for the first time in 10 years, was able to boast a full establishment of competent cartographers. However, the Geological Survey lost most of its senior staff, namely Deputy Director Anderson, Chief Field Geologist and Acting Deputy Director Broderick, Editor Dr M. S. Garson, Chief Economic Geologist S. Simango as well as Acting Regional Geologists Chatora and Kalbskopf. Although engaged in mining work since taking over from Murangari in 1983, and made Acting Regional Geologist in 1986, Kalbskopf was never confirmed in that position because he was an expatriate. Besides his routine duties and much to his credit he, together with Mrs

Muchemwa, compiled the Economic Section of the Harare bulletin (Baldock, 1991) and later, after his resignation, also that of *Bulletin 97* (Kalbskopf, 2002). His unpublished technical reports number more than those of any other geologist with the Geological Survey. Also lost were the sterling services of senior slide maker P. Jokomo, who retired.

New professional appointees comprised geologists A. Moyo and sedimentologist Dr P. M. Oesterlen, the latter recruited on a three-year key cadre contract through the German agency *Centrum für Internationale Migration und Entwicklung* (CIM). With mineral and hydrocarbon exploration increasingly focusing on the lower Zambezi Valley, a region hitherto neglected by the Geological Survey, Oesterlen was assigned the task of mapping the Karoo and younger sediments in a tract of country covering some 2400 km^2 south of Kanyemba in the Zambezi Valley. He had previously worked on Karoo sediments in Angola as well as on a small uranium deposit in his new project area.

Bartholomew completed mapping north of Doma while Lauderdale, with his fieldwork written up, assisted the Regional Geologist in Harare. Baglow was in the field between May and December, and Du Toit undertook two small mapping projects before beginning with the compilation of economic data which had not been included the *Que Que bulletin* (Harrison, 1970). CIDA commenced the second phase of its aeromagnetic survey covering the south and east of the country, but omitted coverage of the eastern border region owing to unrest in Mozambique. In the Midlands JICA completed 22 drillholes totalling 2203 metres, samples for gold and silver analysis being sent to Japan for analysis. The BGR mapping and sampling programme in the Guruve District was completed in January 1989 (Hahn and Steiner, 2001). On Simango's resignation in September 1988 Barber, for long the department's coal specialist, also took on the role of Acting Chief Economic Geologist.

The Bulawayo regional office, which had occupied rooms in Tredgold Building at the corner of Fort Street and Leopold Takawira (formerly Selbourne) Avenue for almost thirty years, was moved into modern but rather more cramped accommodation in LAF Buildings. As a result of various misdemeanours the Regional Geologist, P. Mahati, was demoted and in February transferred to Harare, where he joined the Economic Unit in March 1988 before resigning in the following year. Moyo briefly deputised in the Bulawayo office until replaced there in 1989 by CIDA geologist Dr A. Vallieres, who remained Regional Geologist until 1992.

Barber left the department at the end of February 1989, and in April of that year E. R. Morrison, who had joined the Geological Survey in 1967 and became its ninth Director in 1978, took early retirement. This obliged Baglow, who had completed mapping of the Bindura region and been made Chief Field Geologist when Broderick departed, to also assume the role of Acting Deputy Director and, later, Acting Director. He came under considerable stress and never completed the text of his Bindura bulletin for which only the map and economic section have been published (Kalbskopf, 2002). Other staff losses included Lauderdale, Bartholomew and Dr P P Zhou. Bartholomew returned to Great Britain and became a clergyman; an account of his fieldwork has since been published (Bartholomew, 1999). Zhou, who had joined the department as geophysical technician in 1981, was awarded a doctorate and in his final year was appointed Senior Geophysicist.

In Harare Dr P. L Lowenstein, funded by the British Overseas Development Administration (ODA.) in conjunction with the British Geological Survey (BGS), took office as Chief Economic Geologist. A hard and efficient worker, he thoroughly

modernised his section by computerising the database, thereby facilitating the monitoring of mineral exploration conducted on Exclusive Prospecting Reservations throughout Zimbabwe. BGS/ODA, which had declined to support further regional mapping programmes because of their only indirect economic benefit, nevertheless financed the delayed second technical co-operation programme begun in 1989 under Dr S. D. G. Campbell and P. E. J. Pitfield, assisted by the Geological Survey's F Mugumbate. The objective of the initial three-year investigation, termed the Midland Gold Project, was to relate known gold deposits between Kadoma and Kwe Kwe to the regional structure and metamorphism. The programme was later extended by 16 months to cover other Zimbabwean greenstone belts. Meanwhile CIM geologist F Both, who had worked on the Kanyemba uranium prospect, joined the Geological Survey to begin fieldwork in the eastern part of the crystalline basement of the Chewore Inliers, immediately to the west of German compatriot Oesterlen's project area.

The decade closed with the upgrading of the Geological Survey within the Civil Service structure. Although the department had been without an editor for five years ending in 1985 the period 1980-1989 saw the publication of four geological bulletins, two short reports, three volumes of the mineral resources series as well as seven compilations of data on the country's coalfields. Six maps were printed, preceeding the accompanying geological reports. The Annals, a departmental journal for the early dissemination of information on mapping projects, mining geology, geophysics and mineralogy, continued to appear annually. *Bulletin 80* (Stagman, 1978), entitled "An outline of the geology of Rhodesia", was reprinted in 1981 and the accompanying 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of the country was reissued, without major amendment, in 1986.

The period 1990 to 1995

In January 1990 Dr J. L. Orpen was appointed Director. He had lectured at the University of Zimbabwe for the previous ten years and was Chairman of the Geology Department there for his final three years. The institution had awarded him a doctorate in 1978 for his investigations in the southwestern part of the Belingwe Greenstone Belt. During the year the Geological Survey gained as editor Dr M. Armstrong who, provided by BGS/ODA, remained until 1993. However, a significant loss was Baglow, who resigned when Orpen took office and joined the South African Council for Geoscience to work in the Polokwane region. His study of the Filabusi region eventually appeared in print (Baglow, 1998), but of his subsequent fieldwork around Bindura only the map and Economic Section (Part II) of Bulletin 97 have been published (Kalbskopf, 2002).

Security risks to its mineralogical specimens prompted the department to switch the A. M. Macgregor Museum with the A. E. Phaup Library. The former was moved upstairs and thereafter closed to the public; the latter was transferred downstairs to the original museum room in Maufe Building, where white ants damaged some of the contents in 1995.

Throughout 1990 the two Germans, Oesterlen and Both, were the Geological Survey's only field geologists.

There were numerous staff movements during 1991, which was marred by the death in a vehicle accident of CIDA geophysicist M. H. Konings. Chief Cartographer H. A. Barrie, a member of the drawing office since 1949, retired and was succeeded by

R. T. Sithole who, previously with Shell Exploration, remains in the position. S. M. N. Ncube, Principal Mine Geologist in the Bulawayo office since 1990, became Deputy Director and Dr K. Hiller, a hydrocarbon specialist with BGR, began his analysis of and reporting on exploration undertaken by Mobil Oil in the Zambezi Basin. He was assisted by U. Shoko, since deceased, and filled this role until his term ended in 1996.

On completion of his fieldwork in July 1991 Oesterlen was appointed Assistant Economic Geologist and remained with the department until 1994. Besides numerous scientific papers his legacy includes two geological bulletins (Oesterlen 1998 a; 1998 b), both published with CIM funding. F. Both, the last field geologist, resigned at the end of the mapping season.

Mineral exploration in the southeastern Lowveld around Manjirenji Dam, carried out by the Metal Mining Agency of Japan (MMAJ) under the auspices of JICA, was completed and a further project targeting base metals in the Makonde region was initiated by the same two agencies.

In 1992, with recruitment and retention of professional personnel in the Geological Survey hampered principally by the continuing disparity between salaries in the private and public sectors, Director Orpen was left without field geologists. Fortunately, negotiations with the Australian Government to redress the situation through the Australian Staffing Assistance Scheme (ASAS) were successful, leading to the appointment on contract in June 1992 of former staff member Peter Fey as Chief Field Geologist. His duties included, inter alia, the maintenance of field vehicles and equipment, report editing and counterpart training. He was joined by R. B. Flint, appointed Principal Geologist and Dr B. Goscombe, men who had come from positions with the Geological Surveys of South Australia and Tasmania respectively. Despite the poor mechanical state of the departmental vehicle fleet Fey was able to rapidly mobilise these geologists and, in order to expedite the mapping programme, elected to undertake fieldwork himself. Flint was assigned the Bubi Greenstone Belt north of Bulawayo, Goscombe continued with the project begun by Both in the Zambezi Valley and Fey began to survey the adjoining, western portion of the Chewore Inliers. During the year these three Australians represented the department's entire field staff.

Extremely rugged terrain and only rudimentary vehicle tracks in the Chewore Inliers precluded the use of the traditional Geological Survey caravans, which were replaced by tents. The region still carried a large concentration of big game; however, in comparison with 1956 when it was reconnoitred by departmental geologist J. W. Wiles, who recorded being "chased by 17 rhino in just 3 days", the depredations of poachers were evident in the virtual extinction of these animals. Coverage by the three men during the very short 1992 field season amounted to a creditable 1045 km^2. In mid-October Fey visited compatriot Flint in the field, and at the end of the month took part in excursions to the Renco gold mine south of Masvingo and the Mimosa platinum mine on the Great Dyke.

In 1993 new, local graduates S. Lunga and P. T Zizhou were assigned to cover the terrain lying immediately south of the Chewore Inliers, extending beyond the Zambezi Escarpment to abut the country mapped in 1971—1972 by Fey and Broderick (1990). It thus became possible for the first time in 6 years to field 4 teams comprising 5 geologists, and mapping coverage for the season increased to 3606 km^2, Fey completing his assignment by the end of October. For the department's contribution to a proposed publication marking the 1995 centennial of the Geological Society of South Africa he spent many an evening in his tent during the field season, by the light of a Tilley lamp

documenting the history of the Geological Survey (Fey, 1997). During the year he mentored colleagues Lunga and Zizhou in their project area, and in November again visited Flint north of Bulawayo to monitor his progress. The departmental vehicle fleet was augmented by six new Landrovers.

During April 1993 Chenjerai, Regional Geologist in Harare since 1989, again departed for Germany, this time to study for a doctorate. He rejoined the Geological Survey in due course, and later took on roles in the Zimbabwean mining industry before moving to South Africa. At the end of July Director Orpen resigned, returned to the University of Zimbabwe to head the Master's degree course in Exploration Geology and S. M. Ncube became Acting Director. Regrettably the department lost four young Zimbabweans, two of them professionals; all died after a short, unspecified illness. Flint attended the 16th Colloquium of African Geology in Swaziland, then visited major mines and mineral deposit in South Africa. The Midlands Gold Project was concluded and is documented (Campbell and Pitfield, 1994) in Bulletin 101, printed in Britain.

The National Remote Sensing Facility moved from Maufe Building to a new site behind the old Causeway post office, and the premises were officially opened in June by the German ambassador. The organisation, later known as the Environment and Remote Sensing Institute (ERSI), became an integral part of the parastatal Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Centre (SIRDIC), established north of Harare.

At the end of 1993 Dr B. G. Worst, geologist and later Economic Geologist with the Geological Survey until 1966, approached the department with an offer to rewrite and update *Bulletin 47* (Worst, 1960) on the Great Dyke, a best seller long out of print. However, this very worthwhile proposal foundered on bureaucratic blocks. Also not acted upon was the writer's suggestion to the Director that a number of out-of-print bulletins should be re-issued, a practice for which there were precedents.

Just before Christmas 1993, after considerable lobbying by the Chief Field Geologist, the Department of Public Works began to repaint the interior of Maufe Building, a task not undertaken since 1980. On completion of this work the enhanced appearance of the offices significantly improved staff morale.

From 1994 to 1996 Dr A. Vallieres was attached to the Ministry of Mines and, with CIDA assistance, inaugurated the 'Geoscientific Data Management Project'. This comprised the scanning of geological maps and reports, also making available to the public electronic copies of geophysical data, notably the results of aeromagnetic surveys. Although proposed at the time, computerisation of mining titles began only during 2016. From 2000 until after 2010 the Geological Survey's Data Management Section was led by M. A .Mukandi, assisted from 2006 by Ms S. Mpindiwa.

Contracts expiring during 1994 were those of Dr Oesterlen (February), Dr Goscombe (June) and Dr Lowenstein (December). Fey and Flint were able to extend their tenure in mid-year when Ncube was confirmed as Director, and Canadian geophysicist K. Fisk joined the Geophysics Section under a three-year contract with CIDA. Mid-year saw the completion of fieldwork by Flint and Goscombe, with Lunga and Zizhou finishing their survey in October. Mapping coverage for the year amounted to 1500 km^2. Between August and September Fey and Flint attended an international geological congress on the Proterozoic in Windhoek, after which Fey spent several days accompanying Dr G. A. Botha and a colleague, both geologists with the South African Council for Geoscience,

on a visit to exposures of the Cretaceous Malvernia Beds in the southeast of Zimbabwe. In October Senior Geologist Mugumbate returned with an MSc degree from Imperial College, London and in mid-November Fey spent two days on infill mapping in the Chewore Inliers, accompanied by the University of Zimbabwe's E d'Engelbronner, who collected samples of Karoo rocks for palynostratigraphic studies. Departmental visits to mines, the vast majority undertaken by F. B. Mupaya, G. Kwenda and W. Magalela, numbered 372. The 1:1 million scale geological map of the country was reprinted once more without revision, and the Bulawayo regional office was moved yet again, this time to the new Government office complex of Mhlahlandlela Building on the corner of Tenth Avenue and Basch Street.

Flint departed for Australia at the end of his contract early in 1995; both he and Goscombe left behind clean copies of their geological maps together with explanatory legends but, despite repeated urging by the Chief Field Geologist, no final reports although Goscombe *et. al.* (1994) had published a structural analysis of the Chewore Inliers.

In February Zizhou and Lunga overturned their Landrover in Guruve at the beginning of a proposed final trip to their project area in the Zambezi Valley. Damage caused to the vehicle and the loss of much equipment notwithstanding, the men escaped serious reprimand.

In April Fey attended the Geological Society of South Africa's Centennial Geocongress in Johannesburg, and on his return immediately spent a night in the field at the northern end of the Great Dyke with members of the Schools Exploration Society. Early in June 1995 he led a party of academics from the University of Zimbabwe on his valedictory trip to the Chewore Inliers, on the way visiting the dinosaur footprints in the Ntumbe River, first recorded by Broderick (1984 b). When his contract ended at the end of that month all recent mapping programmes had been completed and the last two field geologists, Lunga and Zizhou, were engaged in compiling their joint report which, like the writer's bulletin (Fey, in prep.), remains unpublished.

The years 1996—2016

The decade ending in 1999 saw an exploration boom in Zimbabwe, led by the search for diamonds. High salaries in industry could not be matched by the civil service, prejudicing efforts at recruitment by the Geological Survey. The various technical co-operation projects were completed and external finance provided for them was not replaced in succeeding budgets. Most of these projects included funding for technical publications comprising nine geological bulletins, three Short Reports as well as several maps, all issued between 1990 and 1998.

With the economy declining after the year 2000 the Government adopted a 'Look East Policy' which attracted some investment from Russia and China in mining and exploration, and also stimulated new technical co-operation initiatives. However, the Geological Survey drew little or no benefit from these developments, remaining underfunded, understaffed and, from 1997, effectively moribund.

At the beginning of 1996 Director Ncube was demoted and seconded to the Ministry of Mines Head Office, where he filled the long-vacant position of Mineral Development Officer. In a drastic departure from established practice his successor, W. Magalela, secured authorisation to recruit geologists holding three-year degrees only, and by the time he resigned in 1997 four such candidates had been employed. He was followed by F. Mugumbate, a competent Acting Director who in turn was succeeded in 2002 by

the current Director, geophysicist M. T. Hawadi.

On Dr Lowenstein's departure at the end of 1994 the post of Chief Economic Geologist was initially filled by his assistant, Mrs J. Garande (1995-1996), who was followed by G. T. Kwenda (1996-1999), then by another German, CIM-funded Dr G. Nachsel-Weschke (1999-2002). The last incumbent was long-term Mineralogist, Mrs I. Goromonzi (2002-2007) who, having resigned in 1997, rejoined the department for the duration of her tenure. Of these geologists only Kwenda and Nachsel-Weschke were confirmed in the position.

Highlight of 1996 was undoubtedly the publication of the first 1:1 million scale tectonic map of the country, depicting the deformation history of the various geological units. It was produced under a technical cooperation agreement between the governments of Zimbabwe and Great Britain. Data compilation in 1994-1995 was by P. E. J. Pitfield (British Geological Survey) in collaboration with Professor J F Wilson and Dr T G Blenkinsop (University of Zimbabwe) as well as Dr P. M. Oesterlen, then at the University of Göttingen in Germany.

Oesterlen rejoined the Zimbabwe Geological Survey as Chief Field Geologist for the period 1997—2001, when he co-authored the latest Mineral Resources Series report (Mugumbate et. al., 2001). In addition he supervised mapping projects undertaken by two Algerian expatriates who had joined the department in August 1996. Both spent the 1997 and 1998 field seasons in their respective project areas. Dr N. E. H. Bouammar mapped 2518 km^2 of the Limpopo Mobile Belt south of the Mweza Greenstone Belt and Mataga growth point, eventually resigning in 2002. Her compatriot, sedimentologist Dr A. Ait-Kaci Ahmed, surveyed the Karoo stratigraphy around Gorodema, north of Gokwe, then reconnoitred the eastward extension of these strata into the region previously mapped by Leyshon (1969). His work extended over an area of 3818 km^2. In 2002 he succeeded Oesterlen as Chief Field Geologist. No mapping was carried out during his tenure, and he resigned in 2004. The departure of these geologists, both now consultants in the mining sector, signalled the end of the Geological Survey's regional mapping programme (T. J. Broderick, pers. comm.).

During 2007 Mrs Goromonzi as well as Chief Geophysicist Ms N. Masuku resigned, and in 2009 S. Lunga rejoined as Principal Geologist. Senior Laboratory Technician D. Bob, who had been producing microscope slides since 1973, retired in 2010 but returned under contract in April 2016 to train technical staff in the use of the new slide making equipment. However, the department could not afford the necessary consumables!

The year 2010 was a milestone for the Geological Survey, which celebrated its centenary in October with a dedicated symposium organized by the Geological Society of Zimbabwe (Broderick, 2010).

F. B. Mupaya, trained in Russia and Regional Geologist in Harare in since 1996, obtained an MSc degree from the University of Western Australia before resigning early in 2012. E. T. Mugandani, recruited in 2005, subsequently became Economic Geologist before being appointed Acting Deputy Director in 2015.

The Geological Survey's drawing office continued to languish during this period. Nevertheless, there were periodical attempts to compile data for a proposed, updated version of the 1:1 million scale provisional map. Bulletin 78 (Shamva) as well as Mineral Resources Series reports 22 (base metals) and 23 (gold) were reprinted during 2012.

Also reissued were several of the original 9 map sheets from the Great Dyke bulletin (Worst, 1960), but the accompanying report remains out of print.

In 2013, in no small part through Mugumbate's efforts, the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development, under a broad programme entitled *Capacity Building for Public Finance and Economic Management*, secured a grant of $1.2 million from the African Development Bank (AfDB). This funding was to specifically cover the costs of: i) acquiring geological and cartographical equipment; ii) training Geological Survey cartographers; iii) editing and printing geological bulletins and maps; iv) reviewing the Mines and Minerals Act; and v) analysis by the Zimbabwe Economic and Policy Analysis Research Unit (ZEPARU) of mining sector policy and governance.

Through this grant the Geological Survey acquired much-needed new equipment and software. Cartographer K. Philip, formerly with the Department of the Surveyor-General, was engaged under contract to provide on-site instruction in digital data capture and production of multi-coloured maps. The training course, attended by, *inter alia*, 5 cartographers from the drawing office, ran from 13 July until 23 October 2015 and culminated in the production, in draft form, of the map for Bulletin 99 (Fey, *in prep*.).

Philip (pers. comm.) regarded the 3-month course as inadequate to fully equip the participants with the required skills in the new digital technology. He therefore offered to renew his services to the Geological Survey for a period of two years, during which extended training would include work flow management. This very worthwhile proposal remains to be funded.

There are currently 12 unpublished geological texts comprising bulletins, Short Reports as well as Mineral Resource Series reports, several dating from the 1990s, as well as two geological maps without explanatory texts. Under the AfDB grant editing of the typescripts was outsourced in 2015, and the author joined the editing panel on contract at the beginning of 2016. However, at the time of writing (mid-2017) completion of this task is still thwarted by administrative as well as financial blocks.

The monitoring of mining activities traditionally undertaken by the department was decentralised during 2015 under the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development. For this senior staff members were transferred to a number of provincial centres, a move which depleted the Geological Survey in Harare of experienced staff. Mugumbate, Deputy Director until November of that year, is currently Provincial Mining Director for Mashonaland Central in Bindura. Principal Geologists promoted to act in similar positions elsewhere comprise S. Lunga (Matabeleland South, based in Gwanda), Ms S. Mpindiwa (Masvingo Province) and F. Muzanenhamo (Mashonaland West, based in Chinhoyi). The last two geologists had joined the department in 2006 and 2008 respectively.

In Zimbabwe regional exploration for minerals is carried out on Exclusive Prospecting Reservations, granted by the Mining Affairs Board (MAB) under Exclusive Prospecting Orders (EPOs). The number of EPOs current at any one time reflects the health of the exploration industry in the country and has long been monitored by the Geological Survey. For the benefit of future explorationists the department summarises the results of mineral searches undertaken under expired EPOs, and has to date published this information in 4 bulletins of which the most recent is that by Oesterlen (1998 b). It is a sad indictment of current Government policy that, since 2004, no such EPOs have been granted. Special Grants issued by the MAB have been principally for coal, coal bed methane and diamond exploration, thereby restricting the search for precious and base minerals almost exclusively to small, existing claims. Coupled with the lack of foreign

risk capital these factors have severely jeopardised the future of Zimbabwe's mining industry. In addition, under a proposal likely to further deplete the Geological Survey's professional staff, Government intends to establish the parastatal Mining Promotion Exploration Unit, to be funded from the sale of minerals through the Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe.

There is still ongoing co-operation between the Geological Survey and the Japan Oil, Gas and Metals National Corporation (JOGMEC) for training, principally in remote sensing and mineral economics. Furthermore, under an agreement with China, regional geochemical surveys have been undertaken in the southeast of Zimbabwe. The first programme was conducted between 2008 and 2011 over an area of 12 000 km^2, and resulted in compilation of a 39-element geochemical atlas. The second such survey began in 2013.

Since 2015 the Zimbabwe Economic and Policy Analysis Research Unit, with AfDB funding as well as considerable input from Dr A Mamuse of the Midlands State University, has researched the mandate, role, structure and funding of the Zimbabwe Geological Survey, comparing it with other such organisations, notably those of Britain, South Africa and Namibia. The study has resulted in proposals (ZEPARU, 2016) for reconfiguration of the organisation

Historical overview

Looking back over the 106 year history of the Geological Survey documented in this series, it is interesting to review the changing composition of its technical staff. The founding members were all British, with F. L. Amm, the first South African geologist, being appointed in 1933. After the Second World War recruitment was predominantly from South Africa, and the first geologist trained at the University College of Rhodesia, I D M Robertson, joined in 1965. With military call-ups increasing in frequency between 1974 and 1981 it became routine practice to recruit recent graduates with honours degrees from universities in the United Kingdom. This allowed fieldwork and report writing to be undertaken over a two-year period during which there was no obligatory call-up for the new recruits.

The first black geologist, David Edgar Hoover Murangari was appointed in August 1980, soon to be joined by Obadiah Kudzaishe Bwerinofa and Dr Abdon Ngazimbi Ncube. All were capable men, trained overseas but none served for any length of time. Murangari became Regional Geologist, then Deputy Director of the Geological Survey before being made Secretary in the Ministry of Mines. Later, when in the private sector, he was elected President of the Chamber of Mines. Bwerinofa, also a former Deputy Director, became Managing Director of Hwange Colliery. Ncube, a competent gemmologist, transferred to the Minerals Marketing Corporation before taking an active interest in the Sandawana emerald mine after Rio Tinto Zimbabwe Ltd had disposed of the asset. Of the locally trained geologists who joined the department thereafter few stayed long.

From 1981 the Geological Survey, faced with severely depleted staffing levels, was able to resume its principal role, regional mapping, only with the assistance of a small number of expatriate professionals from one or other of the various nations providing technical assistance to Zimbabwe. By the early 1990s activities such as mapping and the publishing of geological bulletins had come to be regarded as "traditionally donor-

funded" by the Government, which was no longer able to provide realistic budgets for them. A change of policy by the donor nations to phase out these aid programmes in favour of those with a direct economic focus inevitably led to the cessation of regional mapping by the end of the 20th century.

During the first 90 years of its 106 year existence the Geological Survey mapped approximately 60% of Zimbabwe, an achievement documented in some 100 geological bulletins, 54 Short Reports and 24 Mineral Resources Series publications. Regrettably, over the ensuing 16 years the department has been on virtual 'care and maintenance'. To the best of the writer's knowledge, new geological material published during this period is restricted to Bulletin 96 (Hahn and Steiner, 2001), Mineral Resources Series Report 27 (Mugumbate et. al., 2001), Bulletin 97 Part II (Kalbskopf, 2002), Volume XXI of the Annals (2003) and Short Report 53 (Bache et. al., 2006). Still awaiting major revision is Zimbabwe's geological business card, the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map, essentially unchanged since the 7th edition was issued in 1977.

Resuscitation of the Zimbabwe Geological Survey, as proposed in the 2016 ZEPARU report, depends primarily on a greatly enhanced budget, possibly achievable through a different mandate and funding model. This would allow the organisation to attract staff of calibre, vision and breadth of experience whilst it re-establishes its core function, regional mapping, before any attempt is made to offer more specialised services.

Acknowledgements

In addition to the annual reports of the Director for the period 1980—1994 the author has drawn on his published departmental history (1910—1995), which contains contributions by colleagues J. L. Orpen, T. J. Broderick and the late E. R. Morrison. For the period after 1995 he has relied on information contained in the periodical Zimbabwe Geological Society newsletters, and on the very recent ZEPARU report referenced below. K. Philip has kindly provided much information on the status of the Geological Survey's drawing office. Innumerable other details have been supplied by T. J. Broderick, who is sincerely thanked for his critical appraisal of and comments on earlier drafts of the text.

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The Italian Chapel of Saint Francis of Assisi and the Muraro Brothers, Giovanni and Dante

by Maurizio Muraro (assisted by Rob Burrett)

Not long ago, while surfing the internet, by good chance, I stumbled on the proof that a little votive church, built 65 years ago by Italian prisoners of war in an African concentration/internment camp[1], not only still exists but is listed as a National Monument, often cited as an interesting tourist spot by many travel agencies.

The official government webpage describes it as follows:

'Zimbabwe - Southern Region Monuments and Sites. Italian Chapel. The Chapel located 4km east of Masvingo along the Masvingo-Mutare highway, was built by Second World War Italian prisoners captured by the British and held at the 5th Camp Extension of Fort Victoria. They built the Chapel between 1942 and 1946. Two wings of the Chapel were added after the war and inside the remains of 71 Italian prisoners are buried. Today the Roman Catholic Church uses the building for church services. The Chapel is also a popular tourist destination. The main attractions at the Chapel are the magnificent paintings, murals and simulated ceiling which make a visit a worthwhile experience.'[2]

I had often heard my father Dante speak about this beautiful place while he recollected his past in Africa, more especially his years in prison under the British authorities in Southern Rhodesia. He considered it as a collective work by all of the Italian prisoners, yet he didn't forget to stress how he and his brother, Giovanni, played a pivotal role in its construction. He would show us the pictures he brought back to Italy as well as the official notes of thanks issued by the camp authorities. He never went back to Africa in the post-war period and often wondered whether the little chapel and its interior fittings that were built from soft soap-stone would be able to survive the challenging passage of time.

After the British occupation of Asmara on 1st April 1941, the Italians of Abyssinia (Eritrea) faced two ways of avoiding the round-up and being sent to a internment camps in the British colonies in the central-south. They

Exterior View of the Chapel of Saint Francis of Assisi, 2006. (R. Burrett)

[1] The original word used by the brothers, concentration camp, is not strictly correct while it has terrible associations with the extermination camps of NAZI Europe. However this is how they considered it during and after their captivity.

[2] The website <www.nmmz.co.zw> appears to no longer be working as of 4 July 2017.

British Eritrean Occupation Official Pass (M. Muraro)

could either co-operate openly with the enemy or register with the new regime so obtaining an official identification card which was valid as a pass, Fig. 2. Those who refused to cooperate were classed as "Compulsory/non-voluntary evacuees" and were detained before being sent to internment camps in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The bulk of internees were deported in 1942.[3]

In Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, five POW concentration camps were opened to house the Italians:

- Number 1 Camp, also known as "General Salisbury" Camp, in what is now Harare held the first wave of Italian and German civilians who were repatriated;
- Number 2 or "Tanganyika Salisbury" Camp was also in Harare. It was built to house the overflow of Italian and German prisoners, mainly women and children, as well as the first wave of Polish refugees;
- As the above camps were soon filled to capacity, and with the aim of separating the different nationalities, Number 3 or Gatooma Camp was established just outside what is now Kadoma[4]. It housed 1600 Italian prisoners who arrived in the second wave of repatriation;
- Number 4 or Umvuma Camp in Mvuma took another 1500 Italian POWs of the second wave;
- Number 5 or the Fort Victoria Camp on the outskirts of Masvingo held another 1500 Italian prisoners of the second wave;
- Built adjacent to the last mentioned was another high-security encampment, the Penal Camp that became known as "5th Extension Camp". It was a punitive camp surrounded by a double row of 2200 volt wire fencing. It was built to detain up to 300 Italians who were considered "diehard" - those men who refused to cooperate or who consistently tried to escape.[5]

The Muraro Brothers, Giovanni and Dante, avoided registering with the British authorities and for nearly two years evaded the enemy. They were finally captured on

1946 view of Fort Victoria, 5th Extension Camp from the north showing the chapel just inside the fence (M. Muraro)

[3] Coccia, E. 2012. Italian Prisoners of War and Internees in Southern Rhodesia. Heritage of Zimbabwe 31: 130-133.

[4] This camp became the basis of the Ngezi African township just off the Bulawayo Road cf. Leon, B. 2012. The Italian Internment Camp at Ngezi. Heritage of Zimbabwe 31: 130-133.

[5] Rupiah, M.R. 1995. The history of the establishment of internment camps and refugee settlements in southern Rhodesia, 1938-1952. Zambezia XXII: 137-152.

the Red Sea coast near the Eritrean harbour of Massaua (now Massawa) while attempting a daring escape across the straight to neutral territory on the Arabian Peninsular by means of an ingenious jet motorboat designed by my late Uncle Giovanni. They were caught at the very moment they were putting the boat into the water. It was 9 February 1943 and they were sent to Southern Rhodesia.

On 16 April 1943 the Muraro brothers arrived at Number 3 Camp, Gatooma, having been escorted on the train from the Indian Ocean port of Durban, South Africa where a ship loaded with the prisoners had docked. Never willing to accept their internment, they attempted numerous escapes, including an epic flight which took them as far as Mozambique before they were recaptured, and transferred to the 5th Extension Camp in Fort Victoria.[6]

The Muraro Brothers, Giovanni and Dante, Fort Victoria 1946 (M. Muraro)

Unlike the other camps, here internees were held under close scrutiny and there was little freedom and recreation. They were denied sporting activities, outside work on many roads and private and public buildings and were not allowed to go to nearby fields where other internees grew a portion of their own food supplies. These men were the "irreconcilables" who were either ardent Facist supporters or recaptured escapees. Here, isolated within the guarded confines of the electrified fences, some of the men conceived a concept to build an Italian chapel to deal with boredom and as a national statement and memorial to those of their fellow internees who had died in the country. The Muraro Brothers were particularly instrumental in promoting the idea.

TWO INTERNEES ESCAPE

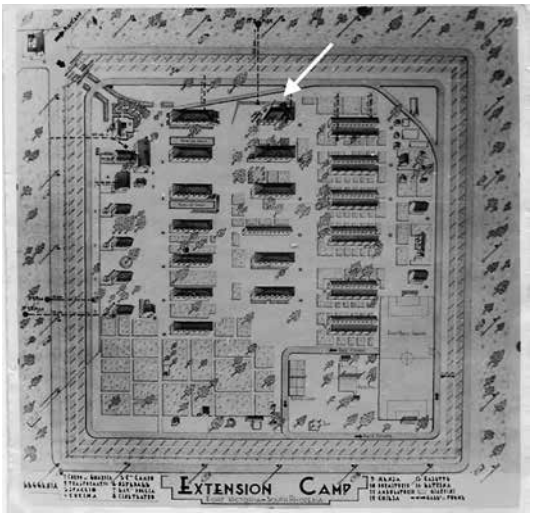
Two Italians, brothers named Muraro, have been missing from No. 3 Internment Camp, Gatooma, since Friday morning. Official opinion is that they are making their way to Portuguese territory.

Escape of the Muraro Brothers, Rhodesia Herald 1943 (M. Muraro)

Once started the prisoners devoted themselves to its construction and its internal decoration. This was achieved mainly during the long period of anxious waiting between the 8 September 1943 Armistice of Cassibile[7] and their long anticipated repatriation, which did not take place until after the proclamation of the Italian Republic following a referendum that took place on 2 June 1946. Following its outcome and raised hopes amongst the internees, initially very little happened and it was not until 10 August 1946, at the General Assembly of the Peace Conference in Paris, that Italian statesman Alcide De Gasperi declared *'We urgently request that the tens of thousands of refugees from Libya, Eritrea and Somalia who have been living in distressing conditions in Italy or in concentration camps in Rhodesia or Kenya may return to their countries*.' Thereafter things moved quickly. The Muraro Brothers were amongst those repatriated on the ship

[6] Details of the Muraro brothers escapades are being compiled for a separate publication in Heritage of Zimbabwe in the next year or two.

[7] The Armistice of Cassibile between the Kingdom of Italy and the Allies was signed on 3 September 1943 and made public on 8 September. It angered the NAZI regime that retaliated against Italy, attacking Italian forces and occupying most of Italy by German troops. This extended the war for many months before the Germans were finally driven out of Italian territory.



Sketch map of Fort Victoria, 5th Extension Camp showing the chapel just inside the north fence (M. Muraro)

S.S. Bloemfontein in December 1946, arriving in Napoli on 4 January 1947.

A sketch map of the 5th Extension Camp in Fort Victoria, shows the layout of the maximum security camp, its barracks, kitchens, recreational areas and gardens. The chapel is shown in the central part of the first row above the barracks. The following information as to the building of this unique chapel comes from the two Muraro brothers' personal diaries as well as various Italian publications to which they later contributed. The central part that they played in its construction makes their story important to those of us who have visited this sacred spot of Italy on the outskirts of Masvingo town.

Giovanni Muraro - "Captivity Journal – IV Diary".

Giovanni's four diaries were written during his period of imprisonment. Unfortunately they stop abruptly on New Year's Eve 1944[8]. In the last pages his tone is one of tremendous bitterness and disappointment both at events in far off Italy and their continued internment in Southern Rhodesia. It seems that thereafter he couldn't face writing any longer. Two more years' imprisonment would pass, 1945-1946, but unfortunately we have no record of his thoughts and activities. This is unfortunate as it was during this time that the interior of the chapel was enriched, much of it being his handiwork. Giovanni Muraro died in Bolzano, Italy at the age of 53 on 11 September 1953.

In the period March and April 1944 the following diary entries are of interest:

'I've been begged by the Head of the Camp to do something about our Chapel. I have designed and built the balusters which separate the choir stalls from the nave and the tabernacle with its little throne. All of this is in Romanic style.'

'The structure made in concrete has received the compliments of the various camp experts and has taken me over a month to complete. Time well spent.'

Dante Muraro - "Memories of Africa"

The following quotations come from a book written by my father, the late Dante Muraro in Asiago, Italy, at the end of the 1970's. Although he never again saw the chapel it was clearly a work of love that he remembered fondly:

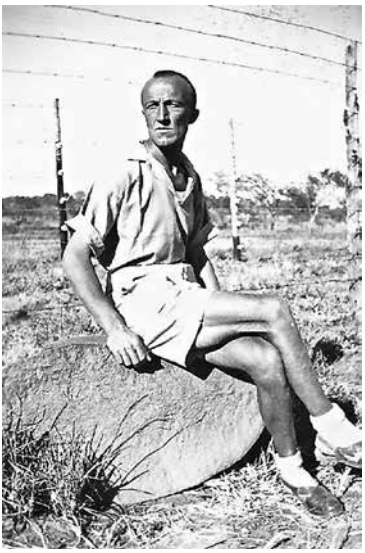
'When the war was over, Giovanni and I dedicated ourselves to the working of a very soft stone, soap-stone, which was carved using pieces of iron cobbled out of car

[8] The dairies are held by Giovanni Muraro's family, Marzio Muraro and Sira Muraro, in Italy.

leaf springs, planes and carpentry saws. All of it was made by the prisoners' skilled hands. We made a vertical lathe for the working of fountains, posts, and other items which we sold to the people of Fort Victoria, in so doing, earning some much-needed money.

The building of a votive chapel had been planned some time before. It was to be dedicated to our comrades who died in captivity. While the bricklayers built the walls,we made the bases and capitals of the columns and also the balusters, which had been worked so accurately as to draw the admiration of both prisoners and the British.

A competition for the making of two wrought iron votive lamps was announced and was won by Giovanni. They were forged and built in the camp under his supervision. The work was demanding but successful.[9] *Another prisoner built the marble altar, some engraved the stone with the names of the dead and some others decorated the walls and the ceilings with mosaics. Notwithstanding the poor means and materials used, in the end the chapel turned out to be a small masterpiece, which has remained and will remain as a living memory of those of us who died in prison and of us "criminals" of the Vth Extension Camp.'*[10]



Dante Muraro, Fort Victoria 1946 (M. Muraro)

On 10 June 1946, at the bequest of the Southern Rhodesian authorities, the camp was visited by Monsignor Masiero of Northern Rhodesia, who sought to allay the anxiety of the internees and who dedicated the new chapel. In the middle of the group shown in the accompanying photograph is Giovanni Muraro wearing a shirt and light trousers.

Giovanni and Dante Muraro would have an unnerving wait until the of 1946, constantly dreaming of their much longed for repatriation. At last, the departure order arrived. The men were taken to Fort Victoria station on a lorry and from there they were taken by train to Mozambique. Not far from the border they passed the place where they had been captured, unlawfully as it was, across the border in supposedly neutral Portuguese territory. That had been a long and hard struggle to escape from the confines of Gatooma. As they

Visit to the chapel by Monsignor Masiero of Northern Rhodesia, June 1946. (M. Muraro)

[9] These lamps were dedicated to two children, Remigia and Roberto Vitale, aged 7 and 2 years who died in the 1st Camp, Salisbury in September 1942.

[10] Muraro, D. 1999. Limited and private publication: Xerox Technology Center - Padova (Italy)

crossed the mountainous border, the seemingly boundless Mozambique Plain extended before them, down towards the sea and freedom, just as it had done three years before. Of his trip home aboard the SS "Bloemfontein" from Beira, Dante Muraro wrote in his "*Memories of Africa*":

'During the crossing our enthusiasm for the return was dampened by thoughts of the lost war. What were our families, our homes, our belongings going to be like? And what of our future? Due to our berths being in the hold and long hours of lining up to get a dish of slop (there were 1500 people aboard) we got the impression we were on a slow ship of deportees. We looked at each other, we were thin. Our skin holding together the bones oh so visible. Hunger, our constant companion, tormented us. Yet, now we were sure that everything was about to finish. We sailed through the Aden straits. We saw few ships in the port. The flurry of the past was vanquished. We sailed along the Abyssinian coastline. All our memories still vivid; both those of the happy days spent in these places and the sad ones on the Red Sea after we had been caught by the coast guards. Then we went through the Suez Canal and, again, the signs of the war were there to be seen. Afterwards, we arrived in the Messina Straits and, at last, we caught sight of a snow-capped Vesuvius.'

Freedom and Transformation

Giovanni and Dante Muraro reached Naples on 4 January 1947. They found the ancient port was all but destroyed and the brothers wept at the sight of the City's ruined buildings. After disembarking the men were lined up. Someone shouted, 'We are tired of standing in file. We are no longer in a concentration camp, now we are in Italy.' So their repatriation was finalised and they were again free men. They were given an orange, a pencil and some writing paper by the International Red Cross team and sent on their way.

These memories in Africa were taken up by Antonio Rigotto who, in 1999, published a book called *Odyssey in the Tropics – The story of a man from Asiago in the highlands of Africa*. Dante Muraro died at the age of 75 in Asiago (Vicenza, Italy) on 11 August 1986.

Of possible interest to readers are a number old photographs of the "Fort Victoria chapel" that were given to Dante and Giovanni by the camp authorities, some of which were endorsed acknowledging their efforts.[11] These show the chapel in 1946 just before the Muraro brothers left the country at the end of their imprisonment. You will see that the building and its murals were a lot simpler than can be seen today - without the

Exterior view of the chapel, 1946 (M. Muraro)

Interior view of the chapel looking toward the altar, 1946 (M. Muraro)

[11] Owned by Giovanni Muraro's family, Marzio Muraro and Sira Muraro, and held in Italy.

Original vault ceiling painting of Saint Francis, 1946 (M. Muraro)

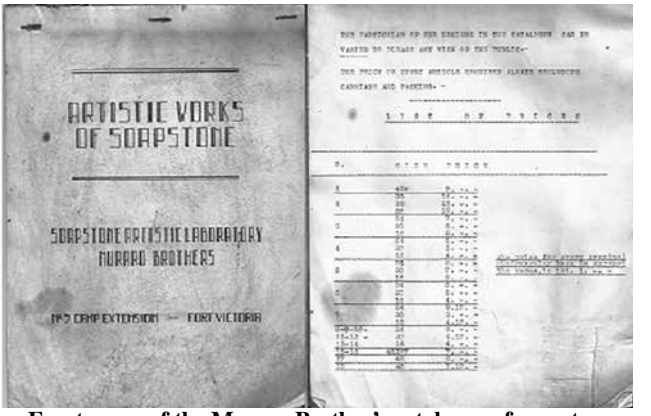
Current version of same painting, 2016 (R. Burrett)

marbled and multi-coloured painted mosaic effects and the added details to the large murals that the Italian internees originally painted. The two wings at the rear of the chapel were extended to hold the remains of most of the seventy-one Italians who died across the country, and not just those who died locally. While the artwork was elaborated upon. Possibly one of the most dramatic changes is the ceiling mural of the central vault. The original of Saint Francis showed him seated by a tree receiving the stigmata. It was a much more austere, simpler depiction in line with the Saint's character and devotion. Later artists, sadly unknown to us, took away the tree adding the cherubs and the ornate framework. This may be in line with the Byzantine feel to the chapel but one wonders if it was in line with the feelings of the original interned artists. These changes were undertaken in 1956/7 at the bequest of the Salisbury Embassy of the Italian government. The chapel was then consecrated by Bishop Francis Costantin Mazzieri, O. F. M., first Bishop of Ndola (Northern Rhodesia) on 27 January 1957.

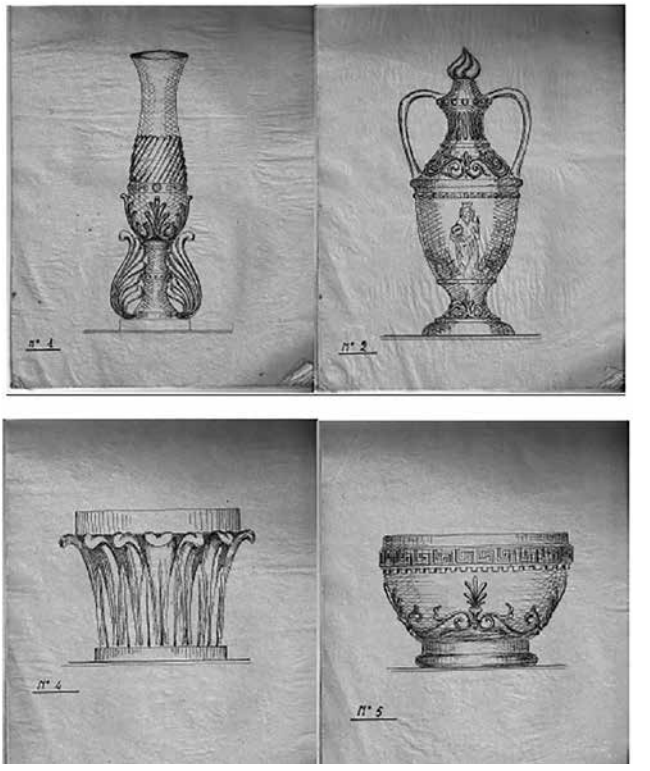
The bulk of the soapstone work in the chapel is the work of Giovanni and Dante Muraro, they were skilful artisans[12]. However their interests were not only on religious furnishings, but they were permitted to carve a variety of soapstone articles that were sold on their behalf to the residents of Fort Victoria. Their catalogue of their artwork included soap-stone fountains, ornaments, capitals, and hand basins. The drawings in the catalogue are in china ink on thin paper, presumably of their own hand.[13] It would be interesting to know if there are still pieces to be found in and around Masvingo and the authors would appreciate if people would let us know.

[12] The brothers were not professional craftsmen. Giovanni was a building contractor and Dante was a civil servant belonging to the State Forestry Corps. Both took up positions in Eritrea. However, during their youth they attended a technical school in Asiago called "School of Arts and Crafts' where they developed particularly good drawing skills. The School was well known for the excellent reputation of its teachers and evolved out of the "Society of Arts and Crafts Encouragement", a solid institution founded in 1838 to support the development of industrial manufacturing activity in Northern Italy.

[13] Owned by Giovanni Muraro's family, Marzio Muraro and Sira Muraro, and held in Italy.



Front cover of the Muraro Brother's catalogue of soapstone works for sale (M. Muraro)



Sketches of some of the soapstone works for sale (M. Muraro)

Life Through the 1896 Government Gazettes
(the year of the Umvukela and First Chimurenga)

by Fraser Edkins

This is the third in the writer's series based on the very early Gazettes.

This piece does not in any way purport to be a history of the events of 1896 in the colony, merely an extract of hopefully diverting snippets from the Government Gazettes for that year.

The Gazettes came out weekly as supplements to the Rhodesia Herald.

January 1896

Tenders were invited for the supply to the Sanitary Board ("as per sample") of 150 Sanitary Buckets (put out each morning in sanitary lanes).

W. S. Honey was admitted as a partner of Messrs Vigne & Mallett, Solicitors (that firm later to be styled Honey & Blanckenberg and still in practice today).

Goldfields Limited offered ore assays and analysis, their equipment being the "completest and best of its kind". (Chemist and Assayer in Charge was G. A. Pingstone, Fellow of the Chemical Society of London).

Messrs Lloyd, Knox and Grimshaw of London's Threadneedle Street were open to buy farms and mining claims "at Bed Rock Prices (cash will be handed over for papers)" subject to each being "reported on by Men of Standing". How many early settlers who were to die in the First Chimurenga later in 1896 were possibly tempted by, but never took up, such offer and got out?

Hugh Marshall Hole (see *Heritage* 35) presided over a variety of matters as Resident Magistrate. Chief Inspector Robinson prosecuted. Cases included petty thefts of cash and beer (but also stocktheft, attracting a sentence of "lashes"). Hugh Kerr paid up his worker's wages and the charges against him were duly withdrawn. John Boatman and Daniel Armstrong ("colored men") had been "rusticating at the Makabusi brickfields on New Year's Day, and had imbibed from the 'cup that cheers but which also inebriates'". Whilst in that state they assaulted one Bringer ("a German"). Boatman was acquitted. Armstrong received 14 days hard labour.

There was a full report on a race meeting at the Mashonaland Turf Club. Captain Beal "spared neither time or energy in making the affair a complete success". The band of the Rhodesia Horse "enlivened proceedings". Some horses ran in up to 3 different races on the same afternoon.

Despite a 79 by Herbert Taberer, (by far the territory's top all-rounder) the Salisbury cricket team lost to Bulawayo Athletic Club and, in a second match against another Bulawayo representative side, lost by an innings after posting a first innings score of 33, which drew from the Herald reporter the comment "Ye Gods and little fishes! Who is the demon bowler that wrought such fearful havoc in the Salisbury timberyard?"

An article from a UK stringer referred to the economic slump in the UK, which "like the poor, is always with us", but described Rhodesians as "too unsophisticated and too prosperous to even feel the depression".

In a further dig, the article reported snowstorms in London and "…a very well known Mashonalander in Hyde Park wearing that most remarkable of garments – the new overcoat. It was evidently the first time of wearing and he looked bewildered each time it flapped against his boots and when he reached the crossing it was irresistibly funny to see him pick up his skirts with both hands and walk delicately like Agag. I hope nothing will prevent him from taking it back to Salisbury when he returns".

Internationally, Lord Salisbury was pressing the Turkish Sultan for reforms whilst acknowledging the latter's efforts in turning the "lawless district of the Lebanon" into a peaceful and prosperous one. (Some things never change?)

Bechuanaland (Botswana) chiefs, including Khama, were guests of Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle. That report concluded that Chief Sebele "will certainly never make a courtier, his remark that the Queen was short and stout would please no woman".

Strachan's Pharmacy were in business (as they still are today under the current ownership of well-known photographer and conservationist Dave Dell). They widely advertised their remedy for "Horse-sickness".

The defeat of the Jameson Raiders was debated in detail (See the author's separate article in Heritage 36).

The Salisbury Hunt (Hon Secretary Geo.Graham) met at the Avenues Hotel (proprietor Elizabeth Fraser).

Major Patrick Forbes (of whom more can be read in Cooke's article in Heritage No. 4), published the first instalments of an account of his trek in 1895 from Blantyre to the German colony of Tanganyika. In the "fly-belt" the main form of conveyance was the "machila", a canvas hammock on a long pole carried by two bearers (part of a team of 10 men for each machila, constantly relieving each other and sometimes maintaining a steady rate of 5 mph). He did most trading and payment of his bearers with calico. There were Gunboats and steamers on Lake Nyassa. Mission stations had been established by the Belgians, British and the French (Péres Blanches).

Along the way they passed through many "very unhealthy places". The town of Kota-Kota was run by one Jumbe (a friend of the British) described as "one of the most active slave traders on the lake" with Bomas full of slaves, and regular caravans of same from "the German territory" Tanganyika (notwithstanding that slavery had been officially outlawed many years before).

During the dry season, said Forbes, the Arab chiefs Mlosi and Kopa Kopa sold slaves from their bomas and cattle and ivory in exchange for guns and gunpowder. They defied the British Central Africa Administration and did "generally what they liked". Forbes called them "the most influential men through the BSA Company's Northern territory and no good can be done till their influence over the natives is stopped in some way". In his travels Forbes met one of the Administration officials from the (British) Sengwe station on the "German" (Tanganyika) frontier who was in search of a slave caravan expected to enter British territory which he hoped to intercept.

There is no record that the new settlers in Rhodesia, or their administrators, were in a position to involve themselves in what Forbes and others witnessed – they had problems of their own, (particularly in 1896, the year of the Umvukela and First Chimurenga). Zanzibar was acquired from Germany by Britain in 1890, in exchange for Heligoland, partly to

assist in British efforts to suppress the slave trade in that area of South East Africa. There is no reason to think that the practice was stopped before the end of WW1.

Resident Magistrate Hugh Marshall Hole was kept busy with a variety of cases, including Ali Khan's cart driver recklessly upsetting "the cart and the fare over an antheap" and the preliminary examination of an infanticide involving a breech-born baby thrown into a river in a clay pot. Hole was also Chairman of the nascent Agricultural Society.

Count De La Panouse, (aristocrat husband of "Countess Billie") warned he would shoot the "Black Mashona Bull with straight horns trespassing on Avondale Farm" if it was not removed in a week.

Members of E Troop of the 1890 Pioneer Column were invited to take up their mining grants within a month, or lose them.

Engineer Geo Pauling lost in the billiards final to Du Preez at the Masonic Hotel (highest break of 40).

Mr and Mrs R. Bray took over the 6-Mile Spruit Hotel.

February 1896

High Court forms and rules were published (some still in use today in the same legal language of 1896).

Dr Andrew Fleming went on leave outside the territory.

The Post Office advised the public to post their foreign correspondence "during the present Wet Season" by Tuesdays, to "ensure connection with the Mail Steamer" (at Beira).

J. Ridley opened a store at Sinoia Caves (perhaps not a good idea with the rebellion barely two months away). One Matthew Ridley appears on a list of wounded in action in 1897.

Pearl MacRae (can you picture her?) ran the Albion Hotel in Pioneer Street.

Uniforms were designed for the Mashonaland Mounted Police and for Native Constables and Municipal Police and for the Matabele Native Police. Cord, serge and khaki were the preferred basic materials, with "Austrian" caps and turned-up felt hats in the case of the mounted men. (See Mike Tucker's website in this regard : www.zimfieldguide.com).

The surveying of farms continued apace.

The Rhodesia Agricultural and Horticultural Society advertised its First Annual Show. Colonel Frank Rhodes (brother of Cecil) was one of the Vice Presidents. The President (Leander Starr Jameson) was in custody in Pretoria following the Jameson Raid of December 1895. The Committee reads like a Who's Who of the most successful of early settler society. Some prizes for the best exhibits exceeded £500 in value (a huge sum in 1896).

A cattle pound was established for Charter area.

Pass laws (for the "situpa") were approved, the earliest form of which required details of tribal marks and an approximate age.

March 1896

Cattle, sheep and goat movement restrictions came into force with the outbreak of the Rinderpest (and rebellion loomed closer). Judge Vintcent was Acting Administrator in Jameson's absence. These regulations were reinforced by proclamations by Cape

Colony Governor and High Commissioner Sir Hercules Robinson. Andrew Duncan (later Herbert Taberer) was appointed local Controller of Cattle.

Owners of all "Licensed Dogs" were requested to keep them "secure during the early hours of the morning" as the Salisbury Sanitary Board were, ominously, "about to take steps to destroy all unlicensed dogs".

The Hoffman clan threatened prosecution of anyone found hunting on their land (in the Enkeldoorn area).

The Government Veterinary Surgeon published a detailed and gruesome account of the symptoms of "Zambezi Cattle Disease" (including arching of the back and grinding of the teeth). The "only course to be adopted (was) the immediate destruction of all infected cattle and cattle that have mixed with infected herds" (which obviously did not go down well with owners of ostensibly healthy cattle in the tribal areas and was a major factor in the outbreak of rebellion).

The Rhodesia Agricultural Society resolved to "consider the question of Rinderpest" at a meeting at the Commercial Hotel on 28th March.

E. A. Kermode invited tenders (not less than £1 000) for the purchase of "Mabel Reign", a pioneer farm, now a well-known suburb of Harare.

Any movement at all of "horned cattle" (whether or not infected) was banned.

This was the month of the start of the First Chimurenga/Umvukela.

April 1896

The Sanitary Board advertised for a full-time "First Class Quarryman" for "getting out rock for the Board".

The Rhodesia Agricultural Society announced it had postponed its show advertised for May in view of the Rinderpest.

H. Bezuidenhout was appointed Commandant of the Salisbury Burgher Forces. Thomas Christison was in charge of the Rhodesia Horse for the Salisbury District.

The siting of the first Municipal Rubbish dumps were designated by the Sanitary Board.

Judge Vintcent called out the whole force of the Rhodesia Horse Volunteer for active service.

The Transport Officer rejoiced in the name of Napoleon Papenfus.

Dan Judson had been "called away from Salisbury" (and was to achieve distinction in the fighting that followed). Van Praagh was Reuters' Agent. A notice was published to prospectors of a "rising" in Matabeleland (albeit the administration felt there was "no reason to believe that there is any probability of a similar rising among natives in Mashonaland") and the need for "vigilance" because of the difficulty of "speedily affording relief" to those in isolated areas.

Herbert Taberer (as Controller of Cattle) authorized the cessation of shooting of cattle which were "apparently clean", despite having mixed with infected cattle, and gave advice on treatment, including doses of raw linseed oil, (clearly a response to the great unhappiness caused by the wholesale and ongoing shooting of seemingly healthy cattle and the prospect of an uprising in the Mashonaland area following that in Matabeleland).

Skene & Co announced a rise in the price of meat from 1st May "owing to the scarcity of cattle".

May 1896

George Haupt (owner of what is now the suburb of Greendale) warned off those

"trespassing in pursuit of Game, winged or furred," on his Greendale Farm.

Otherwise the rising was in full swing. Captain Gibbs headed up the Gwelo Field Force (whose honorary Colonel Commander in Chief was Cecil Rhodes). Numerous military appointments were announced and there was an increase in death notices.

Would-be new immigrants to Rhodesia were required to fend for themselves as far as food, work and transport were concerned (due to the emergency).

June 1896

The Natal Contingent (a volunteer force) was proceeding from South Africa to Gwelo to help out in suppressing the rebellion. Major General Carrington was appointed commander of all forces "during the existence of all hostilities" (and his descendant was of course to play a role in the transition to Zimbabwe's independence in 1980).

Napoleon Papenfus was £4,10/- in arrears of his purchase agreement for Stand 92, Salisbury.

"Practical" quarrymen would now suffice for the Sanitary Board.

Regimental Sergeant Major W.C.J. De Smidt earned a field commission. Numerous powers of attorney were issued for those who were "absent from Rhodesia".

A Board was established to assess compensation for losses "directly occasioned by the recent Matabele outbreak". Notwithstanding the troubles, "all miners and prospectors" were invited to meet at the Commercial Hotel "with the object of forming a Union and Protection Society".

Acknowledgment that the uprising had spread to Mashonaland was published on 20th June and Martial Law was declared by Judge Vintcent for the Salisbury district (with bars to close by 6 p.m.). A laager was established at the Salisbury Gaol. Townsfolk could keep one firearm for self defence (others to be handed in to the O.C. of the Rhodesia Horse). Curfew started at 6 p.m. and lifted at 6 a.m. There was a Defence Committee authorized to commandeer goods and arms and ammunition.

Hole was commissioned to the Rhodesia Horse Volunteers. Numerous promotions of officers whilst on active service were announced (including Dan Judson, Nesbitt, Hole and pharmacist Strachan).

July 1896

Major Neil MacGlashan commanded the Salisbury Field Force. The Venerable Archdeacon Upcher was Chaplain, (with Father Le Bouef to head up the Roman Catholic garrison).

Escort parties to remote mining properties were set up. Anyone with dynamite and detonators was required to hand them in to the Magazine in the Laager.

Acting High Commissioner W. H. Goodenough issued a Proclamation in respect of the Matabele Uprising dealing with the need for country wide publication of likely punishments for those in rebellion (death or lesser punishment) and with clemency for those who were not ringleaders, nor associated with any murders, and who had laid down their arms. The official BSA Company report recorded the surrender of 2 842 firearms in Matabeleland by 31 December 1897.

All (armed) natives found within the areas of Bulawayo, Belingwe, Gwanda, Gwelo, Mangwe, Bubi and Bulalema would be deemed rebels. Headmen and chiefs were required

to provide "hostages for good behaviour in future". Safe conduct passes were available for "loyal natives" (who could retain their arms "for their own protection during good behaviour"). Those who surrendered by 10th August 1896 (save for "ringleaders" and anyone guilty of murder) would not be prosecuted. "Murder" was defined as killing "otherwise than in actual warfare during rebellion".

It might be of interest to their descendants that the following persons in the following districts were deemed leaders of the Umvukela, viz: in the Umzingwane area the indunas Tembusane, Langabi, Umlugulu, Sekombo, Gquebo, Umguza, Inxwa and Somabulani, Umfundisi and Zimundu, in Filabusi (in charge of the Dlodlo kraals) Guna, Manyewu, Nondo, Msini, Duda, Mate, Umzingdazine, Zimemdu, (including the Endinaeni kraal Tembazane), Mahlahleni, and the brother and nephew respectively of King Lobengula, Fezela and Naduna; in the Mangwe district Iyityi; in Gwanda Babaiana, Daliso and Umsolo, Matyakakota, Malila, Mfusi; in Bulalema district Langabi, Onda, Mayeza, Mahlatini, Manyeni, Nandu, Menu, Malila, Msoba, Makalanga, Mate, Mahlahlandhela and Madhlanbuzi; in Bulawayo area Somotole, Sikukulwana, Umtanyara, Nyamanda (a son of Lobengula), Ndoutsa and Mposhwana; in Inyati and Bubi, Dyashalisa (also a son of Lobengula).

It is important to note that the above spellings are taken directly from the Gazette of that time (only 6 years after the occupation) and may well be inaccurate.

On 23rd July 1896 Martial Law was revoked for the Salisbury district, hence things were clearly becoming quieter.

The Sanitary Board warned against the use of water from "the River" (presumably the Mukuvise) "owing to the number of cattle that have died in the vicinity from the Rinderpest".

August 1896

Numerous death and related notices continued to appear, (including that of John Blakiston who died with Selborne Routledge at Mazoe), mostly civilian victims of the uprising (but also one member of the volunteer Natal Troop).

Chief Inspector Robinson (the Public Prosecutor) sought information as to a handbag, clothing, material, a hunter's knife and a canvas shotgun case (marked "A.G.") which had been "found in the possession of a native in custody" and "supposed to have been stolen". From the official list of civilian casualties, this might well have been the property of Amelius Greyling, a Charter farmer, murdered on or about 20th June 1896. The only other known casualty with those initials was Glaswegian Alexander Graham (but he died in Matabeleland in March 1896).

John Watermeyer was appointed a High Court Judge.

Hugh Marshall Hole sought information as to "the full names of persons killed during the late Mashona rising", or as to their relatives and their property and effects in the territory, (named "Rhodesia" only since May 1895). There are few references in the 1896 Gazettes to "Rhodesia", with most references being to Mashonaland and Matabeleland.

Rhodes held the famous Indaba in the Matopos.

Major Maurice Heany (later of Heany Junction fame) was appointed to the Compensation Board. (Scanlen, the lawyer, was President).

Criminal sessions of the Matabeleland High Court were set for September onwards, "to be continued by adjournment as the case may require", and these dealt mainly with rebellion cases.

September 1896

The BSA Co. invited would-be travellers to Umtali to join its wagon convoys (hence the countryside was clearly not yet fully pacified). Death notices appear frequently (although business did appear to be getting back to normality).

Other victims of the rising were "Reuben Shapiro and Joe Jacoby of Russia, but lately of Salisbury" (ironically escapees from the Russian Tsar's anti-Jewish pogroms, only to be killed in the uprising).

Government Notice 104/1896 notified the public that "in order to establish uniform time" in Salisbury and the Cape, "telegraph time will in the future be recognized as the official time".

The Gazette also notified the "inhabitants of Rhodesia" that on 23rd September 1896 "the reign of Victoria will have exceeded in length that of any other British Sovereign" (viz 60 years) and that Public Offices would be closed on that day to mark the occasion.

Prices of food imported by the BSA Co were controlled, (the first appearance of price controls in Zimbabwe).

A new regiment, The Rhodesia Mounted Police, was being enrolled for service (no doubt following the example of the Canadian Mounties). Men born in England aged between 20 and 35 were required. Men born in S. A. could be as young as 18. Did they grow up quicker in the Colonies? In both cases enrolment was subject to riding and shooting tests. Men had to sign up for at least a year.

October 1896

Names published of settler victims of the risings included Indians, Chinese, South Africans, Australians, Germans, Swedes, Irishmen, Americans, Russians, Danes, Norwegians and "Cape Boys" (and, in Filabusi, the author's paternal grandfather's uncle, an 1820 Settler, Ebenezer Edkins, formerly of Grahamstown).

Provision was made for the establishment on private property of "Native Locations", (to include arable land) "with a view to the said natives… being able to maintain themselves by their own labour and in security," (all under the supervision of the Chief Native Commissioner to protect occupants against contractual exploitation by employers).

Dr. Andrew Fleming was appointed Surgeon for the Salisbury District in the absence on extended leave of Dr. Andrew Stewart. Fleming went on to achieve great merit, Parirenyatwa hospital originally bearing his name. (See Robin Taylor's article in *Heritage* 36 on Fleming's work in the Spanish Flu epidemic of 1918-19).

The BSA Co invited tenders for the erection on the Commonage of stabling for 400 mules.

Napoleon Papenfus had survived the war and registered his cattle brand.

November 1896

With a view to practicality, generous terms of peace were now offered to those still in rebellion. Hercules Robinson's Proclamation of 19th October set the terms of the amnesty – all who surrendered and laid down their arms were permitted to return to their homes (except for those holed up in the Matopos hills, who would be told where to gather). Those suspected of murder (i.e. of the killing of civilians) were not covered by the amnesty. Killings of military forces in battle in the risings was fair game and did not qualify as

murder.

£10 was offered by Natal lawyers Shepstone and Wylie for information as to the whereabouts of (debtor/loved one?) William Lally (formerly of Durban).

Terms of indemnity for settlers and soldiers were published, covering all bona fide acts done in military operations for the suppression of the rebellion.

Details were published of the intended move of Umtali township over the Christmas Pass to its present location, with provision for compensation or replacement land on the new site for existing standholders in what then became Old Umtali.

The sale or supply of assegais to any natives was prohibited (a fine of £100 or 2 years in jail applying). In Matabeleland, by 31 December 1897, nearly 14 000 assegais had been surrendered.

Joseph van Praagh registered his cattle brand.

December 1896

Traders (especially Innkeepers) were warned that the BSA Co would not be liable for credit extended to BSA Co men.

J. M. Platt of Marandellas had been on leave via Delagoa Bay and was one of the 242 passengers and crew drowned in the sinking of the Drummond Castle on the 16th June 1896.

As details emerged, many more rebellion death notices appeared.

The BSA Co called for returns to be filed at its offices of all company rifles, ammunition and saddles in the possession of any person.

Armed escorts were available for miners and prospectors heading back to the bush (with details of the various forts where they "could rally if necessary"). The emergency call to go to the fort (at night) would be three signal rockets at two minute intervals. Miners were warned to "avoid any action likely to bring them in collision with the natives".

Regulations were published restricting the "sale of liquor to Natives and Indians". (The definition of liquor included eau-de-Cologne).

The town limits of Gwelo were fixed by proclamation.

All public offices were to close on 4th December 1896 (and on 4th December in future years) in memory of the 1893 Shangani Patrol, with religious services also to be held on that date "in memory of those who have lost their lives by war and rebellion since the first occupation of the country". (Does any reader know for how long this date was observed?)

Napoleon Papenfus now had his own lawyer (the well known W. S. Honey) who held his Power of Attorney.

Names commonly appearing in the 1896 Gazettes included most of those after whom the streets of Old Milton Park were named (e.g. Lawson, Bates, Harvey Brown, Coxwell and van Praagh), most of whom went on to serve as Mayors of Salisbury. G.A. Pingstone still offered his ore assay services.

A rumour of white men held in captivity by Chief Mashayangombe led to a Reward Notice offering £500 for the rescue of Joseph Norton. Nothing came of it.

Charles Krienke had died intestate. His surname has been faithfully carried on by a number of our "Coloured" community to this day.

So ended 1896.

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The 1896 Government Gazettes
The BSA Company Report on the 1896 Rebellions

The Loyal Women's Guild and the Pioneer Memorial Crosses

by Michael R. Tucker

Introduction

In the five years of writing articles for my website, I have come across a few of the remaining Pioneer memorial crosses, or Gregory crosses, in several remote sites in Zimbabwe and, having noticed their uniform appearance, wondered who put them on these lonely graves and why. This article explains the who and the why and attempts to establish the exact number that were originally placed around the country. Sadly, many memorial crosses with their brass tablets were sold for scrap in the economic chaos following 2000 and are lost forever; but an Excel spreadsheet is available that details the gravesite location and name of each memorial from the Loyal Women's Guild (LWG) grave register.

Origins in South Africa after the Second Boer War

The Guild of Loyal Women of South Africa (Daughters of the Empire) or GLW, was founded to promote goodwill between Britons and Afrikaners under the motto of "*For King and Empire*" with its headquarters in Cape Town.

The main task of the GLW organization in South Africa became that of identifying, marking and maintaining graves from the Second

The photo shows the Pioneer memorial cross to W. Derrick Hoste who died on the 25th May 1893 of blackwater fever at Old Hartley. Nine other BSAP and Natal Troopers are listed as being buried at the same cemetery, although only eight graves exist; their grave markers must have still existed in 1909 as his was the only memorial cross erected at this cemetery. [See the article on Derick Hoste on the website www.zimfieldguide.com under Mashonaland West]

Boer War (11 Oct 1899 – 31 May 1902) in military graveyards. The GLW ensured that the relatives of dead soldiers were contacted, and that the graves were properly marked and recorded. When the GLW sent members to Britain to explain what they were doing to raise money, women who had the ear of the male British establishment formed the Victoria League to promote links between organisations within the British Empire.

The GLW Graves Report of 1906 of the Cape Colony stated; *"we ask you to remember that our cross is indestructible, made of wrought iron and beaten brass. Our object is to put a permanent marker on each grave. Any expert will tell you the great advantage our cross has over those of cheaper manufacture…we have made the sacrifice [of paying a higher price] in order that our children may say their work was well done…It is not enough that our generation should know that such a man lies in such a grave. We want the information handed down from generation to generation."*

Formation of the Loyal Women's Guild in Rhodesia

A Rhodesian branch with the re-arranged title of The Loyal Women's Guild (LWG) was inaugurated in Salisbury on 3 March 1907 by Lady Milton. A prominent founder member was the author and conservationist, Dorothea Fairbridge (1862–1931) and a cousin of Kingsley Fairbridge (1885–1924); the Rhodesian poet and founder of the "Fairbridge Society." Branches were established in the main towns around the country under the direction of a central committee with the Administrator, Sir William Milton, as President.

The LWG's work started with the employment of a district nurse, but their activities gradually expanded to include the distribution of food, money and clothes to the poor, the relief of unemployment by running an early labour exchange, the administration of charitable funds such as the Beit Railway Trust Maternity Grant and support of the Salisbury Hostel which had been founded in 1904 by the South African Colonization Society as a maternity home for the coloured community (persons of mixed race) By 1927 the LWG had taken over the management of the Salisbury Hostel and in the following year the Lady Chancellor Nursing and Maternity Home was opened with the LWG playing an active part in its management until these institutions were taken over by Government during WWII in 1940.

Gradually over the years the State assumed many of the social welfare activities that were previously run by the LWG as a voluntary organization, although social and educational activities grew as welfare activities diminished, but by 1953 the LWG had wound up its activities and their papers and records were presented to the National Archives where they now reside.

The LWG Graves Committee comes up with the idea of Pioneer Crosses in Rhodesia

The concept of marking graves had originated in South Africa; but in 1908 a committee of the LWG was formed that was especially dedicated to the registration of Pioneer and early Settlers' graves.

The LWG Graves Report of 1908-1909 stated: *"The Guild in the Southern Colonies having brought to a successful conclusion the work of marking the graves of soldiers who fell in the late war, [the Second Boer War of 11 October 1899 – 31 May 1902] it has been felt by the Rhodesian branches that what has been done so well by the older branches might be attempted here with regard to the graves of our own Pioneers and early settlers'.*

It is true that our division of the Guild has only a small membership, but on the other hand we have only a few hundred graves to consider as against the many thousands marked by the other Colonies…owing to the unsettled nature of the country in the early days, many of our Pioneers and early settlers received burial in graves which are either unmarked, or were marked with wooden crosses which are now rotting away and it is certain that the last resting place of many of those who won our country for us will be lost forever unless the matter is attended to at once.

The definition of the term "Pioneer and Early Settler" included all those who came up with the Pioneer Column and all those who came subsequently and died in "our native wars" or whilst they lasted up to the end of 1897."

The Committee received official approval from the British South Africa Company administration in a letter dated 31 July 1908: "My letter of 18th of June was sent by direction of his honour the Administrator [Sir William Henry Milton KCMG KCVO: 20 December 1901 – 1 November 1914] because it was known that the care of the graves of those who had fallen in War was one of the objects of the Guild in other Colonies, and it was felt that the members of the Rhodesian branch would take an interest in knowing what steps were taken to preserve similar memorials in this Territory.

His Honour now wishes me to thank you for your letter and to express on behalf of the government his appreciation of the Guild's offer to assist in marking in a permanent manner the graves of Pioneers and other Europeans who lost their lives in the Wars of 1893 and 1896-97.

…There are a great many more small cemeteries in various parts of the country and I am endeavouring to get a complete list from the commandant of the British South Africa Police [BSAP] for your information.

I would suggest that at this fairly early date that Colonel Bodle [Commissioner of the BSAP: 1903 – 1909] and myself should wait upon your Committee with a view to discussing the best steps to ensure that as many graves as can be identified should be registered and marked in the manner suggested by you in your letter.

Once so marked I feel sure that there will be no difficulty in securing the co-operation of the Police in the country districts for their permanent maintenance."

Significantly, this letter was written by Hugh Marshall Hole, appointed to the British South Africa Company (BSAC) in 1891 and in charge of administration by 1909; whose wife was to take on the role of first Honorary Secretary of the LWG Graves Committee.

Why the need for Pioneer memorial crosses?

As Rob Burrett points out in his article Rhodesian Field Force (Anglo-South African War) graves in Zimbabwe, with particular reference to Marondera in *Heritage of Zimbabwe Publication* No. 19, 2000 the initial recording of gravesites was often poorly documented. Both the military forces and the British South Africa Company (BSAC) had limited administration infrastructure, and staff in both organisations were regularly rotated to different localities, so the recording of the deceased is details was often sketchy and inaccurate. Those with common surnames were often muddled and surnames and initials spelt incorrectly.

In addition, the exact position of graves was often unknown; the original wooden

cross may have been burnt in bushfires or destroyed by ants. So even where Gregory iron markers have been placed on graves, their positioning by the local BSAP was often based on guesswork and they should all be treated as potentially mistaken; for example, see Burrett's article above on Paradise Plot at Marondera. Sometimes too, there are Gregory iron foundry errors which were missed by the LWG, for example the memorial to Private Smith Vickers reads: FOR QUEEN & EMPIRE. SMITH VICKERS KRR 3.9.96. but should read 3.8.96. [[See the article on Fort Haynes on the website www.zimfieldguide.com under Manicaland]

Descriptions of the locations of graves outside official cemeteries was often vague. For example, on 23 November 1897 Percy Inskipp, then Under-Secretary of the BSAC sent a list of names of members of the BSAP killed in Mashonaland giving details of their burial places. The first three are:

Rank	Names	Date of Death	Place of burial
Tpr	Brady, John Charles	23.02.1897	Sawes Farm, on left of Umtali Road, under a tree, a cross cut out on tree
Tpr	Gloss, John	06.06.1897	500 yards to the right and rear of Mashanganika's kraal
Tpr	Smithwick, Charles	26.07.1897	300 yards right of the Charter - Hartley road, 450 yards west of kraal under Chestnut tree alongside W. Dando's grave (7th Hussars)

Clearly from these descriptions, after a few years, nobody would be able to locate the site of their graves and this situation existed at many of the more remote gravesites.

In another letter BSAP Corporal W.S. King writes from Marandellas on 8 August 1912: *"At Old Marandellas Cemetery, there are three graves with stone crosses. These are quite new, and the names and particulars are plain and decipherable. There are also 15 graves with iron crosses. Only one of these is decipherable, that is on the grave of Trooper Studdart; the remainder are undecipherable. I can find no trace of the names, dates, etc. on any of them…. on the crosses at Old Marandellas Cemetery the words were originally painted and owing to years of exposure to the atmosphere, etc. they are now obliterated."*

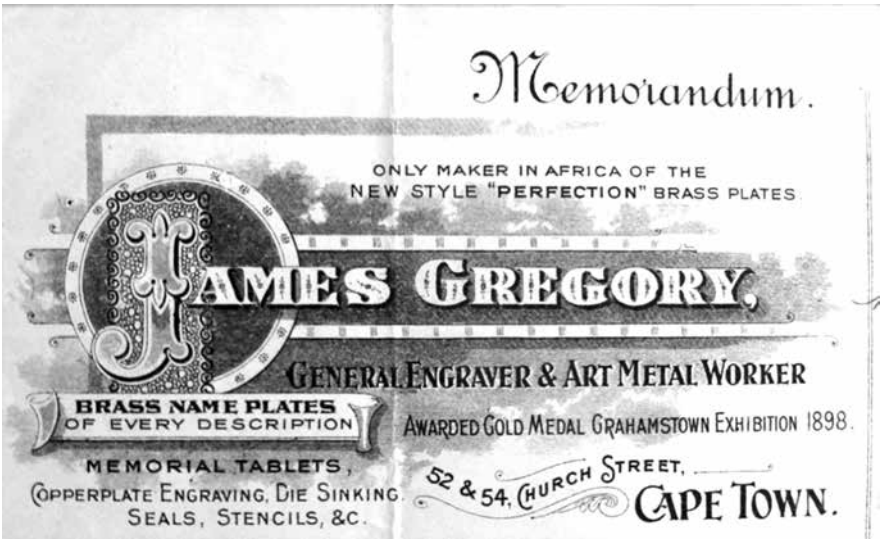
Taking up the challenge

Ethel Marshall Hole was the first Honorary Secretary of the Graves Fund and many of the initial letters were hand–written by her with the copies bound into a duplicate book. [National Archives GU 1/1] For example, on 26 February 1909 she wrote to Mr Beal appealing for a contribution saying: *"As you probably know one of the objects of the Guild is to record and mark by suitable monument the last resting place of the early Pioneers and those who have laid down their lives in helping to build up Rhodesia. The remains of these men lie in lonely cemeteries scattered throughout the country and will soon be forgotten and all trace of them lost – unless they are marked now."*

On 3 March 1909, Ethel wrote to Hugh Marshall Hole, then Administrator of the BSA Company, stating that they would apply to the Railway Company to provide

free carriage for their memorial crosses and requesting the assistance of the BSAP to: *"consign the crosses to the Police Camp nearest to the place where they are to be erected. It will be of great assistance to the Guild if advantage can be taken of any Govt. transport going out to such remote Camps, and if the crosses can be conveyed as occasion offers, free of charge."*

A reply from Marshall Hole dated 6 March 1909 said the BSAC: *"will be pleased to co-operate with the Guild, by allowing the crosses to be consigned to police stations in districts remote from the Railway, and for them to be conveyed by Government transport, free of charge, as occasion offers."*



Gregory iron foundry letterhead

In June a reply letter from Mrs Holland, who had now succeeded Ethel Marshall Hole as the Honorary Secretary, said on behalf of the Guild: *"please to convey to His Honour the Administrator their sincere thanks for kindly promising Government transport for Guild crosses after they leave the Railway"* and informing him: *"that it has been decided to purchase in Cape Town indestructible crosses made of wrought iron with beaten brass tablets, the total cost per cross being 25/- [shillings] in Cape Town."* Further: *"the weight of each cross being about 25lbs and the rate of transport being 11/6 per 100lbs, the carriage of 100 crosses would be about £15 to Bulawayo. The maker [Gregory iron foundry] has promised us a rebate of £7 10/- towards carriage of crosses if a consignment of 100 is ordered."*

The letter goes on to say that the Graves Committee in Cape Colony having completed their task *"would rather not ask their Government for any concession on our crosses but have advised us to ask the Cape Government through our own."* The letter ends by asking: *"if it would be possible for the Rhodesian Government to assist us by furthering to the Cape Colony Government our petition for a rebate of £7 10/- per 100 Guild crosses up to 300 crosses…from Cape town to Bulawayo."*

In a reply on 25 June 1909 Marshall Hole said the BSA Company had written: *"to*

the Cape Government requesting a rebate of £7 10/-per hundred Guild crosses from Cape Town to Bulawayo."

In the same month Mrs Holland wrote to Mr Stevens of The Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways saying the first importation of crosses from the Gregory Iron foundry was about to take place. *"The carriage of these by rail of these crosses is rather a serious matter to us. The C.G.R. [Cape Government Railways] have granted to the Ladies Guild in Cape Colony free carriage over their lines of crosses and if a similar condition could be granted over the Rhodesian system to the Rhodesian branch of the Guild the advantage to the [Grave] Fund would be very great. Another letter dated 18 June 1909 to the Secretary of the Rhodesia Railways Ltd informed them that the Guild proposed to import 300 memorial crosses and hoped for a rail freight concession."* A further letter a day later gave the information that *"the weight of the iron crosses…is approximately 25 lbs (not more) each."*

A reply from The Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways in July said: *"the Board have agreed to the crosses for the graves of early Rhodesian Pioneers being carried free over the railways from Vryburg northwards"* but that the Cape Government Railways had only agreed to reduce their freight rate from second to third class rate at owner's risk.

The Graves Registers that were established

There are two Graves Registers at the National Archive of Zimbabwe; the LWG Register (Mrs Holland's book) is referenced as NAZ 1/4/1 and the Pioneer and Police Graves Register pre-1923 is referenced as NAZ S152.

Both Graves Registers have deceased names listed by locality (i.e. Gwanda, Filabusi, etc) and both are compiled from lists drawn up by the BSAP who were instructed to carry out this task by the Administrator, Sir William Milton.

A register of all the graves of the Pioneers and early Settlers both marked and unmarked was compiled by the Central Committee of the LWG from information supplied by the BSAP and Native Commissioners; this became known as "Mrs Holland's book" [NAZ 1/4/1] after the then Honorary Secretary. The list of unmarked graves was divided and sent to each district so that they could add any further graves they could discover. Each branch of the LWG was responsible for marking the graves in its district and the town / place listings in my Excel database use the same information.

The LWG Register (NAZ GU 1/4/1) was compiled before 1908 and lists by locality the names of those deceased with their date of death and details of the gravesite. The aim of the LWG was to ensure that the gravesites of all those who died in the early colonial period up to 1908 were marked. Some graves already had iron markers or a marble memorial, and the LWG was concerned not with marking all graves, but with placing an iron memorial cross with a brass tablet which included the deceased individuals' name and details where they were at risk of being lost or forgotten.

All graves marked with a red cross symbol in "Mrs Holland's book" received an iron Pioneer memorial cross with a brass tablet which included the deceased individuals' name and details.

Hugh Marshall-Hole reviewed the names in the LWG Grave Register and made additions and corrections on many pages. For example, Stanford is changed with a

note stating: *"Mr Hole says Arthur Standford"* and there were many other corrections. Another note signed MEH states: *"The new cemetery was started in 1897. I do not understand how these men who died at such an early date came to be in the New Cemetery unless they were moved from the old Hospital?"*

At Goromonzi at Warrendale Farm, BSAP Tprs White and Turner had existing iron crosses, but Tpr H. V. Standing did not have an iron cross as he committed suicide, so the LWG ordered and placed a Gregory iron marker for him. [See the article on Fort Harding on the website www.zimfieldguide.com under Mashonaland Central] John Fletcher, killed at the siege of Deary's store at Abercorn (now Shamva) had only his name painted on claim plates on a nearby tree; a LWG cross was placed on his grave. [See the article on the website www.zimfieldguide.com under Mashonaland East] In some cases, especially the Salisbury Pioneer Cemetery, there were good iron crosses, but the tablets had become defaced, in which case the LWG ordered new brass tablets.

The Pioneer and Police Graves Register pre-1923 [NAZ S152] appears to have been written up by Lieutenant-Colonel and BSAP Commissioner (1903–1909) William "Billy" Bodle and in addition to the names included in NAZ S152 includes many other names [listed in black in my database] where I have combined the two sources.

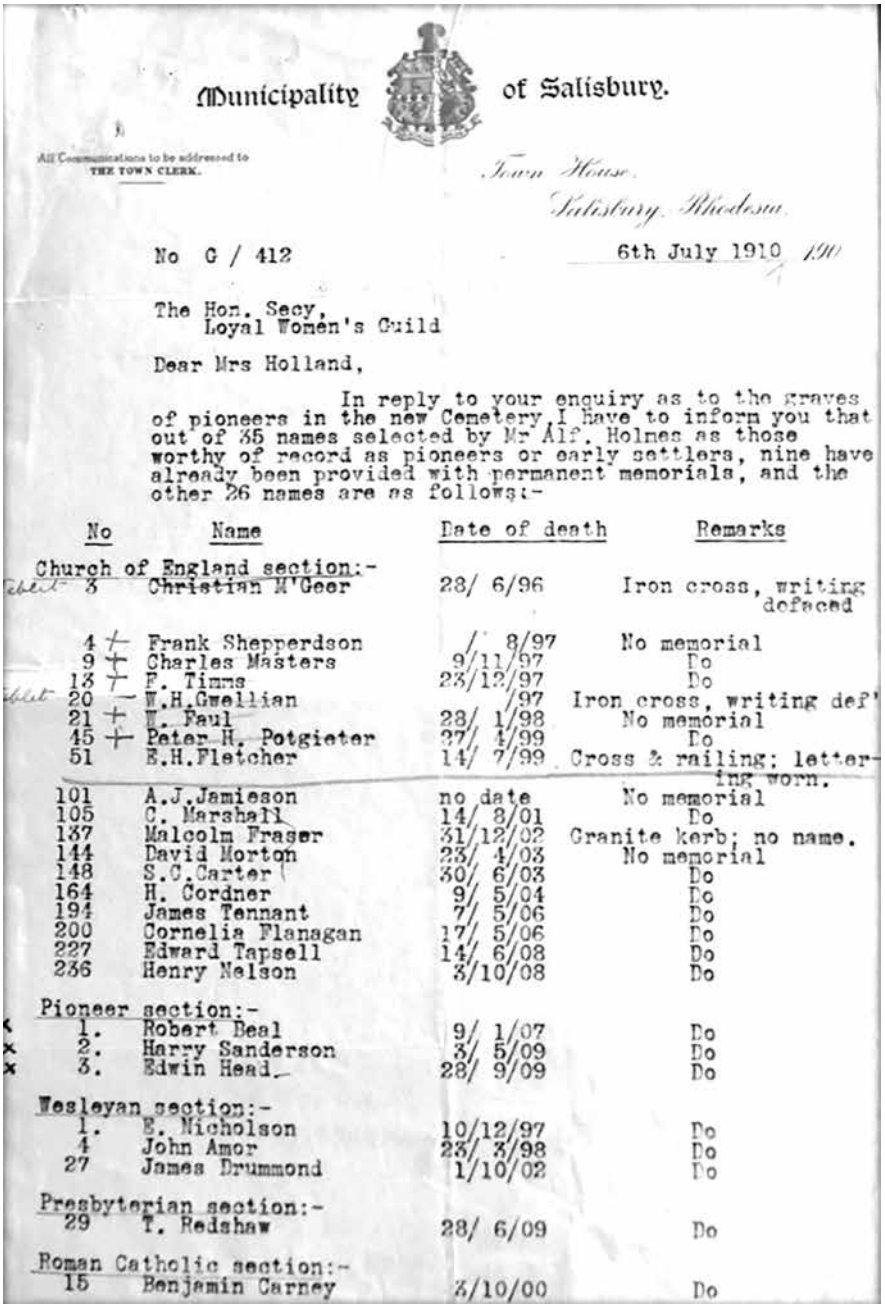
It is clear the author of NAZ S152 personally visited the sites or had access to reports about the sites. For example, under Filabusi Monument the following notes are written: *"The monument itself, 20 ft. high, 3 ft. square at base, in good order. The cemetery has very neglected surroundings and no fence. Wanted 4 posts with 4 lengths of iron chain 9 ft. long; grass and bush to be cleared away."*

Most of the Pioneer memorial crosses were for men, but a few women received memorial crosses. For example, Mrs O. L. Cowan who is buried in Sby New Cemetery Grave 51 and died on 23 May 1894.

The grave registers were an essential part of the process as the grave names previously had not been consolidated. At Salisbury a copy of the burial register kept by the Salisbury Sanitary Board prior to December 1897 was compiled by Mr Horsfield; then a typed list of graves in the old sections of the cemetery was supplied by the Town Clerk, Mr Wardens on 30 September 1909 which amended Mr Horsfield's list, and finally Hugh Marshall Hole made other amendments.

Final lists were produced of those who needed memorial crosses or in some cases memorial plates only, but none of the names were in alphabetical order which makes an Excel spreadsheet more user-friendly to search. For example, under Salisbury are listed names for Abercorn, Mount Darwin, Goromonzi, Mrewa, Marandellas, Fort Enterprise and Sinoia.

In the main towns of Bulawayo, Fort Victoria, Gwelo, Marandellas and Salisbury most unmarked graves were identified, but at more remote locations such as Belingwe, Filabusi, Fort Rixon and Gwanda, no grave markers were identified although there were many possible candidates, possibly because they had no local LGW committee. So the exercise cannot be said to be have been complete and the choice of candidates was often arbitrary as the letter overleaf shows.



Municipality of Salisbury.

All Communications to be addressed to THE TOWN CLERK.

Town House,
Salisbury, Rhodesia.

No C / 412 6th July 1910 1910

The Hon. Secy,
Loyal Women's Guild

Dear Mrs Holland,

In reply to your enquiry as to the graves of pioneers in the new Cemetery, I have to inform you that out of 35 names selected by Mr Alf. Holmes as those worthy of record as pioneers or early settlers, nine have already been provided with permanent memorials, and the other 26 names are as follows:-

No	Name	Date of death	Remarks
Church of England section:-			
3	Christian M'Geer	23/ 6/96	Iron cross, writing defaced
4	Frank Shepperdson	/ 8/97	No memorial
9	Charles Masters	9/11/97	Do
13	F. Timms	23/12/97	Do
20	W.H.Gwellian	/97	Iron cross, writing def'
21	E. Paul	23/ 1/98	No memorial
45	Peter H. Potgieter	27/ 4/99	Do
51	E.H.Fletcher	14/ 7/99	Cross & railing; lettering worn.
101	A.J.Jamieson	no date	No memorial
105	C. Marshall	14/ 8/01	Do
137	Malcolm Fraser	31/12/02	Granite kerb; no name.
144	David Morton	23/ 4/03	No memorial
148	S.C.Carter	30/ 6/03	Do
164	H. Cordner	9/ 5/04	Do
194	James Tennant	7/ 5/06	Do
200	Cornelia Flanagan	17/ 5/06	Do
227	Edward Tapsell	14/ 6/08	Do
236	Henry Nelson	3/10/08	Do
Pioneer section:-			
1.	Robert Beal	9/ 1/07	Do
2.	Harry Sanderson	3/ 5/09	Do
3.	Edwin Head.	28/ 9/09	Do
Wesleyan section:-			
1.	E. Nicholson	10/12/97	Do
4	John Amor	23/ 3/98	Do
27	James Drummond	1/10/02	Do
Presbyterian section:-			
29	T. Redshaw	28/ 6/09	Do
Roman Catholic section:-			
15	Benjamin Carney	3/10/00	Do

What was the cut-off date for erecting Pioneer memorial crosses on unmarked graves?

In Salisbury, as the photo above illustrates, of the 26 pioneers and early settlers listed by the Municipality of Salisbury as requiring memorial crosses, only 5 are included with a clear cut-off of 1900; but many other exceptions were made, and Pioneer memorial crosses were placed on graves up to 1909 although the clear majority (89%) were placed on graves from 1891–1901.

Overall, the policy of deciding when to place memorial crosses on unmarked graves appears to have been rather inconsistent with post-1900 graves elsewhere being marked.

Pioneer memorial crosses

The LWG memorial crosses were similar to those used in the Cape Colony, being cast in batches at the Gregory iron foundry in Cape Town of wrought iron with an extra-long shank so the cross could be firmly planted in the earth; each had a name tablet of beaten brass with the letters carved by hand and were ordered in batches of one hundred which reduced the cost to 25/- per cross.

The LWG Graves Report of 1908–1909 concluded that *"owing to the remote position of many of these graves and the lack of transport it would indeed be a difficult task for Rhodesian women to see that these crosses were actually erected. However, this great difficulty has been met by the Rhodesian Government who decided last year as the result of a report from Col. Bodle on the bad condition of graves in some distant cemeteries which he had visited while on patrol, that the Police and Native Commissioners should be responsible for such graves and cemeteries. This was not at the suggestion of the LWG; but it made the way easy for us to consider marking these graves."*

As far as next of kin were concerned, the Report considered that for "those whose graves need marking, but so many years having passed, it is likely that those relatives who have not as yet enquired about the graves, or offered to mark them, will not be likely to do so now."

It was not proposed that any graves should be disturbed or moved from their existing positions.

Raising Funds

Appeal letters contained in the LWG letters register [NAZ GU 1/2] are addressed to the Marquess of Winchester, Dr Jameson, Dr Sauer, the Rt Hon The Lord Grey, Mr Fairbridge, Mr Grimmer and many other well-known citizens. Donations were received from the BSAP Football Club, Salisbury Hebrew Congregation, The Salvation Army and there were dozens of individual donations.

Distributing and erecting the Pioneer memorial crosses

The exercise did not always run smoothly. For instance, in August 1911 the Officer Commanding D Troop in Umtali wrote to the Ordinance Officer at Salisbury saying: *"To inform you I have received a quantity of iron crosses for graves. Please let me know what I am to do with them."* The Ordinance Officer replied that he had no list of names that the boxes were marked for Umtali and were never unpacked. The memo was then sent to Mrs Groves, then the Honorary Secretary of the LWG. She replied with a list of names giving the names of memorial crosses ordered for Umtali, Old Umtali Mission, Melsetter, Rusape and Inyanga.

Mrs Groves' list does illustrate the inconsistency in allocating Pioneer memorial crosses. For instance at Old Mutare Mission, or Premier Estate as it is referred to in the memo, only ten graves were allocated memorial crosses despite notes to the list stating that there are no dates and: *"all were known to be old hands and are in a very ruinous condition with decaying wooden crosses."*

However there are sixty-one graves, including two suicides buried outside the western wall of the Old Mutare Mission cemetery and all were interred between 1892 and 1897 when Umtali moved to the present site of Mutare when it was decided that to detour the railway line would be too costly and the whole town was moved. So all of the graves at Old Mutare Mission were old enough to qualify as Pioneers and early Settlers, yet few received memorial crosses despite their poor condition.

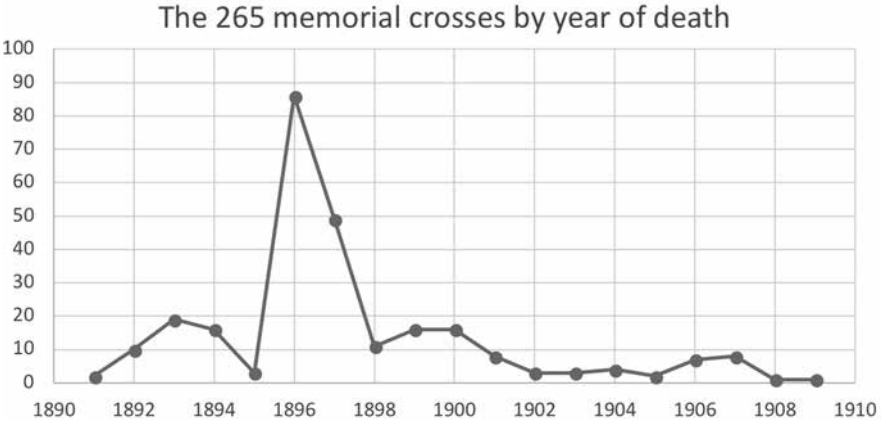
Dedication of the Pioneer memorial crosses

Sir William H. Milton, the Administrator of Southern Rhodesia, suggested a service be held at the Salisbury cemetery on Sunday 26 March 1911 on the eighth anniversary of Rhodes' death to dedicate the memorial crosses erected on the graves of Pioneers, Police and early Settlers and to mark the completion of this work by the LWG.

Grave data from the Excel spreadsheet

The graph below illustrates how the number of deaths peaked at 685 in 1896-7 with the Matabele and Mashona Rebellions, or Umvukela and First Chimurenga.

Similarly, the number of Pioneer memorial crosses peaked at 135 (51%) for 1896 – 7 of the total of 265 placed on unmarked graves.



Bulawayo had fewer Pioneer memorial crosses (6%) with the majority of Pioneer

memorial crosses placed on unmarked graves at Salisbury (48%) and Gwelo (17%) Grave memorials at Bulawayo and Gwelo appear to have been maintained in better condition than at Salisbury Pioneer cemetery.

This may be because as the Town Clerk, Mr Wardens explained in a letter dated 21 June 1909: *"The Municipal Council was not formed until 1897 and we have a complete register of burials from that date onwards; but unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the earlier records."*

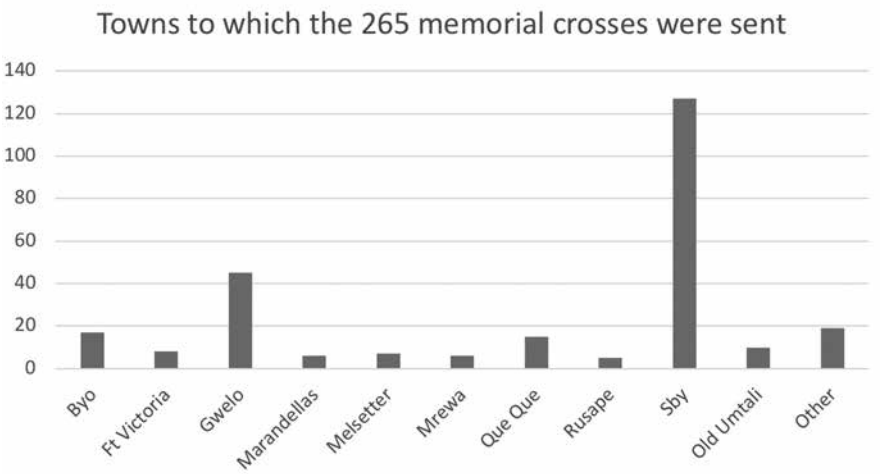


Photo showing Pioneer memorial crosses torn up and discarded at the Old Mutare cemetery following the chaos of the 2000 land invasions in Zimbabwe. The photo was taken by Jonty Winch during his research on Monty Bowden who died at Old Mutare on 19/02/1892. [See the article on the Pioneer cemetery at Old Mutare on the website www.zimfieldguide.com under Manicaland]

Excel Spreadsheet of Names

As background for this article, all the details from the two graves registers at the National Archives of Zimbabwe; the LWG Register referenced NAZ 1/4/1 and the Pioneer and Police Graves Register referenced NAZ S152,were entered onto an Excel spreadsheet with over twelve hundred names which can be sorted in various ways. A separate list includes all the details of the Pioneer memorial crosses that were distributed by the LWG. There are also copies of the BSAP and British South Africa Company plans of early cemeteries with keys to the names on the graves.

Anyone who would like a copy of these records for their own research can email me on mikertuck1@gmail.com

Acknowledgements

Burrett, R. S. 2000 Rhodesia Field Force (Anglo-South African War) Graves in Zimbabwe, with particular reference to Marondera. *Heritage of Zimbabwe* No 19, P.22-45

Burrett, R. S. 2009 *Plumer's Men: The Rhodesia Regiment and the Northwest Frontier during the Second South African War, 1899-1900*. Just Done Productions Publishing, Durban

NAZ GU1/4/1 Loyal Women's Guild Rhodesia Central Committee Graves Register

NAZ S152 Pioneer and Police Graves Register pre-1923

Poultry Showing in Zimbabwe

by R. D. Taylor

When the settlers arrived in Mashonaland and subsequently Matabeleland they brought with them many components of their culture and interests. One of these was the exhibition of pure breeds of poultry not only for pleasure but also for commercial purposes enabling breeders to demonstrate the quality of their stock to potential buyers.

The first purely poultry show in Britain was held in the London Zoological Gardens in 1845. The Poultry Club of Great Britain, which was formed in 1863, published the first book of Standards in 1865 to guide breeders, exhibitors and judges. The American Poultry Association came into being in February 1873 with the first American Standard of Excellence published in February 1874. The South African Poultry Association was founded in 1904 and the first edition of South African Standards appeared in 1928. Local showmen used the South African standards until the early 1980's when the British standards were adopted.

The first show in the new colony was held on 13 and 14 September 1897. Poultry classes were provided at the Salisbury Show held at the Ranche ground on the slopes of the Kopje. Snodgrass and Mitchell, well known hoteliers and members of the Management Board, won the prize for the best pen, which comprised one cock and three hens. The prize was a gold medal and five guineas. Second place went to J. Skene and third was Miss Coleman. Father Frances Richartz S. J. from Chishawasha Mission won first and second prizes for gobbler and hen plus gander and goose. He also won first and second prizes for drake and two ducks.

The second Salisbury Show was held on 17 and 18 May 1899 as part of the celebrations for the opening of the railway from Umtali to Salisbury. A wider range of classes was offered. The best pen of a cock and three hens were exhibited by Miss Marshall who in addition exhibited the best pen of Leghorns. Prizes were also awarded for the best pen of colonials and Mashonas. Messrs Edmonds and Christian won the prize for best Mashona. Father Richartz won best pair of Ducks with S. Arnott winning best Goose and best Gander. Mrs. Milton wife of the Administrator won best Gobbler and best Turkey. Reports on the show say there was little competition but the exhibits were of a high standard.

Bulawayo held its first poultry and bird show on 7 July 1905 when the Rhodesia Ornithological Association staged a show in the Duke of Fife restaurant. The judges were Mr W. R. Smith and Mr. C. S. Jobling. In the language of the time it was reported that while the show as not on a pretentious scale the number and quality of exhibits exceeded the expectations of judges and members of the committee. It was apparent that exhibitors were more or less amateurs and unskilled in the art

of preparing their poultry for exhibition purposes. Notably exceptions were the numerous exhibits of Mr C. W. Knights. Breeds on show included Cochins, Indian Game, White and Brown Leghorns, Black and Buff Orpingtons and Wyandottes. Mr. Knights won the Presidents Cup with a Black Minorca cock. Classes were also provided for ducks, turkeys, guinea fowl, fancy pigeons and homing pigeons. Rabbits and cats were also catered for. A show dinner was held in the evening at the Cecil Hotel and Bulawayo celebrated its first show in style, establishing a pattern for future celebrations. It was noted the price of eggs was 2s. 6d. a dozen and live fowls were 3s each.

Bulawayo held its second show on 5 and 6 July 1906 once again with a good variety of breeds present, fancy pigeon breeds included Jacobins, Dragoons and Fantails. Classes were also provided for canaries, cockatoos (Australian) and parrots, as were classes for cats, which seems a little incongruous at a show staged by an Ornithological Association. Mr. Knights once again won best bird on show with his Minorca cock. The best imported bird a White Leghorn Cock was shown by Messrs Brookless and Mc Neil. The press report commented that the good work done by the Ornithological Society was reflected in that locally bred birds constituted quite a feature and that the section secured the most numerous entries on the whole Agricultural Show. This reference was to the first Bulawayo Agricultural Show held under the auspices of the Rhodesian Land Owners and Farmers Association.

Poultry shows soon became popular in Bulawayo with the 1907 show attracting 281 entries, the 1908 show 153 entries and the 1909 show 207 birds.

Feathered stock moult towards the end of summer and grow new feathers before winter approaches. Consequently poultry and other birds are in the best show condition in winter and shows in this country have always been held from May through to early September fitting in with the Agricultural Show season.

By 1914 shows were well established but little did those who gathered to enjoy them know the First World War was to break out on the 4 August and that for many the world they knew would never be the same again. Bulawayo kicked off with its show on 26 May, 1914. The weather was said to be like summer and the poultry section was successful with some very meritorious exhibits seen. Mrs. J. Main won most of the prizes in the White Leghorn, Black Leghorn, Wyandotte, Plymouth Rock and Minorca classes. Mr H. S. Logan from Salisbury also exhibited Brown Leghorns, Black Orpingtons and Minorcas. An American breed that was to become very well known and popular appeared for the first time on Rhodesian shows when Mr C. W. Knights exhibited Rhode Island Reds. Silver Campines, were shown by Mr B. C. Mitchell. Poultry were also catered for at the second Gwelo Show held at the end of May. Exhibits were placed in the unfinished Drill Hall, said to be "an admirable place, cool and airy" but the small number of entries were confined to a few individuals.

Umtali held a show on 18 June 1914 with White Leghorns, Brown Leghorns, White Wyandottes, Colonials, Homing Pigeons, Ducks and Turkeys being exhibited. The main exhibitors were L. Cripps and Mrs Fisher.

The Salisbury Show took place on 3 and 4 July 1914. Entries were in record number and of high quality. Mr H. S. Logan of Hatfield was a prominent exhibitor with his Wyandottes being especially excellent. White Leghorns were disappointing and the eight Rhode Island Reds attracted much attention. Best bird on show

was a White Wyandotte exhibited by Mrs May Jeffrey. Other breeds on display included Plymouth Rocks, Buff Orpingtons, Brown Leghorns and for the first time in Salisbury Black Leghorns. Waterfowl of various types were also present.

The Mazoe Farmers Association held a show in Glendale during July. Best bird was a locally bred Leghorn cock show by Dr Appleyard. Entries were understandably small in number with the White Leghorns outstanding

Shows in both Bulawayo and Salisbury continued on a reduced scale during the First World War.

The new decade of the twenties was a time for picking up a more normal life again. The Salisbury Show, held from 11 to 13 August 1920, was reported to be a great improvement on the 1919 show. New breeds included Speckled Sussex, Campines and Rouen ducks. Rhode Island Reds had taken off in popularity and were now the breed with the biggest entry on show. The show enjoyed considerable support from Bulawayo with seventy-nine entries from Matabeleland. Mr H. Le Garde Mercer, Secretary of the Bulawayo Poultry Club sent forty- two birds from his Yorkshire Poultry Farm. Entries came from as far away as Kimberley with Mr Scott sending five birds. The best White Leghorn was exhibited by Mrs M. K. Watson who also benched the best Rhode Island Red.

The Prince of Wales visited Rhodesia in July 1925 and both Salisbury and Bulawayo changed the dates of their Agricultural Shows so that the Royal visitor could attend the shows and perform the opening ceremonies. The poultry judges at the Salisbury show for this occasion were Dr Little the Government Poultry Officer, his assistant Mr H. G. Wheeldon, Mr Malcolm Mc Farlane from South Africa and Mr H. F. Sherry of Bulawayo. Once again the White Leghorns were the strongest section and the judge said they were difficult to sort out due to the quality. By this time the breed was split into two types depending on the origin i.e. South African and English. Hart and Edwards showed the best English type and Mrs Will Renton exhibited the best South African. Barred Plymouth Rocks were also an eye opener but the Rhode Island Reds were unfortunately very weak. A Kimberley exhibitor sent up some Orpingtons reported to be outstanding. Twelve Light Sussex entries graced the show bench. The breed was booming in South Africa and according to the judge would have a future in Rhodesia if more attention was paid to them. The Minorcas exhibited by Col T. S. Masterman and Mrs E.G. Boddington were also excellent.

In 1929 Salisbury hosted a visiting judge Capt. G. B. Dyamond from Cape Town. His comments may have been considered by some at the time to be harsh. It is worth noting however that judges up to the present time have made similar criticisms. The main criticism concerned poor show preparation which let down some otherwise promising birds. Again the strongest section was South African White Leghorns, 34 entries with the winning birds being quite good. Rhode Island Reds, 22 entries, were also not good except for those awarded first prizes. The show also featured twenty- nine rabbits in the Angora and Chinchilla breeds. The 1929 show may well have been something of a wake-up call for exhibitors.

Bulawayo must have also had a mediocre show in 1929 as the 1930 show

was said to be one hundred percent better that the previous year. This could have been due to a number of the exhibits coming from south of the Limpopo. Rhode Island Reds were easily the most outstanding class with the quality excellent. Mr J. C. Sherry of Bulawayo exhibited the winner, a just reward for his enterprise in importing a number of birds from America. The Light Sussex were also outstanding with the winning bird exhibited by Mr G. F. Foster of Vryheid in Natal. Clovis Poultry Farm of Wepener, Orange Free State, won best light breed with a Brown Leghorn. Best Bantam, was staged by Trueman and Sons of Johannesburg. Subsequently one Trueman son, Clem was to emigrate to Rhodesia and become a leading breeder, exhibitor and judge from the 1950's until his death in May 1968.

Salisbury exhibitors took Capt. Dyamond's earlier remarks to heart as the 1930 show was said to be the best for many years. White Leghorns were again the most popular breed but it was reported that Black Leghorns were catching up and very well represented. Vern Eric Poultry Farm exhibited the best Black Leghorn. An Umtali exhibitor S. Segal won many prizes including those for Rhode Island Reds. The best Australorp was shown by Dun Owen Poultry Farm.

The early 1930's were a difficult period due to the worldwide economic depression. The 1935 Salisbury Show saw Mr Ralph Phillips winning best Rhode Island Red. Capt. A. G. Waller won the White and Black Leghorn awards. Mr H. G. Scully of Windy Ridge Poultry Farm in Bulawayo exhibited the best Australorp hen. Mr Scully was to become a formidable force on the show bench for the next thirty years with his Black Australorps, Rhode Island Reds and Light Sussex. In recognition of his outstanding contribution to poultry showing the Poultry Hall on the Bulawayo showground was named after him in 1976. The building was demolished in the early 1980's. Mr Scully's bloodlines still exist in South Africa, such was the quality of his stock.

War clouds were gathering once again in Europe as the decade of the 1930's came to a close. The Salisbury Show held from 17 to 19 August 1939 with only 33 poultry entries was said by the judge, Mr H. G. Wheeldon, by then Senior Government Poultry Officer, to be probably the poorest show of poultry yet exhibited in a long run of successful shows in Salisbury. Mr Wheeldon attributed the scarcity of entries to the fact that poultry exhibitors had either been absent from the Colony or indisposed, so that at one time it was doubtful whether a show could be organised at all. Fortunately the continuity of this annual event was not interrupted. The few exhibits on view were representative and of excellent quality. Heavy breeds such as Australorps, Rhode Island Reds and Light Sussex were outstanding. Mr H. G. Scully of Bulawayo won best Australorp and Rhode Island Red. The best Light Sussex was won by R. H. Hind. Mr D. Davis and Capt Waller shared the White Leghorn prizes. The last Bulawayo show of the decade held on 1 to 2 September was also judged by Mr Wheeldon. It was clearly a better show than the one in Salisbury a few weeks earlier. Mr Wheeldon said it was a credit to the country and Bulawayo with some really outstanding quality birds, even if numbers were not up to the previous bumper year. It was recorded that Mr H. Le Garde Mercer had at that time been Secretary of the Bulawayo Poultry Club for 22 years. Rhode Island Reds were the strongest class with Mr Scully

again taking the honours with these and his Australorps. The best White Leghorn was exhibited by Mr V. M. Pike and was said by the judge to be an outstanding bird. Old English Game bantams were becoming popular and were a very good class. A smaller crowd than the previous year attended the Show held on the eve of the outbreak of war. However they were calm and cheerful. The Show Ball went ahead and at the end of the dance every dancer joined in lustily singing God save the King and according to a Chronicle report many were visibly moved. As one of the participants recorded later a number were never to see each other again. So ended an era as, immediately war was declared, the Government took over both the Salisbury and Bulawayo show grounds and converted them into military training camps. Seven long and dramatic years were to pass before Rhodesians could resume more normal pleasures.

Bulawayo, with typical determination, was first off the mark after the War holding a show on 6 to 7 September 1946. Mr Le Garde Mercer was still at the helm as Secretary and Mr Scully was in winning form with his Black Australorps, Rhode Island Reds and White Leghorns. Best Old English Game was shown by K. J. Freeland. Junior brother and sister team Brian and Pam Smeeton won best Pekin bantam, the first reference in the records to this attractive bantam breed. Salisbury does not appear to have had poultry exhibits on its annual show held in August 1946. The first Salisbury Show after the conflict with poultry exhibits took place at the end of August 1947. The judge was Mr Guy Cooper who said the Salisbury and District Poultry Club was to be congratulated on staging such a show. Once again Black Australorps and Rhode Island Reds were singled out

Bulawayo and District Poultry Club Show officials 1948
Inset: G. H. Cooper. Back row: L. Kets. Front row left to right: J. A. Davies, H. G. Wheeldon, H. G. Scully, H. Le Garde-Mercer

for special mention. The Governor's wife Lady Kennedy exhibited these two breeds and for a number of years the Governor's Lady supported shows in the capital. Mrs N. A. L. Parsons exhibited the best Australorp and won most points on Show. Mrs C. K. Rochester wife of a retired senior police officer, Major H. Rochester who served in the BSAP from 1906 to 1938, won best Indian Game and Mr H. J. Hollins was awarded best White Leghorn and best Light Sussex. Mr Cooper was to become Chief Poultry Officer in the Ministry of Agriculture and judge shows right through into the 1980's well after he retired from the civil service. Guy Cooper was a dedicated civil servant totally devoted to his profession and the welfare of the industry. He made a very substantial contribution to the development of the poultry industry during his career and was always ready to help the small commercial producer and fancier with advice and counsel. Mr Cooper, a real gentleman, was greatly missed after he passed away in 1986.

The country was developing rapidly during the late 1940's and the first ever Royal Show was held in Salisbury in 1950 at the traditional time of the end of August. In keeping with the occasion a record number of entries were staged, one hundred and ninety four poultry and eighty nine fancy pigeons plus a large number of homing pigeons. The best bird on show was a Rhode Island Red from Waterfall Poultry Farm and Mr M. Eiger gained most points. Mr Eiger had his farm on the site of the present day Honeydew Farm in Greendale. Mrs J. N. Becks also from Greendale won best White Leghorn and this lady was to become a leading exhibitor in the following years. Mr W. A. Mitchley won the best Australorp award. The 1951 Show took place against the background of a major petrol crisis but this did not deter Mr Eiger from winning best bird on show with Mrs Becks exhibiting the runner up. Winning first prize with a Light Sussex hen and second prize with a Light Sussex cock was a young apprentice Arthur Burroughs. Mr Burroughs was to become a well respected judge, club official and exhibitor of poultry for the next fifty plus years. He also served as Poultry Club chairman for many years. In 1952 another gentleman who was to subsequently establish Irvine's Day Old Chicks, Mr W. M. Irvine, exhibited Rhode Island Reds and White Leghorns for the first time. Mr Irvine's business was to grow from small beginnings in his back-yard into what is the largest poultry enterprise in the country today.

Royal Shows were held on a three year rotation and on this basis Bulawayo took its turn in 1953 with a bumper show of 500 birds. Mr Le Garde Mercer was still Secretary in addition to being the Vice President of the South African Poultry Association, member of Council of the World Poultry Science Association and founder of the Light Sussex club of South Africa. It was a vintage year with Professor A. M. Gericke, head of poultry at the Agricultural Research Institute in Pretoria coming to judge. Mr G. H. Cooper also judged. Professor Gericke said the Black Australorps and Rhode Island Reds were of a very fine type and quality and would compete favourably at any show in Africa. Bantams however were poorly represented. Professor Gericke also judged in Salisbury that year.

In 1955 the Salisbury and District Poultry Club combined with the Central Africa Budgerigar and Cage Bird Society and the Salisbury Homing Society to hold a Young Bird Show at the Drill Hall. The writer entered two birds in the junior

class. One was awarded a first prize but the other, being a cross breed, failed to gain a prize. Thanks to the help and encouragement of my parents and wonderful people such as June Becks, Clem Trueman and Guy Cooper all of whom made sure I was given some good birds I was launched on a life long and absorbing hobby. At the Salisbury Show that year Mr T. J. Jacobs entered some Old English Game bantams also starting him on many years of showing, judging and service as a Club office bearer in various capacities.

The second Royal Show was held in Salisbury in early September 1956. The show attracted 197 large breeds, 44 bantams plus the usual eggs, ducks, turkeys and junior classes bringing the total to 368 to which must be added 181 racing pigeons. Space to house all these birds was a problem. Best Bird on Show was an Indian Game bred by Mrs C. K. Rochester. The Rhode Island Red awards were won by P to C Poultry Farm who had done so each year since 1952. Winner of the Australorps was Mr R. D. Waldeck from Umtali.

It is appropriate to recall P to C Poultry Farm. This small farm situated in Hatfield was owned by Dennis and Eileen Wilson. To a schoolboy like myself Mr Wilson was a formidable and somewhat irascible gentleman. His wife Eileen was the complete opposite, very kind and sweet. She had been an announcer with the British Broadcasting Corporation in the early days of radio. They knew how to breed Rhode Island Reds and Australorps and for most of the 1950's until 1962 were almost unbeatable both on the show bench in Salisbury and in the Government egg laying tests. They were also very protective of their stock and would not part with any birds if they thought the buyer would breed from them and subsequently compete against them.

Another person who influenced poultry show affairs during the 1950's was Mr G. E. Wells. George Wells was Salisbury club secretary from 1948 until the end of 1960 and organized all the shows held during that period. Mr Wells is possibly better remembered for his contribution to cricket through the Fawns junior team. One of his *protégés* is the former England cricket coach, Duncan Fletcher. George Wells passed away in June 1988.

The last years of the 1950's and early 1960's saw a number of fundamental changes in the poultry industry. The largest breeders in the United States and Europe were making use of the developing science of genetics and early computers to produce improved strains of poultry. These strains demonstrated a vast improvement in egg and meat production over traditional breeds and were marketed under trade names and numbers. All poultry imports into this country were controlled and the more progressive commercial producers, having seen the merits of these new varieties, put pressure on the Government to allow them to import the improved lines. Some traditional breeders perceived these developments as a threat to their existence and reacted accordingly. The writer recalls attending a number of Poultry Club meetings at which this issue was discussed with much emotion and heat. The end result was the formation of the Rhodesian Registered Breeders Association and consequent resignations of a number of Poultry Club officials and members.

On 10 October 1961 the writer convened a meeting at his parent's home to discuss the situation and the resignations, which had included the Clubs Chairman

and Vice Chairman. Mr George Scully, son of H. G. Scully, was appointed Acting Chairman until a formal Annual General Meeting could be held. It was also agreed that a new constitution for the club should be drawn up. The Annual General Meeting held on 12 January 1962 elected Mr S. Pillans Chairman and Mr T. J. Jacobs Secretary, a loyal member who was to serve in this capacity for the next five years. A new constitution was also approved. Shows in Salisbury continued over this period with the 1962 Young Bird Show attracting 131 entries whilst the Annual Show, which once again was a Royal Show, had 343 entries. Mr T. J. Jacobs with a White Leghorn won best bird on show in 1962.

In 1962 in order to stimulate interest among fanciers and improve the quality of exhibits and show preparation a number of innovations were considered. One suggestion was to hold match meetings. These were normally held at a member's home. Entries per exhibitor were limited and only one breed was benched. All those present could handle the birds and place them in order of merit. This was done under the supervision of a qualified judge and much discussion took place in a very informal atmosphere. A social normally followed and this did much to bring newer members and their families into club life. The first match meeting took place at the Poultry Hall on Sunday 1 July 1962 and thereafter these meetings took place at least one a year and proved to be a most successful and popular innovation.

The poultry show scene soon settled down after commercial breeders withdrew from shows, which thereafter became the domain of the fancier whose interest was in breeding pure bred poultry for pleasure and the challenge of producing birds as near as possible to the standards of perfection. It was also a time of looking southwards and, while the movement of birds was impossible, showmen starting visiting shows in South Africa and making contact with fellow fanciers in that country. These contacts resulted in Mr M. S. Letty Secretary of the South African Poultry Association judging at the 1965 Annual Show. The winner of best bird on Show was a large Old English Game exhibited by Mr T. J. Jacobs. Mr N. W. Marriott won best Rhode Island Red and the winner of Best Australorp was Mr B. Meintjies. A fancy pigeon which escaped cost the Club a 10 shilling reward for the finder plus one shilling and five pence rail fare to return the bird to its owner in Que Que.

The Bulawayo Poultry Club was not immune from the problems which beset the Salisbury Club in the early years of the 1960's. Mr. Guy Cooper in April 1966 informed the writer, at that time Secretary of the Salisbury Club, that a young and dynamic person was trying to revive interest in showing in Bulawayo. Taking advantage of a business visit to Bulawayo the writer made contact with Mr. Alistair Stuart. This meeting not only resulted in a warm personal friendship but set the foundation for future close cooperation and mutual support between fanciers in the two cities. The immediate result was an entry of 156 birds from Bulawayo for the 1966 Salisbury show.

The rabbit section was growing in both the range of breeds and number of exhibitors. In mid-1966 it was decided to form a separate sub-committee to administer the rabbit classes. Mr C.F. Edmonstone, a long time supporter of the Poultry Club and successful rabbit breeder, was elected Chairman of the sub-committee. Subsequently in April 1967 the Mashonaland Rabbit Breeders Association was formed as an independent body to look after the interests of rabbit

fanciers and a long and happy relationship between the two clubs was to continue well into the future.

The 1967 Salisbury Show was very successful with 418 poultry, 200 pigeon and 135 rabbit entries. The Club invited Mr A. H. Coubrough from Johannesburg to judge the Old English Game bantams, which by then were the most popular breed on show with 83 entries. Mr Coughbrough was to judge in following years and became a benefactor when he donated a number of trophies. Accompanying Mr Coughbrough was Mr Frank Moore also from Johannesburg. Mr Moore grew up in Cornwall in a mining community and had a deep knowledge of Old English Game being a leading breeder in South Africa. It was speculated that as a young man he would have participated in cock fighting a popular pastime among Cornish miners. He was a most interesting gentleman and judged this breed on the Salisbury shows through to 1974. Mr A. J. Burroughs won best Old English Game bantam that year. Mr T. J. Jacobs won Best Bird on Show with a White Leghorn.

In 1968 the City of Bulawayo celebrated its 75th Anniversary year. As part of the celebrations the Bulawayo and District Poultry Club presented Bulawayo's 75th Anniversary Open Championship Show in the Large City Hall on 10 and 11 August. The show attracted 680 poultry, pigeons and rabbits plus 183 cage birds. The event was celebrated in traditional style with a dinner dance on the Saturday evening. A good number of entries came from Salisbury and several Salisbury exhibitors joined in the occasion.

The Salisbury Poultry Club being affiliated to the South African Poultry Association was required to comply with the Association's show rules. One of these rules stipulated that all judges should be qualified by way of theoretical and practical examination. As a consequence Messrs A. J. Burroughs, T. J. Jacobs, R. D. Taylor, I. Melville, R. M. Moubray, W. A. Stuart, A. J. Pauw, A. Cole and L. V. Lansdell took the requisite examinations over a period of time during the late 1960's and 1970's. Due to the difficulty of judging birds from different breeds against each other the South African show rules prohibited the award of Best Bird on Show. The club had old trophies for best bird and runner up to best bird on show. To some extent this rule was overcome by awarding those trophies to the best bird in the breed with the highest number of entries staged. This issue was to remain a subject of much discussion until the association with South Africa ceased after 1980.

The early years of the 1970's saw considerable activity on the show-holding front. The Salisbury Club committee at its first meeting of 1972 adopted a provisional program of activities for the year as follows:-

March	Young Bird Show
April	Match Meeting
May	Field day at members home
June	Game Show
July	Visit to Poultry Section at Gwebi Agricultural College
August	Annual Show
September	Annual Dinner and prize giving

In addition to these events members had the opportunity to exhibit at the

Bulawayo and Sinoia Shows. Sadly an outbreak of Newcastle Disease meant that the proposed visits to Gwebi and a member's home, could not take place. All show exhibits that year had to be from inoculated flocks. Best Bird on the 1972 Salisbury Show was a Light Sussex exhibited by Mr J. W. Dardagan from Sinoia, the best Leghorn was shown by Mr B. J.Eckstein of Bulawayo and the best Game Bantam was won by Mr T. J. Jacobs.

The 1974 show season continued with a run of successful shows, Young Bird, Game, Soft Feather and finally Annual Show. The Salisbury club had a membership of 54 and the Chairman Mr L .V. Lansdell hinted in his Annual report that the new hall would need extending to cater for all the exhibits. Best Bird that year was a Rhode Island Red exhibited by Mr B. J. Eckstein of Bulawayo.

In 1976 the increasing frequency of call-up for security force duties began to affect members' private lives and therefore indirectly club activities. Emigration also became a factor with the departure during 1976 of the Club secretary Mr P. Peche and some committee members. Despite this it was decided that the 1976 show, being the clubs 50th, should be celebrated in the appropriate manner. Special prizes were obtained but somehow the show was a disappointment. South African judges declined invitations but as always the local stalwarts served the club well and a brave show was put on.

Both the Bulawayo and Salisbury Poultry Clubs, despite declining membership and smaller entries, continued to hold shows and to support each other with entries. In 1978 Mr Fred Keen from Durban came to judge the ever-popular Old English Game and a very successful choice he proved to be. In spite of the difficult background the show attracted 311 entries. All concerned made a tremendous effort to submit a good entry. Mr. Ian Melville had taken over as Secretary of the Salisbury Club and he provided very efficient and enthusiastic administration over the traumatic period that was to follow.

The year 1979 was to be the last year of Rhodesia as a country. A general state of uncertainty prevailed but despite this the Young Bird Show, held later than normal because of the election call up, attracted an entry of 180. The Winter Show followed in July with 150 birds being benched. The highlight of the Annual Show was the celebration by Mr G. H. Cooper of fifty years judging poultry at Rhodesian shows. This was a feat few judges anywhere could claim. The occasion was marked by the presentation of a special trophy for Black Australorps, a breed that Mr. Cooper had been associated with all his life. Mr. W.J. Viljoen South African Government Senior Poultry Officer came to judge most of the large breeds. Best Australorp was won by P. Mulligan, best Leghorn T. J. Jacobs, best Rhode Island Red by R. and N. Marriott, best Pekin bantam by A. J. Burroughs, and best Old English Game bantam by T. J. Jacobs.

In the late 1960's Mrs. Mae Phillips, supported by a few farmers, arranged a poultry show as part of the annual Sinoia Show and Fun Fair. The three-day show held early in August 1969 attracted 38 entries. Mr D. Eccles from Salisbury won most points. Mr Eccles also won best heavy breed with a Light Sussex and best Light Breed with a White Leghorn. Mr Burroughs won best male and best female on Show. The 1970 show attracted more than double the number of entries with 87 poultry. The Show was even bigger in 1972 with an entry of 94 and Mr Frank Moore, who was on an extended visit to Rhodesia, did the judging. Subsequent

shows attracted entries from as far away as Bulawayo. As the decade of the 1970's drew to a close the increase in security force call ups and the general security situation led to a decline in entries. The passing of Mrs Phillips, the prime mover of this show, also contributed to the falling off in support. Those of us who participated during those halcyon days have wonderful memories of most enjoyable times spent at Sinoia.

In the mid 1950's the Poultry section was outgrowing the then poultry hall in the Showgrounds, situated on the corner of Second Street and Second Avenue opposite the Hall of Commerce. In 1956 an extension was built onto the side of the hall but by the following year, with entries up by 100, this alteration still did not provide sufficient space.

The Salisbury Kennel Club moved during 1959 to its own premises outside the Showground and played no further part in the Agricultural Show. The opportunity was taken to move the poultry section into the two halls vacated by the Kennel Club. One hall was light with good ventilation the other was dark and inclined to be too hot for poultry. These halls on the site of the present day Nelson Mandela Hall in Exhibition Park were to remain the venue for poultry, pigeon and rabbit shows until 1973.

In 1970 the Show Society indicated that they wished to redevelop the site of the two Poultry Halls. As always funding was a problem and, after negotiations and fund raising by the Poultry Club, the Hall was moved to Stand 1 in the Showground. The club raised Rhodesia $1 498 towards the cost of the move. The new Hall was ideal for poultry shows and visiting South African judges regarded it as the best hall in Southern Africa. A similar but smaller hall for the Rabbit section was built at the same time parallel to the Poultry Hall. These halls remained the home of poultry and rabbit shows into the new millennium.

April 1980 saw the birth of the new nation of Zimbabwe. For poultry fanciers this was a period of uncertainty and for some emigration followed. However it wasn't long before confidence returned and fanciers were able once again to take a serious interest and devote more time to their hobby. The Salisbury Club decided to cease its affiliation to the South African Poultry Association and instead sought closer relations with the Poultry Club of Great Britain. This latter relationship, however, tended to be remote and impersonal and of little benefit to those in Zimbabwe.

The Bulawayo Club was having difficulty getting going again but did stage a successful show in conjunction with the 1980 Trade Fair. This show attracted 234 poultry entries. Best Leghorn was won by B. J. Eckstein, best Australorp by A. and L. Stuart who also won best Rhode Island Red. Best Pekin bantam was exhibited by, E. D. Quick. A feature of the period was the growing interest in the bantam (miniature) versions of the former large commercial breeds such as Leghorns, Australorps, Light Sussex and Rhode Island Reds. Some eighty of the entries that year were of this type. Several Salisbury exhibitors participated.

The 1980 Annual show in Salisbury attracted 258 entries plus an encouraging 49 exhibits from junior exhibitors. Champion Black Australorp and Rhode Island Red were exhibited by B. J. Eckstein of Bulawayo, Leghorn by R. D. Taylor and

Light Sussex by N. W. Marriott. Two rare breeds, Sumatra Game and Yokohamas, were benched by Mr A. L. Uglietti. In the bantams Mr. I. Melville won best Modern Game, Mr Burroughs best Pekin and Mr C. Clerihew best Rhode Island Red and Mr. T.J. Jacobs best Old English Game. The club was set fair for the new environment.

In 1981 Mr Trevour Pengilly a new member was elected to the Committee. This gentleman was to become an untiring supporter and in due course Secretary and Chairman until he moved to a retirement village some twenty years later. The following year the Salisbury and District Poultry Club in keeping with national changes became the Mashonaland Poultry Club. Shows continued as the country prospered and entries in 1985 were Young Bird Show 149, Winter Show 172 and Annual Show 232. The Best Bird award now judged on a points system was shared between Mr D. A. Black with an Old English Game bantam and Mr T. Pengilly with an Indian Game bantam. Bantams were ruling the roost! The Winter Show was combined with rabbit and cage bird shows over one weekend and billed as a Fur and Feather show with more intensive advertising. These combined shows were a success for a few years attracting a good number of visitors from the general public. Sadly they ceased in 1986 when the Cage Bird Society withdrew. In earlier years fancy pigeons used to be catered for on poultry shows. In the mid-1980's once again the Poultry clubs started to provide classes for these interesting birds.

The 1980's were a difficult period for Bulawayo fanciers. The departure of supporters such as Alistair and Lynn Stuart, Eddie Quick and Barry Eckstein deprived shows of expertise and entries. However those remaining kept going and shows continued led by Mr Ossie Follwell and Mr Fred Dare whose efforts were rewarded in 1986 when the Bulawayo Agricultural Society built a new Poultry Hall which proved to be ideal for its purpose. The very severe drought of 1991/92 made it impossible to stage a show in 1992. However in 1993 a show was held and attracted 50 poultry and 110 fancy pigeons. The best bird that year was a Rouen duck exhibited by Mr Brian Follwell from Nyamandhlovu.

The records for the last year of the decade, 1989, demonstrate that the Mashonaland Club was continuing to foster interest in pure breeds of poultry. The Young Bird Show held in April attracted an entry of 97 birds. Some exhibitors were away at the time. Best Bird was a Silver Pekin bantam exhibited by Arthur Burroughs who also won Reserve Best with a Pekin. A Winter Show was also held attracting 136 birds with a Black Leghorn exhibited by the writer winning best bird on show. The Annual Show was staged from 28th August to 1st September with total entries of 254 of which 106 were fancy pigeons. Best bird was an Indian Game bantam exhibited by Trevour Pengilly with Robin Taylor's Black Leghorn female being Reserve Best Bird. Ossie Follwell from Esigodini exhibited best Australorp.

At the 1990 Annual General Meeting the Mashonaland Club bid farewell to Ian and Jo Stewart and family who had been exhibitors and variously Secretary and Treasurer for the best part of a decade. A popular feature introduced in the early 1990's was the Challenge Class. An exhibitor nominated one of his/her entries to become best bird on show and paid a small amount of cash to support the nomination. If the winning bird had been nominated the owner received fifty percent of the cash pool and the club retained the other half. This was a fun way of raising club funds.

The period of the 1990's was noticeable for the number of junior members in

Harare who became exhibitors and supporters in many ways. Members such as Jerome Moerman, Ian, David and Stewart Taylor, Tondie Madziyire and Andries Livaditakis all matured and in some cases became club officials. This infusion of young people was most welcome and stimulating. Relations with South Africa also started to improve and two members Robin Taylor and Arthur Burroughs were invited to judge at Shows in that country. The possibility of birds moving across borders to be exhibited at shows in either country was also raised and discussed with the responsible authorities. However the risk of disease transmission was still a major difficulty and the good intentions came to nothing.

In 1993 eleven senior and four junior exhibitors entered 215 exhibits at the Harare Show and these together with 123 fancy pigeons made for a most successful show. Champion bird was a Pekin bantam exhibited by Arthur Burroughs and reserve was an Old English Game shown by Trevor Pengilly. Ossie Follwell won best Australorp and Rhode Island Red and Robin Taylor best Leghorn.

An outbreak of Newcastle Disease meant that no poultry shows could be held in 1994.

The 1995 Harare Show attracted an entry of 44 large birds, 141 bantams and 99 fancy pigeons. Best Bird was an Old English Game bantam entered by Trevour Pengilly and Reserve Champion was also an Old English Game Bantam shown by veteran exhibitor Tommy Jacobs. A total of 160 poultry and 100 Fancy pigeons were benched at the 1996 show but with a noticeable fall off in the number of large birds entered. As the decade drew to a close long time Harare exhibitors Tommy Jacobs, Arthur Burroughs and Trevour Pengilly moved into retirement villages and as a consequence had to give up active poultry keeping. This did not however stop them serving as judges. The new generation, who had been groomed as juniors, started to take over club affairs injecting into the fancy the drive and enthusiasm of youth. This was a welcome and natural course of events.

The new millennium dawned and very soon the land reform program followed. This turned out to be a hammer blow, one of the many consequences of which was the end of formal poultry shows in this country. In his Annual Report for 2002 Mashonaland Club Chairman Andries Livaditakis noted that breeders had been forced to cut back on stock and many of the weaker breeds and colours had been abandoned. Stock feed was in short supply and expensive. Jerome Moerman took Best Bird on the 2002 Show. The quality of birds on show was excellent but the number of entries was down.

No poultry show was held during 2003. A number of the upcoming and some of the established enthusiasts were farmers who, having lost their land and livelihoods in this country, were forced to dispose of their birds and emigrate.

In August 2004 a combined poultry and rabbit show was staged in conjunction with the Harare Show. This show, which ran over a period of three days, attracted some 50 poultry entries and a similar number of rabbits. This proved to be the last formal show and the Mashonaland Poultry Club ceased to exist after nearly a century of providing pleasure and interest to breeders, fanciers and the many members of the general public who visited shows. Poultry fanciers still gather from time to time at a residence to compare birds in a very informal and sociable

atmosphere.

A record of this nature would not be complete without acknowledging and paying tribute to the wonderful support given over the years by the various stock feed manufacturing companies. They have provided feed for the birds on show plus generous special prizes in the form of stock feed. These prizes gave a great incentive to exhibitors and for those deserving winners helped cover some of the cost of keeping pure-bred birds and were appreciated by all a good example of the business sector acknowledging the support of its customers and returning something to them.

Acknowledgements

The preparation of an article of this nature requires the use of a number of sources, which I wish to acknowledge:-

The Director and staff National Archives of Zimbabwe.

The General Manager and staff Zimbabwe Agricultural Society.

Past Chairman and Secretaries of the Mashonaland Poultry Club who took the trouble to prepare Annual reports and preserve Club records over the period from the 1950's to the 1990's

The book: *Show Business the History of the Bulawayo Agricultural Societ*y by Robin Rudd 1SBN O-7974-1821-0 has : provided valuable information on Bulawayo shows.

Charter Estates

by Mike Tucker

A description of the old Meikles Hotel and Bar on Marshbrook Farm (now Charter Estates) the Zeederberg Mill and Coach House and Coaching Stables and Strickland's Store in Charter District

Meikles Hotel and Bar: 18°33′27.11″S 31°03′12.73″E
Strickland's Store and Zeederberg Mill and Coach House: 18°33′30.12″S 31°03′13.34″E
Zeederberg Coaching Stables: 18°33′32.00″S 31°03′17.64″E
Civilian and BSAP graves: 18°33′13.94″S 31°03′30.35″E

How to get there

Distances are from the Mupfure River (formerly Umfuli River) just south of Beatrice on the A4 National road going from Harare to Chivhu (formerly Enkeldoorn) At 28.6 km take the gravel road to the left at a large "Sadzaguru" signpost. Keep to this road which is in good condition, 48.8 km reach a T junction and turn right, 49.2 km turn left onto a gravel road marked to Marondera and Charter Primary School, 50.9 km turn right at the signpost "Sadzaguru" onto the farm entrance road (formerly Charter Estates) 51.2 km pass Church on right.

For the return journey retrace the same route as the quickest way to get back to the A4.

Why visit?

The Mill and Zeederberg's Coach House and Coaching Stables, the Meikles Hotel and Bar and Strickland's Store on Marshbrook (now Charter Estates) date from 1892 – 1894 and are amongst the oldest surviving buildings in Zimbabwe. They predate the Market Hall, Harare's oldest surviving building which was built in 1903 and therefore deserve recognition and preservation.

The current use of the buildings seems to mirror the confusion and chaos brought about by the 2000 land invasions as they are each used by different parties: the Hotel by Sadzaguru, the Coaching Stables by Dr Muchena, the Mill by various parties and Strickland's Store by someone else; nobody is responsible for maintenance and the buildings, which should be listed as National Monuments, will fall into increasing disrepair.

They are amongst the few early buildings which remain intact, only the Zeederberg Coaching Stables has been significantly altered and even here the original structure can still be seen.

Google earth image of the places described in the article

Introduction

This article relies on a survey carried out by J. K. G. Borcherds, B. Arch., RIBA in September 1960 in which he drew the architectural sketches below and made some preliminary explanations on Fort Charter and other buildings on Marshbrook; the paper and sketches were filed in the National Archives. Thanks to Tony Mirams, the last Manager of Charter Estates who lent me his personal papers, and to his son Craig, who guided me around on a first visit. Thanks also to Mr Kagahande of Sadzaguru who showed me around the Meikles Hotel, and to Mr Harold Mhundwah who guided me through the Coaching stables.

The Mill and Coach House and the Coaching Stables

There is little information available about their history, although it is known that they were built for the firm of C. H. Zeederberg Ltd, which operated a mule drawn coaching service. David Worthington, who was Manager of Charter Estates for 37 years, thought the Mill and Coach House and Coaching Stables were built after 1896; J. K. G. Borcherds thought between 1892 – 1894.

What is known is that Zeederberg's coaching services operated on this route between 1892 – 1902 and that construction of the railway line for the Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways, began from Fontesvilla, 56 km inland from Beira, to Umtali (Mutare) in September 1892, and from Vryburg in the Cape Province to Bulawayo in May 1893. The Bulawayo line was completed in October 1897 and the Mutare line in February 1898. The link between Salisbury (Harare) and Bulawayo was finally completed in October 1902, after initial construction was brought to a halt by the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in October 1899.

The Zeederberg partners were C. H. "Doel" Zeederberg and H. J. Zeederberg and they played a major role in opening up transport services in early Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) with their service commencing in 1891 with a passenger coaching and mail service from Kimberley to Fort Tuli, which was extended in 1892 via Fort Victoria to Salisbury, and which continued until 1902. Other options for travellers included going by slower ox-drawn transport wagons when the baggage weight exceeded the 30

C.H. "Doel" Zeederberg

lbs. limit imposed by Zeederberg's. By 1902, both Salisbury and Bulawayo were linked by railway line to the south and the coaching services were replaced by a weekly post cart that went each way between Salisbury and Enkeldoorn.

The existence of the Zeederberg coach service narrows the construction period of the buildings to the period between 1892 – 1902; but they probably date from 1892 – 1894 when operations commenced.

John Meikle and David Worthington tell us that the Meikles brothers purchased Marshbrook Farm in 1892 to build a Hotel and Store to be run by their brother-in-law, Arthur Strickland. However, it appears they built their Hotel on the wrong farm, on Claricedale, and had to buy this farm as well. Over the next six years, the Meikles Brothers bought 26 farm properties; one of them for six blankets and a single-furrow plough; Moorland farm of 16,000 acres for £3/19/6, and another for an ox-wagon with a grand piano, but without oxen, possibly due to the rinderpest in 1896.

Mill and Coach House

The Mill and Coach House are constructed of pale yellow sandstone quarried from a nearby source which is not currently known. The stones are rough dressed and squared and laid in courses and bedded in dhaka mortar and pointed in cement. The stone courses start larger at the bottom and become narrower at the upper parts of the building, but cover the full width of the walls. It is not known how deep the foundations extend. Footing walls are 61cm wide; internal walls 46cm, with the post bases in the coach house 46cm square.

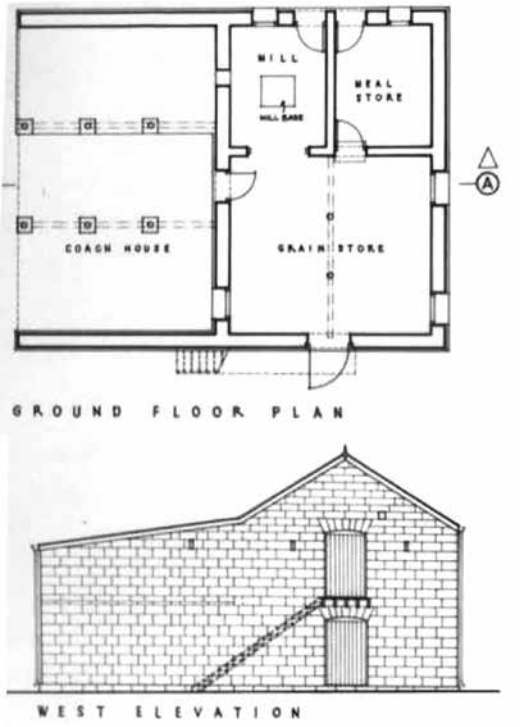
All openings have stone arches, or lintels, except the interleading door between the two lofts of the Mill and Coach House, which also has a timber door frame. The roofs of both buildings are corrugated iron on purlins carried by sawn timber trusses, or rafters. Floors and floor joists and beams are also constructed of sawn timbers and they all appear to be original.

The lofts are semi-fortified with rifle-slits or loopholes which are splayed internally to give the defender maximum space and with their stout sandstone walls would have made formidable strongholds as they cover each other's fields of fire.

The workmanship in both buildings is of a very high standard and both buildings are still structurally sound after 124 years. Considerable additions have been made to both buildings over the years, but as the additions are always in brick and cement, they are easy to identify.

The ground floor of the Mill building originally contained the mill resting on the original sandstone base with an adjacent meal store. A wide entrance from the mill led through into the grain store which is now used a small shop. All ground floors were probably paved in stone, but they were later covered in cement render. When J. K. G.

Mill from the west, showing entrance into the loft; note the rifle-slits. The coach bays, now bricked in, are on the left of the photo.



Ground floor plan of the Mill and Coach House at Charter by J. K. G. Borcherds

Borcherds carried out his survey the mill was still in use.

The two millstones themselves would have been laid one on top of the other and turned at around 120 rpm. The bottom stone, called the bed, is fixed to the floor, while the top stone, the runner, is mounted on a separate spindle, driven by the main shaft. A wheel called the stone nut connects the runner's spindle to the main shaft, and this can be moved out of the way to disconnect the stone and stop it turning and the distance between the bed and the runner stones can be varied to produce the grade of flour required; moving the stones closer together produces a finer product.

The grain would be lifted in sacks into the loft via a hoist on the external timber loading platform. To mill the grain the sacks would be emptied into a hopper and

carried down through a wooden shaft to the millstones on the floor below. The flow of grain is regulated by shaking it in a gently sloping trough (the slipper) from which it falls into a hole in the centre of the runner stone. The milled grain (flour) is collected as it emerges through the grooves in the runner stone from the outer rim of the stones and after being collected in sacks is stored in the meal store. The same process is used for milling wheat to make flour and for milling maize into maize meal.

There are no obvious indications how the early mill was powered. Obviously it was not by water power, so perhaps a capstan was turned by animals, such as mules, which we know were present to haul the coaches. At some time it appears the eastern bay of the coach house was bricked up and may have contained a portable steam engine which operated the mill by belt drive as there is a bricked up aperture in the wall. The floor of the eastern bay of the Coach House is also paved in stone, with the other two left unpaved.

It is entirely possible that European traders bought grain from the local Mashona farmers and received back ground meal or flour, minus a percentage called the "miller's toll" in lieu of payment.

In order to prevent the vibrations of the mill machinery from shaking the building apart, a mill will often have at least two separate foundations.

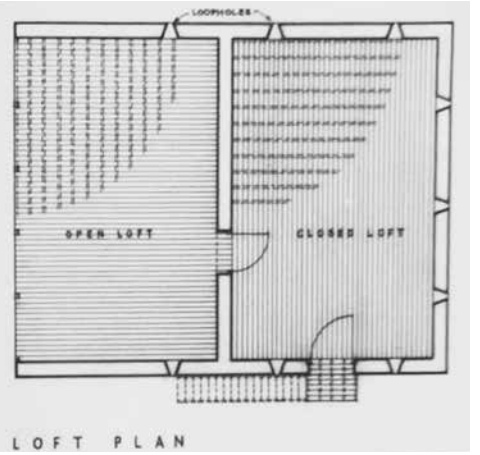
The Coach House, occupying the ground floor space to the north of the Mill house has three bays, which appear from their height and size, to have contained space for three coaches to be sheltered under cover. Later the eastern bay looks like it housed a portable steam engine, and in time the other two coach spaces were also bricked up; this ground floor space is also used today as a shop, but at one-time was a public call office, reputedly the first in the country.

Three of the ground-floor windows have been bricked up, but one frame remains. This is 10cm x 38cm timber with slots for louvres and presumably all three windows were originally the same.

Lean-to additions to the Mill house were added on the east for a mechanical workshop and the administration office of Charter Estates was added on the south side, but this is now another store.

Externally a wooden staircase lead to the loft, with a timber loading platform but this has rotted away because it was exposed to the rain. Today a ladder is required to access the loft.

The loft is divided into two sections. The closed loft under the pitched roof was being used in the 1960's as a carpenter's shop, but the remains of a gantry indicate a different use originally, probably as the grain store. Into the floor of the closed loft are the remains of an aperture through which unmilled grain would have



Loft plan of the Coach House (left) and Mill (right) at Charter by J. K. G. Borcherds

fallen from a hopper down to the mill below.

The open loft, now clad with corrugated iron was used for general storage, but may originally have been used for storing timber; hence the low height and the open side (now bricked up) for ease of handling and ventilation.

Interior of the closed loft, formerly a grain store, above the mill; note the splayed rifle-slits and condition of the floor

The floors of the loft comprise 15cm wide boards laid on joists which are carried on two 23cm x 8cm timbers beams which are bolted together. The beams are supported by 15-20cm undressed poles.

The roof is corrugated iron laid on purlins supported by rafters.

My attention was drawn during my first visit to two dusty mule harnesses lying in the loft. I asked for advice and was advised to collect them on behalf of the Mutare Museum which collects items of early transport in Zimbabwe. Both probably predate 1902 when the Zeederberg's mule drawn coaching service ceased.

Mule harness showing metal and wood frame with leather work

The Coaching Stables

The original purpose of the building is still evident from the plan with the Stables below and a hay-loft above. Unfortunately extensive alterations have been made to the

original building and the Stables were converted into a tobacco grading shed. Clearly at the time the Historical Monuments Commission did not realise the historical significance of these buildings, and they were not protected and listed as National Monuments.

To the west, tobacco bulk sheds were added. To the east are storerooms and a squash court. To the north, the lean-to shelter has been bricked in to form tobacco bale stores. To the south, cross walls have been built to form "*mtepi*" or tobacco stick stores.

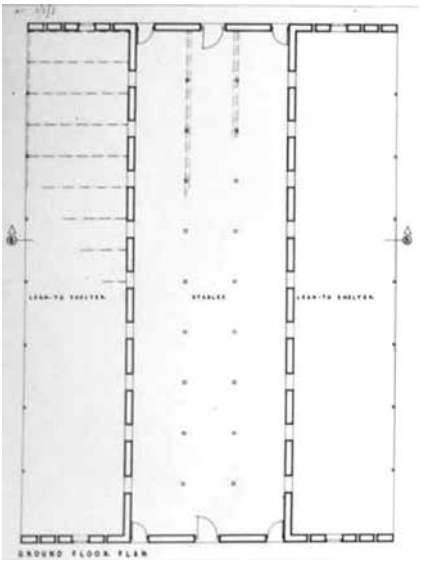
Western view of the Coaching Stables; surrounded on all sides by lean-to additions, note bricked-in rifle-slits

The 45cm wide walls are built with the same rough hammer dressed sandstone blocks as the Mill and Coach House and are laid in courses and bedded in *dhaka* mortar with cement pointing; no foundation plinth is visible.

Internally great changes have also taken place. David Worthington says there was standing for 36 mules and horses and that there was a cobble floor. Presumably the rendered cement floor was added above it whilst he was Manager at Charter Estates. The loft doors, the loopholes and stable windows have all been bricked up and today there is no sign of the original stalls which were provided for each mule.

It is difficult to visualize the stall arrangements now; but the pairs of small doors at either end probably gave access for feeding and watering the mules which assumes they were tethered with their tails towards a wide central aisle and their heads towards the water troughs and mangers with a narrow access to these along the interior of the external walls.

The windows no longer have timber frames, but were probably identical to those

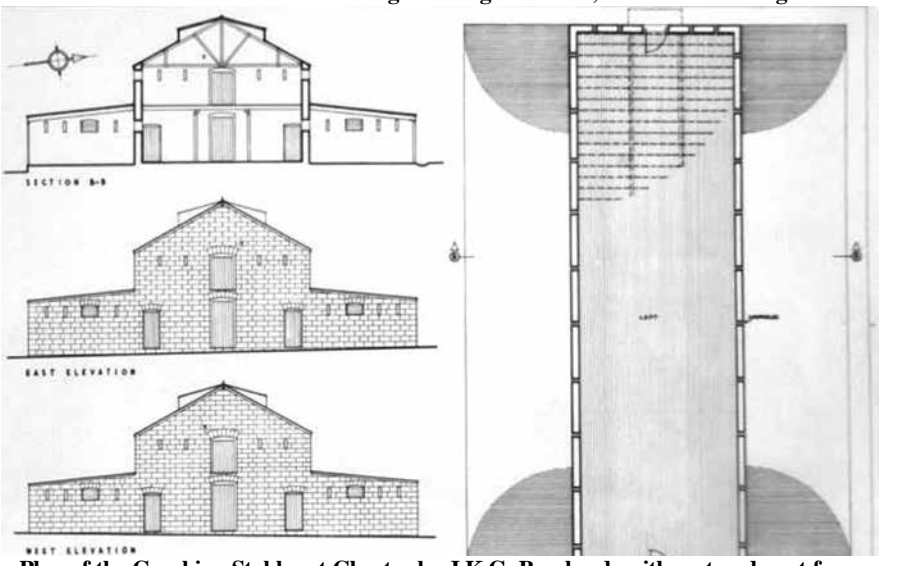


Plan of the Coaching Stables at Charter by J. K. G. Borcherds showing the ground floor plan

in the lean-to shelters which are 10cm x 7.6cm timber with slots for louvres.

When the building was converted into a tobacco barn, the entire timbered loft must

West looking interior of the Coaching Stables; note the bricked-in stable windows on the left and the small doors for feeding/watering the mules; the roof is not original



Plan of the Coaching Stables at Charter by J.K.G. Borcherds with east and west faces and the loft plan

have been cut down. The timbers were originally on joists which were in turn carried by beams supported on posts. All timber posts have been removed, but there are signs in the south lean-to of posts which originally supported the beam carrying the rafter ends. The positioning of the posts in the plan is based on J. K. G. Borcherds' architectural knowledge of such positioning and the fact that the ends of the bearer beams still exist.

The hay-loft had splayed rifle-slits or loopholes similar to those in the Mill and Coach

House, but they are now bricked-up. There were ten on each of the southern and northern sides accessed from the loft floor and each of the east and west faces had four on the loft floor and six at ground level protecting the entrance doors. Originally access to the hay-loft was probably external onto the loading platforms with a gantry at either end.

Borcherds did not think the existing roof lights were original as such a large expanse of glass would have been difficult to obtain around 1892 – 1894 and the hay-loft would have been sufficiently lighted with the loop-holes and two large doors. They were probably added when the Coaching Stables were converted into a grading shed.

The corrugated iron roof is laid on 8cm x 5cm purlins

The original purpose of the lean-to shelters is not evident; they have earth floors and they may have been used to protect laden ox-drawn transport wagons, their crews and harness. The western side is currently used as a carpenters shop.

Meikles Hotel

Research by Cormac Lloyd in the 1990's revealed that the Meikles Hotel dated from December 1892, when Marshbrook Farm was first registered in the name of Edward Eyre Dunne. In that month Dunne's Drift Hotel at Charter was registered in the Mashonaland Times and Mining Chronicle. The only reference to Edward Eyre Dunne I found was in the Memoirs of Dudley Gisborne published in *Rhodesiana No. 17*.

After signing on as a Trooper in the Bechuanaland Border Police in August 1890 Dudley Gisborne was assigned at Macloutsie into "E" Troop. After eighteen months he applied for a discharge and worked for a further six months at Weil's store at Macloutsie, before accepting a transfer to Salisbury. He travelled by covered scotch cart to Tuli before changing to a travelling wagon carrying the mail with four passengers. The road was in a dreadful state and somewhere between the Umzingwani and Nuanetsi Rivers the wagon fell into a deep rut and broke two wheels. They walked to the Runde River and there telegraphed Dudley Bates; then the contractor for the mail service, who sent a scotch cart to rescue them.

Eventually they reached Victoria at its second site; now on Clipsham Farm, which had a hotel run by "Tos" Slater, with probably the earliest billiard table in the country. Gisborne says that although the billiard table was dilapidated and ancient, it broke the monotony of life for the poor wanderers who visited the hotel. Victoria soon moved to its present-day location at present-day Masvingo because of the poor water supply and unhealthy position at Clipsham Farm.

Forty-eight kilometres further on they reached "Makowrie's" a trading station below a small kopje in which the Mashona had built an inaccessible kraal amongst the granite boulders to protect them from raiding amaNdebele. From there they travelled on to Charter where there was the fort and a small garrison, still stationed here in July 1892.

They met the Charter Hotel Manager, Edward Eyre Dunne, who he describes as a handsome Irishmen, but was considered a social outcast after turning to drink and together with his Shona servant "Bill" was the terror of the local Mashona. The BSA Company would not tolerate this sort of behaviour for long and soon sent him to Lake Tanganyika where he allegedly died because his supply of whisky ran out. Gisborne adds that Dunne had been in the army and must have been a charming man until he took to drinking, and that there were many characters like him in the early days, who

were banished from respectable society to live out their days alone and in the wilds.

Dunne was succeeded by Arthur Strickland, who married Jeannie Meikle. Jessie M. Lloyd says they were at Charter only for the period 1892-1893, but Cormac Lloyd's researches revealed the Strickland's were still managing the Hotel and Store in 1896 and Arthur Strickland was in command of the laager during the 1896 Mashona Rebellion, or First Chimurenga. A newspaper account in the *Rhodesia Herald* of Wednesday 16 July 1896 written by Dan Judson states quite categorically that the laager was sited at the Hotel and Store and is quoted in full in the article on Fort Charter in the website www.zimfieldguide.com

The photo above is important because it shows the Charter Hotel on the left, the Bar behind and Strickland's Store on the right.

David Worthington, who managed Charter Estates from 1948 – 1985, says the Hotel

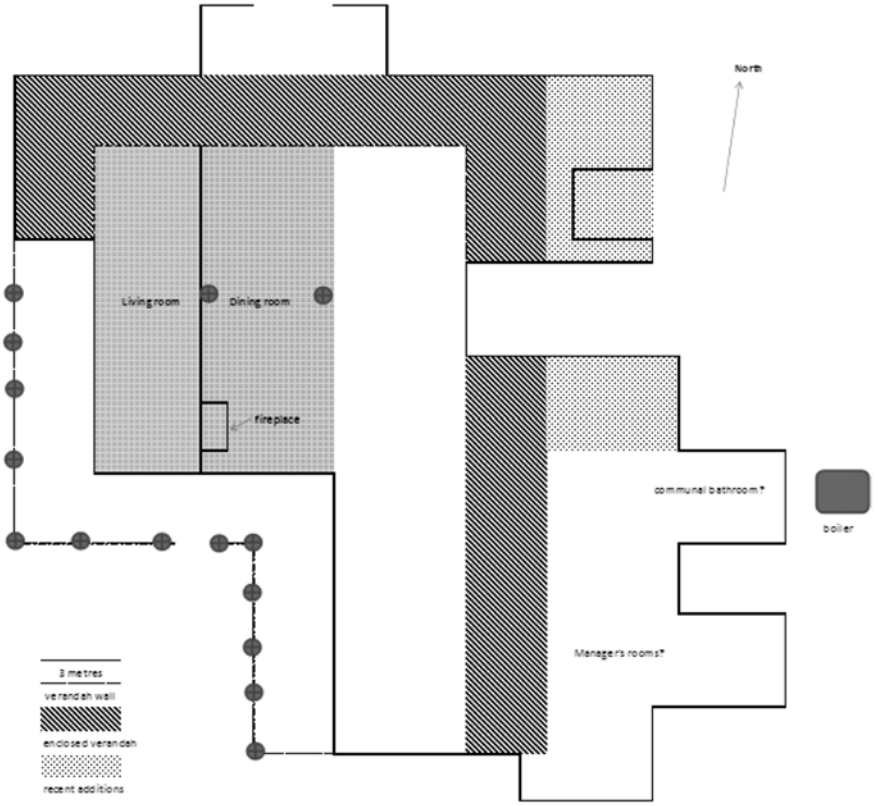
Meikles Hotel at Charter in 1899, this photo features in R. Cherer Smith's Rhodesia; a Postal History with the author stating the photo was taken by E. C. Harley who took many of the historic photos in the book.

consisted of three rooms for the Manager's use, a large communal dining / living room and six box-like rooms each 3 metres x 3 metres for travellers. Worthington says he actually knocked down these rooms and made them into three rooms of 3 metres x 6 metres. In the 1950's, the house was struck by lightning and he had to jack up the roof and rebuild a wall, finding bricks of seven different sizes, some unfired, there was no ant course, or a damp course, and damaged floor and joists which he replaced with panga-panga blocks, which still survive.

He continues to say that the old Pub still existed behind the Hotel, and can be seen in the old photo, plus a stockman's cottage, both under corrugated iron roofs with wooden floors. David Worthington describes another three roomed brick under thatch cottage, possibly the oldest building, which had been used variously as a Store, police post, a gaol and a post office. This is probably the building in the right foreground of the above photo, as E. C. Harley, who took the photo, took many photos of old post offices which feature in R. Cherer Smith's book.

The building plan roughly surveyed by me is below. A number of prominent architects were asked if they would like to draw a survey plan of this historical building, but clearly professional fees count more than historical interest!

I believe the covered verandah probably wrapped around the northern section, but was later filled in to provide more space and the north eastern side was added to make a kitchen/scullery. The remainder of the building looks largely original.



Meikles Hotel from the west showing the covered verandah

The Hotel Bar

Photo showing the Bar, on the left of the photo, in relation to the Meikles Hotel

Strickland's Store; subsequently the Police Station and then Charter Post Office Agency

John Meikle kindly lent me notes he had written on Jeannie Strickland, born as Jeannie Meikle, in Strathaven, Lanarkshire in 1864, the eldest daughter of John and Sarah Meikle. The family moved to Natal in 1868 and leased a farm in the Greytown area. Whilst father John tried his luck on the diamond fields, the eldest son John (the present John Meikle's grandfather) his mother Sarah and Jeannie ran the farm. Grandfather John recalled how Jeannie would be taken out of school to chase the birds off the fields: "I can imagine her now in her checked shawl on a cold frosty morning and how we used to look forward to the coffee Mother sent us."

In 1886, father John and the boys John, Tom and Stewart were working on the Barberton alluvial gold fields, but after a short spell of mining they began transporting goods and supplies to the diggings.

In 1892, the three brothers left for the Mashonaland goldfields with five loads of general merchandise and three loads of liquor. In the same year they bought Marshlands Farm at Charter and constructed a Hotel and Store which Arthur Strickland, now married to Jeannie, would run. They were still living at Charter, as John Meikle writes: "In 1896 young John's sister Jeannie was anxious to visit the family in Natal, so John decided he would accompany her and her son Newby of 2 years old to see her safely on the boat at Beira.

They set off in a Cape Cart pulled by three mules and a horse. On the second day, John noticed about twenty armed natives coming along a path on their right front, who on seeing their approach disappeared into the long grass, which struck him as suspicious. That night they put up at a wayside hotel at Marandellas and heard disquieting news of unrest among the natives. The following night at Rusape, drums could be heard beating in all directions and John was very uneasy. On the third night they reached Umtali and the Mashona Rebellion broke out on the following day. John and his sister boarded the train at Chimoio and on reaching the Pungwe River made the final part of their journey to Beira by lighter. Beira was an uninviting place, malaria ridden and as there were no pavements one had to trudge through the sand."

At some time after 1896, Arthur and Jeannie moved to Inodzi Farm north of Penhalonga and adjacent to John and Barbara Meikle's farm at Mountain Home. There they built a gracious house in 1910 overlooking the arable land next to the Umtali River and built a model farm. Arthur died in 1928, but Jeannie lived on, only dying in 1958 at the age of 94 years old, and the proceeds of her estate, in accordance with her will, were used to build a retirement home, now Strickland Lodge.

Charter Post Office about 1896 with the Postmaster standing on the right.

R. Cherer Smith lists the Charter Post Office Agency in 1890, until it was renamed Marshbrook in November 1910, and closed down in February 1942. In his chapter on some Rhodesian Post Offices he does include Orton's Drift on the Sebakwe River, (see the separate article on the website www.zimfieldguide.com) but makes no mention of Charter; although he does include the photo captioned as Meikles Hotel in the previous paragraph.

A Charter Post Office Agency franked stamp

One of the few mentions by Cherer Smith of Charter is of C. H. Cary, the postmaster, who found

The former Strickland's Store and Charter Post Office Agency with Mill and Coach House from the northwest

the lack of news in 1892 about the outside world so preyed on his mind that he began to doubt his own sanity. His solution was to carefully open all of Dr Jameson's newspapers and periodicals when the mail arrived at Charter on Tuesday night and before it left on Wednesday. As long as care was taken not to dirty any of the mail with finger marks, he got away with it, and Cherer Smith says the small population of Charter were kept well-informed through this means about what was happening in the country!

The Church of All Saints at Charter

David Worthington provided the details of the Church in his talk to the Mashonaland Branch of the History Society at Charter Estate on 13th May 1990.

The Church was built in 1961 and blessed, but not consecrated as it was not on church property, by the Rev. Cyril Alderson, then Bishop of Mashonaland, with Sir Humphrey Gibbs, then Governor of Southern Rhodesia, reading the lesson. The Church has always been interdenominational welcoming worshippers of all faiths under its roof.

The Church is still in remarkably good condition, apart from the thatching on the apex of the roof which has now been blown off and a few broken windows, and the historic bell which is now missing, although its location is known. In the past six months period the roof thatching has visibly deteriorated.

The bell that used to hang in the Church at Charter was given by the Parish of Langford, Norfolk, England, whose 900 year old Church of All Saints was on land taken over by the military in WWII as a battle training area and is now disused. The bell was cast in 1766 and the Latin inscription on it says that it was purchased with pennies saved by the parishioners of Longford to commemorate the defeat of the Jacobite cause at the Battle of Culloden. The Jacobite rising of 1745 was the attempt by Charles Edward Stuart to regain the British throne for the exiled House of Stuart.

View from the west end showing the deteriorated state of the thatching over the bell-tower

The Church organ was the original first organ in the Anglican Cathedral and came from the Cape in 1891, before being given to the Methodists. They gave it to the Dutch Reformed Church, who gave it to David Worthington in 1961, but this has also now gone, but again its location is known.

It seems surprising that with all the Churches springing up over this country that a religious community, or the nearby school, has not adopted this perfect little church as their own. In the meantime, as the thatching on the roof deteriorates, so the cost of any future repairs will rise considerably.

View of the Church interior which is remarkably well-preserved despite being unused for over 20 years

Civilian and BSAP graves

The graves are situated on the east side of an anthill 170 metres south east of the old Manager's residence and 170 metres from the road, the GPS reference being: 18°33′13.94″S 31°03′30.35″E. The memorial headstone carved in Cape Town reads: "In memory of my beloved wife BESSIE PRINGLE, (Bessie Purnell) who died at Charter 14 Feb 1899, aged 25 years, and her brother CHARLES PURNELL, died at Charter 28 May 1888, aged 21 years. By a juster Judge than here, father in thy gracious keeping, leave we now thy servants sleeping."

Brother and sister lie side by side, and their graves are outlined with cemented bricks and the headstone faces east as is usual with Anglican burials.

Robert Henry Pringle, aged 25, described as a bachelor and clerk, and Bessie Ellen Mary Purnell, aged 21, described as a spinster, were married on 1st February 1897 at St Cyprians Church, Kimberley. An image of their marriage certificate No 948 of 1897 is on the website www.1820settlors.com

Memorial headstone to Bessie Pringle (née Purnell) and her brother Charles Purnell

The BSAP Troopers H. Raynor and C. F. James' graves are a few metres to the south east and face east. Their wood grave markers have long gone and their individual graves are no longer known, a simple line of granite stones outlines each grave; a custom that was in common usage at the time.

BSAP Troopers H. Raynor (died 6th February 1891) and C.F. James (died 4th August 1891)

David Worthington states that Col. A. S. Hickman identified the graves of these two BSAP Troopers who died here in 1896 and are buried beside an anthill 600 metres to the north west of the old Meikles Hotel and alongside the graves of Bessie Pringle (née Purnell) and her brother Charles Purnell. In his book Men who made Rhodesia they are identified as:

Surname	Initials	No	Rank	Unit	Status	Date of Death	Footnotes
Rayner	H.	189	Tpr	BSAP	Died of fever	6 February 1891	Attested on 28.01.1890, he served in D Troop, being stationed at Fort Charter shortly before his death. He was a close friend of No. 190 Sgt. W. Vincent. On the night of 06.02.1891 he lay dying on a bunk in a hut in which, on the opposite bunk, was No. 517 Tpr. R.H. Barber, who had been accidently shot through the knee. During the night a donkey put its head in where the door should have been and started braying. Poor Rayner was past caring, but to Barber it sounded like the last judgement and he was most upset. It appears that Rayner was a Corporal, although there is no official record of his promotion. But Lieut. R.J.P. codrington wrote:"...It is impossible to say how many death might have occurred (without Dr Croghan's care and medicines) yet the only fatality was Corporal Rayner, who while unconscious walked out of his tent and wandered about in the rain." Rayner died of fever, and his burial service was conducted by Capt. C.F. Lendy of F Troop (Artillery) as he was reading the Lord's Prayer no one was repeating it after him, and he exclaimed in disgust: "I'm damned if any of you seem to know it."
James	C.F.	654	Tpr.	BSAP	Died of fever	4 August 1891	Attested on 04.08.1891; it is likely that he was serving in C Troop.

Both of the above were despatch riders. Colonel Hickman states that twenty-nine BSA Police men died in 1890 – 1891. Two at Mafeking and one at Macloutsie before the column set out; but many of the deaths were amongst the despatch riders who lived in very primitive conditions (five at the Runde, formerly Lundi River)

R. Cherer Smith, in his book Rhodesia, a Postal History, says a heavy burden fell

upon the BSA Police despatch-riders, who maintained the service under very difficult conditions. Apart from the weather, they lived on poor rations and were often dressed in rags and barefoot. They suffered from malaria, dysentery and undernourishment and the horses were often unfit for service.

The post-station on the left bank of the Manyame (formerly the Hunyani River) about 18 kilometres from Harare (formerly Salisbury) showing the primitive conditions under which the BSA Police despatch-riders lived. At least one despatch-rider died at the Hunyani post-station of fever.

Australian and New Zealand graves at Charter

There are supposed to be graves of the Australians and New Zealanders who came up from Beira to Mutare by rail and then cross-country from Marandellas to Charter on their way to Bulawayo and Mafeking and died of malaria fever. However, no evidence has been found for any being buried at Charter and for further information read the article: Anglo Boer War graves at Paradise Plot Cemetery, Marondera on the website www.zimfieldguide.com under Mashonaland East Province.

Acknowledgements

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Tony Mirams for photographs, letters and bringing J. K. G. Borcherds' Charter Estates survey to my notice.

J. Meikle for his Notes on Jeannie Strickland (née Meikle)

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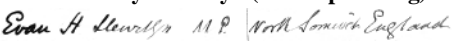
The Opening of the Bulawayo Railway Line - November 1897s

by Evan Henry Llewellyn
(edited by Rob Burrett)

Introduction

The diarist was Colonel Evan Henry Llewellyn (1847–1914). Born in Devon, he was educated at Rugby School, later serving in the British Army, at one stage as Commander of the Second (Central African) Battalion of the King's African Rifles. From 1885 to 1892 and 1895 to 1906 he was a member of the British Parliament for North Somerset for the Conservative Party. His son, Hoël Llewellyn, played an active part in the founding of Zimbabwe from 1893 to 1902, being a member of various police units as well as taking an important part in Rhodesia's involvement in the Anglo-South African War (1899–1902). E. H. Llewellyn's great-great-grandson is David Cameron, British Prime Minister between 2010 to 2016.

Evan Henry Llewellyn (en.wikipedia.org)



Llewellyn's signature in official visitors book for the Opening (Railway Museum, Bulawayo)

A rather poor, early photocopy of this extract from his handwritten diary is housed in the archives of the National Railways of Zimbabwe, Bulawayo Railway Museum. While there is much published on the arrival of the first train in Bulawayo in October 1897 and the official opening of the line a month later, most of this focuses on the building of the line and the event through the eyes of Bulawayo residents. I thought that this record, through the eyes of a visitor, provides a somewhat different perspective.

It has been very difficult to transcribe the handwriting. An earlier [undated] attempt by someone in the railways to type out the manuscript contains several

errors, and it was only through knowing the story and the people involved that some of the difficult sections and words that were left blank have been filled. These are shown in square brackets.

In presenting this copy I have retained the original wording and comments, although I was concerned about the possible offence it may cause to some readers. However, that was the Victorian male lingo and colonial ideology of the time. I apologise if it offends readers as much as myself. The odd "a" and "the" have been inserted to make written sense of what was a personal diary. The sections in rounded brackets are in the original. Several footnotes have been added to explain to modern readers the places and other individuals [where I know them] who are mentioned.

Robert S. Burrett (Bulawayo)

Wednesday 27th October 1897

At 9 o'clock we were at the Railway station where a couple of saloon carriages were prepared to take us to Kimberly. On the platform I was confronted by young Venn, late of Churchill. He was well pleased to see me and kindly enquired after each member of the family. He is doing well he told me and is married. Mr. Price, the General Manager of the Railway introduced himself to me as a brother "Taffy" and not only then but all through my railway travelling I found signs of his special care and interest in me and my friends. Mr. Price was born in the Clydach Valley.

I will at once describe these carriages as I shall spend a good many days and nights on them before I get back to the Cape. They contain six compartments and are open at each end on a platform which has a gangway to the next carriage. A narrow passage runs along the right side of three compartments, then crosses the coach and runs along the left of the remainder. In the passage where it crosses there are shelves for luggage and at each end is a lavatory and large tanks which store sufficient water for the journey. The seats on each side of each compartment (ample room for two aside) pull out when made into beds for the night, above these two are two more berths which pull out. As we were put two only in each, the upper berths were used for smaller things, holding one's necessaries for the night, washing, dressing etc. One other besides the Peases, Paulton, Roxburghe and I travelled in one coach, a Mr. Boyd, special reporter for the Standard and Scotsman.

Well, at nine we started and by ten were pounding our way towards (a) big range of hills. We pass cornfields, the corn partially carried and stacked, vineyards, each vine about three foot apart and standing at this time about two foot high, apparently springing from a big stem.

Our train runs fairly steadily, I should say the gauge of these lines is three foot, six inch (ours at home is four foot eight inch). The carriages and tracks are but four inches less in width than ours, consequently they cannot, or rather ought not run any great speed. My later experience is they get up far too great a speed. I have been at the rate of nearly 50 miles an hour. Someday, and some early day too I fear, there will be a terrible accident.

The farms seem generally small and the houses, those near the line, fairly well built. Further up in the Hex Valley they are not only good but quite pretty, many of them

being occupied by Dutch, to whom the country, as you well know, belonged for many years before we took it from them.

Well, to return to the arrangements of our caboose, each compartment has in its centre a table and here breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner are served. A man comes and lays the cloth, takes your orders from a menu, and waits on you. At bedtime the conductor comes to make your bed up, pulling out the seat, puts on the sheets and pillows and leaves you for the night. You put out the electric light as you like. Each train has a cooking car, also another where an oil engine works a dynamo which in turn supplies the light throughout the train. By midday we are going through a gorge not much unlike Killiecrankie, but it has a road and river below the line and high hills on each side. At two we reach Worcester—on this journey to Kimberly meals are not served on board but at certain stations, Worcester gave us luncheon and evidently special arrangements as to a table had been retained for us, beautiful roses and fruit being added (strawberries and oranges, etc). Here we first begin to feel the heat and dust and both are by no means imaginary. It must be remembered in judging of this and the country we are bound for, that this is spring and the rains up to now have been but slight. Soon, they tell me, everywhere shall be changed.

Already we are up some thousand or so and soon we shall be as much as 3000. In fact after the Hex River incline, which takes us to the high ground, we shall remain there until we again descend on our return, but here we are at the great incline and a grand piece of engineering it is. The incline in many places is 1 in 40, and the curves are of the sharpest known. For more than two hours we are slowly being pulled and pushed from behind up the hill. The line at times appearing high above us across some deep valley. Across this ravine of the Hex River are huge grey stone mountains with here and there patches of snow remaining. But still up we go and looking ahead it is difficult to imagine how much higher we can be taken without a sudden fall on the other side, but the end is not yet. At last, at nearly 5 000, we are at Matjiesfontein where there is a sort of sanatorium for diseases of the chest, desolate place where the invalid can have but little except his state of health to think of.[1]

Nearly all the labour here is done by blacks with white men as gangers. The favourite costume of the Dutchwoman appears to be black with a large sunbonnet. Black women also seem to like these headpieces and [passing? word indecipherable] queer a black woman looks with her face framed in a large bundle of white frills. At Matjiesfontein where we dine, there is a really fine dining-room, electric light. The catering all along the railways at the Cape is done by a man called Logan. He is a member of the Legislative Council, and holds the contract for some years to come, an arrangement which would not receive the approval of our Government at home. I cannot imagine one of us supplying the dining rooms and buffets at the House of Commons and Law Courts. At a station or two later our beds are made up and after a game of poker we turn in.

Thursday 28th October 1897

Breakfast at Victoria Road. We have been passing when asleep through the famed Karroo

[1] Matjiesfontein was founded in 1884 Scottish railway man, James Douglas Logan. The village established itself as a fashionable Victorian health spa, and was later headquarters of the Cape Command during their Anglo South African War, 1899-1902.

country and shall remain in it till we reach De Aar.[2] This is indeed a desolate region, miles and hundreds of miles of flat burnt up patches of what is said to be vegetation. The plain here and there crossed by lines of hills all in the shape of miniatures of Table Mountain, the flat top in every case a ridge of broken rock. The theory I learn from a geological friend is that ages ago this was all below the sea, when by some mighty convulsion of nature the whole was raised or thrown up, all but these flat ridges of stone and rock being washed away. This of course may all be wrong, but even if right the explanation would be the better for slight elaboration. The effect, however caused, is strange indeed and with the unclouded sky and startling mirages forms a scene new and impressive to all. We see some flocks of Cape sheep. Now we see for the first time ostriches, though at Worcester we must have passed others. These remarkable birds stand five to seven feet high and are ugly, ungainly creatures, the male black and white, the female of browner colour. Where these farms touch the line they are carefully railed away from danger. They did not appear to take much notice of us, but I hear they are dangerous creatures to approach as they will go for a man giving him little chance unless mounted to escape. At De Aar, where we lunched, those going to Johannesburg leave us and here we see the last of many of our Norman friends.

A typical Karoo ostrich farm of the period (Bulawayo Public Library)

The mirages, already spoken of, are indeed beautiful. At one time you could feel no doubt, but that you know it is only the mirages that you are looking at, the sea in a dead calm about a mile or so away. The headlands end in broken rock with trees running down to the shore and beyond a big vessel. At another time you see a complete inland lake with hills beyond reflected in the calm water, some of these ponds appear about half a mile away. All this is caused as is well known by the eye looking down on the surface of what appears like, and in fact is, a reflection caused by heat rising from the ground. If you were to put a large mirror on the lawn, then bend down till your face would be about a foot or 14 inches above its level, look across it towards the Mendip, you would see reflected the hill and trees. This is precisely what we saw, but ever changing in degree in fall and form. It is easy thus to imagine the disappointment of some Traveller whose fancy leads him on to where he thinks he can drink and rest, only to find the desert dryer and hotter than where he is.

Oh these desolate sandy plains, one after another and all alike. At places the train draws up to take in a fresh supply of water for engine and tanks of the carriages. The engine by the way has to tug along besides its tender full, a couple of tanks in reserve. Whilst I think of it, I should add to my previous description of the train that these engines

[2] Small town in Northern Cape and one of South Africa's most important railway junctions.

which are made at Leeds (the carriages are all made in Birmingham) weigh from 40 to 50 tons, the rails 60 lb. to the yard, in some places 70 lb.

Shortly before reaching Beaconfield, we are suddenly pulled up. On enquiring I found we had only run into some cattle. I went forward to see the result and how a cowcatcher works. Some four or five cattle had been knocked sideways, and lay some way back whilst one had got fairly across the bows of our engine, the cowcatcher keeping it from getting under the machine. Well, it did not take long to pull it out and when it was clear the train went on.

At about twelve we reach Kimberly and to my astonishment were put down after a drive of about a mile or so, at a splendid new hotel, the Sanatorium, about the only substantially built thing in Kimberley. It is intended as a sanatorium and not for a hotel, but we are to occupy it for our stay. Supper was ready, served in the best private house style, an English butler with English footman under him attended to our every want. I was soon in a beautifully clean bedroom on the ground floor and fast asleep.

Friday 29th October 1897

I hoped today to be able to leave the rest and go onto Bulawayo, but found that though I might be able to do so it would rather upset the thoughtful arrangements made for me. We were to stay at Kimberley till Monday and then join one of the three "Specials" taking guests to Bulawayo from Cape Town and the south. So somewhat disappointed I said no more. As it turned out I had no reason to regret the altered plan as I escaped perils by train that befell some of my friends, and I saw one of the wonders of the world, the De Beers mines […TWO DAY GAP IN OUR ZIMBABWEAN COPY OF THE DIARY …]

Monday 1st November 1897 [STILL IN KIMBERLEY]

A little shopping, a new book for my diary, the purchase of a coat and after dinner at 10:30 I started off, leaving my Parliamentary friends to follow at 1:30. In that train were also Sanderson, Stanley, the intermediate one, starting at 12, bought the rest. Thus I was parted from them and fortunately it turned that I was. In my carriage was a Mr Adams, a winegrower of Cape Town and Boyd the reporter of the English newspapers. From here all meals were served on board, the next coach was the private one of the De Beers Directors. A splendid but somewhat [……? word indecipherable] coach thing, provisioned for three weeks in case of accidents.

Tuesday 2nd November 1897

I got up, I was awakened before, at Vryburg.[3] A desolate place but until the Railway a place of some importance as a post station. 150 miles in the night. We have now got only highveldt. Was it not beautiful country, I was asked.

I said yes, but thought it poor stuff, but it should be remembered that it was only brown for want of rain and shortly it would be quite green. Here I saw some game buck of sort and some big birds, korhaan I believe. Also hawks and meerkats, pretty little things between the squirrel and weasel. Here about I first tried to snapshot some natives but found it next to impossible as the moment they caught sight of the machine in my

[3] Small town in NW Province, South Africa. Important as the short-term capital of "freebooter" Republic of Stellaland and later as the terminus of the Cape Railway before Rhodes' extended it northward.

hand pointing at them they bolted and would not return, even for money.

The Bishop of Bloemfontein is with me. I can't, and don't particularly want to, shake him off. There is too much Cape tobacco being smoked and nasty stuff it is, some of my neighbours, too, are a noisy drinking lot and will smoke in my cabin, not knowing I dislike it. There are several members of the Cape House on board, all, it should be remembered on these trains are guests of the Bulawayo festivities committee. I cannot bring myself to admire these members, they ought to be a better class, but I fancy, and more recent observation convinces me, that what some a few years ago advised in England is ruining the chances of a better lot being elected. I mean a disposition to let those who want to advertise themselves with prominence do so and have it their own way. Oh, saw several men to whom I spoke as to this. They are a lot of second raters and what can you expect from them in bulk. I ventured to suggest that what is done with success at home might be tried and the selectors given a choice. However, to a man they were kindness and civility to me and no trouble was too great to give me any assistance and information.

We occasionally passed some wagons with long teams of oxen or mules, often as many as 16 or even 20 inspanned. We are fast getting into the wilder country. Children of both sexes run along the track hoping to have bottles thrown to them. They keep this up for miles when the train goes slowly up a hill—poor little mortals, they look skinny and wear just nothing at all.

A man in the next compartment says he is Scotch. He tells me he is 27 stone and I believe him. He measures 63 inches at the waist and is six foot four inches high. He is also a provision merchant in Kimberly and rejoices in the name of Mr Benny.

At about two we reach Mafeking.[4] Here the Weils[5] who were on the Norman with us join the train. Mrs Weil is a new wife and a nice woman, and rather homesick, I fancy. At 4:30 we stop at Pitzani.[6] Major Lensdell, who was with Jameson's party, pointed out where the camp was. One wag sets outside the carriage and shouts it "Pitzani, Pitzani, change here for Pretoria and Holloway", a poor joke but it does to amuse us for the moment. We are now running quite close to the Transvaal boundary. When it comes to a fight with the Boers this fence of one line, forming as it does the only communication with the North, will have to be carefully guarded as a valuable place.

Every mile becomes more and more interesting to me. We are passing places the names of which recall past events. We are now amongst some high hills and mountains, all bare and brown. The scrub, you cannot call it wood, looks to have little growth left, but again they tell me the whole place will be a blaze of green and flowers as soon as the rain comes. It is inconceivable that grass will grow here, but I am assured that with rain not only grass shall spring but sheep and cattle will fatten quickly. At Mackudi[7] we are objects of great interest to scores of poor half starved natives who have already learned how to get at the hearts and pockets of the passengers. They hold up the children, picannins, to show how small they are, wretched little mortals, the babies in nearly every case half blind from ophthalmia and flies. I think I have got some plates of these, but I have to be careful as they run at the sight of the camera. The natives also bring milk

[4] now spelt Mahikeng, formally Mafikeng. Northeast Province, South Africa.

[5] Julius Weil was an important trader in Bechuanaland. Based in Mafeking he had a chain of stores across the territory. He was later a mineral concessionaire for that territory in opposition to Rhodes' BSACo.

[6] Pitsani-Pothlugo. Site in the south of the Botswana very close to the Transvaal [South Africa] border. Was the final gathering point of the Rhodesian and British Bechuanaland Police before they set off on the disastrous Jameson Raid on 29 December 1895.

[7] Mochudi, just north of Gaborone, Botswana

for sale. They would do better to give it to the picannins. Some of the mothers, with children strapped to their backs are not more than 15 years old themselves.

I dined this evening with the De Beers Directors—their coach alarmed me terribly as it shook and jumped far worse than ours. Tonight I was in full dress, in other words I put on a coat. At other times shirt sleeves are quite as much as required. Whilst at dinner we came in for a really grand storm. first the lightning was vivid in the distance, but soon however the storm was on us and one flash and crash in particular was apparently not 50 yards off.

We are now at Gaborones.[8] The lightning continues and was remarkable for its curious pink and blue colour and at times deep purple. Soon we left it behind for the benefit of Special No. 3. We are No. 2. A sad accident happened to No. 1 Special just ahead of us when we were at Gaborones. The lightning struck the van containing the oil engine and dynamo, set it alight and it was burnt to a cinder in no time. That train had to find its way into Bulawayo with only a few lamps instead of electricity — one poor servant of the railway in trying to put out the flame was burnt and indeed killed. He died before we had left the station, though we did not know it till sometime after. I turned in early but had little sleep owing to the noise of my neighbours whose spirits (chiefly Glenlivet) rose as we neared the end of the journey.

Wednesday 3rd November 1897

This morning we have passed out of Bechuanaland country and the Protectorate into Kama's land. Here we see for the first time those kopjes of which I have often heard. They are all more or less alike but varying in size from that of Glastonbury Tor and Brent Knoll to a heap of rocks the size of a large haystack. This country too is decently wooded and, as apparently they have had a good deal of rain, the foliage is bright green. Soon we come to the river which the telegrams tell the public has been for days impassable. All a pack of lies, it has not stopped a train and it certainly did not stop us. A loop line we could see is being made alongside our track and when we come to the river we could see the stone piers ready to take the iron girders of the bridge when ready. This is not, however, our way. Gaily and boldly we rush down the slope to the riverbed and up the other side with all the appearance and sensation of a switchback. One cannot help cheering as we reach the top of the track but the railway people think nothing of it and away we go. Remember all this is done by a train drawn by two engines, comprising nine coaches, besides two water tanks and motor engine van, and a guards van in the rear. This is a grand performance of which the railway people can justifiably be proud. Remember, too, the railway is still in the hands of Messrs Pauling, the contractors and has not been handed over to the government as the date on which its completion was promised has not yet arrived. Naturally, they fear rain, not only on account of the rivers but even more on account of the ballasting which for the most part is a sandy substance.

Near the bridge today I picked some really beautiful lilies. These grow in bunches about eight inches high and out of the large bulb. Like all flowers from Africa, I am told, they had no scent and quickly withered. I noticed all along the route swallows. At first they looked very like our home birds, but when seated on the telegraph wires I noticed they were not only larger but have a brown head and all of the same colour on

[8] Fort Gaborones is the original spelling of the colonial settlement. Now Gaborone, capital of the Republic of Botswana.

the breast. I think there were more than one species. A bird very like our small dove is by far the commonest thing seen flying. A good many vultures were seen and a large hawk. Lower down we passed a good many very like the common sparrow hawk, but now we see a far more important flying creature for we seem to be going through myriads of locusts, at first single ones attracted my attention, then scores, now a never ending stream rise on either side, reminding me of flocks of sparrows getting up out of our wheat fields when a shot is fired. They are of reddish colour and in size about 2½ inches long. They look very like small birds as they rise. These are one of the most serious pests and curses in South Africa, coming as they at times do in clouds. I have a photograph of the line before our engine being cleared of them. In many cases they have been the cause of a train stopping. I doubt whether our engine could not force its way through them were it not that as the wheels pass over them their smashed remains cause the wheels to skid and so the whole train is brought to a standstill. They will clear off a whole field of growing corn in a couple of days. All sorts of ways have been tried to get rid of them, poison, inoculation, burning, but all to no good.

Then there are more birds besides those already spoken of. A sort of small magpie very like ours with the same tail and black and white marking. They too go in pairs and sit on top of branches of the trees. By the way, most birds have long tail feathers. One other curious creature makes itself known as we go along. This is a sort of cricket—I never got one in my hand but as the train passes through the trees the "geeee" never stops, apparently trying to drown the train's noise. Some say it reminds them of a circular saw at work, perhaps it does. Here the trees and shrubs are in full foliage of bright green but this does not long continue.

This is though a long journey a deeply interesting one, a thousand things happening and turning all that I cannot find room to tell you of. We have on board, besides the Members of the two Cape Parliament houses, vine growers, farmers, soldiers, police, Members of the Orange Free State Parliament, stockbrokers, loafers and some ladies. Many of the men are quiet fellows, not all, who require drawing out but when drawn out are full of interesting experiences and knowledge. Some mealie fields show up. Mere patches on the scum wood, not ploughed of course but picked about. In their present state little is to be seen but the stumps of the past crop.

This is the prettiest country I have yet seen and is Kama's[9] country. We are now running into Palapwe.[10] Possibly the king may be on the station platform, but he was not. Far away in the distance among some hills and woods, the place really not unlike

Old Palapye town, 1898 (National Archives of Zimbabwe)

[9] Kgosi [King] Khama III [1837?–1923]
[10] Palapye, Botswana

the woods near Crediton, we called the King's Church. He is not quite as great a saint his keeping a church and missionary would lead you to think. He is, however, not altogether a bad man, one good thing for his people he insists on, he will allow no spirits in his domain. Palapwe is not an imposing station, about half a dozen tin shanties, but the town is some miles away and is thickly populated. When Mr Willoughby, Kama's chief missionary came there he found 1 000 Christians but he had to reduce this list as the whole thing was a farce and he had to start on more strict lines which the said Christians didn't see the fun of. These people have lost at least 80 000 head of cattle by Rinderpest, in fact along the line I can see hundreds of skulls and horns of animals either slaughtered or who have died of this disease. Kama keeps a school going with a certificated English mistress. The average daily attendance is 130 and each scholar pays 3/- a year. The men do a great deal of hunting and sell most of the skins to be bought at Cape Town. Here I saw lying about at and near the station huge wheels and pieces of machinery, all on the way to mines here and further north.

The anthills are curious. At first when not far out of Kimberly I asked what those red-coloured tree stumps were? These were about three feet high, now they have grown to huge piles from things like two foot drainpipes to creations in shape and size something like Congesbury [?] cross steps.

Along this road a little more than a year ago all coaches had to pass to Matabeleland where now the train has changed all this. I often find myself here and further up wondering what the natives think of all of this? As I say, but a year or so ago this road was left open by the Matabele to allow the remnant they did not destroy to escape and tell the other white men what was the fate of those they left. Today train after train full of white men, are hurrying up to Bulawayo, but what I should think would be a still more astounding sight is of these trains rushing through the night each lit up from end to end by electricity. But since I wrote these notes I have come to that conclusion that the blacks are quite unable to take in these wonders. Beyond a certain point they do not trouble to think or even notice, and all these wonders which should, but do not, perplex the natives is the work of one great mind, Mr Rhodes. This man who by some at home is thought a cruel, grasping, unscrupulous mercenary is the man whose enterprise and pluck and with the advantage of great wealth has pushed forward our Empire overcoming all difficulties and gathering around him the greatest minds and the stoutest hearts our race can produce. No, a mere mercenary would not care to live the life of Cecil Rhodes. Little pleasure has his money brought him, unless it is the pleasure of spending it for the good of his countrymen, little rest unless he gets it flying up and down and around Rhodesia, passing his days and nights in wagons and coaches or else in some native hut in an unhealthy desert, for few are the days he can find to spend at his home at the Cape, but he has his reward in the adoration of those who know him and feel the benefits of his great enterprise. Never was the country so united in admiration and love of one man, even were he their king. His enterprise and influence seems to permeate throughout the land with everybody and even with anybody's undertakings. He will not be at Bulawayo for the opening or the festivities. He is not well. Dr Jameson is with him at Umtali, but they may be another reason why he keeps away.

Shashi River. The next train and indeed the Special No. 4, have caught us up whilst we are taking in water throughout the train and filling the tanks for the engine. The

Crossing the Shashi riverbed, 1897/8 (National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Sandersons come up and suggest my returning in their train. Not if I know it, our train is in front and I intend to keep that advantage. A substantial one as we shall see. We are now going to have another switchback ride on a larger scale than before. I don't know the exact width of the river bed but suppose about 150 yards. Well, here we go at it, with plenty of whistle to start with, down the bank on this side, along the river bed and up the other side with just enough rush to take the last coach clear. There we seem to stop for breath. We are nearly two hours before our time and the others have caught us up having started two or three hours later. Oh this is a great country for railway travelling? We are going to do greater things than this. I may here mention for fear of forgetting it, that one train on its return after getting off the track and smashing three coaches and being delayed 16 hours, made up 15 of them in the next 24.

At eight we are at Francistown, the station for Tati—and a few miles from that place. Here we are 130 miles from Bulawayo and this distance we have to do in the night. At Francistown we come in for another terrible storm of rain, thunder and lightning. The latter more vivid and beautiful in colour than last night at Gaborone's. No one, however, takes much notice of it unless to notice with satisfaction that the air is cooler. First our course is round a huge kopje that seems to block our way. Then, on into the night. From here the railway is quite new, not all together to be depended on, I hear, the curves are alarming at places. I hear only eight chains? This to carry on steel sleepers our huge trains, the engine and water tanks alone weighing quite 90 tons. Tis no good, however to trouble, tis equally no good to try and sleep. This being the last night my Scotch neighbours are making merry; confound them. They have sung all the songs they know and now drinking each others healths.

Whilst waiting at Francistown I had a talk with a Mr Jones, manager of the Monarch Mine (gold). He told me a deal, but what I wanted to know was about the native labour difficulties. He and his company feel these keenly and in his opinion the only solution will be to import foreign labour, Chinese or Indian. I am bound to say he alone of all I spoke to is of this opinion. The natives even from a distance are almost useless. They

Monarch Mine, Francistown 1893 (National Archives of Zimbabwe)

are not only poor workmen but will not stick to it. In two months they can earn enough money to keep them for the rest of the year, but in that time they can earn enough to buy a wife and in two years to purchase two wives, when a man has two wives he need do no more work, the wives do the rest, and the lazy brute sits under his fig tree and sees they do the work. Some naturally go in for further luxuries and buy yet another. Then there is an awful anxiety for the future. So, says Mr Jones, "I don't know what to do"; no more do I. Bed, not sleep, to the tune of Annie Laurie and the scent of scotch whiskey and Boer tobacco, a vile mixture. I'll take care I don't travel back next door to a patriotic intoxicated party of South African Scotties.

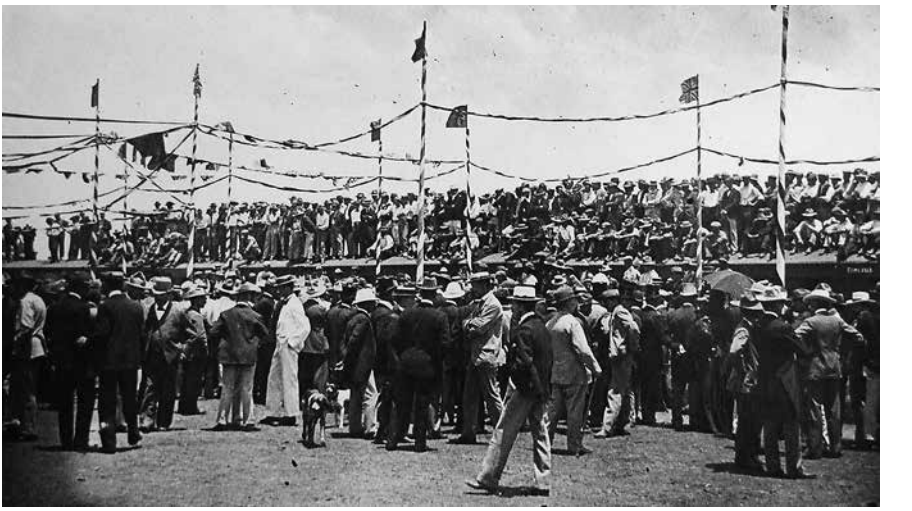
Thursday 4th November 1897

A day to be remembered in Rhodesia. This day four years ago Hoël with the rest of the Forbes little band occupied Bulawayo and the king bolted to the Zambezi and to his end.

I was awake when we passed Figtree and by 7:30 was dressed and looking about. There are the Matoppos,[11] about 20 miles away to the east. In little more than half an hour I shall be in Bulawayo and my journey ended. I cannot help comparing how we in such comfort (barring the Scotsmen) have travelled these last 300 miles and then thinking back at what the sufferings of those who had either to trudge or be taken in the wretched coaches must have been. Each mile takes me not only nearer Bulawayo, but nearer Langford, for both are north of where I sit. The country really looks better but still there has been no rain to speak of. Its appearance is pleasanter than anything I have yet seen, more undulating and pleasant to look upon.

There is Bulawayo, three miles off? I can see the smoke rising up. We have long passed the Matoppos and on the left are the rifle ranges and signs of greater life then we have met—both since leaving Kimberly. Slowly the long train winds into the station, or rather as near as we can go, for No. 1 Special is there already and this is the terminus. I get out amongst the staring, shouting, welcoming crowd, but can see Tommy nowhere.[12] Stone a big fellow comes up and says, excuse me but are you Mr Llewelyn. Yes. Well, your son was here some hours ago but on hearing you were in No. 4 with the other Members he has gone back to Barracks. This gentleman I afterwards recognised as Jones the magistrate of the place. He and other members of the Reception Committee wore a badge and as many others had these badges I was not long in finding out what I ought to do. A man had been sent down the line to meet us with cards and programs of the order of things and badges for us to wear. The train, however, did not see him and he is there now, I suppose. Well, I soon got my things outside and having sent the larger

[11] early spelling transformed to Matopos but a double plural so now more correctly known as the Matobo Hills.
[12] obvious personal name for his son Hoël Llewellyn of the police.



Crowds to greet the arrivals of the official trains, 4 Nov 1897
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

ones on in a luggage wagon I got with Judge Hopley into a Cape cart drawn by four mules and was driven by a black man to the Palace Hotel, holding in my hands by the way my camera, and a packet of apples for Tommy. After putting my things in Room No. 24, I went outside thinking this would be the most likely way to first see Tommy. Soon I saw him riding up the street.

The incomplete Palace Hotel (left) at the opening ceremonies 1897
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

The Palace Hotel 2016 (author)

The celebratory arch for the opening of the railway 1897
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Now, I will at once own great surprise at the size of this place. Palapwe, Vryburg, Mafeking had all disappointed me, and I had begun to think Bulawayo would also be an insignificant town, thus I was not at all prepared for so large a collection of really well built substantial looking houses. Here I found the streets twice as broad as Oxford Street and at night lit with electricity. The number of shops and blocks of offices and the suburbs with pretty villas astonished me. However, I will not say more but go on with the day's doing. First Tommy, who by the way is not known but by the name of "Ap", took me to the Club and then to his room. Having shown me my way so far, I left him to go on parade at the Barracks[13] while I went back to the Hotel to get what I sadly wanted, a bath and a change of clothes. Soon after someone took me in his car to the parade ground where the Police were drawn up ready to receive the Governor, Sir Alfred Milner, with him were several officers of his staff and Sir Richard Martin, also Captain Lawley the Acting Administrator. The men, about 160, under Colonel Nicolson gave the salute, the Band, a splendid one too, good enough for any Regiment at home, played the National Anthem, then came the march past, and it was time to make for the railway station where the real business of the day was to take place, namely, the opening of the railway.

Now, I must tell you how it came to pass that I found myself the only English Member at this stage of the proceedings, early this morning, somewhere near Figtree I believe, Special No. 3 went off the line, of course, No. 4 had to pull up. There they were until No. 3 could get on again, then they came on together, arriving, not at 9 AM but about 4:30 PM. The railway must be opened, that could not be postponed so the Governor with Rawson and Captain Lawley were taken out of the station and then

[13] Ross Camp or Police Camp just west of central Bulawayo

returned in state. Bands played, people shouted, photographs fired off, so did Hoël's guns with about one pound of powder to the charge. Bagpipes squealed and the sun poured down on all. The speeches, I believe, were fired off in a marquee all red and white stripes. I stood outside with Tommy who had charge of a sick man who was to be decorated with the DSM, Farley. Another man got the VC and that I think was really all that took place worth recording here.

We drove finally back to his place and then went to the Club. This is perhaps the most remarkable institution in Bulawayo. I don't know how many members it contained, but it would astonish a number of my English friends to see scores of gentlemen in shirtsleeves and flop hats going in and out of the place to their offices, shops and stores. You can see just such men any day in London with silk hats and frock coats about the Naval and Military or other Clubs. This greatly surprised, and delighted too, the Colonial guests who were all made at once honorary members of the Club, and spent most of their time there apparently. I was introduced to scores who all received me with the greatest kindness and hospitality, most enquiring how the "fat man" [? not sure who is being mentioned] was and when they would see him out again. A great luncheon was to have been held at the palace at 1:30, but of course this could not take place when half the guests were still on the road. The luncheon was therefore postponed until the evening and turned into a dinner, whereat were made many, very many, speeches. About 350 guests from everywhere, ourselves amongst them, had by then arrived.

Bulawayo Club late 1890s (National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Wing Commander Lionel 'Sos' Cohen DSO, MC, DFC - The Man with a Hundred Lives[1]

by R. S. Roberts

Sos (for Sausage) Cohen, as he was always called, lived only briefly in this country but he was a Pioneer in that he was a member of the Victoria Column that, with the Salisbury Column, invaded Matabeleland in 1893; consequently he was granted the freedom of the city of Bulawayo in 1945, over fifty years after he had returned to south Africa, where he lived until some time after the First World War. He then returned home to England for the rest of his long life. His varied career was described in a book, "The Crowded Hours", published in 1952,[2] and since then a very brief article has appeared in South Africa (and has been reprinted locally),[3] yet he remains virtually unknown in Zimbabwe and this short article seeks to remind readers of a remarkable career, of varied jobs, adventures and military service spanning 70 years.

Lionel William Frederick Cohen was born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne on 7 June 1875.[4] His father was Andrew Meyer Cohen, a naturalised British citizen (born in Hamburg in 1839) who in 1863 had married Augusta Cohen (born in 1845 in Prussian Poland). Andrew in partnership with his brother-in-law, Joseph Freeman Cohen, had built up a prosperous steam ship company and with his large family of eleven children he resided in Jesmond, the most affluent suburb of Newcastle.[5] However, in 1889 he died in Wharfedale, North Yorkshire, and soon afterwards his widow and children moved to Highbury in North London.[6]

The young Lionel had been entranced by the docks in Newcastle and the exotic goods being unloaded there and he had once met H. M. Stanley, the explorer, and a

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[1] M. Sugarman, 'The man with a hundred lives: Wing Commander Lionel Cohen, DSO, MC, DFC', in *Fighting Back: British Jewry's Military Contribution to the Second World War* (London, Vallentine Mitchell, 2010), 42–8. I am grateful to the Jewish Museum, London, for a copy of this essay; an earlier version of it, 'Wing Commander Lionel Cohen—The man with a hundred lives', is available online @ Jewish Military Museum, Assoc. of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women (AJEX), >www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/wing-commander-lionelcohen<. Sugarman's *work* is the best, most up to date survey of Cohen's career, based, as it is, on the family papers in the West Sussex Record Office Chichester, Lionel Cohen Papers, AM 1169 (which are described online @ >https://www.westsussex.gov.uk/leisure-recreation-andcommunity/ history-and-heritage/ west-sussex-record-office/<). This article also quotes from these papers and reproduces two photographs with the permision of the Record Office.

[2] Ibid.; A. Richardson, *The Crowded Hours: The Story of 'Sos' Cohen* (London, Max Parrish, 1952).

[3] D. P. Tidy, 'Was "Sos" Cohen South Africa's oldest fighting "retread"?', *Military History Journal* (June 1981), V, iii @ > http:// samilitaryhistory.org/vol053dt.html<; the local reprint is in *Journal [of the] Zimbabwe Medal Society* (June 2007), LVIII, 11–13. For a few references in Jewish publications see below, fn. 14

[4] Gen. Regist. Off., Southport, Births, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, [July–] Sept. 1875, 10b 126.

[5] >www.geni.com/people/BlancheCohen6000000025782962445<; >www.myheritage.com/names/mordant-cohen<; Gen. Regist. Off., Marriages, Newcastle upon Tyne, [Oct.–] Dec. 1863, 10b 251. Andrew and Augusta's having the same surname makes it very difficult to be sure about relationships of the members of what were probably already related families. However, it is fairly clear that Sugarman ('The man with a hundred lives', 42) is in error in saying that Lionel's father's name was 'Andrew J. F.' (instead of 'Andrew Meyer'); the J. F. is Joseph Freeman Cohen, his partner and brother-in-law, i.e. brother of Augusta and the Uncle Joe that Lionel often referred to. For Lionel's ten siblings and the large houses in Jesmond see the Census of England and Wales, 1881 @ > www.ukcensusonline.com/<.

[6] Gen. Regist. Off., Deaths, Wharfedale [Apr.–] June 1889, 9a 95; Census of England and Wales, 1891 @ > www. ukcensusonline. com/<.

young African cabin boy who intrigued him.[7] In London he was put to work in a general merchants' warehouse in the East End and although he again found the exotic imports interesting he did not take to the life of a clerk.[8] And so in 1892, at the age of sixteen, he signed on for fourteen years in the Royal Marines Light Infantry without telling his family. Eventually he was tracked down by his horrified mother and his uncle Joe who bought him out and took him home.[9]

Realising that the boy needed something different, his mother sent him to Johannesburg to work for a brother or cousin of hers, Harry Freeman Cohen,[10] who put him to work in a trading company of his until Sos rebelled; he was then given a clerical job on the stock exchange. But this was equally boring and so Sos told his uncle Harry that he was leaving. Thus at the age of seventeen he went off to become an armed guard for a mining company but there he was prosecuted for falling asleep on duty; unable to pay the fine he was kept in the cells until Uncle Harry came to his rescue. [11]

Sos nevertheless refused to go back to a job with his uncle because he had heard that the British South Africa Company was recruiting men in Johannesburg for the invasion of Matabeleland. He applied but was turned down as too young and lacking in horsemanship; however, it was hinted to him that he would be accepted if he presented himself in Fort Victoria. As it became clear that this was what Sos was determined to do, his uncle gave him a sovereign and let him go. After walking for days with various adventures—losing all his money to a barmaid, being fired from a temporary job as a waiter, working on a lead-silver mine, and getting into trouble along with others making their way north on foot—he got a job with a transport driver *en route* to Fort Victoria. [12]

As soon as he arrived there he was attested, without trouble, into the Victoria Column which soon set forth, in September 1893, for the invasion of Matabeleland. He took part in the Battle of the Shangani River with a new chum of his, Walters, a young Jew from Manchester,[13] who was fatally wounded in the fighting and died in Sos's arms; thus the eighteen-year-old Sos, as the only Jew present for the burial, had to stumble tearfully through what he could remember of the Kaddish. Then came the battle at Bembesi where towards the end Sos had his first experience of using the bayonet in the mopping up; but he then went down with malaria which later recurred when he was part of the relief column sent north from Bulawayo to help Forbes and the remnant of his column after the loss of the Shangani Patrol.[14]

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[7] Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 21–8.

[8] Ibid., 37–8.

[9] Ibid., 41–56; the details are in the Natl Arch. of the United Kingdom, Kew, ADM/157/2089/38 (Admiralty: Royal Marines Attestation Forms: Miscellaneous Attestations of Ranks . . . 1884–1925), ff . 88–9.

[10] Harry had been born in Newcastle about 1856 and by the time of the Census of 1881 (>www.ukcensusonline.com/<) he was a coal merchant and ships broker in South Wales. By 1892 he was established in Johannesburg and involved in developing the Geldenhuis Main Reef mine, Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 58ff., 128, 199. He became successful, described as 'a man with a thousand mining and speculative interests', who, as will be seen, founded *The Rand Daily Mail* in 1902 but died two years later, B. Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist* (New York, Seven Stories Press, 2000), 23. In South Africa he was often referred to simply as Harry Freeman.

[11] Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 61–77.

[12] Ibid., 77–108.

[13] It appears that he was Alfred Walters alias Levy, Natl Arch. of Zimbabwe, Harare, B 4/2/3 (Defence Headquarters: Nominal Rolls: Matabele War: Raaf's Column, Victoria Column and Salisbury Horse), 8.

[14] Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 109–22. See also "'. . . It was with the Salisbury Column in October, 1893 . . .": The story of "Sos" Cohen', *The Rhodesian Jewish Times* (Sept. 1966), 13–14, and B. A. Kosmin, *Majuta: A History of the Jewish Community in Zimbabwe* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1980), 8 (in both of which, however, Sos was wrongly described as being in the Salisbury Column). E. Rosenthal, 'Rhodesian Jewry and Its Story' (>*www.zjc.org.il/ .../ RHODESIAN%20 JEWRY%20AND%20ITS%20STORY%20%20P..<),* II, 35, and V, 24, wrongly places these events in the Risings of 1896; he also consistently used the form 'S.O.S.' for his nickname—and this, indeed, may have been so originally, from the alias S. O. Samuelson that Lionel used in one of his early escapades, > http:// ww2talk.com/ index.php?threads/elderly-dfc-recipients-lionelcohen-and-louisstrange.7 203/<.

The Columns were then demobilised and paid their land and mining rights in early 1894, but as soon as he was fit again Sos decided to sell his rights, for £50, and return to south Africa[15]—not to return to Matabeleland, as far as is known, for 51 years.

What he then did, and where in south Africa, is not very clear; he may have been in the Eastern Cape because the *Graphic* published an article of his on chief Sigcau of Pondoland which after its annexation to the Cape was in a troubled state; somewhere, too, he worked in a boot-shop and then in a jeweller's. He also made a visit to London to see his family in 1897 but soon returned to Johannesburg where his uncle Harry gave him a managerial position with his mining ventures. But the wanderlust was still there—he was yet 23 years old—and so he left the Rand and went to Delagoa Bay, recently connected by rail to Pretoria and booming, soon to be made the administrative capital of Mozambique and then renamed Lourenço Marques.

There, as was his wont, he did various jobs—working on the docks and then for a butcher who was also a ships chandler; this took Sos north into the interior to buy cattle, which he enjoyed. After a crisis in the butcher's life Sos decided to leave and set up inland to recruit labour for the Rand goldmines; he obtained a contract from Consolidated Goldfields and was doing very well, using the rot-gut cheap alcohol available in Mozambique to give recruits a rip-roaring party on signing up.[16]

Then in late 1899 came the Boer War and Sos quickly went to Delagoa Bay to see the British consul about joining up. This led to a plan that Sos should work for the Portuguese Field Intelligence (but also report to the British consul) and help watch 300 miles of border with the Transvaal to prevent any smuggling of arms or men from any pro-Boer sympathisers in countries like the Netherlands or Germany. Sos threw himself into this arduous work which entailed living off the land; he did catch two German Army officers trying to cross into the Transvaal and later in the guerrilla stage of the War he had some excitement with incursions by Tom Kelly and by General Beyers. But by then Sos had had enough and so he returned to Johannesburg where he joined the Rand Rifles, a unit mainly for the defence of the mines on the Rand.[17]

After the Boer War, Sos settled down, for the first time, in Johannesburg and his uncle Harry gave him, and his brother Jack (who had arrived in 1899[18]), a position on the stock exchange which afforded him with a comfortable security. Also in 1902 Harry bought the assets of the *Standard and Diggers' News* which had ceased publication in 1900 because of the war; he then revived it as *The Rand Daily Mail* in 1903 and put his two nephews in change with editorial policy in the hands of Edgar Wallace.

Later famous as the most prolific author of detective stories Edgar Wallace had been born in the same year as Sos but in poverty, and had had a wandering, multifarious career like Sos. He had left the Army in the Cape for journalism in 1898 and became the war correspondent for *The Daily Mail* during the Boer War. He became notorious for his scoops in defiance of military censorship by using Harry's share-broking business to

[15] Kosmin, *Majuta*, 8; Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 122.

[16] Ibid., 126–65. Locally made rum and German potato spirit were cheap and potent; see C. Van Onselen, 'Randlords and rotgut, 1886–1903: The role of alcohol in the development of European imperialism and southern Africa capitalism . . .', in his *Studies in the Social History of the Witwatersrand 1886–1914: Volume 1: New Babylon* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1982), 44–102, esp. 45–6, 51–5.

[17] Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 166–82.

[18] Evidence of Jack Andrew Cohen in R. v. Hess at the Old Bailey in 1909, >*www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=t19090112-80*<.

send his news cables disguised as share transactions to the Cohens' London office—an arrangement that had less to do with Edgar's journalism perhaps than Harry's share-dealing à la Rothschild and Waterloo. As editor of *The Rand Daily Mail*, however, Edgar Wallace soon proved to be extravagant with money and disloyal to the Cohens on policy matters. He was sacked in 1903 and then Uncle Harry committed suicide in 1904 because of some financial embarrassment;[19] and Sos and his brother decided to sell the paper. They obtained a remarkably good offer from a group who wanted to push for immediate Responsible Government for the Transvaal (which would have brought the Boers into power) but Milner pressured them to sell for a lower price to Abe Bailey who would toe the official line of delay.[20]

Nevertheless Uncle Harry had left Sos and his brother well provided for and their business activities now extended from the stock exchange to the goldmining industry. He also now had more leisure and began to take an interest in the development of flying; he took a demonstration flight in a bi-plane and then tried a balloon trip which ran into problems which might have been fatal but for Sos's courage and strength.[21] He also showed something of his old impetuosity when in Durban he saw a touring-group actress, Victoria Shepherd, playing in *The Quaker Girl,* and married her forthwith despite the police coming to arrest her for breaking her contract.[22]

Then, after a decade of settled prosperity, Sos was suddenly thrown into dramatic action, disasters and war service again. In 1913 a White miners' strike turned violent and Sos was given the task of defending the Rand Club, a symbolic target for anti-capitalist resentments. This passed off well enough for Sos, but then came a succession of bankruptcies among his clients on the stock exchange that left him exposed and unable to meet his commitments. Thus he was 'hammered' and had to look for alternative employment.[23] (Many years later, when he had paid off all his debts, he re-applied for membership of the Stock Exchange, was accepted, and then resigned later the same day![24]).

His brother Jack offered to help but all that Sos would accept was a job underground at the Luipardsvlei Mine so that he could learn the practical side of gold mining from which he had long profited as a director and dealer in shares. This dramatic change of life-style was hard for Sos and for his wife, but they persevered without complaint; Sos in fact was doing quite well and in a minor supervisory role when, one day in 1914, mistakes were made, not all Sos's fault, and a rock fall killed eighteen men and left Sos injured and lucky to be alive.[25]

By the time that Sos recovered South Africa and Britain had been at war with Germany for several months. He enlisted as soon as he could, at nearly 40 years of age, as a trooper, and then was commissioned in the 1st South African Horse which in 1915 joined the East African campaign.[26] His exploits there were numerous and deserve

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Pogrund, *War of Words*, 23–7; Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 186–90.

[21] Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 190–5.

[22] Ibid., 196, where, however, it is presented as if it took place after the First World War; and Sugarman, 'The man with a hundred lives', 46, cites the family papers in the West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, ‚AM 1169, for a marriage date of 1920. But also there is his Record of Service for 1915–1919, 'Brigade, South African Expeditionary Force', AM 1169/6, which shows him in 1915 as already married to Victoria; she was Victoria Maude Shepherd, born near Portsmouth, Hants in 1890, Gen. Regist. Off, Births, Portsea, Sept. 1890, 2b 525. They lived happily together until his death some 50 years later; for their children see below, fns, 30, 47.

[23] Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 196–9.

[24] Ibid., 233–4.

[25] Ibid., 199–202.

[26] For details of his service see West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, Lionel Cohen Papers, AM 1169/6, 'Brigade, South African Expeditionary Force'; and Richardson, *The Crowded Hours,* 203–30.

A plane of the Royal Naval Air Service in East Africa during the First World War with Lionel Cohen as observer: West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, Lionel Cohen Papers, AM 1169/2.

an article to themselves, but for the purposes of this brief survey it is sufficient to note that he was mentioned in despatches three times and awarded the D.S.O. and M.C. In 1916 planes of the Royal Naval Air Service were sent to East Africa and Sos revived his earlier interest in flying and volunteered to train as an observer. In this role his work in Intelligence was greatly enhanced[27] (little did he know that twenty years later this experience was to open up a new career for him when war came on the horizon again). Because of his experience in Mozambique during the Boer War, he was then made British Liaison Officer with the Portuguese forces in Mozambique that had come into the War.[28] By September 1918, however, Sos had decided that he wanted to see action in Europe where the outcome of the War would be decided; so he resigned and took ship from Dar-es-Salaam, but he was still on board, in the Adriatic *en route* to the north Italian front, when the Armistice was declared in November 1918.[29]

After the War Sos returned to Johannesburg but some time after the birth of their first daughter he and his wife moved to England, where a second daughter was born in late 1921.[30] Sos became a stockbroker again, in London, but the lure of Africa and adventure was not yet dead. In about 1924 he accepted the position of managing director of the Mozambique Oil and Minerals Concessions Company that had hopes of opening up reserves of oil and precious stones said to be there. This venture took him back to Johannesburg where he redeemed his reputation by being re-admitted to the stock exchange, as has been already noted.[31] He then went to Mozambique to supervise the

[27] A. Samson, 'The use of flight in the African campaigns of World War 1', >https://thesamsonsedhistorian.files.wordpress.com/2013/.../ flight-in-ww1-africa-paper<. The planes used were B.E.2c, Voisin, and Farman.

[28] Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 225.

[29] Ibid., 230.

[30] Gen. Regist. Off., Births, Elham, [July–]Sept. 1921, 2a 2269.

[31] See above, fn. 24.

Lionel Cohen during the Second World War: West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, Lionel Cohen Papers, AM 1169/5.

Lionel Cohen during the Second World War: https://www.flickr.com /photos/ ww2images/6902494349/

prospecting and had various adventures, notably encounters with lions and coping with his main geologist who turned out to be insane. The Company soon collapsed but Sos stayed on to experiment with growing cotton for a season. This, however, was not profitable and in 1926 he returned to London.[32]

At last, it seemed (and his wife no doubt hoped) that Sos would at last really settle down. He rejoined the stock exchange and began to enjoy his small estate in Slinfold near Horsham where he bred pigs and guernsey cows and also bought some race horses.[33] But by the mid-1930s fears were growing that Nazi Germany was preparing for war. So Sos and others with flying experience in the First World War got together and developed the idea of forming a volunteer reserve that could provide at a moment's notice a body of men ready to serve again. Thus in 1936 the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve was established with Lord Trenchard, father of the R.A.F., as its President; by the outbreak of war it comprised 6 646 pilots, 1 625 observers and 1 946 wireless operators.[34]

Sos for his part managed to get commissioned as a Flying Officer in early 1939 and when war broke out he was appointed, at the age of 64, as RAF Coastal Command Liaison Officer with the Admiralty. He soon convinced the First Sea Lord, Admiral Dudley Pound, that he could liaise effectively only if he went on operational flights: 'without practical experience I could not offer solutions to problems . . . [and] it was good for morale to have senior officers sharing watches with the young air crew'. Thus either as gunner or observer he did escort duties and reconnaissance. He was later promoted to Wing Commander and saw more active service—bombing the German battleships Scharnhorst and Gneisenau in Brest and attacking shipping and U-boats off Norway and in the Atlantic. He flew 69 operations in Lockheed Hudsons, Catalinas, Liberators and Halifaxes often damaged by the enemy; he was wounded by anti-aircraft fire and survived a crash-landing. He was mentioned in despatches in 1941 and in 1943 (making five times in all in the two World Wars). In February 1944 he was awarded the D.F.C. a few days before his 70th birthday (only his 58th according to the citation, as he had managed to excise 12 years from his C.V., probably to get his commission in 1939): 'Gallantry and devotion to duty in the execution of Air Operations . . . setting a

[32] Richardson, *The Crowded Hours*, 231–42.
[33] Ibid., 242–3.
[34] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal_Air_Force_Volunteer_Reserve; Sugarman, 'The man with a hundred lives', 46.

magnificent example to all by his untiring energy and courage'.[35]

As the War drew to an end the Bulawayo Council decided to confer the freedom of the city on Sos—the second such after the original, first batch honoured in 1943 at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the modern city; and so he was to return to Matabeleland in late 1945, over fifty years since he had left, an unknown teenager with £50 in his pocket.[36] As Rhodesian units that had served with the British armed forces in Europe were being repatriated Sos wangled a berth with a group of airmen on the S.S. Athlone Castle; as the ship approached Durban, the Captain ran up the Rhodesian ensign in their and Sos's honour—the first time it had ever been flown at sea.[37] They then came north in a special train which made a triumphal arrival at Bulawayo station on the evening of 30 September to be met by local dignitaries and huge crowds. Sos had his photograph taken but then reboarded the train for its onward journey to Salisbury.[38] There he stayed with Sir Digby Burnett, the retired mining engineer and director of LONRHO; he then went back to Bulawayo where his host was Mr J. G. Pain, a city councillor and later mayor. [39] There on 7 November 1945 he and Major P. B. Clements had the freedom of the city conferred on them; and Sos made a speech of thanks in which he recalled entering the smoking ruins of Lobengula's capital and praised the inhabitants of modern Bulawayo for the wonderful development of their city.[40]

Lionel Cohen during the Second World War: A. Richardson, *The Crowded Hours: The Story of 'Sos' Cohen* (London, Max Parrish, 1952), frontispiece.

Twelve years later it was announced that Sos had been invited back again, for the unveiling of the Memorial to the Victoria and Salisbury Column of 1893 in the gardens of the Bulawayo City Hall.[41] Again he stayed with Councillor Pain and the ceremony took place on 31 October with two other veterans, Major Paddon[42] and A. W. Hume of Gwelo. Speaking for them as well as for himself Sos said they had lived happy and eventful lives, but were no different from modern Rhodesian youth some of whom had fought bravely in Korea. In an interview later he praised the rapid development of Bulawayo as a 'glorious' place where people 'take you for what you are, not what you have got'; also everyone appeared happier and more contented than the glum

35 Ibid., 46–7.
36 Kosmin, *Majuta*, 8.
37 Sugarman, 'The man with a hundred lives', 48.
38 *The Bulawayo Chron*., 1 Oct. 1945.
39 *The Rhod. Her*., 2 Sept. 1957.
40 *The Bulawayo Chron*., 8 Nov. 1945.
41 *The Rhod. Her*., 2 Sept. 1957.
42 Cecil Paddon was a Pioneer after whom the suburb Paddonhurst in Bulawayo was named.

Lionel Cohen late in life:
The Rhodesian Jewish Times
(Sept. 1966), 13.

inhabitants of London.[43] Then he went on to Salisbury, again to stay with Sir Digby Burnett. The Wings Club and the R.A.F. Association gathered in Cranborne to honour him; and Harry Filmer recalled adventures with Sos ballooning in Johannesburg and capturing 430 Germans in East Africa.[44]

Apart from these two visits to Southern Rhodesia little else is known of Sos's post-war years. He was still working as a stockbroker in 1957, perhaps because he was no longer as prosperous as he had been, for he had applied some time earlier for a Pioneer's pension, complaining of the bank squeeze and poor harvests on his small farm.[45] Nor again is anything known of his relations with his brothers and sisters, whether in England or South Africa. It appears that they had all predeceased him and that he had lost touch with their children. This was not because he had distanced himself from his Jewish origins, for he always spoke with pride of his Jewishness, and as an active member of the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women he took part in many of its Annual Parades at The Cenotaph as a member of the Wreath Party.[46] But his daughters were technically not Jewish, even if he had brought them up to honour their Jewish heritage, and they had gone on to marry Gentiles.[47] Thus when he died in 1960 aged 86, his widow decided that Sos should be cremated with no religious service of any kind[48]—not even the opening words of the Kaddish that a tearful eighteen-year-old boy had haltingly delivered in the veld near the headwaters of the Shangani sixty-six years before.

Lionel Cohen's Medals
A Unique Collection Spanning Half a Century

1893	Matabeleland Campaign Medal
1899–1902	Queen's South Africa Medal
1917	Military Cross
1918	Distinguished Service Order
1914–18	Star, War Medal, Victory Medal with Mentioned in Despatches
1944	Distinguished Flying Cross
1939–45	Star, Defence Medal, War Medal with Mentioned in Despatches; American Air Operations Medal

[43] Ibid.; *The Chron*., 1 Nov. 1957, '"3 adventurous men" at Pioneer Pool ceremony', and 'Rhodesian youth has "Spirit of Pioneers"'.

[44] *The Sunday Mail*, 17 Nov. 1957.

[45] Pioneers Society, Bulawayo, L. Cohen file, Cohen, London, to Major Paddon, Bulawayo Club, 3 Apr. 1956. I am grateful to Paul Hubbard for a copy of this letter.

[46] Sugarman, 'The man with a hundred lives', 48.

[47] Aileen Broadbent Cohen married Christopher S. Buckle of a local historic family in 1940, and Elizabeth Broadbent-Cohen, as she styled herself, married Jozef Z. Sokolowski who was probably a member of the Polish Forces in 1944, Gen. Regist. Off., Marriages, Horsham, [July–] Sept. 1940, 2b 1190; and Kensington, [Jan.–]Mar. 1944, 1a 330. Both daughters held senior positions in the women's services in the War.

[48] Sugarman, 'The man with a hundred lives', 48.

Place names in Zimbabwe

by R. H. Wood

In the 2016 edition of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (No. 35) the editor was kind enough to include my article on place names in Zimbabwe. Alex Masterson, in commenting on the same, raised several interesting points. For example he believes that the Umvumvumvu River, which runs through the Cashel Valley owes its name not to umvu, the Shona word for hippo, but to the noise it makes when in flood and he points out that the same river at its source near Chimanimani has a similar onomatopoeic origin, where it is called the Biriwiri to reflect the noise of a tiny stream, tinkling through the landscape. He also relates that he was told by an old-timer of Bindura that the Golden Stairs Road to Mazowe and beyond is named after the colourful glory of the Msasa trees in early autumn and the cosmos flowers that abound when one reaches the outskirts of Harare.

No one has yet commented upon the doubts I expressed about the origin of the name 'Harare' which is said to be named after Neharawa, an early Headman in the area, so my search continues. Paging through my copies of NADA I found several items touching upon the problem. At page 51 of the 1941 edition is a reprint of correspondence passing in July 1902 between my great grandfather Thomas Berry, then Treasurer of the BSAC, and W. S. Taberer, then Chief Native Commissioner Mashonaland and incidentally a national cricketer. I was pleased to note that my great grandfather shared my curiosity about the origin of place names. The correspondence is as follows;

> Dear Mr. Taberer, Can you oblige me with the native name (Mashona) for Salisbury, before the white men came. If they had no name for it, perhaps they had one for the immediate district of Salisbury, or some particular point close to the present town. Yours truly, (signed) T. Berry.
>
> Dear Mr Berry, The name of the country in and around Salisbury was called "Goba" which means red soil. The Chief of the district was named Wata. He cleared to the Mazowe district on the arrival of the Pioneers. Yours truly, (signed) W. S. Taberer.

It may be significant that twelve years after the occupation there was no mention of the name 'Harare' which one would expect if the name was then common currency.

In the 1939 edition of *NADA* there is an article by J. E. S. Turton, a Native Commissioner who later became Assistant Chief Native Commissioner, entitled *Native History of Salisbury* which commences with the sentence; "It was whilst I was attempting to elucidate the riddle of how Salisbury received the native name 'Harare' that the following story was told to me." Then follows a long story about a battle between Mbare, the Headman who lived on the Kopje and Gutsa, a Headman who had brought his people from the Charter District and had settled on Hillside ridge. The two communities had squabbled and met each other in battle on what is now the Henry Chapman golf course.

In the course of this battle Gutsa and Mbare fought each other. Gutsa was victorious and emphasised his victory by cutting off Mbare's head. Gutsa then allocated the present day Mt Pleasant area to his brother Wata, with the Avondale stream being the boundary between Gutsa's people and Wata's followers. Shortly before the European occupation a conflict arose between these two groups arising from a dispute as to who could catch rats in the *vlei* of the Avondale stream which rises in the University of Zimbabwe grounds. In the ensuing battle Gutsa's people were victorious and Wata moved off to the Mazoe area. When the white people arrived in 1890, Gutsa and his flock also moved to the Mazoe area and Gutsa was appointed as Chief Chiweshe.

I began to wonder what these stories had to do with the name 'Harare' when, in a single paragraph, Turton states the following; "Neharawa was a chief in the present Seke country (presently around Chitungwiza); consequently this country was, and still is, known as the 'Harawa' country, and the people as the 'Waharawa'. Possibly the early settlers heard of the country near Salisbury called by the name 'Harawa', and as so many Europeans do, they mispronounced it so as to give it its present form 'Harari'." Turton goes on to explain that Neharawa and his people had previously been conquered by Chief Seke who originally came from the Maranke area of Manicaland but later called himself and his people the Waharawa after the name of the country which they had conquered.

This would seem to explain the problem but not quite. Continuing my search through the same *NADA* I came across the following note by the Rev. G. E. P. Broderick, BSc at page 109 which is headed 'The Name Harari for Salisbury'.

"Mbari lived there and fought against Chiweshe, who came and drove him away and settled there for a time himself. While there, people came to him kneeling down, and approaching him in that position without raising their eyes, this being *kuwharara*." (See too Hannan: *Standard Shona Dictionary*, Page 233).

It is not clear to me what Broderick was trying to say, but it seems that he believed that the name of the area comes from the submissive attitude of people approaching Chiweshe (Gutsa). There is no mention of Neharawa as being the origin of the name and so the mystery continues. Is there anyone who can clear it up?

Editor's Note: with Richard Wood's permission, Alex Masterson wishes to add:-

"It is common talk these days to refer to the rats in Harare's grassy wetlands as cane rats." This is actually a misnomer. Cane rats properly-so-called do not occur in these Highveld *vleis* but are commonly found in lower areas and where there is more robust growth. They have a rough coat and a rounded face: a bit like a guinea pig and just as big. In Shona they are called *senzi* or *tsenzi*. (Hannan: *Standard Shona Dictionary*).

The wetland rats around Harare are called *matapi* (singular: *dapi*) and are much smaller than proper cane rats. They have a more pointed face like the ordinary domestic rats. The mamologists talk of Vlei rats of the genera *Otomys* and *Pelomys*.

Gambian or Giant Rats with a half-white tail and pointed faces, are common in bigger gardens. They are called *Vapinga*. Why they should be elevated to a noun class starting 'Va' (usually reserved to show respect to elderly and important people) is an anomaly that is difficult to understand. Perhaps its size and slower more stately pace makes it a King Rat.

Gonzo (singular) and *makonzo* (plural), refer to the big black or brown rats found round homesteads and *mbeva* (singular and plural) is the common general name for the smaller mice of the bushveld. There are however half a dozen or more other specific Shona names".

Book Review:
A History of Zimbabwe - C. J. M. Zvobgo
A History of Zimbabwe - A. S. Mlambo

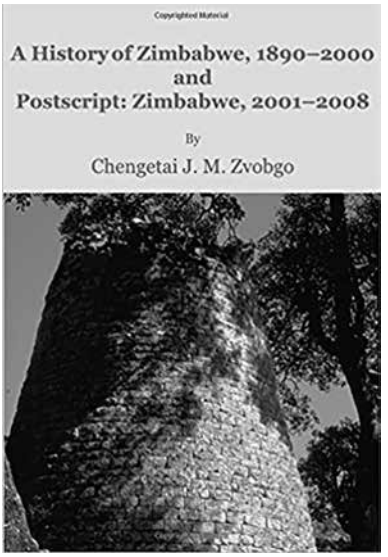
by R. S. Roberts

C. J. M. Zvobgo,
A History of Zimbabwe, 1890–2000 and Postscript: Zimbabwe, 2001–2008
(Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publ., 2009), xvii, 385pp.
ISBN (10) 1-4438-1360-5, & (13) 978-1-1360-0

A. S. Mlambo,
A History of Zimbabwe
(Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014), xxxiii, 277pp.
ISBN 9781107684799 (p/b),
US$ 27.99, & 978110021709 (h/b), US$ 80.00

Until the publication of the two books under review the only general history of this country has been Blake's *A History of Rhodesia* (1977) despite the momentous changes of the last forty years. Furthermore Blake's book was very partial: old-fashioned political-constitutional history of the European rulers—with little on pre-colonial history or the position of the African majority; and indeed it was not really much better on the events of 1962–1977 under the Rhodesian Front, a party that Blake could not understand relying as he did on the snobbish gossip of Charter House and the Salisbury Club.

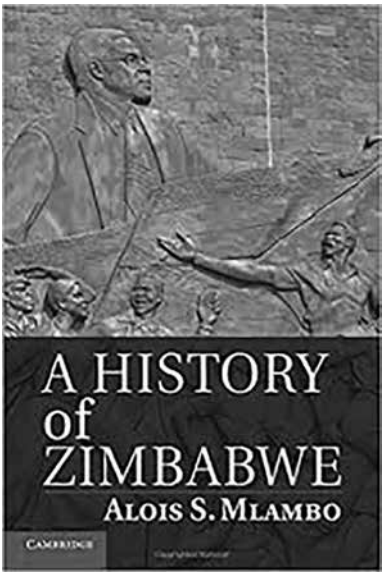
Now at last we do have two professional histories (both by former members of the History Department at the University of Zimbabwe), but neither, as far as I have seen, have appeared for sale in Harare, a capital city where to our shame there is no longer a professionally run bookshop.



Dr Zvobgo's book is written in an easy, engaging style and concentrates on major events and themes often with little connecting narrative. In line with his own interests and earlier publications he gives considerable attention to missionary endeavour and the development of education in the early years. However, there is little consideration of economic development and major academic work by Mlambo and Phimister appears not to have been consulted.

On the other hand his account of the

Liberation War years is restrained and balanced and he provides a usefully clear description of the complicated negotiations to reach a settlement in 1976–7. Equally his treatment of problems between ZANU(PF) and ZAPU after Independence is even-handed, notably so in a book dedicated to the author's brother Eddison Zvobgo who was a ZANU(PF) minister from 1980 to 2000; indeed the tone of the whole book is courteous, even distant: I. D. Smith is always 'Mr. Smith' and R. G. Mugabe is 'Mr. Mugabe'. But again the narrative is episodic rather than systematic, and rather old-fashioned. The concerns of the younger generation of historians do not appear and no thesis since 1986 seems to have been consulted; and even of older generation historians such as T. O. Ranger the last forty years of his prodigious output is ignored—as is the considerable criticism by Beach of his 1967 book on the Risings. Thus this is not an up-to-date synthesis of the state of knowledge of Zimbabwe's history but a useful and readable introduction to key episodes and problems.



Professor Mlambo's book is very different; for it is fully abreast of the latest research and refers to work as recent as 2013. This is welcome and particularly so in his overview of the early history of the country before the twentieth century. The main chapters then take the history down to 2008, in a more narrative form than Zvobgo's episodic treatment. And what is shown is a century of disjointed development that has not been very happy for any of its people: a country which in the Conclusion is described as one where the contestations of the past have obstructed the building of a peaceful and prosperous nation at one with itself.

In describing how this came about the emphasis is on the African side of the story that earlier historians like Blake notoriously neglected; and as such Mlambo is to be congratulated on making available to the general reader a good overview. However, as a first post-colonial account it comes at a cost; the pendulum has swung so far away from the political-constitutional history of the European hegemony that numerous factual errors have crept in that will confuse students and the general reader, as a few examples will show. The Dominican Sisters did not accompany the Pioneer Column (nor did they found Chishawasha Mission, as Zvobgo has it). The Lippert land concession was obtained from Lobengula and sold to the British South Africa Company in 1891 (not 1889 and 1894, respectively). Coghlan was not Prime Minister when the Referendum of 1922 chose Responsible Government (indeed, technically he was never Prime Minister but Premier). Ian Douglass [sic] Smith began as a Liberal Party M.P. (not Rhodesia Party), and he did not become leader of the Rhodesian Front until 1964 (not 1962); and the photo said to be of him

at a meeting at the Lancaster House Conference is in fact of Sir Ian Gilmour (Lord Privy Seal and spokesman for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs in the House of Commons who was Deputy Chairman of the Conference—hence his sitting centre table in the photo). There was no United Rhodesia Party that Garfield Todd could have represented between 1946 and 1953, nor was he leader of any party at that stage. Southern Rhodesia did not have a currency of its own in the early 1930s that could fluctuate against the British pound (its coins first issued in 1932 and notes in 1939 were a sterling Currency Board currency at par with sterling until 1967).

Admittedly White politics has not been Mlambo's area of study, but the errors are not limited to that: the Torwa state which was in the south-west of the country (Khami was probably its capital) is described as being in the north-west of the country (p. 10) and the south-east (p. 18); Lobengula certainly did claim sovereignty over most of Mashonaland; the Land Apportionment Act was in 1930 (not 1931); Mugabe crossed into Mozambique in 1975 (not 1974); and the discussion of African Trade Unions is misleading (they existed, together with their own Trade Union Congress, years before the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1959).

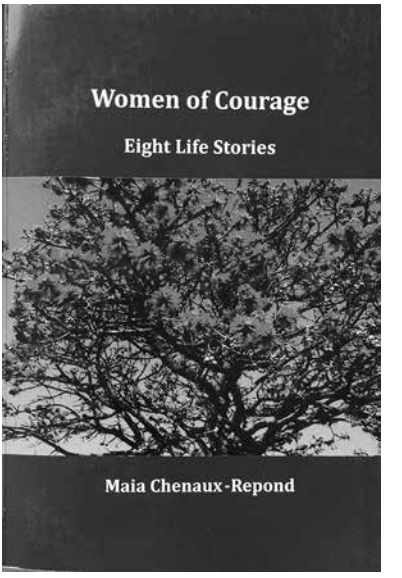
Any writer can make slips, but one does not expect to find them in a book by an established academic press; indeed there are in addition so many other solecisms (wandering apostrophes: Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union; invented hyphens: Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, Anglo-American; misspellings: reign for rein) that one must assume that Cambridge University Press no longer sends manuscripts to Readers or employs editors or proof-readers. Professor Mlambo has been badly let down whereas Dr Zvobgo whose book was produced by a newish publisher, about which some academic doubts have been raised, has been far better served.

Book Review: Women of Courage - M. Chenaux-Repond

by R. S. Roberts

M. Chenaux-Repond. 2015
Women of Courage: Eight Life Stories.
Harare:
Earth Books
xxii, 177, [iv],
Price: $20.

Members will recall that in January 2014 the author gave a moving talk to the Society on her work in the Women's Section of Community Development during the war years. Happily she is working on a full history of that work in Mashonaland South but in the meantime she has published this dedicatory volume to the courage and endurance of the forty-one colleagues from those years, of whom only five could be found to be interviewed and three others have had their careers and experiences reconstructed from their daughters' memories.



These were women who persevered in their task of helping other women improve the lives of their families in circumstances that became more difficult and dangerous every day. These were women in the middle where the hope of improvement of lives often became more a struggle to hold families, including their own, together and survive. This booklet is a moving tribute to the courage of all concerned, and reading between the lines to Maia Chenaux-Repond herself.

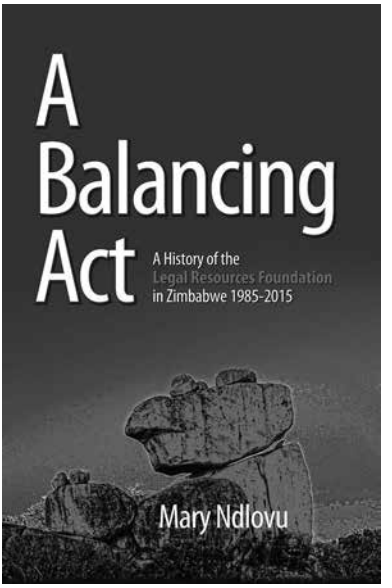
Book Review: A Balancing Act - Mary Ndlovu

by Paul Hubbard

Ndlovu, Mary. 2016.
A Balancing Act: a history of the Legal Resources Foundation in Zimbabwe 1985-2015.
Harare:
Legal Resources Foundation.
xvi+367 pages.
ISBN: 978-0-7974-7612-7.
Price: US$30

Officially founded in Harare in April 1985, the Legal Resources Foundation (LRF) had the simple aim of improving access to justice in Independent Zimbabwe, ostensibly complementing the efforts of the government. How this was achieved and how the role of the LRF evolved from this simple aim is a fascinating story of service and achievement. Using her own experience as well as unparalleled access to internal primary documents (memos, minutes of meetings and letters and other correspondence), Mary Ndlovu is able to outline and evaluate the achievements and mistakes made by the LRF with a clear eye and marvellous detail.

Without any legal background, I would hesitate to evaluate the efficacy of the LRF's various programmes but it is clear from the book's text that much was achieved with varying results. Divided into three parts, the 30 chapters cover topics as diverse as the genesis of the organisation, the staff who made it all work, and the difficulties and opportunities of the period of hyperinflation (2003-2009). The flagship, the paralegal programme is the focus of two chapters, as are the almost equally important educational initiatives. Continuous publication of law reports, handbooks and legal miscellany will perhaps be the greatest legacy of the LRF and Ndlovu provides good detail as to how this monumental achievement was accomplished in exceptionally difficult circumstances.



Of most interest to me, was the chapter detailing the publication of the seminal *Breaking the Silence: Building True Peace*.

A report on the disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands 1980 to 1988 which came out in 1997. As someone directly impacted by the violence of Gukurahundi, I have often delved into this book, one of Africa's most important human rights reports, to try to understand the circumstances and events of the time. Ndlovu reveals a surprising history of the report, revealing the reluctance and confusion of the partner organisation, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) in releasing the report, as well as analysing the impact of the report. Even if they never did anything else again, the LRF could proudly rest knowing they have provided the victims with a voice for all time. "The rest of Zimbabwe had to come to terms with the truth; and the international community - sections of which had also known the truth - could no longer pretend that nothing had happened… No one could disprove the facts, and indeed, not even ZANU-PF tried" (p.213).

As detailed in the latter half of the book, the LRF became an activist organisation due to the political events of the late 1990s, moving from statements of "concern" to joining coalitions of civic organisations to initiating and funding political test cases. Fights against the death penalty, election rigging, political and civic intimidation by government, and election monitoring all became almost *de rigueur* before 2009. The fact that the LRF continued to thrive, even after the judicial system and its impartiality were gutted in the early 2000s is truly remarkable.

If there is one lesson from this book, it is the need for organisations like the LRF to wean themselves from regular donor funding. Such reliance places any organisation at the mercy of capricious funders who may have their own goals and needs. A large part of the book reports the constant need to satisfy donor expectations, which from the reading, were often illogical, ill-suited to local conditions and constantly erratic in the amount of funding support available. This does not mean that one should never seek donor funding - indeed the LRF would not have begun without it - but it highlights the need to develop adequate local funding structures to meet running costs ("core funding") and thus perhaps only to rely on outsiders for one-off projects. It is easy to say this but how to implement it in the face of an often hostile, unsupportive national government, consistent economic erraticism, and a high turnover of staff defies an appropriate answer. The fact that the LRF has managed to keep active and to even expand some of its programmes is huge testament to the dedication and hard work of the staff and trustees, more than any individual donors.

Overall, this is the sort of book that I crave: a detailed history on a single organisation, invaluable to the development of Zimbabwe. From the outset it is clear that this is an expertly produced, meticulously researched and well-written volume: I would easily rank this as one of the finest "micro-histories" I have ever read.

Book Review: Facets of Power - Saunders, Richard & Nyamunda

by Paul Hubbard

Saunders, Richard & Nyamunda, Tinashe (eds). 2016.
Facets of Power. Politics, profits and people in the making of Zimbabwe's blood diamonds.
Harare Weaver Press.
xix+215 pages.
ISBN: 978-1-77922-288-6.
Price: US$25.

US$15 000 000 000 is a large sum of money by any standards. Arguably this represents three years of GDP for Zimbabwe in the current climate. On 3 March 2016 aired an interview with President Mugabe termed "The President @92," recorded to mark his birthday. In a wide-ranging discussion, he told the nation: "We have not received much from the diamond industry at all… I don't think we have exceeded US$2 billion, and yet we think that US$15 billion has been earned in that area… The companies that have been mining have virtually, I want to say, robbed us of our wealth. That is why we have decided that this area should be a monopoly area and only the State should be able to do the mining… You cannot trust a private company" (*Mail & Guardian*, 11 September 2017).

In ten chapters, the book under review takes the reader into a preliminary exploration as to why the President may have felt compelled to make the remarks that he did. The June 2006 discovery of major alluvial diamond deposits in the Marange District of Manicaland province, eastern Zimbabwe should have been a turning point for the country's economic growth. In the introduction Saunders analyses the finds and their importance at the time as well situating the sordid Zimbabwean experience within the shadowy global context of diamond production.

The whole book explores the juxtaposition of the Zimbabwe government's attempts to adhere to the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KP) by formalising the diamond sector in a brutal manner. Unsurprisingly Saunders argues that "it became apparent that the aim was not to eliminate the black market trade, but rather facilitate and incorporate it within a mining regime dominated by elements of ZANU-PF's security and political leadership" forming a "bloody cocktail of economic and political power" (p.21). The fact that the perpetrators of human rights abuses too numerous to mention here were government agencies and not "rebels" showed a new face to the "blood diamond" debate. The detailed chapter by Martin chronicles the networks and mechanisms for moving illicit diamonds around while Mtisi's contribution reveals the futility of the entire Kimberley Process, labelling it "an enabler of practices that violated its own core principles and practices" (p.67).

Maguwu's heartfelt contribution argues Marange was synonymous with misery; indeed, based on his account events there can justifiably be ranked alongside Gukuruhundi and Murambatsvina as a dark chapter in Zimbabwe's past. The "free-for-all" period of 2006 to 2008, the focus of Nyamunda's excellent chapter, is of great interest due the government's shifting stance on the *magweja*, the artisanal miners, who were initially encouraged to work in the area and then became the enemy, at least in the eyes of the government and security forces. At least 35 000 people made the fields their home for two years, most scraping by; windfalls occurred but earnings came from pushing volume. The local economy was greatly boosted for these two years although, as Nyamunda relates, it came at great cost in abandoned traditions and customs and reduced social mores. Indeed, as the chapter relates the story, this is the story of Zimbabwe in the same period, writ small.

Education took a knock with the discovery of diamonds, and Ruguwa brilliantly shows how many schools in the district closed or were much reduced, as students, teachers and parents left to mine and also to supply goods and services to the Marange economy. He reveals how teachers and students were among the first to discover and sell the stones, often for pitiful amounts: one person allegedly sold 1kg of diamonds for ZAR1,000 to buy school text books! (p.137-138). The pass rates collapsed to near zero while the relative affluence of families in the area increased, and the chapter ends with the realisation that "some of Zimbabwe's richest mineralised land became home to schools with some of the poorest educational results" (p.155).

Loss is a recurring theme in the book, no better illustrated than in the chapter by the Madebwes who chart the forced removal of more than 600 families from the Chiadzwa area to make way for mining operations. The lack of consultation, poor provision of information and lack of notice for eviction plans (p.160-162) are typical of the relocation schemes in the country since the 1990s (indeed, the 1970s!). The table on page 166 is a startling indication of the losses in non-economic assets (forests, crops, wells, boreholes, ancestral graves and shrines, etc), ignored by the companies and government, but arguably more important than any monetary losses suffered. The final chapter by Chiponda and Saunders continues the themes discussed throughout the book, examining the effect of the diamond claims on the government after 2013. A brief epilogue reviewing the themes completes the book.

As we have come to expect from Weaver Press, the book is expertly produced. I would have preferred to have seen a chapter comparing the Zimbabwean experience with other countries to provide a broader context to the story. Additionally, a review of the creation and operations of the various diamond companies and their eventual nationalisation would have been welcome - as patchy as it would have been due to the murky nature of the global diamond business.

As a Zimbabwean, this is a difficult tale to read but the authors, editors and publishers should be heartily congratulated for producing a book that will stand as testament to the greatest lost opportunity in Zimbabwe's history. It is futile to speculate on what greatness Zimbabwe might have achieved if the profits from Marange had been used more wisely and honestly. One hopes future generations, should they ever be so lucky, will take heed of the lessons in this book and seize the moment to attain greatness - if they ever get the chance.

Book Review: Urban Evolution: Harare - J. Waters

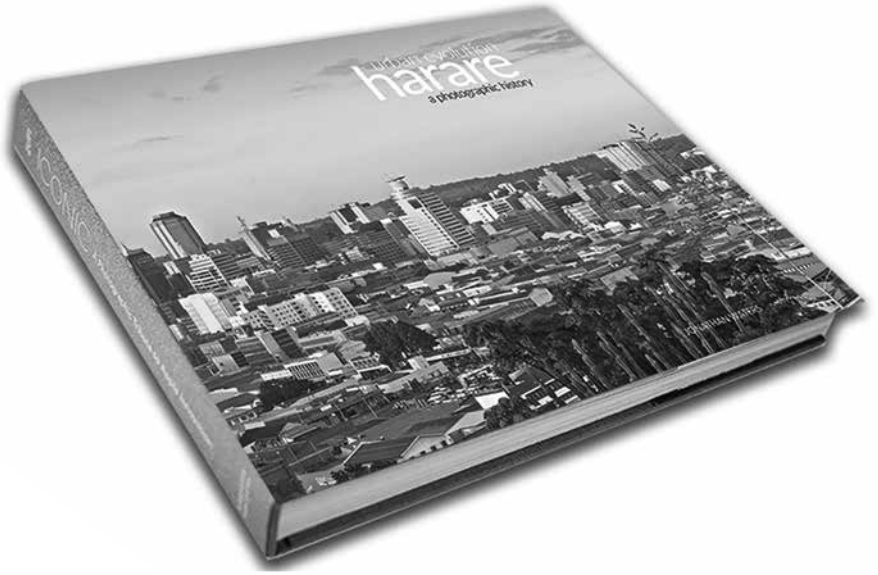
by R. S. Roberts

J. Waters
Urban Evolution: Harare: A Photographic History
Harare.
New Zanj Publ. House, 2015), [vi], 458pp. H/b
Price: $60

Were it not so informative, this latest production of Jono Waters's might be described as a 'coffee table' book—large, landscape format, high quality paper and profusely and beautifully illustrated with about a thousand photographs, many in colour. Published on the 125th anniversary of the founding of Fort Salisbury, it is a definitive record of the buildings of the core areas of Harare.

But it is no mere illustrated list; the background of building development is explained, often with anecdotes, and all sorts of fascinating detail is provided on the origins of names and on the contribution of architects and artists many of whom, until now, have suffered neglect.

There is, however, little on the domestic architecture and the buildings of the suburbs which, for most of us, is the Harare that we live in and know best; but this is said not as a criticism but as an encouragement to the author to produce a second volume which would be as welcome as this one is.



Correction to article

'The immigrant population of Southern Rhodesia in the first decade of settlement',

by R. S. Roberts

Correction to article, 'The immigrant population of Southern Rhodesia in the first decade of settlement', by R. S. Roberts in issue No. 32, p. 23:

The Table on the nationality and religion of the European population of Bulawayo in 1895 omitted the figures for nationality; the Table is now shown below as it should have been:

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

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

* 11 Swedes, 8 Danes, 5 Norwegians

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

** 'None' includes seven different descriptions

Obituary: Peter Birch 1931-2016

by Jono Waters

Peter Birch, who has died in his 85th year, was for over two generations the foremost developer of artistic talent in Zimbabwe. Along with Dulce Wesseik, he established an art school on Manica Road that he later moved to what had been the Acropole Hotel, a sprawling residence on the edge of Greenwood Park that had belonged to one of Salisbury's early mayors. Here, at what was to double as his home, he enthusiastically gave classes to toddlers right through to elderly amateurs while telling stories about his early life. Technically strong on colour, composition and figures, Birch also taught at various schools across the capital, painted sets at the local theatres, wrote an art column, and hosted a TV programme. He was a prolific artist in his own right—there are few boardrooms in Harare that do not hang one of his paintings or portraits of their former directors.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was at its zenith when Birch arrived in January 1959, and Salisbury was an exciting place to be. The Rhodes National Gallery, under the stewardship of Frank McEwen, had opened only 18 months previously and the first exhibition saw the largest art collection to ever cross the Equator—five Viscounts full of art had left various European capitals for the opening display in July 1957. Not quite 70 years old, Salisbury had spawned an *avant-garde* art scene and Birch was to be a founding member of "The Contemporaries", an active group of artists whose works have found their way around the world. With Adrian Stanley at REPS, the local theatrical world was as busy and equally experimental.

By his own declaration, Birch was a hopeless romantic who longed for wide open spaces and Rhodesia could not have been more conducive. Dark and handsome, he wanted to ride a horse into the archway of his "castle", which he was to build on one of the hills overlooking the Umwinsi river on the outskirts of Salisbury. But he was much less the swashbuckling romantic and, throughout his life, more prone to unrequited love. His insecurities over his working class background never left him and he found himself at his most vulnerable when his wild ways led to estrangement from his wife Joyce, a Dutch Indonesian who had been incarcerated in a Japanese prisoner of war camp.

Joyce Birch

Harold Peter James Birch was born on October 12, 1931 on a council estate in Dartford, Kent. He was one of six children born to Charlotte and Jack Birch. Jack had been gassed in the trenches in Ypres. As part of "Bomb Alley" during World War II, there was "constantly a blaze at the end of the garden" and his desire, even at that age, was to escape the "rabbit warren mentality" of the council estate. Encouraged by his art teacher George Allen, Birch went on attend the Sidcup School of Art in Kent in the five years after the war, where "his real education began". Here he discovered literature, music, Italian films and galleries as well as "snobbery". His two great friends and contemporaries were Pete Gooding and Fred Cuming, the latter being "very close in so far as competing with each other" was concerned.

Birch admired the style of the English Romanticist landscape painter J. M. W. Turner and, to a lesser extent, Turner's great adversary John Constable. To Birch, Turner was "way ahead of his time". While he was mostly involved in set painting at Sadler's Wells, he recalled that he had on one occasion on stage been required to "shoot" the famous soprano Joan Hammond, who had been the leading lady in Verdi's Don Carlos, with a 17th Century arquebus.

Increasingly he found he had little in common with his family and seeing friends in Dartford was "like visiting a foreign country". Upon leaving Sidcup, he undertook two years of mandatory National Service, initially in Northern Ireland, where he won the regimental lightweight boxing title in region. Commissioned as an officer, he was then posted to North Africa, where he got his first taste of the continent's sunny skies. As a commissioned officer in what is today Libya, he had his "own private transport, personal boatman, sunshine, vast space and the blue Mediterranean outside my window". He spent most his time in Cyrenaica offsetting the boredom of National Service by

sketching in the Roman ruins and engaging in an "awful lot of drinking" with doctors and nurses in the adjoining compound.

Back in the UK in 1953, Birch attended the Royal College of Art in South Kensington where he "learned nothing about art and progressed not one iota". The philosophy of the school was that "great artists are self-taught and you just got on with your work." His mentors at the time were Ruskin Spear and Carel Weight, while college tutor John Minton liked to "chase me around, as I was a pretty boy". But Minton also took his students around the London pubs introducing them to artists, including Lucien Freud and Francis Bacon, as well as Dylan Thomas. To the designs of Ronald Searle, famed for the St Trinian's cartoon strips, he decorated the Royal Albert Hall twice for the Chelsea Art Ball.

Birch was desperate to escape dreary postwar-Britain and resolved to return to the wide open spaces and blue skies of Africa. He went to Rhodesia House where his application to work as an art teacher was accepted and sailed a few weeks later on the Pretoria Castle. He arrived in Salisbury early one Sunday morning, with "a suitcase, a small brown carrier bag from Dartford Co-op and £15" and took up residence with other immigrants at the Cranborne Hostel, a converted barracks from the Empire Air Training Scheme. There was a mass shortage of housing and a very modest room cost £7 10 shillings month. "Everyone had their own little room that you made quite pretty". He would eventually find "a decent flat, which had a swimming pool, and I stayed two and half years as it was the cheapest place I could find."

In the summer holidays of 1961, he decided he would climb Kilimanjaro. Returning from successfully climbing Africa's tallest peak and signing his name at the summit—the only one in his party to manage the feat—he returned to Cranborne Hostel to see other residents sitting with "an 18½ year old beauty". He was immediately transfixed by Joyce Wessellmann. Joyce's parents were as keen for her to be involved with Birch as he was as he was "a respectable catch". She got a job as a receptionist at the National Gallery and Birch introduced her to the art world—and not long after discovered she was a "first class potter"—the kiln at that time being an old biscuit tin.

After three years, Birch returned to the UK, but found he had nothing in common with his friends or family there. He got engaged to Joyce in the UK and, on his return to Rhodesia, threw himself into his work with The Contemporaries, who included J. Trevor-Wood, Robert Paul, Robert Hunter-Craig, A. J. Howarth and Dulce Wesseik, whose idea it was to form the art school. As the two most energetic personalities in the group, Peter and Dulce started in the old Bechuana House building on Manica Road but after acquiring the Acropole from Mrs Abramakis as a home, Peter moved the school to that residence in the mid-1960s, where it has remained to this day. One of his most told stories was how Champion, Mrs Abramakis' faithful domestic worker and driver, had helped the Birches move their possessions into their new home in 1963. Mrs Abramakis was murdered a few weeks later and the blood-stained iron bar was found under Champion's bed.

The 1970s were wild years for Birch, who indulged in heavy drinking and carousing with fellow artist Robert Paul, the first person to have a one man exhibition at the National Gallery. Paul would paint early in the morning before bar-hopping with Birch. Wisely knowing that Paul would return from his benders and invariably destroy what he

had painted, Birch would hide his paintings so that Paul could revisit them when sober. As for Birch, he believed his best work was his commissions in later life, although he did "some damn good stuff" during his drinking years. The destructive nature of his drinking became apparent in the late 1970s when he suffered from a "frightening" bout of labyrinthitis. He decided it was time to sober up.

In 1982, he found a smallholding in the Umwinsidale valley and "fell in love with the potential". Having exorcised his "green-eyed monsters of jealousies" and realising that he "just wanted to be near her", he offered Joyce half the property and she took up residence in the old farmhouse, before she built her own dream house. Over the next two years, Birch planned the construction of his castle—part classical, part baroque. The art school was going "very well and by this time, little girls who used to come to me on Saturday mornings were now bringing their kids." Using local stone, the castle was constructed over three years. As had always been his dream, he was able to ride a horse into the entrance archway of his castle and dismount. "I took up horse riding at 50 and gave it up at 70."

Birch's final paintings were a return to the style he admired so much in Turner and the way he dealt with colour, light and atmosphere. "That was the one thing I was good at," he said, and ironically his great friend Fred Cuming's work also follows in the school of Turner. Birch was diagnosed with cancer in 2008 and successfully underwent treatment only for the condition to resurface in 2016. Joyce had died in August 2013 after a short battle with cancer. By his request, there was no memorial. Peter Birch is survived by his daughter Ashley, herself an artist, and two grandchildren.

Harold Peter James Birch, artist, teacher and storyteller. Born October 12, 1931. Died September 18, 2016

The Chairman's Annual Report for 2016-2017

Good morning Ladies and Gentlemen and thank you for attending this National Committee AGM. I would like to begin this brief report by remembering the late Dennis Stephens. Having been re-elected in March last year, Dennis passed away in June, leaving a very substantial hole in the affairs of the National Committee. Not only had he been our Honorary Treasurer for a good number of years, but his wise council at our meetings was always appreciated. His links, too, with the corporate world were invaluable when it came to successfully chasing up annual sponsorship for our Heritage Journal, even as our economy continued to decline. As will be seen shortly, our finances at National level are still in a reasonably good state, but our ability to find corporate sponsorship going forward is a lot less certain.

Another problem associated with Dennis' passing has been that of finding a replacement. I have muddled along in the interim, changing the signatories to our CABS and Old Mutual Unit Trust accounts, as well as making such limited payments as were necessary, but I am pleased to report that Adele Hamilton Richie has recently taken up the role of Treasurer for the National Committee. Adele, I am sure, will be known to many of you, given her involvement in various kindred societies –for example she heads up the Pre-History Society, but in the last couple of weeks she has brought our accounts up to date and she will be speaking to them shortly. Another of her tasks will be to take charge of the storage and sale of our Heritage Journals.

Talking of journals, we have just taken delivery of copies of Heritage Numbers 34 and 35, and copies will be available for sale after the meeting at US$20 per copy. The fact that we have the two issues coming out at the same time is not ideal, but it is in no way the fault of our Honorary Editor, Fraser Edkins, who has put in a huge amount of time and effort in the compilation and editing of the journals. Rather, the delays have been in the setting and printing, but Fraser is confident that the next edition of Heritage, Number 36, should be ready by the end of the year. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Fraser for a job well done and, like all of you I'm sure, I look forward to reading the latest journals.

Still on the subject of thank you's, I should also like to thank other members of the National Committee for their input and support through the past year. My deputy, Tim Tanser, gave us all a scare a few months back, but is back with us as hale and hearty as ever, whilst also becoming something of a media personality I gather. Professor Ray Roberts is our point man, as it were, in our cautious investigations into creating a Society website, as well as making back issues of our journals available on the Internet, while Robin Taylor has been ever solid in the background as an adviser cum mentor. Kevin Atkinson has also been very supportive, not only of the committee in allowing us access

to College venues for our meetings, but in also allowing us access to venues such as this hall, as well as the adjacent Beit Hall, for our wider Society meetings. More recently, as these venues have been equipped at his direct instigation with audio visual sound and projection equipment, so also have we been allowed to use them, thus improving, I believe, the quality of our talks.

Another active participant in our meetings is Charles Castelin who attends in his capacity as Chairman of the Mashonaland Branch. Charles has been chiefly instrumental in the creation of a new Mango based email circulation list of Society members, which list now numbers in excess of 600 people. This facility was obviously used in the circulation of the notices in connection with this AGM, and Charles' help was also invaluable when it came to not only informing members of the details of the annual lunch last October, but then in also drawing up a list of attendees. I must also thank Charles and his Mashonaland Branch Committee for the very full and interesting programme of talks arranged in the past year for Society members.

On a final note as regards members of this committee, Bill Sykes, as was shown in the minutes of the last AGM, was re-elected on to this committee last year, but decided in May that he could no longer continue, partly given the fact of his re-location to Mazvikadei. Bill and his wife, Mary-Anne, were our guests at the last annual dinner, as a token of our gratitude to him for his years of service to the committee, particularly on the audio visual side.

Turning briefly to other National Committee initiatives, as already alluded to, our annual lunch was held last October at the Cresta Lodge Sango Conference Centre and, I believe, it proved, by and large, to be a good choice of venue. Despite the economic circumstances prevailing, we had 106 members present and I gave an illustrated talk after the lunch entitled "Letters from the Trenches". Unless members have strong views to the contrary, we will probably look to use this same venue again in October.

The other initiative worthy of mention is the Index to past editions of Rhodesiana and Heritage. Following the dedicated indexing efforts of Chris Halse and Mike Fox, assisted on the editing and compilation side by Ray Roberts and, more especially by Roger Stringer of Textpertise, this comprehensive Index is all but ready and will prove an invaluable tool for those wishing to access the Society's journals.

I should like to end my report with a plea to our membership to consider taking a more active role in the Society's affairs. Nearly all the members of your committee have been involved in it for years, but, contrary perhaps to the views of some that we are "an old boy's club" and that we want to keep on doing what we've always done and want to avoid change, we really would welcome the involvement of new and, hopefully, younger people on the committee.

Thank you.

R. S. Roberts,
National Chairman
26 March 2017

Mashonaland Branch Chairman's Annual Report presented to the AGM

Welcome to the 46th Annual General Meeting of the Mashonaland Branch of the History Society of Zimbabwe.

The Branch once again had an active year with nine events inclusive of the AGM attended by 848 members - a drop of 13% compared to the previous year. The average attendance at our talks was 103 members. We sincerely hope that we are meeting most of our members expectations with respect to the frequency and timing of our meetings, as well as the topics and quality of the presentations. If not, we are happy to receive your feedback.

At our first talk of 2016/2017, on 10 April, Paul Stidolph addressed us on the subject of "A Survey of Nyanga Prehistory, Aspects and Images". The talk was attended by 98 people and covered a wide range of issues on this fascinating topic and is one which certainly could be revisited. His wide coverage of forts, cave art, hill terracing, irrigation furrows, monoliths and pottery was fascinating. I am sorry that I missed it due to being out of the country

On 15 May we had a talk prepared by Penny Kirkman entitled "The National Art Gallery and its First Director, Frank McEwan" The talk was very ably delivered by Bill Sykes. Many of us remember the charismatic Frank McEwan who did so much to develop The Rhodes National Gallery and the many local painters and sculptors and so the talk was much appreciated by the 89 members who attended.

One of the fascinating fact was that he beat Anthony Blunt (The 4th of the Cambridge University Russian spies) to the job of the first Director of the gallery. The inaugural exhibition, opened by the Queen Mother, was held on the 16 July 1957 and Frank had arranged for a collection of 200 oils, including Rembrandts and Picassos to be flown out to Rhodesia.

On 26th June Bob Challis presented a talk on "Supreme Gallantry Awards - Personalities, Anecdotes and Memorabilia. Bob also displayed a collection of medals. Amongst many other things, Bob touched on the awards for the Victoria Cross and went into detail on those earned by Rhodesians. The talk also covered a description of Rhodesian and Zimbabwean awards for bravery and some of the more notable recipients such as Lieutenant Christopher Schulenburg of C Squadron Rhodesian Special Air Services Regiment who was awarded the Silver Cross of Rhodesia for gallantry. He also described the exploits of such notable heroes as Captain V. R. Norton VC, Group Captain Leonard Cheshire VC and Colonel R.C. Nesbitt VC of Mazoe Patrol fame. It was a great pity that only 51 members attended this interesting talk.

Professor Ray Roberts gave us a well illustrated talk on Breaker Morant and "Bulala" Taylor on the 24th July. This lecture was attended by 89 members. Prof Roberts is the only professional historian on our HSZ Mashonaland committee having obtained a doctorate on English Medical History and having published widely on historic topics. As can be expected, therefore, his talk was very well researched and outstandingly presented. We look forward to more talks from him.

In August we had a gap month and resumed our talks on 18th September when Dr. Tony Martin gave a fascinating talk on "The History of Coal in Zimbabwe". He commenced with the geological origin of coal beds 280 million years ago in Southern Africa and then went on to talk mainly about Hwange, its geology, mining and administration. He covered the great tragedy of 1972 when four hundred and twenty seven employees died in an explosion in No.2 Colliery and the construction in 1982 of the Zesa 920MW coal-fired Hwange Power Station. Tony Martin was commended for making what could have been a very technical subject understandable and very interesting to the layman. 101 members attended this talk.

After a break in October for the society's annual luncheon, talks resumed in November when Jack Robinson gave an entertaining and light hearted talk to 115 members entitled "Looking down on Africa (From the Top of Kilimanjaro)". In 1961 five intrepid climbers from Chegutu, drove north to Mount Kilimanjaro in a Ford Zephyr. An expedition up the mountain, took 5 days walking there and back. Jack's great sense of humour had us, at times, doubled up with laughter.

After a gap month for Christmas, John Robertson, the famed Zimbabwean economist, fascinated 138 of us, on the 29th January, on the topic of "The History of the Creation of Wealth". The development process that took Europe out of the Middle Ages into the Industrial Revolution was influenced by many issues, such as the Renaissance, plus the ideas of Kepler, Newton, Faraday, Luther and Calvin. Physical assets, such as land and factories, tied to intellectual assets, such as patents and acquired skills, allowed wealth accumulation and prosperity. John took us on a journey through the history of people and colonial empires ending with his conclusion of what happens when you reverse those aspects that bring wealth to a nation.

Finally, on the 26 February, we had an amazingly well illustrated talk by Dr. Glyn Vale given to our best attendance of the past year of 140 members. The topic of "The History of the Relationships between Humans and Tsetse Flies" is very relevant to this country and held us spellbound. Dr Vale illustrated how for 30 million years the tsetse fly watched, but did not prevent, the biological evolution of mankind from ape-like beginnings in sub-Saharan Africa and how in the last few thousand years the fly has hindered the social and economic evolution of humans and threatened their health. He showed how since the early 1900s mankind has struck back, largely through research to identify appropriate strategies and tactics for tsetse control but not, he hopes, elimination.

In September last year we embarked on a lengthy exercise to up-date our

membership records. I am pleased to say that this was very successful and we now have the names and e-mail addresses of 629 members. During this exercise your committee was very grateful for the many complimentary e-mails we received with respect to our activities. The few suggestions for improvements were also welcome. I regret that the survey was not more detailed as it has become clear that information on the ages and physical location of our members would be useful

Our past chairman, Robin Taylor, mentioned in his Annual Report last year how reliant we were on Bill Sykes for his excellent and dedicated management of the audio-visual aspects of our talks but that this had been rendered difficult by his move to Masvikadei. I am glad to say that we have found a way forward on this, firstly utilizing the services of John Reeler and his assistants and then finally using the fantastic new installations here at St Georges College. For this we are greatly indebted to Kevin Atkinson, the headmaster, for authority to use these amenities and secondly to John McCarthy, the Chairman of our National Branch for setting it up for every talk. Long may this continue.

Your committee has worked very hard this past year in ensuring that we provide the best possible entertainment to you our members and I am very grateful for their support. The committee comprises, Robin Taylor, John Tayler, Meg Cumming, Professor Ray Roberts, Ben Kaschula, Stan Fynes-Clinton, Bill Sykes, Tim Tanser, Bob Challiss, John McCarthy as an ex-officio member and myself. Regretfully Bill Sykes resigned during the year and I would like to take the opportunity to thank him for many years of service to the society, in particular his 2 years as chairman of the Mashonaland Branch in 2012 and 2013 and all the marvellous work he did on the audio-visual side of our presentations and our chat line.

I also regret to say that Tim Tanser is standing down today after 42 years on the branch committee. He has been chairman many times over this period and has made a major contribution to the running of the branch affairs. In addition to talks that he was involved in arranging, Tim helped to organise many outings. Amongst them were trips to Chiredzi (by chartered aircraft), Matopos, Nyanga, Mazowe, Penhalonga, Mt. Hampden, Kariba, Fort Charter, Chimanimani, the Shangani Battle site, The Great Indaba site and Train Journeys to Marondera and Bulawayo. His experience and wise council on the committee will be missed.

I would to specially like to thank Stan Fynes-Clinton for the wonderful job that he does as treasurer and collecting donations after each talk. He was very concerned about our declining funds due mainly to increased expenditure on our talks in the first part of the year. That situation has been arrested during our last 4 talks and I believe that during 2017 we will make him happy by continuing to cover the costs of our events.

Robin Taylor, your past Branch Chairman, also deserves a special mention for all the guidance and help he has given me as a Rookie chairman in the society.

I would also like to record my appreciation to Julia Russell, our splendid

minute secretary, and to Harald Solberg who has given an enormous amount of help to me on IT issues.

We have a strong line-up of potential speakers for the remainder of 2017 and one of my hopes, during the year, is to address outreach issues relating to some of our older members who cannot make it to our meetings due to infirmity or lack of transport.

It finally remains for me to thank you our members for your support, attendance at our meetings and generous donations after our presentations.

The chairman's report was accompanied by slides taken from the presentations made during the year

Charles Castelin
Chairman
26th MARCH 2017