HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
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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 37th annual volume of Heritage of Zimbabwe and our 77th volume since the Society began to publish some 62 years ago and, I believe, one of particularly high quality as far as the contents are concerned.

It begins with a major article from leading historian Professor Ray Roberts on the extraordinary life and times of the youngest of the "royal" sons of Lobengula.

New contributor John Izod writes most interestingly of his father's valuable work with the Central African Film Unit for close to 20 years. Welcome aboard John and I hope there will be more material from you in future.

In a well-researched and fascinating article, globe-trotter and historian Jono Waters reminds us that the last, and many of the first, military engagements of World War One took place not in Europe but in Africa, (in Tanzania and Togo).

The prolific Peter Fey (from whom we expect a seminal book on the Geological Survey of Zimbabwe) weighs in with the story of Alexander McGregor, the Survey's third Director.

Peter follows on with another deeply-researched story on gold mining in the Mutare border region.

Mike Tucker, another regular and prolific contributor, presents a major article on the RATG, a story in need of its own exhaustive film documentary in your editor's opinion, just as those recently produced on the Arctic convoys and Bomber Command.

Yet another major article appears in the form of Robin Taylor's thorough local history of the Spanish Flu of 1918/19.

The ever-reliable Rob Burrett edits and annotates the 1898 account in Blackwood's Magazine of Arthur Lawley's trek from Bulawayo to Victoria Falls to call upon King Lewanika .

Long standing member John Brettell edits for us the reminiscences of Thomas Brading (the first Town Engineer after Municipal status was granted to Kadoma in 1917) and a few pearls from the celebrated John Mack, the "doyen" of small claim miners in the early days of settlement.

Former Chairman and Committee member of long-standing John McCarthy spoke to the Society at its 2016 Annual Lunch and his thought-provoking and often moving talk on "Letters from the (Great War) Trenches" is reproduced here.

Peter Munday, then 16 years old, was part of the Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society to the Mavuradonha Mountains in 1955 and his entertaining account of that trip is published here.

Mike Tucker provides another well-researched article on his surveys of Fort Ingwenya and its cemetery and we close this edition with Paul Hubbard's book review of George Hulme's memories of the Save Valley, obituaries of the doughty John Ford and of the remarkable Darrel Plowes and, finally, our Chairman's Report for 2017/2018.

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 Sargeant and my secretary Felicity Naidoo for their invaluable skills.

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Christopher Nguboyenja Lobengula - The Mental Anguish of the Dispossessed[1]

By R. S. Roberts

Nguboyenja was the youngest of the three 'royal' sons of Lobengula taken by Rhodes to Cape Town in 1894. Mpezeni, the middle brother by age, died of pneumonia in 1899 and virtually nothing is known of him as a person; and the eldest of the three, Njube, died in despair in 1910 as described in earlier issues.[2] Nguboyenja lived until 1944 and never caused the Southern Rhodesian Administration the problems that Njube had. But he did briefly raise fears in 1908, and the Administration's clumsy handling of the situation appears to have tipped Nguboyenja over the edge into a mental breakdown that paralysed his life thereafter. Whether it was a case of Fanon's erithism of the colonized or schizophrenia that would have manifested itself anyway, sooner or later, is a question that cannot be answered by armchair diagnosis; but what is clear is the sadness of a wasted life of an ex-royal in the new world that overtook the Ndebele a century ago.

In 1894 Rhodes and the British South Africa Company accepted responsibility for members of Lobengula's family; most were given pensions but three 'royal' sons thought to be the ones who would have been in line for the succession[3] were taken to live with Rhodes in Cape Town where they could be given a western education and, it was hoped, weaned away from their traditional status and expectations. Nguboyenja, like Njube, was important because he had an Ndiweni mother but the complicated details of his birth, status and relationships are best dealt with separately (in an Appendix at the end of this article).

Thus in February 1895 Nguboyenja, together with his two brothers, entered Zonnebloem College in Cape Town,[4] an Anglican high-church school for the sons of African chiefs and headmen. In 1897 the three boys paid a visit home[5] and in early 1898 Nguboyenja's mother came to see him with her new husband, Mtshani (Umjaan) Khumalo (cousin of Lobengula and induna of the Imbizo), together with Mpezeni's and Njube's mothers;[6] but after Mpezeni's death in late 1899 and Njube's finishing school a year or so later, Nguboyenja was left alone, to spend a record twelve years at the College with only one visit home, apparently, near the end of his career there.[7] Not much is

[1] This subject has been presented many times in talks and lectures, once in written form: R. S. Roberts, 'Nguboyenja Lobengula' (Harare, Univ. of Zimbabwe, Hist. Dep., Henderson Semin. Pap. 60, 1984). This spelling of Nguboyenja is now generally accepted and probably derives from *Imgubo yenja* (the blanket of the dog), but another possible derivation is from *Imgubo entsha* (new blanket = new robe = new heir); see W. E. Thomas and R. Lanning in *The Bulawayo Chron*., 17 and 11 Nov. 1936, respectively.

[2] Roberts, 'Alban Njube Lobengula, Iqanda le Ngwenya: A chronicle of a royal heir's exile and despair', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (2010), XXIX, 1–32, and 'Some relatives of Lobengula and close associates of the Khumalo family after the Occupation', ibid. (1986), VI, 23–9.

[3] There was a fourth 'royal son', Sidojiwe, who was the youngest and never considered to be of consequence, ibid; below, fns 151, 161 and Appendix, n. 10.

[4] Univ. of Cape Town, Libr., Mss Dep., BC 636 [Zonnebloem Coll. Pap.], D1.2 [Admissions Regist., 1876–1900], Admission Nos. 595–7.

[5] *The Gwelo Times*, 18 Mar. 1932

[6] *The Bulawayo Chron*., 28 Jan. and 18 Feb. 1898.

[7] For his departure from the College, see *The Zonnebloem Coll. Mag*. (1907), (V), xx, 3, and also below, fn. 28. For Mpezeni's death see Roberts, 'Alban Njube Lobengula, Iqanda le Ngwenya', 6. The date of Njube's departure from Zonnebloem is not known exactly, but it was probably in the latter part of 1900 when he visited Matabeleland and then

Nguboyenja in Cape Town *c*.1897 (Courtesy National Archives, Harare, Illustration Collect., 92 (Njube) 32)

known of his early years at school,[8] but he seems to have blossomed as he grew older. He did particularly well at divinity[9] and, although not as religious as Njube, he was baptized, as Christopher, confirmed into the Anglican Church by the Archbishop of Cape Town in August 1900, and became a member of the Association of St John Baptist.[10] He was generally good at his studies[11] and participated prominently in school activities;[12] by his last year he was Head Prefect and captain of the cricket team.[13]

For most of the time that Nguboyenja was in Zonnebloem the Southern Rhodesian Administration was more concerned with Njube,[14] and it was only in 1905, towards the end of Nguboyenja's time at school, that the Company officials in Cape Town, Salisbury and London turned their attention to his future. The feeling was the he should go to England for further education 'either as a Vet[erinary] Sur[geon] or in some suitable trade'.[15] Nguboyenja, however, wrote in early 1906 to Simon Mhlatuzana, a relative by marriage and confidant of the Khumalo family in Bulawayo, asking him to get the chiefs to obtain permission for him to visit his mother.[16]

The Chief Native Commissioner in Bulawayo asked for instructions but the Administration took no immediate action pending instructions from London.[17] The view in London was that Nguboyenja had 'lofty aspirations' to have a Khumalo paramountcy recognized and that he might become dangerous if he returned to Southern Rhodesia and fell under the influence of bad advisers; therefore, he should not return and should settle down to his original idea of becoming a veterinary surgeon.[18] The Warden of

married in the early part of 1901, ibid., 7.

[8] One short undated note survives in Univ. of Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Commonw. and Afr. Stud., Weston Libr., MSS. Afr. s.228, C (Pap. of C. J. Rhodes, Lett. and Telegr. Received), 27, No. 11, in which it appears that he was writing to his mother to tell her that he wanted to go home because he had been in trouble and that Rhodes helped him correct the spelling mistakes.

[9] *The Zonnebloem Coll. Mag*. (1901–3), (I), i, 3; ii, 3; vi, 1; vii (suppl.), 10, 11; (1904–5), (II), ix, 21; xi, 3; (1905–6), (III), xv, 76; (1906–7), (IV), xvii, 37; xix, 77, 83.

[10] St Philip's Church, Cape Town, Regist. of Baptisms, 1 Jan. 1893–20 July 1902, 445, entry 1787, 13 Jan. 1900; Zonnebloem Estate, Cape Town, Zonnebloem Coll., Regist. of Confirmations, 1 June 1872–5 Dec. 1936, 24, entry 12 Aug. 1900; *The Zonnebloem Coll. Mag*. (1905–6), (III), xii, 23; xiv, 71; xv, 95.

[11] Ibid. (1901–3), (I), ii, 3; vii (supplement), 11; (1904–5), (II), x, 9; (1905–6), (III), xiii, 46.

[12] He was later remembered as an all-round sportsman, *The Afr. Home News,* 7 Apr. 1962. For his cricket, see *The Zonnebloem Coll. Mag*. (1901–3), (I), iii, 5; (1905–6), (III), xii, 8; xiv, 61; xv, 78; (1906–7), (IV), xviii, 55, 56; (1907), (V), xx, 6–8. For his football, see ibid. (1905–6), (III), xiii, 28; (1906–7), (IV), xvi, 10; (1907), (V), xxi, 29. According to O. Stuart, 'Players, workers, and protesters: Social Change and soccer in colonial Zimbabwe', in J. MacClancy (ed.), *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity* (Oxford, Berg, 1996), 167–80, Njube's brother 'Charles' (an error for Christopher Nguboyenja, perpetuated in T. O. Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City 1893–1960* (Harare, Weaver Press, 2010), 42) played centre-half and was the club secretary. For Nguboyenja's other activities, see *The Zonnebloem Coll. Mag*. (1901–3), (I), vii, 2, 5, 6; (1904–5), (II), x, 18.

[13] Ibid. (1906–7), (IV), xviii, 62; (1907), (VI), xx, 6, 8.

[14] The few references in the archives to Nguboyenja at this time are mainly routine matters, mainly estimates of expenditure for his education; see for example, correspondence between the Chief Secr., Salisbury, to J. A. Stevens, Cape Town, in Natl Arch. of Zimbabwe, Harare, A/2/8/7, 30 June and 22 July 1902 (all references to documentary sources, unless otherwise indicated, are to this Archives, and they are listed in full at the end of this article); A/2/8/8, 27 Nov. 1902; A/2/8/9, 13 Aug. 1904. In 1903 Nguboyenja made some complaints but what about is not known; see A/2/8/8, Chief Secr. to J. A. Stevens, Cape Town, 24 Oct. 1903.

[15] A/11/2/12/8, Adm., Minute, 22 Dec. 1905 on Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Secr. Adm., 16 Dec. 1905.

[16] NB/3/1/6, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Chief Secr., 24 Feb. 1906. For details of Simon Mhlatuzana also known as Ntando ka Tebe, see Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula', 30–1.

[17] A/2/2/41, Chief Secr. to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 1 Mar. 1906.

[18] A/11/2/12/8, L. Michell to Milton, 16 May 1906; Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Milton, 31 May 1906 (for quotation).

Zonnebloem and Dr L. S. Jameson were consulted and it was advised that Nguboyenja should be sent to England to one of Canon Woodard's schools in the country even though there was a danger that as a prince he might be 'spoilt'.[19] Over the next two months it became suspected that Nguboyenja had been visited by Ndebele messengers for he became troublesome at the school and began to demand that he be allowed to go home.[20]

There then followed a 'Fronde of the Princes' in which Nguboyenja, Sekgome, a nephew of Kgama, and a relative of Mpande, the Zulu Chief, led a demonstration at the school; and further inquiries in Cape Town and Salisbury revealed that Nguboyenja had formed definite ideas of assuming a reconstituted Khumalo chieftainship and that he certainly was not out of touch with the Ndebele ruling class, which in fact had sent several boys to the College.[21] Also a message from some Ndebele in Cape Town was sent to Mtshani Khumalo to the effect that Nguboyenja wanted to come home before going to England.[22] The Chief Native Commissioner Matabeleland did not 'think a visit . . . would have any political effect',[23] and so arrangements were put in hand and Nguboyenja left Cape Town in January 1907, as soon as he had seen Dr Jameson and obtained his approval.[24] This fortnight's visit passed uneventfully and to facilitate Nguboyenja's moving around, the Chief Native Commissioner gave him a certificate relieving him from the necessity of obtaining and carrying passes.[25] The duration of his visit had to be extended because Nguboyenja's schedule was upset by the first signs that we have of his future ill-health: 'a terrible attack of headache, which still retains me within doors'.[26]

Nguboyenja then returned to Zonnebloem for the Lent term 1907[27] after which he sailed to England and enrolled at Denstone College in Staffordshire in mid-June.[28] He soon settled down well, spent a happy summer holiday at Colwyn Bay[29] and pleased

[19] Ibid., Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Priv. Secr. Adm., 2 July 1906. Nathaniel Woodard was a noted high-church Anglican educationalist, many of whose schools (including Denstone College where Nguboyenja was enrolled) still exist.

[20] Ibid., Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Milton, 17 Sept. 1906.

[21] Ibid., idem to idem, 22 and 28 Sept. 1906 and encl.: Revd W. H. Parkhurst to Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town, 27 Sept. 1906; Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, Minute, 3 Oct. 1906; NB/1/1/12, Parkhurst to Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town, 30 Dec. 1900. There are numerous other examples of Ndebele indunas sending their sons to South Africa for education; see NB/3/1/19, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Secr. Adm., 8 Feb. 1910; A/13/18/7, Princ., Lovedale Inst., to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 25 Oct. 1912, encl. in Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Secr. Adm., 6 Nov. 1912; A /13/18/8, High Comm., Durban, to Adm., 26 July 1915—a fact, acknowledged in passing by T. O. Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898–1930* (London, Heinemann, 1970), 30, which, however, throws doubt on his underlying thesis which treats Nguboyenja's appeal to the 'educated' as something separate from his traditionalist Khumalo appeal; for a good example of this conjunction of traditional role and education, see Simon Mhlatuzana, above, fn.16.

[22] A 2/11/2/12/8, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 24 Dec. 1906, encl. Jele Mboyeni *et al*., Cape Town, to Headman Mtyana, 15 Oct. 1906; Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 29 Dec. 1906. Much of this correspondence, and sometimes the originals, is also in NB/3/1/9.

[23] A/11/2/12/8, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr., 29 Dec. 1906.

[24] NB/3/1/9, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town, 3 Jan. 1907, and his replies, 10 and 11 Jan. 1907.

[25] Ibid., Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, Certif., 15 Jan. 1907; this was in terms of Gov. Not. 31 of 1905 under the Natives Pass Ord, (No. 10 of 1902) and the Natives Pass Amendment Ord. (No. 12 of 1904).

[26] NB/3/1/9, Nguboyenja to Chief Native Comm. [Matabeleland], n.d.; Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Adm., 29 Jan. 1907 (telegr.).

[27] NB/3/1/10, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm. Matebeleland, 9 Feb. 1907; *The Zonnebloem School Mag*. (1907), V, xx, 8.

[28] *The Bulawayo Chron*., 1 May 1907; LO/1/2/55, Minutes, 16 May 1907, Annexure 13: F. A. Hibbert, Denstone College, to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 13 May 1907; LO/1/2/56, Minutes, 6 June 1907, Annexures 4–6: Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 8, 15 and 21 (telegr.) May 1907; Minutes, 20 June 1907, Minute A.2968.

[29] Colwyn Bay was, of course, home to The Africa Institute, an interdenominational missionary training college, from which many African students went on to further study, especially law, C. Draper & J. Lawson-Reay, *Scandal at Congo House: William Hughes and the Africa Institute Colwyn Bay* (Llanrwst, Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2012). It has been described as the 'provincial meeting place for black people' in Britain, D. Killingray, 'Significant Black South Africans in Britain before 1912: Pan-African organisations and the emergence of South Africa's first Black lawyers', *S. Afr. Hist Jnl* (2012),

his teachers with his academic progress and general behaviour.[30] A problem soon arose, however, over what Nguboyenja's educational future was to be; there had been little communication between the Cape Town and London offices of the British South Africa Company or with the headmaster of Denstone College or with Nguboyenja himself.[31] Before leaving Cape Town Nguboyenja had told Sir Lewis Michell that he wanted to become a veterinary surgeon[32] but it appears that he told Jameson that his intention was to be a lawyer;[33] the Cape Town Office, on the other hand, appears to have indicated that the masters at Denstone College should advise on Nguboyenja's future after he had been there for a year and had shown in what direction his aptitude lay.[34] The headmaster at Denstone had concluded that Nguboyenja would probably do medicine or law[35] but when the question was discussed later he suggested that Nguboyenja should go to university to become a teacher or an ordained minister.[36] The London Office, however, had assumed that he would do veterinary surgery.[37] In this morass of ambiguity only one thing became clear—and this was that Nguboyenja was now determined to read Law, and nothing else, in preparation for returning to Southern Africa to practise.[38]

The British South Africa Company greatly preferred that he should do a practical subject, like veterinary surgery or farming, rather than something that might lead to political awareness and perhaps activism; and so in mid-March 1908 P. S. Inskipp of the London Office was sent to see Nguboyenja to try to persuade him of the impracticability of an African becoming a lawyer. Inskipp reported that the headmaster 'spoke in very high terms of Lobengula's intelligence, capacity and general bearing . . . his excellent character and . . . more than average ability . . . and work which was quite up to European standards'; and Inskipp himself was

> greatly struck by his appearance and manners, and it is quite evident that he is

LXIV, 409. Whether Nguboyenja was sent there so that he could meet old friends or make new ones is not known, but the B.S.A.Co. would surely not have approved.

[30] LO/1/2/57, Minutes, 28 Aug. 1907, Annexure 1: Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 7 Aug. 1907, quoting letter from Principal of Denstone to Warden of Zonnebloem; LO/1/2/61, Minutes, 6 Aug. 1908, Annexure 7: Miss M. Reid to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 3 Aug. 1908; LO/1/2/58, Minutes, 19 Dec. 1907, Annexure 4: H. S. Cadman, Secr. Denstone Coll., to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 15 Dec. 1907, and LO/1/2/59, Minutes, 2 Jan. 1908, Annexure 12: 'Report for Michaelmas Term 1907'.

[31] See, for example, LO/1/1/113, Agenda, 2 Jan. 1908, Part II, Item 6; Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to H. S. Cadman, Denstone Coll., 23 Dec. 1907: 'The Board is not aware of the precise circumstances under which he [Nguboyenja] was sent home [here] for educational purposes.'

[32] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 9 July 1908, Minute A.3361.

[33] LO1/2/58, Minute, 19 Dec. 1907, Annexure 4: H. S. Cadman, Secr. Denstone Coll., to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 15 Dec. 1907; LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 7 May 1908, Annexures 8 and 9: B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 1 Apr. 1908, encl. C. N. Lobengula to Dr L. S. Jameson, 20 Feb. 1908.

[34] LO/1/2/57, Minutes, 28 Aug. 1907, Annexure 1: Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 7 Aug. 1907.

[35] LO/1/2/55, Minutes, 16 May 1907, Annexure 13: F. A. Hibbert, Headmaster Denstone Coll., to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 13 May 1907.

[36] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 2 Apr. 1908, Annexure 9: P. S. Inskipp, 'Memorandum on [Visit to] C. N. Lobengula', 1 Apr. 1908; A/11/2/12/8, F. A. Hibbert to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 18 Apr. 1908. Nguboyenja's best subject was Divinity, followed by English, LO/1/2/59, Minutes, 2 Jan. 1908, Annexure 12: 'Report for Michaelmas Term 1907'; this remained so to the end of his studies. A/11/2/12/8, Denstone College, 'Report for Lent Term, 1908', and 'Report for Summer Term 1908', encl. in Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Adm., 15 Aug. 1908.

[37] LO/1/2/56, Minutes, 6 June 1907, Annexure 1: F. A. Hibbert to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 23 May 1907; Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Hibbert, 28 May 1907: 'his education . . . must be limited to what is strictly necessary to fit him for the profession of a Veterinary Surgeon'. It was presumably from this source that the writer of the 'London Letter' obtained his information which nevertheless led him to wonder 'as to where this royal "vet" will be permitted to practise'; see *The Bulawayo Chron*., 1 May 1907.

[38] LO/1/2/58, Minutes, 19 Dec. 1907, Annexure 4: H. S. Cadman, Secr. Denstone College, to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 15 Dec. 1907; see also LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 7 May 1908, Annexure 9: C. N. Lobengula to Dr L. S. Jameson, 20 Feb. 1908. What aroused Nguboyenja's interest in law and his determination to practise in Southern Africa was not discussed at the time but many years later R. Lanning of the Southern Rhodesian Native Affairs Department attributed it to the influence of a Black West Indian lawyer in Cape Town; see Natl Arch. Zimbabwe, Bulawayo, Pap. of Revd W. A. Carnegie, Box 5443, Rep. and Pam. A–Z, Mss Note [Nov. 1936]. The reference, of course, was to Henry Sylvester Williams, who had practised in Cape Town in 1903–4; see J. R. Hooker, *Henry Sylvester Williams* . . . (London, Rex Collings, 1975), 64–82; for proof of connection between him and Nguboyenja in London later, see below, fns 53, 54.

> a more than usually intelligent member of his race . . . I explained to him that he could never hope to make a living in that profession [law] in South Africa . . . although in the very distant future it might be possible for members of the coloured races of South Africa to take up the learned professions as they now do in India and other parts of the world, but that at present he must take the word of those wiser and more experienced than himself that it could not be . . .
>
> Since the foregoing remarks were written a letter has been received from Lobengula stating that he adheres to his wish to read for the Bar . . .
>
> I particularly asked . . . whether he would be willing to practise his profession in West Africa or any part of the world other than the Cape, but he is quite firm in his desire to return to South Africa.[39]

Nguboyenja, indeed, was adamant that he wanted to read Law and he firmly informed the Board that 'I am sorry that I have been unable to come to any other decision than that I had already intimated to your representative.'[40] Consequently when the Board nevertheless 'decided not to support Lobengula's desire to prepare for the legal profession',[41] Nguboyenja immediately demanded to be sent back to Cape Town forthwith.[42] Meanwhile the Board had at last realized that more definite plans than in the past had to be made about Nguboyenja's future education, and so the Company Secretary in London wrote to the Rhodes Trustees to see if he would be eligible for a Rhodes Scholarship to go to Oxford; and the reply was that he would be if he passed Responsions and made an application approved by the Southern Rhodesian Administration.[43]

At the same time the views of the Administration in Southern Rhodesia and of the Cape Town office of the Company and of Zonnebloem College in Cape Town were being sought.[44] There was some difference of opinion within the Company and the Administration; Dr Jameson saw no danger in his being allowed to do 'Law up to a certain standard [such as] law Agent';[45] the Chief Native Commissioner in Bulawayo saw political dangers in his becoming a lawyer and thought that it would be unwise to let Nguboyenja return to Cape Town and that he should, therefore, be found a clerical post in the Company in London, Salisbury or Umtali, or in the Anglican Church in Mashonaland; the Administrator, however, recommended to London that while there were no political objections to his returning to Bulawayo, it would be better if he found a post with a mission in Cape Town.[46] The Revd W. H. Parkhurst, Warden of Zonnebloem, was strongly of the opinion that Nguboyenja should not be allowed to become a lawyer or return to Southern Africa lest he 'be exploited by interested persons and become a

[39] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 2 Apr. 1908, Annexure 9: P. S. Inskipp, 'Memorandum [on Visit to] C. N. Lobengula', 1 Apr. 1908; parts of this report are quoted in Ranger, *The African Voice,* 33, from another file but with numerous orthographical errors.

[40] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 2 Apr. 1908, Annexure 8, C. N. Lobengula to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 30 Mar. 1908.

[41] Ibid., Minutes, 2 Apr. 1908. No. A.3254; LO/1/1/117, Agenda, 14 Apr. 1908, Part II, Item 6: Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to C. N. Lobengula, 10 Apr. 1908. See also, A/11/2/12/8, Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Hibbert, Denstone Coll., 4 Apr. 1908: 'most undesirable that he should read for the Bar with a view to practising as a Barrister in South Africa'.

[42] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 14 Apr. 1908, Annexure 2, C. N. Lobengula to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 13 Apr. 1908.

[43] Ibid., Minutes, 2 Apr. 1908, No. A.3254; A/11/2/12/8, Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Secr. Rhodes Trust, 6 Apr. 1908; Secr. Rhodes Trust to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 14 Apr. 1908.

[44] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 2 Apr. 1908, No. A.3254; Minutes, 18 Apr. 1908, No. A.3272; Minutes, 7 May 1908, No. A.3293; LO/1/1/117, Agenda, 7 May 1908, Part II, Item 8: Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town, 15 Apr. 1908 (telegr.); A/11/2/12/8, Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Adm., 9 May 1908; LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 9 July 1908, No. A.3361 and Annexure 4: 'Memorandum by the Assistant Secretary [A. P. Millar]', 29 June 1908; Minutes, 23 July 1908, Annexure 1: Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Revd W. H. Parkhurst, 10 July 1908.

[45] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 7 May 1908, Annexure 8: Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 1 Apr. 1908.

[46] A/11/2/12/8, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, Minutes, 18 May and 13 Aug. 1908; Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Chief Secr., 10 June 1908; Adm. to Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town, 24 May 1908 (telegr.).

focus of unrest and ultimately a menace to the peace of the whole of South Africa'.[47]

Nguboyenja meanwhile had taken the decision, that he should not read law, very badly. He had earlier been described as 'so quiet' and 'very reserved . . . very sensitive',[48] but now he became 'cantankerous' and 'aloof',[49] and continued to insist on returning to South Africa immediately.[50] Thereupon the London Board decided no longer to oppose Nguboyenja's desire to read Law and sent Inskipp to see him to settle the details of his future education.[51] In doing this the Company had acted prudently, for Inskipp found Nguboyenja 'at [such] cross purposes with everybody . . . [that] I do not think it would be wise to further thwart him';[52] also, it had become clear to the Company in London that Nguboyenja was in touch with other ex-Zonnebloem boys such as G. D. Montsioa, of the Baralong royal family, and H. N. Poswayo, a Baca from the Transkei (who were or had recently been at the Africa Institute in Colwyn Bay and were embarking on the law) and that they might take up Nguboyenja's cause with the help of an 'undesirable' friend who lived in St John's Wood, London.[53] Whether the Company checked up on this 'undesirable' friend, and was thereby influenced towards its change of heart, is not known; but certainly Ranger who saw this reference did not appreciate the significance of the address, for it was in fact that of the Trinidadian lawyer, Henry Sylvester Williams, one of the founders of the Pan-African Association/Conference in 1900 who had then practised in Cape Town when Nguboyenja had been at Zonnebloem.[54]

But for Nguboyenja the Board's change of mind came too late. Denstone College was eager to be rid of him, and while the Company was looking for another College, he was sent on holiday to Colwyn Bay again.[55] There he showed signs of mental breakdown precipitated perhaps by the sudden decision to return to Trinidad on the part of Henry Sylvester Williams who was probably the only older man who had ever befriended him; thus Nguboyenja addressed a letter to the Company that was both pathetic and dignified:

> I am sorry to have to disappoint you and those concerned in my welfare so soon, by asking whether it would not be possible for you to send me back home as soon as possible. I really cannot stay here any longer. I have tried my very best, in fact I thought a change might improve matters. But as it is, I am no happier

[47] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 9 July 1908, Annexure 4: 'Memorandum by the Assistant Secretary [A. P. Millar]', 29 June 1908. It was not only the B.S.A. Company that was frightened of Africans reading law; two years earlier the Colonial Office, in response to a request from Governor of Natal, Sir Henry McCallum, tried unsuccessfully to stop Pixley Seme's admission to Oxford to study law, N. Etherington, 'Religion and resistance in Natal, 1900–1910', in A. Lissoni *et al*. (ed.), *One Hundred Years of the ANC: Debating Liberation Histories Today* (Johannesburg, Univ. of the Witwatersrand Press, 2012), 14–15.

[48] LO/1/1/112, Part II, Item 2: H. S. Cadman, Denstone Coll., to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 15 Dec. 1907

[49] A/11/2/12/8, Revd F. A. Hibbert to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 18 Apr. 1908, and encl.: 'Report for Lent Term 1908'.

[50] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 14 Apr. 1908, Annexure 2: C. N. Lobengula to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 13 Apr. 1908; Minutes, 23 July 1908, Annexure 3: C. N. Lobengula to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 11 July 1908.

[51] Ibid., Minutes, 23 July 1908, No. A.3372.

[52] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 30 July 1908, Annexure 1: P. S. Inskipp, 'Memo randum [on Visit to] C. N. Lobengula', 28 July 1908. Most writings on Nguboyenja claim either that he was forbidden to study law or that he did study it and qualify; the truth, however—as is often the case—was a muddle in the middle of two over-simplifications.

[53] Ibid.; A/11/2/12/8, F. A. Hibbert to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London. 18 Apr. 1908; and LO/1/1/119, Agenda, 30 July 1908, Part 2, Item 2: Revd W. H. Parkhurst to A. P. Millar, 27 July 1908. George Dixon Montsioa was also studying law and became an attorney in Pietersburg; he was one of the four lawyers who founded the (South) African (Native) National Congress and was appointed its Recording Secretary at the inaugural conference in 1912; see M. Benson, *The African Patriots* . . . (London, Faber and Faber, 1963), 26, and T. Karis and G. Carter, *From Protest to Challenge . . . Volume 4: Political Profiles 1882–1964* (Stanford, Hoover Inst. Press, 1977), 96.

[54] City of Westminster, Libr., Arch. Dep., Marylebone Local Hist. Libr., Metrop. Borough of Marylebone, *Rate Book : District 1 . . . First Day of April . . . and Ending on the Thirtieth Day of September One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eight* . . . , f. 55; also cf. Hooker, *Henry Sylvester Williams,* 65 with A/11/2/12/8, Hibbert to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 18 Apr. 1908. See also above, fn. 38. Also in England at this time, studying law, were Alfred Mangena, Isaac Pixley Seme, and Richard Msimang who all qualified by 1910 and returned home to play a prominent part in the early days of the South African Native National Congress/African National Congress.

[55] LO/1/2/60, Minutes, 23 July 1908, Annexures 4, 6 and 7: F. A. Hibbert, Denstone Coll., to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 12 and 17 July 1908, and Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Truman and Knightley, 20 July 1908.

> nor likely to be . . .
>
> This letter is the result of no hasty conclusion, and I should be much obliged if you took it as such, for as to whether I could stay here any longer is a question that I have thought over many a day and night.
>
> I know this letter coming so soon after giving you my word that I would help your endeavours on my behalf by doing my best to work hard and get through the Law course, will no doubt grieve you. But I do not see how I can pull through in my present state. Every day is more gloomy than that before it.[56]

The Company Secretary advised him to stay quietly in Colwyn Bay while a private tutor in law was being found for him, but Nguboyenja then fled to the London Office.[57] However it was the August bank-holiday weekend and so he accomplished nothing and returned to Colwyn Bay, losing his luggage *en route* only to find that his landlady had let his rooms. The Company urgently asked her to find some way of keeping him but she refused 'to have the responsibility of him any longer', for he spent all his time brooding in his bedroom 'perfectly miserable . . . [and] most unnatural for a young fellow'.[58]

The Company Secretary wrote also to Nguboyenja advising him to get plenty of fresh air in an 'endeavour to distract your mind from brooding too much', but he replied asking for money so that he could leave: 'I am reduced to the bed, and sitting room state . . . the sooner I left the better'.[59] A South African civil servant, who saw him at this time, later recalled, rather simplistically perhaps, that Nguboyenja 'even then appeared to be suffering from hallucinations consequent upon loss or deprivation of the Lobengula Dynasty'.[60]

This disturbing course of events raised the question of Nguboyenja's urgent return to Southern Africa. His former teachers at Zonnebloem advised against mission or teaching work but thought that he might be suitable for employment as an interpreter.[61] The Administration in Salisbury thereupon cabled London to say that it would employ Nguboyenja; the Board gratefully accepted the offer,[62] and four days later Nguboyenja was on a ship bound for Cape Town.[63] In the meantime Company officials debated whether a job in the Southern Rhodesia courts would be suitable, at least for a shortish period before transfer, perhaps, north of the Zambesi.[64] In Salisbury the Administration decided against a position in the Native Department but left open the possibility of Nguboyenja becoming a court interpreter; as before the Chief Native Commissioner Matabeleland emphasized that it was better that Nguboyenja did not stay in South Africa

[56] LO/1/2/61, Minutes, 6 Aug. 1908, Annexure 1: C. N. Lobengula to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 31 [30] July 1908, quoted from another source in Ranger, *The African Voice,* 34, with orthographical errors and erroneously described as addressed to Inskipp.

[57] LO/1/2/61, Minutes, 6 Aug. 1908, Annexures 2–5: Assist. Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to C. N. Lobengula, 31 July 1908; C. N. Lobengula to A. P. Millar, 1 Aug. 1908 (telegr.); Miss M. Reid, Colwyn Bay, to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 1 Aug. 1908 (telegr. and letter); LO/1/1/119, Agenda, 6 Aug. 1908, Part 2, H. P. P., 'Memorandum', 5 Aug. 1908.

[58] LO/1/2/61, Minutes, 6 Aug. 1908. Annexures, 6, 7 and 13: Miss M. Reid, Colwyn Bay, to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 2, 3 and 5 Aug. 1908; Annexure 10: Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Miss M. Reid, Colwyn Bay, 4 Aug. 1908; LO/1/1/119, Agenda, 6 Aug. 1908, Part 2, H. P. P. 'Memorandum', 5 Aug. 1908.

[59] LO/1/2/61, Minutes, 6 Aug. 1908, Annexure 9: Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to C. N. Lobengula, Colwyn Bay, 4 Aug. 1908; Annexures 8 and 12: C. N. Lobengula to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, n.d. (*bis*, quotation in latter).

[60] S. Afr. Gov. Arch. [Service], Pretoria, NTS/1/407 [Dep. van Naturelle Sake: Albert Lobengula, Lobengula's Sons], I, I. B. M. [?], Native Aff. Dep., Pretoria, to Acting Secr. Native Aff., Pretoria, 23 Aug. 1923.

[61] A/11/2/12/8, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Adm., 3 Aug. 1908 (telegr. and lett.).

[62] LO/1/2/61, Minutes, 6 Aug. 1908, No. A.3385, and Annexure 11: Milton to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 4 Aug. 1908 (telegr.).

[63] Ibid., Minutes, 20 Aug. 1908, Annexure 4: Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Adm., 11 Aug. 1908.

[64] Ibid., Annexure 5: Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Adm., 15 Aug. 1908.

where he might team up with Njube.[65]

On arriving back in Cape Town Nguboyenja refused to stay at Zonnebloem College and went to stay with Jacob Tshokwane, an Ndebele and former employee of Rhodes; and as he was proving difficult to handle the Company quickly arranged for him to go to Bulawayo, where it was felt he would best settle down.[66] Nguboyenja had in fact already started making his own plans for this in correspondence with Simon Mhlatuzana (Ntando);[67] thus after arriving in Bulawayo he spurned the Administration's arrangements for him to stay with the Revd J. Gillanders of the Anglican Church, and instead he went to stay in the Location with Ntando at the Wesleyan Mission.[68]

When Nguboyenja met the Chief Native Commissioner, he spoke expansively of his many 'friends',[69] and, according to Ranger, he showed great ability in attracting support both from the ex-rebels and the more educated;[70] but there is no real evidence of this in the documents. What was certain about him was his strange mental state on arrival in Bulawayo, which convinced Gillanders that he was either 'drunk or mad — the latter I think'.[71] Certainly the situation he found himself in at Bulawayo was to prove as oppressive, if not more so, than the schooling that he had just given up. At this first interview with the Chief Native Commissioner after arriving in Bulawayo, Herbert Taylor impressed upon him the reality of his status both as a legal minor under the tutelage of the Company and as a 'native' without any recognized position amongst his own people:

> You know Nguboyenja you are child still, and sometimes it is better to have someone to think for you . . . In Cape Town and in England you were on a different footing but in this country I am your guardian . . . You must be very careful not to give the Government any annoyance . . . All the black people here are under me, and I look to their interests; as long as they do what I tell them they are all right. I attend to their wants and you are in the same position . . .

Taylor raised the possibility of his working in his office as an interpreter but Nguboyenja made it clear that he wanted 'to settle down and farm . . . cattle rearing'. When the Chief Native Commissioner asked where the money would come from

[65] A/11/2/12/8, Chief Native Comm. Matebeleland, Minute, 13 Aug. 1908, on J. A. Stevens, Cape Town, to Milton, 5 June 1908.

[66] A/11/2/12/8, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Adm., 26 (telegr.) and 28 Aug. 1908; Priv. Secr. Adm. to Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town, 28 Aug. 1908 (telegr.); Priv. Secr. Adm. to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 27 (telegr.) and 28 Aug. 1908; Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 31 Aug. 1908. The Administration was very undecided about his future. The Native Department in Bulawayo, however, preferred that Nguboyenja go to Salisbury or Umtali, ibid., Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 27 Aug. 1908 (telegr.); the Administrator had come to the conclusion that something completely unconnected with Government would be best, ibid., Adm. to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 2 Sept. 1908 (telegr.).

[67] Perhaps even before he left England; see NB/3/1/9, S. Mhlatuzane to Nguboyenja, 25 July 1908.

[68] A/11/2/12/8, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 31 Aug. 1908; Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 3 Sept. 1908, and encl.: 'Shorthand Notes: Interview . . . Nguboenja', 2 Sept. 1908; Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 9 Sept. 1908.

[69] Ibid., 'Shorthand Notes': Interview . . . Nguboenja'.

[70] Ranger, *The African Voice*, 34–5.

[71] A/11/2/12/8, [Revd J.] Gillanders to Bishop [of Mashonaland], 3 Sept. 1908 (telegr.), encl. in Bishop of Mashonaland to Milton, 3 Sept. 1908. The Government Surgeon who examined him twice said that he was 'somewhat strange . . . and is very morose', apparently suffering from 'mental depression', ibid., District Surgeon Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 15 Sept. 1908. Nguboyenja appears to have had little grip of day-to-day practicalities, having no idea about his luggage and having lost what little he brought with him from Cape Town (ibid., 'Shorthand Notes: Interview . . . Nguboenja')—as had happened on one of his journeys to Colwyn Bay, as seen above. Also he seemed unable to stay in one place; on arriving in Bulawayo he quickly left the Revd J. Gillander's house for Ntando's but within a day asked the Chief Native Comm. if he could leave there: 'it is dull in town, I am tired of it already' (A/11/2/12/8, 'Shorthand Notes: Interview . . . Nguboenja'). An African preacher at the Wesleyan Mission also said 'the man is not sound' and it would be better if he could be found other accommodation in view of 'signs of being insane . . . [and] dangerous to my children', NB/3/1/9, J. C. Fondini to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 12 and 18 Sept. 1908 (this is presumably the Joseph Chamberlain Fondini who later joined the Ethiopian Church of South Africa, S. Afr., Arch., Pretoria, NTS/31/214 (Ethiopian Church of South Africa: Native Separatist Churches), Minute, 2 July 1912.

Nguboyenja pointed out that, 'There is any amount of waste land in the country . . . [and so] I don't see how the Government would suffer in the way of money as far as land goes.' Taylor did not rise to this but got to the real point by asking how Nguboyenja, without funds of his own, would obtain cattle:

> C.N.C.: If you had no cattle what would you propose doing then?
> Nguboyenja: I don't know . . . [I hope] that you will correspond with the Administrator about getting these things for me, cattle and so on . . . Any help . . . [in getting land] would be acceptable, [and] as far as getting the rest of the things my friends would assist me.
> C.N.C.: You don't want to depend on your friends, that is not the right way to look at it . . .You do not want to force yourselves on your friends.
> Nguboyenja: But I do not see that it is forcing myself at all.
> C.N.C.: All these people know . . . that I am the person to whom they are to look for help and assistance . . . Anything you want to tell me you must be open with. We must be good friends otherwise there will be trouble. I am good friends with all my chiefs. You are a child of the Government therefore you must look upon me as your friend.[72]

In reporting on Nguboyenja's return the Chief Native Commissioner for Matabeleland told the Administrator that he thought it best that Nguboyenja be allowed to settle down and farm and that the Administration give him assistance which would be appreciated by the Ndebele. Although Nguboyenja's return would cause a stir, the Chief Native Commissioner foresaw no political repercussions but though it prudent to inform the Chiefs that Nguboyenja not only had no position but also was 'a ward of the Government, who alone are responsible for him'.[73] The Administration had no objection to Nguboyenja's settling down as a farmer—indeed it was greatly to be preferred to his wandering around—and land was offered to him on the Rhodes Estate in the Matopos after he had declined an offer at the Inyanga Estate.[74]

There was some fear that he might try to act independently of the Government in order to provoke some action that would bring him public sympathy in Matabeleland and Britain;[75] and so some leading Chiefs in whom the Chief Native Commissioner had confidence were called in and they were told bluntly that:

> there is a path that he has to tread, and that is the straight path, which means that he has to do all that I tell him . . . you should advise him . . . that if he misbehaves and that there is the slightest attempt to kick against the Government . . . he will not be allowed to remain in the country . . . He is a native of the country, and he must obey all laws appertaining to natives.[76]

It was also emphasized that the Native Department would choose land for him, if not in the Matopos then either at Ntabaizinduna or Mzingwane but nowhere else. Nguboyenja

[72] A/11/2/12/8, 'Shorthand Notes: Interview . . . Nguboenja'; parts of this interview are quoted in Ranger, *The African Voice*, 34–5, but with numerous orthographical errors.

[73] A/11/2/12/8, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 3 Sept. 1908.

[74] Ibid., Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm. 9 and 17 Sept. 1908; 'Report of an Interview between Chief Native Commissioner and Chiefs Gambo, Sikombo, Mazwi, Sirulurulu, Nhlukaniso, Tshakulu', 16 Sept. 1908, encl. in Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 17 Sept. 1908. Notice that most of these chiefs had not been so-called 'collaborators'.

[75] Ibid., Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 9 Sept. 1908.

[76] Ibid., 'Report of an Interview between Chief Native Commissioner and Chiefs . . .', 16 Sept. 1908, quoted in Ranger, *The African Voice,* 35, with numerous orthographical errors.

was called the next day to hear the Chiefs and the Chief Native Commissioner confirm what had been said about his position. Nguboyenja then asked whether he did not enjoy 'any difference in standing between myself and other people', and the Chief Native Commissioner reaffirmed that, 'You have no responsible position like these other chiefs'.[77]

Taylor, in reporting on these meetings to the Administrator, was confident that the Chiefs had adopted the correct attitude but, 'It is, of course, possible that political difficulties may arise, more especially with the younger educated men, who might feel inclined to ignore the Chiefs' advice.' Taylor thought that Nguboyenja was 'an extremely intelligent youth [who] . . . is at present studying the conditions of native life in this country', but who was very undecided, not yet adapted to the change and perhaps mentally ill.[78] The Native Commissioners were told not to let the Ndebele see that Nguboyenja was any cause for concern but nevertheless to keep a fairly close watch on his movements.[79] The Chief Native Commissioner also asked that the Police be instructed to call upon Nguboyenja to produce his pass, for it would be 'in his own interests as in those of the Government were he shown that, as a native, he must comply with the Laws affecting such'[80]—a marked change from the consideration that had been shown him in this respect in 1907. Some reports indicated that Nguboyenja was 'likely to become a serious source of annoyance . . . [for] there is a class who will always follow his lead'; on the other hand, it was said that the people were not being admitted to his presence unless they produced a gift of money and so had no 'respect for him whatever'.[81]

The Native Commissioner at Fort Usher kept a particularly close check on Nguboyenja and his view was that there was little to fear from his meetings. Indeed he felt rather sorry for Nguboyenja who was finding it very hard to adapt to his new surroundings, as his running commentary for the Chief Native Commissioner in Bulawayo shows:

> . . . [Nguboyenja is] a little ill apparently very unhappy back from a nameless [an aimless] tour in the veldt . . .
>
> . . . complained of headache . . . [and returned later] looking more unhappy, if that is possible . . . He did not know where he wanted to go and cared less apparently. As he complained of headache I bedded him down . . . fed him . . . and found this morning that he had gone . . . forgetting to say goodbye . . .

[77] A/11/2/12/8, 'Report of Interview between Chief Native Commissioner and Chiefs . . .', 16 Sept. 1908. It was probably this interview that entered Ndebele oral tradition in the form that Peter Kumalo recounted some thirty years later—that a Native Department official asked the Chiefs whether they disowned Nguboyenja when he was within hearing but out of sight behind the office door; when the Chiefs assured the official that they disowned him he suddenly presented himself and swore that he would never speak to them again, Hist. Mss Collect., W18/1/1, f. 23. This has been repeated almost identically to Mr Mark Ncube when collecting oral traditions: in 1981 one interviewee recalled that the Chiefs told the official: 'That is a bad family. We no longer want them [Njube or Nguboyenja]. It is better for you Europeans to rule us.' Overhearing this, Nguboyenja 'was greatly shocked and from that day he kept quiet because he could not understand why his people could let him down in such a manner', AOH/112, Mafimba Ncube, 13. Masotsha added that the Chiefs rejected him this way because 'we now have our own cattle', AOH/69, S. Masotsha Ndlovu), 12–13 (quotation at 13). See also interview by Mark Ncube on my behalf with Madlibi Hlabangana, Mpopoma, 3 Oct. 1985 (extract of transcript in my possession). Since then it is versions of this tradition, often further embellished, that have been cited rather than the documentary record; see, for example, P. Nyathi, 'The silent prince', in J. Morris (ed.), *Short Writings from Bulawayo III* (Bulawayo, 'amabooks, 2006), and 'Township names: A history narrative', *The Chron*., 3 May 2014; E. Msindo, *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: Transformations in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860–1990* (Rochester NY, Univ. of Rochester Press, 2012), 106.

[78] A/11/2/12/8, Chief Native Comm.Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 17 Sept. 1908 and encl.: Dist. Surg. Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 15 Sept. 1908.

[79] NB/3/1/9, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland [circular] to Native Comm., 9 Sept. 1908.

[80] Ibid., Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Chief Inspector, B.S.A.P., [Bulawayo], 21 Sept. 1908. The pass, dated 9 Sept. 1908, is in NB/3/1/15.

[81] NB/3/1/9, R. E. [Murray, B.S.A.P.?] to [Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland], 14 Sept. 1908.

> . . . [he] afforded a little amusement [to some who had come to see him] . . . by packing his things and going for a mid-night stroll and otherwise behaving like a maniac on stilts.[82]

The Chiefs, understandably, became anxious about Nguboyenja's condition and suggested that he be 'doctored' but he refused.[83] A plainclothes African policeman who was following Nguboyenja reported that he had declared that

> his heart told him not to stay in Rhodesia, as he liked Cape Town, and that was a good place. . . the chiefs . . . told me they were tired of Nguboyenja, as they had done everything to try and make him comfortable, and he took no notice of them, and seemed dissatisfied, neither did he seem to want their company. . . I noticed that Nguboyenja appeared not to want to have anything to do with the chiefs in any way. He also said to the chiefs, 'You can tell Mr Taylor that you are tired of me, I do not want to stay with you people.'[84]

Although these reports raised concerns about Nguboyenja's health, politically they were reassuring to the Administration, and the earlier doubts[85] about the wisdom of allowing Nguboyenja to stay in Southern Rhodesia were lessened. Any decision on his future was postponed, perhaps deliberately in order to see how Nguboyenja behaved; but finally it was decided to give Nguboyenja an allowance of £100 p.a. and offer him four basic choices of what to do: work in the Chief Native Commissioner's office in Bulawayo, settle on land, either near the Native Commissioner's office at Fort Usher or on the Rhodes Estate at Inyanga, take a job with the Administration in either North East or North West Rhodesia, or return to Cape Town and do as he liked.[86] Whether Nguboyenja was ever officially presented with these choices is not clear but in early November he in effect decided on the last choice by asking if he could leave Matabeleland and settle in the Eastern Cape.[87] Taylor put this down to the fact that:

> Nguboyenja had not received that support and sympathy he anticipated from the Chiefs, although the latter recognise his position as being the son of the 'King' . . . They feel that, so long as he is in the country, they must recognise his status, and I am convinced it would be a relief to them were he to leave Rhodesia altogether, the very fact of his being here tends to unsettle them, and they do not feel secure in regard to their possession of stock as they otherwise would.
>
> Nguboyenja does undoubtedly receive sympathy from the educated native (Matabele and others) in Bulawayo, and it is from this direction that he is likely to obtain support in the event of his wishing to give trouble.[88]

Nguboyenja was described as being very surly at this time and completely undecided as to where he wanted to settle; therefore, the Administration decided that it was better not to involve him in farming of which he had no experience but to pay him an allowance of £150 p.a. and send him back to Cape Town to stay with Tshokwane where he might

[82] Ibid., Native Comm. Fort Usher to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 24 Sept. (telegr.), 25 Sept. (priv.) and 5 Oct. (priv.) 1908.

[83] S1561/10, I, Chief Native Comm. to Sir Lewis Michell, Cape Town, 24 Dec. 1915.

[84] NB/3/1/9, Pumule, Native Constable, Affidavit, 9 Oct. 1908. According to R. Lanning, a long-serving Native Commissioner in Matabeleland (who, however, was not always accurate in what he recalled), Nguboyenja had lost his command of Ndebele, *The Bulawayo Chron*., 11 Nov. 1936.

[85] A/11/2/12/8, Priv. Secr. [Adm.] to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 26 Sept. 1908.

[86] NB/3/1/9, 'Suggestions for Consideration by Nguboyenja Lobengula', 8 Oct. 1908.

[87] A/11/2/12/8, C. N. Lobengula to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, [6] Dec. [Nov} 1908; Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 6 Nov. 1908 (telegr.).

[88] Ibid., Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 10 Nov. 1908; part of this is quoted in Ranger, *The African Voice*, 35, with orthographical errors. Masotsha in 1981 emphasized the importance of the cattle question; see above, fn. 77.

later find suitable employment.[89] Within a fortnight of announcing his desire to leave Matabeleland Nguboyenja had departed for Cape Town,[90] apparently refusing to see his mother to say goodbye.[91] Soon after his arrival there he went to the British South Africa Company Office to collect his first monthly payment of his allowance and was described as 'very sullen and uncommunicative'.[92]

The British South Africa Company Administration must have congratulated itself on so simple an outcome and particularly so when it was informed that some Chiefs had 'expressed their displeasure at the attitude adopted by Nguboyenja, and hoped that the Government would not interest themselves in him should he again signify a desire to return to this country'.[93] Many Chiefs (and not merely 'collaborators') had their reasons for not being keen on a royalist revival and these were not simply their now enjoying cattle and salaries, for historic anti-Lobengula feelings were also involved. The Khumalo family, however, was not defeated by Nguboyenja's departure and soon started to press for the recall of Njube and, after his death in 1910, later rallied to Nyamande, the eldest but not 'royal' son of Lobengula.

Nguboyenja meanwhile appears to have withdrawn into solitude. In 1909 his mother died and he received the news 'without any expression of regret or outward sign of emotion' and he was described at this time generally as being 'very sulky and disinclined to speak even when questioned'.[94] His mother's death did, perhaps, affect him more than it appeared. A month later he asked the British South Africa Company to find him a wife in England and his 'manner was some-what strange'. Jacob Tshokwane also reported that Nguboyenja had become 'very peculiar', only rarely leaving his room, and then naked, and had tried to assault Mrs Tshokwane; he moped all day and refused to talk to anyone, even the Tshokwanes.[95] The Company had a physician visit Nguboyenja and his report was that he was 'not melancholy mad at present but may become so'; it was, therefore, suggested to Milton who was in Cape Town that Nguboyenja would be better off with Njube but Milton asked for a report on Njube first.[96] Njube hurried to Cape Town but soon left again because Nguboyenja 'would have nothing to do with him and was inclined to be quarrelsome'; nevertheless Njube was willing to take Nguboyenja in.[97] The Chief Native Commissioner strongly advised against sending Nguboyenja to stay with Njube,[98] but, in spite of this and Nguboyenja's hostile reaction to Njube, arrangements went ahead to do so until Nguboyenja brought things to a halt by deliberately losing or destroying his railway ticket, and then assaulting with his walking-stick one of the

[89] A/11/2/12/8, Minute by Milton, 16 Nov. 1908 on Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 10 Nov. 1908; Adm. to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 17 Nov. 1908 (telegr.); NB/3/1/9, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Nguboyenja Lobengula, 17 Nov. 1908. There were two related considerations in this; firstly Njube's disastrous farming ventures were a discouraging precedent and, secondly, farming in the Eastern Cape implied too close a proximity to Njube.

[90] A/11/2/12/8, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 19 Nov. 1908. Inexplicably Ranger (*Bulawayo Burning*, 40) says that Nguboyenja remained in Bulawayo.

[91] N/3/18/1/2, II, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Adm., 6 Sept. 1920.

[92] A/11/2/12/8, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Priv. Secr. Adm., 4 Dec. 1908.

[93] Ibid., Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 14 Dec. 1910; the Chiefs in question were so-called 'collaborators' of 1896–7, Gampu Sithole of Amagogo (died 19 Oct. 1916), Chief Frank Gambo II, 'The royal house of the "Gambos"', NADA (1962), XXXIX, 48; some doubt is thrown on this date, @ 51, but it is correct; see S1561/10, I, Native Comm. Plumtree to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 20 Oct. 1916) whose chieftainship has survived under the name of Gambo, and Maphisa Fuyane of Isizinda (died 27 Apr. 1909, NB/3/1/16 [5 Jan.–10 July 1909], whose chieftainship survived, despite certain setbacks, under the name of Mdilizelwa (of Mbizo) and now of Herben. Oral tradition was later to have it wrongly that Nguboyenja was permitted to see only these two Chiefs all the time that he was in Matabeleland, Hist. Mss. Collect., WI8/1/1, Ginyalitsha. f. 22.

[94] NB/3/1/9, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 30 Sept. 1909.

[95] Ibid., Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 28 Oct. 1909.

[96] Ibid.

[97] NB/3/1/16, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 11 Nov. 1909.

[98] NB/3/1/9, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town, 5 Nov. 1909.

staff at the Company's office.[99]

A few weeks later he did the same to someone in the street, and the police remanded him in custody for medical observation.[100] Newspaper reports said that he was regarded locally as 'weak-minded' but the District Surgeon was not prepared to go as far as to describe him as insane; but as he was clearly suffering from depression the charge of assault was withdrawn.[101] Jacob Tshokwane was reported as being anxious to be rid of Nguboyenja but it was difficult to know what to do with him;[102] one of the problems may have been Nguboyenja's handling of his finances and not paying Tshokwane, for the Company decided a few months later to stop the direct allowance to him and to pay Tshokwane for his board and lodging and pay for his other needs as they arose.[103]

No more is known of Nguboyenja until 1913 when he appears to have been going through another crisis, for Jacob Tshokwane asked that a doctor come to see him. The report was that 'his mental condition is indifferent . . . quite rational when spoken to, but spends all his time in bed, speaks seldom and does not take the slightest interest in anything . . . [but] drinks freely'.[104] He was visited at this time by Thomas Levi Mvabaza, the founder and editor of *Umlomo wa Bantu*, who had been at school with Nguboyenja; according to Mvabaza, Nguboyenja wanted to return to see his people in Matabeleland and 'see a native doctor'.[105] The Chief Native Commissioner told the Cape Town Office that he had learnt nothing of any intended visit and that 'the Chiefs and people no longer look upon him as one of themselves, and in view of his behaviour towards them in his former visit, they have lost all sympathy towards him, and are by no means anxious for his return.'[106] But there was still the danger that this link might be reforged. In 1914, for example, Nguboyenja wrote asking for the resumption of direct payment of his allowance in such a way that the Native Department feared that he meant to return to Matabeleland; and an Ndebele in Cape Town wrote home describing Nguboyenja's condition as 'pitiable' and suggested that former indunas and relatives should rally to his support.[107]

There was, in fact, some concern amongst officials that Mrs Tshokwane was not treating him as well as she might, which, if true, might lead to public criticism from Pixley Seme, another A.N.C. activist who took an interest in Lobengula's sons and who was to oppose the South African Government's taking care of Dinzulu's sons on the ground that such care in the case of Lobengula's sons had proved to be, literally as

[99] Ibid., Secr. B.S.A.Co,. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 24 Jan.1910.

[100] Ibid.

[101] *Cape Times*, 22 and 29 Jan. 1910.

[102] NB/3/1/9, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 29 Jan. 1910.

[103] A/3/18/2, W. Olive, Cape Town, to Secr. Dep. Adm., 17 June 1910; Secr. Dep. Adm. to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 27 June 1910; Secr. Dep. Adm. to W. Olive, Cape Town, 27 June 1910.

[104] NB/3/1/9, F. B. Philip, Cape Town, to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 7 May 1913 and encl.: E. Henry, F.R.C.S., to [F. B. Philip, Cape Town], 5 May [1913]. According to Lanning, Nguboyenja's problems were precipitated by alcohol, *The Bulawayo Chron*., 11 Nov. 1936.

[105] NB/3/1/9, F. B. Philip, Cape Town, to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 12 May 1913. Levi Thomas Mvabaza was a founding member of the African National Congress and his newspaper amalgamated later in 1913 with *Abantu Batho*, the official organ of Congress; in 1918 he was prosecuted for organizing the African strike on the Rand and in 1919 he joined the delegation that went to London and Versailles; see Karis and Carter, *From Protest to Challenge . . . Volume 4: Political Profiles 1882–1964*, 106–7.

[106] NB/3/1/9, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to F. B. Philip, Gov. Agent, Cape Town, 16 May 1913.

[107] Minist. Local Gov., Public Works and Natl Housing, Harare, H1S/1.6 [Lobengula's Descendants], F. B. Philip, Local Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm., 2 Sept. 1914 and encl.: C. N. Lobengula to Local Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town, n.d. [late Aug. 1914]; C. N. Lobengula to [Chief Native Comm., early Sept. 1914]; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 11 Sept. 1914.

well as metaphorically, the kiss of death.[108] Luckily for the Administration the problem seemed to solve itself when Mrs Tshokwane left her husband late in 1913 and the Administration decided to reinstate an allowance on condition that Jacob devoted to Nguboyenja as much time as his jobbing gardener's work allowed.[109] Nguboyenja was described at this time as still maintaining 'his sullen behaviour to anybody that speaks to him'; Jacob thought it was becoming unsafe to leave him alone and made great efforts to keep him happy but was badly treated by Nguboyenja in return.[110]

Two years later, however, Mrs Tshokwane, who apparently was not of the same good character as Jacob, made an unwelcome return to her husband and an ensuing domestic altercation suddenly forced the Administration to reconsider Nguboyenja's position. During the quarrel with her husband Mrs Tshokwane had cut herself on a pane of glass that she broke and she then went to the police and accused her husband of knifing her; the Company Secretary in Cape Town quickly obtained bail for him lest Nguboyenja be left on his own in the house, but fearing that Jacob would be found guilty and sent to prison, he also called in two physicians to certify Nguboyenja as insane so that he could, if necessary, be committed to an asylum.[111] The Administration in Salisbury, however, was horrified at this posibility for fear that the Ndebele would regard committal to an asylum as the same as imprisonment; and so it was agreed that nothing further should be done, unless Nguboyenja became uncontrollably violent, and that someone else should be found to look after him at the house, if this became necessary.[112] The Company officials in Cape Town were nevertheless concerned about their legal responsibility now that it was on record that Nguboyenja was insane; and the Attorney-General in Salisbury also advised that it would be best to regularize the status of both Nguboyenja and the Company by asking the Supreme Court to appoint the Cape Town Secretary as curator.[113] By this time Jacob Tshokwane had been told that the police were not going to prosecute and so the Company let the whole matter slide in case the Supreme Court should rule that Nguboyenja be committed.[114] Tshokwane, with the Company's help, then obtained a divorce and soon took a new wife who treated Nguboyenja well; and in 1918 he gave up his work as a jobbing gardener in return for an increased allowance, in order to spend all his time with Nguboyenja who was becoming more restless and taking to aimless wandering.[115]

The Company always tried to avoid such increases in expenditure on Nguboyenja, but in 1920 and again in 1921 it was persuaded to raise the allowance, following representations made by the Company Secretary in Cape Town. He made the point, which had been rather lost sight of, despite the events of 1915–16, that Nguboyenja was still potentially a focus of political attention in Cape Town; ministers of African

[108] N/3/19/1, Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 20 Nov. 1916; *Ilanga lase Natal* (16 Jan. 1914), 'USolomon ka DInzulu'.

[109] S1561/10, I, F. B. Philip, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm., 6 Dec. 1915; XVI (1919–34), idem (from Salisbury) to idem, 3 Jan. 1920; N/3/19/1, idem to idem, 7 Nov. 1916; Minist. Local Gov., Public Works and Natl Housing, Harare, HIS/1.6 [History: Lobengula's Descendants] Acting Secr. Adm. to Chief Native Comm., 19 Oct. and 30 Nov. 1914.

[110] Ibid., F. B. Philip to Chief Native Comm., 2 Sept. 1914; N/3/19/1, F. B. Philip to Chief Native Comm., 7 Nov. 1916.

[111] S1561/10, I, F. B. Philip. Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm. 6 and 15 (telegr.) Dec. 1915.

[112] Ibid., Chief Native Comm. to Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town, 15 Dec. 1915 (telegr.); Chief Native Comm. to Sir Lewis Michell, Cape Town, 24 Dec. 1915.

[113] Ibid., F. B. Philip, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm., 20 Dec. 1915; Sir Lewis Michell, Cape Town, to Chief Native Comm., 30 Dec. 1915; C. H. Tredgold, Attorney-General, to Secr. Dep. Adm., 10 Jan. 1916, encl. in Chief Native Comm. to Michell, Cape Town, 13 Jan. 1916.

[114] Ibid., F. B. Philip, Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm., 30 Dec. 1915; Philip to Chief Native Comm., 21 Jan. 1916; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Dep. Adm., 28 Jan. 1916; Chief Native Comm. to Philip, 2 Feb. 1916.

[115] N/3/19/1, Philip to Chief Native Comm., 7 Nov. 1916; S1561/10, XVI, F. B. Philip, Local Secr. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm., 3 Jan. 1920 (priv.).

independent churches often asked about him and had to be tactfully kept away and even European interest might be aroused by progressives like W. H. Stuart M.L.A. if Jacob Tshokwane, whose wife had to take in washing to make ends meet, were either to complain publicly or abandon his charge.[116] The government took the point, because it had become concerned about a widening Southern African dimension to Ndebele grievances. In 1917 the Revd P. S. Ngwenya, an Ndebele resident in South Africa who had led an Ndebele secession from the Zulu Congregational Church in 1911 to found the African Mission Home Church, had called a public meeting on the Rand to establish the Matabele Rhodesian Society; and in the printed notice publicizing this inaugural meeting it was said that one of the items on the agenda was Nguboyenja who was sick.[117] A year later one of his ministers was found to be at work in Matabeleland and in the following year Ngwenya tried to form the Rhodesian Native National Congress[118] which perhaps was connected with the Nyasaland Native Council (or Nyasaland and Rhodesian Native National Congress) under the Nyasalander G. W. Kampara who was also to make representations about Nguboyenja later.[119]

Also the Southern Rhodesian Administration had become aware that collections of money were being made periodically in Matabeleland on Nguboyenja's behalf.[120] The exact purpose of these donations was not clear but they may have been a genuine attempt to improve Nguboyenja's comfort, especially after Madhloli and Ntando had visited him in 1920 (when they were in Cape Town to present Nyamande's petition to the High Commissioner) and saw, for the first time apparently, what his mental condition was;[121] on the other hand, they could have been a cover for raising money for Nyamande's various activities at this time. Either way, it was an unwelcome development which in spite of the financial stringency of the time justified the modest increases in expenditure on Nguboyenja's comfort.

The next we hear of Nguboyenja was in 1922 when he was described as 'still maintain[ing] the same sulky reticence, and never speaks unless he wants something'.[122] There was then a problem when Jacob Tshokwane had to find different accommodation, which was not easy as Nguboyenja hated a change or anyone looking at or talking to him; Jacob's 'faithfulness' amidst such problems was described as 'wonderful'.[123]

[116] S1561/10, XVI, Chief Native Comm. to Local Secr. B.S.A.Co Cape Town, 19 Dec. 1919; F. B. Philip, Local Secr. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm., 3 Jan. 1920 (priv.); Secr. Dep. Adm. to Chief Native Comm., 9 Jan. 1920; N/3/19/1, F. B. Philip, Local Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm., 31 Dec. 1920, and reply, 12 Jan. 1921. Stuart was Secretary of the South African Society and he tried to arrange an interview with the High Commissioner for Nyamande in 1921, RC/3/1/100, 1921, 302, Stuart to Imp. Secr., 18 Feb. 1921, encl. in High Comm. to Adm., 28 Feb. 1921; he is better known for his legal defence of Kadalie (see C. Kadalie, *My Life and the I.C.U* . . . . ed. S. Trapido (London, Frank Cass, 1970), 47, 190, 194–8) and for his representing Transkei Africans in Parliament from 1948 to 1954.

[117] S. Afr. Arch., Pretoria, NTS, Box 109, 679/17/F.201 (Matabele Rhodesian Society), Revd P. S. Ngwenya, Fordsburg, to Secr. Interior, Pretoria, 21 May 1917, and encl.; Acting Chief Pass Officer Johannesburg to Dir. Native Labour, 13 June 1917, encl. in Acting Dir. Native Labour to Secr. Native Aff., 5 July 1917.

[118] N/3/5/3, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 31 May 1918, and encl. certificate, 26 May 1914; N/3/5/8, copy of notice by P. S. Ngwenya calling meeting for 6 July 1919; Ranger, *The African Voice*, 60–1.

[119] Roberts, 'The First Use of the Name 'Zimbabwe' to Designate an Organisation' (Harare, Univ. of Zimbabwe, English Dep., Staff Semin. Pap., 1984), *passim*. For the later representations see below, fns 124, 127, 128.

[120] N/3/19/4, Native Comm. Umzingwane to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 6 Nov. 1919; Native Comm. Selukwe to Supt Natives Gwelo, 31 Jan. 1921; Native Comm. Belingwe to Chief Native Comm., 8 Sept. 1921.

[121] N/3/18/1/2, II, Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, and reply, 4 Sept. 1920 (telegr.), encl. in Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Dep. Adm., 6 Sept. 1920. They wondered whether Nguboyenja's infirmity was inherited from his maternal ancestors (the somewhat chequered personal histories of Faku's descendants may have a bearing on this; see Minist. Local Gov., Public Works and Natl Housing, Harare, PER/5 [Personal; Chiefs and Headmen], Dumezweni).

[122] N/3/19/1, F. B. Philip, Local Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm., 18 July 1922.

[123] Ibid. F. B. Philip, B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Chief Native Comm., 11 Nov. 1922; see also idem to idem, 7, 14 Nov. and 1 Dec. 1922.

Two years later it seemed that the warnings of wider interest in Nguboyenja that the Company Secretary had made in 1920 were being realized. A petition concerning Nguboyenja's distress, because the house he lived in had been sold, was received from the African Universal Benefit Society in Cape Town—a body which was run largely by Southern Rhodesian Africans, from Mashonaland as much as from Matabeleland, according to the Assistant Chief Native Commissioner; the recently appointed Acting Agent of the new Southern Rhodesian Government had in fact told Tshokwane to get new accommodation and had sent a doctor to visit Nguboyenja who by now was a complete recluse living in his pyjamas and dressing gown.[124] Not satisfied, the Benefit Society protested again, to the new Governor of Southern Rhodesia, alleging that Nguboyenja did not receive his full pension of £16.10*s*. a month.

The Chief Native Commissioner advised the new government of Nguboyenja's history and confirmed that an estate agent had been instructed to find new accommodation.[125] This was soon achieved and the Southern Rhodesia Agent reported that it was pleasant property and added that Mr Tshokwane's Cape Coloured wife was respectable and looked after Nguboyenja well; he had no criticisms or complaints and was happier there than he would be in the only possible alternative, a mental hospital.[126] Later in 1925 another African organization, with Ndebele membership in the Transvaal and links with Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, petitioned on behalf of its Ndebele members for a paramount chief and asked why Nguboyenja was kept in Cape Town away from his people;[127] and two years later the African Universal Benefit Society in Cape Town asked the Assistant Chief Native Commissioner, who was on holiday in the Cape, for an interview to discuss Nguboyenja.[128]

This revival of interest in Nguboyenja, though indicative of a wider and growing political consciousness among Africans, was still mainly an outcome of Khumalo manoeuvres and the political vacuum in Matabeleland in the years between the eclipse of Nyamande's influence, after the failure of the so-called national home movement in 1921, and the return of Njube's sons, Albert and Rhodes, when their schooling in the Eastern Cape came to an end. Their return in early 1926, however, did not dampen the growing interest in Nguboyenja, which indeed seems to have been part of a new initiative by the Khumalos to concentrate on reviving the people's traditional feelings for, and links with, the royal family rather than continuing the unsuccessful attempts to exert direct pressure on the government for the appointment of a paramount. Thus, in early 1926 Sixupezela, Nguboyenja's sister, asked to visit her brother at government expense; and this was agreed in the hope that she would report on the care taken of Nguboyenja and so dispel any rumours emanating from Ndebele in South Africa.[129]

Then when the High Commissioner held an indaba with the Ndebele Chiefs in August 1926, there was, for the first time on such an occasion, no demand for a paramount;[130] but the Khumalos, sitting in a block, pressed a request that Nguboyenja be allowed to return

[124] S138/92, I, Acting Agent for Southern Rhodesia, Cape Town, to Chief Native Comm., 14 Nov. 1924, and encl.: The African Universal Benefit Society, Cape Town, to Acting Agent for Southern Rhodesia, Nov. 1924; ibid., III, Assist. Chief Native Comm. to Chief Native Comm., 12 Jan. 1928.

[125] Ibid,, I, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier, 23 Feb. 1925, and encl.: The African Universal Benefit Society, Cape Town, to Governor-General [sic], Southern Rhodesia, 13 Feb. 1925..

[126] Ibid. Acting Agent to Chief Native Comm., 7 Mar. 1925.

[127] Ibid., Wellington Kalinda *et al*., United Improvement Association, Marabastad, to Adm. [sic], 23 Nov. 1925; 'Wellington Kalinda' was an alias of the G. W. Kampara @ fn. 119, above,

[128] S138/92, I, African Universal Benefit Society, Cape Town, to Assist. Chief Native Comm., Cape Town, 21 Nov. 1927.

[129] S482/803.39, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier (Native Aff.), 10 Mar. 1926, and reply, 11 Mar. 1926. For more on Sixupezela, see below, fn. 174.

[130] Southern Rhodesia, *Report of the Chief Native Commissioner for the Year 1926* (Sess. Pap., C.S.R. 16, 1927), 1.

and live in Matabeleland, and this request was passed on to the Southern Rhodesian government.[131] Little official attention appears to have been given to this, however, until the death in early 1927 of Jacob Tshokwane, who had spent the last eighteen years looking after Nguboyenja; it was then decided that Mrs Tshokwane should continue to look after Nguboyenja in view of the fact that he would not talk to anyone who came to see him.[132] The widow, however, was not acceptable to Ndebele opinion as she was a Cape Coloured, and so it was arranged that Manja Mpondo Khumalo (who had arranged the tombstone for Njube in 1910–11) should travel to Cape Town to join the Assistant Chief Native Commissioner, H. M. G. Jackson, in assessing Nguboyenja's situation.[133] Jackson made a detailed and careful report, the main part of which was that:

> . . . Nguboyenja did not utter a single word to either of us during our visits . . . As far as one could judge he was in reasonably good health although he takes no exercise whatever and never goes for a walk . . . he never reads [and] . . . although he understands everything that is said to him he very rarely utters a word and never enters into conversation . . . if tea is brought to him when he prefers coffee he ignores the tea and indicates by severe silence that he wants coffee, and pursues the same course in regard to food which he does not like. But when Mrs Tshokwana tells him there is no alternative dish to offer him he shows he understands the position by eating the rejected dish. When Mrs Tshokwana removed to the cottage she at present occupies he ran back to the abandoned cottage and had to be coaxed therefrom.
>
> . . . Manja put it to Nguboyenja that it was proposed to remove him to Southern Rhodesia where he could be looked after by his own people, but this observation elicited no response, so that we have no inkling of what his personal wishes are.[134]

It was clear that Mrs Tshokwane looked after Nguboyenja well but Ndebele opinion had to be taken into account and Manja Khumalo insisted that the King's son should not be left away from home in the care of an 'alien'; so adamant was Manja that he offered either that his wife, an ex-prison-wardress, could look after Nguboyenja or that they would go and live with him in Cape Town.[135] So the Government agreed that Manja and Gula Khumalo could go to the Cape to bring Nguboyenja home, provided that no force was employed, and it was decided that Manja, whose wife was described as 'enlightened' should look after him, rather than Gula, who was a polygamist.[136]

On arrival in Bulawayo in August 1928, Nguboyenja was taken by Manja to live in a municipal cottage leased by Martha Ngano of the Rhodesian Bantu Voters Association, who proposed letting them three or four rooms at an exorbitant rent of 10*s*.

[131] A contemporary record of the indaba has not been found and this reconstruction comes from later passing references: S138/92, II, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 4 Sept. 1929; III, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier, 3 Sept. 1927.

[132] Ibid., I, Gov. Agent for South. Rhod., Cape Town, to Chief Native Comm., 19 Apr. (telegr.) and 3 May 1926.

[133] S138/92, III, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier, 3 Sept., and reply, 6 Sept. 1927; Minist. Local Gov., Public Works and Natl Housing, Harare, X/40 [Relatives and Retainers of Lobengula], Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland to Assist. Secr. Adm., 12 June 1952. For Manja, see Roberts, 'Alban Njube Lobengula, Iqanda le Ngwenya', 28, and 'Some relatives of Lobengula', 31–2.

[134] S138/92, III Assist. Chief Native Comm. to Chief Native Comm., 12 Jan. 1928.

[135] Ibid., idem, and Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier, 14 Jan. 1928; see also Premier to Chief Native Comm., 23 May 1928; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 22 Aug. 1928.

[136] Minist. Local Gov., Public Works and Natl Housing, Harare, X/40, Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland to Assist. Secr. Adm., 12 June 1952. Manja's wife was a 'graduate of Lovedale', G. Bloomhill, 'Khumalo royals I have known', *The Sunday News* (16 Aug. 1959), 2. For more details on Gula, see, Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula', 30.

a month for each room. Manja on behalf of the Ndebele thought this satisfactory and began to do minor repairs. The Town Clerk was not very keen and thought that Martha Ngano was simply trying to obtain political prestige from having a royal lodger.[137] The Superintendent of Natives, however, did not think that she was dangerous,[138] but he continued to seek alternatives, such as asking the Municipality to build a cottage specially for Nguboyenja and lease it to the Native Affairs Department.[139] Manja, Ntando and other Ndebele interesting themselves in Nguboyenja preferred a plot of land somewhere[140] and the Native Department considered sites at the Hope Fountain Mission, the Queens' Kraal, the Messengers' Camp in Bulawayo, or the former Native Commissioner's offices at Mzingwane or a farm nearby.[141] In none of this did Nguboyenja take any interest and he refused to express any opinion.[142] Finally the Superintendent of Natives found a cottage in a market garden on the Bulawayo Commonage, near Loots Kraal, which the Municipality had leased to a Chinaman,[143] which the Chief Native Commissioner thought best as it would help Nguboyenja to keep him in the sort of urban, 'civilized surroundings to which he was accustomed'.[144] He had little fear that Nguboyenja living in Bulawayo would become a political influence, although P. D. L. Fynn, the acting Premier, did wonder if the South African Workers' Industrial and Commercial Union would try to use him.[145]

The cottage was thereupon bought from the Chinese owner and the land leased from the Bulawayo Municipality; the Native Department bore the cost of renovations,[146] and agreed to pay Manja £2 a month for looking after Nguboyenja.[147] A small group of Ndebele took a keen interest in Nguboyenja—notably Mhlatuzana (Ntando), Gula, Sinyalo and a Mahubasa[148]—but they complained that his closer Mzilikazi relatives (such as his uncle, Makwelambila; his cousins, Joyi, Madloli, Mdembeki, Mhwaba and Sikonkwana; and his nephews, Albert and Rhodes) had not been to see him or arranged for doctoring; a list of relatives and others considered due to pay their respects was produced and the assistance of the Native Affairs Department sought to assemble them to meet Nguboyenja.[149] The Government refused to do so for fear that it was an attempt to get some sort of recognition for the Khumalos as a group with their own chief.[150] Since the death of Nyamande in early 1929,[151] Nguboyenja was the obvious candidate and

[137] S138/92, II, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 21 Aug. 1928; Bulawayo Municipality, Town House, Arch. [now in transfer to Natl Arch., Bulawayo], Box 140 (Commonage Plots), Martha Ngano to Town Clerk Bulawayo, 23 Aug. 1928.

[138] S138/92, II, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 21 Aug. 1928.

[139] Ibid.,Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 22 Aug. 1928.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Ibid., idem, and Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 27 Aug. 1928; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier, 27 Aug. 1928; Premier, Minute, 18 Sept. 1928.

[142] Ibid., Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm. , 22 Aug. 1928.

[143] S138/92, II, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 31 Oct. 1928; *The Bantu Mirror*, 1 July 1944.

[144] S138/92, II, Chief Native Comm. to [Acting Premier], 11 Dec. 1928.

[145] Ibid., P. D. L. Fynn to [Chief Native Comm.], 10 Dec. 1928. The I.C.U. had formed a branch in Bulawayo in 1926 and by 1928 was becoming much more active under Masotcha Ndlovu, Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, 49.

[146] Ibid., Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 26 Apr. 1929; more detail can be found in S235/389.

[147] S138/92, II, Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 19 July 1929.

[148] For more detail on these figures, see Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula'.

[149] Ibid., Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 21 Aug. and 4 Sept. 1929. Makwelambila was a son of Mzilikazi; the cousins were grandsons of Mzilikazi (Joyi a son of Tshukisa (Muntu); Madloli and Mhwaba sons of Lopila; Mdembeki a son of Hlangabeza; and Sikonkwana a son of Qalilanga); Rhodes and Albert were sons of Njube, Nguboyenja's older brother.

[150] Ibid., Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 8 Sept. 1929; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 19 Sept. 1929.

[151] S235/523, 'Chief Native Commissioner's Covering Review . . . for the month of February, 1929', 4; Minist. Local Gov., Public Works and Natl Housing, Harare, X/40, Memorandum: 'Subsidies to the Wives and Children of Lobengula', 1 May 1950. Nyamande's younger, 'non-royal' brother, Tshakalisha (Sintinga), had died in the previous year, S138/92, III, Native Comm. Inyati to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 30 Apr. 1928. Thus the only other surviving son of Lobengula was the youngest, the inconsequential, Sidojiwa; (see above, fn. 3; below fn. 161, and Append., n. 10.

Sikonkwana wanted him cured by a traditional doctor so that he could play his part,[152] perhaps as a counterweight to the antics of Rhodes and Albert Lobengula which may have been as unsettling to some of the Khumalos as to other Ndebele.[153] Nguboyenja was finally seen by a doctor, Mnyana of Somabula, in October 1930, but he refused to co-operate; there appears to have been no improvement in his condition and so the Native Commissioner offered Manja the services of the Government Medical Officer.[154]

Meanwhile the Matabeleland Home Society had been created in 1928–9 and the Native Affairs Department first learned of its existence in March 1929 when representatives called at the Bulawayo office to thank the government for bringing Nguboyenja home.[155] The ostensible object of the Society was the raising of the Ndebele socially and economically and at a meeting with the Minister of Native Affairs in December 1929 questions about education and the franchise were raised.[156] But its origin and real concern was to use the return of Nguboyenja as a 'legitimate' heir in order to achieve at last the Khumalo paramountcy and land, and by early 1931 it was collecting funds for further medical attention for Nguboyenja.[157] In 1932 it was reported that there had been no change in Nguboyenja's condition[158] but that cattle were being collected for him.[159] Then in 1932–3 came the convictions of first Rhodes and then Albert Lobengula in connection with cattle; as a result both emigrated to the Eastern Cape, in 1933 and 1938, respectively.[160] This virtually extinguished the lingering concept of royalty in Matabeleland; and consequently there is less and less about Nguboyenja in the official records thereafter, and markedly less political concern.

This last of the important sons of Lobengula[161] lived on in the cottage, still in silence. A somewhat fanciful, account of him at this time described him as

> now an imbecile who has established a mimic court just outside Bulawayo . . . a recluse, living in a world of his own peopled by phantom subjects, and haunted by visions of a bygone greatness . . . he holds sway over a kingdom of a couple of acres. For four years [since returning to Matabeleland, he] has not been known to speak, and he spends most of the daylight hours staring blankly into space . . . He lives in European style . . . [and] the ways of his people are almost foreign to him. Nevertheless he is constantly visited by old subjects of his father . . . almost weekly there is a respectful pilgrimage of grey-headed, bent servitors . . . [who, however,] find Ngubuyenja indifferent, almost impatient to their homage

[152] S138/92, II, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 5 and 26 Sept. and 10 Oct. 1929.

[153] Ibid., Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 17 Sept. 1930; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 10 Oct. 1930; Roberts, 'Traditional paramountcy and modern politics in Matabeleland: The end of the Lobengula royal family—and of Ndebele particularism?', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (2005), XXIV, 6.

[154] Ibid., Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 18 Oct. 1930; Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 1 Nov. 1930. A result of this was that in the following year Nguboyenja was sent to hospital for an appendicitis operation, *The Gwelo Times*, 18 Mar. 1932—an event that was later garbled, in a newspaper article in 1959, to become the cause of Nguboyenja's silence, Bloomhill, 'Kumalo royals I have known'.

[155] S138/22, 1927–8, Acting Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 8 Mar. 1929. This is eight months earlier than the dating given in Ranger, *The African Voice*, 187.

[156] Ibid., 187–8.

[157] Ibid., 188; but, obviously, not to bring him home to Matabeleland as said in R. K. Rasmussen and S. C. Rubert, *Historical Dictionary of Zimbabwe* (Metuchen N. J.,, Scarecrow Press, 1990), 257.

[158] S138/92, III, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 12 Apr. 1932.

[159] Ibid., Native Comm. Fort Rixon to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 6 July 1932.

[160] Roberts, 'Traditional paramountcy and modern politics in Matabeleland', 10–11, 18–19; Albert, in fact, had moved away, to Mashonaland, in 1936.

[161] Sidojiwa, the youngest 'royal' son, was still alive and was to survive Nguboyenja, but, as has been explained, he was inconsequential; see above, fns 3, 151; below, Append., n 10.

. . . [and] he does not even speak to his [personal] servants . . .[162]

Nevertheless what is true in this description is that Nguboyenja did still attract Khumalo visitors. In 1937 the Native Affairs Department considered extending his cottage to provide accommodation for visiting Queens;[163] and when Windram was collecting Ndebele traditions in the same year he twice called on Nguboyenja in the hope of an interview but on both occasions Nguboyenja, dressed in his pyjamas, said nothing although appearing to understand all that was being said.[164] Greta Bloomhill, a Bulawayo journalist, also visited him about this time and took the photograph reproduced here.[165]

When Posselt was writing his book on Lobengula a few years later, he described Nguboyenja as a 'cripple'.[166] The Native Affairs Department renewed the lease of the cottage in 1935 and again in 1940,[167] and it was there, on 18 June 1944, that Nguboyenja suffering from tuberculosis (as Njube had) died after three decades of silence.[168] The European journalist who reported on his death said that Nguboyenja had always enjoyed reading but that his education had proved 'a curse rather than a blessing'.[169]

He was buried three days later by Christian rites, at Entumbane at the foot of the kopje where Mzilikazi was interred. As the cortege left Bulawayo, Main Street was lined with some six hundred Ndebele; and the interment was attended by three of Lobengula's Queens and Sidojiwa, Nguboyenja's younger half-brother, and his uncle, Albert, son of Njube.[170] The cost of the funeral was borne by the Government:[171] this, with a concomitant pension for Manja and allowing him to stay on in the cottage,[172] was the last gesture of respect to the Khumalo family and its special links with the government of Southern Rhodesia; for it was decided four years later, as an act of policy, that no more pensions would be granted to the Khumalos and that the existing ones would die with their recipients so that there could be no perpetuation of royalty.[173] And so the vestigial link was broken with the deaths of Sidojiwe, the only surviving brother of Nguboyenja, in 1960, of Tshovu, the last surviving widow of Lobengula in 1964–5, and of Sixupezela, the only daughter of Lobengula to have been given a pension, in 1970–1;[174] and, anyway, the Khumalos appear by then to have given up hope of agreeing on a successor as head of the family.[175]

Thus Nguboyenja had no legacy to hand on after a life of impotence; separated from all family life at an early age, alienated from his people by his European way of life and education, he was driven to despair by the political and racial restrictions that hemmed him in—from which his only escape was into the silence of a recluse. Ranger's tantalizing 'prospect of a son of Lobengula . . . as a barrister [in Southern Rhodesia]

[162] *The Gwelo Times*, 18 Mar. 1932.
[163] S1542/C6, A–G, 1936–8, Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 16 Oct. 1937.
[164] Hist. Mss Collect., WI8/1/1, f. 2
[165] Bloomhill, 'Kumalo royals I have known'.
[166] F. W. T. Posselt, *Upengula: The Scatterer* (Bulawayo, Rhodesia Print. and Publ., 1945), 115.
[167] S138/92, II, Town Clerk Bulawayo to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 24 Jan. 1936; S1542/L13, Secr. N. Aff. to P.M., 28 Mar. 1940.
[168] >https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939N-C89S-MY?i=457 &cc=1838530 [Death Notices (1944 Bulawayo), LXXII, entry 455 (image 459), Ngubuyenja Kamalo]<; *The Bulawayo Chron*., 20 June 1944. Thus Rasmussen and Rubert, *Historical Dictionary of Zimbabwe*, 257, errs in having Nguboyenja still alive in 1945.
[169] *The Bulawayo Chron*., 20 June 1944. Earlier evidence indicates that he never read (see above, fn. 133), but Lanning in 1936 said that he did do 'quite a lot of reading', *The Bulawayo Chron*., 11 Nov. 1936.
[170] Ibid., 22 June 1944; *The Bantu Mirror,* 1 July 1944. Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, 143–4, gives more detail on the funeral, for reasons that are dealt with in the Epilogue, below.
[171] Minist. Local Gov., Public Works and Natl Housing, Harare, X/40, Secr. Native Aff. to Secr. Prime Minist. (Native Aff.), 19 June 1944; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Treasury, 21 June 1944.
[172] Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula', 31–2.
[173] Ibid., Chief Native Comm. to Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland, 16 June 1948.
[174] Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula', 32.
[175] For details of this see below, fn. 199.

Nguboyenja, seated outside his cottage, with Manja, his carer (*The Sunday News*, 16 Aug. 1959)

some half century before Herbert Chitepo'[176] is an unhistorical rhetorical flourish. Even when Nguboyenja was thought to be training for the safe profession of a veterinary surgeon, a London journalist had rightly wondered where he would ever be allowed to practise,[177] and Njube his older brother, who had not nearly as much education and no profession, was banned from entering Southern Rhodesia after 1903.[178] If we are to toy with historical might-have-beens, then Nguboyenja's role would surely have been to work in the Union for the African National Congress along with his schoolmates (Mvabaza, Poswayo and Montsioa), and the other early African lawyers who had been in England when Nguboyenja was there (Mangena, Msimang and Seme); perhaps then Nguboyenja would have taken Nyamande's petition to London in 1919—but with Nguboyenja so prominent Nyamande might never have emerged as a leader . . .

As it was there was never a chance that Nguboyenja would be allowed to play any part in his people's struggle to survive, to adapt and to assert their rights. He was not part of 'The African Voice of Southern Rhodesia' but merely a prisoner in a private limbo designed by Rhodes, irrelevant and expendable. Thus Nguboyenja's story in itself is not of great importance politically; it is rather a personal tragedy but it does highlight the ways in which the process of conquest and modernization of one society by another can affect an individual—a dramatic example of the affective erethism of Fanon's colonial mentality, that particularly affects the évolué and leads to ego-collapse.[179] Thus, whilst it is too simplistic to claim that his illness was entirely due to the Occupation,[180] his schizophrenia—for that is what it appears to have been[181]—was nevertheless symbolic of his socio-political position between two worlds.

But, at least, this cataloguing of Nguboyenja's life of mute anguish does indicate the wider community of suffering of a conquered people, equally in silence for most; and only one quite without empathy could fail to feel, even if he cannot adequately elaborate or prove, the painful historical significance of Nguboyenja's 'mimic court'[182]—a symbol, at least, of the dogged cohesiveness of the Khumalo family in which the educated and the non-educated, the so-called collaborators and the rebels of 1896 held together despite (or because of) their apparent irrelevance to the real problems facing Ndebele society, which for better or for worse was now led by government-appointed Chiefs who partly

[176] Ranger, *The African Voice*, 33.
[177] *The Bulawayo Chron*., 4 May 1907.
[178] Ranger, *The African Voice*, 32.
[179] F. Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks* (London, Paladin, 1970), 44, 106–9.
[180] See above, fn. 121, for Ndebele evidence of a history of mental illness in his mother's family.
[181] Pers. commun. from Professor M. Gelfand, 2 Oct. 1984, and Dr N. Galen, 4 Oct. 1984.
[182] And thus not unique; see, for another example, Matthew Chigaga Zwimba, son of a Shona chief who founded an independent church, had a nervous breakdown, and then declared himself 'King of Southern Rhodesia Africans especially Mashonas', with a national flag flying at his residence—lowered to half-mast when he died, *The Bantu Mirror*, 21 June 1952.

for historic anti-Khumalo feelings and partly for reason of their vested interest in the new order had no time for Nguboyenja.

EPILOGUE

Ranger in his last work on Matabeleland, however, made a more positive assessment than this and provided more detail than given above on Nguboyenja's funeral, seeing it, as he did, as an important step towards a symbolic fusing of royal tradition with modernity: the National Monuments Commission building a wall to protect Mzilikazi's tomb and wagon, and the Matabele Home Society and others establishing a King of the Matabele Memorial Fund within a few months of the funeral, culminating in a Home Society Conference with Chiefs followed by a pilgrimage to Entumbane in December 1945.[183] And to continue in that vein, it is surprising that he did not mention the naming of a new township in Bulawayo after Nguboyenja in 1951, with support from incipient Zimbabwean nationalists like the Shona migrant to Bulawayo. S. V. Muzenda[184] – for that is what Ranger means by modernity.

But, as I have argued before, such developments as these, around Nguboyenja and Entumbane, must been seen in the context of a colonial state, with its increasing employment of experts from the mid-1930s, that overcame its diffidence of lacking a past and confidently embarked upon the completion of the domestication of an alien environment: impropriating and preserving history and the landscape in which it is embedded just as it was appropriating and conserving the natural resources of soil, forest and wildlife.[185]

Thus government in 1941 had withdrawn its opposition to a memorial to Mzilikazi at Entumbane,[186] whereupon the National Monuments Commission proclaimed it a National Monument.[187] A few months later Mzilikazi's grave site was also declared[188] (hence the protecting walls two years later that Ranger mentioned), and in 1943 came the proclamation of Lobengula's grave.[189] And in 1945 the Bulawayo municipality for its part agreed to naming a new township after Mzilikazi.

None of this is mentioned in Ranger, for it shows that what the Khumalos, the Matabeleland Home Society and proto-nationalists were in fact doing was desperately trying to catch up with the settlers' appropriation and hallowing of the Matopos, in the name of history, that had begun with the proclamation of World's View in 1937[190] and was about to embark, in the name of ecology, on the expulsion of the inhabitants of the National Park therein.[191] The only limit to their arrogation came in the late 1950s

[183] *Bulawayo Burning*, 143–5.

[184] City of Bulawayo, *Minutes of His Worship the Mayor, . . . for the Year Ended 31st July, 1952 . . .* (Bulawayo, The Municipality, 1952), 35, 37. 'Nguboyenja' was not the first choice of name as the original idea was to call it 'Mbizo' after one of Lobengula's regiments (*The Afr. Home News*, 22 Oct. 1955); but this had to be changed because there was already another postal address called 'Mbizo'. The replacement name came from the Advisory Board on the proposal of Amos Mazibisa, the President of the Matabeleland Home Society (*The Afr. Home News*, 27 Nov. 1954), but it also was supported by Shona members like Muzenda who was praised for his non-tribalism (*The Afr. Home News*, 25 Dec. 1953). Mzilikazi Township had, of course, preceded Nguboyenja in 1945, and the names of Nguboyenja's brothers Njube and Sidojiwe were to follow, together with other Khumalo related names.

[185] Roberts, 'The treasure and grave of Lobengula: Yarns and reflections', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (2004), XXIII, 48.

[186] As late as 1936 the government had resisted attempts to erect a memorial to such a 'barbarian' as Mzilikazi as part of the Native Affairs Department's policy of opposing any form of recognition of the Khumalos, Nat. Arch., Bulawayo, Pap. of Revd W. A. Carnegie, Box 5442/55 (Mzilikazi Memorial), Huggins to Chairman of Natl Welfare Comm. of Bulawayo Rotary Club, 3 June 1936.

[187] South, Rhod., *Gov. Gaz*., 9 Jan. 1942, Gov. Not. 10 of 9 Jan.

[188] Ibid., 18 Sept. 1942, Gov. Not., 469 of 18 Sept.

[189] Ibid., 12 Nov. 1943, Gov. Not. 547 of 12 Nov.

[190] Ibid., 16 July 1937, Gov. Not. 485 of 16 July.

[191] See Ranger, 'Whose heritage? The case of the Matobo National Park', *Jnl South. Afr. Stud*. (1989), XV, 224ff.

to early 1960s when the experts' advice to proclaim, and to control, the Mwari shrine at Njelele was not acted upon. Indeed the Parks Department in the end, in 1962, pulled back the southern boundary of the National Park, northward, so as to leave the shrine, unsupervised, in the new Khumalo Tribal Trust Land.[192] African traditional religion could have no part in colonial modernisation.

Nor, for their part, did the Khumalo traditionalists really want any part of either colonial modernity or that of the Home Society and the incipient nationalists. They still had not given up hope of a paramount chieftaincy,[193] and after the death of Manja in 1952 they had thoughts of making his (Nguboyenja's) cottage into a 'royal house' for occupation by the next in line to the succession.[194] They were prepared to continue co-operation with the increasingly nationalistic Matabele Home Society in elevating the importance of Entumbane and the Khumalo graves—as in the unveiling of a memorial to Nguboyenja there in 1952.[195] But there were limits. One was in 1958 on the occasion of the visit to Bulawayo, organised by the Home Society, of Rosamund, widow of Rhodes Lobengula. The Khumalos and the chiefs were appalled at the familiarity shown her by lower-class members of the Society and by their taking her to visit the graves of Mzilikazi and Nguboyenja.[196]

Thus as the Home Society melted away into the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress and inclusive nationalism, so the Khumalos with a new-found support from the chiefs and the *zansi* element retreated into exclusive but shifting groupings such as the Khumalo Burial Society, the Mzilikazi Family Association, the Sons of Mzilikazi, the Mzilikazi Peoples Association and so on.[197] From these came various manoeuvres to maintain Ndebele distinctiveness—from the idea of joining Matabeleland with a soon to be independent Botswana (1966), to the idea of a separation from the Shona on federal lines (Ndiweni's United National Federal Party, 1979), to the Mthwakazi formations advocating variously an independent republic, federation and, now, the restoration of the monarchy, recently attempted, with the support of a reformed ZAPU disillusioned with Zimbabwean nationalism.

But beneath the froth of all this is the fact that the Khulmalos and their *zansi* allies have held the people of Matabeleland together, through indecision over a royal successor, nationalist euphoria, war, Gukurahundi, and marginalisation: held together as a people defined by a culture of 'moral ethnicity'.[198] And Nguboyenja, in spite of his silence, will be remembered as the last unchallenged[199] representative symbol of that moral order.

[192] Ibid., 230–2; S. Makuvaza, 'Why Njelele, a rainmaking shrine in the Matobo World Heritage Area, Zimbabwe, has not been proclaimed a National Monument', *Heritage Management* (2008), I, 163-180, esp. 170.

[193] See, for example, *The Bantu Mirror*, 7 Apr. 1951; 16 Aug. 1952; *The Afr. Daily News*, 26 Apr., 1 and 7 June 1957.

[194] *The Bantu Mirror*, 9 Aug. 1952.

[195] This was on 28 Sept. 1952, *The Bantu Mirror*, 4 Oct. 1952.

[196] Roberts, 'Traditional paramountcy and modern politics in Matabeleland', 23.

[197] Ibid., 23-8.

[198] Ibid., 31–8.

[199] After Nguboyenja's death there was no agreement as to who was next in line, but the three sons (or grandsons) of Njube, his eldest 'royal' brother, were the obvious candidates, ibid., 21–2:

Albert, the eldest son of Njube, died in 1952 and then his oldest son, Nduna, should have taken precedence but neither seem to have been seriously considered.

The line of the second son of Njube, Rhodes, seem to have been preferred; and it was his son, Patrick, that most attention was paid to in the 1950s. But he never came to Southern Rhodesia as far as is known and his only contact with the Ndebele was through his mother, Rosamund, Rhodes's widow, who visited Bulawayo in 1958; after her death in 1961 all contact appears to have ceased. Against his choice was the lowly birth both of his grandmother, Njube's first wife, and of his mother, Rhodes's wife.

Thus Njube's third and youngest son, Ndabacela, was theoretically the best placed, being the son of Njube's

APPENDIX

Nguboyenja's Position in Lobengula's Family

Nguboyenja was born at Bambeni[1] in about 1887[2] the third of the four 'royal' sons of Lobengula who survived into the Occupation period.[3] His mother, Sitshwapa, was generally said by the Administration not to be of high birth,[4] but she was an Ndiweni like Mpoliyana (one of the more important wives of Lobengula and mother of Njube, the oldest of the 'royal' sons).[5] Sitshwapa does not appear to have been a favourite or important wife of Lobengula's, but the British South Africa Company at first seems to have regarded her son as the 'most royal and real heir' to Lobengula,[6] being born of the 'right hand wife';[7] and Ntabeni Kumalo in 1937 said that in any succession to Lobengula it would have been a choice between Njube and Nguboyenja although Mpezeni, son of Lobengula's most important wife after the childless Lozigeyi, would also have been considered.[8] Therefore, it is not surprising that when, in 1894, Njube and Mpezeni were sent by Cecil J. Rhodes to be educated in Cape Town, Nguboyenja accompanied them.[9]

The decisive factor in deciding to include Nguboyenja, however, was probably simply that at eight years of age he, unlike Sidojiwa, his younger brother, was just old enough to leave home with his two older brothers[10]—all three being of an impressionable age that made them amenable to European education and to acceptance of European rule, whereas Nyamande and Tshakalisha, their 'non-royal' but adult brothers, were too old for such conditioning and, as sons of Lobengula's favourite wife, Mbida,[11] the daughter of Lodada Mkwananzi of Inoqobo, were too firmly defined in their traditional socio-political status to be of use for the Company's purposes.

NOTES

[1] N/3/19/1, Statements by Lonkubu, 15 Sept. 1923, and by Nyamande, 22 Sept. 1923, encl. in Native Comm. Nyamandhlovu to Supt of Natives Bulawayo, 22 Sept. 1923.

[2] Univ. Cape,Town Libr., Mss Dep., BC 636/Dl.3 ("This Roll contains the names of all Resident Students . . . on the first day of the Twentieth Century . . .'), No. 5, where his birth is said to be 'about 1886'; ibid., D1.2, Admission No. 597, where he is described as about eight years old in 1895; when he was confirmed in 1900 he was described as being twelve years old, Zonnebloem Estate, Cape Town, Zonnebloem Coll., Regist. of Confirmations, 1 June 1872–5 Dec. 1936, 24, entry 12 Aug. 1900. Thus in 1908 Nguboyenja said he was twenty (and Herbert Taylor, the Chief Native Commissioner Matabeleland, who thought that he was only eighteen, was in error), A/11/2/12/8, 'Shorthand Notes: Interview between Chief Native Comm. and Nguboenja', [2 Sept. 1908], encl. in Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. to Adm., 3 Sept. 1908. Thus the birth date of 1880–1 given in Rasmussen and Rubert, *Historical Dictionary of Zimbabwe*, 257, is much too early.

[3] Njube, Mpezeni, Nguboyenja and Sidojiwa. For the history of Njube and for what little is known of Mpezeni and Sidojiwa see Roberts, 'Alban Njube Lobengula, Iqanda le Ngwenya', 1–32, and 'Some relatives of Lobengula', 23–9. The history of Nyamande and Tshakalisha, the older, non-royal, brothers, will be dealt with in a later article.

[4] N/3/19/1, Statements by Lonkubu and Nyamande; Sitshwapa is often referred to as Tyapa in documents; see A/11/2/12/8, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 24 Dec. 1906); NB/3/1/20, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Secr. Adm., 24 Oct. 1910.

[5] The evidence about her family background is contradictory. She is sometimes referred to as Mpoliyana's sister, and so a daughter of Mabuyana, son of Gundwane Ndiweni whom Mzilikazi had appointed to lead the Ndebele across the Limpopo in the late 1830s; if so she would be sister (or half sister) to Faku Ndiweni, who was prominent in Ndebele political affairs in the 1880s–1890s, and became a government Chief after the Rebellion, Hist. Mss Collect., WI8/1/2, ff. 17, 65; and *The Bantu Mirror*, 1 July 1944.

Oral tradition, however, has her as sister of Mpini Ndiweni of Usabe, Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820–1896', 286; and P. Nyathi, *Igugu Likamthwakazi: Imbali Yamandebele 1820–1893* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1994), 105. This would make Sitshwapa a daughter of Mpugane Ndiweni of Sabeni.

Whether this was so or not, I have not been able to confirm, but it is possible that oral tradition has confused Mpugane

second wife, born into a chiefly family of the Eastern Cape; but he had grown up without any contact with the Khumalo family and so was little more than a name to the Ndebele. He was traced by the Matabele Home Society in the 1950s but nothing seems to have come of that.

Today it appears that a descendant of Patrick has been put forward to be installed as king, through the influence of Ndebele who worked in the Eastern Cape and developed an interest in the Grahamstown graves of Njube's family. Many of the Khumalos resident in Matabeleland, however, prefer a descendant of Nyamande, the 'non-royal' son of Lobengula who (according to J. R. D. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820–1896' (Lancaster, Univ. of Lancaster, Ph.D. thesis, 1976), 419) was recognised as king in June 1896 during the Rising. A third candidate appears to be self-promoted and his antecedents have not been published as far as can be seen.

with Mabuyana, for Mpoliyana who was undoubtedly daughter of Mabuyana and sister (or half sister) of Faku (as confirmed by Faku in NB/1/1/15, 'Tala of Ndiweni v Faku Induna of Ndiweni', Nov. 1901) was also sometimes described as daughter of Mpugane; see, for example, *The Bulawayo Chron*., 31 Oct. 1912.

[6] LO 5/2/39, I, Rutherfoord Harris, Cape Town, to Secr. B.S.A. Co., London, 31 Oct. 1894.

[7] A/11/2/12/8, Secr. B.S.A.Co. London to Milton, 31 May 1906; see also, ibid., Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Priv. Secr. Adm., 10 Nov. 1908: 'according to report [he] might have been chosen to succeed his father in preference to Njube'.

[8] Hist. Mss Collect., WI8/1/2, ff. 34, 65; RC/3/7/17, 289, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Secr. Adm., 20 Oct. 1910, encl. in Acting Secr. Adm. to Priv. Secr. Resident Comm., 24 Oct. 1910.

[9] LO/5/2/39, I, Rutherfoord Harris, Cape Town, to B.S.A.Co., London, 31 Oct. 1894; II, J. A. Stevens, Acting Secr. B.S.A.Co. Cape Town to Secr. B.S.A.Co. London, 21 Nov. 1894.

[10] Sidojiwa was about six years old at this time, compared to Nguboyenja's eight years, and was born of a mother of low birth and was never regarded as eligible for the succession either by the Ndebele or the Administration; he was educated and lived much of his life in Mashonaland and played little or no part in Ndebele politics or even Khumalo family affairs, Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula, 25-9. Mpezeni was about fourteen years old, ibid., 23-25, and Njube was about fifteen, Roberts, 'Alban Njube Lobengula, Iqanda le Ngwenya', 1.

[11] J. D. White, 'Amakosikasi . . .', *NADA* (1974), XI, i, 112.

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Alan Izod and the Central African Film Unit 1948–1963

by John Izod

In October 1947, I saw an advertisement in The Times for the appointment of a Producer to be in charge of a 16mm film unit to be established under the Central African Council to serve Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The objectives were the production of 16mm films for screening to African and European audiences. There were to be two production units in the charge of director-cameramen, and its objectives were much in line with my thinking about film production in colonial territories.[1]

Alan Izod was 39 when he applied for this post. He had by this time extensive experience in a variety of jobs. The son of a brewer, his father (believing there were few opportunities in England for school leavers in 1923) arranged for him at 15 years of age and his brother to train for work as farm hands in New South Wales, Australia. Alan relished the intense manual labour of farming life and only returned to London eight years later when his parents asked him to come back. But after doing so, he decided to remain, enjoying the chance to make a wider circle of friends than was possible in rural Australia.

Needing an income, my father found work in a modern trade as a "wireman", an electrician connecting up houses and other properties. Acquisition of new skills readied him in 1933-34 to handle lights in a small film studio that produced short advertising films. Experience gained in a year working in Q Studios led in turn to employment at Gaumont British Instructional and contact with many of the subsequently celebrated British documentary film makers. Among others, he worked with Mary Field, and Derek Hyde-White as their cutting assistant. Under Marion Grierson's supervision, he edited and dubbed *Our Island Nation*. Later, during the war years, he was drafted in to direct the Royal Naval Film Unit at Tipner, Portsmouth, with responsibility for making educational films and film strips to support the training of conscripts.

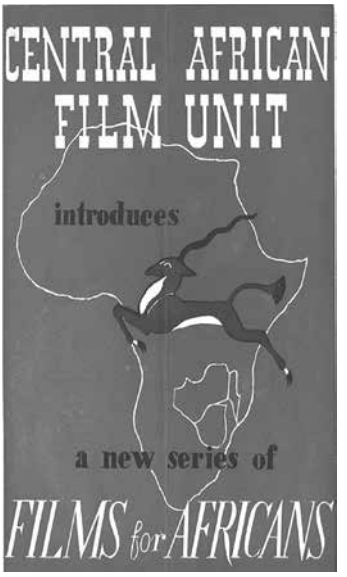
Sub-Lieutenant Izod directing Naval Training Film

[1] Except where otherwise indicated, quotations are extracted from the autobiographical memoir that Alan Izod wrote for his family in 1982 and expanded in 1999-2000.

After demobilisation in 1946, Alan Izod moved to the Film Division of the Central Office of Information, within months being nominated for the post of Producer of an expanded Colonial Film Unit (CFU). The proposal was to extend the activities of the CFU in order to introduce film production in a greater number of colonial territories. CFU teams would visit and train local personnel in film production before moving on to other countries, leaving future production in local hands. In fact the CFU did operate until 1955, with production policy set by the Colonial Office in London. Rosaleen Smyth refers to sources which indicate that films made under CFU guidance and auspices were technically proficient. However, they did not engage the established interests of local people because the Unit's European filmmakers did not have sufficient understanding of the customs and culture of their intended audiences.[2] This touches one of the principles which Izod was to take with him to Central Africa, saying at a 1948 conference *The Film in Colonial Development*: "The success of these films will be in direct ratio to the extent to which audiences can associate themselves with the characters in the film and the subject matter."[3]

As matters turned out, my father became irritated by the long wait for the Colonial Office to approve expansion of the CFU and confirm his appointment, so he responded to *The Times* advertisement.

> In February 1948 I was called to an interview at the Colonial Office with Hugh Parry, Assistant Chief Secretary of the Central African Council, and in April I was offered the job of Producer of the Central African 16mm Film Unit (CAFU). With no decision still about the expanded Colonial Film Unit, I accepted and was told I could recruit a scriptwriter and one director-cameraman in the UK; Louis Nell, Films Officer in the Northern Rhodesia Information Department would join the Film Unit as director-cameraman for the second unit.



CAFU Brochure 1950
Artwork by Olive Izod

In recruiting I looked for two people who had the same motivation as myself – to produce films in Africa to help in the advancement of the people – and I was successful in finding two men ideal for the job: Denys Brown, a colleague in Films Division agreed to join as scriptwriter, and Stephen Peet, whom I'd known when working at the Travel Association, as director-cameraman.

Alan set sail in May while Olive and their three children followed six months later, settling in Beit Avenue, Salisbury. Olive, an art school graduate, became responsible for CAFU artwork in the early

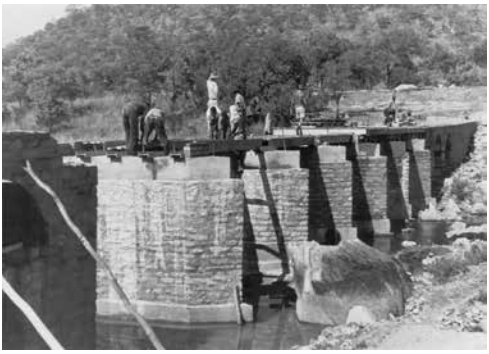
[2] Rosaleen Smyth, 'Movies and Mandarins: the Official Film and British Colonial Africa,' in James Curran and Vincent Porter (eds.) British Cinema History (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983) 138.

[3] Rosaleen Smyth citing Alan Izod, 'The Central African Film Unit's Images of Empire, 1948-1963,' Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television, 3, 2 (1983) 131-47, p.133.

years, creating the Unit's first brochure in addition to the opening and end titles for several films. Later she was to teach fine art, first at Prince Edward School and then at Arundel School.

A list of five topics for films was suggested by the Public Relations committee of the Central African Council for the start of CAFU production.[4]

1. The pitfalls of town life (made as Production No 1 - Mulenga Goes to Town)
2. A health and hygiene film (Production No 6 - The Wives of Nendi)
3. An agricultural film (Production No 3 – Zimbani; and Production No 4 - The Two Farmers)
4. A fable story
5. A historical film.



Stephen Peet's first location: Mwaradzi Bridge. This was the title of the second production listed in the 1950 CAFU catalogue. The year was 1948 and the site was the Mwaradzi Bridge.

To this list were soon added films for the promotion of tourism in the northern territories: two to be made in Northern Rhodesia,[5] and one filmed by Peet – Nyasaland, Land of the Lake.[6] Looking back, Izod remembered that, in the early months of CAFU's work;

> We were faced with the problem that there was absolutely no doctrine or book of rules about film-making for African rural audiences. A little had been done in Northern Rhodesia by Louis Nell, but nothing in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia, and there was no information at all about reaction to films – for the most part, our future audiences had never seen films. There were very few mobile cinemas then.
>
> It was obvious to all four of us that initially we should keep our techniques as simple as possible, and should base our films on the experiences of individuals, seeking to persuade the audiences to associate themselves with the characters in the film. In any event, our own facilities were very limited. We had no editor on our staff, and so for the first two years, I did all the editing myself. The only equipment was a rewind and viewer.
>
> We had decided to make silent films and to supply them to the three Information Departments with outline commentaries.[7] These commentaries were the basis for translation into local dialects, of which there was a profusion, especially in Northern Rhodesia. We had discovered that the mobile cinema operators had a remarkable capacity

[4] Brochure, 'Central African Film Unit introduces a new series of Films for Africans'.

[5] Alan Izod, Letter to R. H. Hobson (7 November 1990).

[6] The website Colonial Film www.colonialfilm.org.uk contains information on over 6,000 films that show images of life in the former British colonies. In addition to analyses of a number of the films, it indicates, where relevant, which British archive holds a copy.

[7] In 1948, and until the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, each of the three territories had its own administration, answerable to London.

for commentating – some of them even putting in sound effects. By the end of 1948 … we had recruited African staff to work in the field as assistants to the director-cameramen, and had the luck to find Gideon Naminesuh to work with Stephen [Peet], under whose leadership he became a great asset to the Unit.

We had no facilities of our own for showing films, so we had to make arrangements with the local territorial Information Department to show our films. So as soon as our first films were finished, we took them to where they had been made and, when possible, to other areas as well. They obviously had the strongest impact in the places where they had been made, but their reception elsewhere was very gratifying.

We quickly realised that our films being accepted as reality placed a responsibility on us to take great care that we did not abuse this trust, and this attitude was maintained throughout the life of the Unit.

Watching the operation of a mobile cinema presenting films to an audience that had never seen films before was a fascinating experience, and one from which we profited a great deal. One small example of this and of the extent to which audiences associated themselves with our characters was to do with humour. We had been puzzled that audiences never laughed at a joke; then by chance I inserted a shot of one of our characters laughing at a joke, and the audience shared the joke with him. So we learnt the importance of reaction shots.

The setting itself is dramatic. As night falls the operator will start playing music, making announcements, etc. Earlier in the day he will have put word out to nearby villages. Slowly at first people trickle in and stand around; then a picture appears on the screen, and the audience forms – in front children right up to the screen, behind them the men and on the fringes, the women. Seeing a film show in operation as one approaches on a track through the bush is unforgettable. There is an eight foot picture suspended in mid-air in the middle of the bush with a disembodied voice telling the story, voicing the characters, providing the sound effects.

Within two years the expanding unit had completed 28 films and had three more in production. Izod recalled that their films were being well received, including by the African press. Thirty-five years later Rosaleen Smyth commented that, by comparison with the Colonial Film Unit;

> CAFU had considerable success with its instructional films, many of which were in story form; government officials testified to the 'direct and startling' results that their showing often produced… The catalogues show the diversity of production. There were films on agricultural subjects, self-help, town life, women's clubs, forestry, fables, crime-doesn't pay, crafts, three tourist films, and a new series Africans in Action, showing successful individuals.[8]

[8] Smyth, 'Movies and Mandarins,' 140.

CAFU Staff circa 1950
Stephen Peet top row, left; Denys Brown and Alan Izod second row, second and third from left; Gideon Naminesuh, third row, second left.

Smyth also noted that the instructional films were a financial success, purchased by government organisations in territories where similar mass education programmes were in progress – including nine other African states. That said, looking back from her 1983 vantage point, she summarised her verdict on the CAFU's production of instructional films thus: 'The dominant image is one of benevolent paternalism."[9] From her late twentieth, and our early twenty-first century perspective, there is much to justify this assessment as we shall see.

In September 1949, two shows of four early films were presented to distinct audiences in the Matopos area of Matabeleland. This was one of at least four such presentations screened in various parts of Southern Rhodesia by May 1950. Naminesuh, assisted by Peet, compiled reports on the reactions of Europeans and local Africans in the audiences in which District Officers, Agricultural Supervisors and Agricultural Demonstrators were present. Naminesuh interviewed the Demonstrators "as enlightened Africans" not only for their responses but also for help in asking the rural villagers with whom they were in touch for "stories with a lesson and a lot of action".[10] It seems likely that these reports were compiled to guide future production planning.

One of the four films screened was The Two Farmers (1948). African reaction was for the most part '"very favourable" in that the film "encourages Natives to adopt new methods" and "illustrates that hard work only will achieve results".[11] The Agricultural Demonstrators requested that such films should be sent to the Reserves (so-called at the time) to support them in their work. Black audiences wanted a more varied diet dealing with other topics and encouraging women to work too. A preference for true rather than fictional stories was expressed. One solitary criticism (no less striking in its isolation) deplored a tendency in these films to look down on Natives as dirty, foolish and lazy.[12]

The Agricultural Demonstrators had many questions about how CAFU was funded, whether people had to pay for screenings, whether its films could be screened in the Reserves, how the films were made, whether actors were paid and how long CAFU would last.[13]

[9] Smyth, 'The Central African Film Unit's Images of Empire,' 141.
[10] Gideon Naminesuh, 'Report on Film Shows at Matopos 26-27 September 1949,' CAFU Memorandum 7 October 1949.
[11] Gideon Naminesuh, 'African Reaction to Matopos Film Show' in Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Naminesuh, 'Report on Film Shows at Matopos'.

Reactions by Europeans included the observation that The Two Farmers was valuable as propaganda and of suitable length, being short and to the point (both Europeans and Africans at these two screenings found other 20 minute films too long).[14]

Naminesuh concluded his report with the suggestion that staff should not only shoot films in the Reserves but also listen to the views of rural audiences about them. He adds that at this Conference "we had an advanced type of African so I do not think their views would be the same as the backward sections of the Reserves."[15] Indeed, the films were not for the most part directed at urban audiences.

It seems probable that Africans who offered their opinions were more comfortable saying complimentary things despite a few critical comments in these reports. For some this would be a matter of courtesy to their hosts who were talking to them with the approval of the Government. Others, the Agricultural Demonstrators for example, were government employees (favourably represented by Machiri, the Demonstrator in The Two Farmers). Naminesuh himself was involved in the filmmaking programme and committed to its goals. Peet (whose initials appear on the report) was as thoroughly versed as Izod in the objectives with which CAFU had been established and as eager to see them fulfilled.

Audience comments on The Two Farmers that it "encourages Natives to adopt new methods" and "illustrates that hard work only will achieve results" clearly echo British colonial ideology rather than the values of black Southern Rhodesian farmers of 1949. Tom Rice on the website Colonial Film discusses the ways in which The Two Farmers typified its kind. The film promoted African development under European supervision. Its narrative structure – contrasting Mr Wise with Mr Foolish – had been used since 1935 in the CFU and proved an ideal framework for CAFU instructional messages. The good and bad farmers are delineated in distinctly British terms reiterating the value of hard work, self-discipline, financial reward and social esteem.[16] And of course it emphasises the benefits of co-operation with the white government's authorities. However, viewing the film again forty years after he directed it, Peet said that the elaborate State-funded system of farming portrayed by the film was an exaggeration of what was attainable by individual peasant farmers. However, Kedmon Hungwe noted both that The Two Farmers appears to have been a success with rural audiences and Peet's script became a guide for many subsequent CAFU scripts.[17]

It should be added that a greater variety of story form was used than Mr Wise and Mr Foolish. CAFU often relied on Chaplin's silent films for plot, character and situation – for example, Mattaka Buys a Car in which, tempted to show off, a gullible fellow buys an ancient Model A Ford from a crook. Inevitably all manner of mishaps and breakdowns occur, culminating in the new owner being run over (though not physically injured) by his prized possession. Some of these comedies had a moral point, but entertainment was often their main aim.

After some five years of production, CAFU became caught up in changes in the structure of government. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was established

[14] Gideon Naminesuh, 'European Reaction to Matopos Film Show' in Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Tom Rice, Two Farmers (1948) in Colonial Film (September 2008). http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/828 Accessed 4 January 2012.

[17] Hungwe, Kedmon, 'Southern Rhodesia Propaganda and Education Films for Peasant Farmers, 1948-1955', Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1991, 231-2.

CAFU Staff circa 1957. Alan Izod stands third from the right in the middle row, wearing a three piece suit.

in 1953. The Central African Council and its subsidiaries were then taken over by the Federal Government. Considerable development of CAFU occurred. Smyth summarises the impact on the Film Unit's programme thus:

> … CAFU became a part of the Federal Department of Information and the making of development films was pushed into the background as the Federal CAFU concentrated on making propaganda films and newsreels to win the Federation a respectable image overseas, to try and overcome African hostility and to encourage trade, immigration and tourism.[18]

CAFU was soon making separate newsreels for Africans and Europeans. Those for Africans sought to demonstrate the advantages gained from Federation. Meanwhile the Rhodesian Spotlight, made for Europeans, was designed for screening outside as well as within the Federation. It was propaganda in support of a government attempting to counter what it saw as the refusal of Britain and the Colonial Office to back it enthusiastically. A British Public Relations company, Voice and Vision, was hired to advise CAFU on pro-Federation propaganda.[19] And in 1957 Izod reported to the Federal Government's Director of Information that production of Rhodesian Spotlight had become the Unit's single most important activity.[20]

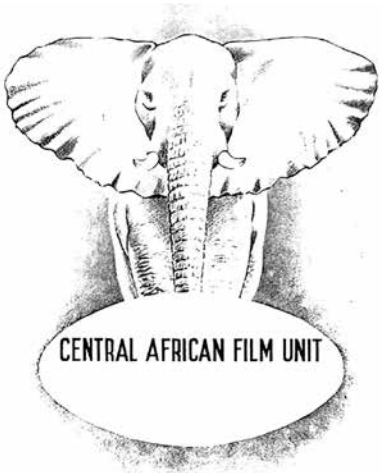
Tom Rice gives a pertinent analysis of the programme behind Spotlight in his account of one edition, No. 87 (1959). This edition was released to cinemas, he reminds us, in the wake of escalating anti-government disturbances in Nyasaland (Malawi) which culminated in the arrest and detention of Dr Hastings Banda and 72 others and of the shooting of 20 of his supporters who were demonstrating against their arrests. The Government declared a state of emergency.[21] From that moment, only those who believed

[18] Smyth, 'Movies and Mandarins,' 140.

[19] Smyth, 'The Central African Film Unit's Images of Empire, 134.

[20] Smyth, 'The Central African Film Unit's Images of Empire, 134; Alan Izod, Response to Questionnaire from Professor Colin Baker (29 April 1997).

[21] Tom Rice, 'Rhodesian Spotlight No 87,' (1959) in Colonial Film (July 2010). http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/78 Accessed 6 January 2012.



CAFU and the Federation: the 1958 Brochure. 137 films plus 62 editions of Rhodesian Spotlight

Information Films; Travel Films; Educational Films for Africans; Teaching Films

that white military conventional forces could prevail against the gathering African Nationalist insurrection sweeping through Africa could have imagined that the Federal Government, dominated by Europeans, could survive. Yet those believers amounted to most of the white community of Southern Rhodesia. It has to be said that productions like Rhodesian Spotlight played a part in urging this collective absenting from realpolitik.

It's not hard to indicate the extent to which public relations techniques are deployed here in pursuit of state propaganda. The incidents in Nyasaland are not denied (they could not be since the white population were involved in that men over the age of 18 were increasingly being called out for emergency military service). Rice makes the point that the incidents are discussed only after conditions are said to have returned to "normal". No account is offered of the central political issues. Instead, mob madness is represented as the driving force underlying attacks against those institutions that do the most for the African people.

This item is set in the context of other reports that pull the focus away from political actualities in favour of ceremonial events such as a Scouts' Jamboree and the investiture of the Paramount Chief of Barotseland with a knighthood. The final item features a European-led rescue mission of animals isolated as waters of the Kariba dam rose. Here too Europeans are shown in caring roles and, as Rice observes, no mention is made of the fact that the destruction here was caused by the Federal decision to build such a hydro-electric scheme.[22] This item also avoids mentioning the numbers of people who had been required to move, although in fairness it should be said that those villagers had been moved some months earlier, and earlier editions of Spotlight had covered their uprooting.

My father remained Head of the Film Unit until 1960 when he was promoted to the post of Director of Technical Services, with responsibility for photography as well as film.[23] With this, his professional life as a civil servant moved steadily away from film production. In my opinion, he was pulled ever further from his ambition to serve the African peoples of those territories. In 1961 he covered on a temporary basis for the Controller of the Federal Government's Public Relations Division. In professional terms, this was a success, the Secretary for Home Affairs writing at the end of that year to congratulate him.[24] And he was soon appointed full-time to the role he had been covering, as Controller of the Government's PR Division. At the end of 1963, the Secretary for Home Affairs once again wrote to my father in fulsome terms, surveying the "many quite outstanding achievements" of his 15 years since founding CAFU in 1948.[25] However,

[22] Ibid.

[23] Alan Izod, Response to Questionnaire from Professor Colin Baker (15 April 1997).

[24] A. Evans (Secretary for Home Affairs, Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland), Letter to Alan Izod (13 December 1961).

[25] A. Evans (Secretary for Home Affairs, Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland), Letter to Alan Izod (19 December 1963).

this was no routine Christmas letter. Instead it marked a valediction from the Federal Government, the formal dissolution of which occurred at the end of 1963.

How did the changes since Federation fit with the ambitions and values that Alan had originally held for CAFU's work? There is no question that they had had to adapt to meet new political pressures. In 1997 he responded to a set of questions sent by Colin Baker, author of State of Emergency: Nyasaland 1959-1960 who was preparing a new book on the Federation.

> **Baker:** *Did you personally feel a sort of philosophical commitment to the federal concept, e.g. the creation of a multi-racial or a non-racial state as a bulwark against apartheid from the south and communism from the north? Do you think that federal politicians believed in such a concept?*
> **Izod:** Yes, the concept of partnership between the races was an attractive prospect, and I was one of those who believed that the social and economic progress achieved by Southern Rhodesia could provide a useful stimulus in the northern states. I felt that politicians were largely concerned with promoting the political and economic advantages and that although they mostly accepted the concept of partnership they believed that it would develop gradually.
> **Baker:** *What, at the time, did you see as the possible benefits and disadvantages of federation?*
> **Izod:** At the time I was mainly concerned with doing my job effectively, and I believed that the work of the CAFU was contributing to the development of the African people. Certainly I felt that the Federation was bringing development of all kinds that would not have occurred otherwise.
> **Baker:** *In the long run African politics in the northern territories, especially Nyasaland, brought down the federation. Do you think (and did you think at the time) that this was inevitable, or do you think anything could have been done to make it work and survive, and if so, what?*
> **Izod:** There was a general feeling among the Whites that one of the causes of the failure of the Federation was the refusal of the Colonial Office to back it enthusiastically, and to cause its local officials to do so. It was believed that, on the contrary, officials took the opposite view and communicated their lack of enthusiasm.
> **Baker:** *Do you recall any views on the federation, or on the federalising of your department, being expressed by African civil servants?*
> **Izod:** No, but I was not moving in political circles.
> **Baker:** *At what point did it first appear to you that the federation might be abandoned? When and how did this become fully clear to you?*
> **Izod:** During its final year[26]

My father's responses reveal how intently his mind was focused on his professional role. Through this time of crisis, he continued to see himself as a civil servant, bound to carry through the policies of his political masters. And it is plain that this energetic

[26] Colin Baker, Letter to Alan Izod enclosing questionnaire (6 February 1997); Alan Izod, Response to questionnaire from Professor Colin Baker (15 April 1997).

and honest man was, within the terms of his remit, an excellent civil servant. But, serving in the government's Information Division, he identified so wholeheartedly with its propaganda effort that it seems as though Macmillan had not spoken in 1960 of the Winds of Change. It is as if liberation movements were not moving determinedly southward through the African continent bringing irresistible change to both Anglophone and Francophone colonies; and as if *Radio Tanzania* did not beam its broadcasts in support of the African nationalist movement nightly into the Federation.

The story of CAFU is not quite done. When Izod was promoted in 1960, its management was taken over by Denys Brown, one of the original three recruited to the unit in 1948.

However, from 1 January 1964 civil servants formerly employed by the Federal Government found themselves out of work. My father accepted the offer of appointment as Director of Information to the Government of Rhodesia believing he could work with Winston Field, the then Prime Minister. He had not foreseen the internal coup in the Rhodesia Front. Within four months Ian Smith unseated Field as Prime Minister and installed a hard right government.

Izod recalled;

> An unhappy first act in my new job was to tell the members of the Film Unit that the funds allocated for Information were so small that there was no prospect of keeping it going. It had become a very large and expensive organisation and it was quite impossible to finance it.

Postscript

My father, having carried into his new job his abiding conviction that civil servants should not be committed to the political views of their government, but serve them professionally regardless of party, soon discovered that such disinterest did not suit Smith's regime. In 1965 the Smith government decided to upgrade the Department of Information into a Ministry and appoint a Permanent Secretary for Information. So Leo Ross, a political appointee, became both a member of the government and a permanent civil servant.

Izod declined abolition of office but accepted the post of Information Attaché at Rhodesia House in London. His role was to assist the diplomatic staff by advising the High Commissioner on all aspects of propaganda and press relations, devising methods of representing the Rhodesia Front Government via all press media to the British public. This posting, however, came to an abrupt end in November 1965 immediately after Smith made his Unilateral Declaration of Independence, when all personnel at Rhodesia House were required at short notice to leave Britain.

Alan saw out the remaining two years before retirement running the Rhodesia Government's Information Office in Australia. At the end of that time, delighted to be able to settle in a territory they both loved, and having neither employment nor family awaiting them in Rhodesia, my parents gladly accepted the invitation of H. J. Ashton, a New Zealand educational publisher, to set up a branch of the company in Australia. There they were able to work as a professional team, my father as Managing Director and my mother Olive the principal Sales Consultant. By the end of 1974 they had built an organisation with 100 people on the payroll and a strong balance sheet; but at that time they chose to return to the United Kingdom to be nearer to family.[27]

[27] I am grateful to Chris Halse for his advice in the drafting of this piece.

A Note on the End of World War I

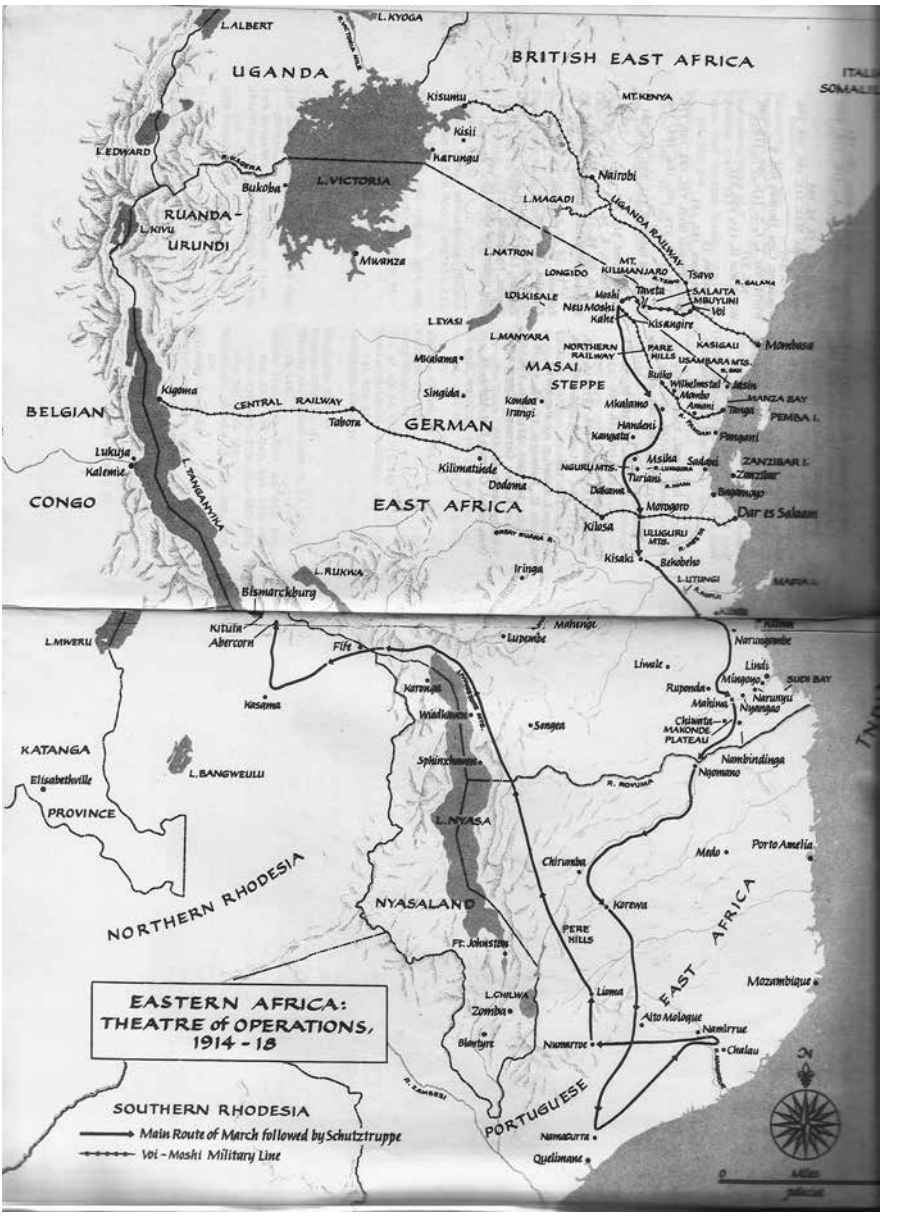
by Jonathan Waters

As we approach the centenary of the end of World War I, it is apparent in the post-colonial period that the significance of the Great War on the African continent is increasingly being lost, despite the fact the war officially ended in northern Zambia. While November 11, 1918 is still observed as the date on which the Armistice was signed, the war was still underway in Africa—the last engagement was an attack on the BSA Company's rubber factory on the Chambeshi river on the morning of November 13. The commander of the German East African forces, General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck only officially surrendered on November 25, 1918.

The theatre of war in Africa is now totally underplayed. Since it was renovated and reopened in 2014, the Imperial War Museum in London makes little mention of the events in Africa. In the days after war was declared on July 28, 1914, many of the first engagements were in Africa. British troops attacked German outposts near Lake Victoria on August 5, and HMS Astraea and Pegasus bombarded Dar es Salaam on August 8. French and British forces invaded German Togoland, now simply Togo, on August 6/7 and the first battle took place on August 9, two days before Austria invaded Serbia.

The campaign in South West Africa started on September 15 with the surrender taking place on July 9 the following year. In East Africa, it was an entirely different fight. Better armaments, the superior fighting skills of the Askaris and von Lettow's military cunning saw the war in Africa drag out beyond the Armistice in Europe. The final year of the war saw the German Command and Von Lettow at their most daring. Vastly outnumbered by the Allied forces, the Germans were constantly pursued and switched to guerrilla tactics. Far from surrendering his rag tag army, Von Lettow decided to invade Portuguese East Africa (PEA, now Mozambique), on November 25, 1917.

General Paul Emel von Lettow-Vorbeck—"The Lion of Africa"



Von Lettow's movements in Portuguese East Africa where he spent over nine months in the final year of the war (from The King's African Rifles)

It is also worth mentioning that four days preceding this, the German Command had embarked on what Charles Millar in his book on the campaign—*Battle for the Bundu*—described as the "boldest and most quixotic operation" of the war. After a few test runs, the Germans on November 21 launched a Zeppelin (Number L59) from Jamboli in Bulgaria to rearm the Schutztruppe. This one way mission, codenamed "China Show", would see Von Lettow resupplied with over 15 tonnes of essential items, including machine guns, medical supplies, and a medical team.

The whole Zeppelin, which weighed 35 tonnes, would be dismantled on arrival so that almost every part of the structure could be used. The balloon envelope was to be used converted into tents, the muslin into bandages, the gas bags into sleeping bags, the aluminium frame into a wireless tower—even the catwalks were treaded with leather to repair boots. The only non-essential items were Iron Cross medals and a case of wine to celebrate the arrival.

While over Sudan, the crew received an abort message after falsely being radioed that Von Lettow had surrendered. L59 returned to Jamboli after travelling 6 800km over 95 hours, arriving on November 25, the day the remnants of the German forces crossed the Rovuma river into PEA. Had the mission not been aborted, it is almost certain given the distance travelled that the Zeppelin would have made it. Many years passed before L59's record was broken. Meanwhile, Von Lettow headed south, finally overrunning the Portuguese garrison at Namacurra, which contained a substantial arms cache, providing him with enough firepower to see the war right through to the end.

I direct anyone interested to Von Lettow's account of the war (*My Reminiscences in East Africa*) or Charles Millar's highly readable *Battle for the Bundu*. Von Lettow received notification that the war had ended on the morning of November 14, having launched an attack on the BSA Company rubber factory on the banks of the Chambeshi river the previous day. While not convinced, he accepted the news and agreed to surrender, an event which took place 11 days later in Abercorn, now Mbala, on November 25, 1918. There is a substantial monument at the site where he received the news, while the cenotaph in Mbala is close to where the surrender of arms took place.

In this note, I am going to cover the last two weeks of the war in Africa and the memorials that mark the two sites. I am going to quote from five books and two primary sources not widely available—*The Northern Rhodesia Journal,* Vernon Brelsford's *Generation of Men, The Story of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment* in which Vernon Brelsford carries Hector Croad's letter to the journal *East Africa and Rhodesia* in September 1937, the *Roan Antelope* magazine of the Rhodesian Selection Trust, the file on the final days of the war from the UK National Archives and the District

The remains of the bridge blown up by the Rhodesians. The object of the raid, codenamed "Operation Cheese", was to make Zambia once again reliant on its southern transport links (Paul Hubbard)

Commissioner's notebook for Kasama from the National Archives of Zambia. I am also using the old names and spellings as they appeared.

The memorial on the Chambeshi river where Von Lettow received notification of the Armistice is right next to the Mpika-Kasama road and close to the bridges blown up by the Rhodesian forces on October 12, 1979. The monument was unveiled on November 14, 1953, the 35th anniversary of the Croad's meeting with Von Lettow. The honour was granted to L. W. G. (Lancelot William Gregory) Eccles, former Commissioner for Lands in Northern Rhodesia who had participated in the war, following introductory comments by the Deputy Provincial Commissioner G. C. M. Heathcote.

The Kasama District Notebook has Heathcote's comments and a report on the ceremony, which was attended by a "smattering of Europeans" who had served in the war, 92 Askaris (with campaign ribbons pinned to their tunics), and Paramount Chief Chitimukulu and his entourage. Also present was the designer of the monument, P. D. (Peter Dunbar) Lawson, then the Senior Architect in the Public Works Department, and Dr J. Desmond Clark, who was at the time Secretary of the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics.

The 1954 Annual Report for the Commission noted that owing to the cost of the memorial, comprising a German field gun on an elevated stone platform, it was not possible to commence the erection of other monuments that had been planned in 1953. There are plaques in both English and Bemba, that reads: "On this spot at 7:30am on Thursday November 14, 1918, General von Lettow Vorbeck, Commanding German

The 1890 breach loading gun incorporated in the monument was of the type used by the German army during the campaign, according to D. W. Phillipson in the 1972 edition of National Monuments of Zambia (Jonathan Waters)

Forces in East Africa, heard from Mr Hector Croad, then District Commissioner Kasama, of the signing of the Armistice by the German Government which provided for the unconditional evacuation of all German forces in East Africa."

Heathcote noted in his address: "The field gun which you see before you and which forms the most striking part of the monument was sent to this country by His Majesty's Government in 1919, expressly to serve the purpose to which it is now being put. In those days transport was extremely difficult and money was hard to come by. The gun has languished in Livingstone all these years and there are grown up people in the country who can remember playing games with it in Livingstone as children. It is now very gratifying that the Commission have managed to retrieve it and set it in the place and in the circumstances of dignity for which it was intended."

In his address, Eccles reviewed von Lettow's "remarkable campaign" noting the German general was well aware that with resources at this disposal, he would never be able to take the Allied forces head on, so he opted to fight a guerrilla war, "his main object being to keep as many British troops engaged as possible, to prevent their entry into the more useful battles in Europe ... there can no doubt that von Lettow achieved his object," Eccles said, noting that at their strongest, von Lettow's force of 3 000 Europeans and 11 000 Askaris tied down at least a quarter of a million Allied troops.

"He caused the deployment and retention in East African of tens of thousands of Allied troops and great masses of supplies and transport and I think it is only fitting that we should pay tribute to a gallant opponent. It is a remarkable fact that in each of the two great wars the German forces in Africa were commanded by an able, gallant and chivalrous solider ... it is remarkable that von Lettow Vorbeck has become a figure of traditional gallantry; his exploits read like an adventure novel and his conduct fits him well for the role of hero. A former enemy, he is, particularly in Northern Rhodesia, a most popular figure," Eccles told the audience.

At the time of the unveiling in 1953, there was a pontoon over the bridge, not far from what Northern Rhodesians had known as the Surrender Tree, the site where Croad had met Von Lettow. In an article in *The Northern Rhodesia Journal* (Vol II, No V) on the unveiling of the memorial, Sir Stewart Gore-Browne tells us of the controversy raging at the time that has been repeated to me on one occasion by a former DC in Kasama.

"It had always been taken for granted that this historic meeting took place under what was always called "von Lettow's Tree" on the north bank and a few yards to the left of the Mpika-Kasama road. But shortly before the memorial was erected the

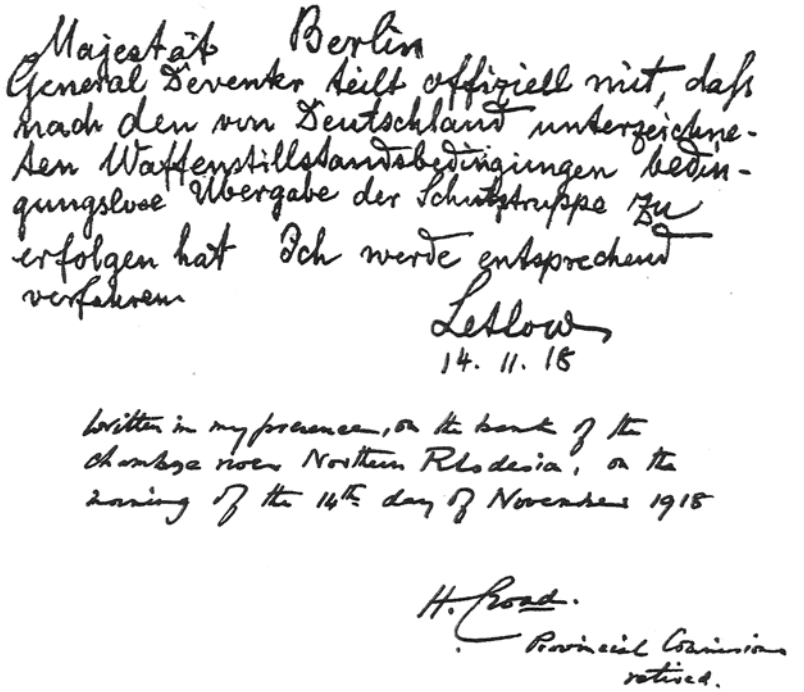
The Surrender Tree and pontoon (*Roan Antelope*)

rumour got about that this was not the correct spot, and that, in fact, the meeting had taken place on the south bank of the river where the old rubber factory stood. This view was supported by Mr F. Rumsey, DCM, one of the few surviving Europeans who had actually been present at Chambeshi at the time, and it was difficult to disregard this first hand evidence."

Gore-Browne noted that "general consensus" favoured the north bank, and Mr Croad's own official report of the close of the campaign proved "beyond any shadow of doubt" that the meeting took place on the north bank. "We got to the Chambezi factory at 6am on the 12th and found the evacuation of stores going on by canoes and carriers down the river ... on the 13th at 8am, the German advance fired into the Chambezi factory with Lewis guns and rifles. The firing lasted about a quarter of an hour, our Askari shooting a number of shots though nothing could be seen to shoot at," Croad wrote.

"The enemy were reported to have moved up the river looking for crossings. At about 11am the official wire about the Armistice came through, and at 11:30, Mr Davey (Assistant Native Commissioner), with Sergeant Rumsey driving, went up the road with a white flag. They first came on a German Askari on the road and gave him a note to take to the nearest white German. They turned back with the car and on the road back came on a picket of one white man and twelve Askari. They took the white man back with them to Hauptman Spangenberg and gave him the copy of the wire and my letter to Von Lettow, which he said would be delivered at once to von Lettow."

Croad continued: "On the 14th at 7:30am I went across the Chambezi and saw General von Lettow, who agreed to cease hostilities and to march his command to


Majestät Berlin
General Deventer teilt offiziell mit, dass
nach den von Deutschland unterzeichne-
ten Waffenstillstandsbedingungen bedin-
gungslose Übergabe der Schutztruppe zu
erfolgen hat Ich werde entsprechend
verfahren
Lettow
14. 11. 18

written in my presence, on the bank of the
chambezi river Northern Rhodesia, on the
morning of the 14th day of November 1918

H. Croad.
Provincial Commissioner
retired.

Lettow's surrender telegram (Rhodes-Livingstone Museum)

Abercorn and to hand over prisoners, white and black. He gave me the wire for the German Kaiser and asked me to arrange that it should be sent through." In his account in *My Reminiscences in East Africa*, Von Lettow confirmed they met on the river, but does not say on which bank: "I met the British Commissioner, who had come from Kasama to the Chambezi rubber factory, at the river at 8 in the morning of the 14th. There I handed him a telegram to His Majesty in which I reported what had happened."

Gore-Browne concludes that both corroborate the river story, but Croad's account conclusively shows it was on the north bank. For what it's worth, the rubber factory is no more—Gore-Browne tells us it was washed away in the floods of 1938. The article also has a note from Dr J. Desmond Clark quoting from a statement in the Central African Archives to the effect Croad had a meeting with a German Askari on the south bank on November 13, but that he crossed to the north bank on the morning of the 14th for a meeting with Von Lettow. "Dr Clark thinks that Captain Spangenberg may have been present at the meeting on the south bank," the note says.

Gore-Browne's concluding evidence in his article is the telegram he sent to the Administrator in Livingstone: "November 14th. I forward you copy of a wire from General von Lettow which he has requested me to be sent through to the German Kaiser will you arrange this. I cross the Chambezi at 7½ hours this morning and was accompanied by Lieutenants E. J. Leslie, J. Davey, D. Barraclough; General von Lettow was accompanied by Captains Hoffman, Spangenberg and arranged matters."

One might also question why it took more than 48 hours for news of the Armistice to come through. In his book on famous Northern Rhodesian characters (*Generation of Men*), Vernon Brelsford repeats one of the most oft told urban legends in the colonial period: "In the early hours of the morning of the 12th November, Croad received a wire telling him that the Armistice had been signed on the 11th, but that he was to carry on until he got further instruction from General Van Deventer who was still trying to catch up with Von Lettow from the north."

"The popular story is that everyone got so drunk in Broken Hill (now Kabwe) on the 11th that they forgot to send a telegram to the people in the firing line until the 13th. And it was certainly not until noon on the 13th that Croad got the wire from Van Deventer telling him to get in touch with Von Lettow to inform him of the Armistice. One story is that the wire arrived by car from Mpika as the line was down. In the meantime, on the morning of the 13th, the German advance guard had reached the Chambeshi and opened fire with machine guns on the rubber factory."

Croad's letter in *East Africa and Rhodesia* in September 1937 republished in *The Story of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment* (edited by Vernon Brelsford) contains an interesting paragraph of the German intentions had the Kaiser not capitulated: "Hauptmann Kohl and others told me they thought they were making for Broken Hill, and that if they had reached the railway line they would have destroyed it and followed it north into the Congo, or if they had met a force north of Broken Hill, they might have turned east to Fort Jameson and Nyasaland."

"I said they would have had trouble to get food in the Serenje country for their men, but they replied that they had information that they could find plenty in the villages near the Bangweulu Swamps. Their information as to the country was wonderfully accurate." Had the Armistice not come about, it is quite possible that von Lettow would

have made it into 1919 and continued to cause havoc. Where would he have ended up? Angola? Millar points out in his book, that while von Lettow's progress was impeded by the unfamiliar terrain "sodden with swamps, interlaced with a cobwebbing of small rivers" the Allied forces were cartographically disadvantaged.

"It was von Lettow's good fortune that his pursuers found the going just as stiff, if no more so, since they were being misled by their maps—or rather by their lack of them. Owing to some wondrous malfunction in van Deventer's administrative machine, the only guide available to the commander of the King's African Rifles column was a schoolroom atlas of the world with a scale of two hundred miles to an inch, reducing the whole region of the chase to an area slightly larger than a man's heel print. Partly as a result of this, von Lettow was gradually able to put a little distance between himself and the KAR, even picking up speed in the process."

After meeting Croad, Von Lettow and his army then made their way towards Abercorn for the surrender. The German movements are reported by General W. F. S. Edwards to General Jacob van Deventer, who is the Commander of East African forces. The file at the UK National Archives contains some interesting reading and shows the local forces were still very wary about what von Lettow would do next.

On November 20, Edwards informs General Staff HQ that von Lettow's entry into Northern Rhodesia had also caused "considerable unrest among the natives who for years have held confidence in British rule". Looting had taken place in Kasama. "The natives are still labouring under exaggerated view relative to the presence of German Forces in their midst at the expense of our prestige." Edwards also reports the Germans are tapping the Kasama-Abercorn line and requests all telegrams go via Fife.

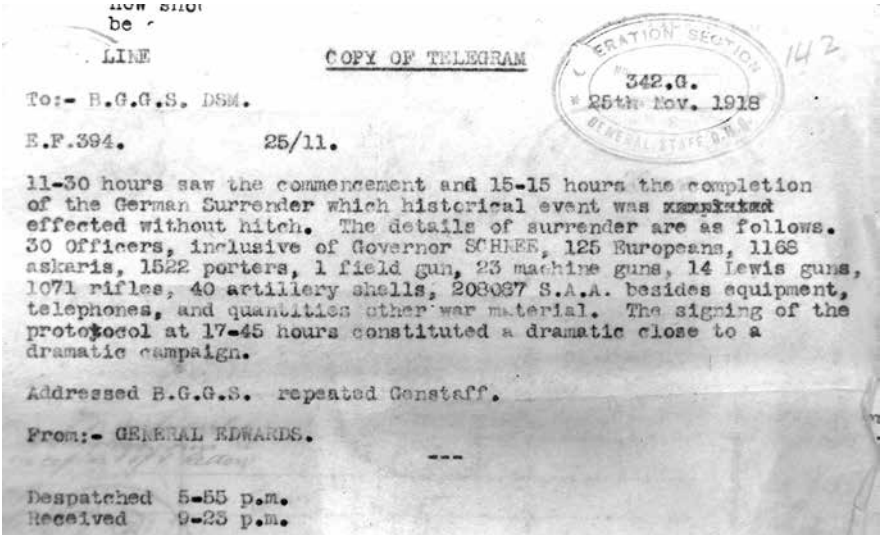
On November 23, Edwards reports he has met with von Lettow to discuss terms of the surrender. Herewith the verbatim transcript: "Have had long interview with General VON LETTOW with following results. General VON LETTOW formally accepts terms of Clause 17 of armistice, but refuses make concession exceeding the limits of Clause in question. He concedes under this Clause to complete an unconditional surrender of himself his entire force all arms, munitions and war material and agrees that at time of surrender he and I as contracting parties sign instrument this effect."

"He requests permission not to be deprived of any official records or documents or of any private dealings or private papers the property of members of his force but he is prepared that we should search and scrutinise all records in his possession of members of his force and to take copies of all records as we may desire. He makes this express appeal on the grounds that the official records with his force are of great historical importance and personal interest in the matter of which he hitherto been unable to forward to his government." A soldier and an archivist!

Edwards also discusses how the formal symbolic surrender would take place. "General VON LETTOW would feel himself honoured if his sword and those of his officers could be returned quietly and unostentatiously at DARESSALAAM instead of a ceremonial parade as proposed. He further requests that the families and friends of his officers and European ranks who may be at TABORA or MAROGORO may be permitted to be on platform to meet trains as they arrive and that free intercourse be permitted and General VON LETTOW is prepared to assist me in every way possible and I trust such small concession as he asks be granted."

The cables of the 24th and 25th report Von Lettow's position at, respectively, 31 miles and 11 miles south of Abercorn—so on the last two days the Germans marched

50km. "First detachment arrives at 11.00 hours date" the cable says. Later that day, Edwards reports to HQ that "11-30 hours saw the commencement and 15-15 hours the completion of the German Surrender which historical event was effected without hitch. The details of the surrender are as follows. 30 officers inclusive of Governor SCHNEE, 125 Europeans, 1 168 askaris, 1 522 porters, 1 field gun, 23 machine guns, 14 Lewis guns, 1 071 rifles, 40 artillery shells, 208 087 S. A. A. besides equipment, telephones, and quantities of other war material. The signing of this protocol at 17-45 hours constituted a dramatic close to a dramatic campaign." It is good to see Edwards recognised the event for what it was.



LINE COPY OF TELEGRAM

342.G.
25th Nov. 1918

To:- B.G.G.S. DSM.

E.F.394. 25/11.

11-30 hours saw the commencement and 15-15 hours the completion of the German Surrender which historical event was effected without hitch. The details of surrender are as follows. 30 Officers, inclusive of Governor SCHNEE, 125 Europeans, 1168 askaris, 1522 porters, 1 field gun, 23 machine guns, 14 Lewis guns, 1071 rifles, 40 artillery shells, 208087 S.A.A. besides equipment, telephones, and quantities other war material. The signing of the protocol at 17-45 hours constituted a dramatic close to a dramatic campaign.

Addressed B.G.G.S. repeated Genstaff.

From:- GENERAL EDWARDS.

Despatched 5-55 p.m.
Received 9-25 p.m.

The telegram from Edwards to HQ telling him of the successful surrender (UK National Archives)

Certainly to his superiors, Edwards underplayed the reticence of the Askari surrender of arms—Millar takes up the story: "When the German Askaris arrived in Abercorn, it looked for a while they might have a good deal to say. They told von Lettow—and anyone else who cared to listen—that they had no intention whatever of giving their rifles or their bayonets or their machine guns to an enemy who had never beaten them. Edwards and his staff began to fear that the surrender formalities might degenerate into a pitched battle, which could very well have taken place had not von Lettow intervened personally."

"Without the exercise of his influence," wrote a British officer, "there might have been grave difficulties, for we had not sufficient men on the spot to enforce surrender of arms by the Askaris as they had declined to give them up." They gave them up with the greatest reluctance and von Lettow repaid their loyalty 35 years later by visiting Tanganyika and going on to ensure the surviving Askaris finally received German government pensions.

The correspondent of *The Chronicle* reported the events of November 25 thus: "Von Lettow, whose striking presence is a good index of what must be a wonderful personality, came in at the head of the first detachment. After these troops had been quickly formed

into three lines in close formation, von Lettow advanced a few paces, saluted the flag, then, taking out a pocket-book, read there from his formal statement of surrender in German. He repeated it in English, whereupon General Edwards replied accepting his surrender on behalf of His Majesty King George V. Von Lettow then presented the officers present, and in turn introduced his own officers."

"Then followed the most dramatic moment of the proceedings, when von Lettow called upon his troops to lay down their arms, the Europeans alone being allowed to retain theirs in recognition of the splendid fight they had put up. The Askari laid down their rifles, took off, and deposited their equipment, and where then marched off by the companies ... it was the most impressive spectacle. The long motley column, Europeans and Askari, all veterans of a hundred fights, the latter clothed in every kind of headgear, women who had stuck to their husbands through all these years of hardships, carrying huge loads, some with children born on the campaign, carriers coming in singing in undisguised joy at the thought that their labours were ended at last. All combined to make a sight that was unique."

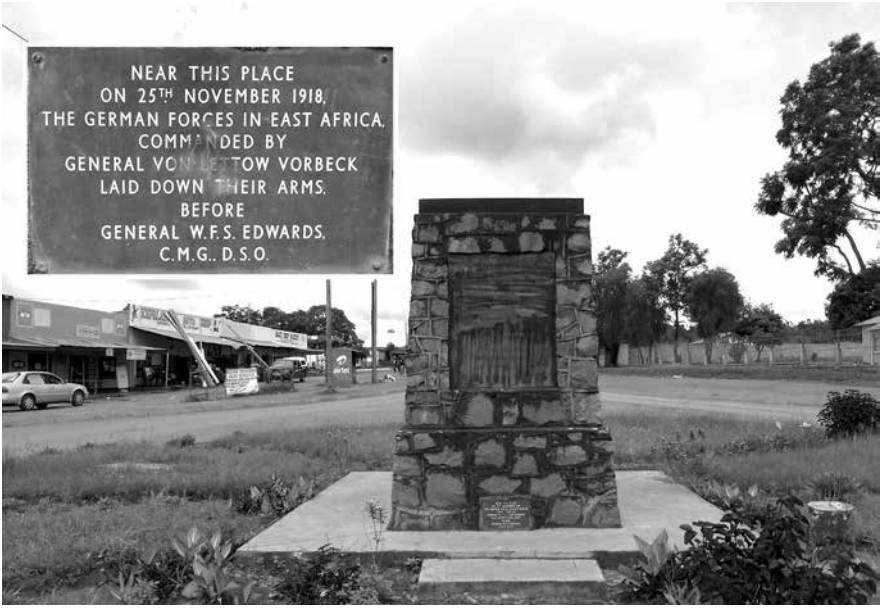
Surrendered guns at Abercorn (Colin Carlin)

Given that the formal surrender takes place in Mbala, I had assumed the memorial was a national monument. But it turns out to be the town cenotaph, which reads: "To the memory of 1 467 men of Northern Rhodesia who served in the British Army as carriers in the Great War and were killed in action or died or wounds or sickness and in special remembrance of 433 who fell in Northern Rhodesia. Here on the 25th November 1918 the German Forces in East Africa surrendered." At the base of the memorial is almost a secondary plaque, almost an afterthought, which reads: "Near this place on 25th November 1918, the German Forces in East Africa commanded by General von Lettow Vorbeck laid down their arms before General W. F. S. Edwards."

Received in Germany as a war hero, von Lettow's postwar career is well documented. He died on March 9, 1964 aged 94. And just who was Edwards? I could not find out

much about him and this made me look harder. Conjecture led me to believe Edwards was a significant personality and I had assumed him to be the commandant general of the Rhodesian forces—except that was Col Alfred Hamilton Mackenzie Edwards and not W. F. S. Edwards, which stands for William Frederick Savery Edwards. In fact, it was probably fitting that Von Lettow surrendered to Edwards, who had been involved in the war from the start, having in his role as Inspector General of the East Africa and Uganda Police, raised one of the first police battalions. After the war, Edwards stayed on in East Africa, before returning to the UK where he died on June 9, 1941 in Whipton, Exeter, aged 69.

I have been unable to find out just when the Abercorn cenotaph was constructed, but my guess would be in the early 1920s. After the war, the BSA Co proposed to erect a national war memorial at Livingstone for all those in the territory, especially African supply carriers, who had died on active service. *The Horizon* magazine of March 1965 reported: "Livingstone was chosen because it was then the capital, but Mr J. H. (John



The monument at Mbala: "The battle was long, hard, and at times furious. It ended when a definitive survey showed the memorial to be barely four inches out of alignment. It was left in position and a roundabout built to encircle it." The note of the surrender to Edwards is at the bottom of the monument (inset)

Henry) Venning, who had recruited many of the Barotse carriers, successfully argued that Abercorn, the only town to come under fire (in 1914), should have the monument." [Footnote: *The Livingstone Mail* of May 22, 1922 records Venning's donation to the Northern Rhodesia War Memorial at £3 3s)

Horizon continues: "Through one of those coincidences that pop up so often in Zambian history, Mr Venning found himself at Abercorn as Provincial Commissioner soon after his argument was accepted. He was therefore asked to choose a site for the memorial and he placed it in the centre of the road reserve at the southern end of the

township. The road occupied only half the reserve so that the monument stood at the roadside. All was well for about 40 years. Then the road was surveyed and authority alleged that the monument had been wrongly sited, was not on the central line of the road reserve and would have to be moved."

"Authority had failed to reckon with Mr Venning, who, still very much alive, was maintaining an Abercorn tradition by having retired there. He opposed the move with forcible argument. Authority stood firm, perhaps because blanching a little when Mr Venning received the formidable, wholehearted support of the Gamwell sisters. Other residents joined the cause of Abercorn versus the Government. It was wrong, they said, to talk of moving the memorial to the Boma. What significance did a colonial office have in the history of the First World War? None. How much had the British Government given towards the cost of the memorial? Nothing. And in any case, the whole thing was nonsense: the memorial was correctly sited. The alleged error, they suggested, was a bureaucratic excuse for removing it."

One final note on the surrender is contained in Vol VI of *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*: "Mr Whiteley who was at the surrender of Von Lettow in Abercorn says that he is under the impression when General Von Lettow surrendered officially he did so with a bayonet, not the traditional fashion with a sword. He says that the General would not be carrying a sword on active service in the bush. He says the actual site of the surrender, which has often been argued, was standing on the old post office verandah a point about a quarter of a mile in a 'two o'clock' direction."

Colin Carlin has sent me a letter written in 1963 by his father John, who was Venning's nephew, relating information from his uncle (then aged 86) about the memorial and the exact location of the surrender site. "Whiteley is not quite correct about the direction of the surrender site from the verandah of the old Post Office. It would have been at almost half a mile at eleven o'clock by my reckoning," Carlin and quotes from the letter: "It is sited about 400 to 500 yards from the large Mpundu tree (still standing) beneath which the German askaris gave up their arms. They marched away along an old track (still marked by a line of trees) across the plot where I am now writing."

These points are of great importance to us as historians, but then again, the real end of World War I seems to be lost on those in Europe anyway.

Gold Mining in the Mutare border region

by Peter Fey

In this article, where appropriate for the time, original place and country names have been used. In early literature gold grades were expressed in pennyweights (dwt) or ounces (oz) per short ton (of 2000 lbs), gold output in ounces. Metricated grades are quoted in grammes (g) per tonne (t) and production in kilogrammes (kg) or tonnes (t). Gold fineness in bullion relates to purity and is expressed as parts of gold per 1000, the balance generally being silver.

The writer's interest in the region dates from the period 1976-1980 when, as the Geological Survey's Regional Geologist for Mashonaland, he consulted to the two major mines then operating at Penhalonga. A cherished memento of the valley is the carved figure of an elephant, presented to him by the owner of the small Hawkshead soapstone deposit, who employed African artisans to sculpt the material on site.

Historical overview-from Ophir to Penhalonga

From the island city of Kilwa, centre of their coastal kingdom in East Africa, the Arabs had developed a flourishing trade in slaves, ivory and gold, described in the tenth century writings of the traveller Masudi. Portuguese scholars were aware of the Arab texts and from them deduced that, not only might it be possible to sail around the southern tip of Africa, but also that the gold then being shipped from Sofala could well have come from the biblical Ophir (Bulpin, 1968). By the end of the fifteenth century Europe, and notably Portugal, was on the threshold of its great era of exploratory navigation, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape on his way to India. On the way he called in briefly at Sofala, a small harbour a short distance south of the modern Beira and the Arabs' most southerly trading centre.

On his second voyage to the Far East in 1502 Da Gama devoted more time Sofala. He was disappointed in the small amount of gold on offer, but was intrigued by tales of stone buildings in the land where the metal was mined. Having established that Sofala was but lightly defended the Portuguese returned in 1505 with six ships and a garrison, built a fort and took control of the town. However, they soon found that the amount of gold being delivered to the settlement was not increasing, nor did it meet the cost of the garrison. Accordingly, they sent the *degredado* Antonio Fernandes, a condemned ship's carpenter, on three foot journeys into the interior over the period 1511-1514. From translations of Portuguese documents Tracey (1968) was able to establish a tentative travel itinerary for Fernandes, who had visited the various African rulers, the fairs where the gold was traded and the mines. He appears to have passed through the Manica district, from where he reported the occurrence of gold. Tracey's interpretation has been critically reviewed by Dickinson (1971).

Fernandes' descriptions notwithstanding it soon became apparent that the Arabs were diverting their trade down the lower portion of the Zambezi River and thence through Angoche, their "second Sofala" in the north of what was to become Mozambique. Accordingly, in 1531 the Portuguese occupied the river ports of Sena and Tete. Between 1571 and 1573 a military expedition of 700 men led by Francisco Barrreto, a former governor of India, travelled up-river to invade the Mwana Mutapa's lands, regarded as the biblical Ophir and ultimate source of the gold. In a one-sided battle in the valley of the Mazoe River the Portuguese inflicted heavy casualties on a large force of African warriors, then negotiated a peace treaty with the Mwana Mutapa. This gave them, *inter alia*, control of the mines and gold trade. It also provided for the expulsion of all remaining Arabs, many of whom were murdered.

Baretto died of fever in June 1573 (Bulpin 1968, p 88) and Vasco Fernandes Homem assumed control of the expedition, then reduced to 180 men. After rest and recuperation on the coast the party set off at the end of March 1575, eventually reaching the Manica region. There Spanish mining engineer Augustine de Soutomayor, who accompanied the party, undertook a thorough assessment of the gold deposits and concluded that their profitable exploitation would require European expertise and machinery. With this the Portuguese withdrew to Sofala and, with the myth of Ophir laid to rest, resigned themselves to the continuing very modest flow of gold, then worth approximately £25 000 sterling annually, emanating from the Mazoe River valley as well as the hills of Manica and exported to Goa. Estimates of gold production are given by Summers (1969, chapter 12).

Over the following three hundred years Portuguese control over most of the country remained nominal, and activities in the interior were restricted to the establishment forts, trading posts and missions. In effect, Portugal had over-extended itself by embarking on too many conquests and other enterprises. In Mozambique its nadir was reached with the sackings of Lourenço Marques (1833) and Sofala (1835), the abandonment of Zumbo (1836) and the resumption of Arab control in the north. Only in the 1880s did Portugal show renewed interest in its colony and adjoining lands, prompting the hunter Selous (1893) to alert Rhodes to the fact that the Portuguese were actively soliciting the allegiance of native chiefs over the eastern portion of territory which was soon to become Rhodesia.

In order to forestall British designs on parts of Mozambique the Portuguese in 1884 commissioned Colonel Joaquim Carlos Paiva d'Andrada to establish effective occupation over four areas, which included the Sofala Province. He founded the town of Beira and acquired concessions over Zumbo as well as the Manica Province, the latter concession extending westwards into the future Southern Rhodesia. D'Andrada established a rudimentary administration and obtained treaties from chiefs over much of this region as well as over parts of Mashonaland in 1889. These concessions were acquired by the Companhia de Moçambique, formed in February 1891 by the Portuguese Government and managed by Baron de Rezende, who in 1888 was instrumental in attracting to Mozambique mining engineer and entrepreneur James Henry Jeffreys from Barberton, together with a number of prospectors. Since its arrival in Beira coincided with the rainy season the party remained near the coast, only the Baron and Jeffreys continuing inland to the former trading centre of Macequece (the modern Manica), thence in February 1889 to Makaha, a gold belt discovered during 1872 by the German explorer Karl Mauch (Bernhard, 1970) in the eastern part of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). On

his second visit to Penhalonga (named either after Count de Penha Longa, or from the Portuguese *penha*-peak and *longa*-long) in August 1889 Jeffreys discovered two major groups of old workings and pegged a concession of 100 claims 100 metres square over each (Phaup 1937, p 126) in October. These he named after Baron de Rezende and Count de Penha Longa. Highly enthused by his finds he returned to Barberton, from where his syndicate promptly sent him to London. There he sold the Rezende claims to United Goldfields of Manica Limited in April 1890, then proceeded to Paris to form a syndicate to work the Penhalonga claims.

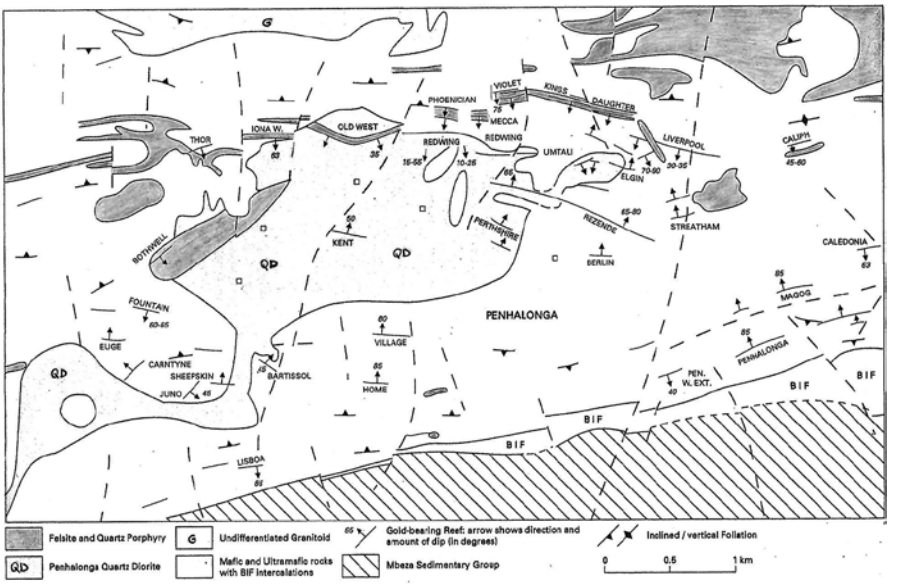
News of this activity reached Cecil John Rhodes and accordingly, with the Pioneer Column drawing close to its intended destination, Administrator-Designate A C Colquhoun set off on 26 August 1890 (Carey 1975, p 38) with F C Selous to negotiate a treaty with Mutasa, chief of the Manyika tribe. Because the Portuguese had earlier come to a similar arrangement with the chief they subsequently ignored repeated warnings, from officials of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), to confine their activities to the country east of Macequece. Hoping to resolve the matter D'Andrada, accompanied by Baron de Rezende and representatives of the mining interests, met with Mutasa at the latter's kraal near Penhalonga on 15th November 1890, where they were surprised by a detachment of BSAC police under Major P W Forbes. D'Andrada and his facilitator, the Goanese half-caste Manuel Antonio de Sousa (also known as Gouveia), were arrested and sent off to Cape Town while the Baron was released on parole and allowed to return to Macequece. Gold claims already pegged at Penhalonga were recognised by the BSAC once a mining commissioner had been appointed in Old Umtali; however, claim holders were unimpressed by the company's demand for a 50% interest in each mining venture.

Meanwhile Rhodes, anxious to shorten the supply line to his new domain by securing access to an east coast port had, through the efforts of Dr L S Jameson, won a concession from Shangane chief Ngungunyana, ceding to the BSAC all commercial and mineral rights to the coastal lands between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers (Bulpin 1968, pp 288-291).

However, faced with threats of war from the Portuguese the British Government could not support the blatant seizure of Mozambique's east coast simply to suit Rhodes' private company, and the matter was finally settled through a treaty with Portugal, signed on 11th June 1891. A border was defined, Gazaland and Manicaland were ceded to the British, thereby ending Portuguese claims to and interests in the gold lands of the Mwana Mutapa, as well as Rhodes' dream of an east coast port. However, the treaty enshrined unimpeded transit for persons and goods across Mozambique to the British sphere (Barnes, 1975). Furthermore, the Portuguese government undertook to build a railway from the Pungwe River inland, and this was indeed begun in 1892 by Pauling (1926).

The Mutare Greenstone Belt-geology and structure

Almost all of the gold won in the Mutare region has been derived from the Mutare Greenstone Belt. This laterally continuous unit of Archaean volcano-sedimentary rocks trends east-northeast for 110 kilometres, from just west of the Save River to the Mozambique border, beyond which it is known as the Manica schist belt and continues for a further, lesser distance. In Zimbabwe the highly productive eastern, or Mutare



Simplified geological map of the Penhalonga Valley, showing distribution and orientation of gold reefs in relation to the Penhalonga quartz diorite stock (after Campbell and Pitfield 1994, p 244).

Segment, was geologically mapped by Phaup (1937), and the structural framework of its eastern portion was subsequently investigated by Chenjerai (1991). The economically far less important Odzi Segment, extending west of the eponymous river, was surveyed by Swift (1956). For most of its length the belt measures less than 5 kilometres across, but widens to approximately 20 kilometres east of the Odzi River.

The basal portion of the Mutare Greenstone Belt consists of altered mafic and ultramafic igneous rocks with intercalations of banded iron formation, regarded as of Bulawayan age (*circa* 2900 -2700 million years). Younger, Shamvaian sediments unconformably overlying the Bulawayan rocks are restricted to the Mutare Segment. Overall structure is that of an east-plunging syncline, a generally concave upward fold of which the core contains the stratigraphically youngest strata. The Mutare Segment, however, is structurally more complex than the Odzi Segment and takes the form of a synclinorium, comprising two synclines separated by an anticline whose axial trace follows the prominent ridge which separates the Mbeza and Penhalonga valleys. Both margins of the belt are embayed by intrusive granitic rocks, oldest of which is the Penhalonga quartz diorite, a complex pluton. This was emplaced into the flatly-dipping northern limb of the synclinorium and, together with associated younger felsitic intrusives, is the principal host of gold mineralisation.

Gold mining in Mozambique

Alluvial gold

This comprises most of the known output, derived principally from the east-flowing Revue River and its tributaries, such as the Chua, Zambuzi and Nyahombgwe, all of which rise on the watershed immediately east of Penhalonga.

In 1913 Andrada Mines Limited built a hydro-electric power station just inside

Southern Rhodesia on the Nyamkwarara River, and in February 1914 began dredging the Revue River. By the end of 1921 5.16 million cubic metres had been treated, yielding gold worth £271 664. (Phaup 1937, p 74). The company went into liquidation in 1931, its assets were acquired by the Eastern Transvaal Consolidated Mines Limited, an affiliate of the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company (later known as Lonrho), and dredging resumed in 1932 under the newly formed Revue Dredging Company Limited. By 1949 all workable deposits had been exhausted and the company was wound up in 1951, having produced 86 032 ounces (2.67 t) of gold at a profit of £219 537 (Cherer Smith 1984, p 23).

During the 1990s South African company Benicon Earthworks and Mining (Pty) Ltd, under contract to Lonrho, worked placer deposits along the Chua River, producing some 10 kg of gold per month.

Current activity is restricted to artisanal miners

Reef gold

The sole known producer is the Monarch mine, where mineralisation is hosted by a unit of jaspilitic iron formation 12 to 15 metres thick straddling the border with Zimbabwe. It was first explored by John "Jack" Meikle (Meikle, 1994), scion of the family which developed a string of stores in the fledgling Southern Rhodesia. In 1929 Rezende Mines Limited, a subsidiary of the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company (Lonrho), secured an option to explore and purchase the property (Phaup 1937, p 117). Development comprising adits, shafts and drives took place on both sides of the border, but an extraction test yielded only 20.71 ounces of gold from 300 tons and the option was relinquished in April 1931. The mine was once more acquired by Lonrho in 1986, but no information about this period of its history is to hand. The property was subsequently taken over by Mincor de Moçambique Lda, which in 1994 commenced production at 20 000 oz (622 kg) *per annum* and built up reserves sufficient for 10 years of production. In 2016 the mine was reported as being on care and maintenance.

Exploration of the surrounding region, undertaken since the beginning of this century by several international companies, has to date not resulted in any mining.

Gold mining at Penhalonga

Introduction

Economic significance of the Mutare Greenstone Belt is demonstrated by its gold output, which up to 1992 was approximately 73 tonnes, of which *circa* 68 tonnes were contributed by the Rezende-Penhalonga Group of underground mines in the Mutare Segment. Overall, size-frequency distribution of <10 kg gold-142 mines; 10-100 kg gold-49 mines; 0.1-1.0 t gold-17 mines; 1.0-10 t gold-6 mines and >10 tonnes gold-2 mines conforms reasonably well to the fractal dimensions for Zimbabwean greenstone belts (Campbell and Pitfield 1994, p 243). In terms of gold production per unit area the belt, at *circa* 122 kg/km^2, is one of the richest in Zimbabwe Owing to the widespread occurrence of argentiferous galena (lead sulphide) in the reefs much of the bullion has a high silver content, hence is of an abnormally pale yellow colour. Certain of the mines have recorded lead as a by-product.

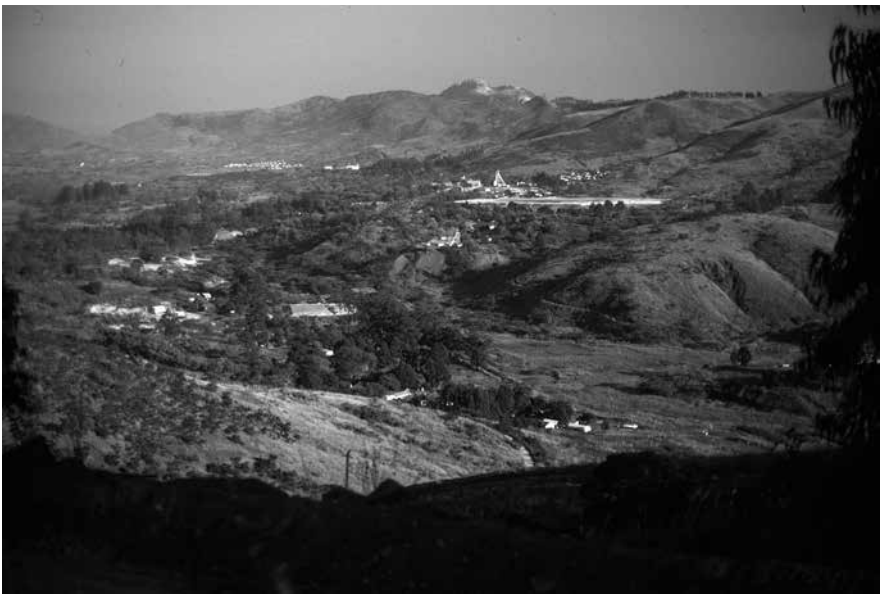
Collapsed workings and dumps of the Penhalonga mine in the foreground, with the Mozambique border along the skyline. Photograph dated July 1988.

Alluvial mining

This has been far less lucrative than across the watershed in Mozambique. Alluvium along the valley of the Nyamakwarara and, more especially, the Mutare River was sporadically worked by the "ancients", as evidenced by numerous holes and circular shafts, many less than a metre across, reaching depths of up to 6 metres in alluvial wash along the river banks (Phaup 1937, p 74).

Earliest recorded gold production from the Mutare River was from B. Perino's Manica Umtali Alluvial claims which in 1894 yielded 38 ounces from 110 tons, a suspiciously high recovery. By 1895 much of the Penhalonga valley was pegged as alluvial claims, but few produced much gold. In 1907 an area of Premier Estate was repegged by the Stanley Alluvial Syndicate which, over the period 1908-1909, treated 2100 tons to recover 33 ounces (Department of Mines, 1934).

In 1914 Andrada Mines Limited, then already dredging in the Revue River, sought permission from the British South Africa Company (BSAC) to work the Mutare River between the Rezende mine and Odzi, and began prospecting by means of shafts and a Keystone drill, encountering good values. However, in 1915 negotiations to work that section of the river running through the Premier Estate failed, the BSAC claiming that dredging would adversely affect winter grazing, a proposed irrigation scheme as well as water quality, and in addition would destroy the road linking the Estate with Grand Reef siding. Thereafter Andrada Mines Limited abandoned the plan. However, alluvial mining on the river was continued by individuals such as J. Clarkson, A. Tulloch and J. Meikle, the latter in 1919 producing 46 ounces of gold and 9 of silver from his Special Grant No 51. During 1933 there were two unsuccessful attempts to recover gold by cyanide leaching of the sands (Phaup 1937, p 77). Production by smallworkers culminated in



View westwards across the Penhalonga valley. The shaft in foreground is probably part of the Rezende workings. Redwing mine shaft in centre right; Old West mine plant beyond and slightly left, behind the eucalyptus grove. Photograph dated July 1988

1936-1937 with the A1 Syndicate's declaration of 405 oz in from its operations on Warnham farm near Odzi.

From the turn of the century the Nyamkwarara River valley, some 25 kilometres northeast of Penhalonga, continued to be visited by a small number of prospectors. Towards the end of 1933 the Secretary for Mines declared the valley, comprising Ranch Minniglen and Lambton farm, an area reserved against pegging. Under a scheme to assist unemployed Europeans the Department of Mines began to prospect the alluvium by means of small shafts and also built a water race with a head of 339 feet (103 metres), allowing hydraulic mining to be undertaken from the end of 1935. In 1933-1936 the largest output, by F. L. H. Wheatley, amounted to only 8.98 oz gold, admittedly of fineness close to 900, from his Alluvial No 31 and Special Grant No 124.

In 1989 the late Dr Joshua Nkomo was instrumental in setting up the Development Trust of Zimbabwe (DTZ), which subsequently entered into a joint venture with the Russian state organisation *Zarubezhgeologia*. The new entity, DTZ-OZGEO was incorporated in 1994, undertook exploration in Zimbabwe until 2000 and identified placer gold targets along a six kilometre length of the Mutare River. Pilot mining began there in April 1998, and during the following year *Zarubezhgeologia* transferred its mining operations to the Russian company Econedra, which held a 60% interest in the joint venture with DTZ. Gold output peaked at 20 kg/month and had reached 340 kg by October 2000 when diesel fuel shortages and erratic power supplies halted operations until late in 2007 (Geological Society of Zimbabwe, 2008). According to unverified sources a further 900 kg gold were won in 2007-2010. Following allegations of environmental degradation operations were suspended in 2014 by order of the Zimbabwe Government.

Regrettably, the activities of artisanal miners continue to adversely impact on the Mutare River and its banks.

Reef mining

Gold in both segments (see above) of the Mutare Greenstone Belt is hosted principally in quartz veins, less commonly in stockworks and replacement bodies. Ancient workings occur on many reefs (Phaup 1937, p 81) and have been tabulated by Summers (1969, pp 46-47). The gold occurrences fall into several groups (Campbell and Pitfield 1994, p 243), viz:

(i). Deposits associated with the Penhalonga syncline-anticline couplet on the northern side of the Mbeza syncline. These comprise:

(a). Deposits in or closely adjacent to the Penhalonga quartz diorite. As the economically most significant on the field they include the Rezende Group (gold output in tonnes quoted in brackets) whose principal producers were the Rezende (37.8 t), Old West (10.5 t), Redwing (6.9 t), King's Daughter (1.9 t), Umtali (1.4 t), Liverpool (1.2 t) and Kent (1.0 t) mines. Production from the whole group of 12 mines amounts to 62 t, and all lie within a 1.25 kilometre radius centred on Rezende (Figure 1).

(b). Deposits situated close to the anticlinal hinge zone separating the Penhalonga and Mbeza synclines, where gold is found in banded iron formation and ultramafic schist. By far the largest producer was the Penhalonga (5.9 t).

(ii). Deposits associated with the sheared southern margin of the Shamvaian sediments in the core of the Mbeza syncline, where mineralisation takes the form of arsenic-antimony sulphide replacements within ultramafic schist. Notable here are the Reliance-Gem (0.41 t) and Toronto-Lucknow (0.31 t) groups.

(iii). Deposits clustered along the axial zone of the synclinorium near the western termination of the Mbeza sediments. Arsenical mineralisation within ultramafic schist and serpentinite was exploited at the Champion (0.63 t), E M (0.15 t), Odzi-Constance (0.15 t) and Cairndhu (0.14 t) mines.

(iv). Deposits associated with the southern margin of the greenstone belt west of the Odzi River occur not only on the sheared contact between schist and granite, but also within the granite itself or in its schist inclusions. All are insubstantial, largest producers being the Quagga (0.3 t), Day Dawn (0.27 t), Surrey-Grey Lady (0.2 t), Montezuma (0.19 t) and Pilgrim (0.19 t) mines.

Development of the Penhalonga mining camp 1890-1959

In the 1890s, with the Penhalonga valley rapidly becoming covered by mining claims, the original small settlement around the British South Africa Company (BSAC) fort and the hospital, established by nurses Blennerhasset, Sleeman and Welby, was soon moved 9 kilometres westwards to a site which became known as Old Umtali. Until 1900 activity in the valley was restricted to prospecting and development, the latter severely hampered by shortages of equipment due principally to lack of transport. This was exacerbated by the Mashona Rebellion in 1896 and the rinderpest outbreak of 1897-1898. These difficulties notwithstanding the first mill to arrive in the country, originally erected on Lobengula's claims at Hartley Hill (Bulpin 1968, p 315), was in 1892 relocated by ox wagon to Battery Spruit, some 17 kilometres west-southwest of Penhalonga. It was subsequently moved to Penhalonga itself by prospectors Bradley and Tulloch (Cherer Smith 1976, p 24), who initially powered it by means of an undershot water wheel

made from empty whisky cases.

Meanwhile, construction of the railway line from Beira was proceeding apace. With the hilly terrain making a rail connection with Old Umtali difficult and expensive the BSAC forced the town's population to move to a site south of Christmas Pass, relocation being completed during 1897. The railway reached the new Umtali in February 1898, was extended to Salisbury in 1899, and by 1900 the entire line had been upgraded to the standard gauge (Pauling 1926, p 134).

Mining began to flourish, only to receive a setback during the First World War, and again in the influenza epidemic of 1918. By 1930, despite the premium on gold, there were only 18 producers, their number dwindling to 14 in the following year before climbing to 27 in 1935. Most were retreating sands and slimes dumps. Phaup (1937, pp 85-87) attributed this lack of activity to a paucity of prospectors and miners, as well as to a shortage of capital. Additionally, a large number of claims had been held for years without being worked, thereby closing much valuable ground to prospecting and mining.

With the last major producer, the Rezende mine, closing in 1955 activity on the field was restricted to a few smallworkers, and Penhalonga became virtually moribund until 1970.

Gold output from many of the small deposits predates the Depression. Amongst the early claim holders listed in the Schedule of Gold Outputs (Department of Mines, 1934) were J. H. Jeffreys, who had pegged the first blocks at Penhalonga, later worked the Lucknow West and Toronto mines and became mayor of Umtali. In his mining ventures he had as partners A. Anderson and R. G. Snodgrass, the latter owning hotels in Umtali and Salisbury (Brakspear, 2016). Possibly the most active was John "Jack" Meikle, who over the first two decades of the century worked a large number of deposits of which the Montezuma and South Perthshire were the most productive. He was preceeded by Dunbar Moodie, unsuccessfully trying his luck on the Bartissol claims before abandoning these at the beginning of 1891 to join Jameson on his quest to obtain a concession from Chief Ngungunyana. Others on the field were D. H., W. E and V. H. Cawood, L. P. and A. R. Jelliman, also Duncan John Dollar, all men whose descendants continued their association with the mining industry. Dollar, an 1891 pioneer, cricketer of note and good friend of F. C. Selous, fought in both native uprisings, and in 1894 produced 26 ounces of gold from the Oriental, Hillandale and Clencher Tyer (*sic*.) claims. The latter were named after the solid rubber Clencher tyres fitted to the bicycle on which Dollar rode from Krugersdorp in the Transvaal to Penhalonga (R. Dollar, *pers. comm*.). The stamp mill on the Clencher Tyer claims was burnt down during the Mashona Rebellion.

Geology, development and production history for the Penhalonga mines (Figure 1) have been treated in considerable detail by Phaup (1937), hence only the four major producers are described below, in order of decreasing gold output up to the end of 1984 (Bartholomew, 1990).

Rezende Mine

The outcropping quartz reef on the northern side of the Penhalonga valley was originally covered with extensive ancient workings, and from Portuguese accounts it is known that gold was being worked there between the 16th and 18th centuries (Phaup 1937, p 135). The reef strikes east-southeast, dips north-northeast at 60 to 80 degrees and occupies

a shear zone at least 1200 metres in length, in which it occurs as numerous parallel lenses of grey and white quartz separated by anastomosing screens of schist. For most of its length the shear lies in greenstones, only its western portion extending into the Penhalonga quartz diorite, of which a tongue also cuts across its central section. Quartz-porphyry dykes, some mineralised, traverse both lithologies.

Gold values and reef widths are highest where the ore channel lies within greenstone. Mineralisation occurs as three principal payshoots known as the Western, Central and Eastern sections. The first lies wholly within quartz diorite and was worked in 1906-1914 to a depth of 110 metres; between it and the Central section a small shoot was exploited by the Doorstep mine (Phaup *op. cit*, p 97). The Central and Eastern section shoots plunged at 50 degrees west and locally widened to 10-15 metres. They coalesced between the eighth and ninth levels, attaining an overall strike length of 850 metres. The combined shoot is hosted by quartz diorite and the reef narrows, averaging less than 1.5 metres in width (Campbell and Pitfield 1994, p 245). The silver-rich gold (average fineness 690) is associated principally with galena, but there are other, lesser sulphides as well as scheelite. The oxidised ore appears to have been much richer than the underlying sulphide ore which, according to Phaup (*op. cit.,* p 147) was encountered at depths below 128 feet (39 metres).

The first concession holders, the United Goldfields of Manica, Limited, drove four adits into the Central and Eastern sections from the bank of the Mutare River and sank prospecting shafts along the entire strike length. Faced with a shortage of native labour and food the company went into liquidation in March 1898 and a new entity, Rezende Limited was formed with a share capital of £150 000, shares to the value of £13 500 being issued to the British South Africa Company in commutation of royalty. Machinery shipped from England, including a 10-stamp mill and 1 000-ton cyanide plant, was commissioned in July 1899, when 313 tons (284 t) of ore yielded 424 oz (13.19 kg) of gold at a recovery of 27 pennyweights per ton (46.3 g/t). A fire on 8th August destroyed the mill house and damaged the plant, which was not fully insured. With first mortgage bonds covered by a loan of £10 000 the share capital was increased to £175 000. In 1900 the mill was restarted, and after 1902 utilised electricity supplied from a power station built below the Penhalonga waterfall on the Mutare River.

By 1902 timber was becoming scarce and cattle sickness had halted all transport between February and May. Falling ore grades and a shortage of power during 1904 led to the company making a loss of £6 000. In May 1905 it was restructured as Rezende Limited and thereafter the mine was administered jointly with the Penhalonga mine, which was to supply electricity from the new Odzani power station.

The Streatham claims, situated approximately one kilometre east of the Rezende mine, had been bought by Penhalonga Proprietary Mines Limited (below) and worked between 1902 and 1905, when they were acquired by Rezende Limited. The company sank a three-compartment shaft in 1910 and rich ore was encountered on the second level. However, for much of the period 1914-1921 the workings were flooded. In the following two years a considerable amount of development was undertaken on ore averaging 15-20 dwt/ton (26-34 g/t) and in 1924 some 10 000 tons (9 070 t) were stoped before the mine was abandoned. Although gold outputs were sustantial there are no records since the ore was declared, initially with that of the Penhalonga mine and subsequently with that of the Rezende mine (Phaup 1937, p 152).

On the latter the Main Shaft, begun in 1899, had reached the 350 foot level by 1904.

In the following year it was retimbered and the mill enlarged to 30 stamps, but chronic shortages of power and compressed air affected underground development and milling. By 1908 the workings could not be kept dry, the mill was running short of ore and, in an effort to reduce expenditure, staff levels were reduced. Inevitably, the company went into liquidation shortly after milling ceased in October. On 4th December 1908 Rezende Mines Limited was formed with a capital of £70 000 in one-pound shares and took over the mine. For 13 000 shares it acquired the Battersea, Duiker and Perthshire claims from the Tulloch Gold Mining Company, and also assumed control of the small Mecca mine.

Capital raisings at the time and again in 1910 allowed the new, inclined West Shaft to be equipped with an electric hoist and aerial ropeway to the mill, other additions to the plant comprising a Bellis-Morcom compressor rated at 1000 cubic feet per minute, a 180 horsepower motor and three turbine pups. Milling resumed in October 1909 and, once ample power became available from the Odzani plant, larger pumps were installed underground in 1912. During that year, after lengthy negotiations, the Penhalonga mine (below) was taken over. Rezende Mines Limited made a profit of £22 248, allowing it to pay its first dividend of 15 per cent. Further dividends followed until 1915, when profits declined. By then the Western section had been mined out, grades in the lower levels of the Central section proved disappointing and costs were rising because of the war. Fortunately, the outlook improved considerably in the following year when boreholes drilled some 400 metres east of the Main Shaft intersected payable reef. This area was immediately developed on the 350 foot level, which followed a well-defined fissure containing two ore shoots, and in due course became the Eastern section where, however, periodical large influxes of water could be stemmed only by cementing the fissures. Nevertheless, 1916 was a bad year. The Main Shaft collapsed, the lower levels were flooded for a time and a loss was made by both the Rezende and Old West (below) mines.

Although a profit of £8 352 was declared in 1917 no dividends were paid, despite the fact that by then the 350 foot level had advanced well into the Eastern section where the ore shoot was 781 feet (238 metres) long and averaged 24.4 dwt/t (42 g/t). In November, shortly after the death of its chairman, S H Farrar, the company moved its administration from London to Salisbury. Sir Abraham (Abe) Bailey became chairman while the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company (Lonrho) provided secretarial as well as consulting services. By the end of the year ore reserves had increased to 175 374 tons at 12.7 dwt/t (159 064 t at 21.8 g/t), grades milled rose from 7.9 to 13.8 dwt/t and profits increased significantly more than working costs (Phaup 1937, p 142).

The influenza epidemic of 1918 seriously disrupted operations when three Europeans and 50 Africans died, while 650 natives deserted out of a staff of 1300. In spite of these difficulties mining began in the Eastern section, resulting in a profit of £41 561 and a dividend of 20 per cent per share. Between 1919 and 1923 dividends amounted to 40 per cent *per annum*, and in 1921 the share capital was increased from £120 000 to £150 000.

By 1924 the Circular Shaft, sunk east of the Main Shaft as the principal haulage shaft and fitted with an electric hoist plus two double-deck cages, had reached the tenth level, 1056 feet (322 metres) below surface. Dewatering of the Central section, which had been mined out in 1920 and allowed to flood to the sixth level, commenced with the pumps moving 1.75 million gallons (7.94 million litres) per day from 1925. However, by then stoping had reached the ninth level, the tenth level proved unpayable and the

lower levels of the Eastern sections revealed little ore. After visiting the mine in 1924 consulting geologist Dr W S McCann concluded that the ore shoots should persist at depth in the sheared greenstone, but not in the quartz diorite. To contain costs the company halved annual development work to just over 2000 feet (610 metres) in 1925. Diminishing ore reserves inevitably resulted in reduced profits and dividends, leading the directors to institute a policy of heavy depreciation and concomitant reduction of the share capital in 1926. During the year the company acquired the nearby Kent mine (Phaup, *op. cit.*, p 108), a consistent small producer since 1906.

Dr McCann visited the mine again in 1928 and opined that, with the reef locally pinching out, the ore shoot had ended. Reserves then stood at 165 000 tons grading 9.6 dwt per ton (149 655 t at 16.4 g/t), sufficient for three years of milling. The end appeared to be in sight for the Rezende mine. The policy of depreciation was continued, the share capital progressively reduced and development reduced to a minimum. Nevertheless, stoping continued below the ninth level where ore considerably in excess of the estimated ore reserves was found.

During 1929 options were taken over the Reliance and Monarch mines, only to be relinquished in 1931, when dividends on the reduced share capital amounted to 28.6 per cent, thereafter rising steadily. By 1934 the gold premium allowed poorer ore to be mined and the mill feed grade to be progressively reduced to just over 5 dwt per ton, yet annual profits remained close to £50 000. In 1935, when the dividend reached 100 per cent, payable ore was being encountered below the tenth level and a new shoot had been discovered on the thirteenth and fifteenth levels, where access was provided by internal shafts "A" and "B". Ore reserves still amounted to 60 000 tons at 7.2 dwt/ton (54 420 t grading 12.3 g/t).

During the year the company acquired the nearby King's Daughter and Liverpool mines, but did not immediately begin development and mining. Furthermore, in order to meet anticipated expenditure for the proposed reopening of the Penhalonga mine (below) the share capital of Rezende Mines Limited was reorganised and increased to £55 000. In 1937 the dividend was once again raised to 100 per cent.

Following difficult operating conditions during the Second World War the company incurred a loss of £2 500 in 1946. However, with the closing of the Old West mine (below) the financial position improved during the following year, when ore reserves stood at 753 000 tons grading 1.8 dwt per ton (682 971 t at 3.1 g/t).

Operations on the Redwing section ceased in 1948, and the Rezende mine itself closed in 1955 (Cherer Smith 1976 a, p 27).

Production to 1935 quoted by Phaup (1937, p 148) was 839 455 oz (26.11t) gold and 377 382 oz (11.74 t) silver from 1 969 021 tonnes (1 785 902 t) milled, together worth £3 888 597. Thereafter until 1945 a further 158 215 oz (4.92 t) were produced (Department of Mines 1939; 1948), followed by 6.75 tonnes in the final 10 years until mine closure, bringing total gold output to 37.78 tonnes (Bartholomew, 1990).

Old West Mine

The mine is situated on the northern side of the Penhalonga valley, one kilometre west of the Redwing mine, from which it is separated by the prominent ridge of the north-trending Kent dolerite dyke. The Old West orebody consists of felsite, a pale-coloured, quartzo-feldspathic rock intrusive into the Penhalonga quartz diorite. This

felsite, here a south-dipping sheet up to six metres thick, 2 200 feet (670 metres) long and curved in outcrop, contains a stockwork of quartz veins mineralised with pyrite and galena (lead sulphide).

The property, although pegged in 1899 as part of the Rezende claims, was not developed until 1909 when Rezende Mines Limited sank a shaft 55 feet (17 metres) deep to the water table near one of three large groups of ancient workings. During the year the mine was let on tribute and 5 705 tons (5 174 t) of ore were crushed using a five-stamp mill to recover 1.6 dwt/ton (2.7 g/t) gold over the copper plate. Development by means of adits and drives continued during 1910, when the second level was started. In November the plant was expanded but could not keep up with the ore mined, of which some 30 per cent was carted to the Rezende West shaft for milling. By the end of 1911 a new three-compartment main shaft had reached a depth of 133 feet (41 metres), sinking being hampered by large amounts of ground water.

The tributors, who were obliged to pay 20 to 25 per cent royalty, continued to work the mine as an open cut until May 1913, when it was resumed by Rezende Mines Limited. The company added a further ten stamps from the Penhalonga battery and, with a 75 per cent mill recovery of 2.2 dwt/ton (3.8 g/t), made a profit of £5 000 for the year. During 1914 the shaft reached the third level, where the reef was faulted. In the following year it was located in a drillhole, the shaft was deepened to the fourth level and ore reserves were estimated at 279 439 tonnes grading 3 dwt/t (253 451 t at 5 g/t). In 1916 a further ten stamps were added to the mill and a tramway was built through the Kent dyke ridge to facilitate transport of ore to the Rezende mine. However, by mid-year the oxidised ore was depleted and recoveries fell to 1.6 dwt/ton, resulting in a loss of 5½ pence per ton. Milling ceased in October (Phaup 1937, p 121).

The mine lay idle until it was again let on tribute during 1919, after which most of the ore above the third level was extracted and a regular output was maintained until 1933. The tailings dump was tributed in 1917-1918 and the first cyanide plant installed.

Mining was resumed by Rezende Mine Limited in 1934 (Department of Mines, 1939), and workings eventually extended to at least the sixth level. Early in 1935 two boreholes cut the orebody at a depth of approximately 400 feet , the intersections returning 4.2 dwt/ton over 9 feet and 7.1 dw/ton over 8 feet. Additional plant was commissioned during 1939. As a cost-saving measure the company suspended operations on the property in 1947 (Cherer Smith 1976 a, p 27). The mine was reopened in 1976 (see below).

Gold output for the periods 1909-1937 and 1941-1944 was 129 910 oz (4.04 t), derived from 1 361 774 tons (1 235 129 t) mined combined with retreatment of sands (Department of Mines 1934; 1939; 1948), giving an average recovery of 1.9 dwt/t (3.3 g/t). No data are to hand for the years 1945-1947.

Penhalonga Mine

This mine lies high on the southern slope of the valley, where its several east-trending, subvertical quartz reefs occur within talc schist and may be traced along strike for almost 2000 metres. Three reefs were worked, two of these occurring in the Central and Eastern sections of the mine. The smaller South Reef, confined to the Eastern section

and marked by an ancient working some 120 metres long and 15 metres wide, was mined over a strike of 120 metres to a depth of 90 metres. The more extensive North Reef occurs in the Central section, has a strike length of 520 metres and boasts ancient workings 460 metres long and between 15 and 30 metres wide. The largest orebody, also characterised by ancient workings, was the reef in the Western section, with a length of 530 metres and an average width of 2.4 metres. Contacts with the enclosing schist were poorly defined, the reefs grading outwards into a low-grade stockwork of quartz veinlets and stringers.

In the Western Extension section one orebody with a strike length of some 80 metres was worked to a depth of 46 metres before becoming unpayable.

The Penhalonga ore, said to carry patchy scheelite, comprised white quartz with schist inclusions and crystals of galena. Gold content, although variable, averaged 4 to 5 dwt/t, silver ranged from 55 to 60 dwt/t and lead grade was 1.5 to 2 per cent.

The dissected terrain allowed early development by the Penhalonga Gold Mining Company from adits driven into the hillside, principally the two which became the future third level of the mine. In 1897 trial milling of 427 tons yielded 9.11 pennyweights per ton over the plate; thereafter a small mill continued to process oxidised ore until 1903. In 1898 Penhalonga Proprietary Mines Limited was formed in London to take over the Penhalonga and nearby Streatham mine for £200 264. A 40-stamp mill, ordered in 1900, arrived on site in 1902, a power house was built immediately below the waterfall on the Mutare River, the "Tree Plot" was acquired and 64 000 trees were planted on it. When milling began in earnest during 1903 it transpired that the ore grade was much lower than anticipated. The manager resigned, and in 1904 consultant J Morris was called in. He found that development was not keeping pace with mining and there was ore dilution in the stopes. Plant and mill were poorly laid out and in bad condition, leading to loss of concentrates and amalgam.

In 1904 the capital was raised to £420 000, a fourth level was begun, and in the next year a three-compartment internal main shaft was sunk from the third level to a depth of 228 feet (70 metres). Following a shortage of water, and hence power, in 1904-1905 the more ambitious Odzani power scheme was conceived. From July 1906 electricity was supplied from a new power station on the Chowudzana River, some 11 kilometres north of Penhalonga (Phaup 1937, p 127). By January 1908 the plant at the mine had been expanded to comprise eighty stamps, six Huntington mills, 34 Wilfley and 12 slimes tables. However, only in September of that year 20 stamps had to be closed down owing to a shortage of ore.

Faced with rising working costs, mounting debts and a dearth of ore on the lower levels the company, which had paid its only dividend during 1907, went into liquidation in October 1910. A new entity, Penhalonga Mines Limited, was formed with a share capital of £110 000 and its assets were written down from £371 123 to £63 854. The Anglo-French Matabeleland Company, which held shares and debentures in the old company, lost heavily in this reconstruction.

In 1911 the main shaft reached the tenth level, 1 138 feet (347 metres) below the third (adit) level, but little driving was done because increasing ground movements below the fifth level began to crush the shaft sets. Penhalonga Mines Limited then commenced negotiations with Rezende Mines Limited to take over its assets. By 1912 workings below the seventh level had become inaccessible, and in May the company was indeed taken over for a consideration of £30 000 in cash and 17 932 Rezende shares. The mine

continued to work until November 1914 when all operations ceased. However, records (Mines Department, 1934) show a continuing small gold production, attributable to smallworkers, over the period 1924-1930.The sands dump was let on tribute to R M Evans in 1924 and was treated until 1941.

During 1934 Rezende Mines Limited began to drill the first of three boreholes from surface at the Penhalonga mine. In the following year the second hole, collared near the mouth of the main adit, cut the reef at a depth of 1141 feet (348 metres) and the third hole, drilled 1100 feet (335 metres) further east, hit ore at 1469 feet (448 metres). These intersections, assaying respectively, 35.5 dwt gold over 30 inches and 9.0 dwt over 52 inches, prompted the directors to reopen the mine. This proposal coincided with the acquisition by the company of the Liverpool and adjacent King's Daughter mines (Cherer Smith 1976 a, p 27). Meanwhile workings on the West Extension section at Penhalonga had been partially reopened in 1934 by F H Whittam.

In 1917 Rezende Mines Limited had been acquired by the London and Rhodesia Mining and Land Company Limited (Lonrho), whose General Manager was mining engineer Sir Digby Burnett (Cherer Smith, 1976 b), appointed in 1921. Although he treated his staff fairly he had an autocratic style of management and generally got his way. At Burnett's insistence, despite technical advice to the contrary, the Penhalonga mine was reopened by means of a new five-compartment shaft, collared to the north of the reef outcrop. The project, begun in 1934, was marred by several fatal accidents, and movement of the treacherously bad ground led to a repetition of the problems which had earlier adversely affected the original shaft. By the end of 1935 the new shaft had reached a depth of more than 1041 feet (317 metres), at a cost of £46 720 exclusive of surface plant (Phaup 1937, p 139). The old workings had been tapped at the sixth as well as eighth levels and were being drained; in the course of dewatering methane and carbon dioxide formed explosive mixtures with water in the pump chamber. Also, an aerial ropeway had been erected to transport ore to the Rezende mine's Circular Shaft.

Total output from the Penhalonga mine to that time was 179 746 oz (5.59 t) gold and 1 025 343 oz (3.19t) silver from 1 014 819 tons (920 440 t) milled, as well as 7 162 tons (6 496 t) lead and 5.2 tons (4.7 t) copper (Phaup *op. cit.*, p 128). Most of the silver, as well as all the lead, was recovered from the galena concentrate and the slimes. The above figures include 4 340 oz (134.9 kg) gold and 65 553 oz (2.04 t) silver derived from treatment of sands, begun in 1924, as well as an unknown contribution from the Streatham mine (see above under Rezende).

Renewed production by Rezende Mines Limited amounted to only 11 252 oz (350 kg) gold (Department of Mines 1939; 1948) in 1934-1943, the mine closing shortly thereafter.

In 1986-1988 the writer was part-time geological consultant for West Australian gold miner Sons of Gwalia N L, whose Zimbabwean subsidiary Chase Minerals (Pvt.) Ltd. was then exploring for open-pittable gold deposits. In this connection he visited Penhalonga in July 1988 in order to inspect a number of claims being offered to the company. Four were owned by John V Cinamon, longtime prospector and smallworker whose father David had in 1931 become manager of the Lonrho group's mines in the valley. Although two of these claims covered a portion of the Penhalonga mine's Western section they were deemed to have limited exploration potential.

It was only in the mid-1990s that the author finally met Mr Cinamon, then still living on his Penhalonga claims and cherishing hopes of attracting financial backing to reopen the mine.

Redwing Mine

The mine was developed on a narrow quartz vein dipping 80 degrees north on the eastern margin of the Penhalonga quartz diorite. It was worked in 1904-1905 by A Tulloch, who stoped all the ore to the water table. Rezende Mines Limited bought the claims in 1909 and let them on tribute in 1912-1913. Thereafter a two-compartment shaft was sunk to a depth of 184 feet (56 metres) where sampling of a drive 152 feet (46 metres) long on reef averaged 6.2 dwt/ton over 21 inches. The property was again let on tribute in 1918-1919, then lay dormant until it was reopened by Rezende Mines Limited in 1937, operations ceasing in 1948 (Cherer Smith 1976 a, p 27). The reef was subsequently worked, via the Rezende West shaft, by a Mr Tyler and was then known as Tyler's Reef (R Dollar, *pers. comm*). Following exploration undertaken during the late 1960s the mine was recommissioned in 1970 and is currently Penhalonga's sole major producer (see below).

Output to 1918 was 2 409 oz (74.9 kg) gold as well as 453 oz silver from 8 915 tons (8086 t) milled, including 217 oz of gold derived from retreatment of sands (Phaup 1937, p 132). Over the period 1937-1943 a further 3900 tons (3537 t) mined and milled together with 3975 tons (3605 t) of sands yielded 589 oz (18.3 kg) gold (Department of Mines 1939; 1948). Figures for production between 1944 and mine closure in 1948, as well as for the subsequent smallworker output, are not to hand.

The period 1960-2017

In the first half of 1960 Dr W H Swift of the Geological Survey investigated the applicability of geochemical prospecting in the Penhalonga valley (Ministry of Mines 1961, p 39). Results were encouraging and, in an attempt to revitalise gold mining, a joint venture between the Southern Rhodesia Government and the Rio Tinto Group resulted in the formation of Penhalonga Exploration (Pvt.) Ltd. From August 1962 through 1963 Dr W H Swift was seconded to this company to oversee soil sampling, mapping and diamond drilling (Ministry of Mines 1963, p 48). A new company, Mutari Exploration (Pvt.) Ltd., was incorporated in 1968 under a joint venture between the Mining Promotion Corporation (Pvt.) Ltd. and General Mining and Finance Corporation Ltd. (GMFC). The company explored the Penhalonga valley under Exclusive Prospecting Order 305, acquired options over certain claims and obtained a reserved area under Special Grant No 384 (Morrison 1975, p 79). Mr Richard Dollar, a geologist with GMFC at the time, was involved in a drilling programme which in 1968-1969 revealed that auriferous felsite, similar to the body formerly mined at the Old West, also occurs at the Iona, King's Daughter, Liverpool, Mecca and Violet mines, none of which were then operating.

At the time the Rezende claims were owned by S Calder Potts, the Penhalonga Mine by David Cinamon, the Monarch mine and other claims by two of John Meikle's sons, Evian ("Toosie') and Gordon ("Jackie"). The last manager of the Rezende Mine, Milton Holman, still occupied the mine manager's house. In Penhalonga village the post office

was run by a Mr Harvey, the Pioneer Butchery by Mr de la Harpe, and Meikle's store was a hive of activity. Living on the Mozambique border above the Penhalonga mine was staunch Rhodesian Front supporter Sir Ian Wilson who, when returning from his frequent visits to Umtali, would invariably stop to imbibe at the Christmas Pass Hotel. After Sir Ian's lengthy sessions there his car, an old Rover, would invariably and almost automatically transport him safely home in the dark along a mountain road which a sober driver would find a challenge during daylight hours (R Dollar, *pers. comm.*).

The surface drilling at Redwing was followed by a limited amount of underground development after which the mine, together with the Rezende, Old West and the Toronto near Christmas Pass, was in 1970 acquired by Independence Mining Company (IMC) whose principals included T I F Sandeman and D C "Boss" Lilford, both well-to-do farmers. Soon thereafter production at Redwing was resumed with the gold being won, not from the narrow, steeply north-dipping quartz vein originally mined, but from mineralised veins in the felsite body, here a south-dipping sheet averaging 4 metres in thickness in which cross-folding has given rise to a series of small domes and basins (Harrison, 1979). By 1975 the property had become the largest producer at Penhalonga. Comparison of production figures to 1984 (Bartholomew, 1990) and those to 1992 (Campbell and Pitfield, 1994) reveals that gold output for the 8-year interval was 3.3 tonnes, equating to 34.4 kg (1105 oz) per month.

Since IDC did not have a resident geologist in Penhalonga the author, as Regional Geologist for Mashonaland with the Geological Survey in 1976-1980, consulted to the company and provided guidance for underground development on his six-weekly visits to Redwing mine, then managed by R James. During this period the Old West mine was reopened and dewatered to the sixth level under manager S Pope, an Australian and former member of the British South Africa Police. Milling recommenced in August 1976.

Lonrho acquired IMC in 1979, thereby re-establishing its presence in the valley, and began to reclaim the Rezende mine. By 1983 the Redwing and Old West properties were producing 55-65 kg/month of gold at a mill recovery of 2.2-2.8 g/t (Ministry of Mines 1984, p 8). During 1985 there was exploratory trenching and drilling of the felsite at Redwing, where trackless mining methods were adopted in the following year, and in 1988 the Redwing shaft was deepened (Ministry of Mines 1989, p 11). This allowed a connection to be made with the tenth level on the adjacent Rezende workings. By the early 1990s combined monthly production from the Redwing and Old West mines had risen to between 88 and 95 kg of gold, (Campbell and Pitfield 1994, p 243), and the Rezende workings were accessible down to the fifteenth level.

Mineral resources and ore reserves for the Redwing mine were estimated by the Zimbabwe Chamber of Mines for compliance with the Australasian JORC code of 1996 for reporting identified mineral resources (Chamber Consultants, 1997). The compilation, dated 30th April 1997, was based on data for the Bromley, Doorstep, Kent, Rezende and Tyler (Redwing) workings, as well as for felsite ore (not defined, but presumed to include the Old West ore). A longitudinal section included in the document shows that on the Rezende mine stopes, believed to date from the 1940s, extended to the twentyfirst level. Ore reserves (proved and probable) were quoted as 209 440 tonnes grading 7.6 g/t, equivalent to 1.6 tonnes of contained gold. To this must be added a total mineral resource (ie: measured, indicated and inferred) amounting to 5 636 600 tonnes at 3.0 g/t

(16.9 tonnes of contained gold). Furthermore, material in tailings dumps was estimated at 4 777 900 tonnes averaging 0.6 g/t (2.8 tonnes gold).

At the end of April 1998 these figures were revised by Lonrho subsidiary Homestake Mines Private Limited (1998). Total (diluted) ore reserves were given as 603 100 tonnes at 5.5 g/t (3.3 t gold), the undiluted global resource was 6 290 400 tonnes grading 3.0 g/t (18.9 t gold) and tailings amounted to 6 429 500 tonnes at 0.5 g/t gold (3.2 t gold).

In 2002 Lonmin Plc's Zimbabwean subsidiary Independence Mining (Pvt.) Limited sold its mineral assets, which were in October of that year acquired by Metallon Corporation Limited (Metallon), formerly Metgold Limited. The portfolio included the How mine near Bulawayo, the Shamva and Mazowe mines as well as the major producers of the Rezende group at Penhalonga. Owing to political unrest and hyperinflation all were placed on care and maintenance from 2007 until 2009 and some were allowed to flood. The Redwing mine was dewatered in 2015, operations were resumed and are assumed to now extend to the Rezende and Old West workings.

During 2016 Metallon's mines produced 94 212 oz (2.9 t), equivalent to 25% of Zimbabwe's annual gold output. Redwing's contribution of 10 106 oz (314 kg) to this figure was considerably less than its annual production of 25 years earlier.

As at 30th June 2016 the measured, indicated and inferred resources and reserves at Redwing were reportedly 34.1 Mt grading 2.26 g/t, equating to 77.1 t (2.5 million oz) of contained gold (Metallon, 2017). Of this total proved and probable underground reserves were quoted as 207 000 t grading 3.5 g/t (0.7 t gold), an additional 3.3 t gold are contained in tailings. When compared with figures quoted by Homestake Mines (Pvt) Ltd (*op. cit.*) 18 years earlier this greatly augmented global resource is of lower grade, and is presumed to include ore discovered through exploration of several of the small mines in the immediate vicinity of the Redwing and Rezende workings. The updated resource provided for an estimated mine life of 14 years and contained approximately 13 per cent more gold than the historical production from the Rezende-Penhalonga group of mines.

Also currently (2017) active in the Penhalonga valley is junior Australian explorer Prospect Resources Limited, focussing on the Penhalonga and Battersea mines. No details of work undertaken are to hand. The company's flagship project in Zimbabwe is the Arcadia lithium pegmatite 9 kilometres east of Arcturus in the Harare greenstone belt, where a maiden ore reserve was declared in June 2017.

Acknowledgements

The author has drawn extensively on the geological bulletin by former colleague A E Phaup, referenced below, and during his research has, fittingly, made use of Phaup's personal copies of the Department of Mines' *Schedule of Gold Outputs*, now in his possession. In addition, the book by T V Bulpin has proved to be a veritable treasure trove of historical detail. Mr Richard Dollar of Bulawayo is sincerely thanked for sharing his reminiscences of Penhalonga in the 1960s, and for kindly providing two of the photographs used in this article.

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Alexander Miers Macgregor OBE, MA, DSc, FGS The Geological Survey's third Director 1946-1948

by Peter Fey

A. M. Macgregor's first appointment in 1912 was as Geologist with the Bulawayo museum. He joined the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey in 1915 and, except for 3 years of military service during World War I, remained with that organisation until retiring as its third Director in 1948. Thereafter he consulted to the mining industry until 1956, dying in Bulawayo in 1961.

Macgregor was a modest man who devoted his life to geology, a science to which he made a huge contribution and for which his quiet enthusiasm was infectious. An excellent field and proficient mine geologist he fortunately was also of academic disposition, and as such is credited with some 50 publications, including 8 Geological Survey bulletins and 7 Short Reports. He was particularly fascinated by Archaean geology, the early development of the Earth's crust and its atmosphere, and encapsulated his thoughts on these topics in his presidential address, delivered in 1950 to the Geological Society of South Africa. Further significant contributions were his subdivision of the Rhodesian Archaean into the Sebakwean, Bulawayan and Shamvaian Groups, a broad framework still accepted today, his recognition of the Kalahari System overlying Karoo strata and his discovery of a Precambrian algal limestone, both in the region north of Bulawayo. His other interests included palaeontology and archaeology, mineralogy and the practical application of absolute age determinations of rocks. Later in life he focused on the latter topic and his collaboration with kindred spirits in age determination laboratories throughout the world secured a leading position in this field for Southern Rhodesia (Brock, 1962).

A member of numerous professional bodies, Macgregor was President of the Rhodesian Scientific Association over the period 1946-1947. The year 1947 was momentous in that not only was he was presented with the Draper Medal, the Geological Society of South Africa's highest honour, but in addition was awarded the degree of DSc by Natal University College. In 1949 he was admitted to the Order of the British Empire and during the following year became President of the Geological Society of South Africa.

Introduction

Alexander Miers Macgregor was born into a talented family in Shepherds Bush, London on 28 July 1888. His father was a sculptor and an uncle, Sir Henry Miers, a celebrated mineralogist. Early in the 19th century an ancestor, John Miers, made an adventurous journey to the mines of Peru and Chile, which he described in a fascinating book (Ferguson, 1964). In Macgregor's early years his father engendered in him a keen interest in fossils. He attended Westminster School, then in 1907 entered Queen's College,

Dr Alexander Miers Macgregor

Cambridge, where he took Part I of the Natural Sciences Tripos in 1910 and Part II (Geology) in 1911.

His first appointment was as Assistant Curator and Geologist at the Bulawayo Museum in July 1912. However, by 1914 funds were running low, forcing the museum to terminate Macgregor's employment on 31 March 1915, when he returned to England on 2½ months leave (Broderick and Munyikwa, 2015). In the meantime H. B. Maufe (Fey, 2015a), the first Director of the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, was faced with the problem of not having a geologist for the coming field season since A. E. V. Zealley (Fey 1995a) was due for leave. Accordingly, Maufe (1915) recommended to the Administrator of the British South Africa Company that Macgregor be appointed temporarily as geologist. This was approved and on 19th February 1915 he was offered a position for six months at a salary of £25 *per mensem*, and thereafter monthly as long as his services might be required. On returning from leave Macgregor commenced duty with the Geological Survey on 2nd July 1915.

Possessed of a strong constitution and a great capacity for sustained hard work he became a gifted mapper with a flair for rapid reconnaissance. He began fieldwork north of Bulawayo in an area of Karoo rocks overlain by extensive deposits of mostly aeolian sand, for which he erected a new geological group, the Kalahari System (Macgregor, 1916). However, having decided to enlist and, with his report and map completed, he was allowed to relinquish his post on 8th February 1916. In England, despite having defective eyesight, he was able to join the Royal Garrison Artillery attached to the Royal Air Force. There he rose to the rank of Lieutenant and saw active service in France and Flanders where he was severely wounded by a shell which, fortunately, failed to explode.

Field geologist 1919 to 1939

In December 1918 Macgregor contacted Maufe with a view to rejoining the Geological Survey which in May of that year had, at the instigation of the Secretary for Mines and Roads, E W S Montague, been moved from Bulawayo to Salisbury (Fey, 1995b). Maufe supported the application and Macgregor was appointed to the vacant position of geologist, initially at £600 *per annum,* reporting for duty on 1st August 1919.

Together with the Director he immediately embarked on fieldwork, again north of Bulawayo, where he continued mapping until 1922, when he extended the survey to cover the country around the Lonely Mine. From this area he described, photographed under the microscope and presented a chemical analysis of a type of basalt which he recorded as being of widespread occurrence throughout the country (Macgregor 1928, pp 38-40). Texture as seen under the microscope, together with a magnesium content of almost 18%, strongly suggest that the rock is a komatiite, part of a group volcanic and lesser intrusive rocks which was defined only much later through investigations undertaken by the brothers

M. J. and R. P. Viljoen (1969) in the Barberton Mountain Land of South Africa.

Macgregor's studies in the region north of Bulawayo are documented in Geological Survey bulletins Nos 11 and 30 as well as in Short Reports Nos 9, 11 and 14. During 1920 he visited the vicinity of the Gwelo Kopje, where a solitary diamond had been discovered, and subsequently (Macgregor, 1921) described the geology of the diamond-bearing gravels of the Somabula Forest, the text incorporating notes by the late A. E. V. Zealley, a victim of the 1918 influenza pandemic. An addendum to the report describes fossil plants collected from this locality. Also during 1921 Macgregor undertook short traverses north and east of Salisbury in order to gather information for the first million scale geological map of the country, to be published in 1922. He furthermore inspected an occurrence of quartz crystals near Rusape and visited the Grandeur Mine (Fey, 1978) southwest of Gatooma. This mine, located on a long line of ancient workings, is unusual in that it lies in granitic terrain which is not renowned for hosting gold mineralisation. However gold, initially discovered in a rubble bed which Macgregor at the time speculated might represent a basal Karoo placer deposit, was later found to also occur in the underlying granite.

Interestingly, when in the 1992-1994 field seasons the Geological Survey reinvestigated the country around Turk Mine north of Bulawayo, Australian colleague R. Flint showed the writer some blue paint marks on an outcrop. Having found similar marks elsewhere in the region, in locations so remote and difficult of access that they could have been of interest only to a geologist, Flint speculated that they could well have been made by Macgregor when he mapped the area. The issue remains unresolved but, if the surmise is correct it says much for the quality of the paint for it to have endured for over 70 years.

Macgregor married in 1923 and the couple produced, in succession, sons John Richard and Stephen as well as daughter Rowena. The latter, then Mrs Bevan,was living in Kenya during the 1950s and her parents visited her there (Dr P. L. C. Grubb, *pers. comm.*).Tragically both sons, one a pilot with the Royal Air Force, were lost over Germany during World War II. The family initially occupied a large property in Umwindsidale northeast of Salisbury, and Macgregor used to spend much time in an outside office where he kept his maps and books as well as a microscope (P. A. Stidolph, *pers. comm.*). After he died his widow moved to Greendale.

Early in his career Macgregor began to be likened to an absent-minded professor. This was not because he actually was absent-minded but because he was focused on his work to the virtual exclusion of other, even personal matters. Tales of his excentricities are numerous and a few, documented by Tyndale-Biscoe (1972, pp 29-30), are worth repeating. Once, whilst Macgregor was mapping in the Gatooma district his wife informed him that they were running out of food and asked him to shoot something for the pot. Macgregor obediently went out, suitably armed and returned late in the day, well satisfied with his geological investigations but having totally forgotten to procure something edible. Accordingly, the couple drove to Gatooma the next day to find the store from which they normally bought their supplies closed. Macgregor opined that it must have "gone bust" and drove on to find another. Only when they heard the sound of church bells did the Macgregors realise that it was a Sunday and had to put up in an

hotel, stocking up with supplies the next morning.

On another occasion, with his daughter's birth imminent and the family not having a telephone at home, his wife asked him to call the doctor as soon as he got to the office. However, this trifling request was quickly forgotten and neighbours had to be called in to assist Mrs Macgregor. There was also the time when Macgregor left her with friends on a mine whilst he was out mapping. At the end of the day he returned to camp and began documenting his fieldwork, only remembering late in the evening to collect a very anxious wife.

He had a strong antipathy to taking life of any kind, including that of snakes, and captured several of these creatures. Furthermore, he was renowned for his quaint rejoinders. Thus, when during a geological discussion colleague Tyndale-Biscoe (1972, p 30) remarked that a certain area "needs mapping badly" Macgregor promptly replied "On the contrary, it needs mapping well".

Late in 1923, having taken long leave in August, Macgregor began fieldwork south of the Umsweswe River, continuing the survey undertaken in 1912 and 1913 by Zealley and B. Lightfoot (Fey, 2015b) and described in Geological Survey bulletins Nos 1 and 5. This mapping, which covered 2250 square miles and extended to south of Hunter's Road in the Gwelo District, was to occupy him until 1934 and resulted in the publication of Geological Survey bulletins Nos.17, 20 and 31 as well as Short Report No.16. His discovery of an unconformity exposed in the bed of the Sebakwe River led him to formulate a subdivision of the country's Archaean rocks still broadly accepted today (Macgregor, 1947).

In the absence of suitable base maps much of this early geological work was perforce topographical, the positions of roads, rivers and mines as well as the geology having to be plotted by plane table. Distances were measured by means of a bicycle wheel with revolution counter attached to the hub, a prismatic compass was used for directions and altitudes were determined by aneroid barometer (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 36). Owing to the in part heavy tree cover Macgregor reportedly on occasion had to erect his pane table on a platform at tree top level in order to carry the survey forward.

In addition to this routine mapping Macgregor undertook a prodigious number of other tasks. During 1924 he examined several mining properties in the Bubi district, paid a short visit to the Somabula diamond fields in order to take further samples of the fern-like, fossilised *Thinnfeldia* plants found there, and reconnoitred the Mafungabusi Plateau (Macgregor, 1927a) west of Gatooma. During following year he paid a brief visit to the mines at Gadzema, and in July documented the Felixburg goldfield (Macgregor, 1925). In 1927 he investigated a discovery of fossilised reptilian remains from the top of the Forest Sandstone in the Nyamandhlovu District and, together with topographer V H Woram and a party of carriers, traversed the country northwest of Sipolilo as far as the base of the Zambezi Escarpment. It was during this period that he pondered the evolution of the Earth's atmosphere (Macgregor, 1927b).

During June and July of 1929 he was seconded to accompany Captain the Hon B E H Clifford, Imperial Secretary in South Africa, on a reconnaissance around the Makarikari salt pans in Bechuanaland in order to determine the feasibility of extending the Rhodesian railway system through that region so as to connect with the port at Walvis Bay. Thereafter he and Director Maufe represented the country at the International

Geological Congress in Pretoria over the period 16th July to 8th August. As part of this event some 100 delegates visited Southern Rhodesia. For the occasion the Geological Survey had compiled not only a comprehensive, 64 page guidebook but had arranged excursions led by several of its members, with Macgregor in charge of visits to Sebakwe Poort as well as the Globe and Phoenix Mine.

At about this time Macgregor became dissatisfied with his conditions of service, including prospects of promotion, and it is on record that he had applied for a position in the Colonial Service. No details are to hand and the matter was evidently resolved since Macgregor remained with the Geological Survey, but had to wait until April 1935 before being promoted to Senior Geologist at an initial salary of £930 *per annum*.

Meanwhile he continued fieldwork in the Midlands, in 1930 diverting to map 150 square miles over the Norah, Molly and Umboe copper claims north of Sinoia, later to be developed as the country's largest copper producer (Macgregor, 1931). Furthermore he spent 2½ months as geologist with the Walvis Bay Railway Economic Survey. His report was presented in 1932, a year in which he took vacation leave between May and November.

Early in 1933 he was served with a subpoena to appear as expert witness in the case of Rhodesian Corporation Ltd vs Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Company Ltd. This, the second of the so-called John Bull cases and named after the mining claim which was the subject of the litigation, involved certain aspects of mining law, principally the matter of extra-lateral rights. Macgregor suggested to the Director that, to recompense Government for the loss of his services, the mining company be charged a professional fee of £5. 5s for each day he was required in court, plus £2. 2s *per diem* for consultation with Globe & Phoenix's legal advisers, and that all fees be divided equally between him and the Government. This suggestion appears to have been taken up. Macgregor was granted leave without pay from 9th January to 20th February 1933, during which period he presumably received his professional fee, and the case was successfully defended.

In 1934 Director Maufe retired and was succeeded by B. Lightfoot. Macgregor, having completed his survey of the Midlands region, journeyed to the Mtoko District in order to map an area of 185 square miles (Macgregor,1935) in the rugged and remote Makaha greenstone belt, patriotically named the "Kaiser Wilhelm Goldfield" by the German explorer Karl Mauch (Bernhard, 1970). There he recognised the potential for large, low-grade gold deposits in banded ironstone and followed his survey with a reconnaissance the Inyanga North area, in addition undertaking a total of 71 mine visits during the year. In 1935 he returned to the Bubi District north of Bulawayo where, together with F. L. Amm, he revised and extended his earlier mapping whilst J. C. Ferguson compiled information on the numerous mining properties (Macgregor *et. al.*, 1937). In this region the Huntsman limestone, named after the farm on which it occurs, outcrops just east of Turk Mine and contains the first Archaean stromatolites (fossilised organosedimentary structures) to be discovered (Macgregor, 1940).

Between 12 June 1935 and 6 January 1936 he was Acting Director while Lightfoot was absent overseas. During 1936, when the latter acted as Secretary to the Department of Mines and Public Works for 9 months, Macgregor was again to have deputised for him but became seriously ill, was on sick leave between 17 February and 6 June, then took vacation leave to 9 November, relieving Acting Director Ferguson only in the last

month of Lightfoot's absence. Mapping coverage was adversely affected by these events and Macgregor was able to undertake only 4 mine visits.

He made up for this in the course of 1937 by spending a month reconnoitring an area of 100 square miles north of Selukwe, as well as six months together with colleague Dobell (Fey, 2016) on fieldwork in the Lomagundi District. There the rate of mapping was greatly accelerated through the first use of aerial photographs, Macgregor covering 835 square miles in addition to making 30 mine visits.

The year 1938 was notable for the number and variety of traverses made by Geological Survey members on foot as well as in boats and aeroplanes. Macgregor continued mapping in the Lomagundi District, visited 25 mines including the Globe and Phoenix where he geologically surveyed levels 32 to 30, and reconnoitred the Sebungwe District, traversing 400 miles of road. In July, accompanied *inter alia* by his wife, he travelled down the Zambezi River by boat from Chirundu to Feira, thence proceeded on foot to Sipolilo, recording the route by means of a detailed compass traverse. Just west of the Zambezi-Kafue River confluence the party had a chance meeting with geologists W. G. Garlick and L. E. T. Parker, who at the time were surveying the north bank for Luangwa Concessions and affiliated companies (Fey, in prep.).

The war years

Between May and June 1939 Macgregor spent a month in the Sebungwe District. There he began plane table mapping, at 1:250 000 scale, of an area covering 6 900 square miles but had to abandon fieldwork when he contracted malaria. He established the Upper Karoo succession on the northern face of the Mafungabusi escarpment and tentatively assigned a Cretaceous age to sediments immediately underlying the Kalahari Pipe Sandstone. Whilst Director Lightfoot was away on leave between 12 June and 30 October he again deputised for him, during this time examining 37 mines including the newly established Hippo scheelite mine in the Lower Sabi valley. This was the first metalliferous mine located within Karoo basalt.

The outbreak of war severely curtailed mapping. Geologists Phaup (Fey, 2013) and Dobell resigned, three staff members were due for leave and a further three were awaiting military call-up. Fortunately, at Lightfoot's instigation, Maufe returned to the Geological Survey between December 1940 and May 1945 in order to catalogue the rock collection and assist mineralogist N. E. Barlow. His reappointment coincided with the department's occupation of its new, custom-built headquarters between Fourth and Fifth Streets, still in use today.

After the total cessation of geological mapping in 1941 Macgregor was engaged principally in the examination of mining properties. During that year he prepared large scale maps of the Vubachikwe and Bar 20 group of mines in the Gwanda District, and his earlier work on the Mafungabusi region was published as Short Report 35. In the following year almost half of his visits were to base metal properties, tungsten deposits featuring prominently.

Lightfoot took vacation leave from 7 July 1943 in order to go overseas and Macgregor again became Acting Director. In the course of the year he visited scheelite deposits throughout the country, mapped the accessible portions of the Last Shot (formerly Ayrshire) Mine north of Banket and visited several other gold properties,

including some the subject of applications to the Royalty Review Committee. Of the two conferences held during the year to discuss the state of mining in the country the second, in September, was the larger. At this gathering, attended by District Mining Engineers, Mining Commissioners and others it was agreed that the fall in gold production was attributable to a combination of increased working costs and shortages, of supplies as well as of skilled and unskilled labour. In addition, taxation based on output resulted in low grade ores being left unmined and probably unmineable, and should be replaced by taxation of profits. Under the circumstances base metals, chrome, tungsten, tantalum and micas began to assume greater significance and mine visits by Geological Survey staff were principally to producers of these commodities.

At this time, with the war increasing the demand for tantalum, Macgregor inspected the deposits at Bikita which had been mapped in the previous year by R McI Tyndale-Biscoe. There he identified the aluminium tantalate simpsonite (Macgregor, 1946a), discovered in 1938 in the north of Western Australia and named after Dr Edward Sydney Simpson, chemist and mineralogist with the Geological Survey of that state.

During 1944 he visited seven base metal properties as well as nineteen gold mines and prospects, in addition making a careful examination of the three principal chrome-bearing areas at the Peak Mine, Selukwe. In May Macgregor applied to be placed on the Territorial War Reserve of the First Batallion, Rhodesia Regiment. He then took leave until the end of August, followed by sick leave until early in October.

Fieldwork carried out in the course of 1945 included an inspection of the alkaline ring complexes in the Sabi Valley, where the Industrial Development Board was investigating the apatite (phosphate) potential at Dorowa. Also visited was the Sengwa coalfield west of Gokwe, already extensively prospected between 1894 and 1901 by, *inter alia,* geologist A. J. C. Molyneux (Fey, 1994) and since partially cleared of tsetse fly. In the Madumabisa shales there Macgregor found abundant remains of a fossil reptilian (*Tapinocephalid*)fauna, similar to that occurring in the lowest beds of the Beaufort Series in South Africa. He also undertook three reconnaissance surveys in an attempt to delimit the Miami mica field but saw little evidence of workable mica. The field and its mines were subsequently investigated by Wiles (1961) whilst its history has recently been documented by Broderick (2013).

Routine mine visits made during the year numbered 17 and included an inspection of the chrome workings on the Railway Block at Selukwe, where Macgregor opined that the mining company would benefit by the permanent employment of a geologist.

Directorship

With the strain of the war years having affected Director Lightfoot's health and disposition he was granted permission by the Governor, Admiral Sir Campbell Tait, to proceed on leave on 1st April 1946 pending early retirement. Macgregor, initially appointed Acting Director, was confirmed to the position on 7 July and soon busied himself writing Bulletin No 38 (Macgregor, 1947). This,an updated account of the geological history of the country, was prepared to accompany the new 4th edition of the provisional million scale geological map of Southern Rhodesia. The map is unique in that it is the only one of the series to include the Tati Concession of Bechuanaland, in which the mining law was administered from Salisbury.

It was decided early in 1947 to concentrate departmental fieldwork on the coal and iron deposits of the then still remote Lower Sabi Valley (Fey, 2014). For development of this region the Government was being advised by the London firm of Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners, whose consulting geologist was Sir Lewis Leigh Fermor, a former Director of the Geological Survey of India and father of the author (Sir) Patrick Michael Leigh Fermor. Fieldwork was undertaken by the Geological Survey's officers White, Wiles and Worst, led by Dr W. H. Swift. Sir Lewis dubbed the group the "SWWW team" (Tyndale-Biscoe 1972, p 59), spent almost four months in Southern Rhodesia and visited the project area twice, accompanied by Macgregor. During the year the latter became recipient of the Draper Memorial Medal, highest award of the Geological Society of South Africa, and attended the presentation in Johannesburg on 28 March. Furthermore he submitted, for the degree of Doctor of Science, a thesis comprising a collection of his published works on the geology of Southern Rhodesia to the Natal University College. His submission was accepted late in the year, which closed with the Geological Survey at full strength with the appointment on 31 December of Dr G. T. Lamont.

On 27 January 1948 Macgregor departed on leave pending retirement and visited England as a Southern Rhodesia Government delegate to the International Geological Congress, held in London during August (Tyndale-Biscoe, op. cit., p 60). For this reason his doctoral degree was awarded *in absentia* in May. Retiring at the age of 60 on 28 July he was succeeded as Director by colleague J. C. Ferguson. During his almost 30 years with the Geological Survey Macgregor had spent some 120 months in the field, documenting his investigations in 8 geological bulletins and 7 Short Reports. He had, in addition, published over 30 scientific papers on topics ranging from geology through mineralogy to palaeontology and archaeology.

The later years

Macgregor was awarded the Order of the British Empire in January 1949, and in the following year was inducted as President of the Geological Society of South Africa, the induction taking place *in absentia*. His presidential address, entitled "Some milestones in the Precambrian of Southern Rhodesia" (Macgregor, 1951), was another significant contribution to geological knowledge.

In 1950 he joined the firm Keir and Cawder, and in the following year was employed by William Baird and Company to undertake coal exploration north of Gokwe. With assistance from Dr Geoffrey Bond, who later became the first Professor of Geology at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, he produced a reconnaissance geological map (T J Broderick, *pers. comm.*). In 1954 he was engaged by the Anglo American Corporation (AAC) in order to establish that organisation's geological office in Salisbury. The company was then operating from Tanganyika House in Third Street.

At the end of 1954 the writer's dear friend Dr P. L. C .Grubb commenced a two-month vacation job with AAC in Salisbury and reported to Macgregor. As an impecunious, aspiring geologist Grubb was struggling to exist on his allowance of 5 shillings per day, boarding somewhere near the Kopje, hence was very pleased to be invited to move in with the Macgregors as a paying guest. He recalls that Macgregor did not fit the corporate culture at AAC, lacked the temperament and drive required for an exploration geologist, and found it difficult to impart his knowledge and experience to his juniors. His wife, who then still accompanied him on field trips, is remembered as a strong character who, in view of her husband's increasing forgetfulness, of necessity

ruled the roost and usually spoke her mind. On Grubb's departure from the Macgregor household she commented that the family should never again take in a trainee geologist since the exercise had been "a complete waste of everyone's time"!

Macgregor remained in his role with AAC until 1956. Believed to subsequently have developed dementia he died, aged 73, in Bulawayo on 21 October 1961 and was survived by his wife and daughter.

He is remembered for his enormous contribution to Archaean geology, and in 1966 the Rhodesia Geological Survey named its newly refurbished museum after him. He was also commemorated through the "Macgregor Medal", which was conceived by the late Professor Geoffrey Bond, designed by David Levy of the Geological Survey drawing office and cast in Rhodesian gold supplied by Rio Tinto (Rhodesia) Ltd. It was for a period ending in the early 1970s presented annually to the best Special Honours student in the Geology Department of the University in Salisbury. Believed to have been the last recipients were Professor J. F. Wilson and Dr L. Lister when they retired together from that department in December 1996.

Acknowledgements

In addition to the references cited the author has drawn on Annual Reports of the Director, Department of Geological Survey, as well as on other geological and historical data in his possession. The photographs were sourced from the National Archives of Zimbabwe. Personal recollections of Dr Macgregor and his family were kindly provided by P. A. Stidolph and Dr P. L .C. Grubb, whilst T. J. Broderick and Professor J. F. Wilson supplied details of the Macgregor Medal.

The interior of the Geological Survey's Macgregor Museum, with photograph of Dr A M Macgregor over the entrance

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The Rhodesia Air Training Group 1940-1945
and statistics on fatalities from the Commonwealth War Graves Commision

by Michael R. Tucker

Editor's extract: "There are 446 graves from this period maintained by the CWGC. We have no figures for those who were injured but survived. There were fatalities in every month from June 1940 to December 1945".

Introduction

Today there are almost no memorials, monuments and plaques within Zimbabwe to mark the great efforts and personal sacrifices that were made by African and European servicemen and women and civilians to the Allied cause in both World Wars.

Godfrey Huggins, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) from 1933–1953 became convinced that war was inevitable after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany in March 1939 and rearranged his Cabinet on a war footing. When Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939, following the invasion of Poland, Southern Rhodesia issued its own declaration of war almost immediately and before any of the other Commonwealth Dominions.

The Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) does an outstanding job in commemorating those who lost their lives for their country and are buried within Zimbabwe. Their immaculately maintained cemeteries are in stark contrast to the disorder that characterises most of the municipal cemeteries. In the course of writing this article, photographs of every headstone at the CWGC cemeteries at Harare, Bulawayo and Gweru were taken. Any readers who would like an image for their family records should contact the author through the website www.zimfieldguide.com

The fatality statistics are taken from the excellent CWGC website.

A Brief History of the Rhodesian Air Training Group (RATG)

Air Vice-Marshall Sir Charles Warburton Meredith KBE, CB, AFC, who commanded the RATG believed the scheme was not only Southern Rhodesia's main contribution to World War II, but proved to be "one of the most important happenings in Rhodesian history" and JF MacDonald in the War History of Southern Rhodesia wrote it was "undoubtedly Southern Rhodesia's greatest single contribution to the Allied victory."

It led to economic development in Southern Rhodesia during a period that might otherwise have resulted in depression as the total local annual amount spent on the RATG greatly exceeded the annual budget at the time.

Just as importantly, the RATG also proved in the long term, to be a most successful immigration scheme, since many of the former instructors, trainees and other staff returned to settle in Rhodesia after the war, some of them becoming leading citizens in the country. In six years, by 1951, the white population of Southern Rhodesia increased

to 135 596, over double its pre-war size.

The Southern Rhodesia Air Force effectively ceased to exist after its last training course was completed on 6 April 1940. Its three squadrons became 44 237 and 266 Squadrons, Royal Air Force, bearing the name Rhodesia.

Southern Rhodesia was the last of the Commonwealth countries to enter the Empire Air Training Scheme (EATS) but the first to turn out fully qualified pilots and by size of total population, it was the largest training scheme. Eventually there were eleven operating aerodromes which required a huge national effort to build, maintain and staff—at the scheme's peak more than a fifth of the white population was involved in running them. Air Vice-Marshall Meredith made specific reference to the kindness and hospitality shown by the citizens of this country to all ranks who came for training.

Many gave their lives both here and elsewhere serving in the RAF; some indication will be given in the notes at the end of the article on their sacrifice from the statistics of the CWGC cemeteries situated in this country.

From the May 1940 until the March 1954 the Royal Air Force (RAF) had a presence in Rhodesia in the form of the RATG which trained aircrew for the RAF, from many different countries, including Great Britain but also from Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, USA, Yugoslavia, Greece, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Fiji and Malta as part of the Empire Air Training Scheme. Ashley Jackson's book The British Empire and the Second World War states the Rhodesian Air Training Group trained 8 235 Allied pilots, navigators, gunners, ground crew and others—about 5% of overall Empire Air Training Scheme (EATS) output.

Trained aircrew		
Canada	116 417	69%
Australia	23 262	14%
South Africa	16 857	10%
Southern Rhodesia	8 235	5%
New Zealand	3 891	2%
	168 662	100%

Pilots comprised over 75,000 of the above.

During this time the RAF was the sole military force to fly in Rhodesian skies. After the end of World War II, in common with all other units, the RATG was run down and continued its training task at a much reduced rate. On 28 November 1947 The Southern Rhodesian Air Force (SRAF) was re-established as a separate unit and from that date until RATG closed, both the RAF and the SRAF took to the skies above Rhodesia.

The beginning of the Cold War brought a renewed need for aircrew training; the RAF re-vitalised the Rhodesian Air Training Group (in May 1948) that continued to grow with the Korean War, although nothing like its WWII level.

In March 1954, for mainly financial reasons, the decision was made to close the Empire Air Training Scheme and return RAF aircrew training to within the British Isles and the RATG was disbanded.

Before WWII even started the British Air Ministry had begun planning to set up

air training centres outside Britain; away from where there was air activity over the country and where the weather could be relied upon to be consistently good. Canada was the first country to be first chosen, the scheme being called the Empire Air Training Scheme.

Ultimately the countries involved in training aircrew comprising pilots, navigators, bomb aimers, air gunners, wireless operators and flight engineers included Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the United States.

The Rhodesian Air Training Group badge, Courtesy of ORAFs. The literal Shona translation being: "we will be strengthened in hundreds"

At the outbreak of war in September 1939, the facilities in Rhodesia for air training were too small to be of any assistance to the Royal Air Force (RAF). Major D. Cloete, M.C., A.F.C. had been in charge of a small air training scheme from 1937 of two RAF Officers and twelve other ranks who were seconded to Rhodesia with four Audax and six Hart aircraft and based at Hillside (later renamed Cranborne) but they only trained local Rhodesian territorial forces and personnel from the Rhodesia Regiment.

In 1938 the unit was separated from territorial force and on 12 May 1938 the Governor, Sir Herbert Stanley, presented the first seven Rhodesian flying badges at a parade at Hillside.

There was an agreement that, in the event of war, Rhodesia would send an air unit to Kenya for service with the RAF and accordingly three Audax and three Hart aircraft were despatched on 28th August 1939, i.e. six days before the actual declaration of war. Some of the ground crew personnel were ferried in three Rapide civil aviation aircraft; the remainder and equipment travelled by road in vehicles which had been bought locally as motor transport for the air unit.

Air Vice Marshal C W Meredith, Air Officer Commanding the Rhodesian Air Training Group, sitting at his desk at the Headquarters of the RATG in Salisbury.

Lieut.-Col. C.W. Meredith arrived in Rhodesia in June 1939 as Staff Officer Air Services and Director of Civil Aviation. The British Air Ministry were very interested in expanding the air training into a much larger programme as they wanted most, if not all, air training out of England and to involve the training of other allied personnel as well as Rhodesians.

It was decided to start off in Rhodesia with one initial training wing through which pupils

would pass on to three Elementary Flying Training Schools (EFTS) and matching them, three Service Flying Training Schools (SFTS). The establishment of six new Air Stations required a considerable amount of building, all of which had to be done using local resources. In Salisbury (now Harare) the EFTS was at Belvedere, with the SFTS at Cranborne; the second pair of schools would be established at Bulawayo (Induna and Kumalo) with the third pair at Gwelo (Guinea Fowl and Thornhill)

When Lieut. Colonel Meredith asked about finances he was told by the Air Ministry to: "get whatever you want from Southern Rhodesia Government and we will settle up later." In fact, the Southern Rhodesian Government contributed to the war effort in a big way with the active endorsement of the programme by the then Minister of Defence, the Hon. R. C. Tredgold, and the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins.

North American Harvard IIA's from No 20 Service Flying Training School being flown in formation by RAF trainee pilots at Cranborne, near Salisbury (now Harare) Photo courtesy of the Imperial War Museum and Alan Doyle

At this early stage in January 1940, Meredith's staff consisted of two territorial officers who had joined at the outbreak of war for administrative duties, and a typist. Initially RATG headquarters were based in the Salisbury suburb of Belvedere and with a heavy building programme ahead, the immediate need was for staff to cope with layouts, design and construction of airfields and hangers, supplies of building materials and finance and accounting.

At Cranborne, accommodation was a problem with the aircraft packed into one end of a hanger, the remainder being used as sleeping quarters! Total strength of the air station was 137 officers and other ranks with 16 aircraft available for training. These comprised four serviceable Harts, one Audax waiting rebuilding, eight serviceable Tiger Moths and one being repaired, and two Hornet Moths.

Major C. W. Glass MC, an architect by profession, was released from his civilian employment with the Public Works Department and agreed to transfer with the rank of Squadron Leader, later Wing Commander, with the title of Director of Works and Buildings. His section was wholly responsible for the layout of Air Stations and the design and construction of buildings for whatever purpose. The staff consisted of architects, quantity surveyors and draughtsmen and other non-professional staff and

controlled all building activity. Building was done by civilian contractors and at one stage virtually all builders in the Salisbury, Bulawayo and Gwelo areas were employed on RATG work.

The finance and accounts section was handled by the Treasury Representative, Mr. C. E. M. Greenfield, later Sir Cornelius and Secretary to the Treasury and Mr. A. James, an accountant in civil life, who joined with the rank of Flight Lieutenant. James was killed in an aircraft accident on 28 August 1940 and his place was taken by Flying Officer G. Ellman-Brown, an accountant in civilian life, later Group Captain.

The supplies section was led by Mr. W. H. Eastwood, a Bulawayo businessman who joined with the rank of Squadron Leader, later Wing Commander, and the title of Director of Supplies. This Section was responsible for the location and purchase of all building materials and equipment required by Works and Buildings. Both Ellman-Brown and Eastwood later became Cabinet Ministers in government.

These three sections were the nucleus of RATG headquarters which later moved from Belvedere to the corner of Samora Machel Avenue / Simon Muzenda Street. Later sections that were added included air staff, air training, signals, armament, administration, equipment, engineering, personnel, medical and legal.

The Corps of Signals band marches past RATG headquarters in Samora Machel Avenue, the buildings were erected in 1901 as the first BSA Company offices and still stand today!

At Durban and Cape Town in South Africa were small units to deal with the Harvard and Oxford aircraft arriving by sea, which were then unpacked, assembled and tested for flying by the ferry pilots to Rhodesia. At Cape Town was a movement control officer who handled the arrivals and departures of trainees on special trains. At Port Elizabeth a representative dealt with incoming consignments of equipment.

In April 1940 the Rhodesian Air Force Training Scheme and the Empire Air Force Training Scheme really began; but was known locally as the Rhodesian Air Training Group. In the same month the first draft of pupil pilots arrived at Belvedere and the air station was declared officially opened by Air Chief Marshall Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, in the presence of the Prime Minister Godfrey Huggins, E.L. Guest and C.W. Meredith.

The first group graduated from elementary air school in July and by 2nd November

North American Harvard IIA's from No 20 Service Flying Training School being flown in formation by RAF trainee pilots at Cranborne, near Salisbury (now Harare) Photo courtesy of the Imperial War Museum and Alan Doyle

1940 the first pilots to be trained by the RATG passed out at Cranborne air station, five of whom were Rhodesians. When war broke out in 1939 the Air Ministry employed the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve (RAFVR) as the principal source of aircrew into the RAF and this continued into the 1950's.

The Southern Rhodesia war bill of 1940-41 was £2.5 million of which air stations, bombing ranges and quarters absorbed £1.08 million of capital expenses. Of the remaining £1.42 million, £0.88 million was used by the RATG in air training.

In fact the programme was such a success that it soon was realised that the Rhodesian Air Training Group could become vital to the war effort for training aircraft personnel and although the bulk of the trainees were British, they also received Greeks, Yugoslavs, Australians and South Africans. Ezer Weisman, later to be President of Israel, trained as a pilot in Rhodesia. RAF training units would still be based in this country until a decade after WWII had finished.

A war time Elementary Flying training School (EFTS) gave a recruit 50 hours of basic aviation instruction on a simple trainer, such as the de Havilland Tiger Moth. Pilot cadets who showed promise went onto training at a Service Flying Training School (SFTS) where they were awarded their "wings." The SFTS provided intermediate and advanced training for pilots, including fighter and twin-engined aircraft, on the North American Harvard and Airspeed Oxford aeroplanes. Other trainees went onto different specialities, such as wireless, navigation, or bombing and air gunnery.

The Canadian scheme had been planned well before the war and much earlier than that of Rhodesia but because of the enthusiasm and support generated in the country,

the first of the RATG stations, No. 25 Elementary Flying Training School at Belvedere, was opened on 24th May 1940, in less than five months and several weeks before the first Canadian station became operative.

The next air station to come into operation was at Guinea Fowl, Gwelo (now Gweru) in twelve weeks from bare veld to the commencement of flying training. Its construction included provision of water supplies, water-borne sewerage and building a rail siding for the special trains bringing aircrew from Cape Town.

The original programme of an initial training wing and six schools (Belvedere, Induna, Cranborne, Guinea Fowl, Kumalo and Thornhill was increased to eight flying training schools (with the addition of Mount Hampden and Heany) and a bombing, navigation and gunnery school (Moffat) for the training of bomb aimers, navigators and air gunners.

To relieve congestion at the air stations, six relief landing grounds for landing and take-off instruction were established (Parkridge, Sebastopol, Hienzani, Nkomo, Senale, Marrony) and two air firing and bombing ranges (Mias and Myelbo). Later another air station was established for the training of flying instructors (Norton) and this brought the total to ten air stations.

Two aircraft and engine repair and overhaul depots were set up and a central maintenance unit to deal with bulk stores for the RATG programme.

In late 1940 it was decided that Cranborne and Thornhill would be used to train single-engined pilots, or fighter-pilots, and Kumalo and Heany air stations would train twin-engined pilots.

In June 1941, the Southern Rhodesian Air Force Meteorological Service was set up at Belvedere to provide information to the pilots and instruction to navigators.

The Rhodesian Air Askari Corps was formed under Wing Commander T. E. Price to provide armed guards and non-armed labour.

At its peak there were about 12,000 adult male white personnel and about 5,000 adult male Africans employed. There were also about 200 white women in the Women's Auxiliary Air Service who were employed in post offices and on clerical duties at various stations.

The final financial responsibility accepted by Southern Rhodesia Government for the RATG programme was for:

- The capital expenditure on land and buildings and ancillary works for the whole of the Air Training Scheme including quarters and housing.
- The cost of all barracks equipment at air stations.
- The cost of RATG Headquarters.
- All pay and allowances for Rhodesian personnel serving in Rhodesia.
- Make up pay and family allowances for Rhodesians serving abroad as there was a difference between RAF and Rhodesian rates.
- A cash contribution of £800,000 p.a. towards the operating costs of the Air Training Scheme.

Training within the RATG scheme

Initial reception for pupil pilots was at Hillside Camp, later called Cranborne, where the Initial Training Wing (ITW) course lasted 6 weeks.

From here they went onto post-initial training for 6 weeks, or to the Elementary Flying Training Scheme (EFTS)

Each EFTS intake had 320 pupils spread over the various air stations, about 50 from post-initial training and another 270 direct from an ITW course and the course lasted 6 weeks. Those failing were posted back to an ITW course for re-examination.

The Service Flying Training Schools (SFTS) had an intake of 64 pupils every 6 weeks at each air station. Some went for air gunner training and others for air observer training.

The complete pilot's course initially lasted six months. Ground subjects were also taught and each trainee had to fly at least 150 hours to qualify.

During WW II

Unit Name. No.	Base (Area)	Major types of aircraft	Role	Opened (Disbanded)	Comments
No. 27	Induna (Bulawayo)	Tiger Moth & Cornell	EFTS	Jan-40 (Sep-45)	
Communi-cations Flight	Belvedere (Harare)	Tiger Moths, Cornell's & Harvard's	Comms Flt	May-40 (Jan-46)	SRAF unit
No. 25	Belvedere (Harare)	Tiger Moth, Cornell & Harvard	EFTS	May-40 (Nov-45)	Relief landing ground at Parkridge
No. 20	Cranborne (Harare)	Harvard 1, 2, 2a, 3 and Oxford	SFTS	Jul-40 (Sep-45)	Relief landing grounds at Sebastopol by Apr-1943, Hienzani from 7-Sep-1943 and Inkomo from Sep-1945
No. 26	Guinea Fowl (Gwelo)	Tiger Moth & Cornell	EFTS	Aug-40 (Aug-45)	Relief landing ground at Senale
No. 21	Kumalo (Bulawayo)	Airspeed Oxford	SFTS	Oct-40 (May-45)	Relief landing ground at Marrony
No. 22	Thornhill (Gwelo)	Harvard 1, 2, 2a, 3	SFTS	Mar-41 (Sep-45)	Relief landing grounds at Senale by Apr-1943 and from 29-Jun-1945 and RAF Moffat from 10-Apr-1945
No. 28	Mount Hampden (Harare)	Tiger Moth, Cornell & Harvard	EFTS	Apr-41 (Oct-45)	Motto: Pana Maziñana ano Bururuka - Here Fledglings Take Wing
No. 23	Heany (Bulawayo)	Airspeed Oxford	SFTS	Jul-41 (Sep-45)	Relief landing grounds at White's Run by Mar-1945 and Sauerdale by Apr-1945.

No. 24 Combined Air Observation School	Moffat (Gwelo)	Battle, Oxford and Anson	BGTS	Aug-41 (May-43)	Split into 24 BGTS & 29 EANS
No. 31	Cranborne (Harare)	Harvard (for Comms)	ARU	Aug-41	
No. 32	Heany (Bulawayo)	Harvard (for Comms)	ARU	Aug-41	
Rhodesian Central Flying School	Norton (Harare)	All types used in Group	CFS	Sep-41 (May-42)	Renamed 33 FIS
No. 33	Norton (Harare)	All types used in Group	FIS	May-42 (May-44)	Renamed CFS (SR)
No. 24 Bombing, Gunnery and Navigation	Moffat (Gwelo)	Battle, Oxford and Anson	BGTS	May-43 (Apr-45)	
No. 29 Elementary Navigation School	Moffat (Gwelo)	Battle, Oxford and Anson	ANS	May-43 (Apr-45)	
Central Flying School (Southern Rhodesia)	Norton (Harare)	All types used in Group	CFS	May-44 (Oct-45)	
	Sauerdale (Bulawayo)	Tiger Moth	EFTS		Planned, but base found to be unsuitable

After WW II

Unit Name/No.	**Base**	**Major types of aircraft**	**Role**	**Opened**	**Comments**
No. 4	RAF Heany (Bulawayo)	Tiger Moth, Harvard, Anson & Chipmunk	FTS	Feb-47 (Jan-54)	
No. 5	RAF Thornhill (Gwelo)	Tiger Moth, Harvard & Anson	FTS	Apr-47 (Jan-48)	Renamed 3 ANS
No. 395	RAF (Bulawayo)		MU	Sep-47 (Mar-54)	
No. 394	RAF Heany (Bulawayo)		MU	Sep-47 (Mar-54)	
RATG Communi-cations Squadron	RAF Kumalo (Bulawayo)	Ansons, Chipmunks & Harvard's	Comms	Sep-47 (Mar-54)	
No. 3	RAF Thornhill (Gwelo)	Anson	ANS	Jan-48 (Sep-51)	
No. 5	RAF Thornhill (Gwelo)	Tiger Moth & Chipmunk	FTS	Jan-51 (Dec-53)	Reformed, later reabsorbing 3 ANS

Abbreviations used above include: ANS = Air Navigation School, ARU = Aircraft Repair Unit, BGTS = Bombing and Gunnery, CFS = Central Flying School, EFTS = Elementary Flying Training School, FIS = flying Instructors, SFTS = Service Flying Training School, FTS = Flying Training School, MU = maintenance Unit, SRAF = Southern Rhodesian Air Force, RAFVR = Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve

The training aircraft used were Airspeed Oxfords, North American Harvards, Tiger Moths, Avro Ansons, Fairey Battles, Fairchild Cornells, and DeHavilandChipmunks.

After WWII RATG headquarters moved from Belvedere to RAF Kumalo and most training took place at RAF Kumalo.

North American Harvard IIA's from No 20 Service Flying Training School lined up with instructors and pilots at Cranborne, near Salisbury (now Harare) Photo courtesy of the Imperial War Museum and Alan Doyle

Brief details of some of the air stations are given below. One of the most important criteria for the selection of airfields was that they be in malaria-free areas which necessitated sites above 1,200 metres. Salisbury and Bulawayo were obvious choices; Umtali with its surrounding mountains proved too dangerous for pilot training and Gwelo was the third choice.

Belvedere

This was the original civil airport for Salisbury and opened in the 1930's. It was used by the Southern Rhodesia Air Unit from November 1935. No.25 EFTS was opened here on 24 May 1940, as part of the RATG. After WWII it was converted to civil use. Located on the other side of the city from Cranborne, it closed about 1956 when the new Salisbury Airport opened. The site has been completely built over as a residential area.

Cranborne

Originally a flying school known as Hillside, it was renamed Cranborne in 1939 and located 5 kilometres from the city centre. A SFTS was opened here in July 1940, as part of the RATG. From 28 November 1947 it acted as the main SRAF air base and included the Spitfire squadrons. The rapid post-war expansion of the city of Harare forced its closure in 1952, when New Sarum airbase opened. The area is now residential with Cranborne Barracks occupying part of the site.

Guinea Fowl

This was an RATG base during WW2 located approximately halfway between Gweru and Shurugwi, south east of Gwelo. Originally called "Divide" as it was on the top of the watershed between Gwelo and Selukwe, after WWII it became a boarding school for boys from 1947 until about 1977. It was then used as a military base after Independence and is now a government school.

Heany
This RATG base located near Bulawayo was used during WWII for Royal Air Force aircrew training. It is not known when it closed. The two bombing ranges near Bulawayo were named Mias and Myelbo from the expression; "I don't know Mias from Myelbo."

Induna
The RATG booklet says the chief characteristic of Induna, from which the air station got its name, was the flat-topped hill some miles to the north-east, which bears the native name "Thabas-Induna," "The Hill of the Headmen" was a RATG base located near Bulawayo used during WWII by No.27 EFTS. It is not known when it closed.

Kutanga Bombing Range
Near Gweru and used for RAF pilot training during WWII.

Moffat
A RATG base during WWII used by No.24 Bombing, Gunnery and Navigation School operating Anson's that operated from August 1941 to April 1945. Moffat was the first and only Bombing and Gunnery School in Southern Rhodesia.

Located just south of Gwelo and now partly occupied by the Bata Shoe Company, the original Control Tower still stands and was used as the clubhouse by the Midlands Gliding Club with one of the original hangars still standing and used to store the gliders, but is no longer known as Moffat.

There was little known about Moffat, but Kris Hendrix at the RAF Museum supplied the following information which I am happy to include in the article. Gwelo's European population was around 2,000 at the time so uniformed young men from Guinea Fowl, Thornhill and Moffat were a common sight around town.

A cadet training to be a Navigator would arrive from an EFTS where he would have learnt the elementary principles; at Moffat he would pass in stages through Air Crew Pool and elementary navigation, into the bombing and gunnery school and, to the average cadet, the climax of this would be his first flight. Most of a cadet's time would be spent on navigational exercises, and towards the end of his course, long-distance flights to South Africa and even Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). There were a lot of night exercises, both in navigation and bombing. Class work included basic meteorology and astronomy, photography, aircraft recognition, signals and gunnery. The first course of Air Observers (their title was then changed to Navigators) passed out from Moffat in December 1941. Their nationalities on the first course comprised: 19 Rhodesians, 10 UK, I South African, 3 Australian and I American.

A cadet Gunner was at Moffat for a much shorter period and training was from a special gunnery section and they were accompanied on each gunnery exercise by a gunnery instructor. Initial training was on Battles and Oxfords, but they were replaced by Ansons with power-operated gun turrets. Their nationalities on the first course were: 16 Rhodesians, 10 UK and 3 Australian.

Moffat became the main centre for training Greek aircrew; in early 1942 the first batch trained as air gunners at Moffat; initially they had interpreters, but they quickly picked up English.

At the end of December 1942 Group Captain C. Findlay became Moffat's new

Commanding Officer and remained at the station until it closed. When he arrived the station was known as 24 C.A.O.S, a somewhat unfortunate name and the new title became Royal Air Force Station Moffat with three resident units: 24 Bombing, Gunnery and Navigation School, 29 Elementary Navigation School and Air Crew Pool.

On Saturday 14 April 1945 the final parade at Moffat was held. The last two courses; Air Gunners and Navigators were in front of the saluting base, with three Squadrons of Station personnel behind, together with the Askari Corps. The Air Officer Commanding RATG, Air Vice Marshall CW Meredith took the salute. Meredith told them the Gunner's course had achieved the best results of any school in the Empire Air Training Scheme and Moffat trained men had been awarded, so far as they could be traced at the time: one DFC and Bar, ten DFC's and four DFM's.

The official record shows that 778 Navigators and 1 590 Air Gunners were trained at Moffat.

Mount Hampden

RATG base during WWII with No.28 EFTS operating Harvard IIAs; located north west of Harare and called Charles Prince Airport after Charles Prince, a British RAF Officer during the War who stayed on in the country as the airport manager until his death in 1973. It became the home to the Mashonaland Flying Club and various aircraft charter companies.

Norton

RATG base during WWII with the Central Flying School operating Ansons and Harvard's; its location and date of closure are not known. The RATG booklet describes Norton as the "University of the Training Group," where the cream of the RAF pilots were instructed.

Thornhill

Located at Gweru and built on Thornhill farm in 1941, it opened in March 1942. The airfield operated as an RATG base with No. 26 EFTS. Reactivated in late 1946 for Royal Air Force aircrew training with No. 3 Air Navigation School operating Anson I's and later T.20s, but later closed. Taken over by the RRAF in 1956 with the runway reconstructed and radar installed. Home of No. 2 Ground Training School by 1967 for initial cadet pilot training. Currently home of the School of Flying Training, the Flying Instructors School and Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6 Squadrons. Today it is the Homebase of all the jet aircraft, since the climate is conducive to good take-off performance.

The Women's Auxiliary Air Service

The Women's Auxiliary Air Service was formed in August 1941 with Mrs D. Roxburgh-Smith, one of the first women in Africa to obtain a flying licence and who had done over 500 hours flying as Commandant. The RTG booklet says they wore a uniform similar to that of the RAF with the same badges of rank, but when off-duty were allowed to wear *mufti*, thereby still giving scope for feminine attractiveness. Common rooms, generally known as the "*Waaseries*" were provided for them and at some of the air stations the "*Waasies*" lived-in.

Initially 106 female recruits attested into the Southern Rhodesia Women's Auxiliary Air Service, but within months after training many hundreds of women previously

occupied with family and household duties became capable of releasing airmen for more active work. They became clerks, teleprinter and telephone exchange operators, radio telephone operators, tailors, canteen assistants, instrument repairers, elementary mechanics, parachute packers and fabric workers and motor transport drivers. They also staffed the station sub-post offices and many of the officers became assistant adjutants and junior equipment officers.

Women's Auxiliary Air Service member folding and packing a parachute. Courtesy of Wikipedia

The Rhodesian Air Askari Corps

The biggest of the auxiliary services was the Askari Corps, officially formed in August 1941, but active in different form in 1940. At first a few civilians were employed at Cranborne and Belvedere aerodromes, controlled by British NCO's, but soon the Labour Corps of the Rhodesian African Rifles was asked to supply labour, and later the Air Force Native Labour Corps was formed, with British officers and NCO's seconded from the Rhodesian African Rifles. Entry was voluntary and the Rhodesian Air Askari Corps was formed under the command of Flying Officer T. E. Price, later Wing Commander, OBE.

The Corps divided into 2 000 in the armed section for station guarding and protection duties, and a further 3 000 for general duties for aerodrome work which included propeller-swinging, aircraft refuelling and marshalling, fitters' and riggers' mates, motor transport drivers, carpenters and assistants on fire tenders. Headquarters was at Belvedere, the old civil airport for Salisbury.

Air Askari's assisting with aircraft maintenance. Photo courtesy of Imperial War Museum and Alan Doyle

Conscripted labour

The most controversial aspect of the RATG was the demand placed on Southern Rhodesia's black population during the early stages of WWII to provide conscripted labour to build the aerodromes.

The government assigned labour quotas to Native Commissioners for each district across the territory who in turn requested local chiefs and headmen to fill the quotas. This system, known locally as chibaro according to Charles van Onselen, had been in fairly widespread use during BSAC rule between 1890–1923, but had fallen out of use by the 1930's.

The chibaro workers received pay and provisions; but the salary of 15s/- per month was lower than the 17s/6d generally received on white-owned farms. It was met with widespread opposition and many men elected to run away rather than fill the quotas. "Hundreds, if not thousands", according to Kenneth Vickery, crossed into Bechuanaland or South Africa as many thought that after finishing building the runways they would be sent overseas as soldiers.

Allies in the RATG.

Greeks, Yugoslavs and Frenchmen were trained as pilots, navigators and air-gunners in the Rhodesian Air Training Group many having escaped from their countries under the noses of the Germans via the "underground" through Occupied Europe.

The Greeks who came had battled so gallantly in their out-of-date aircraft against Messerschmitts and Stukas and managed to escape and after weeks in the mountains waiting for a small boat to take them from isle to isle of the archipelago, until eventually they would arrive at an Allied shore. As the Royal Hellenic Air Force was rebuilt in Egypt, so Southern Rhodesia became the nursery of its pilots.

Tiger Moths with their cadet pilots probably from No. 25 Elementary Flying training School at Belvedere, near Salisbury (now Harare) leaving their aircraft. Photo courtesy of the Imperial War Museum and Alan Doyle

For those who could not speak English, a special English course for Allies was started at Bulawayo, and within three months most who could not speak English at all on entering the school were able to go on to the flying course proper and follow lectures on highly technical subjects in English.

The greatest proportion of Allies trained in the RTAG were Greeks and many of their pilots joined the three Royal Hellenic Air Force Squadrons, two fighter and one bomber, which operated in the Middle East and took part in the campaign of El-Alamein and afterwards in Italy.

Yugoslavs and Poles were trained in smaller numbers and absorbed into the RAFVR, or volunteered for Marshal Tito's Forces, whilst the Poles, recruited and trained as RAFVR once their training was completed, became part of the Polish Air Force.

Air Vice-Marshall C. W. Meredith AFC with Col. the Hon. Sir Ernest Lucas Guest, KBE, MP, Minister of Air and Internal Affairs for Southern Rhodesia

Sir Ernest Lucas Guest, was appointed Rhodesia's first Minister of Air on the outbreak of War and, together with Sir Charles Warburton Meredith, inaugurated and administered what became the second largest Empire Air Training Scheme and was appointed OBE in 1938 and KBE (Civil Division) in the 1944 New Year Honours List "for public services, especially in the inauguration of the Empire Air Training Scheme." He was also appointed CVO by King George VI during the Royal Family's visit to Rhodesia in April 1947 and CMG in the 1949 New Year's Honours List.

Training to be an RAF pilot

At Elementary Flying Training School (EFTS) the pupil pilot initially studied mathematics and the theory of flight, engines and airframes, some navigation, and sent and received Morse code with a lamp. In addition to lectures, there was parade drill, physical training, cockpit drill, and an occasional camp inspection parade. At least 50 hours of basic aviation instruction were required on a simple trainer, such as the de Havilland Tiger Moth; more if the instructors felt the pupil pilot was slipping in on turns, or holding off a little too high on landings, or the take-offs were too bumpy. Once most of the mistakes had been ironed out, the pupil pilot was allowed to fly his first solo flight. Then followed more dual instruction, more solo, more dual, and instrument and night flying.

No 24 Bombing, Gunnery and Navigational School at Moffat, Rhodesia, January 1943. A Fairey Battle aircraft towing a drogue sleeve while the student operates the power turret of Airspeed Oxford AS515. Photo Courtesy of Imperial War Museum and Alan Doyle

Having sat and passed an examination, the pupil was ready for posting for more advanced training at a Service Flying Training School (SFTS)

Instructor in front and pupil pilot behind in a de Havilland Tiger Moth trainer

A pupil pilot progressed with a group of colleagues to SFTS where they would fly bigger and more powerful aircraft, such as the North American Harvard IIA's, learn the elements of bombing and air firing, formation flying and night cross-countries.

The pupil pilot would be allocated to an instructor and in a Harvard trainer they would go through a sequence of gentle, medium and steep turns, take-offs and landings, forced landings and instrument flying, but with the added new complications of a variable-pitch propeller, retractable undercarriage, flaps, boost control, radio and a new array of instruments.

Pupil Sergeant D H Marshall climbing in to a North American Harvard `49' at No 20 Service Flying Training School, Cranborne, Salisbury. He served as a ground crewman for 2 1/2 years before being accepted for flight training. Photo Courtesy of Imperial War Museum and Alan Doyle

Lectures would continue with advanced plotting courses, studying the line of fall of various bombs, using a radio, understanding weather conditions, recognition of Allied and enemy aircraft. Advanced instrument flying was practised on a link-trainer, landing by radio when the clouds "were down on the deck" and firing a machine gun whilst allowing for the deflection necessary when shooting at a flying bomber. Hours were spent "under the hood" using instruments to fly from point to point on a map, and long night-time cross-country flights.

The Harvard's Pratt & Whitney 600 hp Wasp radial engine was much more powerful than the de Havilland Gipsy III 120 hp engine in the Tiger Moth. Advanced aerobatics were possible and

low flying gave a great thrill. As the pupil pilot advanced there would be formation flights in vic ("V" shape) echelon and line astern, learning to watch his leader and keep one eye roaming around the sky. There would be flights to a relief landing ground from where they would practice flying each morning and then intercepting a twin-engined Airspeed Oxford Advanced Trainer which would have been tasked with bombing a target in the same area.

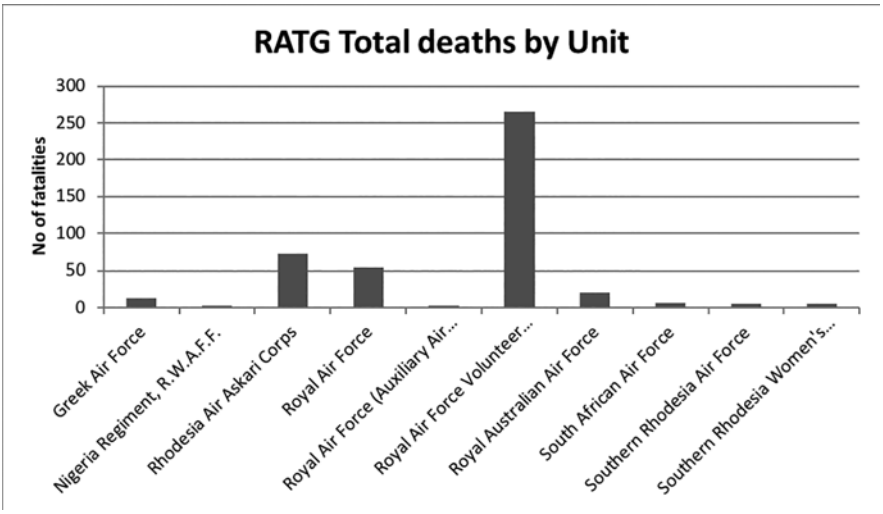
The Oxford Advanced Trainer (nicknamed the 'Ox-box') had dual controls and was used to train pilots, navigators, bomb aimers, gunners and radio operators.

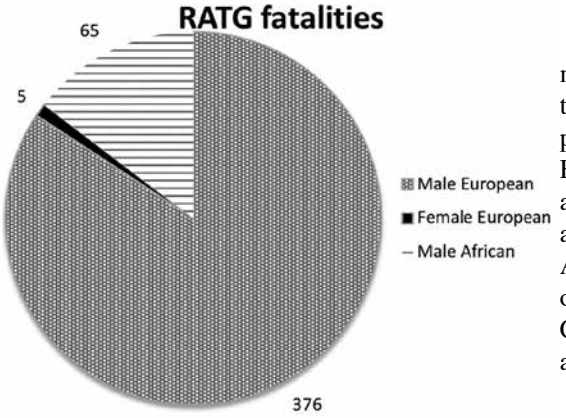
Finally, the great day arrived when the pupil pilot received his wings. This left just time for a final party in town to celebrate the event before he was sent north to an operational unit in North Africa. Here he would be introduced to the Spitfire whose details would be carefully explained with much cockpit drill, before he was allowed his first solo with no second cockpit to carry a watchful and helpful instructor.

Fatality Statistics on the RATG programme

Sgt Ivan Campbell was the first RATG casualty on 20 June 1940 when he crashed outside Salisbury close to the Gatooma (now Kadoma) road. There are 446 graves from this period maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission from the official number of 8 235 who went through the program in Southern Rhodesia; a fatality rate of 5.4%. We have no figures for those who were injured, but survived.

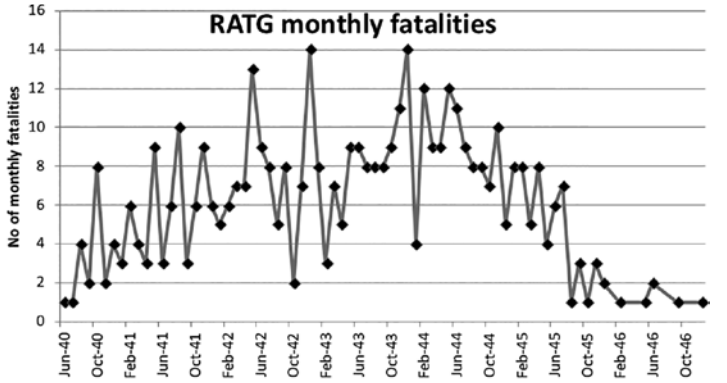
The bar chart below uses figures of fatalities from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission website (www.cwgc.org) to show deaths by unit within the RATG. The Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve and Royal Air Force units suffered 71% of the training fatalities within the RATG program. The Rhodesia Air Askari Corps suffered 16%; presumably from accidents and illness rather than air accidents.



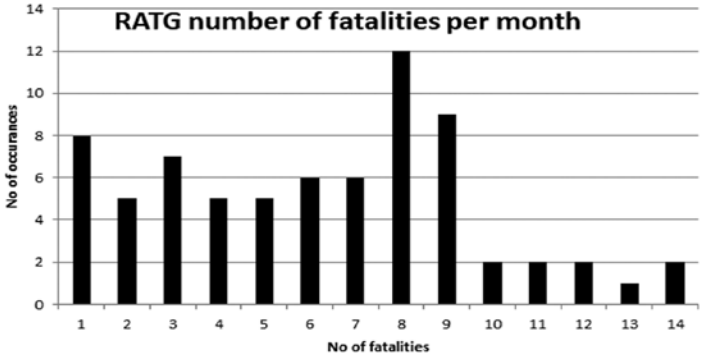


A total of 446 graves are maintained by the CWGC that are related to the RATG programme; 376 (84%) are European males, 65 (15%) are African males and 5 (1%) are European females. The African males were members of the Rhodesia Air Askari Corps and the females were all aircraftswomen.

The line chart below tracks the record of monthly fatalities starting in June 1940 up to December 1946. The worst individual months of WWII were in December 1942 and December 1943 when fourteen deaths were recorded in each of those months. There were monthly fatalities in the RATG in every month from June 1940 through to December 1945; only in 1946 when training tailed off were their months when no fatalities were recorded.

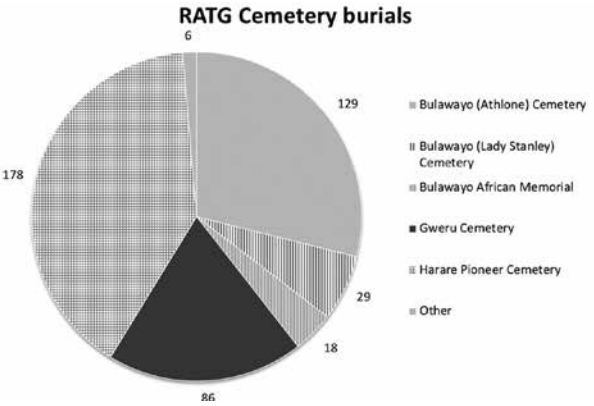


Certain months recorded extremely high numbers of fatalities. Within the period June 1940 up to December 1946 there were twelve months which had eight fatalities in each month and nine months which recorded nine fatalities in each month. The extreme right of the bar chart records the two months in which there were fourteen fatalities in each month.

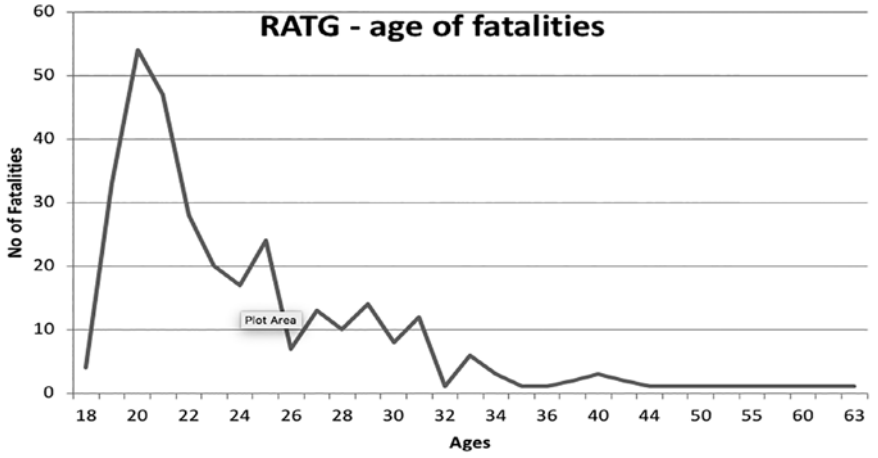


The pie chart below shows where the RATG fatalities are buried within the Commonwealth War Graves section of each cemetery. Bulawayo has three cemeteries to honour 176 fatalities (39%) Gweru has 86 fatalities (19%) and Harare Pioneer cemetery has 178 fatalities (40%)

The remaining 6 fatalities (1%) are buried / cremated as follows:	
Avondale Church (St. Mary Magdalene) Cemetery	1
Esigodini Cemetery	1
Gweru Cremation Memorial	1
Harare Cremation Memorial	1
Masvingo Cemetery	1
Mutare Cemetery	1
	6



The line chart below plots the ages of the RATG fatalities whose ages are recorded; 319 of 446 (72%) As might be expected of aircraft crew they are mostly very young with 71% of them being either 26 years old or younger.

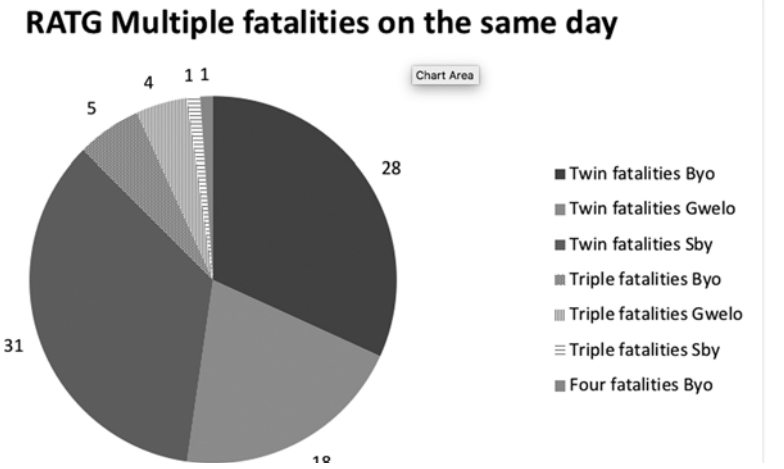


The names of the four youngest who were eighteen years old are included below. Also included are all those fatalities in the RATG that were fifty years old or older. These were most probably flying instructors who had pupil pilots under instruction and were involved in fatal flying accidents. The most senior is Air Commodore JWB Grigson; the oldest is Squadron Leader EH Davy who was 63 years old.

Surname	initials	Age	Awards	Date of Death	Rank	Unit	cemetery memorial
VAN HEERDEN	A G	18		30/10/1940	Air Sergeant	South African Air Force	BULAWAYO (ATHLONE) CEMETERY
DACRE	A K	18		28/12/1940	Sergeant	Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve	HARARE (PIONEER) CEMETERY
SMITH	D E	18		24/03/1942	Sergeant	Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve	GWERU CEMETERY
SOUTHGATE	W H	18		26/10/1943	Sergeant	Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve	HARARE (PIONEER) CEMETERY
GRIGSON	J W B	50	D S O, D F C and 2 Bars	03/07/1943	Air Commodore	Royal Air Force	HARARE (PIONEER) CEMETERY
REDMAN	H V	51		18/12/1947	Flight Lieutenant	Royal Air Force	MUTARE CEMETERY
HUGHES	M A	55		17/09/1944	Aircraftwoman	Southern Rhodesia Women's Auxiliary Air Service	HARARE (PIONEER) CEMETERY
BLACKWELL	R A	56	M B E	18/04/1944	Flying Officer	Rhodesia Air Askari Corps	HARARE (PIONEER) CEMETERY
CRAXTON	C W M	60		02/09/1942	Flying Officer	Rhodesia Air Askari Corps	BULAWAYO (ATHLONE) CEMETERY
MARTIN	E T	62		11/02/1946	Flying Officer	Southern Rhodesia Air Force	HARARE (PIONEER) CEMETERY
DAVY	E H	63		23/05/1945	Squadron Leader	Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve	HARARE (PIONEER) CEMETERY

There are many days which included twin, or even triple fatalities when presumably the entire crew of a single, or twin engined aircraft perished. There were few triple fatalities at Salisbury as training here was for single engined fighter aircraft. Crew members training as bomber crew flew in twin engined aircraft at Gwelo and Bulawayo. The worst single day was five fatalities on 29 May 1942.

Surname	initials	Age	Date of Death	Rank	Unit	cemetery memorial
WRAY	J K	20	29/05/1942	Sergeant	Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve	BULAWAYO (ATHLONE) CEMETERY
BUNDARA	N L J	20	29/05/1942	Sergeant	Royal Australian Air Force	BULAWAYO (ATHLONE) CEMETERY
STOKES	R W	21	29/05/1942	Flight Lieutenant	Royal Air Force	BULAWAYO (ATHLONE) CEMETERY
GOODALL	R M	26	29/05/1942	Pilot Officer	Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve	HARARE (PIONEER) CEMETERY
GRAY	J R H	19	29/05/1942	Sergeant	Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve	HARARE (PIONEER) CEMETERY



The standard rank for pupil pilots was sergeant and therefore it is not surprising that they suffered the most fatalities with 164 (37%) of total deaths in the RATG. They were followed by 125 fatalities (28%) amongst aircraftmen and women.

Acknowledgements

Sir Charles Meredith. The Rhodesian Air Training Group 1940-1945. *Rhodesiana* Publication No. 28, July 1973 Pages

D. Newnham. Rhodesia and the Royal Air Force - Rhodesian Air Training Group (RATG) – An Overview. With kind permission of the website www.ourstory.com/orafs

Booklet published Under the Authority of the Air Officer Commanding the Rhodesian Air Training Group, courtesy of ORAFs

The Rhodesia and the RAF booklet published by the RATG kindly loaned to me by Robin Taylor.

Alan Doyle who obtained photos from the Imperial War Museum Collection.

B. Salt. *A Pride of Eagles*. *The Definitive History of the Rhodesian Air Force 1920-1980*. Covos Day 2001

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The 1918/19 Influenza Epidemic (Spanish Flu)

by R. D. Taylor

Introduction

The year 1918 was a memorable and tragic year for the entire world. The Great War, later to be known as the First World War, was reaching a climax. The war finally ended in a cease fire at the eleventh hour on the eleventh day of November 1918.

Another major catastrophe in the public health field was also devastating the population. This was an unprecedented Influenza epidemic which became more commonly known as the Spanish Flu and which claimed, according to more recent estimates, twenty to fifty million lives worldwide. Considering the population was much smaller than now this was about three to five per cent of the global population.

The name Spanish Flu derives from the fact that belligerents on both sides of the conflict were suffering substantial losses not only on the front lines but also disruption to the war effort on the home front as a consequence of the flu epidemic. However neither side wanted to admit to the damaging effects of the outbreak among not only troops at the front but also among workers in factories at home producing war materials.

Censorship minimised early reports of the outbreak. Spain was neutral in the First World War and its population was badly affected by the epidemic with an estimated eight million Spaniards dying. In view of these huge losses it became convenient for Allied propaganda purposes to divert attention from their own war losses and attribute the outbreak to Spain. The writer has in his possession a detailed history of the First World War which was published in 1934 and can find no mention of the debilitating effects of the epidemic on British and French forces or on industrial output.

Some examples of the estimated death toll are Britain 250 000, France more than 400 000, United States 500 000 to 670 000, Canada 50 000, Brazil 300 000 including the President Rodrigues Alves, Australia 2 000 and New Zealand 8 573. The only places to escape were some of the small Pacific territories whose administrations refused to allow ships to land until the outbreak had burnt itself out.

The first recorded outbreak in the United States was in March 1918 in Camp Funston at Fort Riley in Kansas. This base was training troops for the European front and servicemen infected but not yet showing signs of the disease were being shipped to Europe in crowded transports thereby spreading the infection. An Army cook Private Albert Gitchell was the first victim diagnosed with the new strain of flu. Some recent research suggests the disease came to Europe with Chinese labourers recruited from China to work behind the British and French lines. The Chinese authorities have denied this claim.

Recent research indicates the virus was a subtype of the avian strain H1N1. This has been indicated by using DNA taken from frozen bodies recovered from the ice in

Dr Andrew Fleming. Director of Medical Services during the 1918/19 Influenza Epidemic.

Alaska. Modern research also shows the virus to be particularly deadly because it triggers a Cytokine Storm which ravages the stronger immune system of younger adults. Available statistics worldwide show the death rate was highest in males between the ages of 20 and 40 and pregnant women of this age group. Figures from this country conform to this pattern.

The influenza epidemic manifested itself in the United Kingdom in June-July 1918. Given the considerable movement of people taking place mainly due to the war the then Rhodesian health authorities led by the Director of Medical Services Dr Andrew Fleming realised that the country could well be faced with an epidemic. In his report on the epidemic issued in May 1919 Dr Fleming stated "that the date of the first appearance of the disease in South Africa cannot be accurately ascertained but the outbreak in epidemic form commenced about the middle of September 1918. The mortality rate was at first small and the whole position was not viewed seriously in spite of reports reaching us from Europe. It gathered virulence as it spread and about the end of September the full extent of the disaster that was threatening was fully realised".

Influenza comes to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)

The main form of transport into this country at the time was by rail. Very few people travelled by road, and it was inevitable that the spread of the epidemic would follow the line of rail from South Africa. The first cases broke out amongst railway staff in Bulawayo on 9 October 1918.

On 12 October the disease was declared infectious under the provisions of the Public Health Act 1883 and all schools, churches, places of amusement outside and within Municipalities of Bulawayo and Salisbury were closed and other gatherings prohibited.

Magistrates and what at the time were known as Native Commissioners were required to submit daily reports giving details of the progress of the outbreak to Head Office in Salisbury. In turn the Administration was asked to report to the BSA Company in London.

The Acting Administrator F. J. Newton in a cabled report to London dated 23 October 1918 stated "Serious epidemic large proportion Europeans and Africans along lines of communication affected. Following mines closed Wankie, Falcon, Globe and Phoenix, Cam and Motor. Medical Director says mortality so far not excessive but expects serious increase in rate shortly. Considerable increase in expenditure inevitable. NEWTON". No doubt this report caused the London directors anxiety over the financial implications. The Acting Administrator also started informing the BSA Company in London of the names of Company employees including policemen who were ill or had died. However this soon ceased as numbers increased and his own staff were taken ill.

Summary of Reports from Towns and Districts. (Spellings are as at the time).

Bulawayo

The first reported cases were among railway employees on 9 October, 1918. The disease spread rapidly among the African population and, according to a report in the Chronicle newspaper on 11 October, some 50 Africans mainly municipal employees and police were at the Lazaretto (hospital for "diseased" people). The Post Master also announced that due to the illness of telegraph operators in Cape Town telegrams to the Cape would be subject to heavy delays. The situation in schools was aggravated by an outbreak of scarlet fever.

The Mayor, Councillor Atterbury, coordinated the civic response. He had a long list of volunteer helpers and the town was divided into seven districts to facilitate the provision of aid to the sick. The Model Dairy had closed but volunteers took over milk deliveries and the well-known Mr A. G. (Totty) Hay carried out bread deliveries to local institutions using his own van.

Five hundred and forty six cases were at the Lazaretto. The railways reported 172 European employees and 544 Africans were ill. Eight African employees had died. Railway services were badly disrupted and trains to the north didn't run for two weeks as staff was either ill or nursing sick families. A total of forty six railwaymen were to die countrywide in the epidemic.

The first medical employee to die was Nurse Sefton of the Memorial Hospital. The Railway Institute in Raylton was opened as a temporary hospital with Mrs J. Russell in Charge with 32 cases being handled at first. A total of 78 patients were treated at this temporary hospital. An appeal was made for eggs for patients in the hospitals. Businesses were closed at 1pm each day to enable volunteers to carry on helping the sick.

On 22 October the Drill Hall was opened to cater for the overflow of hospital

patients and four European deaths were reported that morning.

On 24 October a plea was made for another Doctor to be sent to Bulawayo as Drs Forrester, Vigne and Le Fevre were all laid up. Seven more European deaths occurred in the hospital which was very full of very bad cases. Twenty cases were at the Drill Hall.

By the 26 October the position in Bulawayo appeared to have eased with no European deaths that day and only two the day before. Most hospital staff were back on duty but the three doctors were still away. Two days later it was reported that a large number of serious cases still existed with three deaths. More deaths were expected.

On 1 November it was reported that the epidemic was abating but that 108 European cases remained at the Railway residential area of Raylton. District aid committees were being wound down but the Town Committee remained in being. Volunteers were still needed and businesses would continue to close at 1pm Dynamite was used to assist grave diggers cope with the demand.

A week later on 8 November businesses were allowed to resume normal opening and closing hours. Some deaths still occurred but a fall off in the number of cases in hospital and new cases was a welcome relief.

Gwelo (Gweru)

The first cases in Gwelo were reported on 14 October 1918 and the Magistrate barred all public gatherings and closed schools. The Gwelo Showground was made into an isolation camp with over 200 African patients. By 26 October all except two of the staff at hospitals were ill and an appeal was made for outside help. The Director of Medical Services replied that he could not assist but said the Magistrate had full authority to engage temporary local assistance. By mid-November, there were few new cases and these mostly among those who had been tending the sick.

Que Que (Kwe Kwe)

This centre was badly affected by the epidemic with an appeal on 22 October to the Director of Medical Services for aid. The Magistrate said the 150th grave was being dug and 3 more Europeans had died the previous night. The Director replied saying it was impossible to send relief from Salisbury but he was asking Gwelo if they could assist. He said each part of the country had to organise itself for local relief as it was almost impossible for one district or town to render much assistance to another. By mid-November, the epidemic had eased with no new cases being reported but 22 out of a European population of 300 had died.

Gatooma (Kadoma)

On 18 October the Cam and Motor Mine was reported closed with 500 cases. Twenty one Europeans in the town were ill and the school was converted into a temporary hospital.By 8 November Gatooma reported no fresh cases in the town but some arriving from outside. A week later only one funeral was held and the town held a special requiem service for all those who died in the flu.

Umvuma (Mvuma)

This town was at the time one of the bigger centres of population due to the Falcon Mine. It was badly affected by the epidemic and the National Archives file contains a poignant report from the Magistrate dated 24 October 1918 "Up to present 300 Africans died 14 European males, 4 European females including own wife. Many hundreds deserted mine, 17 bodies collected Monday and 15 Tuesday. One thousand five hundred Africans sick on mine, 18 Europeans in hospital and number in homes unknown. Out of 161 white mine employees only 30 are working and they are feeding and attending Africans"

One can only imagine the grief and emotion of the Magistrate writing his report at this time. On 31 October he reported the disease was abating and conditions had much improved. The final death toll in this community was 29 Europeans and about 400 Africans.

Salisbury (Harare)

The first cases were reported on 11 October and on the following day the disease was declared infectious under the Public Health Act of 1883. On 14 October the Public Health Department issued Notes to Householders on how to avoid infection and to treat those who became ill.

The Chief Warden at the Gaol reported on 16 October that 2 European warders, 6 African warders, 4 European prisoners and 55 African prisoners were sick. He asked if admissions could be stopped as discharged prisoners were being kept until non-infective. He expected all prisoners would get the disease due to overcrowding. Subsequent to the epidemic five European prisoners were given remission of sentence for good work performed during the epidemic.

At Avondale a Lazaretto was established in two Cator huts on 5 acres of land owned by the Avondale Syndicate and the local Board reported 2 European and 2 African

Temporary Staff at the Drill Hall Salisbury during the 1918/19 Influenza Epidemic

deaths in the suburb. Government offices were closed at 1pm on Friday 25 October until 11am the following Monday to enable staff to give assistance to local authorities.

The Drill Hall was opened as a temporary hospital and two classrooms at the nearby Girls High School were converted as sleeping quarters for nurses employed at the Drill Hall. Miss E. Silke a teacher at the school was tasked with arranging this accommodation.

The Town Clerk in Salisbury co-ordinated the response to the epidemic in the town. He reported that the ordinary Lazaretto in Salisbury was designed to accommodate about 12 smallpox patients. However flu admissions grew rapidly *viz*.

October 11	7
12	6
13	13
14	78
15	102
16	150

After this date no records were kept due to the avalanche of cases. On the 19th it was estimated that between 700 and 900 Africans were in various stages of the disease. On the same day the Town Clerk decided to transfer all those in the Lazaretto to the Agricultural Showground. The worst cases were moved first and all had been moved by 4pm on Sunday the 20th. The Agricultural Hall was fully equipped for 75 bad cases. Other buildings were used for milder cases. A Medical officer was in charge and trained European orderlies were organising affairs. On Monday 21 October with the approval of the Military authorities a detachment of men who were under training was detailed for duty at the Lazaretto under the command of Lieutenant Reynolds.

Fifty six deaths occurred in the three days 25 to 27 October when the epidemic reached its zenith among Europeans and Africans.

Recorded mortality among Africans was as follows:-

Buried at cemetery	90	
Police Camp	30	
Old Lazaretto	11	
New Lazaretto	151	(Showground's)
Picked up dead on commonage	5	
	267	

As at 6 November 1918 (on the eve of the Armistice) a total of 71 Europeans, 15 Asiatics and 13 Coloured persons had died in Salisbury.

Umtali (Mutare) and the Eastern Districts

The outbreak seems to have spread more slowly into areas east of Salisbury. This could be because residents became more aware of what was happening and took precautions which mainly involved avoiding other people and staying in the open. Public places and schools were also closed before the epidemic took a hold. These precautions did not however prevent the second and third waves of the epidemic taking a toll in 1919 of which more later.

On 8 November Umtali reported 43 patients at a temporary hospital. The Umtali High School served as a hospital. Africans were deserting mines and farms and returning

Temporary staff at the Umtali hospital during the 1918 Influenza Epidemic

to their rural homes. On 11 November Rusape reported one European death and that the school was being used as a temporary hospital to concentrate nursing.

Schools

It was decided by the Health and Education authorities that when a school was closed boarders should remain in the school hostel to avoid spreading the infection to their homes in distant rural areas and so that prompt medical attention could be provided if necessary.

The Director of Education in a report dated 8 November 1918 wrote the following:-

Plumtree School.

Seventy five cases. One pupil John Crewe the son of the Native Commissioner Rusape died. The Headmaster, Mr Hammond worked heroically, Mrs Hammond and Mrs Watson who were both seriously ill were taken to Bulawayo Hospital by special train together with a number of very sick pupils. Mrs Hammond's brother who had recently returned from serving with the military forces in East Africa died at his post nursing African employees at the school.

Salisbury Boys High School (Prince Edward)

Sixty eight cases. The boarders were cared for by Mr G. M. Huggins who had just returned from war service and who was later to become Lord Malvern Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and subsequently of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Bulawayo Primary School.

Thirty six cases. The Headmaster was also ill.

Eveline High Bulawayo.

Three cases. At first the healthy boarders camped outside the hostel but later the

camp was moved to Hillside.

Milton High Bulawayo.

Two cases.

Guest House Girls High Salisbury.

Seven cases.

Mining Industry.

The mining industry was particularly hard hit by the epidemic. This was due to the younger age of the workers and the concentration of people living and working in close proximity to each other. African mine employees suffered more than any other class of the population.

Some examples of the effect on mines are:-

Mine	Persons Employed	Deaths	Death Rate Percent
Lonely	1 146	138	12,00
Durban	65	21	32,03
Wankie	2 116	210	9,9
Rezende	900	49	5,4
Falcon	1 633	272	16,7
Globe and Phoenix	1 215	224	18,4
Wanderer	297	49	16,5
Gaika	352	58	16,5
Cam and Motor	995	12	1,4
Golden Valley	226	23	10,2
Gath's	296	28	9,5
Kings	283	37	13,1
Alpes	74	17	23,0
Eldorado	424	32	7,5
Shamva	2 009	227	11,3

The larger mines had medical facilities which contributed to the lower mortality rate. Some smaller mines with few employees had a very much higher mortality. One small mine in Bulawayo, Birthday 1, lost 11 out of its 12 workers. Many small mines lost over 30% of workers.

Rural Areas

The Native Commissioners were instructed by the Chief Native Commissioner, Mr H. J. Taylor, to warn Chiefs and others in the then Native Reserves to leave their kraals and live in the open and to refrain from moving and visiting neighbouring kraals. Native Commissioners were required to submit whenever possible daily reports of the situation in their districts. The BSA Police, missionaries and other Government officials all assisted in taking medicine and other aid to the rural population. Once vaccine became available they also helped vaccinate people. It became noticeable that in areas where the advice to sleep outside was observed the incidence of the disease was less. A major factor in spreading the disease into rural areas was people who worked on mines and in the towns fleeing to their rural homes carrying the infection with them and thereby spreading it in the community. Some of the more interesting

reports include the following:-

The Rev. J. Reyneke of Morgenster Mission in Victoria reported 20 deaths over the period 23 November to 6 December. He said the epidemic was widely distributed over the Victoria Reserve. In his experience the treatment that had proved most effective was:-

a) One ounce Epsom salts purge.
b) Three one ounce doses of Carbolic Acid 1 in 160 at intervals of about 8 hours.
c) A Jeyes fluid gargle 3 times a day.
d) Spend as much time in the open as possible.

The Native Commissioner at Plumtree on 14 November reported inter alia that he had sent out messengers to Chiefs to tell people to avoid crowds, beer drinking assemblies, sleep outside and keep bowels open with purgatives and take doses of paraffin. By 14 October two of his messengers were down with flu and a nurse girl had died. On 17 October all his messengers and police were ill. Pending the arrival of other medicines he made up medicines comprising Quinine, Camphor and Dop Brandy. These were distributed through police camps, mission stations, store keepers and farm houses. In Plumtree village seven Europeans and seven Africans had succumbed.

The Native Commissioner for the Charter District reported on 18 December 1918 that people in the Buhera area including Chief Magoya declined to accept any medicines or consent to treatment. He said antipathy to our medicines is fairly general. Chief Gungubu declined medicine and said it was useless and their people preferred their own medicine.

A farmer Mr E. Jowett in the Nyamandhlovu district submitted a report on his work over the period 13 November to 3 December 1918. He had distributed a large quantity of medicines and there was heavy mortality except among Bushmen who had no deaths which they ascribed to their own treatment of herbs.

Vaccination.

In his report on the epidemic Dr Fleming stated the first supplies of vaccine reached Rhodesia on 23 October from the South African Institute for Medical Research in Cape Town. This was the only laboratory able to produce vaccine in Southern Africa. Ultimately 84 900 doses of vaccine were issued by Government free of charge. The first supplies only came forward a fortnight after the epidemic had appeared. The Government was handicapped by being in a position of inoculating at the heels of the epidemic rather than in front of it.

Reports from medical men as to the results of a curative inoculation when the disease was established were somewhat conflicting. Dr Fleming could not say that inoculation could be considered to have arrested the progress of the epidemic but he had good reason to assume that inoculation did much to arrest the development of complications especially pneumonia and reduce the mortality rate.

Legal Notices

On 26 October 1918 in a series of Government Notices the Acting Administrator Mr F. J. Newton appointed individual local authorities as Local Authorities under the

Public Health Act of 1883 to deal with outbreaks of influenza in the area controlled by them. These local authorities included Bindura, Enkeldoorn, Umvuma, Nyson (Blinkwater), Charter, Umtali, Inyanga and Victoria.

On the same date a Board was appointed to deal with outbreaks in the area known as Avondale. The members were B. G. Derry, G. R. Milne, C. H. Westley, R. Haddow and W. C. MacDonald.

The fact that the first cases occurred in Bulawayo on the 9 October 1918 and these Notices were only published on 26 October 1918 suggests lethargy on the part of those responsible for the production of such notices. However civil servants and printers were not immune from the epidemic and I suggest everyone in the population no matter what his or her status got on and did their best in a very difficult situation.

Neighbouring Countries

On 26 October 1918 Nyasaland (Malawi) prohibited the entry of persons from Southern and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) except in cases of extreme urgency and then only via Fort Jameson (Chipata) and Chinde, and after they had undergone 8 days quarantine.

The Belgian Congo on 9 November barred the entry of all persons from Angola and Northern Rhodesia. Europeans who had travelled by train could enter but would be detained at Sakania in Katanga in quarantine for at least 7 days.

Official Appreciation

In the Government Gazette of 15 November 1918 the Acting Administrator, Mr F. J. Newton published the following official message to all local authorities and the public:-

"The disease which has spread with such speed and virulence throughout the territory is now happily decreasing in its incidence and mortality.

I take this opportunity of expressing to you and all who have worked with you in combating the disease my appreciation of the devoted effort and sacrifices which have been and are being made by large numbers of willing workers throughout the territory, I have also to thank those who in their ordinary avocations undertook increased duties and responsibilities in order to release others for the work of humanity.

The Administrator, (Sir Drummond Chaplin) who is in the Cape Province where he has taken the opportunity of rendering help in circumstances if possible more urgent than ours wishes to be associated with me in this expression of gratitude for the efforts made by you and those who have been associated with you in your labours."

Second and Third Waves

Worldwide the epidemic continued into 1919 with second and third waves of infection spreading.

The Medical authorities anticipated this development which, as far as this country was concerned, was fortunately much less devastating than the outbreak of October/ November 1918. Persons who had been infected in the first wave appeared to have some immunity and generally the population was better prepared.

In February flu was reported from mines and farms north of Salisbury and down the Mazoe Valley including Glendale and Bindura. The movement of people was restricted and by mid-March, Dr Fleming reported the outbreak was practically over.

An outbreak was reported on 26 March 1919 on Liebig's Ranch in the Chibi District in which a Section Manager Mr West died.

In June 1919 the District Surgeon in Bulawayo reported 40 cases at St Georges School and on 5 June all Bulawayo Schools were closed but boarders once again had to remain in the hostels. The School Cadet Camp scheduled for Gwelo in July was cancelled.

The influenza surfaced in the Melsetter and Chipinga districts at this time. These areas had avoided the original wave due to their remoteness and early precautions taken to prevent the movement of people into the area. Melsetter reported 500 cases in the Ngorima area. By the end of June no more fresh cases or deaths were being reported.

On 25 August 1919 the management of Wankie Colliery reported 300 cases at the mine and a Government Notice prohibited Africans travelling by train between Bulawayo and Livingstone. This prohibition was lifted on 17 September. The Wankie outbreak resulted in 32 deaths.

In September isolated cases were still being reported from Bulawayo, Gatooma, Gwelo, Mazunga and Chipinga. However this most devastating health event had finally burnt itself out apart from the Inyanga District from where the Native Commissioner reported 302 deaths in the district up to 5 November 1919.

Aftermath of the Epidemic

Chamber of Mines (National Archives file A3/12/30/4)

The Secretary of the Chamber of Mines Mr F. D. Morton wrote to the Administrator on 23 December 1918 stating very little action if any would appear to have been taken to organise for the prevention of the spread or combating the disease until the 1st week of November 1918 when the virulence of the attack had passed.

The Chamber submitted a 36 page synopsis of the evidence upon which it based its opinion that the Government has been extremely lacking in both the preliminary organisation required and combating the disease so far as the African population was concerned.

The Secretary requested the Administrator to transmit the letter to the High Commissioner in South Africa.

Dr Fleming wrote a handwritten marginal note on the letter saying this was motivated by political considerations. (At the time the BSA Company administration was under public pressure which eventually led to Responsible Government in 1923 and Fleming clearly felt this letter from the Chamber of Mines was part of that campaign)

The Chief Native Commissioner H. J. Taylor responded in detail to the allegation and submitted a report of the daily actions taken and the monthly reports from the Native Commissioners.

Dr A. M. Fleming, Medical Director also responded. He concluded his response by quoting Sir Arthur Newsholm, Medical Advisor to the Local Government Board in England, as follows:-

"But the facts remain that influenza is a specific disease recognisably in severe outbreaks and it is a disease which with exception of plague and cholera has on occasion travelled further and more rapidly over the world than any other recognised disease. It differs from these two diseases in that their pandemic course can be stayed by recognised measures which are within human capacity, but I know of no public health measures which can arrest the progress of pandemic influenza"

The High Commissioner, Lord Buxton, instructed the Secretary of the Department of the Administrator to say that the letter had been laid before him and that reports containing full information on the epidemic would be submitted to the Legislative Council at its next meeting".

Director of Medical Services Report

Dr A. M. Fleming, Director of Medical Services on 1 May 1919 submitted his report on the epidemic. The full report is contained in National Archives of Zimbabwe file reference A3/12/30/2.

I have already quoted from parts of the report and believe the following extracts complete the narrative of this devastating event. It must be remembered that the report was written a century ago and that medical knowledge has made great advances in that time. It read:-

"There are no grounds for believing that this disease is in any way related to Plague, either pneumonia or septicaemia, has been sometimes stated, or that it is any other disease than the epidemic influenza which the world has been subject in periodic waves for centuries past. It is a disease against which all the known methods of control have so far proved of no avail.

Municipalities and Village Management Boards being local authorities under the Public Health Act were, with the assistance of Government, the administrative bodies concerned with the care of the sick within the confines under their control. Without exception the local authorities rose to the occasion in a most surprising fashion and displayed great zeal, energy and efficiency in coping with the hundred and one problems that arose.

In Bulawayo and Salisbury where, owing to the larger population the disease was most widespread the Mayors both individually and with the aid of the Town Council and Municipal staff formed Committees, called for volunteers and undertook generally the entire control of the transport and care of the sick and the feeding of the public and distribution of food stuff. They made arrangements for the opening of emergency hospitals and soup kitchens and called for volunteers for the staffing of these and for lay nurses for house to house visits. The greatest need was the lack of sufficient doctors and nurses but this is common with all epidemics.

The townships of Que Que and Umvuma were most severely affected in that the large bulk of the European population was sick at the same time and the difficulty of getting assistance for them was very acute.

In the rural districts everything possible was done to assist the population by sending out doctors, government officials and volunteers armed with medicine and vaccine to inoculate farmers, their families, employees and others and to advise and treat the sick. A number of private individuals placed themselves and their motor vehicles at the service of Government and rendered the greatest assistance.

At mines where organisations already existed—the majority having mine hospitals and in some cases mine medical officers, necessity forced Government to leave them largely to themselves only supplying what medicines and advice that might be required. Mine managements as a whole realised their responsibilities and in one or two cases the deaths of mine managers were due to their unselfish devotion to their sick employees.

The administration of relief for the sick in native reserves was in the hands of Native Commissioners helped by the police, missionaries and other volunteers. Owing to the

rapidity of the spread it was physically impossible to inoculate the large number. A certain number of inoculations were done near European centres where people could be collected and conveniently got together.

The existing hospitals were as to be expected rapidly overcrowded with the sick and in the towns and villages emergency hospitals had to be established and staffed by ex nurses and VADs. The unfortunate experience was gained that though hospitals did much for the relief of suffering and the cure of patients the risk to nurses and assistants was very great from exposure to infection in a specially concentrated and virulent form.

The massing of sick under one roof is also a question of doubtful advisability owing to the risks of infection from super imposed complication and to the depressing effect on the patient of being surrounded by persons desperately ill and many dying from the same disease as that which the patient is suffering. Our experience is that except in special cases where home nursing is impossible it is best that patients should be nursed in their own homes and that in an epidemic of this nature mass hospitalisation of all sick is a mistake.

The work of the nurses and assistants in the regular and emergency hospitals and the personal risks that they cheerfully took with I am sorry to say, many cases of grave illness and deaths amongst them in consequence cannot be too highly extolled.

It is impossible to estimate total number of cases that occurred but recorded deaths were as follows:-

Magisterial Districts	**European**	**Native Districts African**
Salisbury	113	8 017
Umtali	12	1 592
Bulawayo	138	3 885
Hartley	2	
Gwelo	10	2 845
Gwanda	-	
Gatooma	10	
Victoria	11	3 264
Charter	30	
Que Que	20	
Melsetter	-	
Selukwe	6	
	352	19 603
	The mortality rate was most marked between ages of 25–45. European population 36 953 giving a death rate of 9.3 per thousand.	Estimated population 770 000. May be under estimated as no recent census of population has been taken. Estimated mortality rate 25.4 per thousand. Notable feature was death rate amongst women and children. Probable explanation is the concentration of woman in kraals and that they refused to scatter and live in the bush like males.

44. 2061—5,000.16. [B. & D. 2.

FORM OF INFORMATION OF A DEATH: ORD. No. 8 OF 1902.

WARNING—The penalties for false statements wilfully made are the same as those for perjury. Anyone who loses a COMPLETED registration form is liable to a penalty not exceeding £5.

DECEASED—

1. *Christian* Names and Surname — Robert Edward Gamble
2. Sex — Male
3. Usual Place of Residence — Balla Balla
4. Age — 42
5. Race (*a*) — ~~African~~ Ally Mixed Cape Pe
6. Whether Single, Married, Divorced or Widowed (*b*) — Married. (S-)
7. Occupation — Ganger
8. Date of Death — 6th. 8/18 (1918)
9. Place of Death — Balla Balla
10. Intended Place of Burial — do
11. Causes of Death — Spanish Influenza Pneumonia -
11A. Duration of last Illness — 1 week.
12. Medical Man's Name — R.M. Townsend

INFORMANT—

13. *Original* Signature [or Mark] — E Monsenir
14. Qualification — Works Foreman -
15. Residence — Bulawayo.

Signed in my presence on this ... day of ... 1

(This space intended for Rural Area reports.) Witness (*c*)

The lonely trackside grave of a railway worker who became a flu victim buried where he died.

For many years the disease has been attributed to the bacillus know as Pfeiffer's Bacillus. This opinion has been reviewed in recent months and there is reason to suppose that the actual origin of epidemic influenza cannot be attributed to Pfeiffer's or any other known organism but rather to an organism which is still unknown and is probably ultramicroscopic. That being so, the actual benefits of inoculation as a preventative were and are extremely doubtful. It is probable having that in fatal cases, which were largely due to pneumonic, were due to super

imposing of infection by other organisms such as pneumo-coccus, the streptococcus and others of like nature, and it was found that a mixed vaccine containing "Pfeiffer's Bacillus" with the organisms of pneumonia and septicaemia also of the common cold were to a certain extent effective in lessening complications and fatal issue.

The greatest difficulty experienced during the epidemic was the inadequate supply of doctors and nurses, more especially in rural districts, this difficulty being increased by so many doctors and nurses being themselves stricken down with the disease in the early days of the outbreak. At early stages doctors were moved from outside districts into Salisbury and Bulawayo but soon had to be re transferred to the districts as the outbreak spread. Difficulty was also found in obtaining sufficient thermometers and hypodermic syringes and at one period a serious shortage of essential drugs".

The Legislative Council

The Administrator, Sir Drummond Chaplin opened a Session of the Legislative Council on 25 April 1919.

His address contained the following in respect to the influenza epidemic:-

"The country in the latter part of 1918 in common with the rest of South Africa was visited by a terrible epidemic of influenza which owing to the suddenness of its incidence practically paralysed the industrial life of the country.

I am glad to take the opportunity of calling attention to the unremitting and self-sacrificing efforts of the community as a whole to do all that lay in their power for the relief of those affected. Fortunately as the disease spread in the native districts its virulence appears to have diminished and the death toll among the natives, although serious indeed, did not reach the proportions which at one time it seemed necessary to anticipate.

It will be seen from reports of the Departments concerned that among the Europeans the death rate was 0.93% and for Africans including those who died on the mines and in towns 2.54%".

On the 29 April 1919 the Administrator presented the Estimates of Expenditure. These contained a provision of 16 700 pounds for the influenza epidemic of which 7 000 pounds was to be paid to local authorities in part payment of expenditure incurred by them.

In the debate on 12 May 1919 Mr J. McChlery in talking about the shortage of doctors and the people who had died in his Marandellas constituency said it was believed that they had died of influenza but there was no doctor to give a medical certificate and they had been buried without any attention whatsoever. The Government had done very little in helping the outside districts when this terrible epidemic was upon them.

Other Council members defended the Medical Director and his staff.

The Administrator said it was not likely in this far off country that they would be able better to devise efficacious means of dealing with the disease than other countries where they had the greatest knowledge and the best facilities for research. They were as ready as they could be to meet another epidemic if it came along.

Children's Home

In the then Salisbury eleven children who were left homeless through the death of one or both parents from influenza urgently needed looking after. The Children's Home was founded by the Rev. Glyndwr Davies of the Methodist Church and Rev. J. J. Rosin, the Jewish Rabbi at the time. They were assisted by the Loyal Women's Guild which provided a building rent free. By 1944 the average number of children in the home was 65 and over the years many hundreds of children have been provided with parental care of which they had been deprived.

Influenza Victim. Removal of a Body

In June 1920 Mrs W. M. Jones, late of Que Que, sought permission to remove the remains of her late husband, who had died of the flu, from Que Que cemetery for reburial in the family plot in Johannesburg.

The first application was turned down and she was told to reapply two years after the death. This was duly done in October 1920.

The Director of Medical Services said there was no risk to the community involved in the disinternment and the request was therefore approved by the Administrator.

Local residents heard of the proposal and the General Manager of the Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Company objected most strongly and said the proposed removal possibly may expose the community to unnecessary risks. The Assistant Magistrate and the Que Que Sanitary Board also objected.

The Director of Medical Services in his response to the Administrator said he did not think those appealing could advance adequate reasons except public opinion and that it would probably not have been heard of if it had not been stirred up. The Administrator agreed and the exhumation went ahead.

I acknowledge the assistance of the following persons and organisations in preparing this paper:-
The Director and Staff National Archives of Zimbabwe.
Wikipedia 1918 Flu Pandemic.
Fraser Edkins, Coghlan, Welsh and Guest for providing access to relevant Government Notices.

From Bulawayo to the Victoria Falls. A Mission to King Lewanika (1898) Captain The Hon. Arthur Lawley

Edited and annotated by Rob Burrett

We have chosen to reprint this article from the British Journal, Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, originally published in December 1898 as it provides an interesting background to the geopolitical origins of the western part of the country now known as Zimbabwe. Most maps prior to this time showed the territory west of the Gwaai [Gwayi] River as being part of Kgosi Khama's territory. As such, at least in the eyes of the imperial map-makers, it was under the administrative authority of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and it would have become part of modern Botswana. However, Cecil Rhodes and other British South Africa Company [BSACo] officials actively challenged this situation after occupation in 1890 and 1893, although more pressing matters elsewhere in Mashonaland and Matabeleland tended to take central stage during the first days of colonisation. Initially this remote area seemed to have little to offer, other than the Victoria Falls. It was only with the crushing of the 1896 uprisings and a wakening of interest in the economic potential of the lands north of the Zambezi, later Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, that there was an effort to consolidate Company rule in this western territory through the standard procedure of treaties with the traditional, ruling elite who lay claim to the area. Lawley's role in the creation of the modern boundary of Zimbabwe seems largely forgotten, but is no less important as were the various "incidents" on the eastern and southern borders of the territory.

The story is of equal important in the history of Zambia for the inconclusive negotiations between Lawley and Litunga Lewanika of the Lozi State gave rise to the Lawley Concession of 23 June 1898. This document was used by the BSACo to consolidate their legal rights to the lands and resources north of the Zambezi, so absorbing into its administrative orbit, Barotseland and those territories claimed by the Lozi as tributary polities. The concession ultimately resulted in the formation of North-Western Rhodesia. Lawley's short hunting trip towards the Batoka Plateau [modern Kolomo] consolidated his impression that the indigenous Toka-Leya and Tonga communities of this part of southern Zambia where indeed the "underdogs" of the Lozi State. This justified the BSACo imposing its own "civilising" rule. The Lawley Concession that was signed is thus very much like the Rudd Concession that was signed by King Lobengula of the Ndebele and which claimed widespread control over all Shona-speaking communities in Mashonaland, so laying the foundations for the occupation of Zimbabwe.

I first came across this article a couple of years back while preparing a local heritage guidebook for the City of Livingstone and Victoria Falls town. Several footnotes have been added, as are relevant photographs of some of the principal players and locations in this story. Names and comments shown in square brackets are my own, while those in standard brackets are in the original. I wish to thank the editor, Fraser Edkins,

Fig. 1 - Captain Arthur Lawley
[Bulawayo Public Library Collections]

for getting the necessary permission to reprint this article, having it typed out and for inviting me to add to the story.

Arthur Lawley (1860–1932) was born on 12 November 1860 in London [Fig. 1]. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, he did not complete his university training and instead entered Sandhurst, after which he was commissioned in the 10th Hussars (The Prince of Wales's Own Royal Regiment). He saw service in India and action in Sudan in 1884. In 1885 Lawley was appointed Captain, retiring from the force in 1892 when he became the private secretary to his uncle, the Duke of Westminster.

He was appointed secretary to Earl Grey when the latter was appointed by the BSACo as Administrator of Rhodesia to replace Dr L. S. Jameson. With resident Grey in the administrative town of Salisbury [Harare], Lawley was appointed Administrator Matabeleland on 1897, a position in which he served until 1901. He took part in the Relief of Mafeking in 1900 and was decorated for his services in the Anglo-South African War. In 1901 Lawley was appointed K.C.M.G. and commissioned as Governor of Western Australia based in Perth where a suburb, Mount Lawley, still carries his name.

In July 1902 Lawley was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal where he was involved in the complex post-War reorganisation of the annexed colony. In December 1905 when he was appointed Governor of Madras, India. After retiring back to the United Kingdom in 1911 Lawley took an active part in the International Red Cross, the Child Emigration Society [later the Fairbridge Society], and he was a director of several London-based companies. With the death of his elder brother in June 1931, Arthur Lawley was appointed 6th Baron Wenlock. He died a year later while visiting Germany and is buried in Yorkshire.

Rob Burrett

The Start

The end of last year [1897] saw a general inclination among prospectors and traders to explore the country towards the Zambezi, and parties varying in number began to leave Bulawayo for the north.

Hitherto the conditions had not necessitated to any large degree the extension by the Government of its administration in a northerly direction. Such prospecting as had been carried on in that part of the country had shown the existence of coal in many districts; but no goldfields—as those, for example, of the Gwelo [Gweru] and Gwanda districts—had been discovered. Mining north of the Inyati [Nyathi] and Sebakwe [Kwekwe] was, therefore, practically nil. The natives, sparsely scattered over a wide extent, were for the most part peaceably inclined—an occasional police patrol being quite sufficient to maintain order.

Fig. 2 - Major Robert Thorne Coryndon [National Railways of Zimbabwe Museum Collections]

On the banks of the Zambezi, however, at a distance of 200 or 300 miles from Bulawayo, there was a large population of Batoka and other "role" natives living under their own petty chiefs[1], who since the downfall of Lobengula had been left very much to their own devices, with little cohesion and no uniform mode of government. And beyond the Zambezi river lay the kingdom of Lewanika[2]. The king's court was established at Lialui [Lealui], the capital of Barotseland, situated on the Zambezi river about 400 hundred miles above the Falls. Here Major Coryndon[3] [Fig. 2], with a handful of the BSA Police, acted in the dual capacity of her Majesty's representative and also as the BSACo's agent to exercise the administrative rights conferred upon the Company by the terms of the Lochner Concession.

It appeared to me desirable that these rights should be clearly defined so as to give our representative effective control north of the river, and enable him to prevent any such collision with the natives as would certainly result from the action of unscrupulous white men who considered themselves beyond the reach of the law. I therefore determined, if possible, to meet King Lewanika in person and obtain a more accurate definition of the company's rights, and also readjust certain conditions in the concession which were unpalatable to himself and his people. This would also give me an opportunity of interviewing Wankie [Wange] and other chiefs in the neighbourhood, and of establishing a representative of the Government in the north-west portion of Matabeleland known as the Sebungwe district[4]. With these intentions I wrote to the king and Coryndon inviting them to meet me at the Victoria Falls on June 1.

[1] Various Toka-Leya groups who lived along both banks of the Zambezi and the Shona-speaking Nambya based closer to the Gwayi River. The latter took the hereditary dynastic title of *Wange*, sometimes written Hwange in standardised Shona.

[2] *Litunga* [King] Lubosi Lewanika, king of the Lozi and founder of Barotseland who first took power in 1885 after a period of civil strife. In 1889 Lewanika sought British diplomatic protection and in 1890 he signed an agreement with Frank Lochner, a representative of the BSACo. This Concession would ultimately provide the basis of the colonisation of what is now Zambia.

[3] Robert Thorne Coryndon, Robert Thorne Coryndon was born in the Cape Colony in 1870 and was educated at St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown. He started his articles as a lawyer in Kimberley, but after a few months he joined the Bechuanaland Border Police. In 1890 as one of Cecil Rhodes's "twelve apostles", Coryndon was attached to the Pioneer Column. He in Matabeleland in 1893 and 1896. He was Rhodes' private secretary in 1896 and in he was sent by Rhodes to be the BSAC representative in Barotseland. In November 1899 Coryndon was appointed resident commissioner for North-Western Rhodesia, a post he held until 1907. He then became Resident Commissioner in Swaziland, and in 1916 he was appointed Resident Commissioner in Basutoland (Lesotho). In 1918 Coryndon was took up the position of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Uganda. In 1922 he Coryndon was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Kenya and High Commissioner of Zanzibar. He died in Nairobi in 1925.

[4] A broad area covering the "nose" of Zimbabwe—the modern Hwange District and parts of adjacent Tsholotsho, Lupane and Binga Districts.

Fig. 3 - John Charles Jesser-Coope [National Archives of Zimbabwe Collections]

Fig. 4 - Josiah Norris [Bulawayo Public Library Collections]

I made up my mind to complete the road which had been marked out by Mr F. Lewis[5] at the end of 1896, and part of which had been cut by Mr Frost in 1897. This road runs from Esibombom's old kraal on the Gwaai [Gwayi] river north-west to the Linquazi valley, and thence across the desert country marked as "The Land of the Thousand Vleys" to Thama Setchie on the old road from Palapye to Kazungulu [Kazungula][6]. It was represented to have the advantages of being more direct and better watered than the regular route; moreover, by striking the old road at Thama Setchie one avoids the long stretch of black soil in the neighbourhood of Thama Sanka, which during the rainy season becomes an almost impassable sea of black mud.[7]

About the middle of March I sent off by hired wagons everything that I should require for my party while at the Falls and on my return journey.

On the 18th April Captain Jesser Coope[8] [Fig. 3] left Bulawayo with two waggons, five mounted police, and thirty natives with instructions to cut the road through the thick bush, clear out and deepen the water-holes, and then to push on with all expedition to the river. A second party with twelve police and one waggon left under Sergeant-Major Norris, BSA Police[9] [Fig. 4], on April 25, and on May 3 my own party started, consisting of my brother, Major Lawley (7th Hussars), Mr Valdimir Gielgud (the future native

[5] Frank Lewis of the Northern Territories Exploring Company. He returned north to prospect north of the Zambezi in June 1897, no doubt following the same road that he had surveyed from Bulawayo northward, avoiding the mud flats further south.

[6] This road ran from the Gwayi River westward across what is now northern and central Hwange National Park to the border near Cement Pan. The border itself being the old Westbeech Road that was cut by the precolonial trader, George Westbeech, in 1872 from Tati to the Zambezi River near its confluence with the Chobe.

[7] The low-lying basalt plains of western Tsholotsho District and southeastern Hwange National Park now known as the Dzivanini Mud Flats, even to day a quagmire in the wet season.

[8] Captain John Charles Jesser-Coope joined the British South Africa Company Police in 1890, serving in D Troop as Troop Sergeant. He was subsequently appointed "Forest Officer" and "Inspector of Roads" for [Old] Umtali. As a member of the Rhodesia Horse Volunteers he took part in the Jameson Raid and was taken prisoner at Doornkop. In the Matabele Uprising of 1896 he served as a Captain in the Matabeleland Relief Force, recruiting a number of Khama's men as scouts and levies. He organised the Mangwe laager and saw action north of Nyathi and in the Matobo Hills. After commanding the escort party, subject of this article, he took part in the Second Anglo-South African War and was at the Relief of Mafeking. After the war he joined the Public Works Department in Matabeleland. Later he managed several large farms. Jesser-Coope took part in the East African Campaign during World War 1, commanding C Company of the 2nd Rhodesia Regiment. He died in 1950 at Buenos Aires, Argentina.

[9] Josiah Norris was attested in the newly created BSAP in November 1896 and was a member of No 2 (Matabeleland) Division. Following Lawley's Expedition Norris was one of eight members of the BSAP sent to Barotseland from Bulawayo. Two, Norris and a Corporal Franklin died of malaria at the village of Monze, North-Western Rhodesia, where they stationed. Norris died on 1 December 1899.

Commissioner of the Sebungwe district), Mr R. A. Blanckenberg (my secretary), Dr Ellis, S. Rodger (my servant), two orderlies BSA Police, fifteen Matabele boys under Sikobokobo (a Government induna of the Inyati District), and two interpreters, John Makunga and Sebakwe, a son of Mphoeng. Two waggons and twenty horses, a Cape cart and six mules, with twelve pack-donkeys, formed my transport train.

I found it impossible to start with my waggons, so I gave instructions to my Cape cart to go straight on to Nyamandhlovo, thirty miles from Bulawayo, and await my arrival there. On May 4 I left Government House at noon with my brother, Gielgud, Blanckenberg, and Rodger, and rode across the veldt to Nyamandhlovo [Nyamandhlovu], where I expected to find my Cape Cart; but in this I was disappointed, and had it not been my good fortune to find Messrs C. and L. Green at their store at Nyamandhlovo I should have fared badly, as I had neither food nor blankets for myself and horses. We reached their house about an hour after sunset, and they immediately set to work to make every possible arrangement for our comfort, giving up to us their own hut, and making full provision for ourselves and horses. Next morning I sent back a native runner to find my waggons and to tell them to come on at once, but it was not until the following day that any news of them reached me. On Friday morning the 6th Gielgud arrived with the conductor of the waggons, and his report of their progress was not encouraging. Although I had eighteen oxen in each span, it had taken them two and a half days to accomplish twenty-four miles. Evidently if they were to reach the Zambezi some arrangement must be made to lighten the loads, which were certainly heavy, if not excessive. Luckily for me, Messrs Harris and Green came to the rescue with four good oxen and a light waggon, and I was able to break up my seven spans and go on with three waggons instead of two. I resolved to push on with my Cape cart and a few days' provision as far as Esibombom's kraal[10], where I hoped to get a few days' shooting and to see something of the timber forests on the Gwaai, intending to await the arrival of the waggons there. Accordingly, on the afternoon of May 6, my brother, Gielgud, and I left Nyamandhlovo on horse-back, having sent on in advance my Cape cart and mules, and six Matabele boys on foot.

We reached Menu'Nkoni's kraal at six o'clock, and camped there for the night. The sun had set, but the moon was at the full, and the night was as clear as the day. Otherwise we should have had some difficulty in finding the water, which was three miles away. It was late before we got our mules and horses watered and our evening meal prepared. It was a lovely night. The outlines of the trees and hills, so hard and vivid in the fierce sunlight, were softened under the caressing touch of moonlight to a monotone of ideal beauty. There was not a breath of wind to stir the branches of the trees or sway the straggling bunches of spear-grass. The silence was almost oppressive, and only broken from time to time by the mocking laugh of a hyena or the plaintive note of a bush-owl. Truly a South African night has a fascination all its own. We were travelling as lightly as we could, and therefore dispensed with tents, for in the winter the climate is so wonderfully dry that they are an unnecessary luxury. We slept every night on a bed of dry grass, curled up in a roll of blankets or a big kaross (ORIGINAL FOOTNOTE = A large rug of sheepskins or fur), with our toes to a huge log—fire, and above us the everlasting stars. After dinner I had to send Gielgud back eight miles

[10] Located on the west bank of the Gwayi river somewhere near the modern traditional homestead of Chief Matapula, 35 m north of Tsholotsho village.

to the waggons to bring on certain necessaries which we had forgotten, and it was one o'clock before he got back to camp. Already we had experienced some of the delays which make waggon travelling in South Africa so exasperating and tedious, but they were nothing to those which we were to encounter later on. Already we had embarked upon the sea of sand through which for over 250 miles we were destined to plough our way—mile after mile of it choking, pitiless, and unending sand.

Leaving Menu'Nkoni's kraal at daybreak on the 7th, we trekked for twelve miles through a dense belt of forest until we reached the Insezi river, which we followed until its junction with the Gwaai. The Insezi valley is well watered, and there are many natives who cultivate extensively the fertile lands on either side of the river. Guinea-fowl and pheasants abound, and we saw the spoor of various kinds of big game in every direction; but the natives reported that they inhabit the thick timber belts lying above the valley, and are rarely seen in the valley itself, only crossing it by night. Here, and in fact throughout our journey to the river, we lived entirely on guinea-fowl and other birds: without these we should have fared ill, for we relied on our guns to keep our larder supplied, and only carried half-a-dozen pounds of tinned meats to last us for the whole journey from Bulawayo to the Zambezi.

On the morning of July 9 we crossed the Gwaai at its junction with the Insezi. At this point the Gwaai is a broad bed of sand with occasional pools of water, many of them several miles apart. This is a very feverish locality, the soil in many places rich black loam, and the vegetation rank and tropical. In every direction I saw clumps of palms, acacias of every kind, and tamarinds[11] festooned with creepers. After proceeding down the western bank of the Gwaai for about six miles one wheel of the Cape cart completely collapsed. I sent back at once for the donkeys and pack saddles, and improvised a sleigh from the forked trunk of a tree, on which we packed the contents of the cart. Luckily the road was fairly smooth, but our sleigh made very slow progress in the heavy sand, and it took us nearly three hours to accomplish the two miles which intervened between us and the water where we intended to camp for the night. Here I met two Zambezi boys on their road to Bulawayo, and found that they were carrying the Barotse mail. Coryndon, writing from Kazungulu, told me of his intention to meet me with waggons and grain at either Deka or Thama Setchie, and of his having sent back word to Lewanika to meet me at the Falls; but in his (Coryndon's) opinion it was doubtful if the old man would undertake the journey of 400 miles from his capital to the Falls, seeing that he had not been farther than twenty miles from Lialui during the last twelve years. Coryndon strongly advised me not to attempt Lewis's road, but I was so far on the way that I decided not to alter my plans. We were now nearly ninety miles from Bulawayo, and within three miles of Esibombom's old kraal. We camped in a belt of mapane-trees [mopane]: their trunks, as a rule, are perfectly straight, but here they were warped and twisted into strange fantastic shapes where, as young trees, they had been torn and trampled by the elephants, which not many years ago roamed in herds over all this district. It is sad that in these contortions is the only trace remaining of these splendid beasts. The nights and mornings were now very cold, especially an hour before dawn, at which time the camp was constantly astir, for we made a point of always being under weigh before sunrise. At times we had quite a sharp frost, but by ten or eleven o'clock the sun was very powerful, and we therefore endeavoured to get our long trek over before the heat of the day.

[11] I am unsure to what he refers to as "tamarind" as these don't occur in the area in question.

Our sleigh reached Esibombom's with difficulty, and there we spent two days in hunting; but I never got a shot, though I saw a few ostriches and reed-buck and one big herd of sable. Evidently there was not much game about, and such as there was exceedingly wild. Gielgud shot a couple of porcupines, which our boys were glad enough to eat, and also a "ratel," which is not unlike a badger with extraordinarily strong paws like those of a bear, and a very offensive smell like that of a polecat. The Matabeles would not admit this to their larder, but our Bushman guide was only too glad to carry it off into the veldt and gorge himself on its stinking carcass. The result of this unholy meal was very disastrous to himself, and he only recovered after a severe course of drastic medicine.

While here we got news of both Coope and Sergeant-Major Norris, the latter of whom after many struggles had only got as far as Huilili Vlei [Luwilili] just ahead of us[12]. On the second day our donkeys came in with supplies from the waggons, and the following morning we started with our pack-train. We reached Huilili at sundown, where we expected to find Norris; but he had just left, and we overtook him soon afterwards and trekked together until about 8.30pm, when his oxen were too tired to get any father, and we camped for the night.

The waggons inspanned at 3am, and we started at sunrise and soon overtook them, as they could make but little headway in the heavy sand. We pushed on to Inganjana Pan[13], where there is a good supply of permanent water. The country hereabouts is a dead level, the road heavy sand through thick stretches of "*magusu*"[14], with occasional belts of open plain.

Sport By The Way

At the edge of one of these belts I spied a herd of game. Gielgud and Dick would not at first allow that they were anything but bushes, but my eyes had not deceived me, and when we got nearer to them under cover of some friendly thorn-trees we saw through our glasses a herd of some thirty or forty blue wildebeest placidly grazing out on the open vlei. It was impossible to stalk them; we could only hope that our horses would be fast enough to bring us within shot of them before they reached the thick bush. Gielgud was riding a big grey stallion of mine that could "make rings" round the two small ponies that Dick and I were on. He was accordingly told off to cut out the work, and away we went—Dick to the right, Gielgud to the left,

"And between the pair on a chestnut mare
Was the duffer who writes this lay."

In a moment they had spied us, up went their tails, down went their heads, and in a cloud of dust they were off! Gielgud made straight for the open to which they were pointing, while Dick and I hugged the bush to the right. A big bull was leading the herd, and it was curious to see the fidelity with which the others followed his guidance. At every hundred yards or so he would start to one side with a plunge, twisting and turning as if from some enemy in the grass, and for every twist and turn that he made

[12] The large open vlei area near the village of Sipepa in northern Tsholotsho District.

[13] They were probably heading northwest to Ngadziamasigumba Pan, passing on through the area of Ngamo Gate to the Makolollo and Linkwasha Concessionary areas in Hwange National Park.

[14] Traditional name for the Zambezi Teak Forests of western Zimbabwe. These Baikiaea woodlands include valuable hardwoods such as Zambezi Teak (Baikiaea plurijuga); mukwa (Pterocarpus angolensis); and bastard teak (Guibourtia coleosperma).

the others did the same, plunging and racing like mad things over the veldt. I could see Gielgud scudding away to my left, for at the first rush the grey had left me "standing still", though I drove in the spurs and hustled my little pony along as fast as its short legs could carry it, hoping that fortune would be kind and that at some point of the hunt I should get a cut in. The ground was rotten and full of holes, but my pony had an eye for them all. I gave him little credit enough for his sureness of foot; I could only curse him for his want of speed and cry, "My kingdom for a horse!"

By this time the last of the herd was a good half mile away from me, but I could see my grey horse was drawing close up to them, and now they were turning right across my front. Dick was stealing along some hundred yards ahead of me. Would he turn them from the thick bus? Yes! Full in their face he rode straight at their leader, and with a bound and a rush they swung round almost on their tracks. Puzzled for the moment and uncertain where to go, they gave Gielgud his chance. Quick as lightning he was off his horse. Crack from the .303, followed by a dull thud! "Habet!" but he was wheeling with the others back once more towards the bush. Now it was Dick's turn with the .256 Mannlicher. Again the unmistakable sob of the bullet as it went home, and we knew that two of the herd were doomed. Away we went once again, and the pace was beginning to tell! Would the ponies last, or would the buck reach the shelter of the bush before we could "cut out" the two wounded beasts? Once in the thick bush it would be almost impossible to follow them. We must keep them to the open while we could.

Bustle as I would I could only keep near enough to see the fun, which was now drawing to a close. They had almost reached the thick belt of *magusus* when one of them wheeled to the left out of the herd. "Stick to him!" yelled Gielgud, as he raced away after the others, and stick to him we did. For another two miles we crammed our ponies across the veldt, lobbing and lurching through the heavy sand and hardly gaining on him by a yard. Then he began to reel and stagger, and with a final plunge he turned to face us. His head was bending low; blood and foam were streaming from his nostrils; his course was run! One more shot from the .256 and he sank slowly to earth.

Gielgud meanwhile had quickly come up with our other friend, who, finding himself collared, turned with a savage grunt and charged straight at his enemy. The latter was too quick for him, and as he came bowled him over with a "soft-nosed" bullet fair between the eyes. That was a red-letter day for the boys. They chattered and laughed as they cut up the flesh. All night they held high revelry, cooking and eating literally from dark to dawn. I even saw them smearing their hair and their faces with the blood.

From the skins they made themselves sandals. Of these, they were in great need, as their feet were a good deal knocked about by thorns and stumps, which they could not avoid in the dark, much of our trekking having to be by night without a moon. On reaching Makololo Pan[15] we were obliged to await the arrival of the waggons, as our supplies were running very short. There was a great deal of old spoor about, principally giraffe, blue wildebeests, and roan antelope, which evidently frequent this district in the wet weather. While here I killed another blue wildebeest, a particularly fine bull; but beyond him we saw nothing but a few sable, which were very wild, and none of which we killed. I wounded a fairly good sable one evening, and followed the blood-spoor for a long way, but night came on and I had to give up the pursuit.

[15] Probably Bakalabwa Pans/Makolo 1 of the Linkwasha Concession.

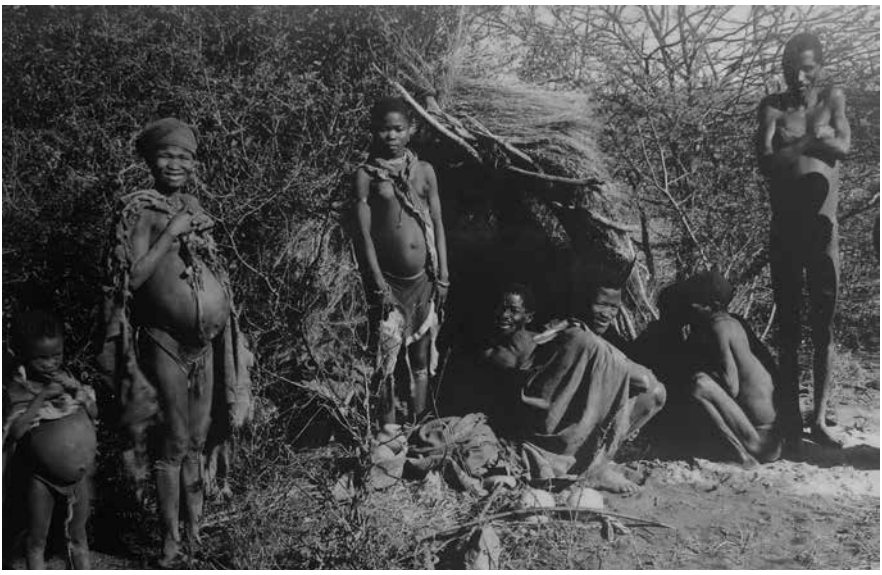


Fig. 5 - Typical San [Bushmen] group of the time [Bulawayo Public Library Collections]

"A Dry Stretch"

On May 17 I heard from Coope at Chekwankie [Shakwankwi Seeps], which he had reached after a hard time, owing to the thickness of the bush to be cut and the scarcity of water. His report was that there was a dry stretch between Ingwershia and Chekwankie of seventy-three miles, with only one point, about half-way, where we should find water, and that in three small pans which were quickly drying up[16]. The boys who brought the letter said that the water would not last more than five days. I thereupon decided to reduce the number of my wagons from four to two, and to send six of the police back to Bulawayo. Even so, it was doubtful if the water would hold out till the waggons reached the pans. Riding back, I repacked the waggons, taking only the barest necessaries, and reducing the weight on each waggon to under 3 000 lb. I also sent back the worst of the horses and the weak and sickly bullocks. The cattle were so knocked up by their incessant struggle through the choking sand (which in many places was up to the axle-box of the waggons) that I had great difficulty in picking out two serviceable teams.

I myself decided to push on with my pack-train to the Falls, and to send back from there fresh cattle and provisions for the men to help them out of the difficulties which I anticipated in the dry stretch that I knew lay between Thama Setchie and Deka. Had I known what their difficulties would be, I should have been inclined to send all my waggons back and taken my chance of getting through with only my mules and donkeys. I did not see the waggons again for five weeks, when they reached my camp at the Falls.

We left the waggons in the afternoon and trekked on to a tributary of the Linquazi [Linkwasha] called Kumbulabaswi, which we reached at 10pm. Heavy rain had fallen here, the night was bitterly cold, and all our party were very tired.

Leaving at dawn on the 20th, we reached Ingwershia [Ngweshla] about 10am, where we found a large vlei of good water. Beside this stood a deserted waggon belonging to

[16] Probably Togo, Sidanga or Tinder Grass, Tendele and Mitswiri Pans.

Peebles and Scott, two prospectors whose donkeys had all been taken by lions last year. Close to the waggon we met a Bushwoman, one of Indowyoka's people, reduced by starvation to the most emaciated and pitiable condition. Her husband had been killed by lions some days before, though she herself had escaped with her life. On her back and shoulders were the marks where the same lion had ripped away great strips of flesh. Long clots of blood had dried on her body; the wounds had not even been washed. I gave her some meat, which she seized upon and at once ate ravenously. The bones were almost through her filthy skin; her little beady eyes set close together under a low retreating forehead, her flattened nose and large protruding lips, concealing what little chin she possessed, gave her a look most uncanny and repellent. Altogether more like an animal than a human being, she seemed to me the lowest type of womankind that it has ever been my fate to look on. There are numbers of Bushmen and their wives who live in this miserable condition, wandering through the veldt with no other means of subsistence than such trash as wild roots and berries. Some of the men have guns and ammunition, and they spend their whole time in shooting. When they kill a buck within reach of water—say ten miles—the whole family congregates on the spot, sits round the body, and gorges itself until every scrap of flesh and skin has disappeared. All round Chekwankie we found numbers of old Bushmen's kraals, and in all of them piles of dead bones, including those of elephant and giraffe; and if the game in this country is not to be exterminated some stop must be put to the indiscriminate shooting of game by Bushmen.

Leaving Ingwershia at 3pm, we trekked on till about 10.30, and camped for the night. The boys were very tired, and we had great trouble in keeping them moving; in fact we only got about twelve miles from Ingwershia in nearly seven hours.

The sand-belt where we slept was covered with a poisonous weed known as "mkowusan," which grows in great profusion in all the sand-belts along the road, and is very deadly for horses and cattle during the months of December, January, and February. No cattle should be allowed to graze in the sand-belts during this season, when the young shoots are growing with the grass, but should be kept close to the pans, where the weed does not grow.

From day to day our march was most uneventful and monotonous. Every morning we were off at sunrise, stopping at midday to cook and eat the guinea-fowls or pheasants that we shot on the road, resting to graze our animals, and moving on again about 3 or 4pm to trek, as a rule, well into the night. The weather was absolutely perfect. Day after day the sun rode through the heavens without a cloud to dim his glory or subdue the palpitating waves of heat. Ever at dawn there sprang up from the south-east a soft refreshing breeze, which died away as the sun set, and the night fell silent and cool. Each night our camp was laid out with the greatest care to protect our animals from the lions and wolves[17] with which the country is infested. The mules and horses were tethered to a clump of trees. Close around them our party was disposed in five little groups, each in its own "scherm" with an outer ring of fires, which were kept burning briskly through the night till the sun had risen and camp been struck.

Thama Setchie [Cement Pan], though marked on every map of Africa, has nothing to distinguish it from the barren veldt which stretches for miles on every side, except a few small holes dug in the sand to indicate the only permanent water supply of the place. These had to be deepened and cleaned out before we could get enough water for

[17] Hyena

even our small number of men and animals. If this northern route is to be opened up wells will have to be sunk here and elsewhere, and a man put in charge to keep them in order and regulate the traffic. At present the supply at Thama Setchie is exhausted by two spans in a very short space of time. From Thama Setchie to Deka, a distance of over fifty miles, we only found one supply of muddy water at Henry's Vlei [Hendrick's Pan], twenty miles north of Thama Setchie, and this was completely dried up before our waggons reached the spot. As we came up to Henry's vlei I noticed several natives taking water from the vlei along a path leading into the bush, so I sent two Matabeles to bring down some of these boys to my camp that I might get from them some information about the road and ascertain the possibility of finding any water between the vlei and Deka. In about a quarter of an hour they returned with the headman of the kraal and four other natives. They were all Makalaka Bushmen, and the induna, a young man of about thirty years of age, was literally smothered in beads. His hair was plaited and strung with them. Strings of beads hung from his ears and adorned his neck, arms, and legs. His loin-cloth was thickly embroidered with the same. In a country where beads are the monetary medium he was evidently a man of wealth. The Matabele told me that on the day before this man had killed an eland and a sable, and that the kraal was "red with meat." Both eland and sable are, as every native in the country well knows, "royal game," the killing of which was in the king's time promptly punished by death. After breakfast I proceeded to interrogate the induna, and after making inquiries as to the road, water, &c., I asked him if he and his people had any fields or gardens?

"No," was the answer.

"How do you live?"

"We just drink water and sleep."

"Do you never eat anything?" (They were all remarkably sleek and fat).

"Sometimes we eat a few roots or berries."

"But never any meat?"

"No, never!"

"Is there any game about here?"

"Yes, but it is far."

"To whom does it belong?"

"It was the king's, but now it all belongs to the Government of the 'Nkose'" (meaning me).

"Do you ever hunt it?"

"Ah! certainly not."

"Yet you killed two bucks yesterday."

"Oh yes! to be sure, but they were only two poor sick ones that would surely have died."

We went with this gentleman to the kraal, where we found the meat of a very large eland and also a sable bull, both remarkably fat, cut up into strips and being dried as biltong. The camp was strewn with skulls and bones of countless buck.

My Matabeles ascertained that this man was making a rich living by shooting the game all round the neighbourhood and selling it to the Zambezis on their way to and from the mines[18]. Those coming from Khama's country supply him with ammunition,

[18] A Rhodesian colloquialism that referred to the migrant labourers from the various the Tonga-related groups who lived in and north of the Zambezi river.

and from others he obtains the beads with which he so profusely decorates his person. I confiscated two of his guns and some meat for my boys, of which they were badly in want, and I left him with the assurance that if I ever caught him killing royal game again he would not get off so easily as on this occasion.

The sand here is indescribably deep and heavy, and this is the worst part of the abominable road from Nyamandhlovo to Deka. It is difficult to exaggerate the dreary monotony of the country, mile after mile of flat white sand covered with interminable scrub, and only occasional breaks in the way of grass covered vleis or glades. The size and number of the large timber trees was sadly disappointing, and anything approaching a really fine tree was rare. The only sign of life was an occasional bushman's kraal (in every case deserted). There was but little spoor of big game, and only a very rare glimpse of a buck. Luckily guinea-fowl and pheasants, especially the former, were very plentiful, and from the time we left Bulawayo until we reached the Zambezi we only once had recourse to tinned meat.

At Deka the country is quite different in character from that through which we had been passing. Here we got on to formation and crossed a lot of broken country and rocky kopjes covered with low scrub. The Deka river, on which we camped, was full of beautiful water, and from this its head-water to its junction with the Zambezi the valley is well watered and fertile. About two miles from our camp I found the deserted huts of a white man in which were many fine specimens of various kinds of heads—eland, koodoo [kudu], sable, tsessebe, water-buck, &c.,—all worm-eaten and decayed. Before the rinderpest this neighbourhood was wonderfully rich in all sorts of game, which seemed to have suffered more here from the plague than in any other part of Matabeleland. The buffalo have entirely disappeared, the koodoo (formerly very plentiful) are almost extinct, and the other varieties have suffered severely, especially the wild pig.

I afterwards learnt from the Barotse that before the Basuto [Kololo] invasion this district was thickly inhabited and rich in cattle. The tsetse fly was not then known between Deka and the Gwaai to the east, and Deka and the Zambezi to the north. After their invasion the natives were either killed by alternate raids from the Barotse and Matabele or else they moved elsewhere, taking their cattle with them. Then the game returned, and with the game came the tsetse fly. Two years ago the fly were very numerous, and the country east of the Pandamatenka road was on this account impassable for cattle and mules. Now that the game has been almost exterminated by rinderpest, the fly also has left the country excepting a few belts of thick bush, and apparently it is gradually disappearing. All of which goes, in my opinion, to prove that the tsetse fly moves with the big game of the country, and that with the latter it is bound to disappear before the advance of civilisation.

Pandamatenka [Pandamatenga], which we reached next morning, is well watered and fertile; but the water is not wholesome, and the whole place is very unhealthy and feverish[19]. At one time a small white colony was established here, consisting of the Westbeech brothers[20] with several Cape boys and a Jesuit mission station [Figs 6 and 7], but the only inhabitant now is a colonial boy named Nicholas Villiers, otherwise

[19] Small trading and later missionary settlement on the headwaters of the Matetsi river. Established by trader George Westbeech who had the era of both the Ndebele and Lozi monarchs. Centre of regional hunting, especially for ivory. Once the most important centre of European settlement in the region. After being abandoned it was redeveloped in the 1950s as a border village. A small cemetery has the remains of a number of early traders, hunters and several visitors who were unfortunate to die while attempting to get to see the Victoria Falls.

[20] There were no Westbeech brothers. George Westbeech employed several hunters and traders and this may have given rise to Lawley's error.

Fig. 6 - View of Pandamatenga settlement in 1891
[Pioneer & Early Settler Society Collections]

Fig. 7 - Same view of Pandamatenga settlement in 2006.

"Klassa," who is the last survivor of the Westbeech colony, nearly every member of which is buried in the little cemetery by the river. The Jesuits built substantial huts, but they are all deserted and falling to ruins, which only add to the forlorn look of the station generally. From Klass, who was very ill, I learnt that Coryndon had met Coope here and gone on with him to the Falls.

On the second morning after leaving this dreary spot we suddenly came to the crown of a hill from which we got a lovely view of the Matetsi river running through wooded hills away to the north-east, and about twenty miles away we saw what at first appeared to be a small white cloud, but was really the spray rising in one great volume from the Victoria Falls. About five miles on we stopped for breakfast, and on climbing

to the top of a little kopje we could hear the dull thunder of the river, which at this distance sounded like the faint boom of a distant threshing machine. At 4.30 we came within nearer sight and sound of the Falls, and at six o'clock reached Coryndon's camp on the edge of the Zambezi.

It was a great satisfaction to find myself at my journey's end on the very day (June 1) on which three months before I had written and told Coryndon to expect me at the Falls. The animals and the boys were all very much knocked up, but it had been impossible to rest on the road. As it was, the boys had been on short rations the whole way, and when we got to the river we had exhausted all our supplies except a few handfuls of flour and a little tea. I at once arranged to send off one of Coope's waggons at daybreak the following day to meet our waggons and to take provisions for the police and the drivers, who I knew must by this time be very short of provisions. It was as well that I had reached the river soon, and was able to send back at once to relieve the party behind me. In the long stretch of thirst between Thama Setchie and Deka they had had to leave the waggons and to drive the oxen to Deka. Even so six of the poor brutes died of thirst, some of them falling when within actual sight of the water, and it is doubtful if the remainder could have got the waggons out of the sand even after a good rest at Deka. Their supply of flour was exhausted, so that the appearance of my "relief" waggon was very welcome.

An Encounter With Lions

My orderly, a man named Bland, was lying on the wagon in a miserable plight. While at Chekwankie he was on duty as grazing guard when one of the horses strayed and was lost. Taking two horses, one for himself and the other as a pack-horse with two days' rations, he took the road by which we had come, following as he thought the spoor of the missing horse, which, as a matter of fact, turned up in camp just after he had started. After going for two days, he camped on the second night in a small scherm thirty miles from where he had started. All night he could hear two lions prowling round the scherm, and so kept a good fire going; but this was not enough to keep them off, and they kept coming nearer and nearer. At last they got so close that he unluckily thought he would try a shot with his gun and No. 6 shot (!) at close quarters, and went outside his scherm. Here he was at once attacked by one of the lions, and badly scratched and bitten about the arms and thigh. Fortunately for him, horse—flesh was what they were after, so they left him to turn their attention to the two poor brutes that were tethered to a tree. One was badly mauled, the other broke his halter and fled into the veldt, with both lions after him, and it is not difficult to imagine his fate. Wounded as he was, Bland set off at once on foot, leading the other horse, to retrace his steps.

At dusk he reached one of my old camps, where he spent a miserable night. His gun had jammed, and being therefore useless, had been left behind. All through the night he had the same close companionship of two hungry lions, probably the same two that had visited him the night before. About 3am the moon went down; his stock of firewood was exhausted, and as the fire died out and all was dark, he was knocked down by a lion jumping over the fence into the scherm. Again the horse was their object, and quickly fell a victim, but luckily Bland was able to reach a tree, up which he scrambled, and there awaited the coming day. As soon as it was light he set off with only a water-bag, which he was fortunately able to keep filled, and for three more days and two more nights he pluckily held on his road to the camp. Each night he was obliged to spend up

Fig. 8 - Victoria Falls 1903. Photograph taken by Frank Rhodes, brother of Cecil Rhodes [Bulawayo Public Library Collections]

a tree, owing to the constant presence of lions.

On the evening of the third day he was met by Dr Ellis and the relief party from the waggons, who carried him back in a state of complete exhaustion and delirium to camp, which they reached at 5am the following day, five days after Bland had started on his luckless search. Thanks to the doctor's unremitting care and attention, he made such good progress that in six weeks' time he had almost entirely recovered. One cannot imagine a more horrible experience, and many a man of less grit would have thrown up the sponge long before help came.

The Victoria Falls

At Coryndon's camp I met Mr F. Lewis, who had just returned from a lengthy tour through the Batoka and Mashukulumbwe country. Learning that the king was at Shesheke [Mwandi] and could not reach the Falls for ten or twelve days, and knowing that my waggons were a long way back, I determined to cross the Zambezi to a point on the Nquezi [the headwaters of the Ngweze river] river about seventy miles north of the Falls, where Mr Lewis had had his camp while prospecting that district, and where he assured me we should find game of all sorts in abundance.

We could not take horses or mules because of the tsetse fly, so I sent out for carriers from the neighbouring kraals and dispatched a messenger to inform the king of my arrival, and intention to go north and return on the 16th June. Having made all preliminary arrangements for our trip, we held a medical parade of our boys, who were all complaining of exhaustion and fatigue, and dosed them all round. Then we set out for the Falls and spent the rest of the day examining them from all points. They have been described so fully by various writers that I will not attempt any elaborate description of their beauty. I will only say that they are in a measure disappointing, for the spray in which the greater part of them is always enveloped is so thick that a great deal of their form and beauty has to be left to the imagination. Here and there I could see a great volume of water hurling itself into the abyss—in itself a beautiful cascade, but only a tiny portion of the mighty mass which for a mile in width is for ever rolling over a wall of rock and falling to a depth of 400 feet into the seething chasm below.

From the chasm itself a dense cloud of spray perpetually rises and hangs like a white curtain above the great cleft of rock into which the waters fall; around and about the curtain the sunlight is reflected in a thousand flashes of brilliant prismatic colours, and

rainbow chases rainbow through the shifting sheets of mist [Fig. 8]. The roar from the falling waters is deafening, and the whole effect is very grand and very weird. It is like a wet "Walpurgis nachtl." But one longs for a mighty broom to sweep away the thick curtain of spray, and catch, if only for a moment, a sight of the river from bank to bank "rolling its slumb'rous sheet of foam below."

Above the Falls the river is nearly two miles in width, and is dotted with numerous islands covered with palm-trees and other tropical vegetation. The following morning I crossed the river to see the camp which was being built for the king on the northern bank[21]. It was a lovely morning, and the views from the boat as we slowly rowed from island to island were enchanting in their constant variety of perfect beauty. It was a veritable glimpse of fairyland. We spent some hours in rowing about the river and visiting the king's camp, returning about 2.30 to find the two Zambezi boys whom we had met at Esibombom's kraal, and who had gone to Bulawayo and returned with our English mail. We hurried through our letters from home, and then walked up the river-bank three miles to Sekute's ferry[22], where we had to cross our party by detachments in the one canoe at our disposal. I cannot describe the beauty of the river seen at the moment that we crossed. At this point the river runs east and west, and as we slowly glided over the water we had on our left the golden glory of the sunset and on our right the silver splendour of the moonrise. The perfect stillness was only broken by the regular plash of the paddles, and from time to time by the distant bellow of a hippo bull. The night was cold, but we got our carriers under weigh in the grey dawn, though we had some difficulty in inducing the shivering wretches to leave their fires. But by six o'clock the camp was deserted and the line of march formed.

A Nation of Slaves

Our way lay through thick bush, and we passed many small kraals. The kraals of the Batoka are mean and squalid. They consist of a handful of huts built of light poles and reeds. They are not high enough for a man to stand upright in, and are inhabited by men, women, and children, dogs, goats, and sheep, guinea-fowls, chickens, and no doubt vermin innumerable. The fields all around were extensively cultivated, and had just been reaped of abundant crops of Kaffir corn (*mabele*), mealies, canary–seed (*nyauti*), sweet potatoes, monkey-nuts, and tobacco. The ground is exceedingly fertile.

The Batoka are a nation of slaves. For years their country has been the happy hunting-grounds alternately of the Matabele and the Barotse. Lobengula's *impis* used from time to time to cross the river either at Wankie's or Sansarri's drift and sweep the country of women and children, who were taken back in droves to a life of slavery, and of every head of cattle. The men were too feeble to offer any resistance. Their only hope of escape was in flight, and every man who was caught was at once assegaied. I passed one spot where the ground was littered with human skulls, many of them the tiny skulls of little children. One of my Matabele boys told me that one of Lobengula's *impis*, to which he and another of my boys had belonged, had crossed early in 1893, and were

[21] The King's camp was built on the north bank of the confluence of the Maramba stream and the Zambezi. It was later for a short time the Administration's base in the area, before the BSACo shifted its employees away from the river to a low sand ridge [Constitution Hill], the location of modern Livingstone. The old camp remained in use for postal runners and as an African prison.

[22] Sekute was a Toka-Leya chief who lived on the northern bank of the Zambezi. At this point the river is at its narrowest and the chief operated a successful ferry service for those wanting to cross the river. European settlers soon settled here and, as Clarke's Drift, it was soon the major entry point to North-Western Rhodesia and is the origin of the City of Livingstone. The riverside settlement was later abandoned for a healthier site, the current settlement, and the abandoned drift became known as Old Drift.

returning with a "mob" of women and children when small-pox broke out among the latter. They were all at once ruthlessly assegaied.

The Barotse rob the Batoka of everything—women and children, cattle, goats, and sheep, grain and blankets—nothing is left to them! From every kraal as we approached black figures could be seen flying into the bush, sad evidence of the state of abject terror in which they live. It is satisfactory to know that at present the white man is the only form of humanity in which they have any confidence.

We travelled hard for four days through much prettier country than that which we had lately traversed, consisting of undulating hills covered with trees and divided by open glades and streams of water. On the fourth evening we reached Lewis's camp on the Nquesi river, in which are traces of fine gold, but only in very small quantities. Up till then we had killed no game, but the following day my brother shot two fine eland and also two Lichtenstein harte-beeste, all with a .256 Mannlicher.

After two days my brother and I moved on with Lewis to Sipatinyana's kraal, which is on the edge of the Batoka Plateau. This plateau extends for nearly 200 miles east and west towards the Kafuwe [Kafue] river, and is from fifty to eighty miles in width. It is a vast rolling plain of grass with hardly a tree on it. For the most part the grass is rank and coarse, but the plain is broken by a series of little valleys, where the grass is short and sweet. There is abundance of water all over the plateau, and standing as it does at a height of from 4 000 to 5 000 feet, is healthy at all times of the year. It is an ideal country for cattle. We camped about a mile from Sipatinyana's kraal under a huge wild fig-tree standing in the middle of a field of *mabele*. The *mabele* stalks were from sixteen to eighteen feet high, with magnificent heads of corn just ripe for harvest, testifying to the extra-ordinary fertility of the soil. Here we had good sport, though my brother was very disappointed at not getting a fine lion that he wounded through the shoulder with his .577. He followed him all day, but could never get up to him.

The country hereabouts was full of game, but we had to get back to the river, and it was only by hard trekking that we could cover the distance in four days; so after two days we had to retrace our steps. We reached Coryndon's camp on the evening of the 16th. On my way back I found three white men lying sick and helpless on the veldt outside Sekute's kraal. They belonged to a party of six who left Bulawayo in January with the idea of trading in Barotseland. They reached the river after three months of great hardship, arriving with no European food, and all more or less prostrate with fever. Their three companions had gone on into the Mashukulumbwe country while they remained by the river. For two months they had lain there, and had it not been for our arrival with decent food, must have died of starvation. Their experience is by no means unique, but it is impossible to extinguish the "exploring" spirit that drives men to the north in search of adventure involving certainly privations and frequently death. I sent my canoe back to bring these men across to my camp, and they were sufficiently recovered by the end of the month to leave with my waggons for Bulawayo, though I regret to say that one of them died on the road.

In four days' actual hunting we (three rifles) had killed nineteen head of big game, including eland, Lichtenstein hartebeest, roan antelope, zebra, reedbuck, and wild pig. On returning we heard that the king was due on the following day, accompanied by Coryndon, who had gone to meet him at Kazungula.

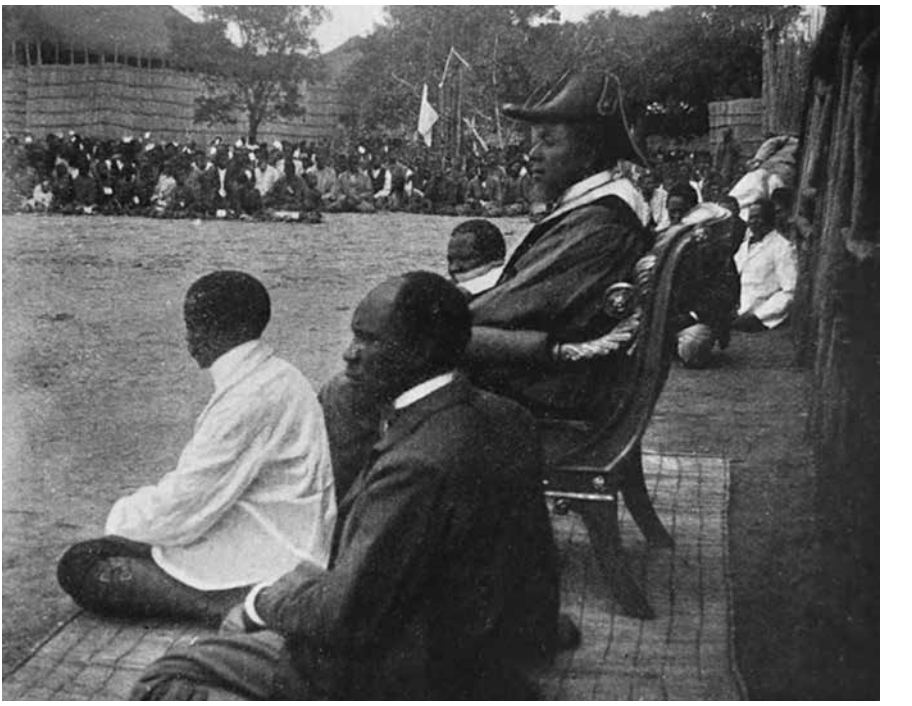


Fig. 9 - Litunga Lewanika in later years. His son, Letia, is in the foreground [Bulawayo Public Library Collections]

King Lewanika

The king's arrival at his camp the next day was made known to us by a general outburst of shouts and songs, and a beating of drums and tom-toms, which was kept up until midnight. The king brought with him his son Letia[23], who has adopted the Christian faith, and his chief councillors [Fig. 9]. His retinue included a band, in which the drums played a most conspicuous part, choristers, dancers, and about a thousand followers. The female element was entirely omitted. His having undertaken the (to him) unprecedented journey of 400 miles at my bidding was regarded by the whole nation as an event of the greatest importance. The younger of the councillors were very averse to it, as they regarded it as an act of homage to the white man, whose growing ascendancy with the king they look on with disfavour. So, too, when the question arose as to whether the king should first call on me or vice versa, they were strongly opposed to his losing (as they considered it) his prestige by being the first to come and pay his respects. But upon this I insisted.

The etiquette and formality maintained by the king in his court are quite remarkable amongst South African chiefs. The attitude of every one of his subjects, including Letia, is positively servile. No one is allowed to approach his majesty except on bended knees, and even Letia on approaching his father kneels and salutes profoundly. The salutation consists in a soft clapping of the hands, repeated several times, with constant bowings of the head almost to the ground. The king's personal dignity is remarkable;

[23] Later Litunga Yeta III

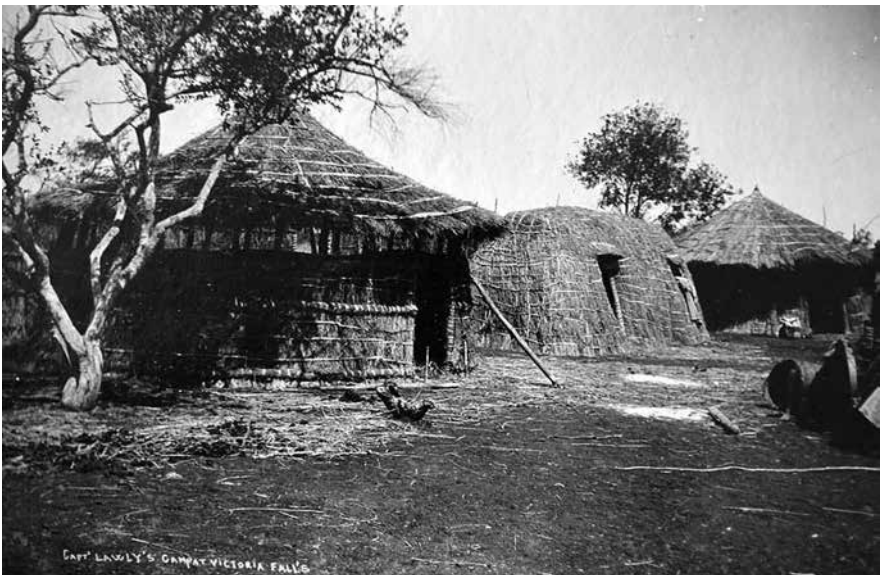


Fig. 10 - Lawley's encampment on the Zimbabwe banks of the Zambezi River near Victoria Falls [Pioneer & Early Settler Society Collections]

he never unbends nor allows anything approaching familiarity. He is a deft needleman, and even when stitching at a kaross or repairing his pantaloons with the assistance of the Commander-in-Chief or the Prime Minister, he retains his dignity and his cane-bottomed chair, while they squat humbly on their hams "below the board."

My waggons having arrived on the 18th, I received the king in state on the 20th. The thirty Matabele boys having spent the morning in sweeping up the camp, were drawn up as a guard of honour facing the entrance to my camp. This consisted of a row of neat huts built with poles and grass laced with stripes of palm-leaf, the whole being surrounded with a reed fence about nine feet high, in which were neatly made doorways south, east, and west [Fig. 10]. With the small number of canoes at his disposal the king was only able to bring a small part of his retinue.

The councillors and his band having preceded him across the river, awaited his arrival at Coryndon's camp (which was situated about 300 yards from my own), at the landing stage of which the BSA Police, fourteen in number, were drawn up as a guard of honour. The king's arrival about 10.30 was announced by the band striking up, and a general chorus of "*Yosho*" from the expectant councillors while the guard presented arms. The guard of honour then formed the advance guard, and, followed by the band, preceded the king, accompanied by Major Coryndon and his suite, to the eastern entrance of my camp, where I met him, and after shaking hands conducted him to my hut.

The king's costume was rather remarkable. On his head he wore a black broad-brimmed felt hat over a scarlet night-cap. A long bright blue dressing-gown much embroidered with scarlet braid in Manchester style, a flannel shirt, tweed waistcoat, trousers, and aggressively new yellow boots, completed his costume. This was evidently his holiday attire, for on other days his scarlet night-cap was replaced by a blue Tam-o'-Shanter, and the dressing-gown by a shoddy ulster.

We seated ourselves opposite the door looking out on the river, while the rest of my party were grouped in a circle round us. It was not etiquette for any but the king and his interpreter to enter the hut, so Letia and the councillors remained outside while we carried on a desultory conversation on the subject of our respective journeys, hunting, &c., enlivened by the gentle tinkling of the piano and the subdued singing of the king's choristers. After about half an hour Letia, his son, was introduced and joined our circle. Both he and his father are remarkably intelligent men, and are exceedingly civil and courteous in their bearing. At first the king was evidently very shy and nervous, but even so, he never appeared awkward or ill at ease.

After an hour or more we walked down to the river to inspect the big boat which I had brought up with me, which was then in course of construction. The king and his son, who is a clever carpenter—thanks to the instructions of the French Protestant missionaries at Kazungula—took the greatest interest in the tools of our carpenters as well as in the boat itself. Then followed the inevitable photograph, and the king departed as he had come.

My return visit to the king was made the occasion of a great reception by the king and his people. We crossed in several canoes, and on arriving at the landing-stage were met by Letia and some of the chief councillors. A wide path had been cleared from the river-edge to the king's *kothla* or council-chamber, and on either side were crowded various detachments of Barotse, who as we passed greeted Letia with a loud and prolonged chorus of "*Yosho*," a salute only offered to royalty, accompanied by hand-clapping and constant prostration of the body to the ground.

The king's camp consisted of groups of long huts divided and surrounded by a high reed fence, and the whole of the camp was floored with a smooth even surface of sun-dried clay, and kept scrupulously clean swept and garnished. The *kothla*[24] was situated outside the camp itself. At the entrance of the latter we were met by the king in person with his interpreter, and then proceeded to the *kothla*, where we discussed various ordinary topics for about half an hour, after which, on my suggestion, we adjourned to the king's private audience chamber, a cool shady retreat formed by reed mats hung upon poles. At this point the majority of my party left to view the Falls from the north bank, while Coryndon, Blanckenberg, Worthington, and I remained to discuss the new concession with the king and his councillors, who were formally introduced to me.

After a discussion lasting for several hours we rose to leave, and rode on to join the rest of our party at the Falls, which we reached at about four o'clock ravenously hungry, and there we had luncheon. The sun was sinking fast, and we had to hurry in order to get across the river before it was dark. The views on the river as we returned were exquisitely beautiful.

The following day we again repaired to the king's camp and continued our discussion about the new concession, the king and his councillors entering into every detail, and discussing every point backwards and forwards. Returning about two o'clock, we left after luncheon on horseback for some islands about nine or ten miles up the river to try and get hippo. Our canoes made a parallel journey along the bank, and their progress was so slow that we only got about five miles before dark came on, and we had to camp for the night about four miles short of our intended destination. This was unfortunate, as we had meant to get on the islands at sunrise next morning; but the canoes could not start before it was light, and it was ten o'clock before we found ourselves on the scene

[24] Kgotla = meeting place, place of discussion of political and legal matters within the traditional village.

of the hunt, by which time the hippo were all off the land and disporting themselves in the middle of the river.

We could see the heads of eight or nine as they rose to the surface either to breathe or to sun themselves on the top of the water, and we determined to send two rifles across on to a large island whilst Gielgud and I remained on the southern bank, and Coryndon went in a canoe to try and drive the hippo down to within shot of one or other of us. A few moved up towards the island, where my brother Dick and Coope had taken up their stands, but none came within shot of either Gielgud or myself. After waiting some hours, in the course of which Dick had a few long shots, we returned to camp. Hippo hunting is a poor sport, as there is no excitement such as one gets in galloping or stalking game; and even if a hippo is killed, it sinks for several hours and may not be found for days, so that one never knows the immediate result of one's shooting.

We came back to our standing camp about four o'clock, and the following day I again visited the king, hoping to conclude my business with him and his people. Twelve o'clock came, and we had yet much to discuss; so as the king was to come to lunch, and we intended to have a gymkhana meeting in the afternoon, I postponed the final settlement till the next day. Returning to my camp, we had to wait two and a half hours for his majesty, who arrived at 3.30 instead of one o'clock, so that I put off the sports till the following day, on the morning of which I finally settled all points at issue. The whole of the new concession had been read and interpreted clause by clause to the king and his people, who expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with its terms[25].

That afternoon we held the first meeting of the Victoria Falls Turf Club under the patronage of the Royal Family of Barotseland. Coryndon and Coope had laid out a small course and organised an excellent programme. The royal stand consisted of a buck-waggon covered with chairs on which sat the king, Letia, the *Gambella*[26], and other members of the court. Nothing could have been more successful, and the king was hugely delighted with the fun. A bending race, steeplechase, V.C. race, postilion race, and several foot-races formed the various events. The foot-race for natives was most amusing. There were nearly a hundred competitors all in the wildest state of excitement. The Barotse, I regret to say, completely defeated the Matabele; but Sikobokobo, my *induna*, gravely informed me that this was only because I had fed the Matabeles so much better than the king fed the Barotse that they were far too fat to run.

After the meeting I escorted the king to the water's edge and there wished him good-bye. At parting the king handed me a very handsome kaross of his own making and two "royal" mats, which he asked me to give to my wife as a present from himself. Letia also presented me with a beautiful rug of evenly matched leopard skins. In addition to these presents the king had also sent me over seven oxen for slaughter purposes, and his son gave me a cow. The Zambezi cows are very diminutive in size, but good milkers. They are graceful little beasts, some of them not more than thirteen hands high at the wither; but the oxen are much larger, and resemble the Mangwato cattle in the wide spread of the horn.

Each morning a messenger had come over from the king's camp to express the hope that I had slept well. He usually brought with him some present—a basket of

[25] Note entirely true. Reservations were expressed and the imperial government insisted on several additional agreements before accepting the BSACo administrative rights under the Royal Charter.

[26] Senior state official, possibly something akin to a Prime Minister in the Lozi State.

some sweet potatoes or some fish; and I invariably returned the compliment by writing a note to inquire after the king's health. He was much pleased at being presented with a double-barrelled rifle and two salted horses, and we parted the best of friends.

In the evening all the police came to my camp for a "sing-song" round a huge wood-fire, and it was nearly midnight when the National Anthem rang out over the waters of the Upper Zambezi.

Wankie

My plans for my return journey were: to send my waggons back by the ordinary transport road via Pandamatenka, while with a small party and a pack-train, I made my way to Wankie's kraal, which is about 110 miles from the Falls, south-west of the junction of the Zambezi and the Gwaai[27]. We had the usual difficulty experienced by travellers in South Africa of obtaining the requisite number of carriers, but two days after my final interview with Lewanika I got a sufficient number to carry my goods as far as Wankie's, and I got away on the 29th of June with fifty carriers, thirty Matabele boys, and my pack-train of six mules and twelve donkeys. I took no police escort, as every additional white man meant more carriers, and it had taken two whole weeks to get only fifty men together. My brother came with me, also Gielgud, Coope, Dr Ellis, Blanckenberg, and Rodger.

We followed the Pandamatenka road for about twenty miles, as far as "September's kraal, where we were able to secure a good guide, who took us south-east along a faintly defined track to Wankie's. The road was very rough and mountainous, and much of it lay through thick bush, where we had to cut a way for the mules and donkeys. In many places riding was an impossibility,—one could only lead one's horse up and down the steep mountain passes and through the dense thickets of thorn scrub covering the hills over which we scrambled. Once, as we were climbing up the side of a high and steep kopje, I saw two of the donkeys roll over and over, taking one of the boys with them into the dry river-bed below; but they all three picked themselves up, and when the dislocated packs were readjusted, went on their way quite unconcernedly.

We were crossing the Sijalila range of mountains[28], and nothing could be more desolate and dreary than their aspect at this season of the year. At intervals the bush was broken by thick belts of gaunt mapani-trees, with here and there a clump of huge and hideous baobabs. The trees were bare and leafless, and the grass scanty and dry. Not a bird nor a beast was to be seen, save occasionally a vulture soaring overhead, or a lizard scuttling through the rocks. So grim, so silent, it seemed like some enchanted forest—*"Where, as they say, at some hours of the night*
Spirits resort."

On July 1 we came to an open glade in the hills, and I caught sight of some half-dozen natives crossing the valley in front of us. As it turned out, they were carrying our mails from Bulawayo to the river. It was great luck to catch them thus, and letters and papers were welcome. At the Deka river we found a few squalid huts, and along the banks of the river were old mealie-fields full of pheasants and guinea-fowl, wherewith

[27] As a result of Ndebele raiding, Chief Wange Chilisa, together with many of the Nambya leadership fled north across the Zambezi to take refuge with the Tonga people. Here Wange built a new village on the north bank of the Zambezi near the mouth of the Deka river where he was now subject to the Lozi State. Chilisa later led his people back to the south bank of the Zambezi, more especially the area east of Victoria Falls, some time between 1888 and 1893. This was to escape increased Ndebele-Lozi fighting then happening on the north bank of the river.

[28] The broken country between the Matetsi and Deka Rivers.

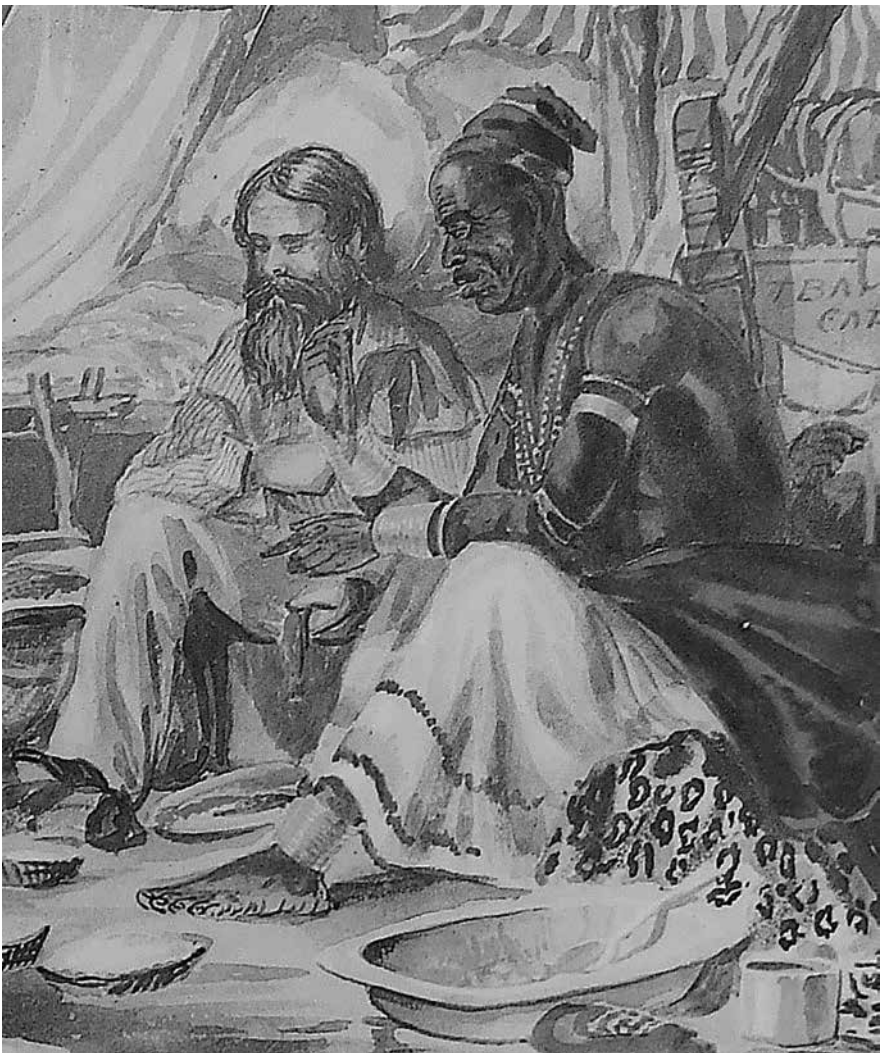


Fig. 11 - Chief Wange Chilisa trading with Thomas Baines in 1862 [National Archives of Zimbabwe Collections]

we replenished our larder. It took us seven days to reach Wankie's kraal. Here I spent a couple of days trying to obtain carriers and guides to take me to Sansarri's kraal on the Zambezi; but I found it would take me so long to make this detour to the north-east, and the difficulty of getting carriers and grain wherewith to feed them was so great, that I abandoned my intention of visiting Sansarri, and resolved to strike due east to the junction of the Gwaai and the Shangaani [Shangani river]. The latter river I might thus follow to the point where it cuts the road along which King Lobengula made his last journey when flying from Jameson's victorious troops in 1893.

Wankie is a feeble induna, and has but slight control over his people [Fig. 11]. Their kraals are scattered over a wide area at great distances from one another, and they are

very shy and disinclined to render any assistance to travellers. Even with Wankie's help we had considerable difficulty in getting the few men that we wanted, and in trading a few pannikins of meal from his people. Yet these had had good crops, and there was abundance of grain at the kraals.

At some of the villages the sight of our horses caused great excitement, especially among the women, as most of them had never seen a horse in all their lives till now. At eight o'clock on the morning of July 10 we came to the top of a high hill, at the foot of which ran the Gwaai through a narrow gorge in the mountains, and from here we got a beautiful view of the river. Hereabouts it is river and not a mere bed of sand. It took us some time to find a crossing, but eventually I struck a game-path running down the hillside, a narrow valley made through the interlaced branches of the trees by the hippos forcing their clumsy frames through the tangled undergrowth. I followed the track to the water's edge, and found a good ford over the rocky bed of the stream, where we were able to cross. It was nearly forty-eight hours since we had been able to give our animals a drink of water, and they were not slow to plunge into the stream and drink their fill. On the eastern bank I selected a delightful spot for a camp in a belt of tall mapanis, and here I resolved to stay while Gielgud went on with a couple of boys to see if he could strike the Shangaani within a reasonable distance.

Since leaving the Zambezi we had been very unfortunate in the matter of killing any big game. We had, it is true, had an occasional glance of a sable antelope or a water-buck flying through the bush as we marched along, but none of us had anything like a fair chance at one of them. Here I hoped to find game, for there was plenty of fresh spoor of lions, hippo, water-buck, *mpalla* [impala], &c., and I thought that if only we could devote a little time to a hunt we must be more lucky. However, it was not to be: I saw a troop or two of *mpalla*, but could not get a shot, and my brother's experience was the same.

We had not parted from Gielgud for twenty-four hours when one of his boys returned with a note to say that he had reached the Shangaani about ten miles ahead; and as soon as we could pack up we started on his tracks, reaching his camp at 8am the following day. He had killed an *mpalla* and a bush-pig, and there was abundant spoor of zebra and koodoo all round; but I had no wish to linger thereabouts, for the country was covered with dense belts of almost impenetrable scrub, and any chance of a successful hunt seemed remote. We held a council of war here, and settled that Gielgud and my brother, who had no reason for hurrying back to Bulawayo, should stop and hunt along the Kana river from where it runs into the Shangaani, and try their luck to the north, while I followed the Shangaani as far as the Lupani [Lupane] river, where my Matabele boys assured me I should find lots of water and lots of game, and where I intended to spend a few days. My brother was more fortunate than I, for in the next three weeks he and Gielgud bagged about thirty head of big buck. I, less happy, reached the Lupani only to find a small water-hole in the bed of what should have been a running stream, and consequently not a head of game within miles of the spot. There was nothing to be done but push on to my journey's end, though my carriers were beginning to show signs of fatigue. The nights now were bitterly cold, and the Zambezi boys were ill equipped for a temperature of 30° or less, their sole covering a strip of calico hanging from their loins. I gave them as many old sacks as I could collect, and at night two long logs of wood, set about five feet apart, served as pillows for each party of twelve, who lay down "heads and feet" in alternate batches of three, all packed together as closely as possible,

with the sacks thrown over the lot and a row of fires on either side. They were a quaint enough sight.

At times we woke to find the country enveloped in a dense mist called by the natives "*magasi*", and then, indeed, it was hard work to keep the boys moving. I have never been colder than on one such morning as we came up the valley of the Gwamba. The grass, through which we passed in Indian file, was seven or eight feet high and dripping wet. A cold wind drove the mist on to our faces, cutting our cheeks like sleet before a north-easter, and it was not till nine o'clock that the sun, merciful in his strength, rolled away the clouds, and we were warm and dry once more. Just here, too, was a miracle of luck, for actually we came across another party of boys making their way to the north with our English mail.

I rested a day or two on the Gwamba, for the boys were quite knocked up. From here we had a long trek through thick bush to the Bembezi river. The day was grilling hot and we travelled slowly—in fact some of the carriers did not reach camp till the following morning. At the river I met Captain Carden, who had come out to meet me with fresh horses and a light waggon-load of supplies. A bottle of foaming lager-beer at the end of a long hot ride was very delicious. On my arrival Queen Losekei [Lozikeyi[29], Fig. 12] came to pay her respects. She is a very tall handsome woman of very ample proportions. She was one of Lobengula's favourite wives, in spite of the constant trouble at court caused by her jealousy and love of intrigue. It was mainly due to her influence that Lobengula condemned to death his favourite sister. A young woman still, her ambition and love of power are a thorn in the side of the Government induna of the district, for she is perpetually finding petty ways of belittling him in the eyes of his people. Four more of Loben's [Lobengula] queens live with her, but they are all insignificant personages by the side of Losekei, whose quick intelligence and ready wit make her remarkable among Matabele women.

Fig. 12- Queen Lozikeyi not long after the Anglo-Ndebele War of 1893 [Bulawayo Public Library Collections]

[29] Lozikeyi Dlodlo was a favourite wife of King Lobengula until the destruction of the Ndebele kingdom in 1893. Although without children, she remained highly influential in the society and was known for her outspokenness against the colonial system. She settled in the Bubi District on the Mbembezi River. Queen Lozikeyi died of influenza in 1919.

I knew that with a fresh horse I could easily cover in one day the sixty miles that lay between the Bembezi and Bulawayo. Our nags were stale and leg-weary, and it was a refreshing experience to be on a quick active little horse that I picked from Carden's lot. I off-saddled for a couple of hours at Shiloh Police Fort[30], and it was nearly 10pm when I rode down the main street of Bulawayo on July 23, after an absence of nearly three months. The brilliant electric lamps reflected in the plate-glass windows reminded me that I was back once more in civilised regions. I realised the fact with a sigh, for I knew that I should often long for the freedom and unconventionality which, with the constant variety of incident and the possibility of excitement and occasionally danger, give a peculiar charm to life on the African veldt.

[30] Fort Shiloh lay north of Bulawayo near the site of the abandoned missionary station of Thomas Morgan Thomas. It was built to exert BSACo administration in this part of the country following the Matabele Uprising of 1896, more especially to watch on the Queens who lived in the vicinity.

The Early Days of Kadoma (and some memories of John Mack)

Edited by John Brettell

The account which follows is an edited version of the reminiscences of Thomas R. Brading, who was the first Town Engineer after Municipal status was granted to Kadoma in 1917.

Thomas Brading was born in the UK in 1874 and emigrated to South Africa in 1898. He took part in the Anglo-Boer war, serving in the British Army's Service Corps. After that he managed a tobacco factory in Johannesburg and later became a senior shiftman on a gold mine. He came to this country, with T. J. Golding, in 1909 and together they bought Half-Way Hotel, between Kadoma and Golden Valley, which they ran until selling it in 1917. Brading died on 20th January 1961.

"The first white man who came to Kadoma to live was a man named Godwin, in the year 1902. He acted as a forwarding agent, chiefly for John Mack of the Golden Valley mine and probably one or two other smaller mines, for general goods off-loaded from the goods trains. At the time he started there was no building on the station, so he used to cover meal, etc. with a tarpaulin, under which he also slept. After a while he opened up a small store when a few Europeans and Africans began to arrive.

The next resident of note was George Paul who arrived in 1904 and was chiefly interested in farming. Before he left he owned two farms named "Bostonia" and "Massachusetts": he, being an American, named them after his home town and state. He was also a skilled miner.

The first Police Camp was situated on the western corner of Mukwati and Herbert Chitepo Streets, (extending along the latter street up to where the unfinished L. M. Bakery building is now situated). The Camp comprised one decent hut and two smaller ones. The first Policeman to be stationed in Kadoma was J. Cameron, known by his friends as "Ginger". He had two horses, one mule and two donkeys. Ginger had to get his drinking water from the engine drivers of the trains. The animals managed to get some in the nearest small river for most of the year, but sometimes had to go to the Musvesve river. As the water question began to get serious, the Government decided to sink a well in the Police Camp and Paul got the contract to do it. The depth was 44 metres when completed. After a time the water developed a foul taste and smell and it was thought that the timber lining of the well was the cause. So it was decided to replace the timber with a corrugated iron lining. In order to do this the well was pumped dry and at the bottom was found the decaying body of a man. The body was brought to the surface and Ginger put it alongside the well and covered it with bushes. He then asked for a doctor to come on the next day's train to

examine the body. However, in the morning the body could not be found and it appeared that hyenas had taken it away; Ginger traced the spoor for a long way down the Golden Valley road.

Within the Police Camp there was a large termite mound with a mashuma tree growing on it. Ginger, not having a store-room, dug into it and made quite a good one and fixed a door. Afterwards, the mound was used as a remand cell. Although the Police Camp was moved to another site in about 1910, the remains of the termite mound were not removed until 1919, when the pavement in Herbert Chitepo Street was being made.

The first Station Master was Mr Adams, whose living quarters and office, at first, were in a railway truck. The first Post Master was Mr Whitsan and the Post Office and living house were two Kaytor huts in the Railway Reserve (opposite where the Grand Hotel now stands).

It was in 1917 when the Sanitary Board and residents applied to the Government for a Municipal Charter. It was in due course granted and the first election of Councillors took place about the middle of 1917. The first Mayor was Mr George Fitt. The office staff consisted during the second Town Clerk's time only of himself; afterwards, a lady assistant was engaged. The outside staff consisted only of the writer for many years, until the tarring of the roads started. An Electrician and a seasonal Mosquito Inspector were later employed.

One of the interesting things the early Council did was to start a Municipal farm. Some 40 hectares were selected from the commonage on the right of the Golden Valley road. It was stumped, ploughed and fenced; crops were sown and the main produce was sold at the early Morning Market. After two years the Cotton Corporation was looking for a station for experimental reasons, in a district with little frost. It applied to the Council to take over this same place, which was agreed to. The Cotton Station extended, after a while, across the road.

The first gravel for the roads was dug from a pit (near where UBM is now situated); the outcrop had a little visible gold. When the Municipality was formed the writer opened up a pit in what is now the Police Station. When the Police took over these stands, a pit was dug close to what is now the Club House. After a while a lot of gravel was found in Connaught Street, at the back of the Municipal houses. Many years ago, after the loose rubble was taken away, the writer moved down towards where David Whitehead now is. One morning he heard some blasting and, on having a look around, he found a man had pegged the old gravel pit and was sinking a shaft. As the pit was inside the Municipal area and on numbered stands, he was told to get off the ground. As he refused to do so, the Police were informed and he left. A week or two later the writer went to Harare and happened to meet the Mining Commissioner who used to be in Kadoma, and told him that this prospector had brought him a sample of rock which he said he had got from the pit. The Mining Commissioner said that it assayed about 50 grams to the tonne. Soon after, the shaft fell in and no other samples were taken. It was thought by all concerned that there was a decent reef there.

The Sanitary Board used carbide to light up the streets, which was carried on

by the Municipality for about three years. Owing to the cost of repairs, Hurricane lamps were used from 1920 until electricity was installed in 1923. The power scheme began with the Council calling a meeting of ratepayers to decide whether the Council should go to the expense of building a power station and wiring the town, or let it out on contract, the successful tenderer to have the monopoly. It was somewhat of a stormy meeting, but it was finally decided to let it out to contract, the successful tenderer being Johnson & Fletcher. They built their power station (on the stand next to what is now the premises, in Union Street, occupied by attorneys Mangwana & Partners). During the time J&F were running their power station, each street light had a small meter inside the glass, which was read on the last day of the month. When the account came in the writer had to check each meter. On one occasion he took an assistant and a ladder and started to read. The first meter was in Robert Mugabe Street, and on opening the small flap the writer got a bit of a shock as the meter was full of bees. He slid down the ladder rather quickly but he got a few stings. One other swarm was found the same day."

(Brading's notes were edited and up-dated by me in February 2002).

The *Rhodesia Herald* "Pioneer Number" of 12 September 1930 (fifty years on from the hoisting of the flag at Fort Salisbury) recorded the early mining memories of John Mack in Zimbabwe and in Mozambique in the 1890's and an edited version appears below in the words of Mack. (Those who wish to know more of this doyen of early miners are referred to *Heritage* 34).

"Mr J. Mack is the doyen of Southern Rhodesian small-workers. He was one of the old-time fossickers who pegged many claims before he struck the now famous Golden Valley. Even there the maddening uncertainties of mining were particularly to the fore, and a few years ago it appeared as if the mine was exhausted and the workings ended at a bar. Backing his theories almost to the last penny, Mr Mack, against the advice of many of those "who knew," went on through the bar, and when even he had almost ceased to hope the reef was again found, but a richer reef and one that already promises at least 20 years of profitable life for the mine., He is as well qualified as any to speak of the old days in Southern Rhodesia and in the following notes he gives some of his experiences."

My job is mining, not writing, but I will try to record my memories as they occur to me and as I have occasionally been tempted to relate them to new settlers or talk them over when I meet some of the old hands.

My reminiscences will lack orderliness, because I have had little time to classify them, but I must tell them in my own way. In endeavouring to bring up to my mind a picture of the past, the first thing that occurs to me is the great contrast with the thriving community of to-day, with its motor-cars, good roads, railways, and even occasional aeroplanes. When we first came to the country there were, of course, no roads, and the native paths or game trails we came

upon often set off in the right direction but turned on themselves and we had to leave them. The sun and the stars and the compass were our guides; when we went out into the blue we were in uncharted country and were content to go somewhere in the general direction we intended.

Are We Happier?

Time seems to have grown very important nowadays and there are many opportunities for pleasure, but I am not convinced that we are any happier. We have lost the lure of the unknown, and as travel gets easier fortune seems farther away. Not that I have any personal reason to complain, but I come across men who suffered and worked in the last decade of the nineteenth century and have nothing to show for it to-day. Some of them are approaching old age without the comfort of the knowledge that they have any provision for the chilly time when their powers are diminished, and even the food they need seems impossible to get. Some are still working for a pittance when they are as fully entitled to a pension as any of the servants of the Government.

But I must cut out the generalities—cut the cackle and get to the 'osses. In the very early days I was working with a partner, A. J. Reynolds, near what was then becoming known as Hartley, but is now Old Hartley. There were no stores and we had to get our mail and supplies from Salisbury. We took it in turns to make the journey. We had no animals because of the tsetse fly which was then investing that neighbourhood and we had to go on foot, a matter of a little over a hundred miles, without roads. We grumbled at having to do it, but not seriously; it was accepted as a matter of course and all in a day's work. I walked that route many times, but never as fast as at the outbreak of the Matabele Rebellion.

The Rising

I was then near the Umsweswe and there were other camps within a few miles. Word came of the Matabele rising, but all Matabeleland had not yet heard of it. At my camp there was a group of Matabele boys who were apparently ignorant of the rising. I had sent word to the other men and appointed a meeting place that night on the Umsweswe, telling them not to show any excitement. My partner and I left camp by different directions as if we were going shooting. We walked out and left everything standing and all the usual preparations for the night made.

At the rendezvous everybody turned up, and we had some Mashona carriers who knew nothing of the trouble. We started to march in the direction of Old Hartley and kept it up at a terrific pace. At last the carriers refused to go any farther, after we had pushed them on and prevented them from lagging behind. We were all exhausted, but still went on, and we decided to tell the Mashonas the reason for haste. We told them the Matabele were behind, and after that it was we who had to hurry to keep up with them.

Prospecting led us not only all over Rhodesia but down towards the sea. But we found nothing in Portuguese East Africa. We were there at the time the railway was being pushed through. The starting point was not at Beira but some distance up the Pungwe River. From railhead a launch (the SS Kimberley) ran up

and down to and from the coast. The river was full of sandbanks and the launch invariably stuck on them, sometimes for hours.

Up the Line

Finding nothing worthwhile, we wanted to get away, and, the first portion of the line being laid, thought it would help us on our journey. But Mr Lawley would have nothing of it and would not allow us to use the trolley. There were some hand trolleys used by the staff and the best of them was Mr Lawley's. We borrowed it without the formality of asking permission.

Some of the traders were anxious to get goods up the line, but until work was completed the railway would not carry them. Many consignments were sent surreptitiously, but they were regarded as fair game along the line and each time the train stopped there was a possibility of boxes disappearing.

This may have been the reason that on arriving at railway camps where the men were friendly it was possible, by disturbing the sand, to find any number of luxuries – from sardines to bottles of whisky.

In those days the Pungwe Flats were covered with game, and in the early morning they could be seen in masses. When they were disturbed they ran round, but usually disappeared soon after sunrise.

There was one incident of the '93 rising that recurs to me. A storekeeper in Charter, realizing that the concentration of troops meant much custom and that the demand would probably exceed the supply, adopted the old game of raising his prices. He raised them and raised them until the patience of the men was exhausted. The store was raided and the stock found itself in the open air. The storekeeper sent a complaint to Major Forbes, who sent down another troop to restore order. The men of that troop regretted that they had been unable to join the raid and welcomed the opportunity of going to the spot. The feelings of the storekeeper can be imagined, but the men had supplies that lasted them for a long time. They helped them on their march to Iron Mine Hill, where they joined the Victoria Column.

Ancient Workings

But the story of the columns has been told many times. I will confine myself to a few memories of the old mining days. We were all looking for ancient workings, and a native who brought us news of them was rewarded with a blanket. They soon appreciated the commercial possibilities of these workings, with the result that some of them were pegged twice or three times. This happened to the old Faith Reef. An enterprising native earned another blanket by removing the pegs he found there eand bringing another party to the spot. To their disgust, after some time they found a peg that the business-like native had overlooked, and realized they had been had.

After the Occupation pioneers began to drift out of the country. One new arrival met many of them as he came up. One of them said he was a trooper who had helped to secure the country, but was giving up. The new arrival was astounded. He said he must have met many men returning, but this was the

first trooper; all the others had been at least sergeants, corporals, and some commissioned ranks.

The first bakery in Salisbury was started in Pioneer Street by a man named Brewin. His place was mobbed, and we bought the stuff straight out of the oven; we did not wait for it to get cold.

I remember Dr Rand was running a hospital before the nurses came up and before Sister Patrick and her band did such valuable work. I must say a word about Dr. Rand. There are very many men to-day who owe their lives to his devoted and untiring work. He was one of the most unmercenary of men and never pressed for his fees. More than that, when he saw a man needed to go to the coast after a bad spell but had no money to carry him there, the doctor many a time advanced £20 from his own pocket so that his cure could be completed. Dr. Rand's name is one of the names that stands out in the memory of all the old hands.

But I am still drifting away from mining.

Ingenious Miners

The developing of gold claims in the early days was full of interest, but was not without special difficulties, and called for some ingenuity in devising ways of carrying out work.

There was no iron for the making of windlass handles and no ropes and buckets to be purchased anywhere in the country. When sinking, one had to cut a suitable tree for a windlass barrel and hunt for two bent portions which could be let into the barrel to serve as handles. For ropes we used bark, which was found by the natives and made into rope. Naturally, they had to be replaced frequently. The buckets were made of raw hide from the game that was shot, and care had to be taken that they were let down the shaft at night or they would be eaten by jackals. Nails were also scarce and we frequently had to drill holes and use pegs of wood.

Developing claims to-day is a far easier matter, with stores all over the country and supplies within reach.

I remember the first inclined shaft we made and our efforts to get the skip to work. The skip was a wooden one and the wheels were made from sections of trees. There were no rails in the country and we experimented with wooden ones. For the first few days we thought we had done a wonderful job, but in a fortnight's time the wood began to warp.

The work of the opening up of the Golden Valley Mine was started from Hartley; there was no Gatooma in those days. The mine was 27 miles from Hartley and, of course, there was no road. The first work was to cut a road, and that we did. The road remains to this day. But at that time there were tsetse flies along the route, and, to get machinery to the mine, a traction engine was hired. But here we were faced with a great problem, for the engine needed water every six miles and to supply it we sank a number of wells. I sank a series of wells and found water, but when the wells were wanted it was found that the water had been consumed by natives and none was left for the engine. Finally, the difficulty was

overcome by going back to Hartley and buying six mules, a trolley and tanks, and rushing backwards and forwards, sometimes a distance of twenty miles. But we succeeded in moving the machinery and getting the traction engine back to Hartley. Unfortunately the mules were bitten by the fly and died; the traction engine was also badly bitten but it survived.

Many Vicissitudes

Not all the gold mines that were found yielded gold. A Johannesburg mining syndicate opened up in the Chakari district and erected a five-stamp mill. There had obviously been good reports to warrant the expenditure and the mill ran for a month, but practically no gold was recovered. Two of the directors rushed up frantically from Johannesburg and wanted to know the reason, as it had been reported that the prospects were good. It was suggested that the gold was coarse and would be found in the mortar boxes, but the boxes were cleaned out without result. Then it was suggested that the ore was refractory and that values would be discovered in the sands and slimes, but careful assays disposed of this theory. Every other theory failed, and the disgruntled directors had to realize that there was no gold.

Even when the gold was actually seen there was not always a yield. I remember a property near Concession Hill where the values appeared to be so good that the ore was carted by wagon a distance of fifteen miles to a five-stamp mill that was in operation. The ore was a glorious sight, and on the dumps glittered in the sun, but it turned out after the milling that the dreams of ounces of gold to the ton were dissipated, for it was "paint" or flake gold. The gold was in thin films that, even during the carting, curled up and much was blown away. Instead of ounces the actual recovery was two pennyweights.

But all that gleaming gold was a wonderful sight.

One experience I had is worth relating. On one occasion my partner and I arrived at a camp, but the owners were away. In those days a man's camp was always open to visitors whether the man was there or not, and we made ourselves at home. There were cooking utensils and provisions, plenty of meat, tea, sugar and flour, and we soon had a meal cooked. We sat down to enjoy it, but found the cookies we had baked were rather bitter. We struggled along with them and endeavoured to eat them, but finally gave it up. We had eaten some, but began to feel ill. We afterwards discovered that the baking powder tin had contained quinine and we had eaten enough to protect us from malaria for years.

No Claim Jumping

There is one thing for which the Rhodesian gold seekers are almost unique. There were never any cases of claims being jumped. The pegging of another man's extension or encroaching on his ground was never known. The prospectors played the game, and if a man had put his name up they went on and regarded that part as his pitch, to be fully respected and his rights observed.

There was one incident that made a great impression on the thirty or forty natives we had with us when we were once trekking up towards the Sanyati.

Nobody knew the right direction, but, after consulting my compass, I decided to go to the north-west. We had no water left and it was imperative that we should find water soon. I said we would go in the direction I pointed out, but the natives turned awkward and said I was wrong and that we should go towards a point that was north of us. It was getting late and I started away, telling them that those who wished could come with me and the others go whichever way they liked. A few came with me, but after a short time the others joined us. Within half an hour we were on the banks of the river. The natives were dumbfounded, and I had no trouble in inducing them to follow me after that.

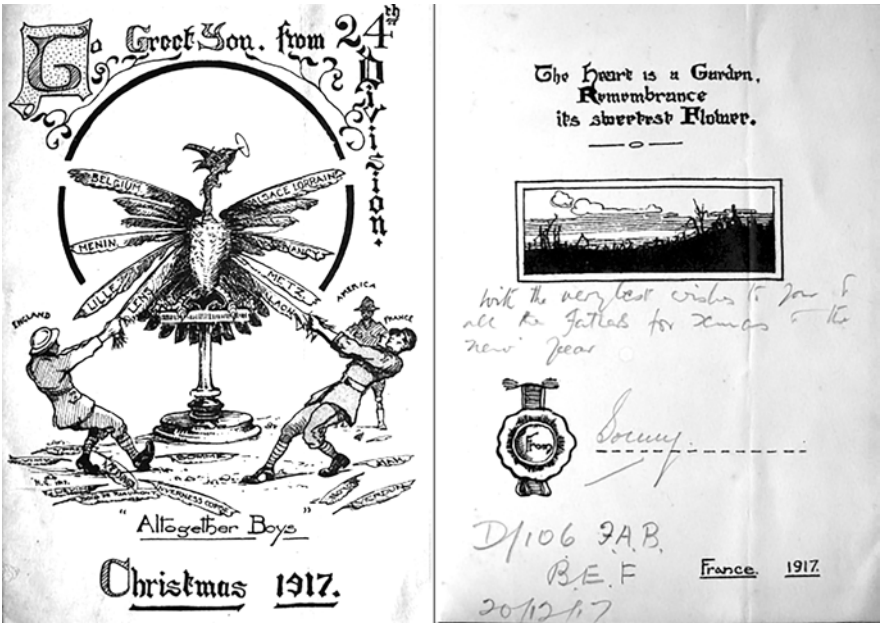
And then there was … but I must end somewhere. The effort to bring back the old days makes me recall many stories, but I have already occupied too much space.

Letters from the Trenches

Talk by John McCarthy

This article has been adapted from an illustrated talk given by John McCarthy to the Annual Lunch of the History Society in October 2016. Unfortunately, for reasons of space and cost, it will be possible in this article to include only a small selection of the illustrations that were used in the talk. The letters, as quoted, are as written, inclusive of spelling and grammatical errors.

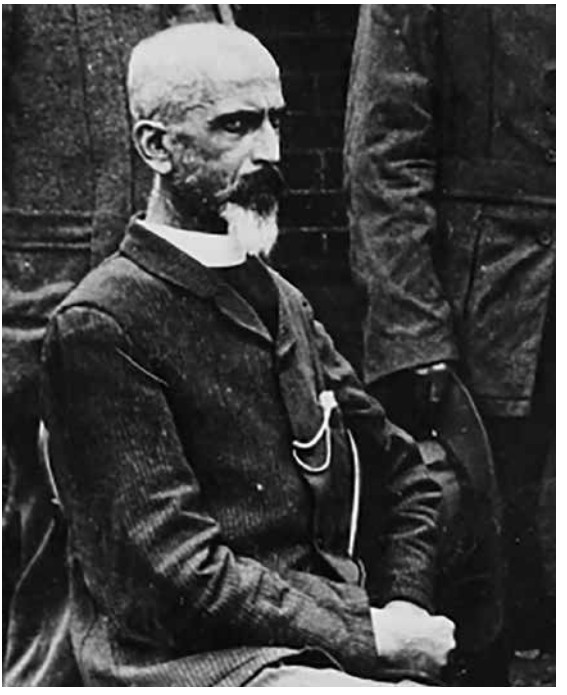
One hundred years ago, at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month, the First World War, the so called "War to end all Wars", ceased with the signing of an armistice. By the end, France had lost 1 500 000 soldiers, and the corresponding figures for some of the other leading participants were Germany (1 700 000), Russia (5 000 000), and the USA (115 000 despite having only joined the war in April 1917). The British Empire, taken as a whole, lost 1 500 000 men, that figure including 20 000 troops killed on the first day of the Battle of the Somme which commenced on 1 July 1916. As many readers will know, however, when the war started in August 1914, the military commanders on both sides were predicting confidently that it would be over within a matter of weeks, perhaps a few months at the outside. The total number of



A censored postcard sent by Captain "Sonny" Walsh to his family in 1917

people who joined up from what was then the Colony of Southern Rhodesia is not known to the writer, but it was a substantial proportion, especially given that the total white population was probably less than 40 000. What is certain is that 190 former pupils of St George's College joined up, and that quite a number of them wrote letters and postcards back to their former Jesuit teachers from the Front. Those letters and cards are in the College Archives and this article is based, with one exception, upon a small selection of that correspondence. Because the collection of correspondence is in fact quite substantial, this article is focused upon the letters of five men — three of whom were Rhodes Scholars, rose to the rank of Captain, and served on the Western Front in the Royal Artillery. The fourth person, also an Old Georgian, served as a Lieutenant in an infantry unit at the Front, and wrote a harrowing, but blunt letter about some of his experiences. The last person, a Major, who will be mentioned briefly, was not from Southern Rhodesia, but, as will be seen, had indirect links both to the country and to St. George's College. A final point to be made about this selection of correspondence is that most letters written by Allied servicemen, regardless of which theatre of war they served in, were censored by their officers. Many of the letters perused in the College archives collection, however, appear not to have been censored, perhaps because quite a number of the Old Georgians who wrote them were themselves officers. That fact alone, it is believed, adds substantially to the informational value of the letters as an archival record of the Great War. To mention some statistics – of the 190 OGs that signed up, 46 (25%) were commissioned, and of the 26 OGs that were killed in the Great War, 14 (54%) were officers.

The four Old Georgians covered in this article are Vere Elliott, Stewart Ricketts, Wilfred Walsh (known as Sonny), and Oswald W Morgan (known as Willie). To get a better feel for these Old Georgians, and to appreciate



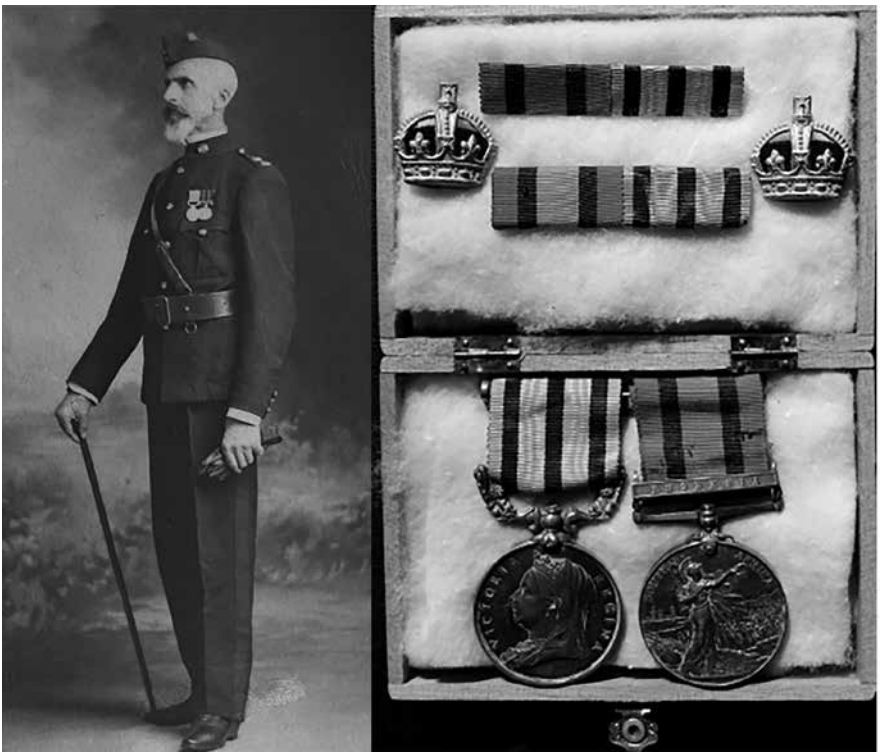
Fr Marc Barthelemy SJ who founded St George's Boys Public School in Bulawayo in January 1896. See the adjacent badge.

better what moulded and motivated them, their school backgrounds need to be examined briefly. Before the War, and in fact until December 1926, St. George's College was located in Bulawayo, having been founded in January 1896 by a French Jesuit, Fr. Marc Barthelemy. The latter started his first classes in a small corrugated iron hut, a far cry from the well-known educational establishment that exists in Harare 122 years later. In the days when these four Old Georgians attended the College in Bulawayo — it was known then as St. Georges Boys Public School-Bulawayo was still very much a frontier town and the conditions generally were tough, certainly by our modern day standards. There is no doubting, also, that discipline at the school was tough — fair, but rigorous, and yet, Fr. Barthelemy and his small team of fellow Jesuits, must have engendered in the boys an amazing loyalty towards the old school. Why else would they have bothered to write back as they did, especially given the terrible conditions they were experiencing?

By way of further background, it is useful also to look a little more closely at the profiles of some of these early Jesuits, all of whom were characters in themselves. In addition to Barthelemy, who was a Frenchman, the other early founding Fathers in Bulawayo were Fathers Nicot and Johanny, also French, Fathers Nesser and Goetz, who were German, and Father Gardner, the first Englishman assigned to the school.

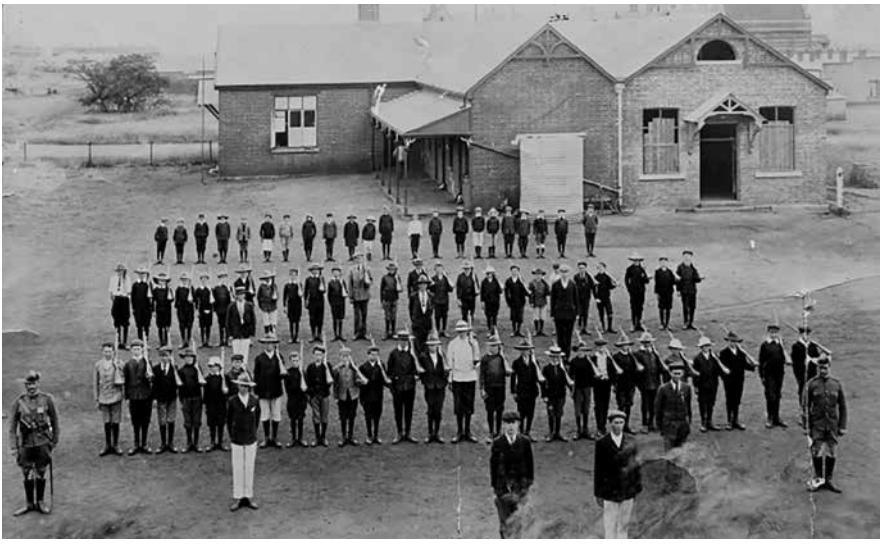
Fr. Barthelemy together with some of the other founding fathers at St. George's in Bulawayo, circa 1902.

Barthelemy, besides being the founder and first Headmaster, also served as a Chaplain during the First Matabele Rebellion in 1896 and as Chaplain to what later became known as the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers. In that capacity he rose to the rank of Major and his campaign medals and clasps can be found in the College archives. Perhaps not surprisingly, it was he who introduced cadet training into the school curriculum in



Major the Reverend Father Barthelemy in his uniform as a military chaplain, circa 1900, together with his medals.

1898, and the cadets training programme was to remain an integral part of the College's curriculum and tradition until 1969. The boys were taught drill, weapon-handling and signals from an early age, and regular training camps were held in the Matopos. There is little doubt that the training and confidence building that resulted from these activities



St. George's cadets drilling in front of the school buildings in Bulawayo, circa 1908.

played a significant part in producing the higher than average number of Old Georgians who then went on to become officers in the armed forces. In fact, one of the letter writers specifically alludes to this. An intense and apparently tireless man, Fr Barthelemy died at the age of 56 in 1913, but not before he had expanded St George's dramatically. Rather ironically, perhaps, a third and much larger school building, completed on the same block near the centre of Bulawayo in 1912, is now the Islamic Information Centre in Bulawayo. So highly respected was Fr Barthelemy within the Bulawayo community that he was given a full military funeral, with the military cortege and gun carriage passing through the centre of the town.

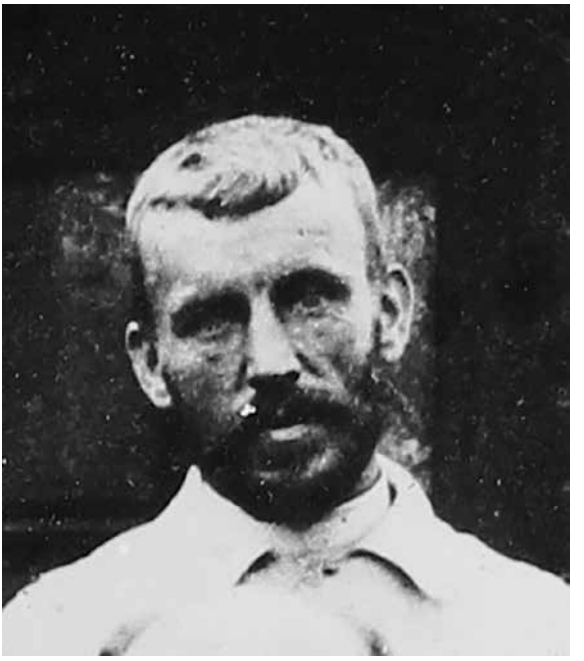
Fr. Barthelemy's funeral cortege – Bulawayo, November 1913.

Fr Johanny was a small, seemingly unprepossessing and disheveled man, but he must have had a magnetic personality because it was he to whom most of the wartime letters were addressed. From his responses to the letters, and from the condolence letters that he wrote to parents of Old Georgians who had lost their lives, it is clear that he felt very close to all of the boys who had passed through his hands. Of the other priests, two characters that stand out were Fr Nesser and Fr Gardener. Nesser as already mentioned, was German and a keen amateur photographer. At the outbreak of the Great War, having been a Chaplain to the British forces during the Boer War, he again offered his services in that capacity, but this was refused and instead, because he was deemed to be a German from Luxembourg, he was initially interned in

Fr. Johanny.

Kadoma Jail as a possible German spy, pending further investigations. Then, having been accused of making inflammatory remarks about the war while giving religious instruction to black prisoners, he was tried under the Colony's Martial Law regulations and fined £10 or 21 days imprisonment without labour. Thereafter, he was deported and, sadly, never returned to this country.

Fr Nesser.



Fr Gardner.

Finally there was Fr Gardener, also a little man, who did much to formalize sport in the school in Bulawayo, particularly cricket and soccer (rugby having been banned!). He was also a fanatical amateur archaeologist and, with help from some of the boys, scoured the land around Bulawayo and beyond for fossils and Early Stone Age tools. As a result St. George's today has one of the finest Stone Age artifact collections outside of the National Museums.

Turning to the letter writers, the first on the list is Vere Elliott. He was born on 8 October 1893 at Rorke's Drift in Zululand. There is a tale told about him, possibly apocryphal, that, at the age of six in the Shurugwi area, he wandered into Cecil Rhodes' camp and announced that he wanted to serve the Queen. Much taken by this, Rhodes is reported to have suggested gently to him that perhaps he should wait until he was a little older, before offering him a bottle of lemonade and sending him home. Vere Elliott started at St. George's in January 1902 and clearly he was a keen letter writer from an early age. On the

21 February 1902 he wrote as follows to his father — "My dear Father, I am crying to come home again. I am too small to go to boarding school you don't know how hard it is on a little boy like me the big boys fight me like anything if you go and tell the masters it is no use they are on top of you the next moment I am too small to go to boarding school if you would only take me away and let me learn with Mother I would learn my lessons very nicely I promise you I am staying here with no friends at all but when I am at home I have Madge to play with how are you getting on Vere E Elliott."

St. George's pupils, 1902. Vere Elliott, front row, 5th from the right.

(Three days later on 24 February he wrote to his Mother — "My dear Mother just a line or two (to) tell you how I am I have not a friend in the hole of the school they think I came to this school to be there servant and anything they want to do with me…I am crying to come home again you don't know how hard it is on a boy my size could you not take me home again I will learn with you very nicely and every time I don't you must wip me with a stick give them all a big kiss for me your loving little son Vere E Elliott." Two days later, in a letter this time to his sister Madge, he is more specific about his situation which he describes a "Horriable state." Clearly, of course, Vere did settle, as may be seen from the school photos of the period, or

Vere Elliott as a Cadet Officer, circa 1910.

he was putting on a brave face for the camera, and a year later, in April 1903, he was writing matter of factly to his mother to describe a picnic to the Matopos where he saw "Rhodes's grave. I climbed the rocks and hills and I saw worlds view. We could see for about 90 miles. The grave is between three big bowlders and it has got a big brass plack about half an inch thick with here lie the remains of Cecil John Rhodes written on it."

Other photos trace Vere's progress through the school, particularly as a cadet, at which activity he appears to have excelled. He left the school in December 1913 and was clearly a great favourite of Fr. Johanny. He was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship in 1915 and there are in the archives a couple of letters in which he wrote about his early days at Oxford. Writing from the Western Front on 28 May 1917 to Fr. Nicot, whom he had heard had been ill, he said, "As for myself, I am just the same as when at school; always well & always able to extract a certain amount of pleasure out of life in spite of the desolate surroundings. Having survived the heaviest fighting of the Somme offensive and other battles since these which if anything were greater events in the history of the War I am beginning to feel quite an old soldier. It has all been a most wonderful experience but what a day it will be for us all when peace is declared. I have become so used to this kind of life that it will be like a dream to be able to walk about at one's leisure again without the constant anxiety of getting mixed up with the splinters of a bursting shell & to be able to discard for good & all one's anti-gas respirator which must constantly be carried & laid by the pillow at night. I have had occasion to wear mine four times & it is a most unpleasant tho' thoroughly reliable protection.

Vere Elliott as an Oxford undergraduate, circa 1915.

I am going to be candid & tell you my opinion of France, or rather of that part of it which I know, the North. The country itself is fine & very beautiful in parts during Spring & Summer, but the climate----------? It is rain, rain, rain & yet more rain. When the sun shines it is really splendid & one feels that it is good to be alive, but the sun, it seems to me, very rarely puts in an appearance. This last winter has been exceptionally severe I believe. It started snowing in November & kept up intermittently until the 19th of this month. The trees have not a leaf on them yet & scarcely a flower has shown itself. The people I admire immensely. I have come into contact a good deal with the country folk & being able to carry on a conversation with a certain amount of ease to which my natural "cheek" has contributed to some extent, I have been able to enter into the life more than the majority of my companions. We are treated well everywhere, tho'

better in some areas than in others. The people in the mining & manufacturing districts are much less hospitable than the farming communities. The men of course have all gone, only boys & old men remain & not many of these. There are still plenty of miners to keep the mines going but they are not an interesting study here as elsewhere. The women folk are splendid & the work they do is admirable, and yet they are so gentle & womanlike in the generally accepted meaning of the word. They always seem so surprised to hear that I am a Catholic & yet an officer in the British Army. I am afraid that my French is not really improving from a student's point of view, *Mais que voulez vous, cést la guerre?* It is something indeed & thanks to the good Fathers – Fr Johanny in particular – that I can carry on a conversation at all."

The last of Elliott's letters that I quote from was written on 27 December 1917. "My Dear Fr Johanny, the old year is drawing to a close & still the prospect of peace seems to be as remote as ever. It may come during 1918, but a glance at the tactical situation is not reassuring. One does not know of course what internal conditions in Germany & Austria are like, & they will bluff the World right up to the last, but unless something unforeseen happens I think we shall still be at it this time next year.

Poor France! She is paying dearly for her liberty. In England they don't know what war is & it sickens one to hear people talk of nothing but the high cost of living and the ordinary little inconveniences of war. London is rather depressed on account of the air raids but on the whole the people take them fairly philosophically. I was on home leave during the early part of this month & there was a large raid on the Southern Counties & the southern end of Town. Unfortunately the Gothas came when I was up at Oxford so I did not see for myself how the people took it. I arrived at the scene a few hours after and it seemed to me that curiosity was the prevailing sentiment among the crowd. I had a very enjoyable leave but was not at all sorry to be back in the Line. All the men are over here & one feels absolutely like a fish out of water in England….I am a captain these days and adjutant of the old Brigade where I have been since my arrival in France. There have been many changes since then & of all the officers who were here when I joined there are only three left besides myself. I am going away on New Year's Day to our Divisional Artillery H.Q. to be initiated into the mysteries of Staff work & it may lead to an appointment on the General Staff. It is reasonably quiet in this particular part of the line tho' to the average soul there would be no lack of excitement….I must stop now & get on with my work. The evening dispatch rider has just turned up & he always produces work enough to keep me out of mischief for an

Captain Vere Elliott, Royal Field Artillery, circa 1917.

Captain Vere Elliott's headstone, Bienvilliers Military Cemetery, France.Artillery, circa 1917.

Stewart Ricketts as a Cadet Officer in the Matopos, circa 1909.

hour or two before turning in. With best wishes to you & to all the Fathers for the New Year, ever yours in all sincerity, Vere Elliott.

Vere Elliott was killed three months later, on 25 March 1918, aged 25, and is buried in the Bienvilliers Military Cemetery in France.

Stewart Ricketts was a contemporary of Elliott's, having also been born in November 1893. He entered St George's in July 1905 and left at the end of 1911. Like Elliott he was an officer in the cadets, but he also appears to have been even more of an academic than Elliott, judging by school prizes, as well as matric results lists. Like Elliott, he also became a Rhodes Scholar, though a couple of years earlier in 1912. At Oxford he joined the King Edward's Horse regiment initially, and there are several letters written by him, but the one that I shall focus upon was written on 19 January 1917.

"My Dear Father Johanny,

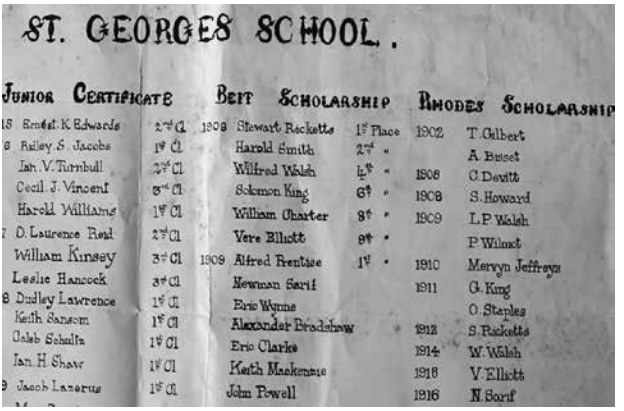
Many thanks for your Xmas greetings. Your card just to hand. I hope you have forgiven me for never even dropping a line to any of the Fathers. I am really ashamed of it. But you know, perhaps better than anyone, my intense dislike for essay & letter writing, which, I am sorry to say, increases as time advances. It is a failing I am not proud of.

Perhaps you would like a brief resumé of my military career? To begin with, I may say that my training in the cadets has helped me very materially. At the outbreak of war I was in 'King Edward's Horse', a Colonial Regiment with one squadron recruited from Oxford and Cambridge. Most of us stuck it till November '14 under the impression that we were soon going to the front — but nothing happened. Just at this time our Major received a communication from the W.O. (War Office) asking for officers. In reading the order out to us on parade the Major broke down utterly. His one aim & object in life before the war was declared was to train a squadron of university men & lead them in action himself, should the eventuality occur. Now he saw his castle tottering. By January none of the old lot were left. I was one of the last to go, obtaining a commission in the RFA I was immediately posted to a battery & have been with it ever since. I pass over the early days of training raw recruits, with nothing but a few worn out cab horses & a couple of derelict guns. It was one long nightmare.

All troubles come to an end & by the end of July we were fully equipped & trained (more or less) & all eager for the fray. If only I knew then what I know now I should not have been so impatient to see this shell scarred country…My greatest delight in the early days was to watch aeroplanes which I then saw for the first time. I have since been over

the German lines in one & like it immensely. It is a glorious & fascinating sight watching an AA battery shelling an aeroplane. White bursts suddenly appear all around the machine & follow it in its course. Long afterwards dull explosions can be heard. On a clear windless day the smoke takes a long while to dissipate & long after the 'plane has disappeared hundreds of white puffs will mark its course through the air. Then, I used to wonder why a 'plane was never hit, now I know the difficulties with which the marksmen have to contend.

Stewart Ricketts, seated left, with some other members of the 1905 St. George's Higher Certificate class. Next to him are Fathers Johanny and Nicot, and in front are Wilfred "Sonny" Walsh (2nd left) and Vere Elliott (right).



ST. GEORGES SCHOOL.

Junior Certificate		Beit Scholarship			Rhodes Scholarship	
Ernest K Edwards	2nd Cl.	1903	Stewart Ricketts	1st Place	1902	T Gilbert
Bailey S. Jacobs	1st Cl.		Harold Smith	2nd "		A Buisset
Ish. V. Turnbull	2nd Cl.		Wilfred Walsh	4th "	1908	C Devitt
Cecil J. Vincent	3rd Cl.		Solomon King	6th "	1908	S Howard
Harold Williams	1st Cl.		William Charter	8th "	1909	L P Walsh
D. Laurence Reid	2nd Cl.		Vere Elliott	9th "		P Wilmot
William Kinsey	3rd Cl.	1909	Alfred Prentice	1st "	1910	Mervyn Jeffreys
Leslie Hancock	3rd Cl.		Newman Sarif		1911	G King
Dudley Lawrence	1st Cl.		Eric Wynne			O Staples
Keith Sansom	1st Cl.		Alexander Bradshaw		1912	S Ricketts
Caleb Schalk	1st Cl.		Eric Clarke		1914	W Walsh
Ian H Shaw	1st Cl.		Keith Mackenzie		1916	V Elliott
Jacob Lazerus	1st Cl.		John Powell		1916	N Sarif

An extract of the St. George's academic results list, showing Ricketts, Elliott and Walsh, among others.

By February '16 we had made ourselves very comfortable & had come to regard that part of France as home. Our dug-outs were the pride of the Brigade & gave us a tremendous feeling of security. "Where ignorance is bliss..." We had not seen the effect of heavy artillery up till then. Since then I have often seen it proved that concealment is better than protection.

From March till the present we have been wanderers along the British front, never staying long in one place. Twice we have been out for short rests.

Our battery was in the battle for four months out of the five & had some very exciting times. I shall tell you all about it when I come home after the war. At present we are in action again in the mud & shell holes of the battle area, but there is nothing happening outside artillery activity. We are all anxiously waiting for the next big offensive which I sincerely hope will finish this wholesale slaughter of human lives.

I am now a full Lieutenant & have had the luck to win the MC. I have met very few of our old boys since I have been out here though South Africans abound everywhere. During my first leave I ran across Vere Elliott in England who was on the point of

coming out. On my last leave I saw Sonny Walsh (see below) who was wounded & on sick leave. I also saw his brother out here a few months ago. He is M.G.O. in the 16th K.R.R.s & has since won the MC.

Captain Stewart Ricketts M.C., Royal Field Artillery, with his medals.

Of course you know my brother was taken prisoner on the 14th of July. I should think he will find his Dutch useful. I was just on the left of the S.A.s at the time & hoped to see something of him.

Captain Stewart Ricketts' headstone, Vlamertinghe Military Cemetery, southern Belgium.

They made a name for themselves in D-Wood, where some of the hardest fighting I have ever known took place.

As I had passed all the exams of the first public examination before war broke out, the University are giving me my degree without taking "finals". I shall go up for convocation immediately I am a civilian again, then I am coming home for some time. I shall certainly take a trip to Bulawayo & St. George's which, together with my Mother & Father, has made me what I am. Mr. Wylie has told me I can have the last year of my scholarship whenever I return to Oxford. I shall probably go back & do research in dyes.

Please give my kindest regards to Fr Nicot & the other Fathers I knew. Hoping you have not read this letter with a master's critical eye, I remain yours sincerely, Stewart Ricketts."

A letter full of understated courage, as well as quiet hope for the future, but Stewart Ricketts was killed later that year, on 31 October 1917, aged 23, and is buried at Vlamertinghe Military Cemetery in southern Belgium. There is in the College archives a letter of condolence written to Rickett's family by Fr. Johanny, together with a heart-rending response. Stewart Rickett's medals are in the possession of an ex-Zimbabwean medal collector, Peter Silk.

Selection of 1906 school group showing "Sonny" Walsh (2nd row, 3rd from left with large collar and folded arms. Also in photo are Elliott (top row left) and Ricketts (top row right).

Selection of 1913 school group showing Walsh (lower centre in jacket with folded arms) and Elliott (top row right).

The third of the Rhodes Scholar warriors to be covered (in fact there were six who served in the Great War) was Wilfred Walsh, a Catholic who entered St. George's in February 1905 and left in December 1913. Like Ricketts, Walsh was a fairly accomplished sportsman. In addition, he was a fairly prolific letter writer, so this article will look at extracts from a couple of the more interesting, and then focus upon just one written soon after the war was had ended. In common with Elliott and Ricketts,

he too was in the Royal Field Artillery and rose to the rank of Captain. In a letter to Fr Johanny from Wadham College, Oxford, on 5 November 1914, he wrote, "I hope to get my Commission in the Royal Field Artillery, which has practically been given to me already. In that case I will be sent across in March but I am afraid I shall be too late. The general opinion here is that the war will be over within six months & a wounded German prisoner in hospital here says that Germany cannot last for more than six weeks if she continues as she is now."

In a letter dated 16 March 1915, he makes mention of the fact that his older brother, Pat, also a Rhodes scholar, would be coming over in June, but that "he will only be here for the fag end of it. I was talking to a Belgian officer yesterday & he said the general opinion across the channel was that it would all be over in July or August. I sincerely hope it is. Far from being too late for the war, Pat Walsh was wounded twice and was awarded the Military Cross. In later life he was knighted for his services to the Empire in India.

Just over a year later, on 24 March 1916, Sonny wrote, "I had the interesting experience of being blown six yards by the blast of a shell about two weeks ago. Four of us were in a dugout during a bombardment of our position. We were getting it rather hotter than usual & it was growing very uncomfortable. After 4 hours of this strain a shell burst just outside the dugout and all of us were thrown into the far corner. To add to our comfort the top of the funk hole fell in at the door end. We all thought we were seriously wounded & were all badly shaken up. The most unnerving feeling was that we were buried and could not hope for any assistance till the Hun had finished his stuff. Shouting was no good as we were quite 50 yards from the nearest dugout. So we had to wait till we were missed which was not till 2 hours after we had been buried. I was the only one of the 4 who could walk, though the others were not seriously wounded at all – only very badly shaken up… I had always dreaded being buried & dread it still more now. It is a far worse feeling than losing yourself on the veldt."

Captain Wilfred Walsh, Royal Field Artillery, circa 1917.

In another letter dated 26 May 1916, Sonny Walsh

gave a description which will be of particular interest to those interested in the war in the air. "An enemy aeroplane was brought down close to us a short time ago. Before long there was quite a gathering & the machine was looted wholesale. The rule is that the senior present must stop anyone from touching the machine, but when a Colonel took a small bit off one of the wings it was not long before the whole plane was cut to bits for souvenirs. I got the Iron Cross which is painted on the wings – also a moderately large slice of the propeller. There seems to be a very good feeling between the two Air services. If we bring down a Bosch plane in our own lines one of our airmen flies over to the Bosch lines & drops a note containing the names of the pilot & observer & whether they are safe or killed & if killed where they are buried. They do the same if our fellows are brought down in their lines. The occupants of the plane I was speaking about were buried in a cemetery not far from here one morning — they were dashed to pieces poor fellows — in the afternoon one of their airmen came over and dropped two wreaths nearby with a note attached saying "Please be so kind as to place these wreaths on their graves." Our airmen prisoners too know for certain (they) are treated ever so much better than our other prisoners."

The last of the Walsh letters to be covered was written on 15 November 1918, three days after the Armistice was signed. "Dear Fr. Johanny, please forgive me for neglecting you as I have done. Though I've not written for such an age, you have all often been

Allied Army of Occupation troops entering Cologne. Old Georgian Colour Bearers heading this column left and right were Lieutenants D Moodie M.C. (Irish Guards) and E Moseley (Coldstream Guards).

in my thoughts. Well, we have peace at last & here I am quite safe & sound & full of excitement about coming back to Rhodesia again for a short holiday before I start afresh at Oxford. I attribute my coming through safely to all the prayers said on my behalf & to my mascot — a rosary which I got from Fr. Nesser before I left Rhodesia. At times it seemed as tho' nothing but the most fervent prayers could carry one through. We are at present in a little village — Les Vents — a few miles N of Mauberge. We had reached this line when hostilities ceased on the 11th & shall be here for a few days more. We shall then go back to some such place as Amiens or Abbeville where we shall be kept till peace is signed, then demobilization. I should have liked to have gone forward with the Army of Occupation, but such is not our fate….We have a most palatial Mess & the people here are charming. They insist on doing everything for us & throw their barns of hay open wide for our use. Our horses are already beginning to take an interest in life again. The Bosche gave the civilians a very thin time of it from all accounts. Some here, refugees from Le Cateau, were made to walk the whole distance wheeling what valuables they could bring with them in wheel barrows & having to sleep in the fields at night time. Now old women are like children. They literally cry with joy at being free once more." On a point of interest, Walsh's wish to be part of the Army of Occupation was realized by two other OGs — Lieutenants Eric Mosely (Coldstream Guards) and Donald Moodie (Royal Irish Guards), who had the privilege of carrying the Colours of their respective regiments into Cologne, which was the heart of the German demilitarized zone that was imposed by the Allies at the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919.

Lt Oswald Morgan, Royal Field Artillery, circa 1915.

After the war Sonny Walsh did return to this country, after completing his degree at Oxford. However, he then joined the Indian Forestry Service in 1921 and remained with it until 1945. Thereafter, he worked as a Provincial Forest Officer in Northern Rhodesian for a couple of years in the early 1950s, before then working in a variety of forestry and other jobs in this country. He died on 30 April 1968 at the age of 75.

Another of the letters to be quoted from in this article was written by Oswald William Morgan. Born on 21 June 1888 in Pietermaritzburg, he entered St George's in November 1898 and was there until September 1902. Unlike the others mentioned, he was not a Rhodes Scholar and his letter, though clearly written and free-flowing, lacks a little in punctuation. According to information gathered about him by an amateur historian in England, having served with the

Southern Rhodesia Volunteers, he enlisted into King Edward's Horse (a regiment of colonial volunteers in London) in November 1914 and served in France between April and October 1915. He was then commissioned into the Royal Field Artillery in October 1915 and his letter to Fr Johanny is dated 22 November 1915. It was written from a place called Ballincollig, Cork, in Ireland where No 5 Battery, Reserve Brigade of the Royal Field Artillery was then stationed. Because his letter is so very descriptive of his war experiences, it is covered in full. "Dear Fr Johanny, Many thanks for your letter of the 5th October which I received on my return from France to take up my new position as 2nd Lieutenant in the RFA. I shall be quite pleased if I get out of this with my body intact, I don't worry about medals etc. I was through the thick of the great attacks on the 9th & 24th of May also the capture of Loos & I have seen as much of the horrors of war as I wan't to see, on the 25th alone I saw no less than 30 000 dead & wounded German & British mixed I was in a section of trench with 11 others to (two) of us were not touched the remainder were killed, a Bosche shell burst right in the trench.

I shall be very thankful when it ends but that seems a long way off yet, no one can tell how long it is going to last.

I will endeavour to describe what it is like in the trenches but cannot give much of an account as at different points conditions vary. The trenches are about 6ft deep, with sandbags in front and often not more than 25 yards apart but are 600 in some places, we take our turn on guard generally two hours on & 4 off. There is very little fighting in the day time snipers do most damage it is never safe to expose yourself over the top not even your head as the Germans Snipers use telescopic sights and are very good shots.

The most unpleasant time is when the German artillery are shelling the trenches you are like a rat in a hole helpless as the rifle is useless and the german guns are a couple of miles back, the artillery are at it all day & all night they are never silent.

The best time for us was at night out on listening patrols as we would crawl about in between the trenches, trying to get some information & often took bombs with us I have often been lying outside the German trenches listening to them talking & one night one man who was with me yelled out to them "How many of you are there, & with that we dropped over the bombs saying "share that amongst you" & then make tracks

Captain Oswald Morgan, Royal Flying Corps, circa 1918.

for home this night we had two machine guns turned on us & volleys of rifle fire but we were not hit I was pleased to get back into the trench when everything stopped.

In the attack on Loos we had orders to take no prisoners & to leave no wounded but relieve them of their sufferings which we did in Loos we found 60 or more in a broken down house, & as they flocked out into the street with their hands up yelling "Kamarade" we were ordered to kneel down & shoot them, this did not take long, it was a sight I shall never forget the streets were packed with dead we found 9 German guns which had been abandoned they are now on view in London.

Well Dear Father I must draw to a close with kindest regards to all the Fathers wishing you all a happy Xmas & a prosperous new year hoping to see you all again someday, I remain yours very sincerely,

O. W. Morgan (2.Lieut)

According to the historian already mentioned, Morgan transferred to the Royal Flying Corps in 1916 and, having acquired his wings, then appears to have flown in the East African campaign until he was laid low by malaria and a recurrence of bilharzia, with kidney stones as a further complication. Back in England by the end of 1917 he appears then to have become a flying instructor, but was killed in a flying accident on 3 February 1918 in the village of Nether Wallop, in Hampshire. According to a local newspaper, The Andover Advertiser, he and another pilot had landed their Avro 504 near the village where Morgan actually resided, to have breakfast, but the plane then appeared to have stalled on take-off and he was killed. According to the official Inquest held two days later, the cause of death was given as "Killed by an accidental fall with an aeroplane". According to the Andover Advertiser, Morgan's wife, whom he had married in Ballincollig in 1916, was present in the village at the time and, "In the company of some sympathetic ladies she visited and viewed the dead body of her husband as it lay on the ground, and a pathetic scene occurred." Oswald Morgan was buried in the village churchyard where his grave is marked by one of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission headstones.

Capt. O. W. Morgan's grave, St. Andrew's Church, Nether Wallop, England.

The last of the letter writers to be covered very briefly, was Major John Henry Morrah, who was not an Old Georgian and, in fact never set foot in this country. However, two of his great grandsons went to St. George's and his other links with Zimbabwe will become apparent. Born in England in 1875, he was educated at Winchester College, after which he trained as an officer at Sandhurst and was commissioned as a regular officer in the King's Own (Royal Lancaster Regiment). He saw service in Malta, Burma, India, and in South Africa during the Boer War, where, according to clasps on his Boer War medal, he fought in various campaigns before being seriously wounded by a Boer bullet through

Captain (later Major) J H Morrah, The Kings Own (Royal Lancaster Regiment) (seated centre).

the groin. Despite the severity of that wound, he had three children, the third of whom, the mother-in-law of the writer, was born in 1912. At the outbreak of the First World War, his regiment, then based in Dover, was immediately dispatched to France as part of the British Expeditionary Force. Almost from the outset they were thrust into battle against the advancing Germans and the following is a brief and rather hurried letter that he wrote to his children on 1 October 1914. "My dear children, Margery, Michael & Babby. I hope you are all very well & feeling as fit as I do — two parcels came for me last night & this morning before I went out for my usual walk around the trenches at

4.00am I opened one and ate 2 pieces of chocolate which you sent me and very good they were too — the wooly jersey is splendid and is the envy of everyone. You must look around the shops & see if you can find a pair of thick gloves with waterproofing on the outside, perhaps oil silk would do; when it rains & is very cold wet gloves are very uncomfortable. I opened the second parcel when I got back from the trenches & found the trousers & wooly socks. The Balaclava helmet is simply splendid and I think beautifully made, I can hardly believe that Margery has made so much progress. I shall expect her when I get home to knit me a new dinner jacket & trousers! Of course Babby won't be able to read this but Margery will have to give her a kiss for me — I hope the lessons are going on all right and that you know all about France Belgium Russia & the place where the wicked Germans live. I am getting used to sleeping fully dressed and I think I've forgotten what a bed is like so when I get home you'll have to show me one. The mornings are getting colder and there is generally a mist in the early morning. I hope you occasionally have some nice tea parties. I must shut up now because I'm going to eat my breakfast, we've just got some fresh meat & I am having kidneys & bacon. A lot of love to you all & to Mummy, from your loving father, J. H. Morrah." Sadly, having survived so many earlier campaigns, he was killed 17 days later while leading his company in an advance over open ground near Le Touquet Rail Crossing in southern Belgium. According to regimental reports he was killed instantly, very likely by a sniper, and probably while wearing his officer's insignia. He was buried close to where he fell and he was the first and most senior of some 70 soldiers to be buried in a small military cemetery that developed at the Le Touquet site. The writer and his wife found this beautifully maintained Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery, just two months short of the 100th anniversary of Major Morrah's death. It was the first time that my wife, — his granddaughter, had visited his grave. Morrah's medals unfortunately were stolen whilst in the possession of another great grandson overseas, but it is hoped that they may one day be traced.

Major John Morrah's headstone, Le Touquet Rail Crossing Military Cemetery, southern Belgium.

These letters, as already mentioned, are but a small selection of similar correspondence held in the St George's College archives. They attest to many young and very promising lives lost, as well as many others changed forever, in the "War to end all Wars", and yet, just over 20 years later, another World War started.

The Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society

by Peter Munday

May 1955 Expedition to the Mavuradonha Mountains in the Mazarabani Tribal Trust Land.

In the May 1955 school holidays I was lucky enough to be selected to be part of the Churchill School contingent (David John (D.J.) Parker {L6}, Robin Elley, John Redfern {IV N] to accompany other school parties on a 'Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society' expedition to the Mavuradonha Mountain Range, located just north of what was the Centenary commercial farming area which had been opened up in 1953. I was aged 16 at the time.

The Expedition was headed by the Rector of St George's College, Father Ford. The various study groups, (archaeology & anthropology, geology, entomology, ornithology & zoology) had different teaching staff, leaders and trip objectives.

The Anthropology and Archaeology sections were to try to locate the ruins of the Monomatapa kraal as indicated by early sixteenth century Portuguese documents. A Jesuit Priest, Father Gassy, volunteered to be the guide.

Father Gassy was a chain-smoker who marched through the remote African villages of the Mazarabani tribal area with a Bible in one hand and a 303 rifle over his shoulder, spreading the word of God. He told us that there were wild lemon trees growing in that area, which are traceable to the trees brought in by the Portuguese explorers in the 16th Century as a remedy to ward off scurvy.

A Prince Edward school boy, who later became a Professor of Entomology, was "Bugs" Watmough who collected, documented and kept beetles and other creepy crawlies, including numerous scorpions, in his tent.

My classmate John Redfern and I were seconded to the Ornithological Section led by one David Baines. A Taxidermist by the name of Olio was seconded to our group. Olio was an employee of the National Museum in Salisbury. Other members were Nick Erskine, Mike Miles and David Littleford from Prince Edward and Mike Foster from Allan Wilson.

Our objective was to identify, record and collect bird specimens for the 'National Collection' housed in the National Museum in Bulawayo.

I think it was John Redfern who supplied from his grandfather's firearm collection a .22/.410 rifle-shotgun over-under combo with which we shot and collected our specimens using 410 dust-shot ammunition supplied by the National Museum. Dust-shot does not damage a specimen as the pellets are literally the size of pin heads. We also had an ancient single shot Greener 12 gauge shotgun in our armoury.

All the game in the area was shot out in 1934 to create a '*cordon sanitaire*' as a barrier to prevent the encroachment of Tsetse Fly from the Zambezi Valley up into the

commercial farming areas. We motored along a track, possibly part of the Alpha Trail, and set up headquarters in the shadow of a mountain called Banirembizi which is spot height 5327 feet above sea level. Our camp overlooked the beautiful Musengezi River valley far below, in which a very noticeable monolith of granite stood like a finger pointing up to the sky. This was possibly the spot height beacon 3390 feet above sea level (Ref map sheet SE-36-1: Mangula, 31 degrees E, 16 degrees S)

As I had been in the Boy Scouts, I was given the task to navigate for an exploratory party down into the valley and back to camp. We set off early one morning, having taken a prismatic compass bearing from our camp to the monolith in the valley. Our party reached our objective in the valley by mid-morning. Looking back at the hilly topography through the six foot tall grass, it would have been very easy to make a navigational error. However, by taking a back bearing and making several checks as we climbed back up into the mountainous terrain, we marched right back into the kitchen area of our camp. Had we made an error, we could have missed our camp due to the fact that when the grass is over six feet high, lateral visibility is limited to a few yards. The lesson learned was always trust your instruments and do not be swayed by peer group opinion. Often they are wrong in their assumptions. With experience one learns that 'assumptions' can be very dangerous!

When our section had identified, collected, measured, and documented the available bird specimens in the main camp area, Father Ford had the idea that our section should take a full day's supply of food, plus water and "have a two day outing".

A two day trip out, and down the escarpment—Start, Thursday 12th May.
Our group consisted of team leader Captain Thompson, 2 i/c. David Baines, Taxidermist Olio, and six schoolboys. We were taken to a spot along the trail by vehicle and told to walk north, then to turn west, then turn south, then east on coordinates which would bring us back to camp 'certainly by afternoon' on Friday afternoon. I do not know what scale map Father Ford had used but suspect it might have been a 1: 1 000 000 (one to one million scale) which perhaps did not show contour or relief lines. Had he used a 1:250 000 map he would have seen that our northern walk would have entailed a drop in altitude of approximately 2 000 feet. The escarpment is almost sheer and certainly uninhabited.

The first barrier was that the bush along our desired path was loaded with Buffalo Beans (*Mucuna coriacae*) also known as fire beans, a rambling, leguminous creeper which, at that time of the year, supports bean pods which release very fine hairs into the air. The fine hairs cause persistent and severe irritation of the skin. So, after we had all had a severe dose of itching and felt pretty miserable, to avoid the 'curse of the bean', we found a stream (the Nesingwa gorge) and literally hopped from one rock to another, down the water course.

By early afternoon we had made significant progress in our descent of the escarpment, when the 'finger of fate' struck. Mike Foster, our Allan Wilson schoolboy, slipped on the algae slime on a rock and fell heavily, some fifteen feet, into a shallow pool below. He yelled as the pain in his ankle was severe. We all thought that he had broken at least a bone or two in his ankle. After some first aid Mike could hobble along aided by a boy on either side to assist him. We realised that we could not take our casualty back up the escarpment and that the only option was to get him down onto a less precipitous level. Captain Thompson and John Redfern proceeded down the gorge to see if they could

find a village. They returned later in the early evening not having seen any signs of habitation. The next morning, now Saturday 14th, Captain Thompson, John Redfern and Nick Erskine set off, back up the escarpment. They were met on the track not far from camp on Sunday (day 4) by Chapman Tucker and Dr Michael Gelfand and transported back to Base Camp where the situation report was made.

Meanwhile, the rest of us had continued down the stream, making slow but determined progress. Fortunately we had ample drinkable water available. At one juncture a very large puff adder, sunning itself on a rock, held up our progress. Being the bearer of the Greener Shotgun, I was summoned and instructed to despatch the sluggish reptile - an easy task even with bird shot—and the body was discarded amongst the rocks. By the evening on day 2, we were getting peckish as we had eaten most of our rations. The next day more progress was made and that was when I ate my reserved orange, pulp, skin and pips.

On day three I was summoned again and, with a length of Olio's taxidermy wire, I made a rudimentary fish hook and tried to catch some small fish in a pool. We used insect (lace wing) larvae, otherwise known as Ant-lions, as bait and finally were successful in landing three small cat-fish (barbel). Ant-lions build their traps by constructing an inverted conical structure in the powdery dry soil in a wind protected area adjacent to a tree. I'm sure all children who are interested in nature have played at catching the larva by using a blade of grass to simulate a struggling insect caught in the cone.

David Baines found a tin of dehydrated carrots in the bottom of his ruck-sack which went into the fish soup. Meanwhile, back at base camp, the alarm had been raised and a message relayed to both the Police and the Air Force based in Salisbury. Olio helped little as he was not acquainted with the flora of the area but he did find a tree which yielded some chewable fibre when the outer bark was stripped off. The fibre, when chewed, had a slightly bitter taste and gave one the idea that there might be some nutrient. We were disadvantaged as it was winter and there were hardly any recognisable, edible plants. We were against experimentation with eating 'off the bush' as some South African school boys had died as a result of consuming seeds or fruit of *Datura stramonum* or 'Stink Blaar' which contain a strong alkaloid poison.

Thinking back, we were obviously very lucky that we had drinkable water available from the running stream. By this time we were all suffering from heat and exposure fatigue compounded by lack of food. We were hallucinating and dreaming of delicious home-made meals. I even dreamt of the huge icy, double thick milk shakes we used to have at the Dairy Den, as well as a plate of home-cooked roast beef and Granny's famous Yorkshire pudding steeped in thick gravy.

On day five (Monday 16th) in the afternoon, we heard an aircraft in our near vicinity so we quickly built up a bonfire which was lit and dampened with cut reeds to create a column of smoke. The aircraft was an Air Force Harvard Trainer (Aircraft No 77) and the pilot, is now known to be Flt Lt John Mussell, with Chapman Tucker on board as an observer/ passenger. They must have spotted our smoke signal.

Still later that afternoon, an aircraft (Harvard no 73) flew directly over our position and the pilot dropped a message in a weighted cloth envelope fitted with long orange and yellow streamers. The envelope contained a note which read: "David Baines, if

that is your party—do not wave on my next pass". The pilot skilfully passed down the valley again. We all froze and hardly breathed.

A short while later the Harvard returned overhead and the pilot dropped a package. The bag contained a hunk of beef, rice, salt, matches and anti-malarial pills suitably wrapped up in an aluminium pot. That night we had a gruel cooked up which we considered fit enough to have been served at the Ritz Hotel in London. That is how hungry we were.

Towards mid-day of day six (Tuesday 17th) of our adventure Flt Lt John Mussell guided a Police foot patrol our camp. The foot patrol, led by Patrol Officer Andy Pau, located us and early the next morning escorted us back up the escarpment to a village. Our wounded member rode on a stretcher for most, if not all the way. Although we arrived late that night at a village, we were welcomed by the elderly village headman and presented with a dozen eggs and some buns which were consumed with relish and expressions of "Tatenda Sekuru".

I have John Mussell's log page in which it is noted that he logged 2 hours 45 minutes 'searching the area' and a further 2 hours 15 minutes 'search & supply drop' May 16th with passenger Chapman Tucker. On the 17th, he logged 3 hours with Sqn Ldr Barber as 2nd pilot. The flight on the 19th May (45 minutes) was possibly to deliver messages, although he entered 'Search and Rescue Direction. '

We were exceedingly grateful to John Mussell and his Air Force backup team for a highly skilled and professional execution of duty.

This experience must have affected all of us in different ways. Most of us shed several pounds in weight and undoubtedly altered our individual perspective and attitudes towards food. Certainly, in my case, I'll never turn my nose up at any food and often relate how, when you are really hungry, you will eat anything. On day three I would have gladly prepared, cooked and eaten the puff adder that I had shot and abandoned had I known what lay ahead.

Yes, indeed, "… give us our daily bread" has a new meaning when you have had to do without food for several days.

References

The Rhodesia Herald 19th May 1955
The Winstonian (Churchill School magazine) (December 1955)
St. George's School magazine 1955
Flying Log Book of John Mussell RRAF (Ret'd)

Fort Ingwenya and Cemetery

by Michael R. Tucker

National Monument Number: 67
GPS reference for Fort: 19°10′51.23″S 29°36′04.77″E
GPS reference for the Cemetery: 19°10′43.51″S 29°35′50.40″E
GPS reference for Harbord's Store: 19°10′52.89″S 29°35′35.63″E

How to Get There

From the main Harare to Bulawayo national road (A5) pass through Redcliff. Distances are from Hunters Road Station. Just before the national road crosses the railway track turn right and head south for 1.3 km and then turn west, 5.4 km turn left, 13.4 km turn left heading south, 13.7 km turn right heading west, 17.5 km continue straight heading south west, 23.7 km reach Fort Ingwenya on the left side between the Hunters Road and the Ingwenya River. The fort is on the south east end of a hill with excellent views to the east and south.

The old Hunter's Road sweeps around the west side of the hill on which Fort Ingwenya is sited and then goes due south to cross the old Ingwenya River Bridge. The cemetery is 100 metres west of the old Hunters Road and 420 metres northwest of Fort Ingwenya. The cemetery has the remains of six civilians killed in the district at the outbreak of the Matabele Rebellion or First Umvukela. Harbord's Store foundations are visible west of the present day Matobo Road.

Note: Hunters Road is in poor condition and the easier route, although longer, is via the Matobo Road from Gweru to Silobela described below.

To return to the A5 continue on 300 metres to the intersection with the Matobo Road and turn left shortly before crossing the Ingwenya River. Continue down the Matobo Road which is mostly narrow tar in reasonable condition for 42.6 km before reaching Gweru.

This is an area of intense artisanal mining - the diggings can be seen of Google Earth—and the area is full of unmarked shafts with miners living in make-shift shelters and visitors need to exercise care. A local miner, Maramwidze, guided me to the fort and cemetery which I probably would not have otherwise found; close to the cemetery are the remains of a blue pick-up that detonated a landmine in the 1970's

Why visit?

- This fort was built in September or early October 1896 under the supervision of Lieut-Col. (later Lord) Baden-Powell and is still in excellent condition.
- The fort may not have been typical of most forts as the dry-stone walls appear to enclose a larger area than most. It was usual to have outside, but under cover

of the fort, a double line of pole and dhaka huts which would house the garrison of probably about 25 men. Wagons, mess huts, telegraphist and hospital were usually also outside the fort as it was never expected that the forts themselves would ever have to resist prolonged attack as the Battles of Shangani River and Bembezi had shown the Matabele the futility of trying to attack laagers protected by Maxim guns.

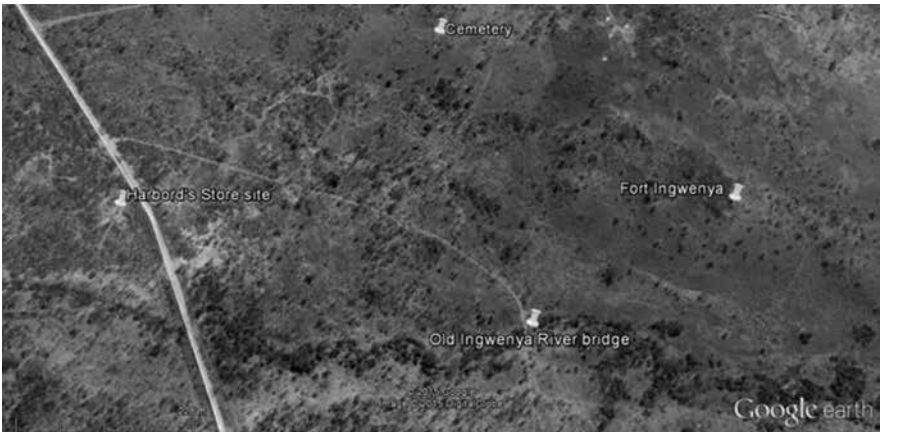
- A fort represented a show of force, a stronghold only occupied as a last resort. Collapsed dry-stone walling outside the Ingwenya fort may have been cattle kraals for keeping cattle confiscated from the Ndebele, or horse stabling.
- The cemetery, 450 metres northwest of the fort is reasonably intact with four of the original pioneer crosses still on site.

Sketch showing how Fort Ingwenya fitted into the early road system… the original Hunters Road is the northernmost route

Fort Ingwenya from the isiZulu meaning crocodile was built at the end of the 1896 Matabele Rebellion, or First Umvukela and is on a hill 330 metres in a north east direction from the old Ingwenya River Bridge where the Hunter's Road cut by Thomas Baines crossed the river and then ran around the foot of the hill. Baines encountered the "fly belt" north of the Ingwenya River which explains why the Hunter's Road then turns east to avoid the tsetse flies which were fatal to his oxen.

Harbord's store site is on the northwest side of the new Ingwenya River Bridge and was a stopping place for coach travellers going to Fort Salisbury (Harare) on the Hunter's Road. The faint track of the original Hunters Road can be seen going from the old Ingwenya bridge below and curving around the hill before heading east. The foundations of Harbord's store are still visible. Fort Ingwenya became one of a chain of forts which included Tuli, Fort Victoria, Fort Gibbs, Gwelo Laager and Kopje, Kwe Kwe River Fort and Salisbury.

Ingwenya Fort occupies a good position overlooking the bridge site to the south-

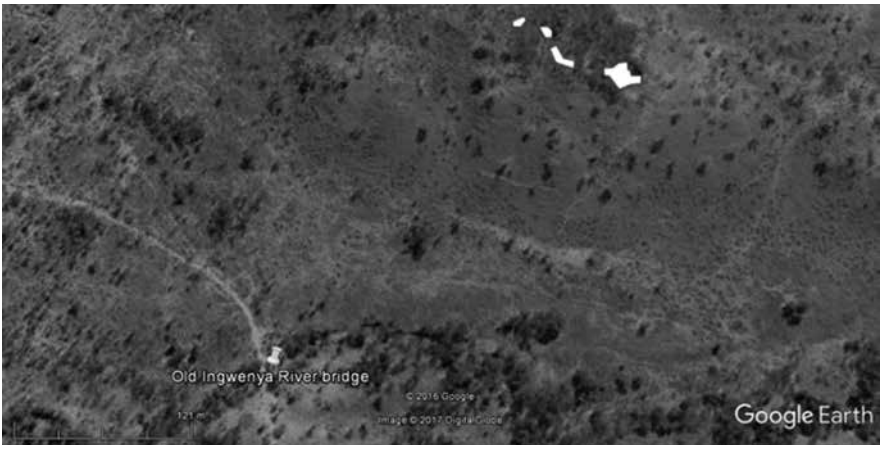


Google Earth general view of Fort Ingwenya, the cemetery and Harbord's Store

west, the Ingwenya River 200 metres to the south and has steep slopes on three sides and a flat open space to the north. The fort is built of dry-stone walling and is roughly a square of 18 metres with round bastions, or turrets, at both the northern-west and south-east ends. The south-east bastion is larger with an outer radius of 4–5 metres and was probably designed for a Maxim gun. Peter Garlake states that they were only introduced into forts built after 1896. There is a fire step 60 cms wide (2 feet) and 30 cms high (1 foot) on the inside of each bastion and on part of the northern, western and south walls. The walls of the fort are 90 cms thick (3 feet) and 150 cms high (5 feet)

A tree formerly stood at the north western corner which was used as a look-out post. The only fort entrance faces north and had a protective wall on the inside from where the defenders could defend the entrance. The protective wall is 4 metres long, self-supporting and has largely collapsed. At Fort Gibbs [see the article on the website www.zimfieldguide.com] the protective wall is on the exterior; here at Fort Ingwenya it is in the interior of the fort.

Google Earth, a closer view of Fort Ingwenya (white, right) and remains of outbuildings (white, left) The Ingwenya River is 200 metres away on the south of the image



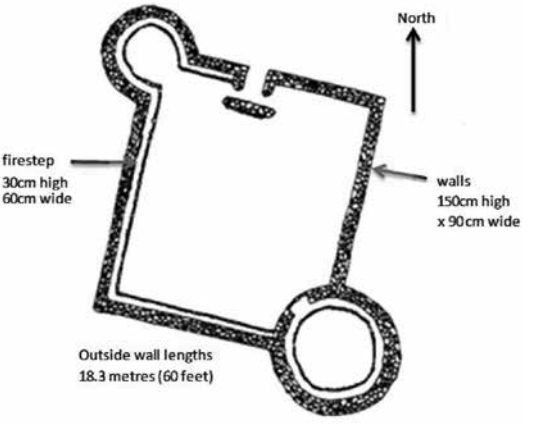
The fort structure is still in good condition, the only walls which have collapsed being on the south-west and the entrance fire-wall. Inside there was probably a sun-dried brick store roofed with corrugated iron. Horses were stabled outside the forts as they encouraged flies and the whole site was probably encircled by an outer thorn abattis.

I am a bit puzzled by the description in Ian Tomes' article which says that in 1993 not much could be seen of the fort and that it was difficult to trace on the ground. He also states the location south of the cattle fence on the 1:50 000 map is incorrect and that it is 50–100 metres to the north of the fence. None of these facts applied in 2015. The fort is in good condition, the walls are easily traceable as the photos show and the site is south of the fence line!

Nearby is the 1896 cemetery containing six graves and a wooden memorial which has probably been destroyed in veldt-fires. Two strong patrols of the 7th Hussars under

South east bastion showing the fire-step and extensive views overlooking the Ingwenya River 200 metres away

Northern perimeter dry-stone walling from the exterior showing the entrance

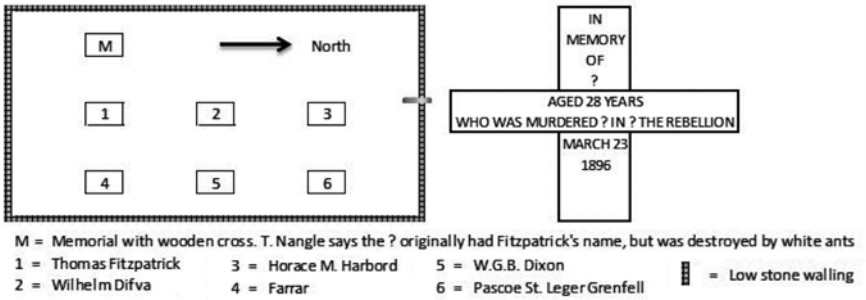


Plan of Fort Ingwenya showing the prominent south east bastion adapted from a sketch by I.J. Cross

Lieut-Col. Baden-Powell and Lieut-Col. Ridley had entered the Somabhula forest area in September, six months after the start of outbreak of the Matabele Rebellion or first Umvukela on 23rd March 1896 and recovered and buried the bodies of the men who had been killed at Harbord's store close to where the Hunter's Road crossed the Ingwenya River. T. Nangle reveals that one of Gwelo's oldest residents, Mr H.H. Gray, the Hussar's Farrier Sergeant, was one of the burial detail.

T. Nangle's article includes

The old Ingwenya River Bridge and Hunter's Road with my guide, Maramwidze, a local artisanal gold miner



Sketch of the original Ingwenya cemetery, although the graves had been disturbed by 2015

a photograph from 50 years ago of the small cemetery which shows the six metal crosses in two rows of three and the stone memorial with its wooden cross behind them; all surrounded by a low wall of loose rocks. Nangle misstates Thomas Fitzpatrick as "Fitzgerald" and says the wood memorial was also in commemoration of Fitzpatrick; Nangle's family lived nearby and he recalled the Fitzpatrick name which had been destroyed by white ants on later visits.

In 2015 the four remaining metal cross markers were clustered together as the photograph shows; although the cemetery was originally laid out as the diagram shows. The metal cross markers which still include identifiable names are:

Fitzpatrick, Thomas, Ingwenya, 25 March, Surveyor, killed 100 yards north of Harbord's Store [1]

Harbord, Horace M., near Maven, end of March, whilst bringing supplies from Gwelo, the owner of the store on this site [3]

Farrar, Lower Gwelo, end March, a prospector with unknown companion [4]

St. Leger Grenfell, Pascoe end of March, left Inyati on his way to Bubi. He was manager of a company [6]

The two missing metal cross markers relate to:

Difva, or Dupua, Wilhelm, 30 March, Lower Gwelo [2]

Dixon, George W.B. Ingwenya, end of March [5]

The last two are named in the BSA Company Reports on the Native Disturbances

in Rhodesia, 1896-7, but not in Appendix A of FC Selous' Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia. The cement monument with wooden cross behind Fitzpatrick's grave is now mostly destroyed.

The following are known to have been killed at Ingwenya Store;

Hartley, Joseph, end March, killed 100 yards north of Harbord's Store, Ingwenya with the surveyor Thomas Fitzpatrick.

Stobie, James, 25 March, en route to Bulawayo, killed with Hartley.

Others killed in the area included:

Ireland, end March, killed on the road from Gwelo to Ingwenya.

Wyllie, David, Gwelo, end March, Arizona Camp, near Ingwenya, worked for Warwick Colliers.

It appears a mystery that they were not all buried at the Ingwenya Cemetery as their bodies were all recovered nearly six months later.

The remaining memorial crosses at Fort Ingwenya cemetery in 2015

T. Nangle from Chaplin School wrote an article (date unknown) which is in the National Archives of Zimbabwe. He found numerous tins and bottles in the locality dating from 1896–7. They included tins named Busch Jun & Co, Essbensen, Copenhagen, Bird's Custard Powder, Colman's No 1 Starch, Symington's Patent Pea Flour, Cholet & Cie, a Paris biscuit tin, Wills Cigarette tins, Royal Baking Powder, Bully beef tins and numerous bottles labelled Five Roses Lime Juice, John Walker & Sons, Kilmarnock, Dewar's Whiskey Perth and various beer bottles; Holbrook's Sauce and an ink bottle. He also found an old wagon brake abandoned on the steep track up to Ingwenya Fort.

In his article T. Nangle recounts that the last survivor of the Gwelo laager, Mr Falk, told him that there was a large bottle dump near Harbord's store and because of a shortage of glass bottles during WWI they were taken into Gwelo by the cart load.

Hubert Plumer reveals that Fitzpatrick's theodolite and a buggy belonging to Pascoe St. Leger Grenfell were found in a cave near the West brothers' store at the battle of Ntaba zika Mambo on the 5 July 1896.

Acknowledgements

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I. J. Cross. Rebellion Forts in Matabeleland. *Rhodesiana No 27*, December 1972 1-28

P. S. Garlake. Pioneer Forts in Rhodesia 1890 – 1897. *Rhodesiana No 12* September 1965.

I. Tomes. The Midlands in 1896, *Heritage of Zimbabwe No 18*, 1999 P59-75

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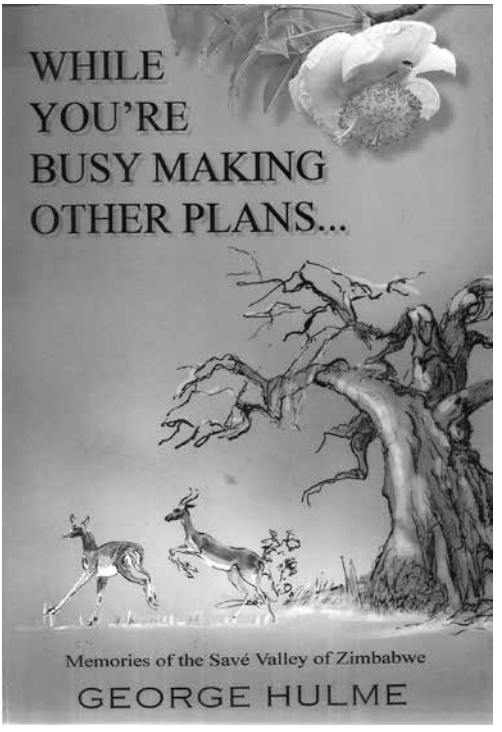
Book Review: Memories of the Savé Valley - George Hulme

by Paul Hubbard

Hulme, George. 2015.
While You're Busy Making Other Plans… Memories of the Savé Valley of Zimbabwe.
Harare:
Dungbeetle Press.
ISBN 978-0-7974-6107-9.
Price: $20.

The Savé Valley remains an enigmatic area for most Zimbabweans, and is today perhaps best remembered for the awful effects of the drought in 1991/1992 and the heroic efforts of the residents to save their animals, wild and domestic. While there have been several publications on the wildlife and the conservancies in the area, very little has been produced on the experiences of farmers in the region who grappled with an inhospitable environment and capricious climate to create viable, productive commercial farms. George Hulme is therefore to be congratulated for having completed his story in a charming and often gripping book.



In three parts, the book tells of the Hulme's family life, starting on Devuli Ranch, before their move to Ruware Ranch, where they lost their home in 2002. Life on Ruware takes up the bulk of the book, with a fun counterpoint to Hulme's stories occasionally provided in chapters by his wife Madelon. What I enjoyed most about the book was Part Two, describing how the Hulme family simply got on with life, building a family, a house and a future with scarce resources but wonderful friends and colleagues; their experiences as recounted here lack the bitterness so common in similar published accounts of

farming exploits in this country before the year 2000. Incredible people such as these built this country and will do so again, if allowed.

Part three provides a useful potted history of the area starting with the hunter-gatherers and ending with the earliest white settlers in the area. A minor error is the dating of the arrival of people in the area during the Early Iron Age which began at least 2,000 years ago and not in 700AD as claimed. The history of agricultural development in the Savé and the lives of the people provide wonderful anecdotes in the book and I hope others from different areas of Zimbabwe will follow suit with their reminiscences.

A thought that struck me was that how, in his easy reference to several breeders and their efforts, Hulme showed a pressing need to write a history of cattle ranching techniques and breeding efforts in Zimbabwe before and after Independence. As someone with a career as a rancher (with the Brahman breed Hulme did not like!) aborted by "land reform," I found the anecdotes of that life to be fascinating and I did not know the origins of many cattle studs.

In many ways the peace and tranquility of the Savé wilderness as described by Hulme has been lost, perhaps never to return as human populations inexorably increase and wildlife is removed. This thorny conflict is something Hulme has also admirably highlighted in his book, and the last chapter summarises 44 years of experience into sage advice on how to manage the populations with due respect to the difficult surrounding environment. One hopes the desertification of the area as described here will be smartly arrested with successful conservation policies. It would be wonderful for future settlers in the area to be able to state, as Hulme does (p. 290): "Our lives have been enriched and we are proud to have been part of it; we couldn't possibly have wished for more."

Obituary: Darrel Plowes 4 April 1925–19 October 2016

by John Meikle

Introduction

Darrel Plowes was born in Escourt in 1925. He spent one year with Consolidated Diamond Mines at Oranjemund Namibia before joining the South African Survey Corps which was attached to the American 5th Army for the Italian Campaign from September 1944. Post-war at Witwatersrand University, he was in the first course of the" Donga Doctors" whose graduates made such a huge contribution to the soil conservation movement in Rhodesia. In 1949 he became Pasture Research Officer at Matopos Research Station and transferred to Nyamandhlovu Research Station. He was promoted in 1956 to Provincial Agricultural Officer for Manicaland Province in the Department of African Agriculture, retiring in 1982. Darrel as a naturalist deserves recognition among the great collectors such as Swynnerton and Chase. He authored 89 scientific articles in respected journals. He has 8 new species named after him. He is probably best known for the book Wild Flowers of Zimbabwe co- authored with Bob Drummond and a birds egg collection in the Bulawayo Museum. He died aged 91 on 19th October 2016 and is survived by his son Robert, his daughter (Carolyn) and his companion Nina Bauer.

A Tribute by John Meikle

Darrel passed away on 19th October 2016, aged 91. He was an outstanding naturalist whose enquiring mind and deep understanding of the natural world were an inspiration to me and others to take an interest in the flora and fauna around us. His knowledge was encyclopaedic even in frail old age. When I mentioned we had seen excavated dinosaur fossils at Sentinel ranch, he replied, "Oh, that's Spondylus whatever it was".

Few people knew he served in Italy from September 1944 in the SA Survey Corps attached to the American Fifth Army, often ahead of the main army and I only know this because I asked him, thinking he was well in the rear! He was born in Estcourt in 1925 and graduated from the first post-war Agricultural Conservation degrees at Wits, from where he was appointed to the post of Pasture Research at Matopos Research Station and later to Nyamandhlovu Research Station as officer-in-charge. He was promoted to the post of Provincial Agricultural Officer in the Department of African Agriculture based in Mutare, which is where I first met him in 1960.

It was Darrel who gave me and my cousin David our first paid jobs. I was a student aged 20 in my third year reading Agriculture at the University of Natal. We applied to him for a "Vac. Job". To our astonishment he trusted us with a brand new Land Rover pick up and, together with camping gear and an African Demonstrator, set off to map Maranke South for settlement. This area in the vee between the Sabi and Odzi Rivers

was wild, full of animals and very difficult to cross except from Odzi and crossing on foot at Hot Springs. Of course, it was totally unsuited to cropping, but we had to use aerial maps and stereoscopes to identify arable land, often only verified by slogging on foot and once our guide got us lost for a day. We would have walked dozens of times over the Chiadzwa diamond field and not noticed the greasy little stones. If Darrel had been with us it might have changed our lives, because before Darrel joined the army, he worked as a prospector for the Consolidated Diamond Mines at Oranjemund!

Then I lost touch with him for some 30 years, during which he continued in African agriculture until 1980, during which time he tirelessly trained African farmers in sustainable land-use systems for small scale farmers and raising conservation awareness, now sadly discarded from 1980 onwards, culminating in the land invasions. Before returning to Mutare, he worked extensively throughout Africa, including being resident in Botswana for 3 years, in Chad for 4 years and in Sudan for 4 years. During these long periods, his scientific curiosity added to his prodigious scientific knowledge.

He was the principal author or co-authored 89 scientific articles in respected journals, discovered a new Genus of grass *Gazachloa* in the Chimanimani area and has 8 new species named after him, including a legless lizard, a mole rat, a butterfly, a species of Cape Bunting and in the botanical field, *Aloe plowsii*, a bulb *Dierama plowesii* and two succulent stapeliads *Huernia plowesii* and the *Echidnopsis plowesianum*. He is probably best known by the layman for the *Wild Flowers of Zimbabwe*, co-authored with Bob Drummond. His photo collection of 30 thousand slides are used as material in text books, travel guides and museums. His herbarium species are lodged in Kew, Pretoria and our National Herbarium. His *magnum opus* on the Stapeliads was sadly just short of being completed and even a week before he died, he was anxious to get it done. Hopefully another scientist can complete it. His working hours were extraordinary, even in extreme old age, often working to 3 and 4 in the morning.

In the mid 90's Dr Colin Saunders, that great Lowveld doctor and conservationist had started the Lowveld Natural History Society. When he moved to the Vumba, he encouraged me to start the Eastern Districts' Natural History Society, of which Darrel and his then wife Anita were very keen supporters.

We had some memorable lectures at the Museum. Once Darrel showed his award winning film 'Black Eagle Fly Free', in which he recorded the successful nest building and rearing of the chicks on a precarious ledge at Murahwa's Hill. On another occasion, he used his very professional flower slides to demonstrate the extraordinary beauty and diversity of the wild flowers of Nyanga and the Chimanimani, while demonstrating the similarities and differences due to geology. The Chimanimani mountains are quartzite with some plants (e.g. Restios) closely allied to Cape flora, while Nyanga is granite and dolerite. Another memorable evening of slides by Darrel was of the wonders of Namaqualand in spring.

There were good outings. Darrel's knowledge of the pre-history of Zimbabwe gave us insight to the Ziwa Ruins north of Nyanga, and on a subsequent visit to Harleigh Ruins and Diana's Vow paintings near Rusape. One trip was made to Zhembe Mountain near Chimoio, where Darrel, after a stiff climb to the saddle pointed out the Mount Zembe endemics *Huernia leachii* (stapeliad), *Aloe decurva* and *Encephalartos munchii* (cycad).

There were two memorable more recent trips with Darrel. One was to Gorongoza game reserve before it was rehabilitated, where Darrel found an insignificant looking Stapeliad. We were also keen to see the Vanga flycatcher. Lying on his stretcher, Darrel called out to me, "No need to get out of bed, they are in the tree overhead!" The other was a long trip to northern Moçambique with his grandson Simon and with Tim Peatling, to Mount Namuli. It rained the whole way with Darrel insisting on driving his own Land Rover, while I drove my own. The problem with travelling with an elderly botanist is that he didn't get up too early and wanted to stop at each granite outcrop, when we had hundreds of kilometres to go. Our searches in the rain were fruitless, but on the return trip at a stop at an active granite quarry, Simon found the prized *Huernia* near Mocuba. A few years ago, he wanted me to drive with him to Lubango in Angola, but in his late 80's, I reckoned it was a journey too far.

Important to me is the interest he had taken in the mountain grassland species on my place on the Zimbabwe/Moçambique border, north of Penhalonga, which has already yielded *Hesperanthus petitiana* now lodged in the Kirstenbosch herbarium. Darrel has always been convinced that our *Dierama*, which is much smaller than the robust *D. inyangensis*, is a new species. This will be checked out with samples being sent to John Manning and Peter Goldblatt in Missouri.

I remember Darrel with great affection and feel privileged that he regarded me as a friend.

Detailed C.V.

Darrel Charles Herbert Plowes
Born: Estcourt, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, 4 April 1925.
Died: Mutare, Zimbabwe 19 October 2016

Education

Various schools in South Africa. Matriculated at age 16 at Estcourt High School in 1941.

BSc. (Agriculture, Soil Conservation, Ecology) at Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg in December 1948 under Prof. John F. V. Phillips, leading African ecologist.

War Service

Volunteer 1943-1945 with South African Survey Corps. Trained in plane-table surveying and aerial photographic mapping. Attached to American 5th Army in Italy as from September 1944.

Career

Spent one year (1942) with Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa as a prospector at Oranjemund, Namibia, before being old enough to enlist in the Army.

Due to the political situation that prevailed in South Africa at the time of graduation, he emigrated to Zimbabwe and joined the Department of Agriculture as a Pasture Research Officer at the Matopos Research Station, Bulawayo, in February 1949. Assisted with grazing management and ecological trials in the low rainfall savanna area of the country, and built up the station herbarium.

In 1950, he initiated research into the biology and control of Queleas (highly

destructive granivorous birds), and represented Zimbabwe at two international Quelea conferences (Dakar, Senegal in 1955, and Livingstone, Zambia in 1957).

Transferred to Nyamandhlovu Research Station (Matabeleland, Zimbabwe) as Officer-in-Charge in November 1952, with emphasis on range management and ecological research in semi-arid ranching areas, and supportive arable crops.

Promoted to Provincial Agricultural Officer (Regional Director) of Manicaland Province in the Department of African Agriculture in September 1956 until enforced retirement in December 1982. Based at Mutare with responsibility for agriculture and land development in the tribal areas of the eastern region of Zimbabwe. This ecologically complex region ranges from low semi-arid terrain, with thriving irrigation schemes, through all altitudinal zones (with corresponding rainfall and soil types), to high montane grassland, as well as high rainfall subtropical areas with bamboo and evergreen forest on the Mozambique border where tea and coffee are cultivated.

The Province had a staff complement of over 300 prior to losses during the liberation war. Field staff, supported by various specialists at Provincial headquarters, served a rural population of about one million, in an area up to 500 km long and 150 km wide.

The diversity of ecosystems in the Province gives rise to a corresponding diversity of agricultural potential, and therefore various appropriate development, conservation, and extension strategies and methods were evolved, resulting in the application of innovative and sustainable land-use systems for small scale farmers that were undoubtedly the most progressive and successful in Africa.

In part, this was achieved by the introduction of week-long residential 'Conservation Awareness' courses in 1964 to motivate and educate tribal leaders, teachers, councillors, and women's and youth club leaders in understanding the effects of the disastrous combination of poor land-use practices and high population growth rates, and to provide guidance on how these should be tackled. Environmental and wildlife conservation formed an integral part of these courses. This training required the development of suitable training centres at Provincial, District, and local level, backed by Mobile Training Units, and staffed by highly motivated personnel. The rural schools were integrated into this development program, always with notable results.

After Independence in 1980, a program for the creation of Rural Service Centres (Growth Points) was initiated to help provide properly sited, planned and serviced nuclei around which business and residential development could materialise.

Represented Zimbabwe Ministry of Agriculture in 1981 at a workshop at the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA), Ibadan, Nigeria on conservation of Plant Genetic Resources.

In-Service Training

Toured Kenya and Tanzania in 1960 to study tea and coffee production; attended a 6 week course at the Shell International Training Centre at Borgo a Mozzano in Italy in 1964 on extension methods for peasant farmers; Departmental courses in land-use planning, personnel management and supervision, and training methods.

Countries Visited

Botswana (resident 3 years); Cameroon; Chad (resident 4 years); Egypt; Germany; Great Britain; Italy; Kenya; Lesotho; Malawi; Mozambique; Namibia; Nigeria; Senegal; South Africa; Sudan (resident 4 years); Swaziland; Tanzania; United States of America

(resident 1 year); Yemen; Zimbabwe (resident since 1949).

Post-Retirement Activities

1. Undertook an environmental impact study in 1986 on the potential effect on bird life in the Okavango Delta and Lake Ngami in Botswana of a proposed irrigation scheme, for Snowy Mountains Corporation on behalf of Dept. of Water Affairs, Govt. of Botswana.
2. In 1988, undertook a review of the interaction and effectiveness of agricultural research and extension in western Sudan for US Agency for International Development, (USAID).
3. In 1989, was appointed by USAID Khartoum to supervise their program of assistance to the Sudan Plant Protection Department for desert locust control.
4. In 1990, produced for USAID Khartoum an Environmental Impact Assessment and manual (200 pp.) on the use of pesticides for the control of locusts and grasshoppers in Sudan.
5. In February 1991, supervised and co-authored a review of the biotic natural resources of Namibia for USAID Washington.
6. In 1993 was funded by USAID N'Djamena to provide country-wide wildlife (flora and fauna) input to an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) team reporting on an agricultural project for Chad.
7. July 1997 to December 1999, did the environmental monitoring and supervising of the rehabilitation of the 75 km Pungwe River-Mutare water pipeline project on behalf of Interconsult Zimbabwe Ltd. for the City of Mutare, and also the revision and modification of various aspects of the Detailed Environmental Impact Assessment report.
8. In February 1998, undertook the flora and fauna aspects of an EIA for the extension of the Harare Municipal quarry on behalf of Interconsult Zimbabwe Ltd.
9. In November 1998 undertook the flora and fauna survey component for the Environ-mental Assessment of the proposed route of the 475 km power-line from the planned new thermal power station at Sengwa in Gokwe North to the substations near Kwekwe and Marondera, for Interconsult Zimbabwe Ltd.
10. In December 1999 undertook a botanical survey for Zimbabwe Forestry Commission of conservation areas on their Chimanimani Estates.
11. In March 2000: EIA of three proposed ZESA interconnector lines at Nyanga for Interconsult Zimbabwe Ltd.
12. In July 2000: Botanical survey and environmental management report for Border Timbers Ltd. of Sawerombi Forestry Estate, Chimanimani.
13. March 2001: Participated in a Baboon Control workshop organised by the Zimbabwe Timber Producers Federation.
14. December 2001: EIA of a proposed township extension adjacent to the National Park at Kariba, for Interconsult Zimbabwe Ltd. on behalf of Kariba Municipality.
15. 2001/2002: participated in Timber Producers Federation workshops to define policy and parameters for environmental standards for Zimbabwe timber estates for accreditation by the Forest Stewardship Council to export timber.

16. January-March 2003: provided input to Interconsult Zimbabwe Ltd. on Forestry, Agriculture, Irrigation, Tourism, Wildlife, and Conservation for the joint Report to the Governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique on the Resources of the Pungwe River Basin in the Zimbabwe portion of the Basin (funded by SIDA).
17. March 2003: Interim EIA for Interconsult Zimbabwe Ltd. in connection with a proposal to expand electrical generating facilities at Kariba Dam.

Hobbies and Interests

Photography, birds, succulent plants, botany, butterflies, orchids, mammals, fish, reptiles, archaeology and paleontology, prehistoric rock art, insects, etc., together with a deep and lifelong concern for ecological and environmental matters.

Fellow of both the American and the Zimbabwe Cactus and Succulent Societies.
British Cactus & Succulent Society
International Asclepiad Society
BirdLife South Africa
BirdLife Zimbabwe
Witwatersrand Bird Club
Botanical Society of South Africa
Wildlife & Environment Society of Zimbabwe
Zimbabwe Orchid Society
National Trust of Zimbabwe

In particular, Darrel dedicated a major effort to securing the legacy of Sir Stephen and Lady Virginia Courtauld, through their bequest of the La Rochelle property to the National Trust of Zimbabwe. His early professional association with the Courtaulds led to the establishment of the Kukwanisa agricultural training center at Watsomba, and subsequently he became a personal friend of the Courtaulds with shared interests in orchids and natural history.

Natural History Activities

Collected birds, reptiles, and insects for the Transvaal Museum in 1942 while at Oranjemund, Namibia, and discovered a new legless lizard, *Typhlosaurus plowesii*, and a new race of mole-rat, *Bathyergus janetta plowesii*.

Commenced botanical collecting whilst at University and discovered a new succulent, *Euphorbia clivicola*. In the Chimamimani Mountains on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border, collected *Aloe plowesii*, two new flowers, *Dierama plowesii* and *Dissotis pulchra*, and a new genus of grass, *Gazachloa chimanimaniensis*. Collected over 6 000 herbarium specimens to date, lodged mainly at Harare, Pretoria, and Kew Herbaria, and which include many new records.

His comprehensive collection of bird's eggs is in the National Museum, Bulawayo. Provided eggs to Dr Hugh Cott at Cambridge, and Dr Charles Sibley at Cornell, for palatability and electrophoresis studies respectively. Assisted Dr Herbert Friedmann of US Museum of Natural History with studies on parasitic birds in Zimbabwe. Discovered two new races of the Cape Bunting (*Fringillaria capensis plowesii*, and *F. capensis smithersii* - was author of latter). Made award-winning film '*Black Eagle Fly Free*' (1975). Commenced collecting butterflies in 1955 and collected *Aloeides plowesii* at Nyanga.

Collected, studied and photographed stapeliads (succulent Afro-Indian members of the Apocynaceae family) for 70 years in 18 countries and have grown 6000 of these plants for study and world-wide distribution to botanical institutions, nurseries, and hobbyists. Described several new genera and many species of stapeliads and also a new aloe (*A. inconspicua*). Discovered *Huernia plowesii* and several other new stapeliads.

Helped found the Mutare Museum - member of Board of Trustees. Study leader on several Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society and Outward Bound natural history expeditions.

His collection of 30 000 35 mm colour slides has been used by leading publishers in many countries for text-books, prestige books, travel guides, and museum displays. These slides have been digitized and appropriate topics will be donated to relevant institutions.

Botanical specimens are lodged at SRGH, Harare, Zimbabwe, and at PRE, Pretoria and Kew.

He was honoured in the names of several species:
Typhlosaurus plowesii A. Roberts (legless lizard)
Janetta bathyergus plowesii A. Roberts (mole rat)
Aloe plowesii Reynolds ¬(Aloe)
Fringillaria capensis plowesii Vincent (bird)
Aloeides plowesii Tite & Dickson (butterfly)
Dierama plowesii Burtt Davy & Hilliard (flower)
Huernia plowesii L. C. Leach (succulent: stapeliad)
Echidnopsis plowesianum G. Orlando (succulent: stapeliad).

Honours and Awards

Bronze Medal First Prize South African Documentary Film Festival for film '*Black Eagle Fly Free*'.
Selected to photograph the first day of the new millennium in Zimbabwe for the project 'Daybreak 2000'.

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The Need for a Tribal Trust Land Development Agency, 1974
Analysis of Student Teachers Questionnaire (Conservation and Land Use), 1976
Manicaland Agricultural Policy Document, 1976
Education for Independence, 1977
Schools and the Development of T.T.L.'s, 1977
Tenure and Developement Policy for Tribal Trust Lands, 1979
The Impact of Agricultural Extension in the Eastern Tribal Areas of Zimbabwe, 1980
An Agricultural Research and Training Center for the Medium Rainfall Savannah Areas of Southern Africa, 1981
Priority Requirements for Communal Areas, 1981
Proposed Pan-African Agricultural Publication and Audio Visual Centre, 1981
Rectification of Erosion in the Sabi Catchment, 1982.

Obituary: Cecil John Ford 12 April 1935–28 June 2017

by Tim Tanser

Cecil John Ford, one of only two Honorary Members of the History Society has died after a short illness at Harare on the 28th June 2017.

John played a significant and enduring part in the development of our society and it is fitting that this be recorded in the society's magazine.

Some years ago, twenty-seven years ago to be precise, John, two other friends, Ken Nortje and Bert Rosettenstein and I went on an outing to Fort Tuli to celebrate the centenary of the crossing of the Shashe river by the pioneers in September 1890.

For four days we ate, drank-in and dreamed as we considered the anticipation, excitement and expectancy of that event. We fossicked at and around the fort, found many artefacts of that bygone event and immersed ourselves in the atmosphere we imagined would have prevailed at that historic time.

And we talked. We talked and talked and talked. Oh that I could have recorded all that we talked about. Those four days gave me a fine insight into the somewhat fascinating and complex character of our friend John.

Amongst other nuggets I heard of John's extensive travels as a young man in Australasia and other countries and the fact that he had at one time become engaged to a New Zealand girl.

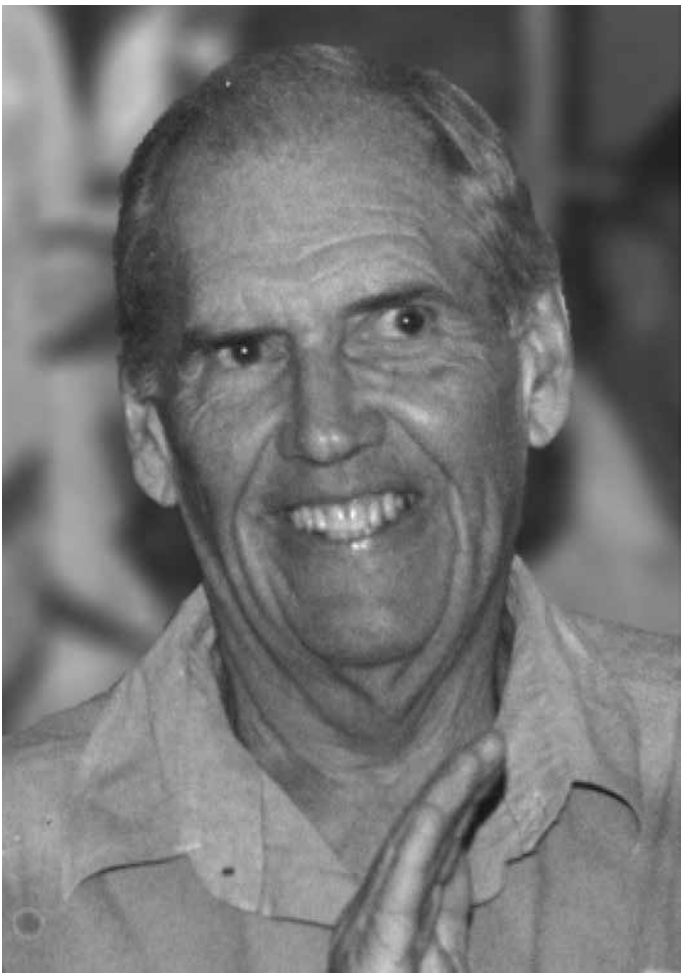
His enthusiasm and excitement for the things in which he was interested was palpable. He had a warm and kindly spirit which was openly on display for those who shared his interests.

His many years in the printing industry, commencing as a Compositor through to Sales Manager at Mardons, developed in him an editor's eagle eye for detail. He was meticulous in all his writings. It seemed to me that he could detect a spelling or punctuation error at a hundred metres.

The warmth of his character was often expressed in his many missives of gratitude. He would always immediately follow up a visit or a gift of fruit or vegetables with a fulsome letter of gratitude. Always kindled amongst the show of gratitude was a sparkle of humour. He loved to laugh.

When given a task to undertake John approached it with intense fervour and passion.

He and I were detailed in 1987 to arrange a history outing to the Mutare and Penhalonga areas. This was home-ground to John, he having spent the early years of his youth at Premier Citrus Estate near Old Umtali. I so clearly recall John's intense excitement as he jumped over furrows and pointed out many places and recalled incidents in his youth when we went for our initial recce of the area.



Testament to his passion, authored by John, is one of the finest and most detailed of all of the pamphlets, which our History Society of Zimbabwe ever published.

Being brought up at Premier Citrus Estate it was natural that he should attend Umtali Boys High together with his older brother Henry. John also had three sisters, Dulcie, Hazel and Rosalee.

Apart from his work, John from a young age was intensely interested in scouting. The fellow Scouts with whom he worked for many years could reminisce for hours about John's passion and the personal interest he took in all those under his wings.

In scouting circles John was known as 'Ting' and his fellow scout elders such as John (Pepsi) Petheram and Ken Nortje remained some of his firmest friends to the end of his days.That scouting fraternity had and still has the most remarkable and unshakeable bonds of brotherhood and community.

My own friendship with John developed through our History Society association.

Given John's excellent use of words, he took on the posts first of Secretary of the National Committee and subsequently as Editor of several of the excellent journals the Society produces.

Shortly after the advent of Independence in 1980, there were many folk who were either leaving the country or down-sizing their collections of Rhodesiana books. I initiated a scheme whereby the Society received the books, publicised them, then sold them for the benefit of the seller. John showed a particular interest in this enterprise and soon took it over completely.

Books began to flow in and then developed into a veritable flood. John's house in Greystone Park was unable to cope with the massive build-up of books and the Society paid to construct a book repository on John's property.

Whilst this additional storage space helped greatly, John's house and his roof in particular was virtually held up by boxes upon boxes of books. This was undoubtedly the authentic 'House of Books!'

John acquired an intense understanding and ability to value all these books, nearly all of which he read, and soon he was known simply as 'Mr Books'.

His superb efforts on behalf of The History Society were recognised by him being awarded Honorary Life Membership of the Society, a rare honour.

Apart from his historical and other intellectual pursuits, John had a passion for training youngsters to swim. These were the early days of triathlons and John took enormous pride in those youngsters when they achieved good results in their chosen sport. Their term of endearment for John was 'The Old Grasshopper.'

As John used to train his swimmers at the Avondale pool he then took it upon himself to beautify the surrounds of the pool. He could be seen there any day of the week carting, placing and planting trees and shrubs at appropriate places around the pool. He took great pride in this exercise, the benefits of which can still be seen today.

As John aged, it was seen from a practical, financial and security point of view that it would make sense for John to sell his house and move into a retirement home. This move really knocked poor John. The books which had to be relocated could be counted into multiple thousands.

It is appropriate too for me to write of the exceptional devotion and friendship shown to John by Paul Howard, who had first come under John's wing when Paul showed a particular and enduring interest in the books John was selling.

Paul helped John transport his hundreds of books and stored many of them. More than that, Paul would visit John constantly, take him out, care for him, and transport him wherever and whenever John required help. He guided John in the investment of the proceeds of the sale of his house and many a time made funds available to him in need, often from his own resources. Paul's example of faithful friendship, fellowship and support has been exceptional.

John's last years were not his happiest or best. He had loved being fully involved with people and with projects. His deteriorating health severely curtailed those pleasures in life for him.

We can now only pray that John is at that place where there are no more tears and no more pain.

Whether it was Ting, The Old Grasshopper, Mr. Books or just plain John, thank you for a life truly well lived, for the great contribution you made to our society and for that affection for you which you created in so many others.

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

Obituary: Robert J. Challiss 1941–12 July 2018

by R. S. Roberts

At the time of his death on 12 July 2018 Bob Challiss was a member of both the Mashonaland and the National Committees of the History Society.

He was born, in what became Pakistan, in 1941; his family had a tradition of service in the Indian Army and his mother was the great-granddaughter of a soldier who had won the V.C. during the Indian Mutiny in 1857—the origin perhaps of Bob's later interest in medals. Bob's father also was an officer in the Indian Army; but he was taken prisoner by the Japanese in Burma during the Second World War and was then killed by his captors in 1942.

Bob was brought to Southern Rhodesia in 1946 by his guardian, his mother's father, Maj. B. M. P. Burke MBE, MiD. She was still in the Army in India and had recently remarried, to Capt. Robert A. G. Prentice of the Gurkhas. In 1947 they followed Bob to Southern Rhodesia where his step-father joined the Rhodesian Army (and was later promoted to Brigadier and OBE)—one of the attractions of Southern Rhodesia to those leaving India being that it was one of the few countries that welcomed them and would give them the citizenship that the United Kingdom, to its eternal shame, denied them. (One of Bob's funniest yarns concerned the Pakistan High Commission in Harare tying itself in knots over his tongue-in-cheek request for a passport.)

Bob attended Blakiston School in Harare and then went to the University of Cape Town where he majored in History and his Honours dissertation in 1968 showed his early commitment to the history of education of this country. He decided on a teaching career and went to Oxford University for his teacher training. Back in Southern Rhodesia he started teaching and obtained a broad experience in the different sectors of the racially divided system. This experience led him in the early 1970s to the History Department of the University of Rhodesia in Salisbury where he commenced part-time research into the history of education for a doctorate which in the event took nearly ten years to complete—partly because he often took on the extra duties of a part-time teaching assistant in the Department in addition to his schoolmastering.

Taken from a painting of Bob as a young man engrossed in his favourite passtime

Meanwhile he married Rosemary Dawson (also a graduate in history of the University). His final teaching post was at St Georges from 1988

to 2006 where he taught mainly English Literature, a life-long interest that he shared with his wife. Sadly she passed away in 1989; and Bob brought up his two young children James and Laura. Whenever congratulated on producing such a fine son and daughter in difficult circumstances, Bob with his usual self-depreciation would say that in fact they had taken care of him. After they had grown up and gone abroad (to Britain and Australia), Bob remarried, to Colette, and they lived happily in Highlands.

To those who knew him and his work Bob was of an engaging and rather unusual mixture of incisiveness in academic argument, as seen in his publications on education, and of an enigmatic and somewhat rueful sense of humour which left his listeners intrigued by his yarns with halting endings that seemed to presage another even more amusing instalment. He will be sadly missed, but his publications are a gift to us that repay study:

While attached to the University of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe

'Origins of the educational system of Southern Rhodesia', *Rhodesian History* (1973), IV, 57–79.
'Education planning for Zimbabwe: The problem of unreliable historical perspectives', *Zambezia* (1979), VII, 215-41,
The European Educational System in Southern Rhodesia, 1890–1930 (Salisbury, Univ. of Zimbabwe, Supplement to *Zambezia*, 1980).
'Sport in a racially divided society', *Zimbabwean History* (1981), XII, 101–6.
'The Foundation of the Racially Segregated Education System in Southern Rhodesia, 1890–1923, with Special Reference to the Education of Africans (Harare, Univ. of Zimbabwe, D.Phil., 1982).
'Phelps-Stokesism and education in Zimbabwe', *Zambezia* (1983), XI, 109–25.

Heritage of Zimbabwe

'A manifest impropriety: The Salisbury School scandal, 1901', (1999), XVIII, 117–36.
'Afrikaner education under British South Africa Company rule', (2001), XX, 96–143.
'Victoria Cross winners associated with Central Africa: Part one', (2005), XXIV, 39–59.
'The patron saint of bird watchers visits the Victoria Falls: Edmund Selous in Africa 1882–1884', (2007), XXVI, 42–53.
'Zimbabwean Second World War VC connections', (2008), XXVII, 116–30.
'A bugle for 'Bomber' Harris', (2013), XXXII, 167–74.
'Alfred John Shout, VC, MC and the British South Africa Company Police 1900–1907', (2015), XXXIV, 133–42.

The Journal of the Zimbabwe Medal Society

'The Mysterious Edmond O'Toole, VC', (Oct. 2005), LII, 17–20, 28–31.
'The Gifford Brothers, Lord Ederic VC and the Hon. Maurice, CMG', (Mar. 2006), LIII, 5–15; (Sept. 2006), LV, 4–15, 41–[3].
'Central African VC Connections—Part 2', (Dec. 2006), LVI, 13–37, 46–8.
'The conclusion of the Bob Challiss VC story: The VC Centenary Celebrations', (Mar. 2007), LVII, 32–48.
'The Albert Medal: What the guest speaker said . . . 17th September 2010', (Dec. 2010), LXXII, 29–38.
'Royal Visit 1947: A voice from the ranks', (Sept. 2012), LXXIX, 29–49.

The Chairman's Annual Report for 2017-2018

Good morning Ladies and Gentlemen and thank you for attending this National Committee AGM. At this same event last year a suggestion was made from the floor that the Mashonaland Branch should be absorbed into the National Committee, since it was the only Branch Committee currently operating, and I agreed to take it up for further discussion at National Committee level. However, at a meeting of that committee on 28 May 2017, the overwhelming view of members was that the roles of the two committees were entirely separate and should remain so. In terms of the Society's constitution, the National Committee has the power to create branches, as well as sub-committees, and, as such, has oversight responsibilities over the Mashonaland Branch, but, even if the Mashonaland Branch were to be reconstituted as a sub-committee of the National Committee, the distinct nature of the two would remain. To illustrate the matter further perhaps, and without prolonging this report too much, let me outline the kinds of issues that we try to deal with at National Committee level.

As may be seen from the screen behind me, the Society was founded in 1953 and its objectives were, and remain, pretty simple and clear - "to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of the history of Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries". In earlier years there used to be a very active branch in the Matabeleland area, as well as in Manicaland, but, for a number of reasons, one or two of them perhaps obvious, these branches ceased to function under the umbrella of the Society. Fortunately, as was reported last year, although there is now no branch in Bulawayo, well attended meetings are held there under the auspices of the "Friends of the National Museum". Even more fortunately, as all of you have experienced, we have a very active Mashonaland Branch, and its Chairman, Charles Castelin, will shortly be reporting on its activities.

Apart from maintaining an oversight of the affairs of the Mashonaland Branch through having its Chairman as an ex officio member of the National Committee, we also fund the annual insurance premium for the Mashonaland Branch PA equipment, as well as the Mango monthly fees for their email circulation services.

Incidental expenses in the past year have included the costs of printing the Index to past issues of Heritage, and a US$500 contribution to the National Monuments and Museums in Bulawayo for the repair of the Filabusi Memorial that had been vandalized.

Our major expense in the year, however, in support of one of our primary National Committee responsibilities, has been the printing of our journal Heritage. Journal numbers 34 and 35 have been published in the last year as a result of the dedicated efforts of our Honorary Editor, Fraser Edkins, and he is well on the way to bringing out Heritage issues 36 and 37 before the end of this year. The next two journals between

them comprise some 51 articles I believe, and I'm left wondering as to quite how Fraser manages to fulfill his role as Editor of Heritage, while at the same time being Senior Partner of one of the leading law firms in the country. Fraser, on behalf of the National Committee, as well as the membership of the Society as a whole, I thank you.

Our Treasurer, Adele Hamilton Ritchie, will report shortly on the state of our finances, but one of the complicating factors associated with Heritage is that we are struggling to recoup sufficient of the printing costs, partly because I was slow in chasing up our sponsors, some of whom have in any case fallen away in the current economic climate, but also because, given the cash shortage, we are just not selling as many issues of Heritage as we would have expected. Ideally we should have a point-of-sale machine at every one of our functions, so that our members could "swipe" for their Heritage purchases, but CABS have proved unwilling to issue us with one, given our relatively low cash turnover. The result has been that we have had to dip deeper into our financial reserves than we would like.

Another of our National Committee responsibilities is the organization of an annual Luncheon. For the second year running this was held at the Cresta Lodge Conference Centre last November and our guest speaker was Mr Dave Westerhout, speaking on the topic of "Sport, the good, the bad and the ugly". The talk was well received, those attending appeared to enjoy themselves, and, from the perspective of costs, these related to flowers on the tables and the luncheon costs for our special guests.

Other current concerns of the National Committee include the creation of a Society website, the likely service provider being Mango, and the fact that there is a Facebook site utilising the name History Society of Zimbabwe. Our principal concern regarding the latter site, which has absolutely no link with our Society, is that its members might post upon it statements or opinions which might be construed locally as politically offensive, or at the least insensitive, and our hope is to be able to persuade site creators to change the name, lest we be seen as supporting or condoning such opinions. As for having our own website, the intention would be not only to encourage a greater interest in our activities, as well as the history of our country, particularly amongst younger people, but also to publish on line all of our past journals, both Rhodesiana and Heritage, save for the three most recent editions of Heritage which we would continue to make available in hardcopy. The establishment of this website has been rather a slow, even stop-start process, but we are determined that it should happen.

Two other matters of historical concern to the National Committee are the plight of valuable old records, and of old buildings in this country. Ideally old record collections – for example municipal, church, company and private family papers, including old photos, should be donated to the National Archives, but, sadly, that institution appears neither to have the capacity nor the interest to handle them. We have agonized as a committee about how to rescue them, but so far have come up with no workable solutions.

Old buildings, too, particularly those in Harare, are at risk. There used to be a functioning Historic Buildings Advisory Committee that met under the umbrella of the National Monuments and Museums body, and we used to have a representative upon it, but that committee has ceased to meet. The relevant Act, under which old buildings should be protected, is also years out of date.

Ladies and Gentlemen I will be standing down as National Chairman at this AGM, having done two years in the post. But, before I wrap up I should like to thank my fellow committee members for their contributions. My Deputy Chairman, Tim Tanser and the

longer serving members of the committee – Robin Taylor, Professor Ray Roberts, and Fraser Edkins for their ongoing commitment and their sage advice throughout. I have already made mention of the major contribution that Fraser makes as editor of Heritage, and I can't emphasise that enough. I would also like to thank our newer members like Kevin Atkinson, Adele Hamilton Ritchie, Bob Challiss, and Charles Castelin. Kevin, who retired at the end of December as Headmaster of St. George's, has been very supportive of the Society through its use of College facilities, and in seeing that the venues were also properly equipped. Adele joined us a Treasurer just over a year ago and I thank her for sorting out our books as it were after the hiatus left by the death of our previous Treasurer, Mr Dennis Stephens, in May 2016. Charles Castelin, as already indicated, has been an ex officio member of the committee for the last two years, and I would like to congratulate and thank him for the sterling work done by him and his committee in arranging the full programme of talks and visits that many of you have enjoyed.

I should like to end my report, as I did last year, 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 that we want to avoid change, we really would welcome the involvement of new and, hopefully, younger people on the two committees.

Thank you.

J. D. McCarthy
National Chairman

Mashonaland Branch Chairman's Annual Report presented to the 47th AGM

Welcome to the 47th Annual General Meeting of the Mashonaland Branch of the History Society of Zimbabwe.

On the 24th July, 1974, about 300 hundred members of the Mashonaland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society (The precursor of the History Society of Zimbabwe) undertook a 26 km coach journey from Harare to Chishawasha Mission. The Society was 21 years old and the Mashonaland Branch 5 years old. The old route to the mission was followed and a halt was made along the Arcturus Road, where a talk was given by Mr E. E. Burke at the grave of "Lion" Stevens who was killed during the Mashona Rebellion. At the mission an account was made of its early days by the Reverend Dr Fred Rea.

Although we no longer aspire to meetings or outings 300 strong I am glad to say that during the past year we resumed, after a gap of over 10 years, holding trips out of Harare which by today's standards were well attended and greatly enjoyed by those who participated.

On the 28th May an outing was made to Hartley Hills where some of the first gold claims in the country were pegged in September 1890 and where our members were give a most informative talk by Mike Tucker on the First Chimurenga which started on 14th June 1896 in the area. Make also spoke about Fort Hill where 12 prospectors and traders held out for 35 days against the might of Chief Mashayamombe's forces until rescued by a column led by Captain White from Salisbury and he also pointed out the site of the first mining commissioner's camp. Mike then took us to the location of the eastern end of the Hunter's Road, the Fort and the graveyard where Skipper Hostes' brother Derrick is buried. The 64 members who attended picnicked under a thick forest of Msasa trees.

The second outing which, although not in the bush, took place in Robin Taylor's garden in Greendale and thus not being in the confines of a hall was welcomed by those 58 members that attended. Robin gave a great talk on the History of Poultry showing in Zimbabwe, well illustrated with live chicken.

The third outing was held the 8th October where brothers James and John Skinner were magnificent hosts to 73 of our members at the very historic Beatrice Mine. They gave talks on the history of the mine and its future plans as well as taking the society members on a tour of the plant. Jim Skinner gave a demonstration of panning gold and had laid out some interesting relicts from the past. Mike Tucker also gave an introduction to the early history of the area and its connection with the First Chimurenga. I don't think that the lucky few who went underground will ever forget this event.

Interspersed with these outings the society had a very active year comprising seven talks inclusive of the one given at the annual luncheon. Inclusive of the outings, talks and

luncheon 1 163 members attended the events held by the History Society, an increase of a massive 37 percent over the previous year. The average attendance at presentations held at St Georges was 126, an increase of 22 percent. This hopefully is an indication that the society is fulfilling most of our members expectations in terms of topics and presenters of our talks as well as the new starting time of 11 o'clock. If not, your committee is very happy to receive your suggestions for changes and improvements

At our first talk of 2017/2018, on 25th June, John Dawson addressed us on the subject of "The History of Computers". The talk attendance was a little on the low side at 72 as I gathered that many members thought it would be too technical. This was not the case at all and those that attended enjoyed a very interesting and well illustrated presentation that was geared to the layman.

On July the 30th we had a talk by Marie de Bruijn entitled "Life on the Trek, The Diary of the Steyn Trek from Craddock to Melsetter" This caught the imagination of our members and, at 168, was the second highest attendance for several years. Marie always talks with great enthusiasm on her topics and since she had herself translated the diaries from the original Dutch to Afrikaans and then to English it was very special.

On the 10th September Jono Waters presented a very well illustrated and interesting talk on the life of Frederick Courteney Selous (born 1851 - died 1917), the famed hunter, writer and guide of the 1890 Pioneer Column, to celebrate the centenary of his death in WW1 in East Africa. He rounded off his presentation with a fascinating illustration of the German General, Paul Von Lettow Vorbeck's famous unbeaten campaign in Tanzania during the first world war. The attendance at 116 was good.

Dave Westerhout gave members who attended the annual luncheon on November the 5th an entertaining and light talk on "Sport, The Good, the Bad and the Ugly" It was a brilliant after-dinner talk that kept members wide awake despite the good meal and many glasses of wine. He touched on many of the top class sportsmen produced by this country which punched well above its weight in days gone past. The turnout of 90 was very good in these times of financial hardships.

We did not have a gap month in December as in previous years and on the 3rd Bob Armstrong, from Bulawayo, entertained us with his talk on "Hugh Marshall Hole and his Matabele Stamp Currency Cards of 1900". This talk was so packed with information it deserved to have been spread over two talks as it covered many other aspects of history such as the Anglo Boer War, Leander Star Jameson, Cecil Rhodes and Lord Baden Powell. The talk was top class and deserved to have a better attendance than 78. It is a lesson to myself that notices for talks should be more comprehensive. If our members had known that the talk would not be limited to stamps I am sure that more members would have had the benefit of this wide ranging presentation.

On January the 28th Professor Ray Roberts gave a talk entitled "Myths of the Ndebele State" which outlined some of the popular misconceptions of Lobengula and the Ndebele people. The turn-out of 148 members was good as Ray's fame for delivering good talks preceded him. The collection after the talk was one of the highest in recent years: always a good sign that our members enjoyed and appreciated the talk. What I personally learnt was the much larger extent of the influence of the Matabele up to the time of their defeat by BSAP forces than I had imagined- Hwedza and Tete in the east and into what is Zambia to the north of the Zambesi.

Our last talk before this AGM was by Clive Stockil who fascinated us on February 25th with his presentation on the history of the first and most successful lowveld

Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources (or Campfire according to its acronym). Clive fascinated 176 members, the highest turnout that the society has had for many years, with details of the project which he not only has been involved in but was the driving force.

Apart from the increasing attendance and improving solvency of the Branch one aspect of the past year that has given me personal great satisfaction is the implementation of an outreach programme which is designed to bring our talks to some of those older members of our Harare community that for one reason or another are unable to attend our talks at St Georges.

We have held three talks at Pleasantways by speakers that have previously given presentations here at the school - Glyn Vale on the Interrelationship between Humans and Tsetse Flies, Marie de Bruijn on the Steyn Trek and John Robertson on the History of the Creation of Wealth. This not only gave an afternoon of welcome entertainment to the Residents of Pleasantways but also gave our own members a chance to see talks that they had missed in the past. The increasing attendance from 32 to 40 to 48 I think is testimony to the popularity of this series of excellent talks. The Society is very grateful to the three speakers for repeating their talks. The society is also greatly indebted to the Matron, Barbara Roberts and Adrian Bonney for facilitating these talks and providing tea and biscuits afterwards.

Another arm of our outreach programme I am pleased to say that we have inaugurated is a system of advertising our talks to Members of the History Society at Athol Evans, Blue Kerry and Larmenier and one person at each of those locations arranging lifts to our talks. Our grateful thanks go to Dawn Siemers in particular for enthusiastically assisting with this.

With regard to our membership I am very pleased to say that it has grown from 629 at the time of the AGM last year to 754 now, an increase of 20 percent. Hardly a week goes by when members of the committee and I don't convince someone of the benefits of joining the society or get unsolicited requests from members of the public who have heard about our activities.

Once again we are deeply indebted to St. Georges for the use of their fantastic facilities here at the school. It is such a pleasure for me and the speakers to just be able to come to either the Loyola or Beit Halls and tune our laptops into the overhead projector and have the use of the roll-down projector screen and the in-built audio system. We are extremely grateful to John Farrelly, the new headmaster for committing the school to the continuing use of this venue. We are also grateful to the ladies behind the scene at the school for taking the bookings and ensuring everything is in order for the Sunday events.

We are also very thankful for the services provided by Ben Madziwa, from the school's IT department, for the occasions when he has had to step in and set up and pack away the audio-visual system.

Your committee has once again worked very hard this past year in ensuring that we provide the best possible value 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, Bob Challiss, Jim Holland, Glyn Vale, Fiona Atkinson and John McCarthy as an ex-officio member, and myself.

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. I am sure that he is very pleased about the reversal of our declining financial situation during the past year.

I would also like to record my appreciation to Julia Russell, our splendid minute secretary, as well as the Mango staff and Harald Solberg for a huge amount of help with IT challenges. Finally, but far from least, my wife Lesley who has given me a huge amount of assistance, support and encouragement over the past two years.

We already have a strong line-up of potential speakers for the remainder of 2018 and one of my hopes, during the year, is that we can continue with some excursions out of Harare and also with our outreach programme to older members unable, for one reason or another, to join us here.

Next year the Mashonaland Branch will reach its Golden Jubilee. I hope we can celebrate this with something special.

I have reached the end of my two year spell as chairman and thank you all for the wonderful opportunity you have given me to be involved in organising the affairs of the Mashonaland Branch and, in doing so, meeting some splendid people.

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 talks given during the year.

Charles Castelin
Chairman
18th March 2018