HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

VOLUME No. 11 1982

FOR SALE: complete set of the Journal Rhodesiana Nos. 1 to 40, inclusive, in six beautifully bound volumes. Highest cash offer over $1200 will secure this valuable set of which the first 18 numbers have been out of print for many years. Telephone your offer to Mrs Carlaw on Harare 727264.

For reasonably priced valuations of Zimbabweana, Rhodesiana and Africana individual books and collections please contact the Editor, Heritage of Zimbabwe, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

Books on all aspects of the history of Zimbabwe and neighbouring territories would be welcomed for review in future issues of Heritage of Zimbabwe. A review copy of any such book should be sent to the Editor, Heritage of Zimbabwe, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

If you intend to make a new will or to amend an existing will please think about the History Society of Zimbabwe.

Individual biographies and family, company, Local Authority, Town and Club histories researched and written up for publication. Fees based on time actually spent, plus any necessary travelling costs. Inquiries to The Editor, Heritage of Zimbabwe, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

FOUNDED: 1953 **P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.**

PUBLICATIONS PRICE LIST

A. The journal **RHODESIANA**
(40 issues published from 1956–1980)

The following issues are available

No. 19, 1968	No. 24, 1971	No. 29, 1973	No. 34, 1976	No. 39, 1978
No. 20, 1969	No. 25, 1971	No. 30, 1974	No. 35, 1976	No. 40, 1979
No. 21, 1969	No. 26, 1972	No. 31, 1974	No. 36, 1977	
No. 22, 1970	No. 27, 1972	No. 32, 1975	No. 37, 1977	
No. 23, 1970	No. 28, 1973	No. 33, 1975	No. 38, 1978	

The nett price **per copy**, inclusive of **all** bank charges and surface mail postage, is $20.

B. The Journal **NADA**
(Published annually from 1923–1980)

The following issues are available
1977, 1978, 1979, 1980.

The nett price **per copy**, inclusive of **all** bank charges and surface mail postage, is $20.

C. The journal **HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE**

(Published annually). The following issues are available —

No. 1, 1981	No. 2, 1982	No. 3, 1983	No. 4, 1984	No. 5, 1985
No. 6, 1986	No. 7, 1988	No. 8, 1989	No. 9, 1990	No. 10, 1991

The nett price **per copy**, inclusive of **all** bank charges and surface mail postage is $10 for issues Nos. 1–7, $25 for Nos. 8 and 9, and $40 for No. 10.

D. History Society of Zimbabwe Neckties $65 per tie including registered surface mail postage.

ORDERS

Orders accompanied by payment should be sent to the Society at the address indicated above.

PAYMENT

Zimbabwean subscribers may remit by cheque or postal order. Please add $1 to cheques from outside Harare.

American subscribers should preferably remit the amount indicated above by cheque in favour of the Society but cash is acceptable.

Other foreign subscribers should preferably remit by bank draft but cash is acceptable.

In the case of American and other foreign subscribers, please add a $10 bank clearing charge to each cheque.

Bank charges and commission include a bank commission on all foreign cheques together with a charge for returning foreign currency to the drawee or issuing bank. Postage includes increased Zimbabwean postage charges.

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

The Society exists to promote historical studies and to encourage research. It also aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of the history of Zimbabwe and neighbouring territories.

For further information and particulars of membership please write to the National Honorary Secretary at P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

For information on Branch activities please write to:

Manicaland Branch, 15 Shelley Avenue, Fairbridge Park, Mutare, Zimbabwe.
Mashonaland Branch, P.O. Box 3946, Harare, Zimbabwe.

Address: The History Society of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box 8368, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

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

HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 11 — 1992

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe

Edited by

M. J. KIMBERLEY

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

ISSN 0556—9605

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

Typeset by TextPertise (Pvt) Ltd., Harare, Zimbabwe.
Printed by NCR City Printers, Harare, Zimbabwe.

Heritage of Zimbabwe No. 11, 1992

CONTENTS

BENEFACTORS AND SPONSORS

For about 20 years from 1956, the Society was able to finance the cost of printing its journal from its own resources consisting mainly of membership subscription and investment income. However, some 15 years ago it became necessary to sell advertisements in the journal to help finance the journal costs, and major Zimbabwean industrial, commercial, mining and financial companies rendered magnificent support in this regard.

With the astronomic inflation in Zimbabwe in the 1990s and the enormous rise in printing costs, the Society is again in trouble as our projected income for 1992 and 1993 just cannot finance a very substantial journal printing cost.

In order to achieve equilibrium and to ensure that the journal continues indefinitely the Society's National Executive Committee sought the support of leading Zimbabwean companies to become Benefactors and Sponsors. The response has been fantastic and the Society will remain eternally grateful to the following Zimbabwean companies for their magnanimous support in committing themselves to the Society's publishing efforts for a five-year period. Without this assistance you would not be reading this journal.

Benefactors

African Distillers Limited
Anglo American Corporation
Central Africa Building Society
Meikles Consolidated Holdings (Private) Limited
T.S.L. Limited
UDC Limited

Sponsors

ANZ Grindlays Bank (Zimbabwe) Limited
Astra Holdings Limited
Barclays Bank of Zimbabwe Limited
Central African Cables Limited
Olivine Industries (Private) Limited
PG Industries Zimbabwe Limited
RM Insurance Company (Private) Limited
Standard Chartered Bank Limited and
Standard Chartered Merchant Bank Limited jointly
The Discount Company of Zimbabwe Limited
Zimbabwe Leaf Tobacco (Private) Limited

Foreword

This, the eleventh volume of our annual journal, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, is, as in the past, intended to offer at least something of interest to every one of our members and other readers in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the world, but, as always, it is neither expected nor intended that every article will be of interest to every reader.

The major article in this issue is a comprehensive and copiously illustrated Essay on The British South Africa Company presented by Mr R. P. Lander, the Chief Executive of the Anglo American Corporation group in Zimbabwe. Close links existed between the Company and the Corporation over many years, culminating in the merging of the local assets of the two institutions in 1965, and this very welcome essay certainly achieves its purpose of summarizing the commercial history of the Company, taking account of political and constitutional issues only in so far as progress as a commercial undertaking was concerned.

C. R. D. Rudd of Bulawayo offers a fascinating paper on visits to Bulawayo made by Royalty during the past 98 years. The Society is absolutely delighted that the annotations on the illustrations (Plate B) from the book *Princess Elizabeth*, by Dermot Morah, were graciously made by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth herself.

M. J. Kimberley continues the chronological series on our High Court judges with a biography of Sir Clarkson Tredgold. Regular contributor Robert Burrett offers a comprehensive biography on Colonel Robert Beal and provides supplementary notes to his previously published article on the Eyre Brothers.

P. G. Locke offers a well researched paper on Hut Tax Tokens and natural history is catered for by G. D. Piearce in an interesting article on the reputed 'Livingstone Name Tree' at the Victoria Falls, *Diospyros mespiliformis*. Keith Harvey, until relatively recently Chairman of the Natural Resources Board, writes a short history of the Board to commemorate its 50th Anniversary, and D. D. Henderson offers some notes on the mining activities of his great uncle, Skipper Hoste.

A paper by C. K. Cooke on slave-trading south of the Zambezi River is published posthumously following his death in June 1992, together with a tribute to his work with the Monuments Commission written by Peter Garlake. This issue ends with a record of two talks, the first given at Fort Charter by Cormac Lloyd and the second given by Peter Jackson on opening the commemorative exhibition of select paintings and drawings by the artist Robert Paul at Gallery Delta, 110 Livingstone Avenue, Harare.

In conclusion and once again I appeal to all members and other readers to submit articles which can be considered for publication in future issues of *Heritage of Zimbabwe*.

Finally, on behalf of the History Society of Zimbabwe, grateful thanks are once again expressed to the seventeen major Zimbabwean companies which have so magnanimously agreed to be benefactors and sponsors of the Society's publication efforts. Without their tangible financial contributions and support, *Heritage of Zimbabwe* could no longer appear on a regular annual basis due to galloping inflation in this region.

Our thanks are also recorded to our advertisers whose regular support is greatly appreciated.

Michael J. Kimberley
Honorary Editor
Heritage of Zimbabwe

MEMBERSHIP OF THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

- ☆ The Society encourages all readers and their friends and colleagues to enrol as members.
- ☆ The Society aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Zimbabwean history.
- ☆ Members of the Society are not, by any means, all historians. Among our members are collectors of Africana, libraries and learned institutions wishing to acquire background knowledge of one of Africa's key areas whilst the majority are Zimbabweans interested in the story of their own country.
- ☆ Outings to sites of interest with talks on related subjects and an annual dinner are part of the organised activities offered to members.
- ☆ The society encourages historical study and research; and endeavours to record in interesting form the story of Zimbabwe in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* the only publication devoted exclusively to this purpose.
- ☆ Membership is open to everyone. Paid-up members will receive *Heritage of Zimbabwe* published during the subscription year which begins on the 1st January.
- ☆ *Heritage of Zimbabwe* is published once a year. The articles will appeal to Zimbabweans as well as people beyond our borders who seek to understand our country.
- ☆ Each issue of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* contains a wide variety of articles on Zimbabwe's historic background: pioneering, military, transport, agricultural, political, biographical, literary, cultural and so on.
- ☆ History creates a sense of common purpose that develops into a healthy national consciousness. An active historical society can thus exert a tremendous influence for the good of our country.
- ☆ Your support would, therefore, be both welcome and worthwhile. Do join the Society now.

If you wish to become a member write for an application form to —

The National Honorary Secretary,
The History Society of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box 8268,
Causeway,
Zimbabwe.

Notes on New Contributors

by Michael J. Kimberley

Keith Harvey was born Kimberley and grew up in the Northern Cape. He commenced geology and chemistry studies at Rhodes University, Grahamstown but his course was interrupted by the Second World War during which he served in North Africa and Italy. After demobilisation he enrolled at the University of the Witwatersrand in the special B.Sc degree course in soil conservation, graduating in 1948. He joined the Department of Conservation in 1949 serving in Gutu as the first Conservation Officer for the Gutu/Chatsworth area and charged with the task of planning and implementing conservation measures in the upper catchments of the proposed Lake Kyle.

He subsequently served Conex in Karoi and Chivu before resigning in 1954 to take up beef cattle and sheep farming on Nyororo Farm, Felixburg. He has served on the Rural Council since 1957 and on the local Farmers Association and ICA Committee for many years.

At national level, he was a CFU Councillor for 10 years, and on the Cattle Producers Association and the CSC Beef and Livestock Committee for 26 years. He was on the Rural Land Board for 6 years and a member of the Natural Resources Board for a number of years including 7 years (1983–1990) as Chairman.

A very dedicated wild life conservationist over a long period of time, he was NRB Conservationist of the year in 1981, received the CFU Farming Oscar in 1989 and the Grassland Society award for 1988.

Roy Pascoe Lander was born in Ndola, Zambia, in 1935, but was educated at Blakiston School, Whitestone School and St Georges College, before going to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1957. On his return to Zimbabwe he joined Anglo American in the September of that year, initially as a Records Clerk before being attached as Personnel Assistant to Sir Keith Acutt who was then looking after the Corporation's interests in the Federation.

Over the years he went on to have direct administrative responsibility for most of the Group's major operating companies in Zimbabwe, including Bindura Nickel, Border Timbers, Zimbabwe Alloys and Wankie Colliery, all of which at one time or another came under him as Managing Director. He has been the Group's Chief Executive in Zimbabwe for the. past seven years, and is also an Executive Director of Anglo American of South Africa and on the board of its principal companies in Zambia, as well as Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines.

His interest in the B.S.A. Company arises from the fact that, as will be seen in his essay, close links had developed over the vears between the Company and Anglo. In 1965 the local assets of the two institutions were merged, and the head offices of Anglo in Zimbabwe are still located in Charter House, opened in 1958 by the B.S.A. Company as its own headquarters, but with Anglo as major tenants.

Cormac Lloyd is the son of Brendan Lloyd who, with the late Archie Cripwell, was instrumental in founding the Society in 1953 (then called the Rhodesia Africana Society), and Jean Lloyd who is one of two Honorary members of the Society in recognition of her husband's work in connexion with the Society's establishment. Cormack was born in Salisbury in 1954 and educated at Courtney Selous, Oriel and Churchill Schools and in the University of Rhodesia on a Beit scholarship. He served in Chipinge district with the then Ministry of Internal Affairs

before commencing articles with a legal firm in Harare in 1979; he is now a partner in the firm. He serves on the Committee of the Mashonaland Branch of the History Society and has given talks on several branch outings to historical sites.

Peter Jackson has been in architectural practice in Zimbabwe since 1980, after working in London, the Middle East and Zambia. He qualified at University College, London, and has also carried out archaeological survey work in Jordan with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. He has been Honorary Historic Buildings Advisor to the City of Harare since 1983, and is author of "Historic Buildings of Harare" published in 1986. Although currently involved in the restoration of a number of historic buildings in Harare, Kwekwe and Francistown, he notes that these form only a small portion of the work of the architectural practice. In addition he and his wife Jutta both hold their Private Pilot licenses, and are actively involved in promoting aviation-based sports in Zimbabwe.

Graham Piearce hails from the English Midlands and came to Africa in 1973 after completing a Ph.D. in forest pathology at Cambridge University. For fifteen years he worked as a research officer in Zambia's Forest Department, based in Kitwe. Throughout his time there he specialised in studying tree diseases and fungi, and also became head of forestry research. In 1989 he moved to Harare, to be in charge of the Forestry Commission's Research and Development Division, a post he handed over to a Zimbabwean counterpart in 1991, retaining a role as local adviser and project coordinator.

His main professional interests and scientific publications have variously concerned forestry and fungi, fields in which the historical background has often been neglected by other researchers. His pastime activities include collecting Africana books, especially Livingstoneana, and trying to interpret some of the earliest notes and records relating to natural history in this part of the world.

C. R. D. Rudd was born in the Cape in 1929, the younger son of Bevil Rudd, St Andrews Rhodes Scholar for 1913, who won the 400 metres in the 1920 Olympic Games running for South Africa. He is the great-grandson of C. D. Rudd, who obtained the Concession from Lobengula in October 1888, which led to the formation of the Chartered Company. Charles Rudd and Cecil Rhodes were partners from the early 1870's in Kimberley. Together they founded De Beers and Gold Fields of South Africa.

Robin Rudd was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford, taking his degree in Law. He joined Anglo American Corporation in 1952, acting as personal assistant to H. F. Oppenheimer who was then MP for Kimberley City (as C. D. Rudd had been from 1883–1888) before transferring to UAL the merchant bank started by Anglo American in Johannesburg, then to its sister organisation RAL (now FMB) in Salisbury in 1962, moving to Bulawayo in 1971. He retired in 1988. His wife, Alison, whom he met at Oxford, is retiring at the end of 1992 from Girls ' College, Bulawayo, where she was a founder member of the teaching staff; and where he was Chairman of the Board of Governors from 1984–87 .

The Rudds have four sons, all married, with three of them currently working in Africa. Four of their five grandchildren are boys. They have not yet decided where they will go as refugees when Bulawayo's water runs out and the town has to be evacuated.

The British South Africa Company*

An essay on its commercial history

By R. P. Lander

Part One
1889–1923

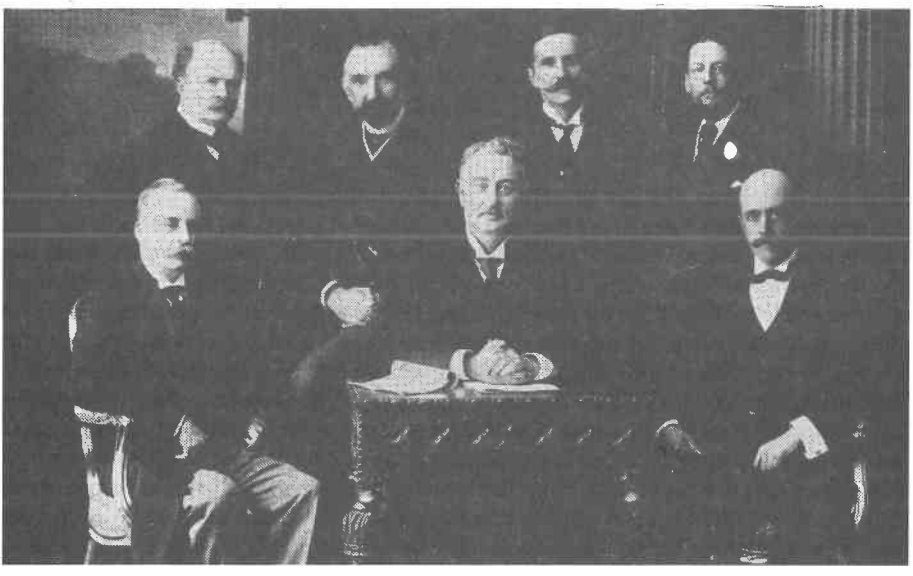
It is not possible to consider the history of The British South Africa Company without recognising the importance of the charisma and qualities of Cecil John Rhodes, and the sense of importance of the expansion of the British Empire which he, the promoters of the Company, the British Shareholders, and, to a lesser extent, the British Government of the day displayed. The "scramble for Africa", as the rush by various European powers to acquire large chunks of Africa in the last quarter of the 19th Century was becoming known even then, was not an activity in which the British authorities joined willingly. They were already attempting to control a far flung empire and did not welcome wholeheartedly the prospect of direct responsibility for another large piece. At the same time they were concerned at the prospect of the Germans and Portuguese joining their existing possessions through the "vacant" territories, or of the Boers expanding northwards into them. Despite the relatively recent bad experience then of rule by a Chartered Company i.e. the British East India Company in India, the British Government saw the enthusiasm of Rhodes and his colleagues as a means of safeguarding the territories as a British sphere through the granting of a Charter, and without having to spend large sums of money, or further expand the colonial civil service and the army.

Rhodes was only 36 years old when the Chartered Company was formed in 1889. He had already become the dominant figure in the South African diamond industry and was Prime Minister of the Cape. Although he was not as optimistic as some about the gold discoveries in the Transvaal he was to form a company, Goldfields, to participate in those developments. But after diamonds he probably regarded the northward expansion of Africa, under the benefits of the British flag, as his most important achievement.

In spite of the fact that the British Empire had probably passed its peak of world authority by the late Victorian era, there were still many well placed people in Britain who shared this feeling of the omnipotence and good of things British, and Rhodes and his colleagues were able to catalyse this feeling. This point is perhaps illustrated by the Duke of Fife who, as Vice-President of the Company and husband of the Princess Royal, remarked at the first Annual Meeting in December 1891 that he had never before been on the Board of any public company, and would not have accepted the pressing invitation to join this one had he not believed that it "has in view a great imperial object". The British South Africa Company was therefore far more than a commercial venture in the minds of those involved and throughout its history its principals displayed this quality in their leadership. As late as 1930, in defending the Board's continued support for Mazoe Citrus Estates, despite a continued loss-making situation, Sir Henry Birchenough as President told the shareholders that it must be company "policy to retain

*Incorporated by Royal Charter 29th October, 1889.
(Supplemental Charters dated respectively 8th June 1900, 13th March 1915, 25th March 1924, 16th August 1954 and 28th June 1962)

a material stake in the territories we helped to establish". Such enterprises "keep us in touch with the industrial and agricultural life of the community. They foster a feeling of comradeship and a sense on the part of Rhodesians that the old Company is taking its share in the varying fortunes of the young colony".



B.S.A. Co. Directors, 1898
Back Row: **Sir Sidney Shippard, G. Cawston, J. R. Maguire, Lord Gifford.**
Sitting: **Duke of Abercorn, C. J. Rhodes, Earl Grey.** *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

The purpose of this essay, however, is to summarise the perhaps duller commercial history taking account of political and constitutional issues only insofar as progress as a commercial undertaking was concerned. It is therefore not necessary to refer in detail to the circumstances leading up to the 1888 Treaty between Lobengula and Great Britain or details of negotiations of the Rudd Concession, in terms of which Lobengula granted mineral rights over his Kingdom, with the exception of the Tati Concession area (see Appendix 1). Nor do I need to dwell on the terms of the Royal Charter and the Deed of Settlement which defined the objects and purposes of the British South Africa Company and the regulations for the conduct of its affairs. The Charter was granted on 29th October 1889, on which date the Chartered Company came into being. In justifying the need for a Charter the Company claimed that its objective was to develop the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the territories lying to the north and:

a) to extend northwards the railway and telegraph systems in the direction of the Zambezi;
b) to encourage emigration and colonisation;
c) to promote trade and commerce;
d) to develop and work mineral and other concessions under the management of one powerful organisation thereby obviating conflicts and complications between the various interests that had been acquired within those regions and securing to the native chiefs and their subjects the rights reserved to them under the several concessions.

Initially just under 1m shares of £1 each were issued, partly in payment for concessions, partly to extend the railway and telegraph system. Funds were also needed to recruit and equip

both a police force and a pioneer column, to construct what was known as the Selous Road in order to effect the occupation of Mashonaland, and to set up the Company's administration. The £1 million was expected to be sufficient for these purposes because once these objectives were achieved, mineral royalties or shareholdings in mining companies and sales of land, together with sundry revenues from administration and of course profits from the railways, were expected to cover expenses and give a return to the shareholder.

Although the early B.S.A. Co. reports are delightfully vague as to the identity of its principal backers, it is clear from the report of the 1891 De Beers annual meeting that that company subscribed for 210 000 of the initial shares. The promoters took up 90 000, Gold Fields of South Africa (later Consolidated Goldfields) accounted for another £240 168, and the balance was subscribed by the British public. By the time of the Company's second annual general meeting in March 1892, shareholders had already been asked for their approval to issue 1m new shares to the United Concessions Company Limited, the owners of which had negotiated the Rudd Concession, these shares being allotted as payment for the rights of that Concession. In other words those who negotiated the concessions were to become half owners in the profits of the Company. Apart from Rudd, Jameson, Maguire and Thompson, the beneficiaries included Rhodes (through Goldfields), Beit and others. This share issue was noted by the British Government and especially by the shareholders with some dissatisfaction. There were accusations at successive annual meetings that their shares were being watered down, and the necessary agreement was not approved until December 1893.

There were other early investments by De Beers in the Chartered company, and all seemed to be the subject of some criticism by De Beers shareholders, because Barney Barnato, and subsequent chairmen, were at pains to defend them at De Beers annual meetings in the 1890s. The initial £210 000 fully paid up shares, it was claimed in 1891, had been paid for out of profits made upon them during the subsequent 18 months. Two further investments, in the shape of loans for financing the railway to the north, were to be guaranteed by the Chartered Company (which was the principal shareholder in the railways). Apart from guaranteeing ready supplies of wood fuel for the mines at very favourable transport rates and carrying set rates of interest, the loans and the original share subscription were linked to undertakings by the Chartered Company that De Beers would have the "exclusive licence to work all the diamondiferous ground to which the Chartered Company is or may become entitled . . . whether north or south of the River Zambezi". These agreements, dated 20 April and 7 December 1892 for loans of £112 000 and £100 000 respectively, were referred to only very obliquely in the Chartered reports, and were to become the subject of a court case between the two parties in 1910/1911 which was to go all the way to the House of Lords, the latter body ruling in favour of De Beers as still being entitled to the diamond rights. By the turn of the century De Beers could report that 154 000 of the shares had been passed to De Beers shareholders as a special dividend and the balance sold at a profit.

The initial support too from Gold Fields was crucial to Chartered's formation and indeed to its early survival. J. S. Galbraith in *Crown and Charter* says that apart from the £240 168 initial capital quoted above, Rhodes prevailed upon this company to pledge subsidies of £500 a month through the years 1892 to 1894, but in return for the right given to them to peg some 250 claims in Matabeleland, and to select 43 683 hectares of farm land at under £1 per 50 hectares. Galbraith contends too that Rhodes was adept at putting out an overly rosy picture of the Company's fortunes at this time through a combination of carefully worded reports, friendly newspapers and subsidised journalists. It is perhaps not surprising therefore to read in Chartered's 1892 directors report of the increasing interest taken by the public in the enterprise, this being evidenced by the fact that there "are now nearly 8 000 shareholders, almost double the number of last year".

De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. A.G.M., October 1894
Back Row: **Dr F. R. Harris, W. H. Craven, G. W. Compton, Lt. Col. H. Goold-Adams, Gardner F. Williams, Judge J. G. Lange, D. Harris.**
Sitting: **R. Solomon, D. Haarhof, L. S. Jameson, C. J. Rhodes, F. J. Newton, H. Robinow, C. E. Nind.**
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

The operational stories of the progress of the Pioneer Column and the early days of settlement are familiar. The expedition consisted of 200 whites recruited for their various skills and 150 black labourers, together with a police force of some 500 men. Other whites were already in the country and more followed the official expedition. Mr. A. R. Colquhoun was appointed Administrator of Mashonaland but his background was in the Indian Civil Service and he found it difficult to handle the daily crises facing a struggling colony. Also he suffered from the climate and after his resignation in August 1891 he was succeeded by Dr. L. S. Jameson. By March of that year 2 703 prospecting licences had been issued, 11 613 claims registered and the white population was estimated at 3 000 people. Revenue was coming in from occupation licences, traders and prospectors licences, mining licences, inspection and claim transfer fees, postages and telegraphs.

However, the main sources of revenue were to be mineral royalties derived from vendors' scrip and proceeds from land sales. If a person decided to form a company to mine, 50 percent of the shares were allocated to the Chartered Company as vendors scrip. Land was sold at whatever price could be achieved. In 1891 2 600 stands were surveyed in Salisbury, Victoria, and Umtali, and in July that year some 264 of these stands were sold for nearly £10 000. In every case alternate stands to those sold were reserved as the property of the Chartered Company which was also alienating land to erect public buildings.

Significantly the Company bought from "a representative group which had long taken part in Matabeleland politics" a grant of rights to the ownership of land which that group had previously negotiated with Lobengula. It is clear, however, that Rhodes had been more than aware that such a grant (later to be known as the Lippert Concession) was in the offing and that he could buy it out, but it suited his purpose to allow a group that Lobengula believed to be independent of the Chartered Company to negotiate it in the hope that a rival company would act as a brake on Chartered's ambitions. A package involving an area of 75 square miles in Matabeleland, grants of 20 000 and 30 000 £1 shares in the United Concessions Company and

the Chartered Company respectively, plus £5 000 in cash, was agreed on in advance of the actual signing of the Concession by Lobengula in November 1891. Once signed it was promptly ratified by the British Government, and as a result the Chartered Company and the British agreed that the former had full power to deal with not only mineral rights as bestowed by the Rudd Concession, but also with land throughout Lobengula's dominions subject to a full recognition of and respect for "native" rights.

In the meanwhile, even before the Pioneer Column raised its flag in Salisbury in September 1890, various missions were despatched to chiefs in the neighbouring territories judged by the Company to be independent of Lobengula's authority, and hopefully also of the Portuguese. At the time of the granting of the Charter in October 1889 there was, as yet, no treaty between Britain and Portugal defining spheres of interest south of the Zambezi, and the Company believed that it would be able to have ready access to Mashonaland via the East coast. To ensure this they hoped to make treaties with Chief Mutasa (Manicaland area), and Gungunyana whom they believed had paramount rights over most of the territory east and south east of Mashonaland. However, events began to overtake them and much against Chartered pleas, and while their occupying column was on the march, the British Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, negotiated a treaty with the Portuguese Minister in London which, if it had been ratified, would have given to Portugal the whole of the modern day Chimanimani and Mutare districts, as well as much of the southern half of Makoni. Fortunately for the Company the intended treaty provoked popular revolt in Lisbon and it was rejected out of hand by the Portuguese Cortes. This gave Rhodes his chance and was the reason for his hastily despatching Colquhoun to Mutasa and Jameson to Gungunhana. Treaties were then signed with both relating to mining, trading and other rights. According to Hugh Marshall Hole, a former Chief Secretary to the Administrator, Rhodes instructed Colquhoun to "recognise no boundary line whatever", and he begged Jameson to go down to the coast to see just how real was the Portuguese presence there. As it transpired a local Portuguese military governor took it upon himself to try and eject the Company officials and, in the ensuing relatively minor fracas, the Company force, under Major Patrick Forbes, found itself able to advance to within two days march of the coast with no real opposition before them. Their further advance was only halted by news of the signing of a treaty on 15 November, 1890, guaranteeing the status quo territorially, pending the appointment of an independent boundary commission.

When another Portuguese force made a further attempt to push the Charter representatives out of the Mutare and Chimanimani areas the following May, in breach of the status quo agreement, this again resulted in Company forces being able to open up a potential corridor to the coast and Rhodes pressed for authority to "occupy Beira and for the cession of a strip of country from the coast to Mashonaland. He pointed out the difficulty of developing the Chartered Company's territory with over 1 600 miles of land route, and urged definite occupation of the East coast route . . .". Lord Salisbury would not agree, but this time took a much harder line in the boundary negotiations, the result of course being the present eastern border of Zimbabwe.

Beyond the Zambezi, discussions were held with King Lewanika of the Barotse. Lewanika had already granted a mineral and trading concession over a portion of his country to a certain Mr. Henry Ware. Terms were agreed to purchase this concession for £9 000, plus 10 000 Chartered shares, from Ware, and the Company then succeeded after protracted haggling with the King in acquiring an exclusive mineral concession over all Barotseland, an area of some 225 000 square miles. This was granted in June 1890 in return for an annual payment of at least £2 000 and a 4% royalty on proceeds.

In what was to become Nyasaland, the Chartered Company bought into the African Lakes Company whose finances were greatly crippled by the expense of carrying on war with Arab

slave traders. African Lakes owned some 14 000 square miles of mineral rights and 2.7 million acres of freehold title in the Nyasaland Protectorate. It is relevant to note that Nyasaland had recently been taken under the protection of the British government to "protect it from German and Portuguese ambitions." Mr. H. H. Johnston was appointed Imperial Commissioner for Nyasaland and was permitted by Her Majesty's Government to act as administrator for the Company's sphere of operations North of the Zambezi, his entire costs being met by the Company.

Two companies in the meantime were constructing railways. One was building an extension from Vryburg to Mafeking of the existing Cape to Kimberley railway. Another company was starting at Beira and working towards Mashonaland through "fly country". The Bechuanaland Railway Company, in which the Company owned two-thirds of the shares, reached Mafeking in October 1894 and Bulawayo in October 1897. It had been financed largely by £2 million debentures from the Chartered Company, aided by De Beers, and was to enjoy a subsidy of £20 000 a year from the British government for 10 years and £10 000 a year from the Company. Revenue exceeded expenditure immediately.

The progress of the rail line from Beira was less spectacular, but it reached Umtali in 1897 and the Mashonaland Railway Company then took over construction to Salisbury which was reached in May 1899. Links between Bulawayo and Gwelo were completed in October 1902, and Gwelo/Salisbury followed in December 1902. Other lines were opened and work commenced on the route to the north. This was planned to go via the Wankie Coalfield which had recently been discovered and the Victoria Falls. The first coal was railed from Wankie in 1903 and the Falls railway span was opened in 1904.

In June 1899 the Bechuanaland Railway Company changed its name to Rhodesia Railways Limited and ownership of this company and the Mashonaland Railway Company was made over to the Rhodesia Railways Trust Limited, 86% owned by the Chartered Company, and with that structure the Company operated the system in Northern and Southern Rhodesia until 1947.

The other important means of communication was the telegraph system, also constructed by the Company. By 1892 the section from Mafeking to Salisbury was working well and plans were formulated for an independent company to extend it to Zomba. Postal and coach services were established and it is interesting to read in the 1894 directors' report that "it is now contemplated to run a bi-weekly service between Mafeking and Bulawayo, the time occupied in travelling to be 94 hours, stoppages 40 hours, a total of 134 hours, each coach carrying 2 500 lbs weight of mail matter. The coaches will be American saloon coaches ensuring the greatest possible amount of comfort for passengers".

These beginnings were really a considerable achievement, especially if you add the provision of administrative services, health facilities and an interest in agricultural development, but in spite of the very up-beat reports given to the shareholders in London, gold potential was not as good as expected and costs were higher than budgeted. Local revolts in Mashonaland, and the Matabele war of 1893, not only added to costs but brought about a lack of confidence in London. The settlers themselves were unhappy with the Company which they regarded as exploitative.

The condition of apparent progress and prosperity was, however, maintained until December 1895. The end of that month though saw the country's Administrator, Jameson, undertake the abortive Jameson raid into the Transvaal. Then in February 1896 rinderpest broke out in Rhodesia leading to the destruction of nearly all the cattle in the country in the next few months, and in March of that year came the Matabele rebellion. Jameson, Rhodes and Beit resigned from the Board in ignominy. More money had to be raised by equity and debentures. Earl Grey was appointed administrator for a short while (1896–1898), to be followed by Sir William Milton in Mashonaland and Sir Arthur Lawley in Matabeleland. Milton subsequently became

administrator of Southern Rhodesia from 1901 to 1914. The British Government, concerned at the turn of events which had resulted in first the Jameson Raid, and then the uprisings, determined to establish a watch-dog mechanism within the Company's territories. In May 1896 Sir Richard Martin was appointed Commandant General and Deputy Commissioner, though he surrendered his military role shortly afterwards to General Carrington. In November 1898, under the provisions of the Southern Rhodesia Order-in-Council the Deputy Commissioner title was changed to Resident Commissioner, and both this post and that of Commandant General were to be answerable to the High Commissioner in Cape Town, and paid directly by the Crown. A particular concern of the Resident Commissioner was to be the Company's conduct in future of "native affairs".

Other big changes saw the creation of an Executive Council and a Legislative Council, the former consisting of the Administrators of Mashonaland and Matabeleland, the Resident Commissioner, and not less than four members appointed by the Company. The Legislative Council, which had six Company nominees and four elected members, was to have control over the revenue and expenditure of the administration, leaving the Company's Board in theory with more time to devote to its commercial interests. Following criticisms from miners and settlers with regard to the Company's half share in all gold mining propositions and the question of ownership of minerals and land, further legislative changes were made covering the mining laws, a companies ordinance, patents and trade marks, and a municipalities act. Land owners were to receive, for example, half of the licence monies payable by holders of mining claims on their farms. In this way the British Government hoped to curb the total independence of the Company's administration, without itself having to become directly involved or to incur significant financial costs.

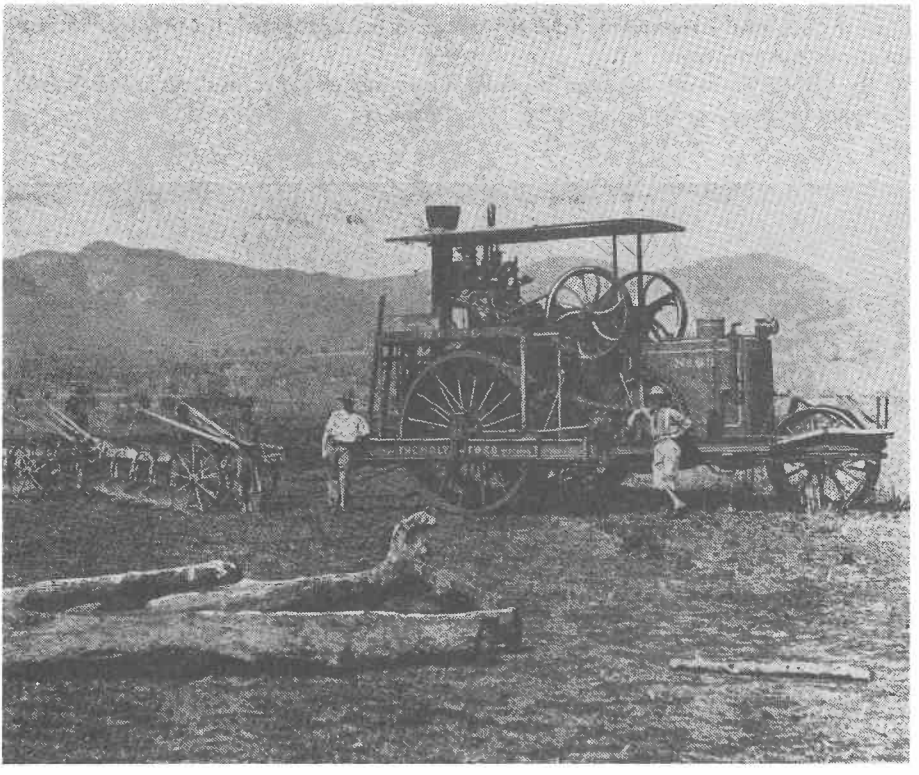
By April 1898 Rhodes had been reappointed a director and after his death in March 1902, Beit and Jameson were also reappointed to the Board.

Cotopaxi Gold Mine, Mashonaland, 1900.
Sitting: **Sir Charles Metcalfe, P. Jourdan (?), C. J. Rhodes, __ , __ .**
(Mrs. H. M. Harris via National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Further pressure from the settlers resulted in the Legislative Council in 1903 being increased to 15 including the Administrator, seven Company nominees and seven elected representatives. Her Majesty's Resident Commissioner was ex officio a member but had no vote. At that time as an important part of the new dispensation the Chartered Company agreed to reduce the interest it would take in mining properties to 30%, earning a royalty of 2½% of the gross value of mineral production on small operations, and to ease restrictions on certain aspects of mining activity. While increasing pressure was being exerted by settlers upon the Company from within the country, there was also a mounting demand from the Company's own shareholders, who by the turn of the century greatly outnumbered the settlers, for the payment of dividends.

The devolution of the administration of Southern Rhodesia was in motion and it becomes increasingly evident from statements at annual meetings that the Company wanted to hand over this responsibility, but again that the British Government did not want the financial burden. A population census in 1902 reported 12 623 whites and 564 000 blacks in Southern Rhodesia.

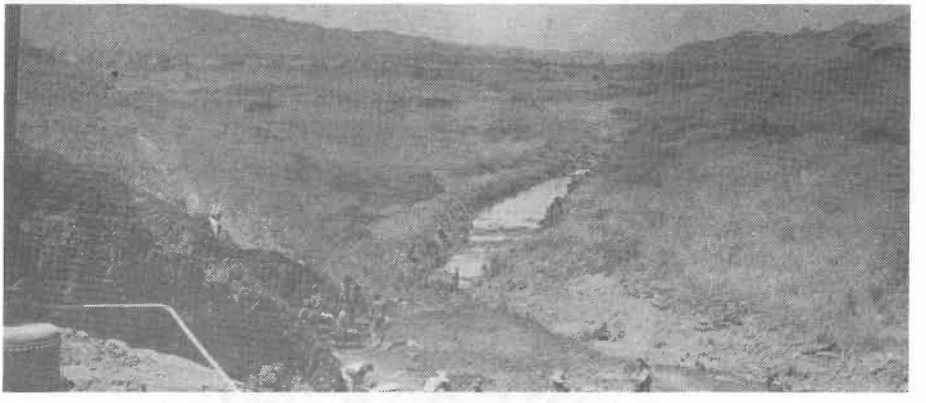
From this time onwards too progress in economic development broadened in spite of cyclical world economic activity. Attempts were made to farm cattle, tobacco, cotton, citrus fruit, goats, merino sheep, wheat, maize, coffee, rubber, tea, apples, plums, ostriches and forestry. In the mining industry besides increasing gold and silver output, and the production of coal, there were reports of wolframite, scheelite, antimony and chrome ore discoveries. Asbestos production was declared in 1909.



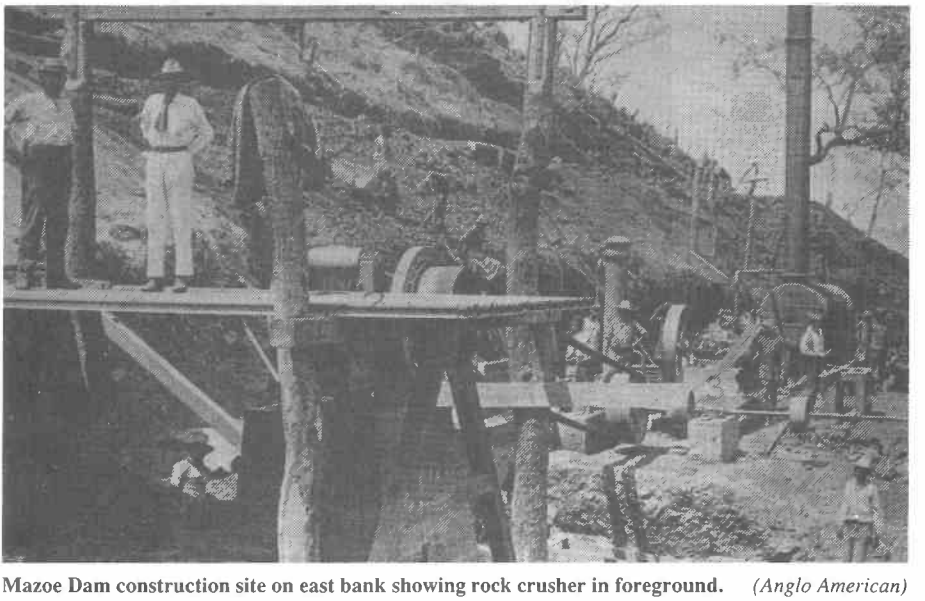
Steam ploughing outfit, Premier Estate, 1905. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

In 1908 a further and important change was made to the mining law whereby a royalty of 5 percent or less of the gross value of output was to be paid to the Chartered Company in place of the vendors share arrangement. To the extent that the Chartered Company held vendors shares some of these were being sold to provide funds.

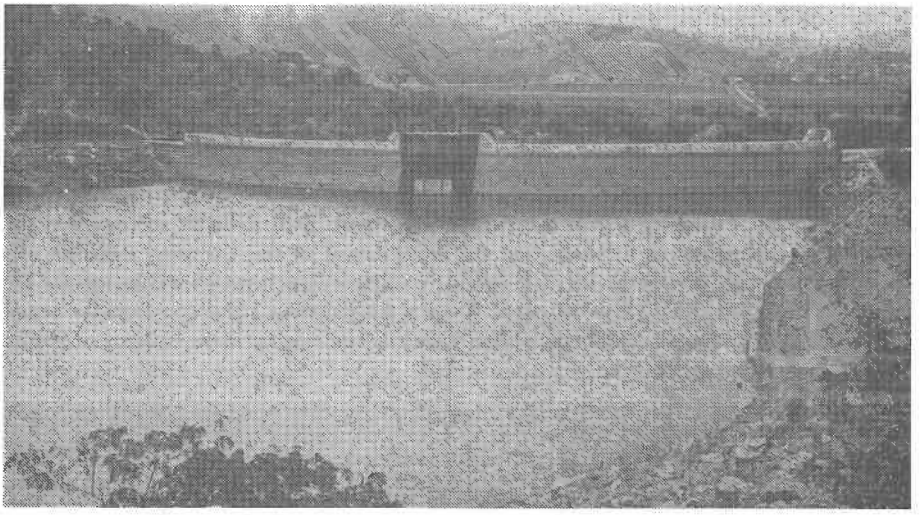
In 1908 Major P. S. Inskipp was appointed Acting Commercial Manager in London, but he was relocated to Bulawayo in 1910 and his position was made substantive. This appointment marked a shift in Company policy seeking a more commercial objective and further recognising the need in due course to release administrative control. Two in-depth surveys into the commercial department as a whole, and the development of the Company's estates and industries, were carried out in the 1913/14 period by Sir Henry Birchenough, a Director, and Mr H. Wilson Fox, the London Office Manager. It was at this point that active consideration began to be given to irrigation schemes in the Mazoe Valley that culminated in the building of Mazoe Dam immediately after the War.



Mazoe Dam site showing land immediately upstream cleared of bush, 1918. *(Anglo American)*

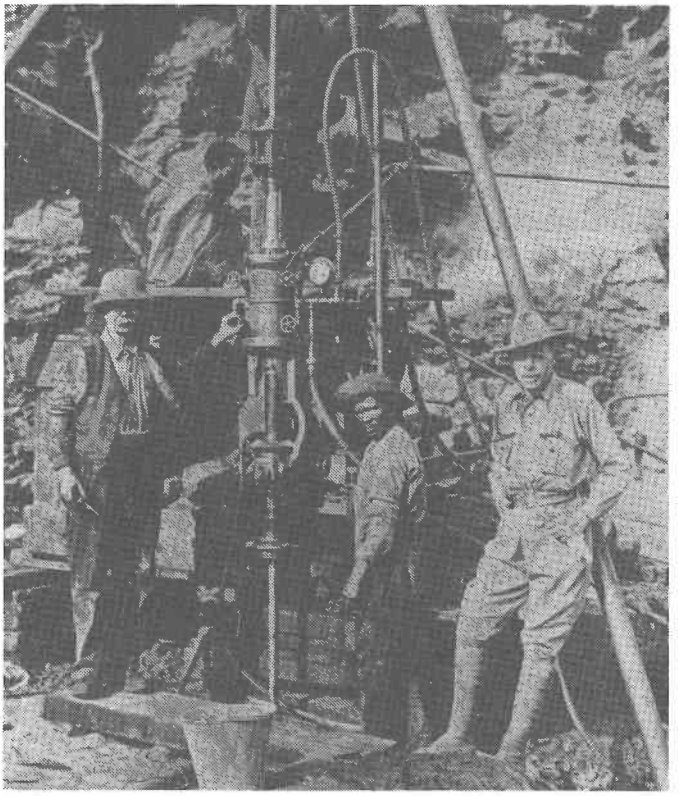


Mazoe Dam construction site on east bank showing rock crusher in foreground. *(Anglo American)*



Mazoe Dam looking west towards village, 1920. *(Anglo American)*

There was during this period much talk of the Union of South Africa and the possibility of Southern Rhodesia joining that Union. Indeed for the next few years the future of the country's administration was of major importance. Under the Charter the British government had the power to review the Charter in 1914 (25 years after its promulgation) insofar as its provisions related to administrative and public matters. The question of land had also become contentious and the Privy Council was asked to determine whether or not unalienated land in Southern Rhodesia was in fact vested in the Company, whether such rights should only be vested as an administrative or



Sullivan H Diamond Drill used on Mazoe Dam foundation. Drillman Hailey on the left with pith helmet and on the right contactors' agent R. Pizzighelli. *(Anglo American)*

public asset, and whether, if and when the Chartered Company ceased to administer the country, such land should remain the property of the government of that territory.

When the arrangements as regards administration were reviewed, partly because war was imminent in Europe the Chartered Company's authority was extended for another 10 years. The Legislative Council was increased in 1913 to 12 elected and six nominated, and undertakings were given to the settlers about future responsible government. Sir Drummond Chaplin took over as Administrator from Milton in Southern Rhodesia.

By mid 1914 the European population was estimated at 31 500 and economic activity, though slowed, continued much as before. However, with the new policy on land (the Privy Council having decided against the Company) reference to the Company's ranches and estates begins to appear in the annual reports – Rhodesdale (1m acres), Tokwe (100 000 acres) and Nuanetsi (3m acres). Likewise we read about the Premier, Mazoe, Simoona, Sinoia, Marandellas, Shangani, Pongo and Lobatsi estates. In other words the Company had now to differentiate between unalienated land, and what formerly it had referred to vaguely as reserved land.

Mazoe Citrus Estate – first grading and packing of oranges for export, 1915. *(Anglo American)*

Simoona Estate — wagons loaded with maize for export crossing Mazoe River, c 1916.
(Anglo American)

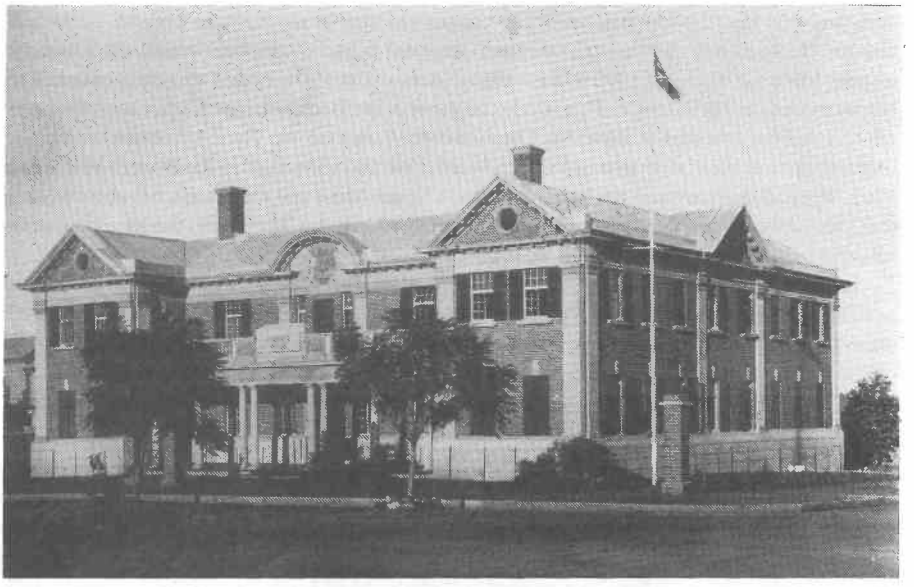
F. W. D. Tractor, purchased for Mazoe Citrus Estate, on trial in Salisbury, 1920. *(Anglo American)*

Much human effort was directed at the war. It was reported in 1919 that 5 200 Rhodesians had served on various fronts, of whom 1 726 received commissions and 783 lost their lives. 487 people were awarded important military distinctions, including two Victoria Crosses.

At the end of the war a settlement scheme was announced to encourage people to emigrate to the country, the Company having already tried in various ways since early 1900 to increase the number of white immigrants who were not of "the labourer class". But the major issue was the form of government. The Legislative Council asked Lord Milner, now at the Colonial Office, what proof of fitness was required to grant responsible government. He responded by suggesting alternatives such as (a) inclusion in the Union of South Africa, (b) representative government, (c) continuance of the Company's administration.

In October 1922 a referendum was held to decide in favour of responsible government or union. In the build up to this referendum the Chartered Company had been trying to negotiate with Britain and South Africa how it would be compensated for the by then £5.5 million it had spent on administration in Southern Rhodesia (including interest). Smuts had a more generous offer than that of the British Government and the Company therefore strongly supported Union. However, the vote went in favour of representative government 8 774 to 5 989. This vote virtually destroyed the Company's chance of getting meaningful compensation. On 10th July 1923 the Colonial Office through the Devonshire Agreement declared its terms for the appropriation of the assets of the Company. Apart from the £5.5 million for administering Southern Rhodesia the Company's claim for the administration of Northern Rhodesia was over £2 million. A settlement of £3 750 000 was offered and accepted, together with half the proceeds from land sales in North Western Rhodesia (Northern Rhodesia) until 1965.

Since the early 1890s the Chartered Company had administered an area of 500 000 square miles "for the Empire" and it was very bitter. In exchange for this parsimonious settlement it not only had to write off the costs of administration but surrender unalienated land, administrative buildings and other administrative assets in the two Rhodesias. At the time Sir Henry Birchenough, President of the Company from 1925–1937, wrote to Drummond Chaplin, "I doubt whether any government has ever made a shabbier bargain with a great corporation which has performed undoubted and striking service". The Crown, however, did agree to recognise and guarantee the



Charter House, c 1925. Sold under pressure to the S. Rhodesia Government for £15 000 this was the first purpose-built head office of the Company and was occupied between 1923 and 1927.

(Anglo American)

Company's railway and mineral rights and leave its commercial assets alone.

On 1st October, 1923 Sir Charles Coghlan, leader of the elected members of the Legislative Council became Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and Sir John Chancellor the first Governor.

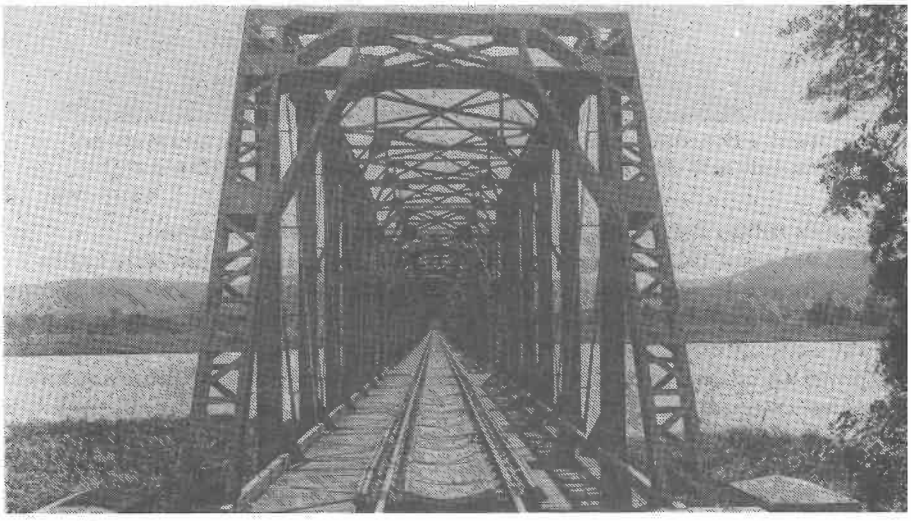
The Company ceased to administer Northern Rhodesia in April 1924, but before we leave this period it is necessary to review developments there. This country was much less accessible and of less interest to gold seekers and progress was accordingly much slower. More attention had been given administratively and commercially to Southern Rhodesia so that, according to a 1938 Colonial Office report on labour conditions, what was referred to as "the less attractive northern area was left as a backward agricultural region of principal interest as a labour-recruiting ground". Reference has already been made to the acquisition of mining rights from King Lewanika of Barotseland and the control of African Lakes Company in the Nyasaland Protectorate. Agreement was reached with the British government in 1893 for the administration of "British Central Africa" by the Company. Orders-in-Council set out the form of administration of both North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia in 1900 reaffirming Chartered Company administration and the English legal system. The first commercial move occurred in 1898 when the Company participated in a prospecting company called Northern Copper (B.S.A.) Company Limited to look at extensive copper deposits which were being reported in the central districts of Northern Rhodesia, as it was to become.

Pending the establishment of the administration on a settler basis it was decided not to throw open the country to prospectors but to permit only "approved" expeditions supported by adequate capital.

This decision was important and would ensure that the development of Northern Rhodesia's minerals was very different to that in the South. Two companies and two individuals can claim to be the pioneers – The Bechuanaland Exploration Company of which Edmund Davis was President, and Tanganyika Concessions (Tanks) founded by Robert Williams. It was this latter

company that laid the foundations of the copper industry in the Katanga area of the Belgian Congo. George Grey (brother of Viscount Grey and friend of Rhodes) found the Kansanshi Copper Mine for Tanks in 1899 and the Congo deposits in 1901. I have already mentioned the Northern Copper (B.S.A.) Co. This was an offshoot of the Bechuanaland Exploration Company which itself became part of Rhodesia Congo Border Concessions. These associated companies found copper in the Kafue area in 1899 and lead, zinc and vanadium in the Broken Hill area in 1902. They also discovered the Roan Antelope Copper Mine and the Bwana Mkubwa Mine in that year. Also of major importance in the long term J. Moffat Thompson found copper at the subsequently famous Nkana claims in 1910.

Initially there was no railway, but by September 1905 public traffic could move as far north as Broken Hill, from where it was planned to go beyond the Congo border extending some 230 miles into Katanga in order to take coal and coke north and copper and lead south . This stretch of the line was laid by the Rhodesia Katanga Junction Railway and Mineral Company (associated with Tanks) and subsequently bought out in 1928. Bwana Mkubwa was reached by the end of 1909 and the British and Congolese sections linked shortly thereafter.



Kafue Bridge, c 1915. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

In 1911 the administration of North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia was combined with Sir Lawrence Wallace as the Administrator. Attempts were made to encourage farming, but the settler disinterest continued and by the beginning of World War 1 it was estimated that the white population was only 2 250 while there were 875 000 blacks. Sleeping sickness had been a disquieting feature but the position was improving. Modest production of lead from Broken Hill and copper concentrates from Bwana Mkubwa were being railed south. Some tobacco and cotton were produced by, amongst others, the North Charterland Exploration operating in Nyasaland in which the Company had an interest.

In 1919, in response to a request from settlers, an Advisory Council of 5 elected members was constituted and the administration authorised to consult with it with regard to legislation affecting white settlers. Drummond Chaplin took over as Administrator from Wallace in 1921.

When the Chartered Company's administration terminated in 1924, Sir Herbert Stanley was appointed Governor and the Crown took over government, the Company however retaining its commercial rights.

Part Two
1924–1965

On 1st October 1923 Southern Rhodesia was granted Responsible Government. Sir Charles Coghlan, leader of the elected members of the Legislative Council became Prime Minister and Sir John Chancellor was appointed the first Governor. On 1st April 1924 His Majesty's Government also relieved the Chartered Company of the administration of Northern Rhodesia. On those dates all the Company's administrative duties and obligations came to an end and all the claims against His Majesty's Government and vice versa were deemed to be settled. The Company saw itself as having been "set free to carry on our commercial business and develop our commercial assets". These assets included:

	Pounds
Cash	150 000
Quoted investments (at market value)	2 780 000
Unquoted investments	185 000
Net debtors	200 000
	3 315 000
Payment from HMG	3 750 000
	7 065 000
Against this the sum required to pay off the debentures was about	1 300 000
Net assets	5 765 000

Among the investments were British, Colonial and Foreign Government Stock and British, Colonial, Indian, American and Foreign Railway and other securities, together with shares in Southern Rhodesian mining ventures such as Wankie Colliery, Rhodesia and General Asbestos, and various Southern Rhodesian gold mining companies. The Company also owned the Rhodesia Land Bank and had a controlling interest in The Rhodesian Milling and Manufacturing Company. It also had shares in The Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Company, The Bwana Mkubwa Copper Mining Company and The Victoria Falls Power and Electric Company in Northern Rhodesia, and African Lakes Company in Nyasaland Protectorate.

The Company also possessed:

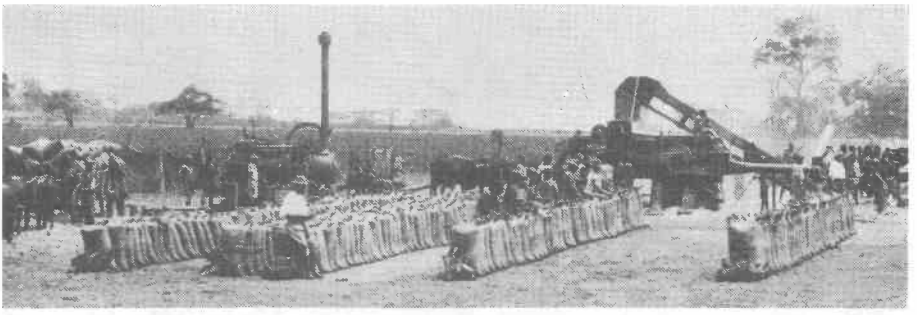
1. Mineral rights acknowledged by the Crown in Southern and Northern Rhodesia. The net income from these rights in the year to 31st March 1922 was £143 000.
2. About 4 000 000 acres of land in Southern Rhodesia including:
   a) Rhodesdale Ranch (1m acres) running from the latitude of Gatooma some 50 miles south and averaging say 25 miles wide on the east of the Gatooma/Gwelo road.
   b) Nuanetsi Ranch (2.74m acres) more or less between the Tokwe Mtilikwe and the Bubye rivers, over 100 miles long and possibly 50 miles wide on average.
   c) Shangani Ranch (87 000 acres) S. West of Gwelo.
   d) Sinoia Citrus Estate 86 600 acres
   e) Mazoe Citrus Estate 57 000 acres
   f) Premier Citrus Estate 23 500 acres (W. of Umtali)
   g) Simoona Estate 7 500 acres (N.E. of Mazoe)
   h) Marandellas Estate 48 000 acres (S. of Marandellas)
   i) Selous Nek Estate 32 000 acres (N. of Macheke)

3. About 680 000 acres of land in Bechuanaland Protectorate (Tuli, Gaberones and Lobatsi blocks) as well as very large concessions over mineral rights.
4. Mineral rights over 14 000 square miles and surface rights over 12 700 000 acres in Nyasaland. (North Nyasa Estate)
5. A half interest for 40 years in the net proceeds of the disposal of land conducted by Her Majesty's Government in N.W. Rhodesia (Barotseland).
6. 2 500 000 acres of freehold land in N.E. Rhodesia. (Tanganyika Estate)
7. An 86% interest in the Rhodesia Railways Trust which owned the railways and certain land between Vryburg and the Broken Hill, including the railway to Beira, but excluding the Rhodesia Katanga Junction Railway from Broken Hill to the Katanga, and the Shire Highland and Trans Zambezia Railway from Blantyre to Beira. The Company had guaranteed Rhodesia Railways, Mashonaland Railways, and Rhodesia Railways Trust debentures totalling £8 810 000 together with interest thereon.
8. The Company had also advanced sums in excess of £50 000 to the Rhodesia Land Bank Limited.

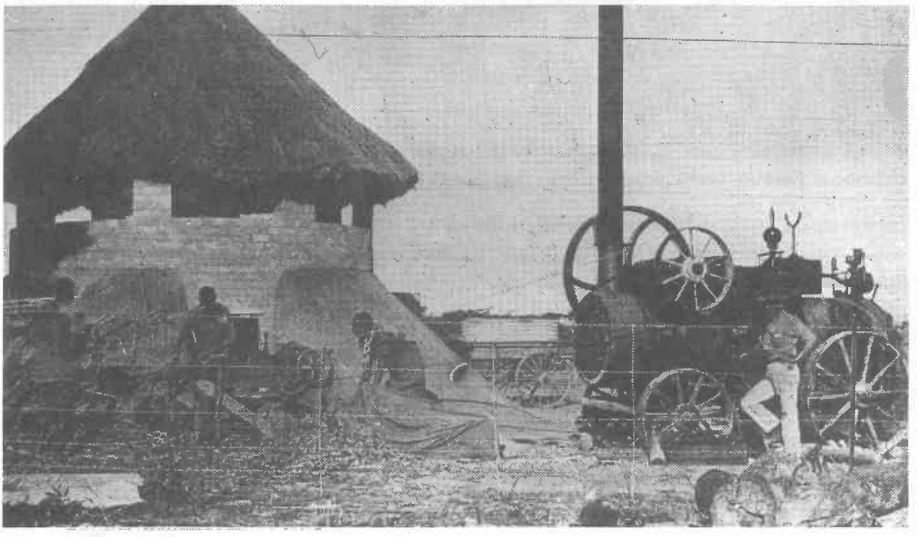
The profit for the year ended 30th September 1923 was £415 000 and on 3rd November 1924 the Company paid its maiden dividend of 6*d* per share, net of tax, on an issued share capital of 8 767 964 shares of 15*s* each, having previously returned to shareholders 5*s* per share in a reduction of capital and redeemed its outstanding debentures at £105 per £100 debenture.

As with the first phase of the Company's history, progress in Southern and Northern Rhodesia was vastly different. Dealing firstly with Southern Rhodesia up to about 1930, the Chartered Company made an early decision to concentrate its main cattle ranching operations at Nuanetsi where it planned a herd of 80 000 animals. It also decided to try Merino sheep at Shangani Ranch and later Nuanetsi as well. The Marandellas farm was principally under tobacco, while cotton was experimented with on all estates including Simoona, which still grows it. Mazoe, Premier and Sinoia cultivated citrus, but also grew some maize. This was all

Shangani Estate: Farm assistant P. J. Hensman with "Shangani Exile", 1919 *(Anglo American)*



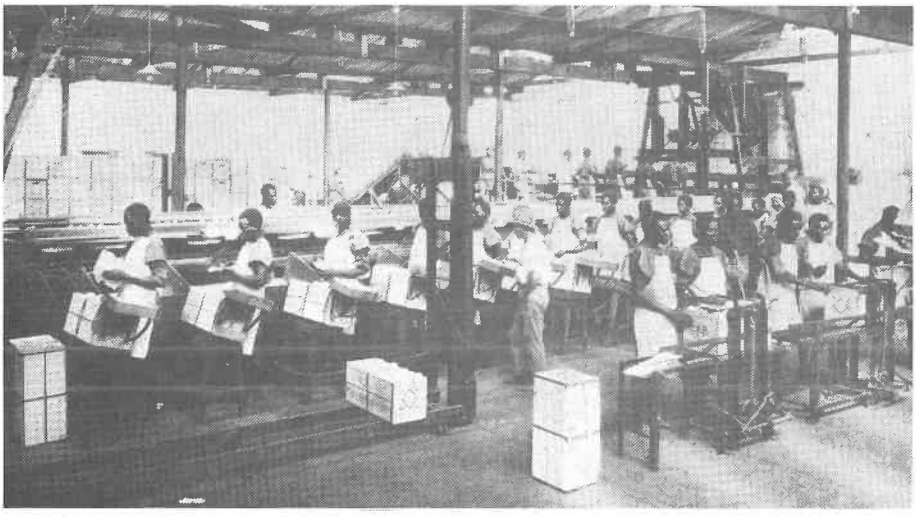
Simoona Estate: Bagging and grading maize, c 1922 *(Anglo American)*



Marandellas Estate: Cutting ensilage, c 1922 *(Anglo American)*

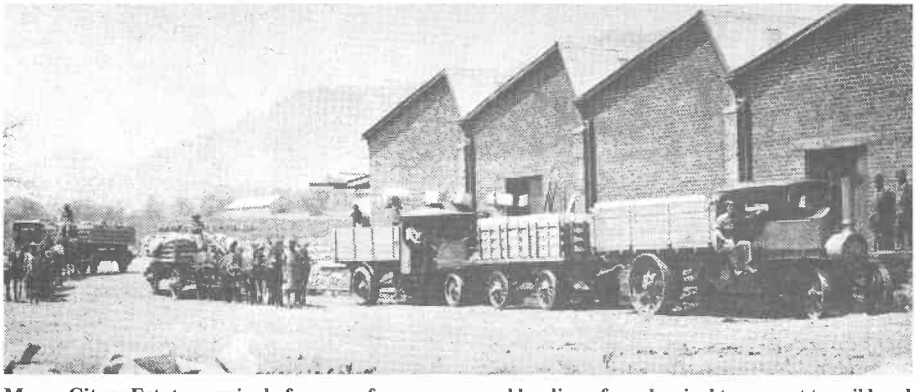
in keeping with the recommendations made by Sir Henry Birchenough, after a five month grand tour in 1912 when he looked in detail at the Company's operations in Southern Rhodesia, that the Company should only "go into proved areas for our farms and to concentrate as far as possible upon single clearly defined objects. We have done tuning enough all these years, we now want the fiddling to begin".

Mazoe Citrus Estate – brick irrigation furrow *(Anglo American)*



Interior of Packing House, Mazoe Citrus Estate, c 1922 *(Anglo American)*

However, by the mid-1920s a reversal of the earlier policy began to manifest itself. In 1926 it was decided to sell the Selous Nek Estate, and the Marandellas Estates, upon which they had experimented with tobacco and citrus, were also subdivided for sale. Citrus efforts were to be concentrated on Mazoe and Premier Estates, although efforts were also made to sell off portions of the former.



Mazoe Citrus Estate – arrival of wagons from groves and loading of mechanical transport to rail head *(Anglo American)*

In 1926 also it was announced that the Shangani and Nuanetsi ranches had been sold to the Rhodesian Land Cattle and Ranching Corporation in which the Imperial Cold Storage (50%), Anglo American Corporation (20%) and the Chartered Company (30%) were shareholders. The reasons given for this reversal of policy were basically that the Company did not possess the necessary sales expertise, having spent considerable time, effort and money in developing the cattle production side of the ranches, including the movement of large numbers of cattle from Rhodesdale in the preceding few years. Then in 1927 the Company sold Rhodesdale on the grounds that it would have been too costly to subdivide it and develop the individual blocks as viable farming entities.

Of interest to the later history a small timber plantation was established that year at Imbeza in the Penhalonga valley. Following on a period of operating losses, the Rhodesian Milling Company was instructed to close down but, as a result of a restructuring whereby Spillers became 50% shareholders in 1928, it in fact continued to operate and grew steadily thereafter in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia.

Thus before 1930 the enormous area of 4m acres of agricultural land owned by the Company was reduced to less than 100 000 and a 30% interest in Rhodesian Land, Cattle and Ranching, and the only other business interests of any consequence were the Milling Company and the Railways.

At the time of self government in 1923 the Directors had considered that the Chartered Company's most valuable potential asset was its mineral rights in Southern Rhodesia. Hardly had the new representative Government sat, however, when it proposed that those mineral rights should be owned by the people of the country. The Board's response was that the Company was not prepared to sell, but the matter would not die and in 1932 some claim holders refused to pay royalties and political pressure for a change intensified. The British Government stood by the Company but in 1933, Moffat, the Premier, offered £2m for the mineral rights and this was accepted. In fact mineral output from Southern Rhodesia throughout the decade had not been as good as had been hoped and this may have influenced the Company. It is also true that more spectacular developments were taking place in mining in Northern Rhodesia.

Finally, some comments on the problems of the railways. In 1924 the Southern Rhodesian Government had initiated an inquiry into the conduct of the railways including possible acquisition by government. The conclusion was that they were being well run but that there should be agreement between government and the Company as to how the revenues were controlled. The result was a decision that rates would be set by a special Railways Commission in such a way as to allow the railway companies to earn a "standard revenue" which would cover interest, loan commitments, provide for a dividend and place funds to reserve. Similar legislation was to be passed in Northern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland in 1927. However, the depression led to a marked fall off in traffic, particularly coal and base metals from about early 1931. This in turn led to a request to increase rates, and to other problems which I shall cover later.

Until the 1920s the economic development in Northern Rhodesia was slow. Access was difficult even after the main railway line was completed in 1910, and the country was regarded as unhealthy due partly to the presence of sleeping sickness. By 1924 mineral production consisted of lead and silver from the Broken Hill mine, and some copper metal and concentrates which had been produced prior to that date by mines in the Kafue area, and at Kansanshi and Bwana Mkubwa in what is now known as the Copperbelt.

Prospecting for copper was active however. In 1925 Edmund Davis who has been mentioned above, and who according to Ernest Oppenheimer, the founder of Anglo American Corporation South Africa Limited, "had been associated with mining in Northern Rhodesia from its earliest conception and was the father of most of the enterprises in that territory", joined the BSA Company Board. He had inspired the Company's prospecting policy, already touched on earlier, of placing prospecting in the hands of syndicates with ample capital, proper management and with the necessary technical staff at their disposal. In fact, even before his appointment, he had influenced the Company to give these syndicates exclusive rights to prospect for a defined period on condition they spent a minimum sum annually and reserved to the Chartered Company participating rights in any mining companies formed. The Chartered Company of course already had its rights to royalties.

There thus came into existence six concession companies which had interlocking partnerships and which from time to time exchanged concession rights. Just before these concession

companies were registered, Ernest Oppenheimer, had sent his brother-in-law, Leslie Pollak, and Carl Davis, to visit the Copperbelt in 1923 to see if there were any properties in the market worth considering and to keep in touch with general developments. In 1924 Anglo American Corporation bought shares in the Bwana Mkubwa Company and Ernest Oppenheimer joined the board. By the end of 1925 Anglo American Corporation had interests in Broken Hill, Rhodesian Congo Border Concession Company (RCBC) and Loangwa Concessions, and in the next year it had interests in two other of the concession companies. As a result because of these interests Anglo American was in a position to act as Consulting Engineers for practically the whole of Northern Rhodesia and in 1926 they became Consulting Engineers for that territory to the Chartered Company itself. Edmund Davis, by now on the Anglo Board, Ernest Oppenheimer and, to a lesser extent, Chester Beatty were the unifying links among all the companies, but it must be said that each company's interests was not always identical, and over the next decade there was to be much complicated manoeuvring between them with the Chartered Company taking rather a back seat.

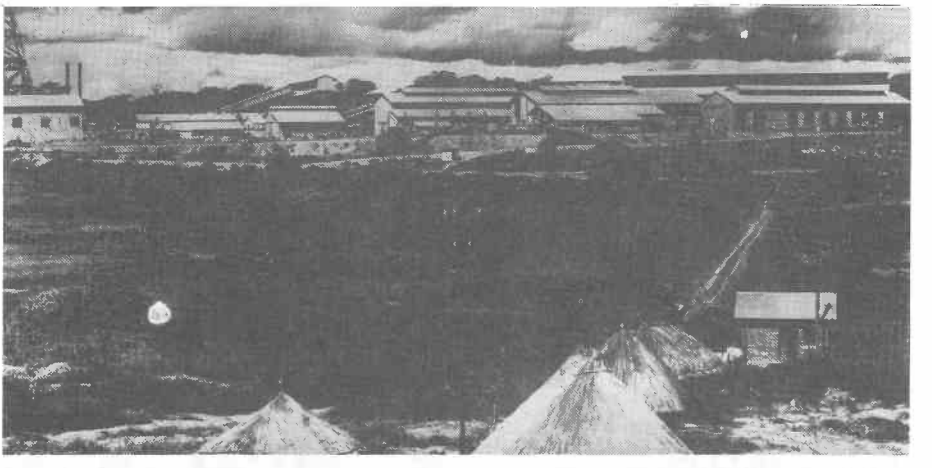
In 1926 Dr. J. Austen Bancroft was appointed consulting geologist to Anglo in Northern Rhodesia and so to the Chartered Company. He played a great role in the history not only of Anglo and the Chartered Company, but also of Northern Rhodesia, and took charge of all the geological work introducing modern methods and reorganising field work.

Nchanga Mine – shot drill in operation, 1927. *(J. C. Ferguson via National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

While Anglo American was building up scientific and managerial relations in Northern Rhodesia not only in copper, but at Broken Hill in lead and now zinc and vanadium, Chester Beatty had his own ambitions and put together a syndicate led by Selection Trust, but with Anglo getting 24%, to develop the Roan Antelope Mine. He also started a second venture with 15% being offered to Anglo to develop the Muliashi claims which subsequently became part of Roan. A third and final venture was to prospect part of the Nkana Concession. Bwana Mkubwa had a third residual interest in this venture and Anglo got a direct 7.5% participation. The most valuable outcome was Mufulira Mine.

In 1928 Chester Beatty formed Rhodesian Select Trust, and Anglo was offered a participation of 16%. Beatty's company had an interest in Anglo's RCBC and Bwana Mkubwa so that both

groups had a foot in the opposite camp. The formation of RST and the substantial interests of Anglo in Northern Rhodesia, together with some attempts led by Edmund Davis to increase American influence in his Northern Rhodesian interests which were frowned upon by Anglo, led to the incorporation of Rhodesian Anglo American Limited (RHOANGLO) in London in 1928. This was done after close consultation with the Chartered Company because Sir Ernest wanted this large, and practically the only, copper field in the British Empire to be developed by British interests. The only American interest in Rhoanglo was to be the Newmont Corporation, a shareholder in the original Anglo American Corporation, so that American copper mining expertise could be tapped. The British South Africa Company was closely associated with and participated in this new company as did JCI (Barnato's company), Rand Selection, Consolidated Mines and New Era.



Roan Antelope Mine, 1930. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

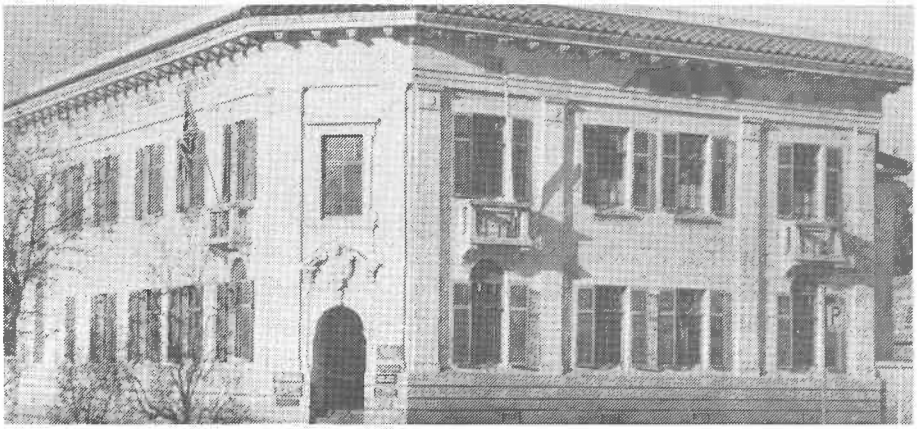
The first annual general meeting of Rhoanglo in 1930 was told by Edmund Davis that the Copperbelt had 585 000 000 tons of 4.5% ore (the average grade in U.S.A. at the time being 1.41%). Obviously a low cost mining field of enormous significance was emerging. Production began at Roan Antelope and Nkana in 1931, and at Mufulira in 1933. Nchanga commenced production in 1939. Whereas copper production in the rest of the world was falling due to the recession, that in Northern Rhodesia was rising.

Nkana Mine, 1934. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

Rationalisation of Copperbelt interests continued for various reasons. Included in this process was the formation of Rhokana Corporation in 1931 which led to Rhoanglo transferring its technical staff to that company, apart from the geological consultants including Bancroft who all joined the Chartered Company. Anglo's appointment as consulting engineers to the Chartered Company fell away as a result.

What had started out for Anglo American in 1923 as an exploratory visit to Northern Rhodesia had, by the early 1930s developed into a situation where the Corporation had substantial shareholdings in every mining enterprise in the country. More than that it had by 1930 become the biggest single shareholder in the Chartered Company which of course, apart from its own participation in the various mining ventures, also owned the royalties. Rhoanglo had decided that it would "rather be the partner of the BSA Company than its tenant". By comparison with Anglo the Company seemed almost content just to sit back in a passive role and allow their mining royalties to generate revenue for them.

Having said that it is noteworthy that in 1932, the last year in which Chartered Company received mineral royalties in Southern Rhodesia, revenue from that territory was £132 000 compared with £79 000 from Northern Rhodesia.



Charter House, corner Union Avenue and Third Street. This site was occupied between 1927 and 1958.
(Anglo American)

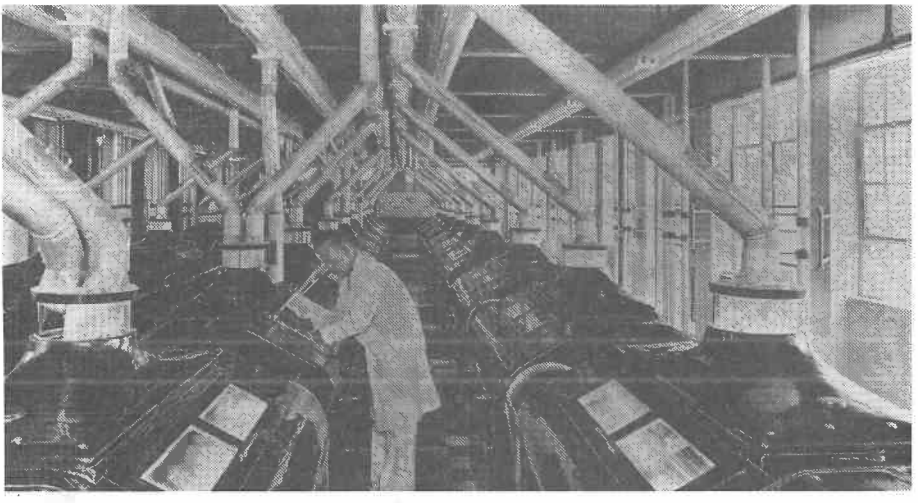
At this point it would be appropriate to return and examine events in Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere from the 1930s to the end of World War II. In general this period was relatively quiet. The Company's citrus estates produced substantial quantities of fruit, much of which was exported, and yet, despite this, the estates made a loss in every year from 1930 to 1940, with the exception of 1936. By and large the quality of the fruit exported was very good, but it was having to be shipped over long distances and faced stiff competition from cheap Brazilian, Californian and Spanish fruit, which had the effect of depressing prices. When it was suggested by one shareholder, at the 1936 annual meeting, that over a seven year period the estates had cost the Company £378 000 and that they should therefore be got rid of, the President, Sir Henry Birchenough, did not contradict him. It is clear that the Board must have been considering closing Mazoe, the largest of the estates, at this time, since Sinoia had already been put on a care and maintenance basis. It is significant also that Ellis Robins, already ensconced as Company Resident Director in Salisbury, informed the 1935 annual meeting that the Company "must look rather to the development of the mineral resources than to the agricultural resources of the Company for our future success".

However, it was also in 1935 that a small but significant development took place, with the Company taking an interest in a recently formed citrus processing venture called Citrus Products Limited. Based at Mazoe, and absorbed fully into the Company in 1944, it was to develop the orange oil and concentrate business to the extent that, boosted by regular contracts from the Ministry of Food in Britain after 1941, the estates were able to return a regular profit every year after that.

Canning of "Bezant" in Mazoe processing plant, c 1960 *(Anglo American)*

Turning to other enterprises, the Milling Company was able to consolidate its position steadily during this period and beyond. The Rhodesian Land Cattle and Ranching Corporation on the other hand experienced foot and mouth disease in the mid 1930s which affected exports for a while and indeed the company's fortunes declined to such an extent that ranching at Nuanetsi was discontinued in 1936 and the ranch sold in 1938. The Rhodesia Land Bank operated satisfactorily, though not impressively, until it was decided to wind it up in 1943.

Traffic on the railways system declined considerably with the recession and the reduction in mining traffic which was experienced in the early 1930s As has been mentioned rates were set by an independent Railway Commission, albeit on a formula designed to protect the debenture and shareholders, and it was becoming increasingly clear that the formula did not allow sufficient income for replenishment of assets and repayment of debentures. A conference was held in Cape Town in 1934 attended by representatives of the governments (including

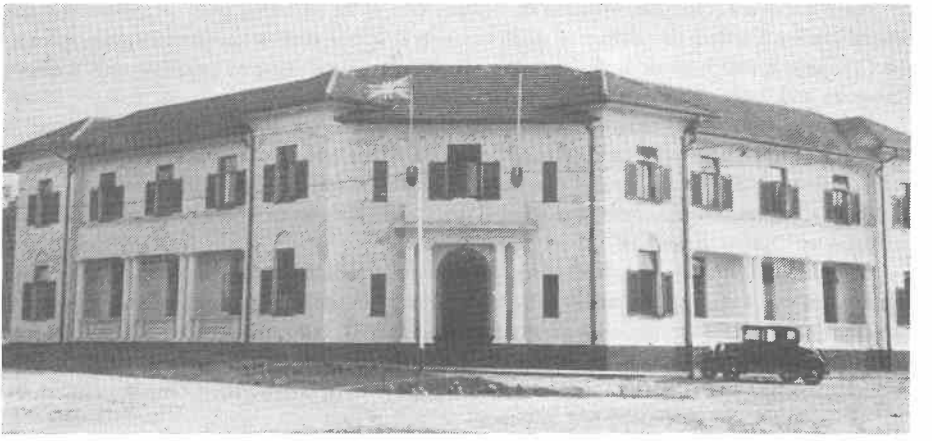


The roller floor, Rhodesian Milling Company, Stirling Road, Salisbury, c 1960 *(Anglo American)*

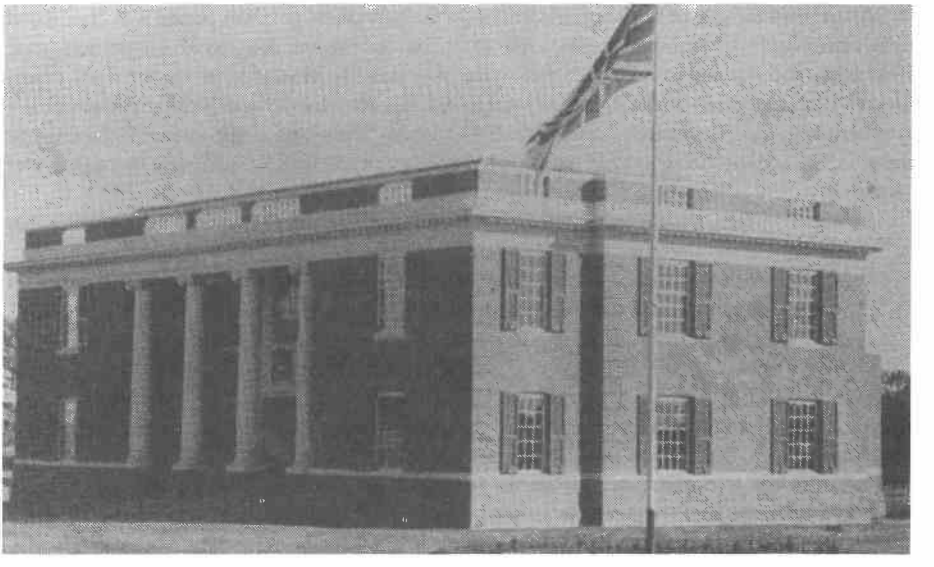
Bechuanaland) and the Railways Companies. New legislation was introduced to enable the Railways Companies to build up and maintain adequate reserves, rates were to be stabilised and a dividend pattern adhered to. The main effect of the changes was to strengthen the security of the debentures of the Railway Companies, which helped reduce the risk of the Chartered Company's guarantees on those debentures being invoked. In 1936 arrangements were concluded whereby the whole of the Railways debentures would be repaid by the substitution of £21 750 000 4.25% debenture stock of the Rhodesia Railways Limited. In other words the Railways debentures were to stand on their own and thus the Chartered Company was relieved of its obligations.

Thereafter as traffic improved so did the financial results of the Railways Companies. Of key importance to the financial success of the Railways was the traffic from Northern Rhodesia's mines (and those of the Katanga), as well as Wankie Colliery, and special agreements were negotiated between the parties.

Immediately after the war, indeed in June 1945, the British Government appointed Sir Harold Howitt as a Commissioner to advise on whether it was in the interests of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, that the equity in the Railways companies should be acquired jointly by the governments concerned. Reporting back in early 1946 Howitt said that, while a government takeover of the railways was inevitable, the time was not ripe and he recommended a delay of 5 years. Sir Godfrey Huggins, then Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and impatient at what he saw as the inability of the railways to keep pace with the expansion of the country, would not accept this and approached the British Government. As a Labour Government, inclined instinctively to the concept of public ownership of such public facilities, it was sympathetic to Huggins, but since it also did not believe that either Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland could meet the financial burden of such a takeover, it was agreeable to Southern Rhodesia doing it alone, provided certain safeguards with respect to black labour policy on the railways were introduced. The actual negotiations with the railways authorities and the financial institutions in London were led by Edgar Whitehead (later to become Prime Minister) and the result was that the whole of the share capital of Rhodesia Railways Limited was sold to the Southern Rhodesian government on 31st March 1947 for £3 150 000. Another leg of the Chartered Company had been severed.



Charter House, Ndola *(Anglo American)*



Charter House, Lusaka *(Anglo American)*

Turning back to the mining position in Northern Rhodesia it is not relevant here to present a complete history of the development of the copper mines in the 1930s and during the war. Suffice it to say that 1938 and 1939 saw the need to rationalise production. To gauge progress mineral royalties in 1939 amounted to £237 000, copper production that year was 210 000 tons, and the industry employed 28 600 people. But the problem of oversupply came to an end shortly thereafter with the outbreak of war at which time the Northern Rhodesian mines entered into an agreement with the British Ministry of Supply for the sale of a fixed amount of copper at a price which approximated that ruling immediately before the war. That price was £43 6*s*, which was well below market prices in the early years of the war when the contract was in operation. Later the British Government offered to assist in the uprating of Nchanga in order to meet the Allies' demand.

So that it is not forgotten, mention should be made of the fact that, from 1925 onwards, the annual accounts reflect the receipt of small amounts from the British Government in respect of the Company's half interest in the net proceeds of the sale and lease of land in North Western Rhodesia and, later, the Tuli Block in Bechuanaland.

From the early 1930s attempts were made to sell land in the Tanganyika Estate at least to the extent of having the area surveyed and beaconed. These attempts were abortive and in 1938 the Company sold such portions of this estate as would be suitable for white occupation to the Northern Rhodesia Government, and handed the remainder over as a free grant to supplement the existing "Native Reserves".

In 1936 the Company surrendered its claims to the freehold title of the North Nyasa Estate (approximately 4 000 square miles), together with certain other rights in the Protectorate. On the other hand its title to the minerals in approximately 16 000 square miles of territory was confirmed, but royalties levied on any minerals mined in those areas were to be divided equally between the Nyasaland government and the Company. Furthermore the Company undertook that the area should be prospected within an agreed period and commenced prospecting in conjunction with Anglo American Corporation. This examination was completed just before the war without any discovery of importance having been made.

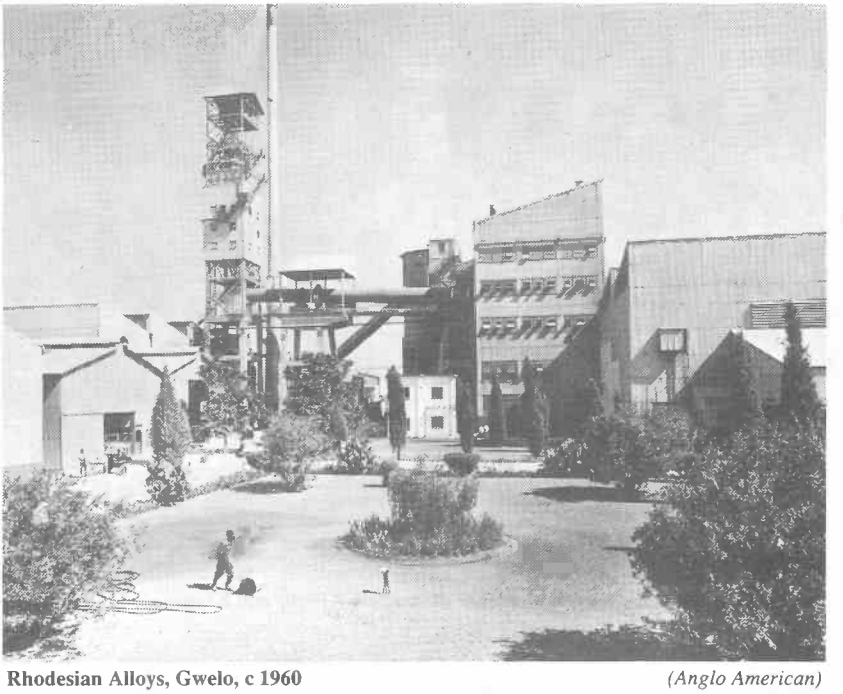
Apart from the sale of the Rhodesia Railways the immediate post war period was dominated by developments in Northern Rhodesia. Far from diminishing, the demand for copper remained strong after the war and royalty from that source rose steadily. However, in the directors' report for 1948 reference was made to the ongoing political attack by the unofficial members of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council on the Company's position as the owner of the mineral rights in that country. In June 1949 the British Government and the Company reached agreement such that :

a) the Company should retain the mineral rights for a period of 37 years from 1st October 1949
b) from that date the Company would pay to the Northern Rhodesia Government 20% of the net royalties, this sum being deductible for tax purposes in the United Kingdom
c) His Majesty's Government would secure as far as possible that any government which may become responsible in that 37 year period would be bound by these arrangements.

The decision to create a Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was well received and supported by the Chartered Company. With this new political environment, a buoyant revenue from royalties and generally a much stronger balance sheet, the Company moved to a period of expansion in the territories and elsewhere. Increasingly it worked with the Rhoanglo/Anglo American interests, and frequently with the other major copper group RST.

Thus in 1951 it subscribed for a controlling interest in the Ridgeway Hotel in Lusaka, relinquishing control the following year to Anglo, but retaining a major interest. In 1952 it took a 50% interest in New Rhodesia Investments (NRI). This company was to be a vehicle to acquire shares in South African and foreign mining companies, including those in the Anglo American and Consolidated Goldfields groups, so broadening the base of Chartered's investment portfolio and sweetening its investment income. In pursuit of the same objectives the assets of the Rhodesia Railways Trust Limited changed and increasingly became investments in the United States and Canada, including an important interest in the manufacture of aluminium from scrap and investments in the Hudson Bay Company, the British Newfoundland Corporation and the Commonwealth Development Finance Corporation.

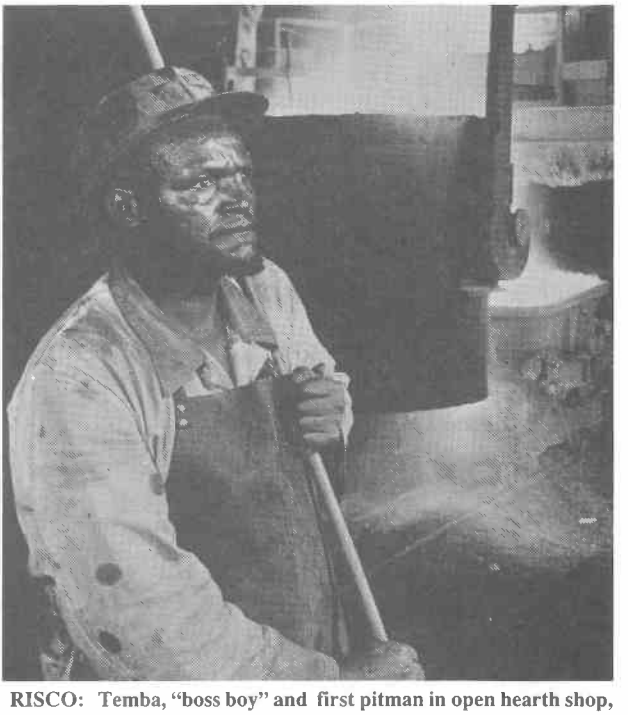
Within the Federation investments were made in cement manufacture (Chilanga Cement and Premier Portland), ferro chrome (Rhodesian Alloys), and forestry (Eastern Forest Estates, Border Forests). A substantial position was taken in Rhodesian Iron & Steel Company Limited (RISCO) when it ceased to be RISCOM, and a loan of £4m was advanced to the Federal



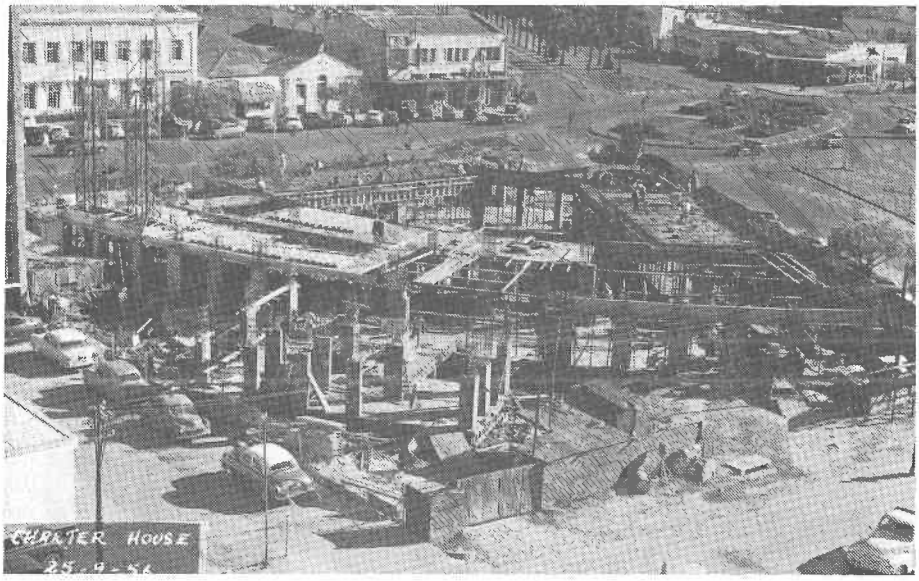
Rhodesian Alloys, Gwelo, c 1960 *(Anglo American)*

Government for the Kariba Hydro Electric Scheme. Shares were also held in two leading cattle ranching companies, Willoughby's Consolidated and Lonrho. In Northern Rhodesia prospecting continued by RST and Anglo/BSA through Chartered Exploration Limited. In 1959 the Company subscribed for shares in a new copper mine, Bancroft which was being opened up by the Anglo American Group.

An important external acquisition was the purchase of 700 000 shares in Union Corporation. A strong position was held in Consolidated Zinc Corporation which in 1962 merged with the Rio Tinto Company to form Rio Tinto-Zinc



RISCO: Temba, "boss boy" and first pitman in open hearth shop, c 1960 *(Anglo American)*



Charter House under construction on corner of Jameson Avenue and Kingsway, September 1956
(Anglo American)

Charter House almost completed, January 1958 *(Anglo American)*

Corporation. Also in 1962 Anglo American offered to exchange the Company shareholding in New Rhodesia Investments (NRI) (which had previously exchanged all its mining shares for shares in Rand Selection) for 600 000 shares in Anglo American itself. In 1963 shares were subscribed in the Chambishi Copper Mine while £2m was loaned to the Northern Rhodesia Government for African housing. The Company together with the copper companies also helped establish Peterhouse, Arundel and Bernard Mizeki schools, the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, particularly its library, and made charitable donations to many organisations.

But all was not smooth sailing. There is evidence of frustration at a local level at the failure of the Board in London to agree to sizeable investments in the property market in the country during this same period. A number of prime stands were changing hands in the centre of Salisbury for example which were recommended as good investments, but which were missed because the Board quibbled at the prices, or simply took too long to make decisions.

The dissolution of the Federation at the end of 1963 led to discussions about the transfer of the Company's mineral rights to the new Government of Northern Rhodesia. Initially financial advisers proposed payment of amounts over 22½ years i.e. the end of the Concession period which, discounted at 3.6% per annum, had a present value of £35m. It should be noted that by now royalty payments were in the region of £500 000 per month. Attempts to negotiate with the new government were totally abortive and instead that government issued a white paper claiming that :

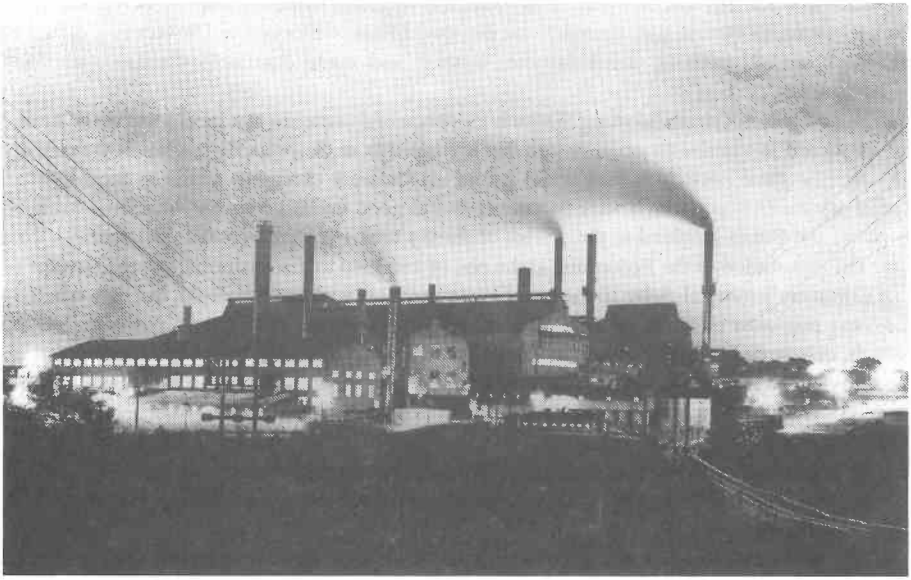
a) historical evidence cast doubt on the original concessions and
b) insofar as the Company's title was valid, it was only so because of the acts of the British Government.

The new government was also threatening to expropriate the mining rights. There followed a horse deal on the value of the rights, but even these discussions broke down. On Independence Day itself, 24 October, 1964, the British asked if the Company would accept £4m net of tax; of this £2m was to be provided by the British Government and the balance by the Northern Rhodesia Government. For various reasons the Company felt obliged to accept this miserable offer, but Dr. Kaunda refused to agree to Britain's £2m being regarded as a gift to Northern Rhodesia which Kaunda could then pass on to the Company, so freeing it of U.K. tax. He wanted Britain to accept "liability" for at least some of the past and the Company had to accept the money realising that it might be subject to U.K. tax. Thus blew the winds of change!

In December of that year the boards of the Chartered Company, The Central Mining and Investment Corporation and the Consolidated Mines Selection announced proposals for the merger of the three companies by means of a new holding company Charter Consolidated Limited. This new enterprise was to seek business in mining, commerce and industry throughout the world. It would be closely associated with Anglo American, which was to provide the technical services required and which, because of its interests in all three companies and the exchange of cross holdings, would own about 30% of the new company. At the date of the merger the value of its assets exceeded £142m of which 39% were in South Africa, 16% in the rest of Africa, 23% in North America and 22% elsewhere. The chairman would be Mr. P. V. Emrys Evans, President of the Chartered Company.

Insofar as the assets of the Chartered Company in Rhodesia were concerned, they were to be merged with those of Rhosouth Limited, the Southern Rhodesian leg of the previous Rhoanglo, and shortly to be called Anglo American Corporation Zimbabwe (AMZIM). In consideration for this the new Charter Consolidated was to receive 33.5% of AMZIM's equity. Today AMZIM is the Anglo Group's largest, but not the only investment holding company in Zimbabwe. Sir Frederick Crawford, previously Resident Director of the Chartered Company, was the new Resident Director of the Anglo Group in Rhodesia.

The Chartered Company's assets in Zambia, apart from its shares in the copper mining companies and their holding companies, were not extensive and its offices and residential property in Ndola and Lusaka were sold to the Government, while its shares in the Ridgeway Hotel and the Milling Company were sold to Zambia Anglo American (formerly Rhoanglo).



Roan Antelope Smelter at sunset, c 1960. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

To complete the picture the Zambian President announced in August 1969 that his government wished to acquire a 51% interest in the equity of the mining companies in Zambia, at a fair value based on book value. In April 1970 a scheme was announced whereby a new company called Zambia Copper Investments Limited (ZCI) would be formed to hold the 49% of the equity of the mines known as the Anglo Group Mines, together with the Anglo Group's share of the R.S.T. mines shares. It would also hold US dollar denominated loan stock guaranteed by the Zambian Government and issued in payment for the 51% of the shares purchased by Zambia. Z.C.I. would then issue to equity shareholders of the mining companies its own shares and identical loan stock in exchange for their shareholdings in those companies. The loan stock was due to mature in 1978 and 1982, but repayment was accelerated and the Zambian Government made its final payment for its 51% interest in the last quarter of 1973. A similar scheme was put in place for the R.S.T. Group. Zamanglo acquired its proportion of the Z.C.I. shares and loan stock and re-registered in Bermuda and, having done so, changed its name to Minorco Limited.

It has been said, perhaps contentiously, that events can only be judged according to the values of their times. Certainly, as was stated at the outset, no historical review of the Chartered Company would be complete without reference to the creation of the Company in late Victorian times, without a strong understanding of the sense of Empire and the benefits of carrying British standards and influence around the world, and without an appreciation of the immense charisma of Rhodes and the recent history not only of diamonds, but of gold mining developments in South Africa.

The story of this great company is in a sense tragic because its assets and rights were taken from it systematically over its 76 year life, just when it appeared to be ready to benefit from

those assets and rights. The values of the times were changing and to the Chartered Company's disadvantage. It was also never really able to throw off its original dual role instincts and view its operations, particularly in Southern Rhodesia, from a purely commercial point of view. We have seen elsewhere how staunchly Sir Henry Birchenough defended the continued existence of the citrus estates in the '20s and '30s, because to have closed them down would in effect have been to indicate a vote of no confidence by the Company in the territory's future. There was also persistent criticism over the years from some of the shareholders over the preponderance of highborn, as opposed to business orientated, directors on the Board. In 1924 one remarked that "our Board have made a colony for the Crown, but they have utterly failed to make a commercial success of our assets for the shareholders". Another in 1925 suggested that the Board "should be strengthened by the inclusion of men with what I would call a great deal of red corpuscles to mix with the wonderful blue blood which we already have". Having said that, the Company survived and grew, particularly once it had shed its administrative responsibilities, and by the time of the merger in 1965 it not only had widely spread and valuable assets, but could look back on immense national progress.

As the President said in his last report to shareholders "it is now 76 years since Cecil Rhodes conceived the idea of creating a new state in Central Africa by means of a Chartered Company and by his energy, determination and genius, succeeded in bringing civilisation and peace to a wide area which was administered by the Company from 1889 to 1923. It built the railways and laid the foundations of a modern state. The whole burden of this fell upon the shareholders of the Company. The Company having created the conditions which made development possible, set up an organisation to make intensive searches for minerals long before the discovery of the rich copper deposits in what was known until recently as Northern Rhodesia. When the mines were discovered the Company took a leading part in helping to finance and bring to production one of the great copper fields of the world".

Sir Henry Birchenough, Bart. G.C.M.G., Director (1905–1937), President (1925–1937).
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

As a postscript we should note that very little mention has been made of individuals associated with this great venture. There is a full list of Directors

Sir Dougal Malcolm, K.C.M.G., Director (1913–1955), President (1937–1955).
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Col. The Lord Robins, K.B.E., D.S.O., General Manager in South Africa (1928–1934), Resident Director (1934–1957), Vice-President (1955–1957), President (1957–1962).

(Anglo American)

and Managers under Appendix 3 and outstanding among these were of course Rhodes, Beit and Jameson in the early years. Birchenough, a Director for 25 years through the middle period and Dougal Malcolm, who spearheaded so much of the negotiations, also made a crucial contribution, as did Lt. Col. T. Ellis Robins (later Lord Robins). He began his career with the company as General Manager in 1928, joined the Board as Resident Director in 1934, and served as President of the Board in London from 1957 till his death in 1962. Others to be mentioned specifically are Milton and Drummond Chaplin as Administrators, and Edmund Davis and Ernest Oppenheimer for their efforts in developing the copper industry in Northern Rhodesia. All these were great men in their way.

On a final note it is worth mentioning that the British South Africa Company as such continues to exist. It is registered in the United Kingdom as an investment company within the Charter Consolidated Group.

Appendix 1

CONCESSION GRANTED TO C. D. RUDD AND OTHERS FROM LOBENGULA

(Blue Book C 5918)

Know all men by these presents that whereas Charles Dunell Rudd of Kimberley, Rochfort Maguire of London, and Francis Robert Thompson of Kimberley, hereinafter called the Grantees, have convenanted and agreed, and do hereby convenant and agree to pay to me my heirs and successors the sum of one hundred pounds sterling British currency on the first day of every lunar month, and further to deliver at my Royal Kraal one thousand Martini-Henry breach-loading rifles, together with one hundred thousand rounds of suitable ball cartridge, five hundred of the said rifles and fifty thousand of the said cartridges to be ordered from England forthwith and delivered with reasonable despatch, and the remainder of the said rifles and cartridges to be delivered so soon as the said grantees shall have commenced to work mining machinery within my territory, and further to deliver on the Zambesi River a steamboat with guns suitable for defensive purposes upon the said river, or in lieu of the said steamboat, should I so elect, to pay to me the sum of five hundred pounds sterling British currency on the execution of these presents, I, Lo Bengula, King of Matibililand, Mashonaland, and other adjoining territories, in the exercise of my sovereign powers, and in the presence and with the consent of my Council of Indunas, do hereby grant and assign unto the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns, jointly and severally, the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in my kingdoms, principalities, and dominions, together with full power to do all things that they may deem necessary to win and procure the same, and to hold, collect, and enjoy the profits and revenues, if any, derivable from the said metals and minerals subject to the aforesaid payment, and whereas I have been much molested of late by divers persons seeking and desiring to obtain grants and concessions of land and mining rights in my territories, I do hereby authorise the said grantees, their heirs, representatives, and assigns, to take all necessary and lawful steps to exclude from my kingdoms, principalities, and dominions all persons seeking land, metals, minerals, or mining rights therein, and I do hereby undertake to render them such needful assistance as they may from time to time require for the exclusion of such persons and to grant no concessions of land or mining rights from and after this date without their consent and concurrence, provided that if at any time the said monthly payment of One Hundred Pounds shall be in arrear for a period of three months then this grant shall cease and determine from that date of the last made payment, and further provided that nothing contained in these presents shall extend to or affect a grant made by me of certain mining rights in a portion of my territory south of the Ramakoban River, which grant is commonly known as the Tati Concession. This given under my hand this thirtieth day of October in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, at my Royal Kraal.

(Signed) LO BENGULA His X Mark

C. D. RUDD.
ROCHFORT MAGUIRE.
F. R. THOMPSON.

Witnesses :-
(Signed) C. D. HELM.
J. G. DREYER.

Copy of Endorsement from the Original Agreement.

I hereby certify that the accompanying document (the concession) has been fully interpreted and explained by me to the Chief Lobengula and his full council of Indunas, and that all the constitutional usages of the Matabele nation had been complied with prior to his executing the same.

Dated at Ungusa River, October 30th, 1888. (Signed) CHAS. D. HELM.

Appendix 2

ARMS OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

BLAZON: Gules, the chief semee of Besants, the base semee of ears of wheat or: a fesse wavy argent between two bulls passant in chief and an elephant passant in base all proper; the fesse charged with three galleys sable.

CREST: A Lion guardant passant, or: supporting with its dexter fore paw an ivory tusk erect proper.

S U P P O R T E R S: Two Springboks proper.

M O T T O: 'Justice, Commerce, Freedom'.

The significance is briefly as follows: The colour of the field, red, is the same as that in the arms of England. The besants (gold discs), in chief, refer to the gold abounding in Matabeleland, and the ears of wheat in base to the corn which has been and can be raised there in such profusion. The oxen refer to the beasts of burden employed there and to the abundance of cattle. The fesse wavy refers to the Zambezi, Limpopo and other rivers flowing through the scene of the operations of the Company. The galleys refer to the shipping which can traverse the rivers. The supporters and the crest indicate the wild animals to be found in Zambezi. The Lion also forms an allusion to the heraldic emblem of England, and the three galleys sable upon the argent field are charges borne in the arms of the second Duke of Abercorn, the first President of the Company.

Appendix 3

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

Presidents:	
His Grace The (2nd) Duke of Abercorn, K.G.	1889 - 1913
The Rt. Hon. Sir Starr Jameson, Bart., C.B.	1913 - 1917
P. Lyttleton Gell, Esq.	1920 - 1923
Rochfort Maguire, Esq.	1923 - 1925
Sir Henry Birchenough, Bart. G.C.M.G.	1925 - 1937
Sir Dougal Malcolm, K.C.M.G.	1937 - 1955
C. Hely-Hutchinson	1955 - 1957
Col. The Lord Robins, K.B.E., D.S.O.	1957 - 1962
P. V. Emrys-Evans	1962 - 1965
Vice Presidents:	
His Grace The Duke of Fife, K.T.	1889 - 1898
The Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, P.C.	1898 - 1904
Alfred Beit, Esq.	1904 - 1906
Rochfort Maguire, Esq.	1906 - 1913
Baron Emile Beaumont D'Erlanger	1937 - 1939
Col. Sir T. Ellis Robins, K.B.E., D.S.O.	1955 - 1957
P. V. Emrys-Evans	1959 - 1962
Directors:	
The Rt. Hon. C. J. Rhodes, P.C.	1889 - 1896
	1898 - 1902
His Grace The (2nd) Duke of Abercorn, K.G.	1889 - 1913
His Grace The Duke of Fife, K.T.	1889 - 1898
The Rt. Hon. Lord Gifford, V.C.	1889 - 1911
Alfred Beit, Esq.	1889 - 1896
	1902 - 1906
The Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, P.C.	1889 - 1904
George Cawston, Esq.	1889 - 1898
The Rt. Hon. Lord Farquhar, P.C.	1889 - 1898
Rochfort Maguire, Esq.	1893 - 1896
	1898 - 1925
Sir Sydney Shippard, K.C.M.G.	1898 - 1902
P. Lyttleton Gell, Esq.	1899 - 1925
The Rt. Hon. Sir Starr Jameson, Bart.,C.B.	1902 - 1917
The Hon. Sir Lewis Michell, C.V.O.	1902 - 1928
Sir Henry Birchenough, Bart., G.C.M.G.	1905 - 1937
The Most Hon. The Marquess of Winchester	1906 - 1930
Sir Otto Beit, Bart., K.C.M.G.	1910 - 1930
H. Wilson Fox, Esq., M.P.	1913 - 1921
Baron Emile Beaumont D'Erlanger	1913 - 1939
Sir Dougal Malcolm, K.C.M.G.	1913 - 1955
Brig. Gen. The Hon. Everard Baring, CVO,CBE	1913 - 1924
His Grace The (3rd) Duke of Abercorn, KG, KP,	1913 - 1953
Major P. S. Inskipp, O.B.E.	1919 - 1922
	1929 - 1929
Sir F. Drummond Chaplin, G.B.E., K.C.M.G.	1925 - 1933
Sir William Edgar Nicholls, J.P.	1925 - 1932
The Hon. A. G. C. Villiers, D.S.O.	1925 - 1925
Sir Edmund Davies, J.P.	1925 - 1939
C. Hely-Hutchinson, Esq.	1925 - 1955
A. E. Hadley, Esq., C.B.E.	1931 - 1950
The Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd of Dolobran, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O.	1932 - 1940

Lt. Col. T. Ellis Robins, D.S.O.	1934 - 1957
Sir Ernest Oppenheimer	1934 - 1957
Lt. Col. Sir John R. Chancellor G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O.	1939 - 1952
Sir Henry Chapman, C.B.E.	1939 - 1947
Leo F. A. D'Erlanger	1941 - 1965
P. J. Baird, C.B.E.	1945 - 1951
R. Annan	1947 - 1965
M. F. Berry	1947 - 1965
P. V. Emrys-Evans	1948 - 1959
A. Comar Wilson	1950 - 1960
Julian Amery, M.P.	1952 - 1957
Sir John Chancellor	1952 - 1957
H. St. L. Grenfell, O.B.E., M.C.	1956 - 1965
Rt. Hon. Viscount Malvern, PC, CH, KCMG, MP	1957 - 1965
Sir Charles E. G. Cumings, K.B.E.	1957 - 1959
The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., P.C.	1957 - 1961
H. F. Oppenheimer	1957 - 1965
Sir Charles Hambro, K.B.E., M.C.	1959 - 1963
M. W. Robson	1959 - 1965
Sir Frederick Crawford, G.C.M.G., O.B.E.	1961 - 1965
Sir Keith Acutt, K.B.E.	1961 - 1965
Hon. H. V. Smith	1962 - 1965
T. P. Stratten	1963 - 1965

General Manager in South Africa :

Major P. S. Inskipp, O.B.E.	1922 - 1928
Lt. Col. T. Ellis Robins, D.S.O.	1928 - 1934

Resident Director in Africa:

Lt. Col. T. Ellis Robins, D.S.O.	1934 - 1957
Sir Charles Cummings, K.B.E.	1957 - 1959
The Viscount Malvern, P.C., C.H., K.C.M.G.	1959 - 1961
Sir Frederick Crawford, G.C.M.G., O.B.E.	1961 - 1965

General Manager:

E. S. Newson, O.B.E. (Joint)	1959 - 1960
R. H. C. Boys (Joint)	1959 - 1960
E. S. Newson, O.B.E.	1960 - 1965

Deputy General Manager:

Sir Charles Cummings, K.B.E.	1954 - 1956

Consulting Mining Engineer:

E. H. Clifford	1926 - 1943

Assistant General Managers:

Southern Rhodesia - E. S. Newson, O.B.E.	1954 - 1959
Northern Rhodesia - H. St. L. Grenfell, M.C.	1954 - 1956
- R. H. C. Boys	1956 - 1959

Appendix 4

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY MINERAL ROYALTIES*

Year ended March	Nominal value of shares in SR mining companies	Sales of SR mining shares	Income from shares in SR mining companies	Mineral royalties Northern Rhodesia
1891		-		
1892		-		
1893	61	-		
1894	58	-		
1895	249	-		
1896	447	4		
1897	82	-		
1898	350	-		
1899	84	-		
1900	131	200		
1901	(30)	-		
1902	156	-		
1903	107	-		
1904	173	36		
1905		41		
1906		25	53	
1907		54	52	
1908		20	57	
1909		113	50	
1910		150	57	
1911		5	72	
1912		-	42	
1913		(2)	56	
1914		-	63	
1915		-	92	
1916		-	115	
1917		9	113	
1918		3	106	
1919		5	86	
1920		7	116	
1921		74	143	
1922		-	143	
1923		-	179	
1924			113	12
1925			106	13
1926			100	7

* Figures in 000's Pounds

Year ended March	Nominal value of shares in SR mining companies	Sales of SR mining shares	Income from shares in SR mining companies	Mineral royalties Northern Rhodesia
1927			110	
1928			117	
1929			119	
1930			132	
1931			114	
1932			138	
1933			63	79
1934			2	109
1935				111
1936				128
1937				311
1938				211
1939				237
1940				301
1941				275
1942				301
1943				324
1944				297
1945				313
1946				415
1947				1 257
1948				2 238
1949				2 628
1950				3 005
1951				5 501
1952				7 066
1953				7 787
1954				7 397
1955				10 154
1956				12 263
1957				8 758
1958				6 121
1959				9 396
1960				11 836
1961				10 303
1962				6 619*
1963				6 457*
1964				980*

* After Tax

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

SUMMARISED BALANCE SHEETS, NET PROFITS AND DIVIDENDS: YEARS ENDED 30 SEPTEMBER 1924 - 1964

Year	Share Capital	Reserves	Loans	Creditors	Profit & Loss	Total Equity & Liabilities	Cash	Govt. Stock	Shares & Investments	Debtors	Estates	Furniture & Fittings	Livestock	Mineral Rights	Total Assets	Net Profit	Dividend	Dividend per Share
1924	6576	4239		240	1415	12470	66	2497	3193	438	672	134	408	5064	12470	415	219	6d
1925	6570	4253		203	949	11975	78	2162	3058	426	688	145	368	5050	11975	367	435	1s 3d
1926	6570	4211		202	1053	12036	47	2456	2952	1008	628	126	38	4781	12036	539	530	1s 3d
1927	6570	4216		366	1051	12203	43	2898	3132	784	583	163		4602	12203	527	526	1s 3d + 3d
1928	6570	4216		402	1094	12282	18	2889	3444	625	580	142		4584	12282	570	550	1s 3d + 3d
1929	6570	4194		239	1399	12402	113	2452	3943	621	564	138		4571	12402	853	711	1s 3d + 9d
1930	6570	4196		257	1097	12120	72	1574	4597	627	562	144		4544	12120	410	449	1s 3d
1931	6570	4146		273	909	11898	104	1340	5045	212	524	153		4520	11898	262	262	9d
1932	6570	4095		286	820	11771	79	1311	5070	207	475	119		4510	11771	173		
1933	6570	4044		328	955	11897	90	3367	5219	166	430	96		2529	11897	309	174	6d
1934	6570	3810		247	1118	11745	65	3393	5138	153	381	93		2522	11745	329	345	1s
1935	6570	3763		280	944	11557	61	3415	4915	211	342	96		2515	11557	302	350	1s
1936	6570	3712		144	1115	11541	131	3443	4859	188	304	110		2508	11541	522	509	1s + 6d
1937	6570	3662		246	1292	11772	220	3061	5475	160	259	106		2491	11772	687	668	1s + 1s
1938	6570	3618		327	1029	11544	243	2017	6323	144	211	122		2484	11544	403	430	1s + 3d
1939	6570	3569		218	975	11332	285	1428	6688	189	184	122		2456	11332	377	397	1s + 3d
1940	6570	3566		250	982	11368	241	1496	6671	188	168	160		2448	11368	403	361	1s + 3d
1941	6570	3703		162	948	11383	166	1589	6623	276	158	133		2438	11383	327	309	1s + 3d
1942	6570	3420		679	1036	11705	152	1742	6638	454	157	134		2428	11705	397	317	8.33%
1943	6570	3420		917	1098	12005	437	1755	6580	552	155	118		2410	12005	379	344	8.33%
1944	6570	3447		1442	763	12222	612	1802	6491	664	141	136		2378	12222	374	365	8.33%
1945	6570	3452		1636	775	12433	530	2144	6292	842	138	138		2349	12433	373	361	10%
1946	6570	3458		1843	807	12678	464	2353	6299	921	154	166		2321	12678	453	422	11.66%
1947	6570	3463		2409	1156	13598	128	2528	7138	1203	151	172		2280	13598	957	602	16.66%
1948	6570	3881		2448	1587	14484	943	2115	7793	913	388	76		2256	14484	1395	964	26.66%
1949	6570	3984		3232	1841	15627	1685	1927	8084	1168	440	91		2232	15627	1459	1205	33.33%
1950	6570	4146		3573	2097	16386	1736	2004	8881	1058	231	315		2161	16386	1461	1205	33.33%
1951	6570	4905		5245	3320	20040	4368	1683	9411	1881	312	297		2088	20040	2723	1380	40%
1952	6570	3625		8842	4615	23652	5930		13164	1713	453	378		2014	23652	2675	1380	40%
1953	6570	3658		10484	5796	26508	8941		13867	817	535	410		1938	26508	2988	1807	50%
1954	6570	3700		10439	7285	27994	8840		15103	1027	794	390		1840	27994	3296	1807	50%
1955	13141	515		10717	7235	31608	9668		16492	2319	947	435		1747	31608	5618	3309	30%
1956	13141	12083	1000	12974	2065	41263	13101		23251	1472	1563	220		1628	41263	6974	2645	35%
1957	13140	14352	1000	10092	2087	40671	7834		27466	1378	2252	219		1524	40671	4830	2267	4s 6d (30%)
1958	13140	25880	1037	6438	2279	48754	4891		37632	1162	3304	267		1398	46754	4863	2267	4s 6d (30%)
1959	13482	30318	1029	9233	2395	56457	9571		39878	1860	3284	819		1245	56457	6584	3681	6s 9d (45%)
1960	13482	33654	1027	11085	2475	61723	9361		44849	2013	3662	694		1144	61723	8148	4129	7s 6d (50%)
1961	13482	31580	1000	10073	2754	58889	4254		46744	1865	4606	376		1044	58889	7960	4129	7s 6d (50%)
1962	13482	36281	1000	9898	2706	63367	4526		50010	2028	4561	1299		943	63367	8529	4129	7s 6d (50%)
1963	13482	43619	1000	10301	2511	70913	5622		55345	2661	4824	1619		842	70913	8099	4129	7s 6d (50%)
1964	13482	43327	1000	11669	9118	78596	11743		60041	3504	2566			742	78596	10219	1101	2s (13%)

FIGURES IN 000'S POUNDS

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

SUMMARISED BALANCE SHEETS: YEARS ENDED 31 MARCH 1891 - 1924

Year	Share Capital	Share Premium & Reserves	Debentures	Loans & Creditors	Sale of SR mining shares	Sale of Land	Profit	Total Equity & Liabilities	Cash	Public Assets	Company Assets	Govt. & Rly. Stocks	Investments	Concession Expenses	Livestock	Furniture & Stock	Debtors	1893, 1896 & 1914 War Expenses	Public Admin. Expenses	Total Assets
1891	661			68				729	7			51	60	89		109	32		401	729
1892	979			301				1280	28				68	136		214	139		899	1280
1893	996			235				1231	4				68	141		184	37		797	1231
1894	1999		512	163				2674	189				28	1199		162	146	113	889	2674
1895	2000		713	196				2909	10				65	1205		168	301	116	1044	2909
1896	2484	1120	39	101	4			3756	150			272	422	1223		243	273	210	965	3756
1897	3429	2062	1258	162	4			6815	597				374	1226		480	612	2478	1146	6815
1898	3500	2138	1255	168	4			7065	60				354	1232		470	499	2690	1760	7065
1899	4374	3322	1255	121	4			9078	838	204			964	1241		234	482	2696	2417	9078
1900	4374	3322	1254	638	214			9802	373	222			1384	1306		242	607	2700	2968	9802
1901	4374	3322	1254	666	214			9830	47	232			1428	1309		300	653	2715	3146	9830
1902	4436	3508	1253	665	214			10076	49	256			1214	1312		240	753	2716	3534	10078
1903	4568	3893	1253	645	214			10573	32	271			1142	1313		355	841	2707	3912	10573
1904	4809	4134	1253	653	250			11199	255	283			954	1318		338	968	2707	4378	11199
1905	5669	4250	1253	203	281			11996	965	293			553	1167		395	1249	2707	4647	11998
1906	6000	4250	1253	55	316			11876	141	306			1437	1319		245	981	2707	4740	11676
1907	6000	4250	1253	157	372			12032	99	344			1290	1329		247	1198	2707	4819	12032
1908	6000	4242	1414	122	392	477		12647	84	1150			1001	1323		359	1341	2707	4682	12647
1909	6000	4238	2254	70	505	482		13549	131	1208			1517	1325		364	1547	2707	4750	13549
1910	6262	4241	2182	94	655	484		13918	204	1282			1620	1328		388	1666	2707	4727	13918
1911	8055	4246	1281	174	660	520	194	15130	174	1478		871	2821	1328		290	913	2707	4748	15130
1912	8059	4246	1281	587	660	570	295	15698	104	1621		1075	3336	1348		340	322	2707	4845	15698
1913	8938	4246	1281	570	658	662	544	16899	6	1962		1514	3584	1355		456	355	2707	4977	16899
1914	8938	4246	1281	498	658	724	847	16970	80	2075		1562	3086	1363		532	542	2707	5023	16970
1915	8938	4246	1281	482	658	754	405	16744	258	2154		1239	2970	1371	227	359	578	2753	4837	16744
1916	8938	4246	1281	223	658	761	528	16615	110	2196		1154	2888	1388	293	377	554	2910	4845	16815
1917	8938	4248	1281	243	867	776	703	16834	327	2227		1089	2815	1397	364	388	601	2723	4865	16834
1918	8938	4248	1281	340	671	799	870	17125	138	2292		1192	2780	1405	459	426	681	2743	5029	17125
1919	8938	4246	1281	276	676	835	1100	17332	244	2401		1191	2864	1412	555	516	715	2533	4801	17332
1920	8938	4246	1281	242	683	97	1520	16987	277	2308	716	1063	2912	1410	635	216	372	2461	4597	16987
1921	8938	4246	1281	157	757	117	1948	17424	387	2308	581	1431	2509	1417	685	144	459	2710	4615	17424
1922	8938	4246	1251	125	757	130	2330	17787	610	2308	1175	1465	2480	1425	738	128	436	2716	4308	17787
1923	8938	4246	1281	166			1012	15625	173		666	1828	2876		433	133	4272		5142	15625
1924	6576	4239		240			1415	12470	66		672	2497	3194		406	134	436		5063	12470

* FIGURES IN 000'S POUNDS

Royalty and Bulawayo

by Robin Rudd

This was first delivered as a paper to the Twenty Club in Bulawayo on 1st October 1991. It was then shown to the British High Commissioner, Mr. Kieran Prendergast — he was knighted by The Queen at the end of her visit to Zimbabwe — who showed it to The Queen's Private Secretary, Sir Robert Fellowes, who showed it to The Queen. So what had begun as material for a talk at a renowned Bulawayo Lunch Club could hardly have had a more illustrious post-prandial journey.

The Editor requested some photographs. A copy of a double page from the book 'Princess Elizabeth' by Dermot Morah, published by Odhams in 1947, with several figures mentioned in the text, was accordingly sent to Sir Robert Fellowes. This he kindly returned confirming the names of those on the balcony of Buckingham Palace as well as those at the wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, graciously annotated by The Queen herself.

When Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth ll comes to Bulawayo during her State Visit to Zimbabwe for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, it will be the second time in its 98 year history that Bulawayo has been visited by a reigning monarch. The previous occasion was in April 1947 when Her Majesty, as Princess Elizabeth, came with her parents, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, now the much loved 91-year-old Queen Mother, and her sister Princess Margaret who was then 16.

THE ATHLONES

Other members of the Royal Family have also been here over the years. In 1896, the 7th Hussars were stationed at Bulawayo. Among the officers of the Regiment was "a very pleasant and unassuming young man known with that Rhodesian blend of familiarity and respect as Prince Teck". His full title was Prince Alexander Augustus Frederick William Alfred George Cambridge — of Teck.

His sister, Princess Victoria Mary of Teck, had been engaged to Prince Albert Victor, the then Prince and Princess of Wales's elder son, who had died suddenly at the beginning of 1892. Eighteen months later she had married his younger brother, Prince George, Duke of York. (It was said that nobody enjoyed their wedding more than the bridegroom's 74 year old grandmother, Queen Victoria, except for the moment when Mr. Gladstone sat down in her tent. ''Does he

The Balcony at Buckingham Palace celebrating the Silver Jubilee of King George V and Queen Mary, 6th May 1935

think perhaps this is a public tent?!" she exclaimed to her cousin. Mr. Gladstone was her Prime Minister at the time). When his father, Edward VII, died in 1910, Prince George succeeded him as King George V, and his wife, who was so clearly destined to be Queen, became Queen Mary.

Prince Teck later married a granddaughter of Queen Victoria, Princess Alice, and was created Earl of Athlone. From 1923–31 he was the Governor General of South Africa. Apart from their official visits here, notably in 1926, Princess Alice also made a private visit to the Falls via Bulawayo when she spent a day at World's View.

Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, has been described as "an energetic and stimulating person who lived frugally (usually travelling round London by bus) and was much loved by all and sundry for her natural simplicity and pleasant disposition".

PRINCESS CHRISTIAN

In 1905, Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Helena, the wife of Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, no less, toured the country with their daughter Princess Victoria. In Bulawayo they stayed at Government House, where three troopers and a corporal of the British South Africa Police were detailed to act as a bodyguard for them.

Elaborate steps were taken to ensure the "height of military smartness and cleanliness when at last the Guard paraded in spotless blue uniforms and equipment and arms polished to the utmost glitter." In order that the guard should arrive at Government House "unsullied" they had gone up by wagon with each man swathed in sheets to keep the dust off his uniform to the puzzlement of watchers lining the road.

End of wedding reception for the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester November 1935 (The Queen's annotations)

On a particularly hot afternoon during their stay, one of the troopers was on sentry duty with rifle and fixed bayonet when out came Admiral Fuller, in attendance on the Royal Ladies.

"Sentry!"

"Sir!"

"Her Royal Highness says it is too hot to walk about with a rifle and bayonet. You men are to do duty with canes until sundown."

That kindly touch was reinforced in the evening when the Princess caused a first-class dinner to be sent out to the Guard tent.

THE CONNAUGHTS

Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught. the seventh of Queen Victoria's nine children, visited the country in 1910, after representing his nephew King George V at the inauguration of the Union of South Africa. of which he too was later Governor-General. While he was in Bulawayo he laid the foundation stone of the church which became St John's Cathedral, where Her Majesty, his great-great niece, will attend Matins (and where the Queen Mother had been to a service in 1957). Prince Arthur laid the stone in his capacity as Grand Master of the Free Masons of England and he was given a silver trowel for his labour.

One of the first women to come to the country who became Lady Heyman whose husband, at that stage Captain Heyman, was the Resident Magistrate has recorded how she "also laid the foundation stone of the dear old St John's Church". This was in 1895 and "dear old St John's Church" is today the Chapel of St Gabriel's Home and Nursery Training College, run for the past 40 years by another very remarkable woman, Matron Molly Hawkshaw. Lady Heyman may have been fifteen years ahead of the Duke in laying the foundation stone but in the matter of mementos she was less fortunate. To mark the occasion she too was given a trowel "an ordinary trowel, tied with red ribbon, and which I valued" she wrote "but the mason came a few days afterwards saying it was his 'one and only' and could he please have it back!"

At the end of his tour, the Duke of Connaught said in Durban his "thoughts turned to Rhodesia with a vivid recollection of admiration for that wonderful and beautiful country". To those who had not seen "the magic of the Victoria Falls and the glories of the Matopos" he recommended an early visit.

EDWARD VIII

A future King of England, Edward VIII, who was never crowned, becoming instead on his Abdication the Duke of Windsor, had been to Bulawayo when he was the Prince of Wales, in 1925. His was a triumphal tour. He had travelled from England in the battleship Repulse*

*By a tragic twist, the battleships *Repulse* and *Prince of Wales* were sunk by the Japanese within minutes of each other, three days after the attack on Pearl Harbour on Sunday 7 December 1941. Mr. Churchill was telephoned to be given this terrible news.

' "Are you sure it's true?" I asked.

"There is no doubt at all."

So I put the telephone down. I was thankful to be alone. In all the war I never received a more direct shock.'

Only four months earlier he had himself sailed in H.M.S. Prince of Wales to meet President Roosevelt off Newfoundland. Together they had drafted what came to be known as the Atlantic Charter. On Sunday, 10 August, the President had gone on Board H.M.S. Prince of Wales with his Staff officers and several hundred representatives of all ranks of the US Navy and Marines to attend Divine Service. Churchill chose the hymns himself — 'For Those in Peril on the Sea' and 'Onward, Christian Soldiers'. "We ended with 'O God, Our Help in Ages Past . . . . Every word seemed to stir the heart. It was a great hour to live. Nearly half those who sang were soon to die."

The Prince of Wales June 1925

arriving in Cape Town on April 30, 1925 where he was met by a crowd estimated at 190 000 out of the city's population at the time of 200 000 with an additional 30 000 coming from other parts of the country.

Wherever he went the crowds turned out to see him in huge numbers, and he captivated them all — "by his charm, his friendliness and his fearlessly straightforward behaviour — as when at Colesberg, finding that a Commando of Dutch farmers had turned out to do him honour, he immediately mounted a horse and rode into town at their head."

Whenever he could escape his formal duties he played golf. At Port Alfred he played 45 holes in one day, managing also to fit in a lesson from the club professional. (In the Thirties he got his handicap down to 12). When he reached Kimberley he was taken to see the Big Hole. The story goes that he took one look at it and sent a member of his staff flying off to get his clubs and two dozen golf balls. "This is one hole even I cannot miss", he declared and proceeded to hit each ball into that enormous cavern with its surface circumference of nearly a mile.

In Bulawayo, apart from fulfilling a gruelling programme of public duties the Prince played squash, not as has often been suggested with T. H. 'Glory-be!' Cooke, but with his ADC. 'Glory-be' conducted him to the squash court, which had been presented to the Bulawayo Club in 1897 by the 7th Hussars in gratitude for the honorary membership granted to their officers, including Prince Teck when they were stationed in Bulawayo. Glory-be described the court as "a cement floor, rough cement walls, open to the elements, with no door. Entrance was gained via a rickety wooden staircase and a drop into the court by means of a rope ladder, hoisted up by the boss boy when play was ready to start." This meant that if the boss boy got bored or was called away, the rope ladder was out of reach and players were left stranded in the court until he came back.

T. H. Cooke was at the time of the Prince's visit a spry 48-year-old. He had acquired the nickname because it was his only, and constant, expletive. (As he was dying, in 1978, at the age of 101, a nun was praying softly at his bedside and when she came to "Glory be to the Father . . ." she said he gave a momentary flicker of acknowledgement). On this occasion, he had come along hopefully, ready to play, but as it was felt that he would in no way relax his normal game, which was robust — he was also a soccer player with a tendency to play the man rather than the ball — it was decided that his activities should be limited to climbing down the rope ladder first to make sure, as he put it, "that the Heir to the Throne did not become impaled".

Glory-be — The Squash Champion 1933; The Centenarian 1978

PRINCE GEORGE

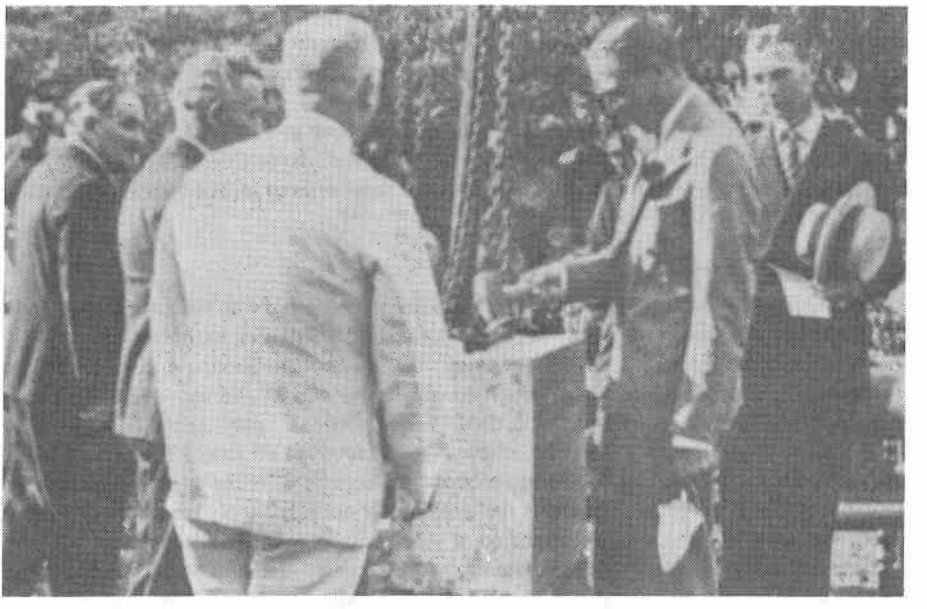
In 1934, Prince George paid a quick visit to Bulawayo. On his marriage later that year to Princess Marina of Greece — described by Winston Churchill as the most beautiful woman he had ever seen — he became the Duke of Kent. He was not excused, as his elder brother had been, from making a speech at a Dinner at the Bulawayo Club.

As Peter Gibbs wrote in his 'History of the Bulawayo Club' published in 1970: "In those days speeches by Royalty never departed from platitudes (the Duke of Edinburgh had not yet come along to rudely shatter the tradition)".

Princess Marina

(Prince Philip's remarks at the opening of the Chesterfield College of Technology over thirty years ago seem just as fresh and apt today. "There are many things we do," he said, "which don't seem to have any particular point or tangible result. Take today: a lot of time and energy has been spent on arranging for you to listen to me take a long time to declare open a building which everybody knows is open already").

Prince George's other duties included laying the foundation stone of the present Bulawayo Club thereby bringing it closer to the 7th Hussars' squash court in its backyard. The previous Club building was where Barclays is today. Access to the court had by this time been structurally adjusted; entrance was now gained through a low, narrow passage. As the tradition had been established that, when in Bulawayo, Royal Princes played squash at the Bulawayo Club, Prince George was led off, in immaculate long white trousers — his opponents wore them too — to carry on the tradition. Again Glory-be hovered waiting for the call to play but as before it did not come, Prince George taking on members of the Club thought to be more in his league.



Prince George lays Club foundation stone March 1934

The foundation stone was laid on March 28, 1934. Almost exactly fifty years later, the present Prince of Wales, HRH Prince Charles, happened to be in Zimbabwe on Commonwealth Development Corporation business — he was then a director. On the Sunday, March 25, 1984, he flew to Masvingo to see Great Zimbabwe and to do some bird-watching with the then British High Commissioner, Mr. Martin Ewans, a noted ornithologist. Conditions in Matabeleland four years after Independence and pre-Unity were regarded as too unsettled, so hopes that he might have returned to Harare by way of Bulawayo were dashed. (Bulawayo people always maintain that if the Very Important Personages had any idea how keenly their presence was wanted in a place, they would surely be there. At the same time it is accepted, even by Bulawayo people, that those responsible for the VIP's programme have to decide what can and cannot be fitted in, and that sometimes, for obvious reasons, the VIP knows nothing of the request anyway).

PRINCE CHARLES

The Prince visited Bulawayo fleetingly at the time of the Independence celebrations in April 1980. He came with the Governor. Lord Soames, and the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington. The Mayor of Bulawayo was M. L. Constandinos (now Alderman). He was — happily, still is — a great champion of the City.

(In 1985 he was instrumental in launching a Boost Bulawayo Campaign; innocent enough, one would think. As it happened the Government did not think it innocent enough so he was detained without trial for a three week stretch, along with a number of other prominent citizens, including the then Mayor and most of the City Council. All were duly released, no charges being brought. A few years later, the detaining Minister was himself disgraced in the Willowvale scandal, which uncovered a Vehicles, rather than Jobs, for Pals racket in the highest places. The exposé was a brilliant piece of work by the Editor of *The Chronicle* of the time: it was also courageous considering that *The Chronicle* and all national newspapers came under Government control soon after Independence. Not unexpectedly, nor long afterwards, the Editor was transferred from Bulawayo on "promotion". The Minister was accordingly compelled to withdraw from public life. That in itself was not important. What was important in this newly-independent country was, first, that a Commission of Inquiry had been appointed and secondly that its findings were published. As a result, the miscreants were fined and had no option but to give up their Jobs — as well as their Vehicles.)

There was of course no whiff of what was to come, back in 1980. The stories then were more on the lines of how famously the Prince of Wales and Mayor Constandinos had got on, not just because both were intrepid fighters for what they believed in, but because each had a Greek father, and so on.

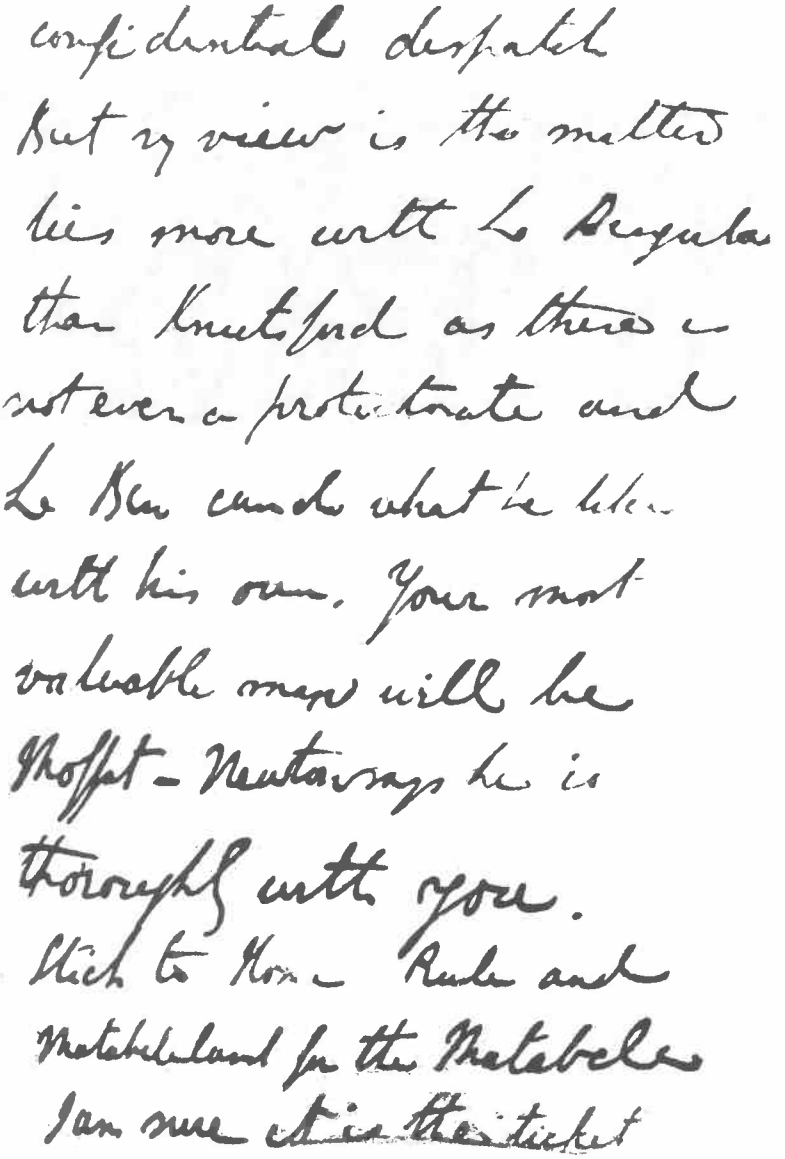
THE QUEEN MOTHER

In 1953, Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother had come to Bulawayo with her younger daughter, Princess Margaret, in order to open the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition. In those days — nearly forty years ago, Cecil John Rhodes's life was still viewed with admiration, even awe, for all that he achieved. His original ideas, first written down when he was 23, did not materially change in the remaining 25 years of his life — he died when he was 48 — only the methods by which they could be implemented. In short, he believed unwaveringly in the British Empire and in the British people — "the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race" because the "absorption of the greater portion of the world under our rule simply means the end of all wars". Whatever was thought of the method, it was hardly an ignoble objective.

And in the Fifties there would have been those who remembered his own bravery, when he went unarmed into the Matobo Hills to negotiate with the Matabele indunas and make peace — "Umhlope". (Rhodes asked one of the indunas if they had really thought they had any chance of succeeding. "Yes," he said, "we felt sure we could beat you. But we know now that we could no more beat you than we can lick our elbows". After he had gone, Rhodes and those with him tried to lick their elbows, but found it an impossibility.)

His lasting memorial has been the Rhodes Scholarships. In 1983, to celebrate their founding eighty years before, a great reunion of Rhodes Scholars was held at Oxford. The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh took part in these celebrations. The Chancellor of the University, Harold Macmillan, who had himself been the harbinger of change in Africa when he was Prime Minister, described the Scholarships as the most imaginative plan, the most imaginative concept ever designed".

But Rhodes also left behind him a way of doing things. He was sufficiently vain — who would not be? — to like having a country called after him. He would have been disappointed when on Independence the name went — who would not be? — but he would surely have


confidential despatch
But my view is the matter
lies more with Lo Bengula
than Knutsford as there is
not even a protectorate and
Lo Ben can do what he likes
with his own. Your most
valuable map will be
Moffat - Newton says he is
thoroughly with you.
Click to Hon Rule and
Matabeleland for the Matabele
Jan sure it is the ticket

Extract from C. J. Rhodes' letter, September 1888

understood. He was after all a supporter of Home Rule, within the British Empire. He would therefore have totally rejected UDI not only because he would never have countenanced an act of rebellion against the Crown but because he would have seen it as an irreparable breakdown in communication: if everyone had their price, as he was fond of saying they had, one still had to agree the figure.

Churchill with Royal Family, Buckingham Palace V E Day, 1945

The people of Zimbabwe clearly demonstrated their respect for those British ideals and values, which he revered, when they achieved Independence. Under inspired leadership and with the nation-wide call for reconciliation, the Zimbabwe government and people showed a restraint, a tolerance and a compassion worthy of the most mature nations. Despite the forebodings, constitutions were not torn up; those who had been fighting stopped and came together, under Commonwealth supervision, and formed themselves, with British military aid and training, into one national army; agreements were honoured; words were kept; life went on. It was an incredible performance by any standards.

There were bound to be times when cracks showed in the edifice. When they did, most of them were seen to occur in Matabeleland. By the end of 1987, after protracted negotiations, conducted behind tightly closed doors rather than in the Matobo Hills, the warring factions achieved Umhlope again. The resulting concord, known as Unity, was greeted with thankfulness — certainly in Matabeleland.

Obviously the names of towns and streets had to change and the monuments had to be removed, but this was not done violently or in haste. (In fact, in Bulawayo it is still possible to see the former Founder, Cecil Rhodes, standing on his plinth rather dwarfing the statue of Sir Charles Coghlan, the first Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, a few yards away from him. One citizen of Bulawayo, who gave up a distinguished professional career because of UDI and is now engaged in important work for the community, pointed out the two statues to his driver as they went past. "You see," he said, "they're talking to each other". Now whenever they drive past, his driver points to them and says, delightedly, "Still talking!")

The Queen Mother was in Bulawayo again in 1957. She was installed as the first President of the University College in Salisbury. This was when hopes for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were at their highest. She went to the Matopos for the Great Indaba of chiefs where she told them: "When the oldest of you here was a little child a peace was made in these hills that has never since been broken. May it continue so! . . . Stay in Peace!" During her visit she went to King George VI Memorial Children's Centre. Needless to say the children thought it wonderful meeting her and talking to her. But at a special tea-party afterwards, when the Queen

Rhodes and Coghlan 'Still talking'

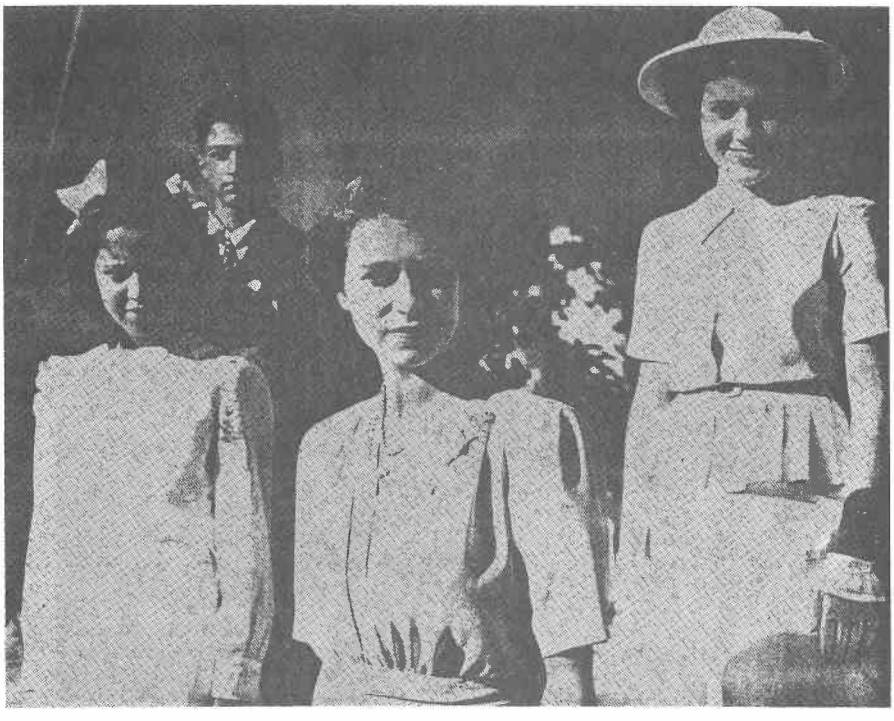
Mother had gone, and the question was asked: "And what did the Queen Mother say to you?" the reply was "Oh, she said . . . she said . . . well, I know it was very nice." This inconclusive answer was followed by peals of laughter and the eager request to pass the cake. And there was a lot more laughter. So whatever the Queen Mother may have said, her visit, and the cake, could hardly have gone down better.

She returned in 1960 specifically to open the first Central African Trade Fair. By this time, the Federation's deathknell had been struck. Although it tottered on till the end of 1963 its own constitution (providing for a review within the first nine years of its existence — it was formed in September 1953), brought about its demise once those conducting the review, the Monckton Commission, recommended that each constituent territory should be allowed to decide what form of government it wanted, and if that were not enough — which it was not — the opportunity to secede should be given if it was wanted — which it was.

1947–1991

In all these visits around the world, there is an understandable anxiety among the ordinary folk, thrilled as they are to have Royalty among them, to try to do "the right thing''.

For instance, can one, assuming one is close enough, speak before being spoken to? Should you say "Ma'am" when talking to the Queen? If so how do you pronounce it? (To rhyme with Harm or Ham?). When would one say "Your Majesty"? Is "Sir" all right for Prince Philip? Do you in fact "back off"? And so on, and so on. A brief manual for Royal Visits, brought out every 44 years or so, would be appreciated.



Princess Elizabeth and Rhodesian children, April 1947

One would imagine the Queen represents easily the most informal Monarch of all her illustrious predecessors. And while she would want to do anything that would help the ordinary folk feel more at home during her visits, it is possible that she will not be too upset if the strictest form is not always rigidly adhered to. Noel Coward revealed in his diaries how Royalty can even undergo the same sort of agonies ordinary folk may have thought were reserved only for them. Thus in July 1969:

"I've just got back from my Royal weekend with the Queen Mother. She was charming, gay and entirely enchanting, as she always is. The Queen came over to lunch on Sunday looking like a young girl . . . I told (her) how moved I had been by Prince Charles's Investiture (as Prince of Wales earlier in the month) and she gaily shattered my sentimental illusions by saying that they were both struggling not to giggle because at the dress rehearsal the crown was too big and extinguished him like a candle-snuffer!"

But for sheer regal informality, the photograph of the Queen, when she was Princess Elizabeth, taken on her last visit in 1947 a few days before her 21st birthday, is surely unrivalled. The background is well-known. Because of his vast knowledge of Matabeleland, W. A. Carnegie, a greatly respected figure, known everywhere as W. A. who had been Secretary of the Bulawayo Agricultural Society for thirty years, had been chosen to escort the Royal Family to the Matopos and Rhodes's Grave. Despite his warning to them all to wear rubber-soled shoes, the Lady-in-Waiting to the then Queen had forgotten to take a pair for her. According to Carnegie family legend, the King and the two Princesses had gone ahead, while W. A. was struggling with the Queen and a walking stick and was terrified she would slip and fall. Princess Elizabeth came running back to find out why her mother was delayed. She immediately slipped off her shoes and said "Here Mummy — use mine". When they had caught up with the King and Princess Margaret — could the future Queen possibly have thought her father might say something like "That was jolly good of you to help your mother like that"? Whether she did or not, what the King actually said was "That's going to cost you a new pair of nylons".

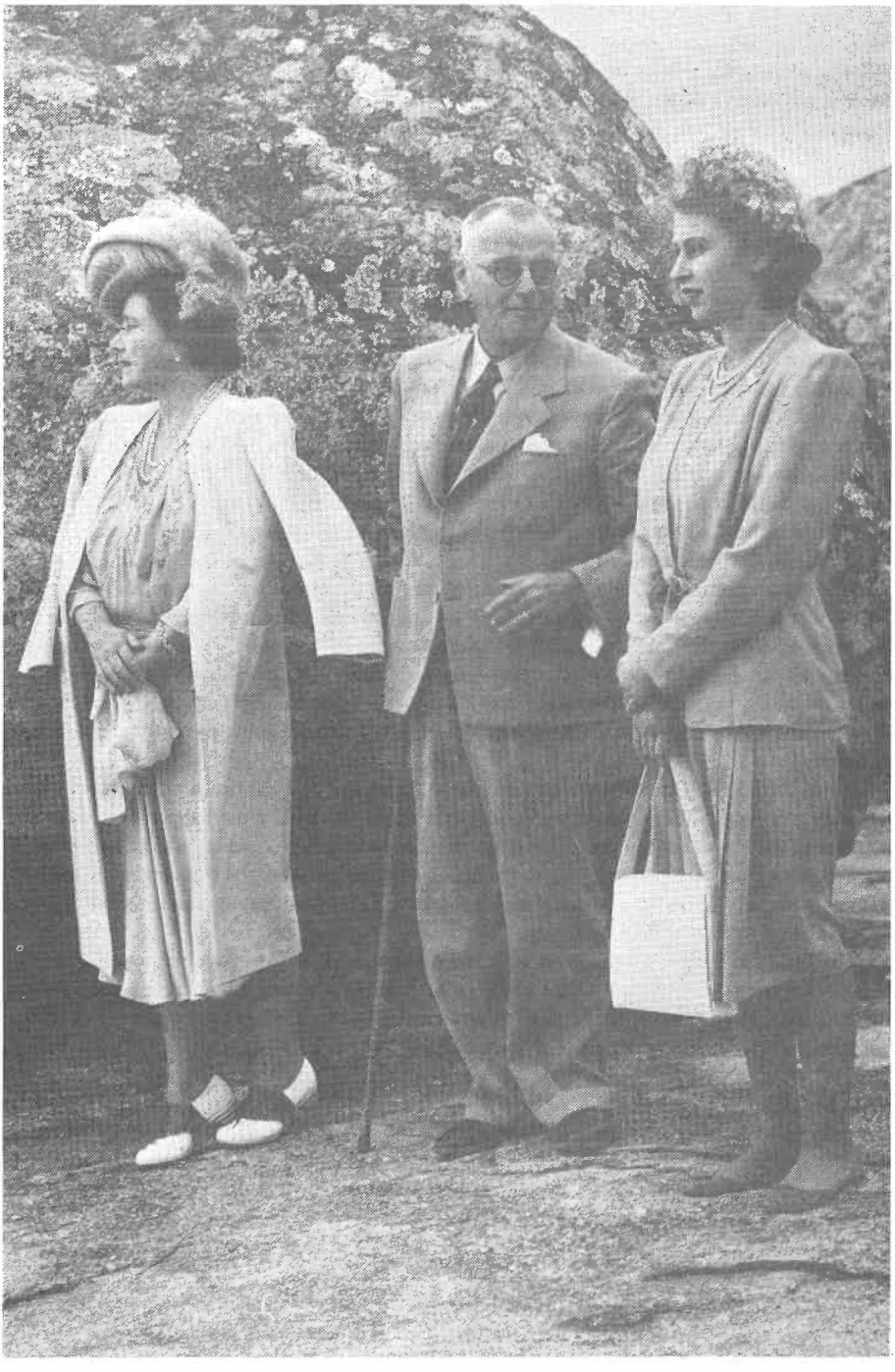
It was during the Queen Mother's last visit to Bulawayo in 1960 that a little girl presented her with a bouquet. There was nothing very odd about this as it must happen wherever any member of the Royal Family goes. The memorable aspect on this occasion in the Showgrounds was that after curtsying, handing over the bouquet, and being kissed, she curtsied again and then with great dignity retired . . . backing the whole way. The crowd and the Queen Mother loved it, applauding her every backward step.

The little girl is now a glamorous wife and mother living at Nyamandhlovu as she was in 1960. If her own daughters are a little old to be presenting bouquets, her niece is about the age she was then. How suitable if she were to present the Queen Mother's daughter if not with a bouquet perhaps with a new pair of nylons, or their 1991 equivalent.

THE FUTURE

The people of Bulawayo will naturally hope that this Royal Visit is the forerunner of many more. Were the Queen herself to be able to come again it would be wonderful, but perhaps some of her descendants might come to represent her. We calculate that Her Majesty now has 10 descendants. This is a little short of the average African woman throughout the continent who is said to have 258 descendants (children, grandchildren and great grand children) but we think it a good start.

There is only one snag about anyone coming to Bulawayo and that is there must be a Bulawayo to come to. As everybody must know, there is little water left. Without water the City dies. There are solutions, foremost of which is to bring water from the Zambezi. It must also be realised that to let Bulawayo die will have an effect on Zimbabwe as a whole. "Something must



Princess Elizabeth barefoot in the Matopos

At Harare

18th October, 1991.

Dear Sirs.

The Queen was delighted with your very kind present. The fact that these replacements arrived forty-four years after the event made them all the more welcome.

The Queen sends her warm thanks and best wishes. The arrival of the stockings kindled some of her happiest memories.

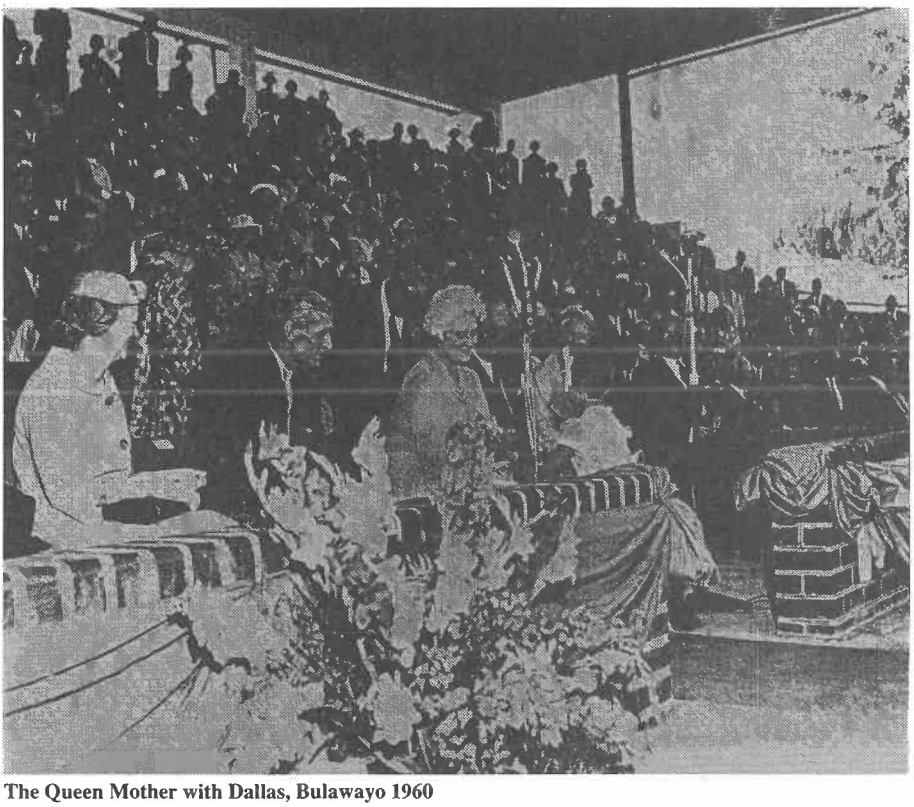
Yours sincerely

Robert Fellowes

(ROBERT FELLOWES)

Messrs. Haddon and Sly.

Sir Robert Fellowes's letter, October 1991



The Queen Mother with Dallas, Bulawayo 1960

be done", to quote Edward VIII when he was Prince of Wales. The Duke of Edinburgh also had a phrase for it: "It is about time," he said," we pulled our finger out". It is indeed.

GOD HELP BULAWAYO GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

PostScript: 12th October 1894 — exactly 97 years before the Queen's Visit — was, as people with computer minds will know at once, a Friday. Anyone living in Bulawayo on that date could have bought, if they had sixpence, the equivalent of Z$8.70 — at yesterday's rate of exchange; by October 12th it could be more — the first copy of *The Buluwayo Chronicle*, but for whose later editions much of this would never have been word-processed.

References

Bulawayo Chronicles from 1894, filed at the Historical Reference Collection of the Bulawayo Public Library — thanks to the most helpful assistance of the Archivist, Mr Peter Genge.

Boggie, Jeannie, M. *Experiences of Rhodesia's Pioneer Women* Philpott & Collins, 1938

Churchill, Winston, S. *The Second World War* Cassell, 1948

Colville, John *The Fringes of Power: Downing Street Diaries* Hodder & Stoughton, 1985

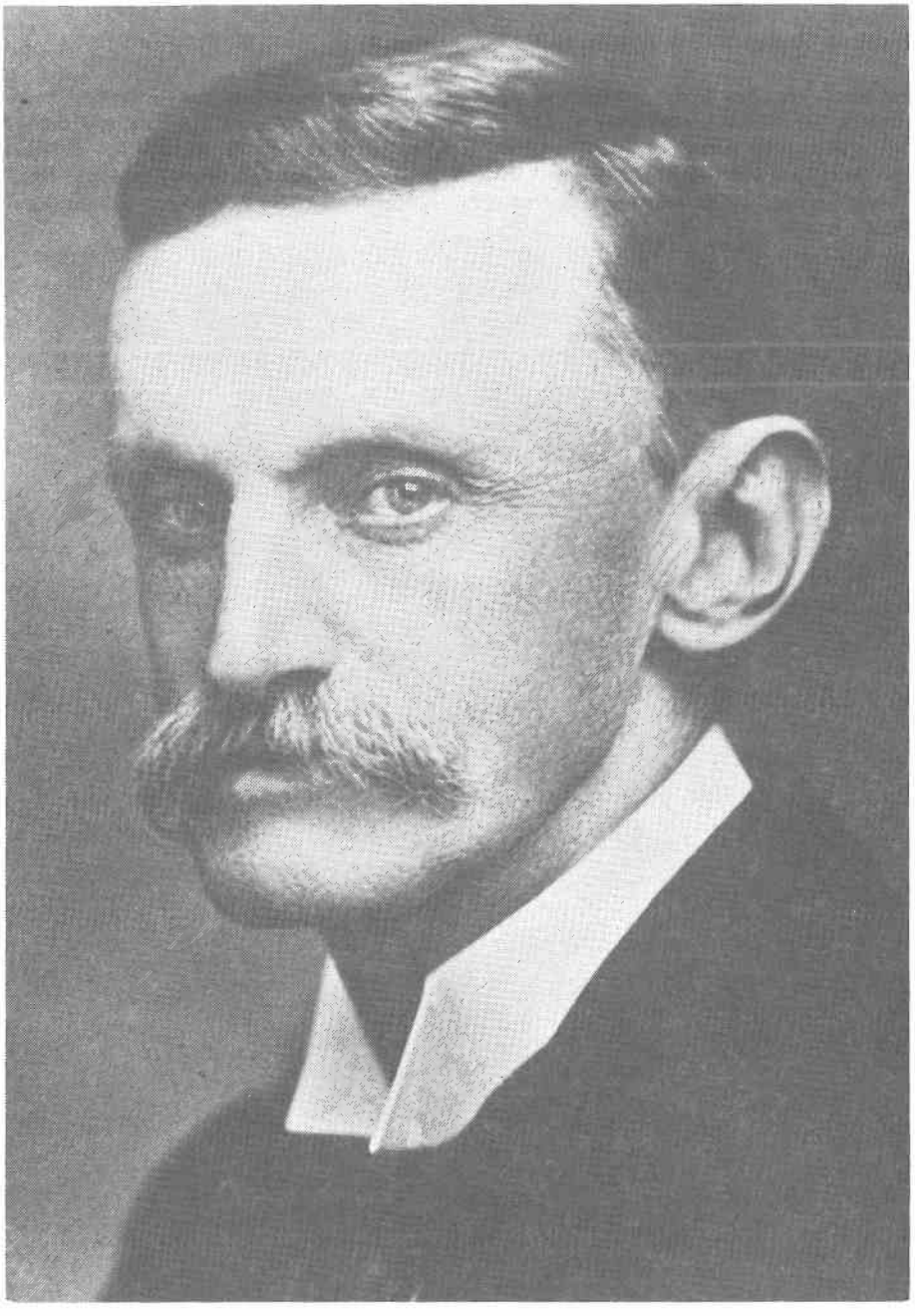
Coward, Noel *Diaries* edited by Sheridan Morley & Graham Payn Papermac, 1983

Donaldson, Frances *Edward VIII* Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1974

Ewbank, Robin *History of St John's*, 1991

Gibbs, Peter *The Bulawayo Club, A History* Published by the Bulawayo Club, 1970
Longford, *Elizabeth Victoria RI* Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964

and thanks for many lively conversations with Bulawayo people: especially those with Mr Tommy Hepburn (who died in March 1992); with Mr Lewis Jones, mostly at his home, The Bulawayo Club — 'home also, in the autumn of his 101-year life, to Glory-be Cooke — with Brigadier Bob Prentice, everywhere; and with Dallas Maertens, née Kirby, the child backstep artist. I am also indebted to Mr Brian Carnegie in Natal for his written recollections of his father's expedition to the Matopos with the Royal Family in 1947.



Sir Clarkson Henry Tredgold, 1865–1938

Our Fifth Judge – Sir Clarkson Henry Tredgold

by Michael J. Kimberley

Clarkson Henry Tredgold was born in Mowbray, near Cape Town, on 21st September 1865. He was the son of Clarkson Sturge Tredgold, a partner in the original legal firm of R. H. Arderne which subsequently became Arderne, Scott and Thesen, and later Fairbridge, Arderne and Lawton. His mother was the daughter of Ralph Arderne the senior partner in the firm. The father of Clarkson Sturge Tredgold, John Harfield Tredgold, had been secretary of the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society and came to South Africa in the early part of the 19th century and founded the firm of Heynes Mathew and Company in 1918.

Youth and Education

He grew up in the Cape living in the family home called The Hill which was situated where the Wynberg public gardens were subsequently established. After his father's death in 1871 he continued to live at the Hill with his grandfather, whilst attending the South African School and College until 1885 when he went to read law at Trinity Hall in the University of Cambridge, graduating B.A. LL.B. in 1888, and being called to the bar in England (Middle Temple) on 28th January 1889.

Family

One of his grandfathers was Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846) the renowned anti-slavery agitator. Clarkson called attention to the criminality of slavery with assiduous perseverance and it was largely due to his exertions that slavery came to be regarded as a crime. Wordsworth commemorated Clarkson in a sonnet written on the final passing in March 1807 of the Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade which began "Clarkson it was an obstinate hill to climb".

Marriage

In 1894 in Cape Town he married Emily Ruth Moffat, the eldest daughter of John Smith Moffat (1835–1918) and Emily Moffat, and brother of Howard Unwin Moffat (1969–1951) who was Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1927 to 1933. J. S. Moffat was born at Kuruman, the son of Robert Moffat and brother in law of David Livingstone, and trained for a career as a Missionary. He served at Inyati Mission, which was the first permanent Mission station and European settlement in Southern Rhodesia, and which had been established by his father Robert Moffat, in 1859, as a London Missionary Society Station. Emily Ruth Tredgold was renowned for her untiring voluntary work in connection with many benevolent societies including especially the Red Cross and the Central War Fund (1914–1918).

Children

Clarkson and Emily Tredgold had 5 children. The best known was the second son, Robert Clarkson Tredgold (1899–1977) who served as Minister of Justice and Defence in Southern Rhodesia from 1936–1943, before becoming a Judge of the High Court in 1943, Chief Justice of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in 1955, resigning in 1960 in protest against the Law and Order Maintenance legislation introduced by the Government of Sir Edgar Whitehead.

The eldest son, John Clarkson Tredgold, was killed in action in the First World War on 17th April 1917 after having been awarded the Military Cross for gallantry at Arras. The youngest son Alan, farmed in this country for many years.

Of their two daughters, Helen and Barbara, Barbara is best known as she continued the family tradition with an active involvement in missionary work.

Practice as an Advocate

Early in 1890 Clarkson Tredgold was admitted as an Advocate in the Cape Supreme Court and commenced private practice in Cape Town where he remained until 1897.

Private practice at the Bar in the Cape was very competitive and young advocates found it necessary to supplement their earnings in various ways. In Tredgold's case he wrote a *Handbook of Colonial Criminal Law*, the first edition of which was published in March 1897. The work was basically a compendium of the common and statute law of the Cape of Good Hope with regard to crimes and of the procedure incidental thereto. This was a very useful handbook and a second edition of 446 pages was published by Juta and Company in 1904.

Emigrates to Matabeleland

In 1897 after the publication of his book he left the Cape to settle in Bulawayo just after the Matabele Rebellion, beginning a 28-year career in public service. His first appointment was from 1st July 1898 as Public Prosecutor, Bulawayo, leading to his appointment as Solicitor General from 1st September 1900. He served under John Gilbert Kotze (later Sir John) in 1901 and 1902 and succeeded him as Attorney General on 7th April 1903, and served in that position until his appointment as a judge in 1920 when J. D. Mackenzie, who had been Solicitor General from 1903–1919, became Attorney General and served in that position until 1923 when he was succeeded by R. J. Hudson (later Sir Robert). He was appointed King's Counsel in 1914.

Legislative Council

In October 1898 the Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia was constituted and remained the legislative forum until 1924 when, with the attainment of responsible Government, the first Legislative Assembly was established with C. P. J. Coghlan as Prime Minister.

The Council consisted of nominated and elected members, initially 4 elected by registered voters and 5 nominated by the British South Africa Company with the approval of the Secretary of State. Subsequently there were 14 members (from 1903) of which half were nominated and half elected, and in 1911 the nominated members were reduced from seven to five.

Tredgold served on the second council (November 1902 to June 1904) initially as an alternate member and from February 1903 as a full nominated member. He served on the third, fourth, fifth and sixth councils, continuously until 1919, apart from absences during 1915 and 1918 when he was in London on business, when he was succeeded by Attorney General J. D. Mackenzie.

From 1903 he served on the Executive Council and from 1914 to 1920 he acted on occasions as Administrator during absences of Sir Drummond Chaplin.

As Attorney General and a full member of the Legislative Council he was required to introduce legislation to the Council and the records reveal that he was very active in this regard presenting the second readings of a large number of Ordinances which formed the basis of many of the equivalent Acts in force today, including ordinances on the Gold trade, the Municipal Law, Births and Deaths Registration, Arms and Ammunition, Juries, Criminal Law, Patents, Gaming and Betting Houses suppression, Deserted Wives and Children's Protection, Stock and Produce Theft Repression, Bills of Exchange, Special Justices of the Peace, Registration of Deeds, Companies, Magistrates Courts and Water.

During his service as a nominated member of the legislative council, especially between 1913 and 1919, Tredgold had a number of quite acrimonious clashes with Coghlan, who was the leader of the elected members, on issues such as the proposal to increase the number of elected members of the Council, the suggested transfer of administrative control of the territory from the company to the people and on the question of the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

In a heated debate on the Company's deficits Coghlan protested violently about the increase in Tredgold's salary from 2 000 pounds to 2 500 pounds per annum alleging that it was subterfuge to make the people pay for an officer's service to the company over and above his official duties.

Tredgold was active in the three day debate during the third session of the Third Legislative Council in 1907 on the motion moved by H. T. Longden, representing the Midlands Electoral District: "That in the opinion of this Council the time has arrived when in the interests of the country the British South Africa Company ought to be relieved of its administrative responsibilities in Southern Rhodesia and the administration entrusted to a Government adequately representative of the people."

During the debate, which was at times quite fierce and acrimonious, E. E. Homan, representing the Northern Electoral District, successfully moved an amendment to substitute "a form of government more adequately representative of the people, which will eliminate the commercial influence of the Company on the Government" for the words "a Government adequately representative of the people."

The motion as amended was put to the vote but with 7 ayes and 7 noes the President of the Council voted with the noes and the motion fell away.

Some years later, in 1919, Sir Charles Coghlan's motion for the establishment of responsible government was successful and responsible Government ensued four years later in 1923 with Sir Charles Coghlan as the first Prime Minister.

On 3rd May 1905 Tredgold moved the following motion, which was put and carried after some debate in the Council: "That in the opinion of this Council it is desirable that the scheme for the establishment of a South African Court of Appeal as set out in the report and annexures thereto of a Conference of Attorneys General held at Bloemfontein on the 9th and 10th days of January 1905 and already laid on the table of the Council be adopted."

This motion was significant in that with the passing of the South Africa Act of 1909 the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa became the court of appeal from the High Court of Southern Rhodesia and this situation persisted until the establishment of the Federal Supreme Court in 1955, although criminal appeals also lay to the Rhodesia Court of Appeal from 1938 until 1955.

Tredgold's difficult position as a senior local official of the British South Africa Company and, at the same time, a nominated member of the Legislative Council and a member of the Executive Council, caused John McChlery, representing the Marandellas Electoral District, to move on 13th October 1914 at the first session of the Sixth Legislative Council: "That in the opinion of this Council the Government should prohibit the Attorney General during the time he is an official paid out of the administrative revenue of Southern Rhodesia and an officer of the Government appointed by the Crown, from engaging his services to the British South Africa Company in its commercial interests, as he has done in the case regarding the unalienated land now before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. That the Attorney General should be required to perform the duties of his office and should not be permitted to take part in a case which entails long periods of absence from those duties."

The motion was hotly debated but eventually withdrawn. Tredgold then spent some time in England in 1915 and in 1918 and J. D.. Mackenzie acted as Attorney General in his place,

In the case referred to above, which was reported as *In re Southern Rhodesia* (1919 AC 211) the Privy Council pronounced that the unalienated lands of Southern Rhodesia were vested in the Crown. However the Privy Council held the Crown liable to recompense the British South Africa Company for past administrative deficits although the Charter was silent on this point (see C. Palley, *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia 1888–1965*).

Knighthood

Following his knighthood in 1922 he received a letter of congratulations from his old friend Sir William Milton, who had served as Administrator of Southern Rhodesia from December 1901 until November 1914 when he was succeeded by Sir Drummond Chaplin.

Tredgold's letter of thanks to Sir William is interesting as it indicated his opinions of some of the people who were actively involved at that time in the burning issue of Responsible Government for Southern Rhodesia or Union with South Africa. Portions of the letter (National Archives M 1/1/1, folios 394–401) are quoted below:

"Chaplin is really splendid the way he manages things, knowing just when to intervene and when to remain silent, but many of us older hands look back to the guidance we got when the affairs of the country were at a much rougher stage and required firm and persistent moulding . . ."

"I feel so much out of it all as if I had left the country. You know my somewhat fighting spirit, running often to impatience and I find it hard to maintain that silence which customary expediency has imposed on a judge. When I have to note the crass ignorance of most of our politicians and the wilful misrepresentations of some of the leaders I want to plunge in and smite."

"Smuts' visit here was a really wonderful event. He created a tremendous impression. He appeared very sincere and convincing. I have known him for a good many years and was struck by the matured change in the man. What he does not know about Africa is scarcely worth knowing."

"Now the political conflict is at its height. I should judge that the R. G. people are losing ground. Coghlan (Charles Patrick John Coghlan) is certainly not carrying the weight he used to and Newton (Francis James Newton) is for some reason not in evidence at the moment. Grey (Raleigh Grey) has taken up union and I gather is making a very good impression. As a debater he far surpasses any of the others."

"I have just been down through Gwelo and the Midlands and was informed that more than 80% are for Union."

"The women's vote is an uncertain quantity . . . there are some quite outstanding differences between husbands and wives already each holding much divided but opposite views."

"There are some peculiar lines of cleavage among the people. Of the old colonials, the Cape people are as a body in favour of Union with some outstanding exceptions, with those from Natal all against it . . ."

"There are so few of the older hands here that I feel rather out of it at times. Montagu (Ernest William Sanders Montagu M.P. for Hartley) aged a good deal in the last two years. Fynn (Percival Donald Leslie Fynn) has done well in full control as treasurer but he is by no means robust.

King (Godfrey J. King) can sometimes be found in his Deeds Registry but more often in the Club! and the cautious and solemn Jimmy Robertson maintains a sedate control of your old office staff and guides the wandering Councillors through his maze of Parliamentary rules."

Judicial Appointment

He was appointed Senior Judge (effectively Chief Justice) of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia with effect from 5th January 1920 and served in that capacity until his retirement at the end of 1925 when Sir Murray Bisset succeeded him.

Upon his appointment as judge he responded as follows to a letter of thanks received from Sir Drummond Chaplin, the Administrator, for his 22 years of service to the Administration:

"Your note of appreciation of my work is most gratifying to me in its generosity of expression and recognition . . . I am genuinely sorry to have to make this change but it had to come . . . I have been singularly fortunate in being associated in my work with such men as yourself and Sir William Milton . . . It is a tremendous help to me to be told that my long service has been carried out with approval."

A year before however, a move from his position as Attorney General was clearly imminent as he appeared to be very unhappy in his work at that time as indicated in his letter dated 12th July 1919 addressed to Sir Drummond Chaplin (National Archives CH 8/2/2/17):

"You say the Board apparently appreciate my services! Well, they have a funny way of showing it but that is another rather long story! Briefly they made my work as difficult as possible and my position somewhat humiliating. I think this is largely due to everything being left to Malcolm (Dougal Malcolm, a director of the British South Africa Company) whom I got very tired of!"

In the same letter he went on to state: "I want to write a great deal about the spirit of work and the responsibilities of helping to develop a new country which have influenced me since a wonderful talk I had with Mr Rhodes as far back as 1900 but that is too much of a personal note."

Judgements on Appeal

Attorneys General do not necessarily make outstanding judges. Of fifteen reported Tredgold judgements which were the subject of appeal to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa only seven were confirmed on appeal whilst six were reversed on appeal and two were varied.

Only one of the fifteen appeal judgements is of importance as regards legal precedent, namely, Salisbury *Municipality v Coull* (1923 AD 191). Coull, a Salisbury ratepayer, applied for an order directing the Municipality to allow him to inspect certain reports by the Municipality's architect and its electrical engineer submitted to the Public works and Sanitary committee of the Council, which were referred to in the minutes of the Committee and mentioned by the Committee in its statutory report to the council. The reports concerned tenders received for the erection of a power station in Harare, and the architect's recommendation that the tender be awarded to P. Mckie had been accepted by the Council though Coull, a builder, had submitted the lowest tender for the work.

In the High Court Tredgold granted the application concluding "that the right of examination coupled with the provision that meetings of the council shall be in public, indicates an intention that all such documents as are in possession of the council and are necessary for an intelligent comprehension of its proceedings, are open to the inspection of ratepayers".

Kotze JA in giving the unanimous judgment of the Appellate Division concluded that the sections of the Municipal law upon which reliance had been placed did not confer upon ratepayers the right to have an inspection of documents addressed to and considered by a committee of the Council. The right to inspection and publicity, it is obvious, must have its limits, and cannot be extended, by strained construction and forced inference, beyond what the legislator has said and intended.

The appeal judgment is important as it still reflects the position in municipalities in Zimbabwe today.

In *Lewis v Elske* (1921 AD 36) Tredgold's decision in the High Court was confirmed and the case is of no particular legal significance. However, it is interesting to note the following remarks of Chief Justice Innes: "the learned judge (i.e. Tredgold) has recorded the impression created in his mind by the demeanour of the plaintiff's witnesses with a vehemence unusual in judicial pronouncements; but I am not quite clear whether he arrived at the conclusion that they were consciously swearing to what was not true, or that they were merely hasty, inaccurate and not very scrupulous."

In *Naik v Pillay's Trustee* (1923 AD 471) an action by the trustee of an insolvent to set aside a sale of land on the ground that such sale constituted an undue preference, Tredgold's decision was reversed. He had said that the transaction in this case was "the most extraordinary deal that has come before this Court" and that it was "an extraordinarily suspicious one". De Villiers JA in whose judgment the other judges of appeal concurred, concluded: "It is right that a transaction entered into shortly before sequestration and resulting in a preference of one creditor to the others should be strictly scrutinized, but in order to set it aside the transaction must be proved to fall under one or other of the sections of the insolvency law or be hit by the common law. Here there is no justification for saying that there was collusion between the parties or that the insolvent was to the knowledge of the appellant in insolvent circumstances."

Even as a Judge Tredgold was sometimes in the limelight as a subject of debate.

On 21st May 1921 the Legislative Council was in Committee of Supply upon the Estimates and the items under vote 25 (the High Court) amounting to Pounds 14 389 were put.

Mr John Stewart the member representing Salisbury Town Electoral District said he would like to bring up a matter which had caused some feeling throughout the Territory and he would move to reduce the personal allowance (£250) of the Senior Judge (Mr Justice C. H. Tredgold) by £1. He said it was within the knowledge of Hon. Members that recently the Senior Judge had come in for some rather severe criticism on account of certain remarks which he had passed during the hearing of a case at Gwelo. A very great amount of feeling had been engendered, and they saw from the newspaper that the feeling had even spread to the Union (i.e. South Africa). He was also informed in his own constituency that a petition was being circulated at the present moment complaining rather strongly of the remarks made by the Judge in reference to the Dutch community.

The Attorney General then rose on a point of order and stated that the sum of £250 was a personal allowance and was reserved for approval by the Secretary of State. The amendment was then withdrawn whereupon the Administrator, Sir Drummond Chaplin, stated that it seemed undesirable to discuss statements made by judges from the bench. He did not think that any good purpose would be served by it. There had been a certain amount of correspondence in the paper and it appeared to him from what the judge had said that the judge had been rather misinterpreted by certain people who had taken offence at what the judge had said. He thought it would be undesirable for the House now to descend to discussing what had been said by their judge from the bench, and he did not think it could be productive of any good.

The High Court Vote 25 was then agreed to without any amendment.

Public Service and Other Interests

Tredgold served as Chairman of the Wild Life Protection Society before the Society's amalgamation with the Animal Welfare Society and was a life member of the Queen Victoria Memorial Library and Museum. He was one of the founders of the Children's Home in Salisbury and also served for a time as Chairman of the Bulawayo Hospital Board.

He was Chairman of the 1927 Electoral Commission, with William John Atherstone and

William John Bickle as members and H. J. Nanson as Secretary, appointed by the Governor Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Robert Chancellor.

Sport and Hobbies

Always a keen sportsman, he rowed for Trinity Hall Cambridge for 8 or 9 terms and continued this interest in Cape Town where he also played cricket for the Claremont Cricket Club, as well as rugby for the famous Villagers Rugby Club between 1890 and 1894 when the Club won the Grand Challenge on two occasions. He was for a time President of the Mashonaland Rugby Association.

He was a keen fisherman for most of his life and was said to have fished the entire coast from the Cape peninsular to East London. He was also a keen bird and game shottist, a knowledgeable amateur ornithologist, and possessed a large and representative collection of game horns.

His ornithological interest was perhaps a little more than a mere hobby since on 24th February 1902 he presented a paper to the Rhodesia Scientific Association "On the Extensive Appearance of Quail in Matabeleland 1902–2", which begins thus: "The present influx of quail into these localities has naturally caused some inquiry and remarks on the habits of the genus and it is extremely advisable to collect and arrange any facts which may be at our disposal. It is well recognised that the quail or *Coturnix* family all follow the migratory instinct. It does appear, however, that these migrations are not regular, but depend on certain incidents other than the mere change of seasons."

He believed the quail under consideration to be the Harlequin quail, *Coturnix delagorguei* (Delagorgue 1847) and he obtained 24 specimens for examination (19 male 5 female). His paper records measurements, describes markings, reports on the contents of crops and gizzards, on feeding habits (mainly grass feeders) and on their migration being linked to rainfall.

Active in his Church

He was an elder of the Presbyterian Church for many years and in that capacity exercised a splendid influence in many directions, especially in the religious, social, cultural and educational sphere. He also served for some time as Convenor of the Finance Committee of the Presbyterian Church in South Africa.

Death

He died on Thursday 14th July 1938 in East London at the age of 73 and was buried there the following day. He was survived by his wife, his two sons Robert and Alan, and his two daughters Helen and Barbara.

Following his death, at a special sitting of the full bench of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia on Friday 15th July 1938, Sir Fraser Russell, the Chief Justice, sitting with Mr Justice Lewis and Mr Justice Blakeway paid tribute to Sir Clarkson:

"There were few men who had been connected with the history of Southern Rhodesia so long and so intimately . . ."

"He took a sympathetic interest in all the problems of the country, particularly in regard to the Africans . . . and as a judge he found his knowledge of African affairs of great value . . ."

"He would be chiefly remembered in Rhodesia for his work in administrative affairs. He was a sound lawyer and in his capacity as Attorney General, he showed those qualities of impartiality and fairness which had set the standard since kept up by the Law Department . . ."

On behalf of the Bar and Side Bar Advocate Bertin K. C. stated that "it was fortunate for the Colony that in the early days of its development they had a man of Sir Clarkson's calibre with his fairness and ideas of justice . . .".

References

Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa Law Reports, 1920–1926.
Tredgold, C. H., *Handbook of Colonial Criminal Law*, 2nd Edition, 1904.
Official Year Book of Southern Rhodesia No. 1, 1924.
Rasmussen and Rupert, *Historical Dictionary of Zimbabwe*, 1990.
Boggie, J. M. *First Steps in Civilising Rhodesia*, 1953.
Walls, J. P. R., *One Man's Hand: The Story of Sir Charles Coghlan*, 1950.
Southern Rhodesia — *Debates in the Legislative Council, 1899–1923*.
Various files, manuscripts and folios in the collection of the National Archives of Zimbabwe.
Outpost Magazine, 1938.
East Africa and Rhodesia, 1938.
Rhodesia Herald issues, 1920–1938.

Colonel Robert Beal, C.M.G.

by Rob S. Burrett

During previous research into one of the 1890 Pioneers, Arthur Eyre, I visited the Pioneer Cemetery in Harare. This was the first occasion when I became acquainted with the name Colonel Robert Beal, C.M.G., whose impressive memorial stone stands at the front of this historical area. Subsequently I sought to read up a little about this person, but to my surprise I found there was a complete dearth of information. It seems that no one has previously dealt with Beal despite his having played a significant role during the first seventeen years of Occupation. In my delving I haven't uncovered as much as I might have wished, but this article goes some way to filling yet another gap in our knowledge concerning those early settlers who arrived in the Country a little over a century ago.

Robert Beal, often referred to as "Bobbie" Beal, was born on 29 March 1959 in Dock Street, Sunderland, County Durham. He was the son of a certain John Beal, a Master Mariner.[1] Of his childhood I know nothing further. At the age of sixteen Beal, like many of the young men of his time, left Britain for the expanding colonies arriving in the Cape in 1875. Initially he worked as a general farm assistant on Exwell Farm, presumed to be in the Eastern Cape. This farm was the property of his aunt and her husband, Ruth and Samuel Preston.[2] His first official appointment was with the Public Works Department in Queenstown, Eastern Cape.[3] This, however, was very brief for he soon joined the colonial forces which were recruited to serve under Colonel (later Lord) Carrington in the Gaika-Galeka campaigns of 1877/8.[4] This rebellion in the Eastern Cape was an extremely difficult one for the colonial forces who were rather hard put to quell it. Beal apparently distinguished himself during the campaign and was accorded recognition.[5] After this action he resumed his civilian employment, but this time with the Public Works Department in East London.[6] This was not to be the end of the road though, for in 1884 Beal was again engaged in military operations, this time in what was to become Bechuanaland.

The Convention of London of February 1884 was an agreement between the British Imperial Government and the Boers of the "Transvaal Republic". Amongst other details it recognised British sovereignty over those areas to the north of the Cape Colony, west of the Transvaal Republic, and east of the German sphere of influence.[7] The agreement, however, was soon disregarded by the Boers. They refused to co-operate with the British representative in the area, missionary John MacKenzie, while many of the Boers attacked Bechuana chiefs loyal to the British Government as well as supporting various rebellious elements in the local society. A state of total anarchy soon characterised the area, and two small "independent" Boer republics were declared — Goshen and Stellaland. In fact President Kruger openly snubbed British opinions when, on 10 September 1884, he declared that these same republics would henceforth be under direct Transvaal jurisdiction. The British fear of Boer expansionism was becoming a reality. As a result, the Imperial government established a military force to march to the area in order to reassert British rights. This group was named the Bechuanaland Expedition and was led by Sir Charles Warren. It consisted of both Imperial and locally recruited men,[8] one of whom was Robert Beal.[9] It set out in late 1884 and broke up the two Boer republics with very little resistance. They simply walked in and the opposition melted away. British control was thus reaffirmed and on 30 September 1885 the Bechuanaland Protectorate was declared.[10] During this campaign Beal worked his way up the ranks, becoming a lieutenant and then Adjutant of "the Rightwing of the Third Mounted Rifles" under the command of Colonel Gough.[11]

Just prior to the formal declaration of the Bechuanaland Protectorate the British Government agreed to the formation of a new imperial regiment to ensure its control in the area. This force was known as the Bechuanaland Border Police (BBP). It was formally constituted on 16 August 1885,[12] and included many of those who had been part of Warren's earlier force which had entered the area.[13] Beal was one of those who joined this new unit. Given his experience in the Warren expedition he was soon promoted to the rank of Regimental Sergeant-Major.[14] He remained with the BBP and is recorded as being at Elebe on 17 February 1890.[15] Beal would at that time have been recruited by Frank Johnson directly from the BBP into that group of men later destined to form the Pioneer Column of 1890.

On the basis of his rank in the BBP Beal was given, like many of the other former officers of that unit, a senior post in Johnson's Pioneer Corps, Johnson himself having previously been in the BBP[16] (see Figure 1). Beal was appointed one of the three lieutenants in the "B Troop" of the Pioneers under the troop command of H. F. "Skipper" Hoste.[17] The other lieutenants were Henry Borrow, who as Adjutant to Johnson was unable to fulfil his official B Troop duties, and the other was Frank Mandy, who was left behind as Officer i/c Rear Party at Fort Tuli while the Column proceeded.[18] Thus, B Troop duties fell almost entirely upon the shoulders of Robert Beal. Nonetheless he carried out his obligations effectively, and Hoste remarked favourably as to his ability to carry out the work of three men.[19] As part of B Troop Beal would have been involved in the road cutting exercise in advance of the Pioneer Column. Also, as lieutenant, he would have ridden close behind Skipper Hoste when the latter led B Troop on 5 July 1890 across the Shashe River into the new territory. Beal must thus have been either the second or third of the Pioneers officially to enter into this country — an enviable position.

The journey of the Pioneer Column up to their proposed destination at Mount Hampden was rather uneventful, there being no battles with the Matabele, Mashona or Portuguese as had

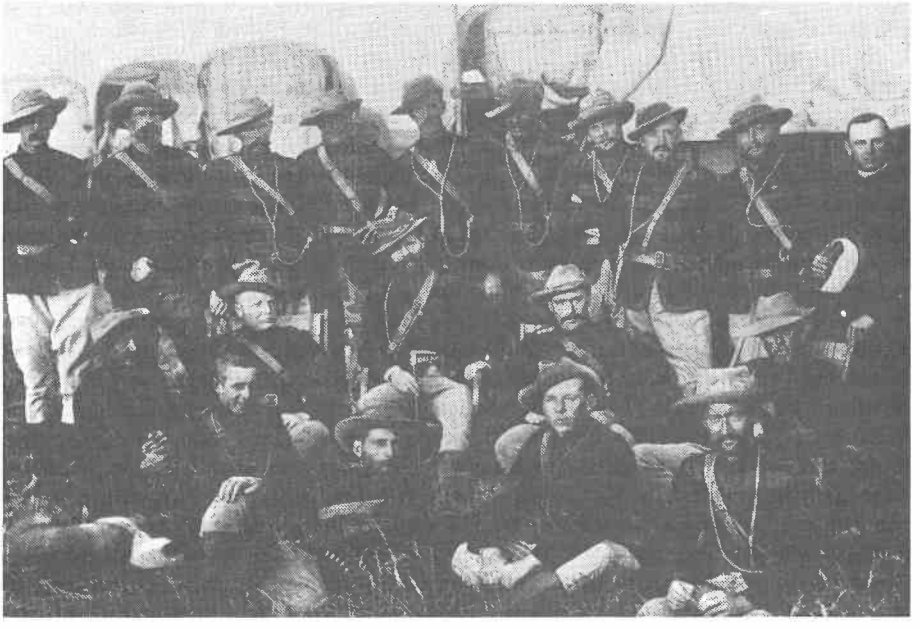


Figure 1: **Ellerton Fry's official photograph of the Senior Officers of the 1890 Pioneer Corps. Beal seated in front row.** *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

been anticipated. Beal and B Troop were the "Trail Blazers" for most of the way. On a number of occasions Beal was given complete command of B Troop, while Hoste was involved in other matters. The only item of possible interest during this period was Beal's fishing activities in the small pools along the way. Tired of their daily rations of bully-beef, Boer meal, and biscuits, Beal and several of the men were sent out by Hoste with a few fish hooks and line in order to add some variety to their monotonous diet.[20]

The Column reached what was to become Fort Salisbury on 12 September 1890, and after the disbanding of the Corps on 30 September 1890 Beal, like many others, trekked out into the surrounding countryside to seek the fabulous fortunes they believed awaited discovery. He joined forces with Arthur Eyre and Jack Spreckley. This trio set off for the "Northern Goldfields" in the Lomagundi (now Makonde) District, but they arrived a little too late since most of the "best deposits" had already been pegged by others.[21] Thereafter Beal tried his luck in other areas. A map of the Mazowe District produced in the early 1890s shows "Beal's Claims" in the Mount Hampden area,[22] although these never seem to have come to anything. In May 1891 after a very short stint as a British South Africa Company employee as Inspector of Public Works, Beal carried out a survey of the potential gold deposits along the Umfuli (now Mupfure) and Hunyani (now Munyame) rivers. This was done on behalf of the speculative syndicate "Johnson, Heany and Borrow".[23] At this time Beal pegged and began to develop, in conjunction with Frank Johnson and Company Limited, gold deposits in the Beatrice area.[24] When later interviewed in London during a visit "Home", Beal expressed great confidence in these deposits as well as in the future of the gold industry in Mashonaland as a whole.[25] Like many of the Pioneers Beal was over-optimistic as to the gold potential of the country — "the gold was there, it was simply limited prospecting that hadn't located it yet". Only later was this widespread fallacy rejected in the face of reality. Gold was certainly not to be Beal's claim to fame, and one doubts if he benefited in any way from his prospecting/mining activities.

With the construction of the Beira-Mashonaland Railway, Beal and his partner Mr Snodgrass were awarded a contract for the construction of a five mile section near Fontesvilla.[26] This was done for the Portuguese government which was obliged by the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891 to construct a line between Fontesvilla and Manica. Only the next year, 1892, were these construction rights ceded to the British South Africa Company which contracted George Pauling and Company to complete the work.[27] Beal and Snodgrass completed their section of the railway, but chose not to continue with this project because of the heat, humidity and the serious malaria which was prevalent in the area. Instead Beal returned to Britain for a holiday. It was at this time that he was interviewed for the journal *African Review*. In it he expressed great confidence in the future of Mashonaland, especially since the construction of a railway linking it to the coast was proceeding at a great pace. ". . . when the railway reaches Manicaland, Mashonaland will be very able to take care of itself without help from anyone . . . all those who weathered the first storm are very content."[28] Other contemporary writers in Mashonaland indicate that this was untrue and that the early settlers were at the time *far* from content.

After a six month holiday, Beal proposed in his interview to return to Africa and travel up the east coast to the Zambezi River, and thence travel overland by foot along that river and its tributaries back to Salisbury.[29] There is no evidence that Beal did undertake this trip, but he may well have done so since many others were at the time investigating this same route on behalf of the BSA Company. It was hoped that it would prove a viable option for cheap transportation to and from the interior. Beal's proposed journey would have suited the Company's interests admirably. Given that Beal had previously, on instruction of the BSA Company, been involved in road construction and that he had personal contact with Dr L.S. Jameson,[30] it could well be that the then Administrator had specifically instructed Beal to investigate this route on the Company's behalf, but this is only speculation. If it is true, it would explain his casting a rosy

outlook on the future of Mashonaland and the administration of the BSA Company during his 1892 interview in London, he would have been a "Company Man".

There is then a gap in our knowledge of Beal's activities. It is only with the outbreak of the Anglo-Matabele War of 1893 that we find Beal joining in the hostilities. Initially he joined the Victoria Rangers, a civilian volunteer force under the command of Lord Henry Paulet. This force was set up in early July 1893 in response to Matabele incursions into the Fort Victoria area.[31] Later this group was enlarged and reorganised by Captain Charles Lendy to form the Victoria Column,[22] in which Beal was given the rank of lieutenant in Troop No. 4.[33] This force, after combining with the Salisbury Column at Iron Mine Hill (near modern Lalapanzi), occupied Bulawayo on 4th November 1893, thus adding Matabeleland to the BSA Company territory. Unfortunately, other than that he participated in the war, little else is known of Beal's involvement at this time (see Figure 2).

After the Anglo-Matabele War Beal returned to Salisbury, where in 1894 he set up a merchant business. He seems to have been successful and soon featured on several important committees. In 1895 he was elected Honorary Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Mashonaland Turf Club, and in 1896 was elected as a member of the first committee of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society.[34] Beal must have been one of the important dignitaries of the emerging town.

About mid 1895 Mr A. H. F. Duncan, then a member of the BSA Company's Administrative Council, approached "Skipper" Hoste and Robert Beal with a request that they raise, on the Company's behalf, a fully paid force of 200 mounted men to see active service. Both men questioned the reason for this force and their field of operation, however, Duncan refused to say and they accordingly turned down the offer.[35] Thus it was that Beal narrowly escaped being implicated in the Jameson Raid which later took place in December 1895.

Figure 2: **Officers in the "Victoria Rangers", 1893. Beal indicated in the front row.**
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

With the outbreak of the Matabeleland Rebellion in March 1896, many of the Settlers outside of the large centres were killed or forced to flee. Bulawayo became a town under siege. The feeling in Mashonaland at the time was deeply divided as to how to respond. On the one hand there were those who wished to set out immediately with a relief force to render assistance to besieged Bulawayo. On the other there were those who wanted everyone to remain in Salisbury to organise its defence in case of a Matabele attack. This latter view is understandable given the then limited male population in the town resulting from the failed Jameson Raid of several months before. Beal was one of those who favoured a relief column and, together with Skipper Hoste, persuaded Rhodes to authorise and finance it.[36] At the time Rhodes was in Salisbury having arrived from Beira. The result was a force of 200 mounted men was recruited and trained at a temporary camp on the Hunyani (Munyame) River south of Salisbury. The commander of this column, known as the Salisbury Relief Force, was Robert Beal and his second in command was none other than Skipper Hoste under whom Beal had served in a similar position in the original Pioneer Column, the tables had been turned.[37] This ranking, however, was a matter of chance, it having been decided between them on the basis of "the toss of a half-crown".[38] Nonetheless Beal succeeded most admirably in this position, proving to be a most capable and well liked commander.[39]

The Force left Salisbury on 6 April 1896 and was quite a cavalcade — numerous wagons, hundreds of oxen, 150 mounted men, and nearly 200 "Friendly Natives".[40] Of the original European volunteers, fifty had to be left in Salisbury due to a lack of guns and horses. With hindsight it would seem that this was a most fortuitous omission, since the Mashonaland Rebellion was soon to erupt and, had they gone, Salisbury would have been almost devoid of fighting forces.[41] With them travelled Cecil John Rhodes and two Dominicans, Mother Patrick and Sister Amica, who were planning to run an emergency hospital in the Gwelo Laager.[42]

The Salisbury Force took nearly four weeks to get to Gwelo (Gweru), arriving at the Police Camp on 2nd May 1896.[43] The journey down had been a long and difficult one. Rinderpest broke out amongst the oxen just before they reached Fort Charter, and this probably accounts for their slow movement. There was also a skirmish with the Matabele at a prominent granite kopje called Makolika's Kop near present day Lalapanzi. Arthur Eyre and his Scouts came across a Matabele encampment and had a tough time until they were reinforced by the main body of the Column which put the rebels to flight. The day after this a serious argument erupted between the commanders of the Column and their prominent guest, Cecil John Rhodes. Rhodes apparently wished to go to the scene of the battle without an escort, he was understandably disallowed by Hoste, and Beal "had a devil of a job pacifying Rhodes".[44]

On arrival in Gwelo it was intended that the Salisbury Relief Force combine with the Gwelo forces under their troop commander, Major Gibbs. There was, however, immediate disagreement as to the command of this enlarged force — Gibbs or Beal. Rhodes was forced to intervene after two acrimonious days. The two forces were to amalgamate under the leadership of Rhodes as Colonel and Commander-in-chief; Gibbs was to be Senior Official and Military Advisor to Rhodes; Beal was to be Lieutenant-Colonel in command of the Troops; Hurrell would be Major for the Gwelo Section; Hoste as Major for the Salisbury Section; and Tennant would be Major of Artillery. This solution seemed to satisfy all parties.[45]

As soon as these matters were settled, there came the news that rebels were massing at Mavene's Kraal about 18 miles north-north-west of Gwelo. Many of the earlier troubles in the Gwelo district were said to emanate from Mavene's, so the men were eager to see action taken against him. On 19th May a column of 150 Gwelo and Salisbury men set out to attack the kraal.[46] On arrival, however, it was found that the rebels were aware of their movements and had withdrawn. There was only one significant skirmish resulting from an attempted rebel ambush in a large maize field near Mavene's personal kraal.[47] Later a scouting patrol did come

across a number of withdrawing Matabele, however, it retired without attacking them due to the rebels' numerical superiority.[48] Numerous kraals in the area were burnt, including that of the Induna, Mavene, where the troops located a number of carts and items of personal property being loot stolen from the Settlers, however, little else of the rebels was seen after the initial contact.[49] On the whole this patrol was not an outstanding success, although it did drive the rebels from the vicinity of Gwelo, thus allowing the town to return to some modicum of normality.

The Relief Column then proceeded towards Bulawayo. The plan was to link up near the Shangani River with Colonel Napier and his men who had already marched from Bulawayo.[50] There they intended to amalgamate and attack various important rebel positions to the south of the road in the Insiza Valley. This district had been at the centre of the Rebellion to the east of Bulawayo and had witnessed some of the earliest murders. The two columns did finally meet near the Pongo River,[52] but only after both had seen action — Beal's column near the Shangani River and Napier's near Thabas Induna (Ntabazinduna). It would seem that the rebels knew of, or at least guessed at, the planned junction and they sought to prevent it.[52]

After combining, the Column was divided into two groups. A small flying column of 400 men under the command of Jack Spreckley moved independently through the broken hilly country to the south of the Valley, while the rest, including Beal, Napier and Rhodes, traversed the flatter but thickly bushed Insiza Valley. This latter group twice saw action. Once a patrol under Captain Van Niekerk was attacked after they had captured some cattle, and two of his men were killed. Subsequently a patrol under Colonel Grey was surrounded by a large group of rebels, and they had a tough time battling their way out. The next day the Column as a whole attacked this group of rebels and dispersed them.[53] Thereafter nothing further was seen of the "Rebels" and the troops were reduced to burning down deserted kraals, 250 in all, and burying the remains of murdered Settlers.[54] I have failed to find any direct reference to Beal during this event, but as a commander he would surely have played an important role.

On 27 May on reaching the Insiza Ford on the Bulawayo-Belingwe road the Column reunited with Spreckley's troop, who reported no significant engagements with the enemy, although they had buried several murdered Settlers, burnt villages, and captured a large number of cattle, sheep and goats.[56] These proved a source of food much appreciated by the Bulawayo residents on the Column's return.[56] Here again the Column was split. The main group under Napier, and accompanied by Rhodes, returned to Bulawayo where they arrived on 1st June which was duly declared a public holiday in the beleaguered town.[57] Then there was a further flying patrol under the command of Colonel Beal which went southwards to the Filabusi District.[58] Here a number of murders had taken place at Edkin's Store, the Mining Commissioner's camp and at many of the neighbouring gold mines. By this time, however, all the rebels had fled and the patrol failed to engage them, thus proceeding to Bulawayo without success. On arriving in Bulawayo, Beal's men set up a tented camp on the margin of the settlement in the vicinity of the modern suburb of Kumalo.[59] They were greeted on arrival by Colonel Baden-Powell, who had been sent out by the newly appointed Commander of Matabeleland Operations, General Sir Frederick Carrington, to request that Beal report to him as to the success of his patrol.[60]

With the considerable strengthening of Bulawayo by the addition of Beal's men and Colonel Plumer's "Matabeleland Relief Force", which had arrived from the south, the Settlers went on the offensive. However, so too did the rebels who were encouraged by the assurances of the spirit medium, Mukwati. The rebels, who felt sure of victory, massed on the banks of the Umgusa River a little way to the north-east of Bulawayo. They had been assured by Mukwati that the Settlers would be struck blind if they should attempt to cross the Umgusa River.[61] In actual fact, Mukwati probably sought to inspire his followers by this means with the aim of

overrunning Bulawayo, which at that time was temporarily weakened due to large patrols having gone out to the north and west of the town,[62] while Beal's men had only just arrived and were not as yet organised. The rebels, however, were discovered by chance by Sir Charles Metcalfe and Scout Burnham on the evening of 5th June. Metcalfe and Burnham had left the Bulawayo laager in the early evening to collect a horse from Beal's camp. However, they missed the camp and approached a number of fires they saw in the distance. These proved to be rebel positions along the Umgusa River in the vicinity of the then deserted Welsh Harp "Hotel" on the Bulawayo-Salisbury road.[63] Thus alerted, the settlers planned a combined attack for the next day, 6th June.[64]

Early that day Baden-Powell rode out to Beal's camp to inform him of the situation, and a patrol was sent out to confirm the number and location of the rebels. One hundred men of the Salisbury Relief Force then moved to the bush nearby Welsh Harp where they were joined by an additional 250 Bulawayo men under Spreckley. The Salisbury troop was in place first, and Beal had delight in claiming the rebels as his and that his men had the right to lead the attack. On exposing themselves the Settlers seemed to have little impact on the rebels, and it was only once they had crossed the Umgusa River (without problems) and charged down upon the enemy that it was sent into disarray.[65]

Beal is said to have distinguished himself in his handling of the operations during this decisive battle.[66] The action totally undermined the confidence of many of the rebels, and they never again took the offensive outside their mountain strongholds. The BSA Company Reports on the 1896 rebellions record this battle as follows:

"Early next morning a combined attack by Col. Spreckley's and Col. Beal's Columns took place. The two columns at once crossed the river. The rebels fired one volley; but upon the whitemen returning the fire, and following it up with a charge, they turned and fled. The troops under Colonels Spreckley and Beal, in extended line, charged down upon the retreating rebels and inflicted a heavy punishment upon them. It was afterwards ascertained, that the fight was followed by the best effects, owing to the fact that rebel forces consisted of carefully selected, picked men from eight different impis, who had been chosen to take part in this venture, the success of which had been guaranteed by the M'limo. After this engagement the Matabele could never be persuaded to fight until they were, by the pressure of our troops, forced to do so."[67]

After the battle, Beal's men were kept along the Umgusa River as a front-line defence for Bulawayo. However, no further action was seen.[68] Beal himself was involved in several small local patrols to repair, extensively, the telegraph lines which had been destroyed by the rebels.[69] Otherwise little else of relevance occurred. While this was happening matters at home in Mashonaland were deteriorating, culminating in the outbreak of the Mashona Rebellion in June 1896. After the first wave of killings of outlying Settlers, Beal's men were ordered to return to Salisbury which was desperate for fighting manpower. The returning Column was greatly reinforced, being now 440 strong, while accompanying them were an additional 100 men from the Matabeleland Relief Force under Major Watts, as well as 70 Grey's Scouts under Captain C. White.[70] This group set off from Bulawayo on 24th June 1896 and they moved rapidly towards Mashonaland, arriving back in Salisbury on 17th July.[71] Although their main aim was to get to Salisbury itself, once in Mashonaland Beal's men did attack a few rebel positions near the road, while they were also ambushed on a number of occasions.[72] The Column furthermore rendered valuable assistance to the beleaguered communities at Enkeldoorn (now Chivu) and Fort Charter by providing medical supplies and food, especially grain which was in short supply. Both communities did in fact have sufficient cattle, and Beal was able to purchase 200 head from them which he took to Salisbury where they were most gratefully received.[73]

After his arrival in Salisbury on 17th July, Beal took command of the Mashonaland forces.

With the additional men, the threat to the Salisbury population was reduced significantly and martial law was revoked on 22nd July.[74] On the next day, 23rd July, Beal personally commanded a patrol to the Chishawasha area to the north-east of the town. This patrol consisted of eight officers and 125 NCOs and men. They met with severe resistance in the Kupara Valley, where large groups of rebels had sheltered in the numerous kopjes.[75] Many kraals were burnt and a substantial amount of food was captured and taken back to Salisbury which was at the time experiencing severe shortages. A permanent military post was also established at the Chishawasha Mission, thus enabling the Jesuit Fathers and Brothers to return to the area from which they had earlier fled.[76] Beal was also involved in several smaller patrols as well as in organising others in the Salisbury area, but otherwise, since matters were rather quiet near home, the Salisbury community was not taking the offensive, rather they were content to await the arrival of the Imperial Forces under Colonel E.A.H. Alderson, which were making their way towards the town.

Although the direct threat of a Mashona attack on Salisbury may have been relieved by Beal's arrival and subsequent actions, a new threat began to rear its head. With the external communication routes cut, commodities began to run short. Private organisations could no longer bring in supplies and prospects looked very gloomy.[77] As a result the BSA Company was reluctantly forced to look into the situation. It formally took over the entire system of supplies acquisition, transport and distribution.[78] Mr H. Wilson-Fox, formerly quarter-master in Beal's column, was appointed by the Acting Administrator, Judge Vincent, to take charge of the transport and supply of commodities in the town,[79] while Beal was to relinquish his military command and was sent down to Umtali (now Mutare) to take full charge of the movement of all goods along the Beira-Salisbury route.[80] This was in early August 1896.[81] On arrival there Beal immediately organised the purchase of sufficient food supplies to feed the Salisbury population of about 2000 people, thus he helped avert a serious crisis.[82]

The transport issue was a particularly vexing one for Beal for not only was there a military threat, thus necessitating the use of guarded convoys, but rinderpest had killed most of the transport oxen, while the Imperial forces had commandeered most of the suitable mules for their use. The transport system was thus effectively paralysed.[83] On arriving in Umtali, Beal sought to rectify matters. He sent off to Cape Town for an additional 500 mules to be sent directly and immediately to himself, as well as organising contracts with local business men who were lucky enough to be in the possession of spans of salted oxen (i.e. cattle immune due to recovery from an earlier attack of rinderpest). One transport contractor in particular, Mr L.N. Papenfus of Salisbury, hired to Beal thirteen spans of oxen and six mule wagons.[84] Soon Beal was thus able to put the whole service on a proper footing with a regular system of convoys from the railhead to Salisbury. Initially, there were minor hitches to the efficient movement of goods, for example, the occasional need to redirect supplies to the desperate laagers at Enkeldoorn and Fort Charter, the death of a number of oxen near Devil's Pass (east of Rusape) due to their eating poisonous bulbs, and the additional commandeering of further animals by the Imperial forces. These problems were, however, soon ironed out and large quantities of food and other provisions flowed into Mashonaland.[85] In the BSA Company Reports it is estimated that Beal and his staff facilitated the movement of some 1034 tonnes of goods during the short period of Beal's control from 21st August 1896 to 28th January 1897.[86]

Through his invaluable work as Transport Officer, Robert Beal ensured that supplies reached the Settlers throughout Mashonaland, as well as providing for the needs of the Imperial forces which were involved in crushing the 1896 Rebellions. In many ways his efforts saved the Settlers' system from collapse. Major-General F. Carrington of the Imperial Army recommended Beal for Honours in the light of his services in both Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and particularly as Transport Officer.[87] In recognition of these services Beal, at the same time as

Napier and Spreckley, was granted by Queen Victoria the Companionship of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George (C.M.G.).[88] He also received the "1893 Matabeleland" medal with two clasps for his involvements in the 1896 Rebellions.[89]

After the Rebellions, Beal was appointed in 1897 to the post of Commissioner of Public Works, based in Salisbury.[90] Within a short time, however, he was again embroiled in military transportation, this time as chief organiser of transport for the Rhodesian forces in the Anglo-Boer War.[91] He was also involved in organising the transit of the Australian forces through Beira, via Marandellas (Marondera), Bulawayo and thence to the Northern Cape.[92] Later in 1901 he was appointed to the management of Rhodesia Railways where he was given the post of assistant to the General Manager who was a Mr Charles Wibberly.[93] In this post Beal worked for the continued expansion of the railway network in this country, and is recorded as being a constant visitor to various of its sections to inspect personally the progress being made.[94] At some stage he was appointed as representative of the BSA Company in Beira.[95] Here he actively promoted the interests of this country and worked for the development of that port.

Beal's involvement in military matters was not over with the end of the Rebellions and his resumption of civilian employment. In 1898, as a result of the build up of tension before the Anglo-Boer War, a part-time volunteer defence force was set up in Salisbury following a public meeting called for by Major Forbes. Beal was asked to command this force,[96] which he did until moving to take up his appointment in Beira. A photograph (Figure 3) of the Southern Rhodesian Volunteers in 1901 shows a group including Colonel Beal, and Major Snodgrass to his right and Captain Gilbert to his left. The remainder of the men are not known, so if you recognise any of them please let us know.

On 9th January 1907 Robert Beal was suddenly struck down by heart failure.[97] His untimely death was a sudden shock to the Rhodesian community, as the following extract from The Rhodesia Herald indicates:

"A distinct shock was felt throughout the town when news was received yesterday of the decease of Colonel Robert Beal C.M.G., whose death from heart failure took place at Beira

Figure 3: Southern Rhodesian Volunteers, 1901. Col. R. Beal in the centre.
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

earlier in the day. Considerable surprise was caused by the information, as it was but a fortnight ago when the deceased gentleman was in the Capital looking exceedingly well and in his usual good spirits, it was little thought that he would be the next of the old hands to be taken."[98]

As soon as the news was received, flags were lowered to half mast and efforts were made for the return of the body for "burial on Rhodesian soil". This was duly arranged and a special train was organised to bear the body back to Salisbury where it was laid to rest.[98]

Beal was without doubt a true Rhodesian dedicated to the country of his adoption. He played several important roles in the early days of its occupation and initial development — as pioneer, prospector, military commander, public works officer, and in the development of the still important Beira-Salisbury railway. He is another of our forgotten pioneers. In concluding, I would like to cite in full the report on Robert Beal's funeral which appeared in The Rhodesia Herald of 12th January 1907.[100] Although in the typically florid language of newspapers at that time, it does indicate all that Salisbury, with its exaggerated Edwardian trappings, thought of the man at the time of his death.

"**Late Colonel Beal. The Last Rites, Impressive Ceremony**:

At 8 o'clock yesterday the train slowly steamed into the station bearing the remains of the Late Colonel Beal. The first engine was draped with the Union Jack and the sides swathed in black and white streamers. The closed truck which contained the coffin was hung with black and white, the inside of the conveyance was draped in black, and the wreaths from personal friends and the deceased gentleman's acquaintances in Beira and Umtali hung on the sides and lay on the coffin, which was of a plain make, covered in crepe and furnished with silver and black fittings. On the brass plaque was engraved: Robert Beal, Born March 29, 1858, died January 9, 1907, aged 49 years.

A detachment of the SRV (Southern Rhodesian Volunteers), consisting of 15 Troopers and 5 Officers under the charge of Major Snodgrass, met the train bearing the remains at Umtali and acted as a Guard of Honour from 3 o'clock Thursday Afternoon until the arrival of the train at Salisbury yesterday morning at 8 o'clock. Throughout the day the coffin lay in state at the Station.

Towards the evening the black scud from the SW broke, and pale gleams of sunshine dispelled the gloom of the day. The car containing the remains of the deceased had been drawn up to the town end of the Station, and at 4:30 p.m. the cortege, consisting of a strong parade of SRV under the command of Captain Bullock, a contingent of the BSAP with O.C. Colonel Bodle, Members of the '90 and '93 Column, a squad of the SRC under the command of Inspector Lewis, and a host of mourners, had assembled to pay their respects to the dead.

The coffin covered with a wealth of wreaths, a powerfully pathetic tribute of the grief felt, not only of those whom the nature of their official duty had brought them into contact with the deceased, but also that wide circle of friends which the Late Colonel Beal had made during his long association with Rhodesia, was borne to the draped gun carriage at 4:45 p.m., and the large concourse in the station and precincts bore eloquent testimony that Salisbury mournfully realised that yet another of Rhodesia's Pioneers had paid the last debt of nature.

The SRV led the procession on its passage to the windswept God's acre to the south of the town, and following the 13 pr. conveying the remains, drawn by six mules, led by the Black Watch, which was attended as pall bearers by Messrs. W. H. Brown; Alfred Holmes; Palmer; Darling; and George Bowen, all members of the '90 Column, and consequently old comrades of the deceased, then came the lead charger, with, affecting symbol, reversed boots in the stirrups of a saddle which had crossed many a bloody field by one who was so intimately connected with the birth and development of

Rhodesia. Following the BSAP came the Association of the Members of the '90 and '93 Columns, consisting of Majors Hopper, Snodgrass and Drury, and Messrs. Harper, Wilkinson, A. Rankin, Biller, Clayton, Storey, McAndrew, Neale, Knapman, and Wilfred Harvey.

His Honour the Administrator, the chief officials of Government, and a widely representative gallery of towns people also attended.

The Cortege took the route of Fox Street and Manica Road, and thence across the market square, and so to the cemetery, and at every centre and corner gatherings of towns people bared their heads to the passing retinue of mourning, while at every hand flags fluttered at half-mast.

Arrived at the cemetery, the coffin was shouldered by the old comrades of the deceased, and the last journey of the earthly remains was attended by a continuously swelling congregation of mourners.

The firing party, consisting of the SRV, was formed up at the head of the grave, and the BSAP detachment was paraded at the right, the remaining two sides being occupied by a large and representative body of towns men.

The Rev. E. J. Parker officiated at the sad rites which finally punctuate man's earthly course. After an impressive rendering of the 90th Psalm, the stately periods of the burial service were read.

Then followed the final three volleys over the grave and the mournful cavalry "Last Post". And then "boot and saddle" for the Police and "Quick Step" for the Volunteers on their march home. And thus another Pioneer had paid his life's score."[100]

References

1. Cary, Robert. 1975: *The Pioneer Corps*. Galaxie Press: Salisbury. p. 42. The exact date of Beal's birth is unclear, there being three days mentioned. I have chosen that shown on the gravestone as it ties in with that indicated elsewhere.
2. Cary, ibid, p. 42.
3. *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 January 1907, p.3.
4. Cary, ibid. p.42.
5. Cary, ibid. p.42; and South Africa, 12 January 1907. p.101.
6. *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 January 1907, p.3.
7. Worsfold, W. B. 1899: *The Story of South Africa*. London: Horace Marshall and Son. pp.144–153.
8. Numerous references deal with this early period in Bechuanaland (Botswana). I have found the following of particular use. Hyatt, S. P.: *The Northward Trek*. Andrew Melose: London; Galbrieth, *Crown and Charter*; and Worsfold, ibid.
9. Cary, ibid. p.42; *African World*. Vol 18, 9 February 1907. p. 39.
10. See references in Ref. 8.
11. Cary, ibid. p. 42.
12. Brief comments on the BBP contained in Hickman Papers, *National Archives of Zimbabwe*. Historical Manuscripts: HI 1/1/21.
13. Reitz, O. 1977: "The Pioneer Corps: Addenda". *Rhodesiana* No. 37. p. 17.
14. Cary, ibid. p.42; Reitz, ibid. p.18.
15. Reitz, ibid. p.18.
16. Cary, ibid. pp.50–51.
17. Cary, ibid. p.42.
18. Cary, ibid. pp.43, 52 & 132; Hoste, H. F. (ed. N. S. Davies) 1977: *Gold Fever*. Salisbury: Pioneer Head. p. 33.
19. Hoste, ibid. p. 33.
20. Hoste, H. F. 1965: "Rhodesia in 1890". *Rhodesiana* No. 12. p. 6.
21. Walker, J. P. Diary. *National Archives of Zimbabwe*. Historical Manuscripts, MISC/WA 6.

22. *National Archives of Zimbabwe*. Map Collection, Pba Mazoe 189–?.
23. Cary, ibid. p. 42.
24. *African Review*. Vol 1 (13), 18 Feb 1892. p. 9.
25. Ibid.
26. *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 January 1907. p. 3.
27. Barnes, J. C. 1977: "The Beira–Mashonaland Railway". *Rhodesiana* No. 37. p. 3.
28. *African Review*, ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid, and Cary, ibid. p. 42.
31. Glass.
32. Ibid.
33. Cary, ibid. p. 42.
34. Cary, ibid. p. 42.
35. Hoste, H. F. Unpublished memoirs. Copy recently added to Historical Manuscripts Collection, National Archives of Zimbabwe. Presently unclassified. p. 356.
36. Ibid. p. 358.
37. Cary, ibid. p. 49.
38. Hoste memoirs, ibid.
39. *South Africa*, 12 January 1907. p. 101.
40. Hoste memoirs, ibid. p. 358.
41. Hickman, A. S. 1970: *Rhodesia Served the Queen, Vol. 1*. Salisbury: Government Printer. p. 20.
42. "Gwelo Laager, 1896". Author possibly P. Falk. *Rhodesiana* No. 22. p. 13.
43. Richards, H. 1974: *False Dawn*. Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia. p113.
44. Hoste memoirs, ibid. pp. 362–5.
45. Richards, ibid. p. 113.
46. Gwelo Laager, ibid. p. 13.
47. Hoste memoirs, ibid. pp. 367–9.
48. Gwelo Laager, ibid. p. 13.
49. Hoste memoirs, ibid. p. 369.
50. BSA Company Reports, 1898. *Reports on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia*. Reprinted as *The '96 Rebellions*. 1975. Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia. p. 9.
51. Ransford, O. 1968. *Bulawayo: Historic Background to Rhodesia*. Cape Town: A. A. Balkema. p. 104.
52. Reports, ibid. p. 10.
53. Hoste memoirs, ibid. p. 375.
54. Reports, ibid. p. 10.
55. Reports, ibid. p. 10.
56. Reports, ibid. p. 10.
57. Reports, ibid. p. 10. & Ransford, ibid. p105.
58. Reports, ibid. p. 10.
59. Ransford, ibid. Map facing p. 105.
60. Hoste memoirs, ibid. p. 376.
61. Reports, ibid. p. 11 & Ranger, T. O. 1967: *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*. London: Heinemann.
62. Reports, ibid. p. 11 & Ransford, ibid. p. 107.
63. Baden-Powell, R. S. S. 1897: *The Matabele Campaign*. London: Methuen.
64. Ibid.
65. Hoste memoirs, ibid. pp. 377–8.
66. *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 January 1907. p. 3; & South Africa, 12 January 1907. p. 101.
67. Reports, ibid. p. 11.
68. Reports, ibid. p. 12.
69. South Africa, 12 January 1907. p. 101.
70. Reports, ibid. p. 66.
71. Reports, ibid. p. 66.
72. Reports, ibid. pp. 66–68.

73. Reports, ibid. p. 117.
74. Reports, ibid. p. 69.
75. Reports, ibid. p. 111.
76. Reports, ibid. p. 111.
77. Reports, ibid. p. 113.
78. Reports, ibid. p. 72.
79. Reports, ibid. p. 72.
80. Hoste memoirs, ibid. p. 384.
81. Reports, ibid. p. 113.
82. Reports, ibid. pp. 72 & 117.
83. Reports, ibid. p. 114.
84. Reports, ibid. p. 114.
85. Reports, ibid. p. 115.
86. Reports, ibid. p. 148.
87. Reports, ibid. p. 148.
88. Reports, ibid. p. 149.
89. Reports, ibid. p. 158; and Cary, ibid. p. 42.
90. *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 January 1907, p. 3.
91. Cary, ibid. p. 42.
92. *South Africa*, 12 January 1907. p. 101.
93. *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 January 1907. p. 3.
94. *South Africa*, 12 January 1907. p. 101.
95. *South Africa*, 12 January 1907, p. 101; and *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 January 1907. p.3.
96. Tanser, G. H. 1965. *A Scantling of Time*. Cape Town: Stuart Manning. p. 228.
97. Cary, ibid. p. 42; & *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 January 1907. p. 3.
98. *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 January 1907. p. 3.
99. Ibid.
100. *Rhodesia Herald*, 12 January 1907.

Acknowledgements
I take this opportunity to thank Ms P. Daly and Mrs K. Withers most sincerely for their help with the preparation of this article, and Mr D. Henderson for allowing me to see Skipper Hoste's memoirs.

Hut Tax Tokens

by P. G. Locke

For many years during the late 19th century and first half of the 20th century, Hut Tax was a well known and accepted feature of British colonial policy in Southern Africa. From a modern perspective the rationale for the tax has been brought into question and, as a result, the topic has been reviewed in some detail in a number of historical studies. By contrast, since their use was discontinued over sixty years ago, the material evidence of Hut Tax, in the form of tokens and stamps, has apparently received only scant attention. However, as tangible relics of an important facet of the colonial history of this region, it is considered that these obscure and intriguing items warrant a fuller description.

HUT TAX TOKENS FROM SOUTHERN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)*

Occasionally turned up in tins of hoarded coins, or sometimes recovered from sites throughout the country which were occupied earlier this century, are small brass discs stamped with the initials of the British South Africa Company.

Apart from their obvious associations with the B.S.A. Co., which administered Southern Rhodesia from 1889 to 1923, the inscriptions on these items give little clue as to their use. Despite their relatively common occurrence, therefore, it is not surprising that the actual purpose of the discs is not widely known and they are frequently mis-identified as early dog or bicycle licences. Indeed, they are a similar type of administrative/governmental receipt but in this instance are tokens issued for payment of Hut Tax.

Legislation for Hut Tax Tokens in Southern Rhodesia

Hut Tax was first imposed in both Matabeleland and Mashonaland by Ordinance No. 5 of 1894 at a rate of 10/- per hut, payable in cash or kind — though the amount was halved in Matabeleland for the first year.[1] (It is of interest to note that assessed values for tax purposes in the Tuli District included: Bulls £4/10/-, goats 5/-, sheep 5/- and grain 10/- per 200 lb bag.)[2] This early legislation did not incorporate the use of tokens and it is presumed that written receipts were issued instead. A decade later, however, when the new "Native Tax Ordinance, 1904" was enacted and a full tax of £1 on each adult male and 10/- on each polygamous wife was imposed, provision for the issue of tokens was contained in the corresponding Rules and Regulations framed under that Ordinance.

Published as Government Notice No. 174 in the B.S.A. Co. Government Gazette, the regulations required Collectors appointed by the Administration to deliver to each taxpayer a metal token as receipt for the tax paid — in addition to a written receipt.[3] These could be issued directly to an individual making payment or, where the tax was paid collectively, the tokens were given in bulk to the appropriate Headman or Kraal Head for distribution to each unit under his jurisdiction making payment.

In view of the ephemeral nature of paper receipts, evidently it was considered that a more permanent acknowledgement of payment was necessary to enable those liable for tax to prove that their obligations had already been met. Naturally, the issue of durable tokens thereby permitted more effective monitoring of default or evasion, supported by provision in the

*Where applicable the former names of countries are used in an historical context.

Regulations for penalties which could be imposed for failure to produce a token to the Collector or Police Officer.

In 1917, the Rules and Regulations of 1904 were replaced by an amended set, which placed greater onus for collection of tax on village officials, but still incorporated the issue of tokens.[4] These were replaced in turn in 1930 by further revised regulations under which written receipts were issued as before but tokens were only given on request to taxpayers.[5] (The need for more severe penalties to enforce the legislation was also apparent from the twelvefold increase in the fine for contravention of the regulations from 5/- to £3/-/-). Finally, the optional issue of tokens was abolished in the following year,[6] though in modified guise Hut Tax Legislation itself remained in force until 1961.

Description of B.S.A. Co. Tokens

Made of brass, the Hut Tax tokens issued by the Colonial administration in Southern Rhodesia varied in size and shape from district to district and from year to year. Similarly large tokens were issued for men and smaller ones for women.[7] Presumably these differences were employed to assist the largely illiterate rural population to distinguish the tokens and to facilitate verification at a glance of valid tokens by the authorities. The tokens were also pierced so as to enable them to be nailed to the taxpayer's huts or to be strung and worn like identity discs around the neck.

In addition to being stamped with the initials of the B.S.A. Co., each token was marked with the year of issue and different districts were distinguished by means of different identification letters. Initial issue of the tokens actually commenced in 1903 as an experiment, prior to the 1904 regulations being enacted, and this explains the earlier date found on some tokens.[8] A series of identification letters was instituted in 1904/5 and this assists in determining the original district of issue. However, many of the letters were duplicated in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland, representing different districts in each province, so that it is not always possible to positively attribute the tokens. However, it is reasonable to extrapolate from the appropriate provincial key depending on the part of the country from which a token has been subsequently discovered. (See Table 1.)

Table 1. Identification letters used on B.S.A. Co Hut Tax tokens 1904/1905
(With acknowledgement to the National Archives of Zimbabwe)

MASHONALAND (Ref. C.N.C.'s Circular 38/1904)

A	Charter	K	Mazoe
B	Chibi	M	Darwin
D	Chilimanzi/Gutu	N	Melsetter
E	Hartley	P	Mrewa
F	Inyanga	Q	Ndanga
G	Lomagundi	R	Salisbury
H	Makoni	S	Umtali
J	Marandellas	T	Victoria

MATABELELAND (Information supplied by the late Mr H. A. Cripwell)

A	Bubi	G	Matobo
B	Bulilima-Mangwe	H	Gwanda
C	Gwelo	J	Wankie
D	Selukwe	K	Sebungwe
E	Insiza	M	Bulawayo
F	Belingwe	Y	Nyamandhlovu
		Z	Umzingwane

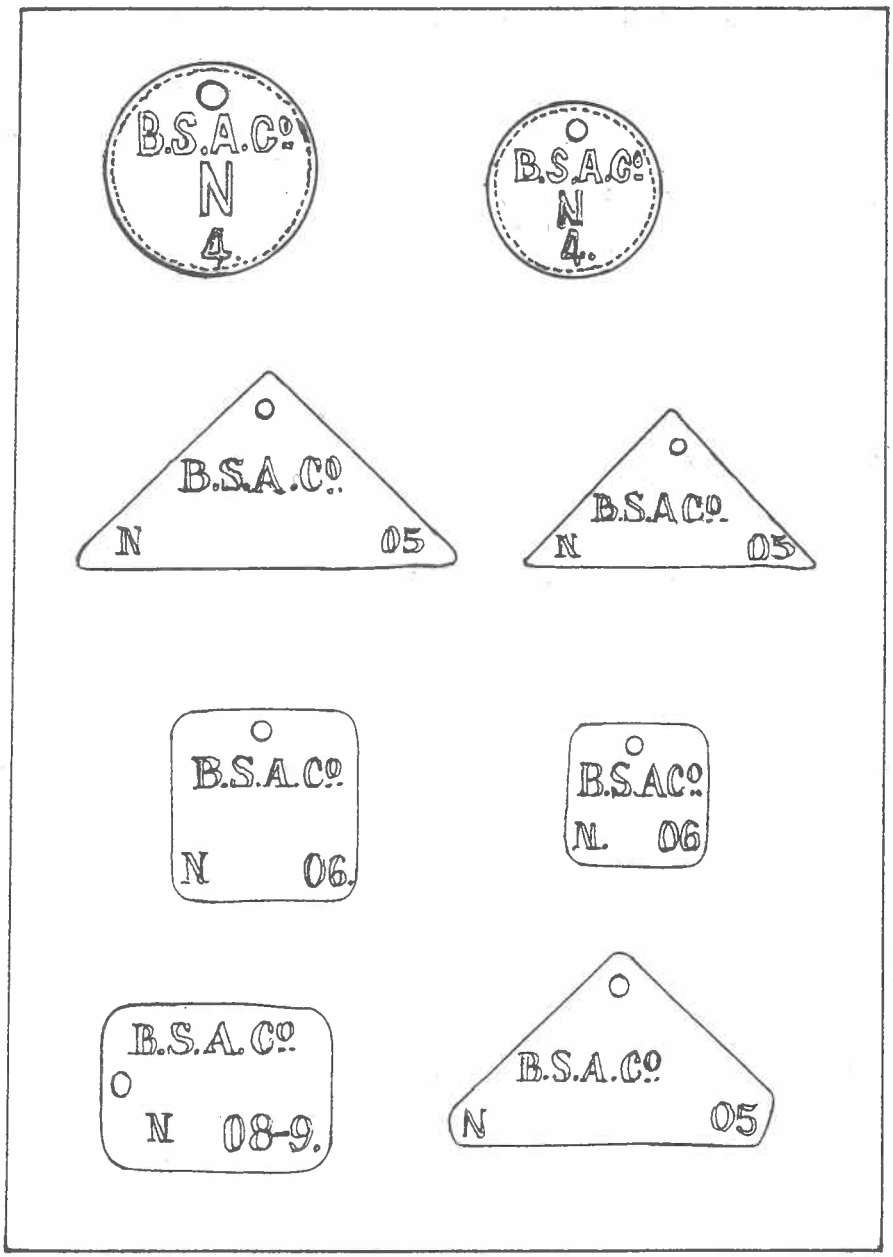


Figure 1. **A series of brass Hut Tax tokens from the Chimanimani (formerly Melsetter) district, Zimbabwe, illustrating the change in shape from one year to the next. Larger tokens on the left were issued to men and the three smaller ones on the right to women. Tokens with sharp projections invariably have had these filed off (bottom right), implying perhaps that this was done to avoid injury when worn around the neck. (Actual size)** *(Antiquities Collection, Mutare Museum)*

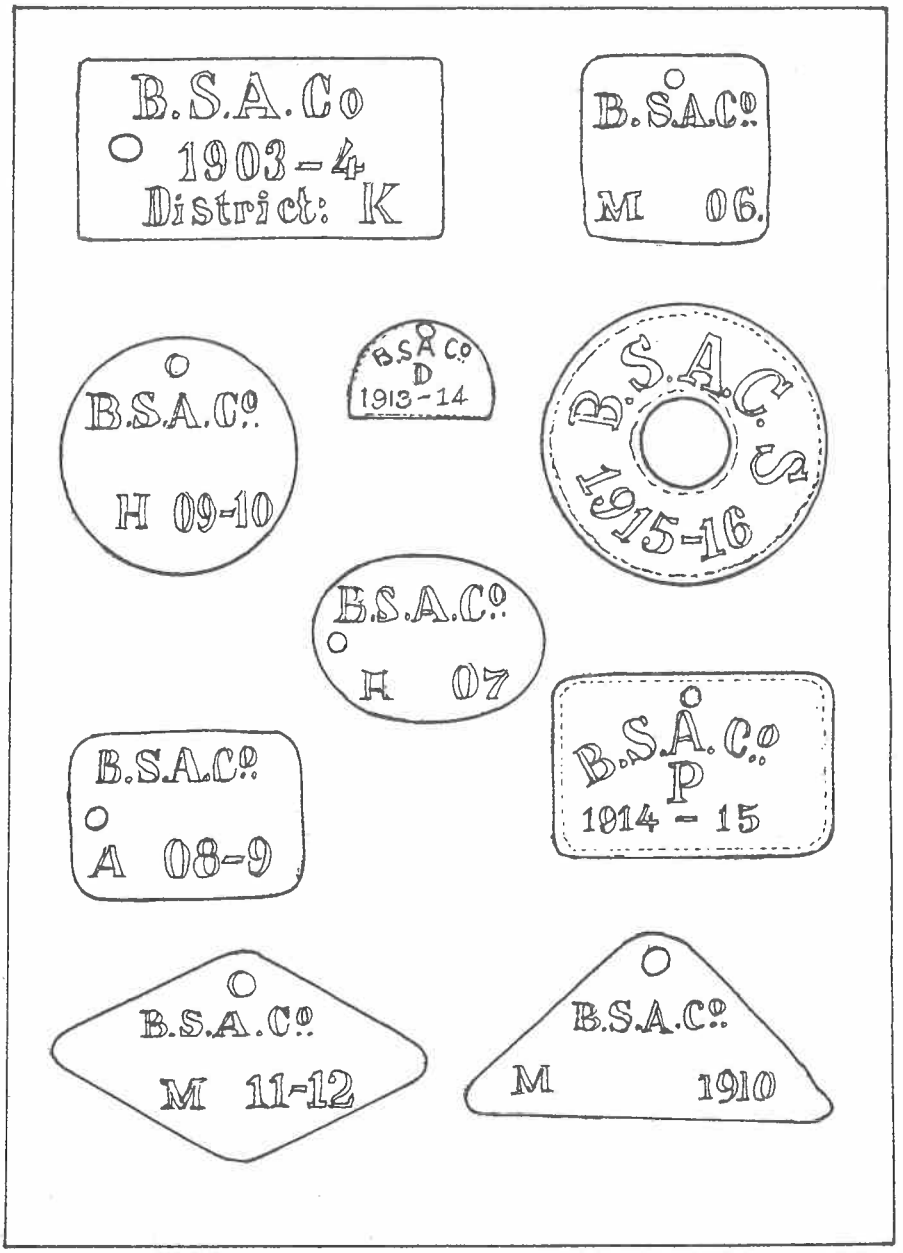


Figure 2. **A selection of brass Hut Tax tokens from throughout Zimbabwe showing the variation in shapes and styles. The letter on each token represents the district of issue while the numerals indicate the tax year. For reasons unknown, some tokens also have the district identification letter stamped on the reverse. The 1903–4 token (top left) was issued as an experiment prior to the relevant regulations being enacted. (Actual size)** *(Antiquities Collection, Mutare Museum)*

HUT TAX IN SOUTH AFRICA

Hut tax was also levied in all provinces of South Africa, being instituted at different dates with varying amounts of tax levied in each province. (Natal was the first province to introduce Hut Tax, in 1849.) However, though receipts and certificates were issued for payment of tax, it appears that tokens were not used for this purpose in South Africa[9] — despite extensive use of trade tokens in that country.

HUT TAX TOKENS FROM BECHUANALAND (BOTSWANA)

Large and ornate metal tokens which proclaim their use as "Hut Tax Receipts" are readily identifiable as relics of Hut Tax legislation in Botswana — unlike the equivalent items from Zimbabwe.

Legislation for Hut Tax Tokens in Bechuanaland

Records in the Botswana National Archives[10] indicate that Hut Tax legislation was certainly in force in the short-lived Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland prior to that territory being annexed to the Cape Colony in 1895 (after which time it obviously became subject to the Cape administration's system of taxation). From these records it would also appear that the corresponding Hut Tax legislation which was subsequently enacted in the Bechuanaland Protectorate in April 1899 (Proclamation No. 10 of 1899) was based closely on the original British Bechuanaland laws.

The Bechuanaland Protectorate legislation pertaining to Hut Tax was altogether more comprehensive yet at the same time more flexible than the equivalent regulations later drafted in the neighbouring Colony of Southern Rhodesia. Tax could be paid either in cash, or in grain or stock of an equivalent value, and exemptions from payment could be applied to the aged or infirm, or to any area affected by "general distress or famine". Chiefs appointed as collectors of tax were also entitled to retain 10% of the amount collected as an incentive to perform their duties.

As far as the issue of tokens was concerned, specific requirements were made for the current token to be affixed "in a conspicuous place on the right-hand side of the entrance of the hut paid for", in order to prove that tax had been paid. Forging, defacing or unlawful removal of the tokens was considered a serious offence and was punishable by a fine of up to fifty pounds (an inconceivable amount for the rural dweller at that time) or one year's imprisonment.[11]

It is interesting to note in official correspondence emanating from the Chief Inspector for Native Locations in 1899, that the reasons for issuing metal tokens in lieu of written receipts were considered by him to be invalid.[12] According to the Inspector, the requirement that these tokens should be displayed outside huts to facilitate annual checking of tax payment, though a good idea in theory, "was found to be impracticable as the Natives (simply) did not fix their tokens to the huts." Similarly the implication that "receipts were likely to be destroyed by white ants" was countered by the claim that every villager "knows how to secure his receipts from the ravages of these pests, so that there is really no reason why tokens should be used."

These views were obviously not shared by the Colonial Administration, however, for metal Hut Tax tokens continued to be issued for at least a decade.

Description of Bechuanaland Tokens

Hut tax tokens used in the Bechuanaland Protectorate are large, elaborate items made from embossed tin-plate. Shapes varied from year to year, with similar designs for Gaborone and Francistown respectively. Two holes were punched in each token to facilitate nailing to the appropriate hut as required by the Hut Tax legislation.

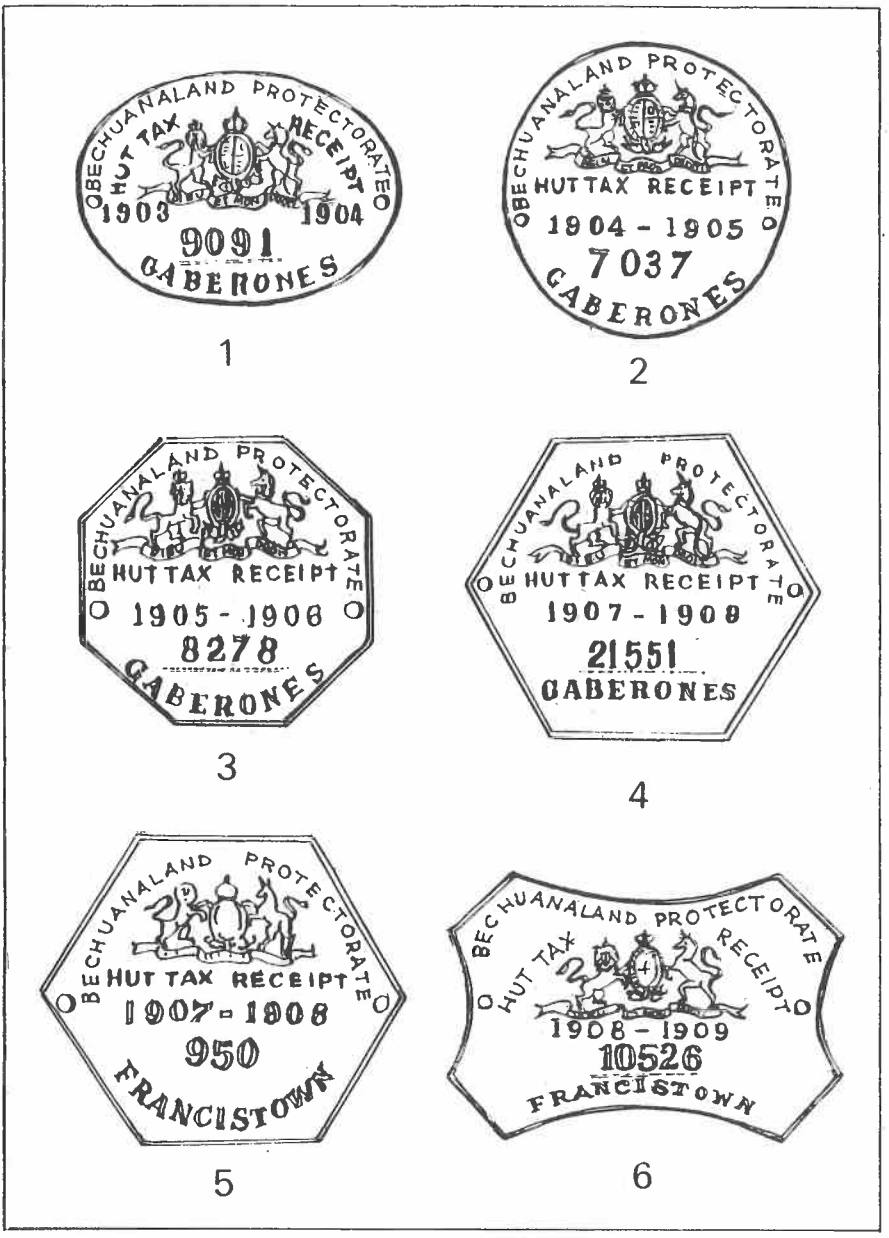


Figure 3. **Hut Tax tokens from the Bechuanaland Protectorate, made from embossed tin plate. Note that each token is marked with a unique serial number. Nos. 1–4 from the Gaberones district show how the shapes varied from year to year to facilitate recognition, while Nos. 4 and 5 suggest that the same shapes were common to Francistown and Gaberones each year. In fact these tokens are believed to have been found in the Tuli area of Zimbabwe. (Half actual size)** *(Antiquities Collection, Mutare Museum)*

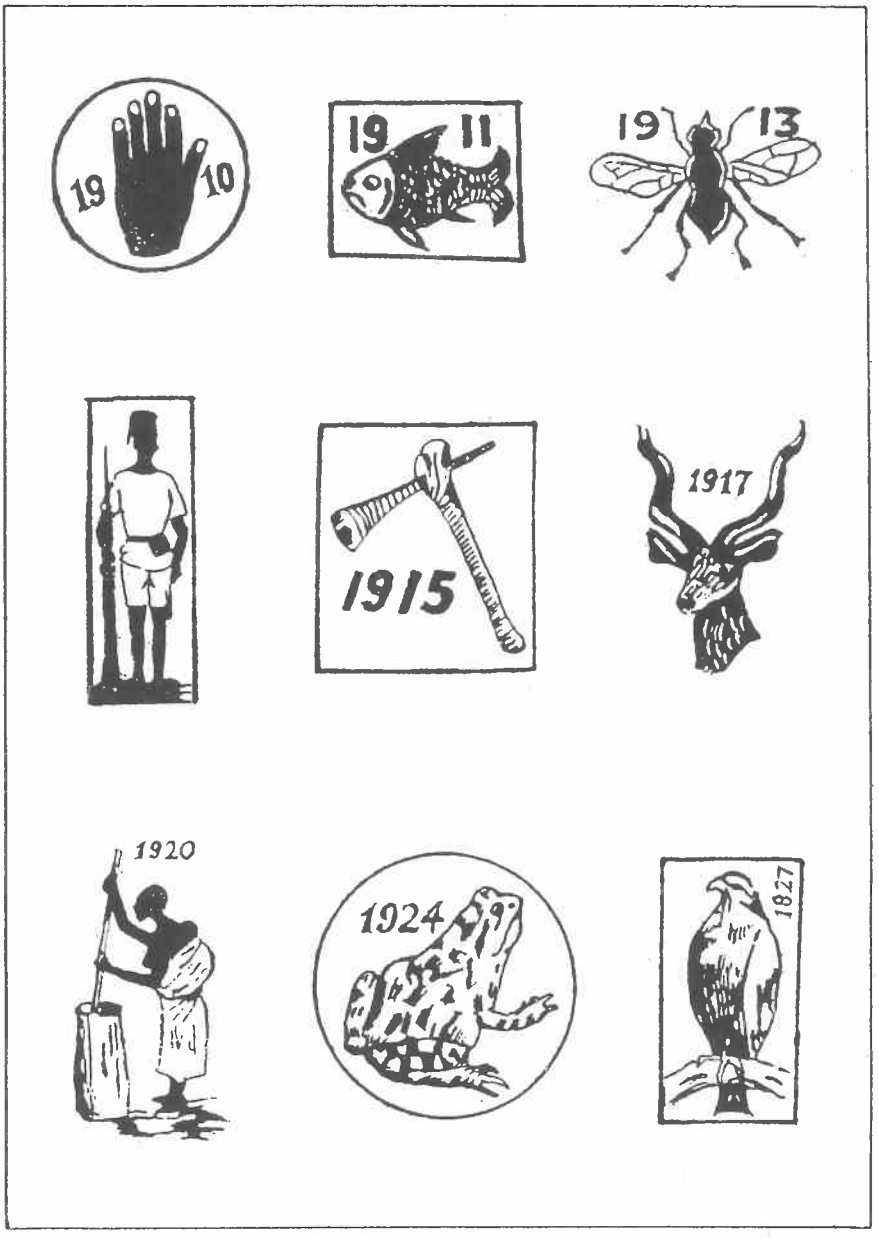


Figure 4. **Impressions made from a selection of Hut Tax stamps used in Northern Rhodesia from 1910–1927. Denoting the year of issue, these motifs were applied by rubber stamp to the tax receipts for the benefit of the illiterate.** *(With acknowledgement to the Northern Rhodesia Journal)*

The Imperial coat-of-arms was embossed on every token, together with the period of validity and district of issue, either Gaborone or Francistown. In addition, the tokens were uniquely numbered and this number was entered against the taxpayer's name in a register. Thus every token could be ascribed to a particular individual and the possibility of tokens being falsely presented to the collectors was eliminated.

No example of a Hut Tax token from British Bechuanaland has been seen but these are described as being marked with a Crown and VRI, numbered consecutively and made in two different shapes, round and diamond, the shapes alternating from one year to the next.[13] It is reasonable to assume that issue of these tokens ceased in 1895 after the area was incorporated into the Cape Colony.

HUT TAX IN NYASALAND (MALAWI) AND NORTHERN RHODESIA (ZAMBIA)

Surprisingly, perhaps, it would seem that Nyasaland was the first territory in the region, after South Africa, to impose Hut Tax on its indigenous peoples — evidently commencing in 1892.[14] However, except for the initial rate of tax (3/- per hut) and its year of implementation, no details of the early tax system in that country are to hand and it is not known whether Hut Tax tokens were used.

With respect to Northern Rhodesia, Hut Taxation was inaugurated in North-Eastern Rhodesia in 1901 (also at a rate of 3/- per annum) and, although tax tokens as such were never issued, an interesting system of tax stamps was employed instead.[15] Commencing from 1910, immediately prior to the amalgamation of North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia into a single territory, the tax receipt was stamped with a distinctive emblem or symbol representing the year of validity.

Changing from year to year, these emblems depicted mainly animals and human activities and were stamped by hand on the receipts for the benefit of the illiterate. Indeed, such was the impression made by these motifs, that it was not uncommon in later years for significant events to be dated in rural areas by reference to the appropriate symbol. In all a series of 18 emblems was used dating from 1910 to 1927, after which the tax system was changed.

HUT TAX — OFFICIAL AIMS AND ULTERIOR MOTIVES

Although this survey is concerned only with the material evidence of Hut Tax, specifically tokens, in Southern Africa, it may not be inappropriate to consider the social and political implications of Hut Tax legislation itself.

In more recent times there has certainly been controversy over the actual intentions of imposing Hut Tax on the indigenous populations of former British colonies in Southern Africa. It is clear that the requirement to pay Hut Tax obliged many men to seek work in order to meet their tax obligations but it would appear that, generally speaking, fulfilling the demand for labour was not the primary purpose of the legislation when originally promulgated. In fact, the main objective appears to have been simply an attempt to widen the tax net and thereby generate additional contributions to the fiscus of the respective colonial administrations.[16] Indeed, by way of example, in the first year (1901) of Hut Tax in North-Eastern Rhodesia, the tax payments contributed no less than 69% of the entire public revenue.[17] Also, though not necessarily written into the legislation, it is evident that the tax collected, or a percentage thereof, was usually earmarked for education, development, and local government in the areas occupied by the taxpayers — this supposition being corroborated by the fact that, in a number of territories, Hut Tax was replaced by a general or local tax to provide revenue specifically for these purposes.

However, though raising revenue may have been the over-riding reason for initial imposition of Hut Tax, it is evident that the resultant creation of a labour pool and corresponding migration

of job seekers to the towns, farms and mines was considered a desirable consequence of the legislation. This is certainly believed to have been the case whereby Hut Tax in Bechuanaland caused a flow of cheap labour to the South African mines, serving the economic interests of both countries simultaneously.[18] Similarly, in Southern Rhodesia the underlying objectives of Hut Tax legislation soon became apparent when, only a year after promulgation, the concession allowing tax to be paid in kind was effectively withdrawn by an official policy of declining grain or stock, so as "to encourage Natives to earn their Tax by labour." Thus, although any form of compulsion in securing labour was specifically disallowed in the Colony by the Imperial Government, a method of "indirect inducements" was practised instead to achieve much the same end.[19] By these means, therefore, Hut Tax had an effect little different from that of the Labour Tax which was promulgated in certain areas of British South Africa specifically to force the indigenous peoples to enter gainful employment. (In fact the actual intentions of the latter legislation were also partially obscured by the stipulation that the proceeds of the tax should be "set apart for the purposes of local self-government, with a view to the amelioration of the condition of the natives themselves.")[20]

Aside from labour considerations, it also seems very likely that the legislation was found to provide an effective means of establishing authority and control over the indigenous population. Indeed, this is confirmed by the attitudes in North-Eastern Rhodesia where it was reported that the local tribespeople in areas "where authority has been for some years well established, paid (Hut Tax) readily and without pressure, having recognised the inevitability of being called upon sooner or later to pay tribute . . ." to the Colonial Administration.[21]

References

1. Gann, L. H. 1965. *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934*. London: Chatto & Windus.
2. Chaplin, J. H. 1961. A note on African taxes and tax stamps. *Northern Rhodesia Journal* 4(5): 443–445.
3. Government Notice No. 174 of 1904. *The British South Africa Company Government Gazette*, 22 July 1904.
4. Government Notice No. 114 of 1917. *The British South Africa Company Government Gazette*, 30 March 1917.
5. Government Notice No. 524 of 1930. *Colony of Southern Rhodesia Government Gazette*, 29 August 1930.
6. Government Notice No. 203 of 1931. *Colony of Southern Rhodesia Government Gazette*, 30 March 1931.
7. Emmerson, P. 1972. Token Answer (letter to the Editor). *The Outpost* 50(1): 2.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Evenden, D. (Johannesburg Public Library). 1991. Personal communication.
10. Botswana National Archives and Record Services. Archive Ref. No. HC 128/2.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. Chaplin, J. H. 1961. *op. cit.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. Massey, D. 1978. A Case of Colonial Collaboration: The Hut Tax and Migrant Labour. *Botswana Notes & Records* 10: 95–98.
17. Chaplin, J. H. 1961. *op. cit.*
18. Massey, D. 1978. *op. cit.*
19. Gann, L. H. 1965. *op. cit.*
20. *British South Africa (Taxation of Natives) Return showing the rates of taxation now paid by natives in the several parts of British South Africa*. London: HMSO, 1903.
21. Chaplin, J. H. 1961. *op. cit.*

FOR SALE: complete set of the Journal Rhodesiana Nos. 1 to 40, inclusive, in six beautifully bound volumes. Highest cash offer over $1200 will secure this valuable set of which the first 18 numbers have been out of print for many years. Telephone your offer to Mrs Carlaw on Harare 727264.

For reasonably priced valuations of Zimbabweana, Rhodesiana and Africana individual books and collections please contact the Editor, Heritage of Zimbabwe, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

Books on all aspects of the history of Zimbabwe and neighbouring territories would be welcomed for review in future issues of Heritage of Zimbabwe. A review copy of any such book should be sent to the Editor, Heritage of Zimbabwe, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

If you intend to make a new will or to amend an existing will please think about the History Society of Zimbabwe.

Individual biographies and family, company, Local Authority, Town and Club histories researched and written up for publication. Fees based on time actually spent, plus any necessary travelling costs. Inquiries to The Editor, Heritage of Zimbabwe, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

The Conservation Movement in Zimbabwe — a Proud Heritage

by R. K. Harvey

The 1st October 1991 marked the 50th Anniversary of the Natural Resources Act.

Regretfully, the date seems to have passed without any public recognition of the significance of this unique piece of legislation, nor of the many thousands of dedicated people who have devoted so much time and energy to serving the cause of Conservation in this country of ours.

This particularly applies to the men and women who have served in the voluntary committees that make up the Conservation Movement, for the Act was designed to be "people orientated".

Instead of wielding the big stick, it chose to mobilise public opinion and to work through democratically elected grassroots committees in all the farming areas.

The response to this policy was immediate and very successful and so it is appropriate that, 50 years later, we glance back in time and recall some of the names and events of the past and try to piece together the fascinating and exciting story of the most remarkable conservation crusade on this continent.

My story will be rather sketchy and full of gaps but it would have been more so had I not been able to rely on the memories of some of the old timers and to have access to an excellent bibliography compiled by Dr K. W. Nyamapfene of the University of Zimbabwe. It will also only deal with the commercial farming areas, because that is where it all started.

There is still some difference of opinion as to where and when the first ICA was formed but certainly one can narrow the date down to 1943/4, and place Umguza, Marodzi-Tatagura and Tsungwesi on the short list with the last named producing documentary evidence for a December 1943 birthday.

We do know that 1947 was a vintage year with ICA's being gazetted as fast as the Government printer could print, but our story goes back well before that date to 1913 when the first resource legislation was promulgated. This took the form of the Water Ordinance and the Herbage Preservation Ordinance and indicated concern about uncontrolled veld fires, streambank protection and the indiscriminate cutting of firewood.

One of the principal agitators for such regulations was a farmer from the Eastern Districts, one Lionel Cripps, later to be knighted and to become the first Speaker of the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly.

In the 1920s there must have been growing evidence of soil erosion for it was commented upon in various journals and reports by officials in the Irrigation Division of the Ministry of Agriculture, such as P. C. Jennings, H. R. Roberts and P. H. Haviland. In 1927 the Water Act was passed which, inter alia, proscribed cultivation in water courses.

One presumes that most of the erosion and particularly the formation of "dongas" was taking place in mismanaged grazing areas but increasing damage to the cultivated soils of Mashonaland was also noted and, as early as 1924, Roberts was advocating the building of contour ridges.

Where the first contours were constructed is also hotly debated but my old friend Maurice Stevenson claimed that he was involved in experimental ridge building on Gwebi farm at about that time.

Under pressure from the farming community towards the end of that decade, bureaucratic lethargy was stirred to the extent that a separate soil conservation division was established in

the Irrigation Department and in 1934, the Minister of Agriculture appointed two conservation councils, one for Matabeleland and one for Mashonaland. In the same year, a soil conservation experiment station was established at Glenara Farm.

The following year, the Rhodesia Agricultural Union published and circulated a report on conservation and requested the setting up of district committees. This was agreed to by the Department of Agriculture and in 1936, a circular to farmers' associations from the Chief Irrigation Engineer commended the "particularly good work" carried out by Concession and Glendale, but remarked that the others had been "relatively inactive". The moving spirits in the two farmers' associations mentioned were Willie Laurie and Walter Sole, both still remembered with affection in the Mazoe Valley.

The same circular advised that funds were available for loans to meet the costs of ridge construction and green manuring and advised how the committees were to conduct propaganda and arrange demonstrations. The loans were available on "very easy terms" repayable in ten instalments at 4,5% interest!

About this time, two names appeared which were to weave through the tapestry for several future chapters — K. J. McKenzie and Douglas Aylen were appointed "local technical assistants" in 1937. 'Mac' did most of the pegging while Doug showed an aptitude for writing pamphlets on conservation matters. At the end of that year McKenzie, now promoted to "conservation officer", was asked to calculate how long it would take him to clear up the backlog of pegging applications.

He estimated "about 100 years" but was fairly confident that were he to be given an assistant, the task would be completed by 1987! Roy Lucas was duly appointed and for the next ten years became a well known figure to the farmers of Matabeleland, Midlands and Victoria and to the fishes of all rivers, south of the watershed.

Not all the leading conservationists were in the Mazowe Valley. There was Speed at Umguza, Kemple at Chakari, Quinton at Mvurwi, Williams at Inyati, Gibbs and Greaves at Nyamandhlovu, Barry at Penhalonga, Sinclair at Chimanimani, Mackintosh at Gutu, Hallam at Mvuma, Edwards at Somabhula, Richards, Rennie and de la Rue at Fort Victoria and many other dedicated and public spirited men all looking for someone to lead them in their crusade.

He came in the form of an amiable judge of the Water Court. Justice Robert McIlwaine's circuit covered the whole country and what he saw happening disturbed him deeply. Together with Engineer C. L. Robertson, who often accompanied him as an assessor, he persuaded the Government to set up a Commission of Enquiry to investigate and report on soil erosion in Southern Rhodesia. In tribute to their memories, Harare's two principal water storage reservoirs were named after them and one can only express concern that these names have been changed. The judge was appointed Chairman and was assisted by S. Milligan, A. C. Jennings, G. A. Davenport and Dr R. E. Romyn. The outcome of their deliberations was the Natural Resources Act, (Chapter 150) of October 1st, 1941, which has been claimed as one of the finest examples of resource legislation in the world.

Among other things, the Act made provision for the landowners of any farming area and on an entirely voluntary basis, to identify, delineate and petition for the establishment of an Intensive Conservation Area. Therein lay the strength of the Act but its implementation had to be delayed for over five years, so as to not interfere with World War II.

The first Natural Resources Board was, however, appointed in 1941 with the judge as its Chairman. Humphrey Gibbs, Walter Sole, W. E. Benzies and C. L. Robertson were the first NRB members, and N. A. Gibbon its first secretary.

The Board's activities were severely restricted by the circumstances of the times and, sadly, the judge, now Sir Robert, did not live to see the full development of his dreams. He was succeeded in 1944 by Mr A. W. Redfern.

A major environmental problem that arose during those war years was the increased cultivation of vleis for vitally needed wheat supplies. NRB exemptions had to be granted and certain management practices and conservation layouts were prescribed based on work done by the Chief Agronomist, Keith Sanson, at Hillside Experimental Station. The Glenara station had been closed following the discovery of a gold reef there!

In 1946 the national wheat crop exceeded 46 000 bags, a figure that was not approached again for some 30 years, but then declined rapidly as wet land cultivation was officially discouraged.

Just prior to the war, Charles Acheson was appointed Chief Conservation and Extension Officer and K. J. McKenzie Senior Extension Officer.

The Natural Resources Board was revitalised with Humphrey Gibbs as Chairman and C. L. Robertson as his deputy. L. H. Stewart was appointed as the Board's secretary and Gillian Hopper its first Public Relations Officer.

The years 1943 to 1949 saw the gazetting of nearly 90 ICAs through the energetic efforts of Les Stewart and the rapidly expanding Conex branch which was reconstituted as a full department in 1951 with C. A. Murray as its Director.

If one individual is to be singled out as the main driving force behind the remarkable achievements by the commercial farming sector over the next twenty years, that man was Charles Murray.

Using his highly motivated staff to maximum effect, he inspired such enthusiasm on the part of the ICA committees that by the late 1950s 100% mechanical conservation of cultivated land had been achieved in the commercial farming areas. In addition, nearly 600 small dams had been built and many critical catchment areas planned and protected.

The drive for mechanical conservation measures was encouraged financially by Government by offering subsidies on both dam building and contour bank construction. In addition, the committees were given loans to buy earth moving equipment which was hired out to landowners.

Control of these funds plus their authority to place NRB "orders" on deviant farmers gave the committees considerable status and influence under the guidance and encouragement of the next two outstanding NRB Chairmen.

C. L. Robertson, the retired Director of Irrigation who had assisted Sir Robert in the drafting of the Act, served from 1949 to 1952, during which time the engineering aspects of conservation were given priority.

He was succeeded by Mr P. Gordon Deede, a Manicaland farmer who led the conservation crusade with complete dedication for the next thirteen years, a period of outstanding achievement in the commercial farming sector.

The economic climate too was generally favourable during the Federal era and the conservation movement became increasingly involved in promoting land use planning and improved farm management.

The outstanding work being undertaken at the various research stations and institutions contributed materially to the development of ecologically sound farming systems. The well publicised research achievements in both crop and livestock production was complemented by the equally important efforts of two outstanding conservation engineers. N. W. Hudson worked at Henderson Research Station for the years from 1953 and undertook a comprehensive programme of original research into the causes and nature of erosion on various soil types. He also studied water relationship and runoff patterns under various cropping systems, grass ley rotations and tillage practices

His methods were developed and refined by H. A. Elwell at Hatcliffe Institute of Agricultural Engineering which eventually led to his concept of the Soil Loss Estimation Model for Southern Africa (SLEMSA) and to his further work on rainfall simulation techniques. An

engineer has a natural predilection for measurements and data; Elwell, nevertheless, always recognised and advocated the balanced approach between mechanical methods of conservation and high fertility, well managed systems of crop production, especially on the light sandveld soils. He warned particularly against the abandonment of the tobacco ley rotations and the swing to continuous cropping during the sanction years.

Since the early seventies, the staff at Hatcliffe have been undertaking exhaustive trials on tillage techniques and the design of equipment appropriate to local conditions. Reduced disturbance of soil cover has long been recognised as a prerequisite for erosion control and the concepts of conservation tillage have, in recent years, become more generally accepted and practised.

In common with every other African country, however, our major environmental problems continue to be those resulting from mismanagement of the non-arable grazing lands which make up 80% of Zimbabwe's surface area. Historically, vast herds of multispecies wild herbivores, due to their different grazing and browsing habits and seasonal migrations, formed an integral component of the natural processes that had brought about centuries of ecological stability to the savannah regions of the continent.

As the wild animals were displaced in ever increasing numbers by domestic livestock, this stability was replaced by a relentless process of degradation and desertification. In spite of much knowledge gained by research, practical experience and the many different systems of rangeland management advocated, this insidious process of degradation continues to present the greatest conservation challenge facing Africa.

The first ten years of Independence have seen dramatic socio-economic changes taking place in Zimbabwe, but the need for a productive, stable and viable agricultural sector remains the prerequisite for all future development and prosperity.

Long term agricultural stability can only be assured by appropriate land use planning and wise resource management — we call it conservation farming.

We must ensure that the ethics, principles and institutions which have contributed to our long and proud history of environmental responsibility are retained, built upon and incorporated in the new era of Rural Development which we are now entering.

A Singular Piece of Vanity — Livingstone's Tree at the Victoria Falls

by G. D. Piearce

Ancient trees have stood silent witness to many historical events, yet are seldom able to reveal their knowledge of them. Dead trees may seem the least communicative. But to illustrate the possibilities of applying what may be regarded as a branch of forensic science, let us consider the facts and fiction in the case of the Livingstone tree at the Victoria Falls.

The essential background is well known. The renowned missionary and explorer Dr David Livingstone carved his initials on a tree beside the small garden he prepared on Namakabwa Island (formerly Kazeruka, Kempongo, Garden or Livingstone Island) to commemorate his first sighting of the Victoria Falls in November 1855. "I cut my initials on a tree, and the date 1855. This was the only instance in which I indulged in this piece of vanity."[1]

It is less well remembered that several embellishments were made to the carving. On Livingstone's second visit in 1860 his brother Charles added his initials and the year.[2] The first Englishman there was the hunter William Charles Baldwin. He awaited the arrival of Livingstone's party on 9 August 1860, when Baldwin wrote, "I had the honour, yesterday, of cutting my initials on a tree on the island above the Falls, just below Dr. Livingstone's, as being the second European who had reached the Falls, and the first from the East coast."[3]

The illustrious pair of James Chapman and Thomas Baines were at the Falls in July 1862. In his journal entry for 13 August Chapman recalled that they saw "carved in a tree, the initials D. L. 1855, and again C. L. 1860", but makes no mention of Baldwin's.[4]

Next came Sir Richard Glyn, his brother and four others, on a hunting excursion in July 1863. They found Livingstone's initials and Baldwin's (but not C. L.'s) already "nearly grown out, so recut them, and inscribed '*Glyn 1863*' by their side." Livingstone variously emphasised that this was the single occasion when he had defaced a tree, and in his letter of thanks to Sir Richard for deepening the inscriptions he refers to his initials as "the only ones I ever cut of my name in Africa."[5]

Thus we know from the authors of the inscriptions that, within eight years, four names and at least three dates had been cut into the tree, and were liable to fade very rapidly. There could be little prospect for long-term survival of the carvings, and indeed of the tree itself so extensively damaged, in a permanently moist tropical environment.

Subsequent reports are contradictory. Seventeen years after Glyn's handiwork, either "the tree had gone by 1880, or more probably the bark had overgrown the initials"[6] or they "were still faintly visible in 1880"[7]. Another seventeen years passed, and the inscriptions could not be found by Major Robert Coryndon in 1897, but some time later, probably in 1902, a Mr Sykes was guided to the place and found "the letters, though not very plain, were unmistakable. The bark is rough, and the date is now undecipherable."[8] But in 1912 "they can be faintly seen today".[9] By 1924 they were "exceedingly faint", as shown, or rather not shown, by a typically indistinct published photograph of that period.[10] Most unbelievably, in 1925 the tree "still stands, hale and hearty; and the last faint signs of the lettering are said to be decipherable fifteen feet up the tree".[11] Sir Reginald Coupland in August 1928 "saw what is known as Livingstone's Tree; but if it is the tree, the growing bark has destroyed all trace of the initials."[12] In 1929 they were "very faint"[13], or had "vanished, like all things earthly, with the passing of time".[14]

The myth still persisted. In 1958 Quentin Keynes made a concerted effort to trace any lasting inscriptions attributable to Livingstone, but found none at the Victoria Falls, although a

tourist pamphlet announced that "Livingstone's initials can still be seen ... and even adds that these non-existent marks are 14 inches high!"[15]

Tourists were obviously expected to believe that tree inscriptions become stretched and elevated by a century of time, rather than obscured, and were unlikely to enquire why only the letters *D L* remained to be pointed out when all the other contemporary initials and dates had gone.

A 1960 guide book[16] referred to "a towering tree round which has been placed a circle of stones", but cautioned that there was no proof for the local story that it was the tree on which the famous explorer cut his initials. It seems likely, however, that the original tree was also a *muchenje* or African ebony (*Diospyros mespiliformis*), a familiar species of the basaltic islands and fringing forests of the Victoria Falls.

Dennys Fanshawe introduced a common-sense approach some twenty years ago. "It is extremely doubtful whether it is the same tree pointed out nowadays, although this tree has been inscribed at one time - it would be 120 years old plus 40-60 years, which is almost impossible."[17] Following Fanshawe's view, in 1975 it was stated in the definitive handbook to the Falls, that "the tree bearing indecipherable marks commonly thought to be the initials carved by the missionary cannot be the original."[18] Yet in 1978 it was suggested that the initials "can still be discerned by the imaginative visitor."[19]

One important piece of evidence from scientific observation has generally been overlooked, because it is contained in a rather esoteric journal-paper on African fungi.

An amateur mycologist from Yorkshire, William Norwood Cheesman[20] collected fungi at the Victoria Falls in 1905, when the railway bridge was opened there. The few species he gathered on Namakabwa Island, for which he has been credited with making the first ever mycological collections in this part of the world,[21] included *Fomes* (now *Phellinus*) *senex*, of which "fine specimens occurred on several fallen logs and also on the dead trunk of the tree bearing the initials of David Livingstone."[22]

This tells us not only *that* the tree died, but also *why* it died. The fungus concerned appears as a brown bracket or "conk" on woody stems in the later stages of the internal decay that it causes. It originally gains ingress through sites of mechanical injury, thus it is described as an opportunistic, wound parasite. So there is the intriguing probability (assuming Cheesman's tree was true to its label) that *Phellinus* heart-rot infection was actually initiated if not by Livingstone's carving then his brother's, or Baldwin's, or Glyn's, and the latter's recutting work, and the demise of the tree was thereby unduly hastened.[23]

It was unfortunate, and I guess a local embarrassment, that the tree was dead by 1905, because with the new rail connection Livingstone district began to attract large numbers of tourists. Livingstone town was to take over from Kalomo as the capital of Northwestern Rhodesia in 1907, and the whole territory's capital from 1911 to 1935. A curio and photographic business was started in the early days by Percy Missen Clark, and postcards of the "Livingstone Name Tree" were available in 1905.[24] But his photograph presented to the Royal Geographical Society in 1911 is of a standing specimen, which, though it looks dead, has shed no bark (the black appearance of which is indeed typical of African ebony). A later photograph purporting to show this tree was taken in 1929 by R K Lloyd,[13] and is even more indistinct and dubious.

Could it be revealing that there is no comment on the notable tree in Clark's autobiography? He does, rather apologetically, mention making an inscription of his own, in a way reminiscent of Livingstone's writing. "I recorded my arrival at the Falls the following morning by carving my name on the baobab tree, and the date — May 8, 1903", and he describes this feat as "not very like myself, but perhaps excusable in the circumstances".[25]

Whether or not Clark was instrumental in the matter, or his reticence over the Livingstone tree merely resulted from his own doubts of its authenticity, it appears from the later records

that a plausible replacement tree was artfully forged with Livingstone's initials in the early years of this century. Such artifice has surely been repeated more than once, and we cannot be certain that Cheesman saw the truly original trunk. It is a pity that no clear photographs are readily available of the genuine article, and no effort was made to save the original inscription. Far better attention was given to the heavily inscribed Livingstone tree at Old Chitambo, where he died and his heart was buried in 1873. The full details of its remarkable history have yet to be written.

As a postscript here, it may be noted that some doubt has been cast on Livingstone's consistent assertion that he only once carved his name on a tree. Apparently, an "L" and an "O" (the latter denoting his companion William Cotton Oswell) were seen by the missionary John Mackenzie on a baobab at Ntwetwe Pan, northern Botswana, not long after the explorer's visit there in early 1853.[26] And his distinctive monogram (oddly not just the separated initials as at the Falls) was said to be still inscribed around thirty years ago on the inner bark of a baobab beside the Zambezi at Shiramba, Mozambique, where Livingstone had halted in September 1858.[27]

In all such cases, one wonders whether other hands had been at work either at the time or afterwards to promote aspects of the Livingstone legend. For instance, the then *New York Herald* reporter, Henry Morton Stanley, is known to have carved Livingstone's initials on a tree near Tabora in Tanzania.[28] There is no reason to suppose, though it is still being claimed,[29] that Livingstone cut his name on the famous Kazungula sausage tree (*Kigelia africana*), the remains of which still survive, where he is said to have rested on his way to the Falls in 1855, on the south bank of the Zambezi at the border point between Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In fact, Livingstone may never even have encamped at that spot.[30]

Bibliography

Baldwin, W. C. (1863). *African Hunting and Adventure*. London: Richard Bentley. x, 451 pp.

Coupland, R. (1928). *Kirk on the Zambesi*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. viii, 286 pp.

Campbell, R. J. (1929). *Livingstone*. London: Ernest Benn Ltd. 370 pp.

Debenham, F. (1955). *The Way to Ilala*. New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co. 336 pp.

Livingstone, D. (1857). *Missionary Travels and Researches*. London: John Murray. x, 687 pp.

Livingstone, D. & Livingstone, C. (1865). *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries*. London: John Murray. xv, 608 pp.

Lloyd, B. W. (Ed.) (1973). *Livingstone 1873–1973*. Cape Town: C. Struik Ltd. (xii), 99 pp.

Martelli, G. (1970). *Livingstone's River*. London: Chatto & Windus. 272 pp.

Mathews, B. (1912). *Livingstone the Pathfinder*. Oxford University Press. viii, 208 pp.

Ransford, O. N. (1978). *David Livingstone: The Dark Interior*. London: John Murray. 332 pp.

Schapera, I. (Ed.) (1960). *Livingstone's Private Journals 1851–1853*. London: Chatto & Windus. xxv, 341 pp.

Seaver, G. (1957). *David Livingstone: His Life and Letters*. London: Lutterworth Press. 650 pp.

Wallis, J. P. R. (1941). *Thomas Baines of King's Lynn*. London: Jonathan Cape Ltd. 351 pp.

Walton, H. (1925). *Livingstone – Fifty Years After*. London: Hutchinson & Co. 188 pp.

References

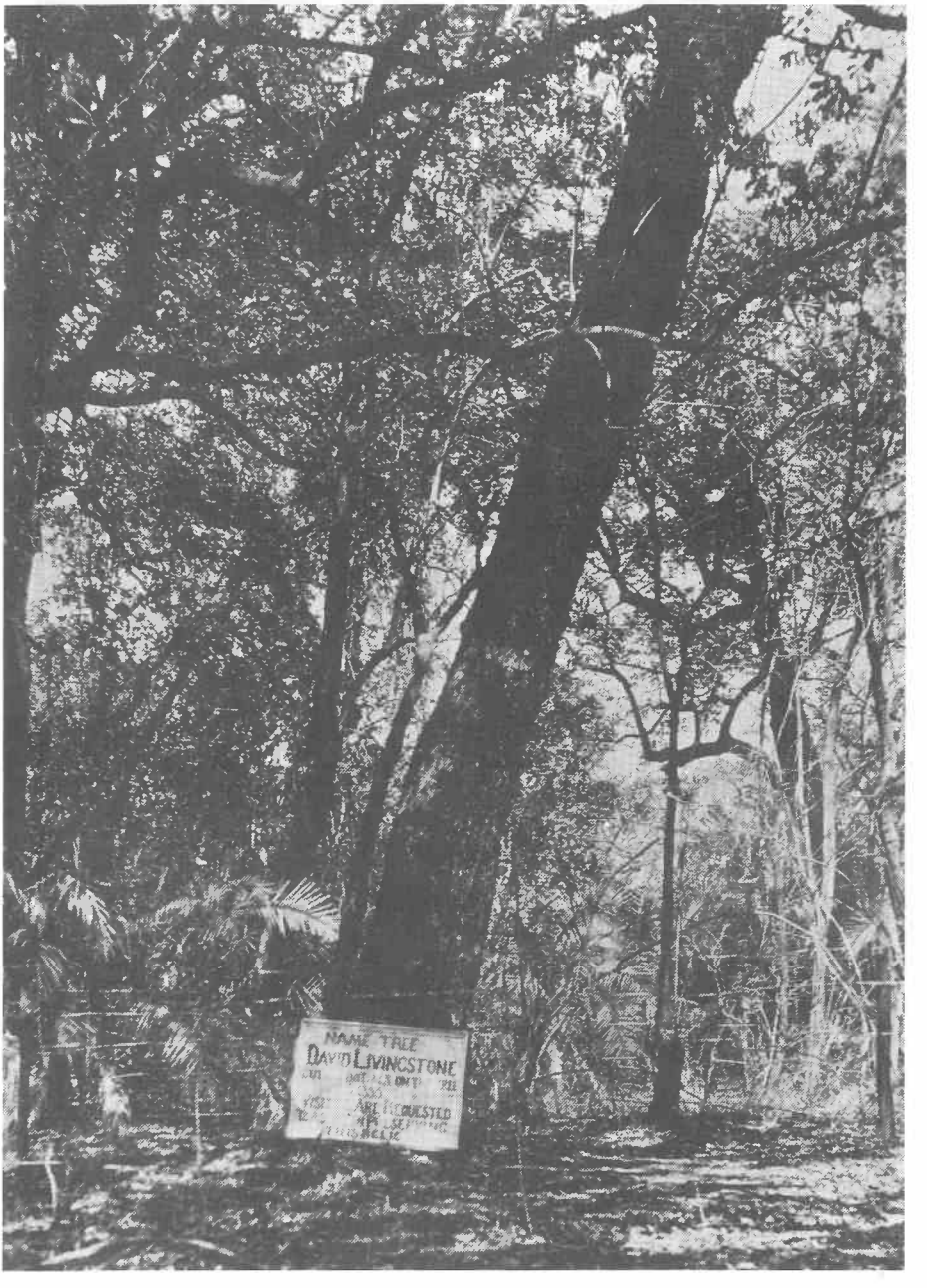
1 Livingstone, 1857: 525.

2 Coupland, 1928: 174–175n; Debenham, 1955: 177; Martelli, 1970: 145.
Baxter, T. W. (1952). The discovery and historical associations. #1 *in* J. D. Clark (Ed.) *A Handbook to the Victoria Falls*. Glasgow University Press. 160 pp. pp. 21–47.

3 Baldwin, 1863: 399.

4 *Cape Argus*, 26 February 1863; Coupland, 1928, *op. cit.*; Wallis, 1941: 211; Baxter, 1952, *op. cit.*

5 Livingstone & Livingstone, 1865: 259n; Baxter, 1952, *op. cit.*
Letter from Livingstone to Glyn, from Newstead Abbey, England, dated 25 October 1864. (Copy kindly supplied by Mr Quentin Keynes, London.)
6 Debenham, 1955, *op. cit.*
7 Seaver, 1957: 252.
8 Anon. (1903). The Livingstone Memorial: Initials at Garden Island. *Geographical Journal* **21**: 454–455.
9 Mathews, 1912: 123.
10 Beira And Mashonaland And Rhodesia Railways (1924). *Guide to Rhodesia*. 2nd, revised edition. Bulawayo: Davis & Co. xvi, 432 pp. pp. 97–98.
11 Walton, 1925: 51.
12 Coupland, 1928, *op. cit.*
13 Brelsford, W. V. (Ed.) (1965). Note and photograph of the supposed "Tree on Garden Island on which David Livingstone carved his initials". *The Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) Journal* **6**: 338–339.
14 Campbell, 1929: 219.
15 Keynes, Q. (1959). Dr. Livingstone's monogram I presume. *Personality* magazine, 8 October 1959. Reprinted *in* Lloyd, 1973: 53–64.
16 Woods, J. (1960). *A Guide Book to the Victoria Falls*. Bulawayo: Stuart Manning. xii, 78 pp. pp.16–17.
17 Fanshawe, D. B. (*c* 1970). Notable trees of Zambia. Unpublished typescript, Division of Forest Research, Kitwe. 3 pp.
18 Phillipson, D. W. (1975). The Victoria Falls and the European penetration of Central Africa. #6 *in* D.W. Phillipson (Ed.) *Mosi-oa-Tunya. A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region*. London: Longman. ix, 222 pp. pp. 73–87. p. 80.
19 Ransford, 1978: 106.
20 Ramsbottom, J. (1926). William Norwood Cheesman, 1847–1925. *Transactions of the British Mycological Society* **11**: 1–4.
21 Angus, A. (1962). Notes, historical and topical on plant pathology in Northern Rhodesia. Mimeograph, Mount Makulu Agricultural Research Station, Chilanga. 5 pp.
22 Cheesman, W. N. (1909). A contribution to the mycology of South Africa, with a note on the coprophilous fungi by Thomas Gibbs. *Journal of the Linnean Society, London* **38**: 408–417.
23 Piearce, G. D. (1985). Livingstone and fungi in tropical Africa. *Bulletin of the British Mycological Society* **19**(1): 39-50.
24 Ms R. Marunda, National Archives of Zimbabwe, personal communication, 1985.
25 Clark, P. M. (1936). *The Autobiography of an Old Drifter*. London: George G. Harrap. Rhodesiana Reprint Library, Vol. 26. Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia. Facsimile reprint 1972. 271 pp. p. 122.
26 Schapera, 1960: 101; Ransford, 1978: 106.
27 Keynes, 1959, *op. cit.*
28 Ransford, 1978: 287.
29 *The Sunday Mail*, 29 April 1990.
30 Guy, G. L. (1969). David Livingstone tourist to Rhodesia. *Rhodesiana* **20**: 11–13.



The last, possibly authentic, photograph of the reputed "Livingstone Name Tree" at the Victoria Falls. From a postcard date-stamped 1905 *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

Cran Cooke and the Monuments Commission

by P. S. Garlake

Cranmer Kenrick Cooke died in South Africa on 3 June 1992, aged 86. In 1952 he was appointed Secretary of the Historical Monuments Commission of Southern Rhodesia and in 1961 its Director. When the Commission was amalgamated with the National Museums in 1972, he became successively Curator of Monuments in Bulawayo, Curator of Antiquities in Mutare, Regional Director of Museums at Great Zimbabwe and Bulawayo and Honorary Curator of Antiquities in Bulawayo before his final retirement and departure from Zimbabwe in 1987. It is not for me to write an obituary. I prefer to remember some of the things we shared in the Commission.

Cran's enthusiasm for archaeology began as a schoolboy in Kent, helping on digs with his local archaeological society. The start of the Great Depression in 1929 brought him, like many others, to Rhodesia to become a young trooper in the British South Africa Police. He patrolled the Shamva, Marondera and Wedza Districts on horseback and began to indulge his fast-growing interest in searching out rock paintings. From the Police, he joined the Bulawayo Municipality and it was as Resident Engineer in charge of the Khami dam and waterworks that he undertook his first important excavation, of a sequence of Later Stone Age deposits in the vicinity of the dam. Only on retiring at 55 from the Municipality in 1961 could he devote himself to archaeology full-time.

The Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, to give it its full name, was established in 1936. It was funded by Government and administered by a small group of Commissioners appointed every five years by Government, generally on the advice of the Commission: people with a strong interest and devotion to many different aspects of the past of the country. In 1946 Keith Robinson, a former farmer returned from war service, was appointed as its first salaried member of staff as Inspector of Monuments. I succeeded him. Anthony Whitty, Nick Walker and Thomas Huffman also served as inspectors for briefer periods before and after my time with the Commission. John Thokazane and Josiah Moyo, both chosen, trained and advanced by Cran and still in Museum service, were Junior Inspectors. The staff of the Commission was always tiny and Cran its first and only Director. He played a very large part in moulding its character, formulating its policy and selecting Commissioners. He strongly endorsed the Commission's views that the duties and responsibilities of inspectors should be interpreted widely and generously to include archaeological research as one of their primary roles. He took over the records of all prehistoric sites in the country, the Archaeological Survey, from the Museums and made their enlargement, refinement and upkeep his particular concern, sending a questionnaire to every commercial farmer and rural authority in the country, seeking information on prehistoric remains.

I joined the Commission in 1964 and opened an office in Harare, while the headquarters and Cran remained in Bulawayo. I was inexperienced, insecure and probably irritatingly intolerant and impetuous. He persuaded me that Stone Age research and particularly rock paintings were 'his' and that I should concentrate on the Iron Age; a division that shows how wide the scope and how small archaeological resources then were. (The only other archaeologist in the country, Roger Summers, Keeper of Antiquities at the National Museum in Bulawayo, undertook little fieldwork.) Thereafter I had complete freedom in my research.

Many senior figures in archaeology, as in other fields, can be less than generous to their junior colleagues. Cran would have none of this. In all our work together, his guidance was slight and persuasion gentle and I never remember him giving me a direct order. He ensured that I participated in all formal Commission meetings and consulted me on almost every aspect of the Commission. All my research received his encouragement and support, from its initiation through to the presentation of results, sometimes at conferences outside the country, and publication. He also arranged financial support for all this from the Commission's research funds, often at the expense of his own projects: these funds were not a Government grant but laboriously accumulated from the sales of such things as guide books and jealously guarded by Cran.

After research and conservation, Cran believed the most important role of the Commission was to create an awareness of the importance of the past in the consciousness of the public. The public, rural and urban, black and white, was and should be seen as an arm of the Commission, its collaborator. After all, we were ultimately entirely dependent on it for our existence and without information from it we would be almost helpless in learning of new sites or preserving and protecting the known ones. He was insistent that our work be publicised by every possible means: through academic publications, guide books and pamphlets, maps, articles in the press, broadcasting, temporary exhibitions of finds from excavations in the museums, lectures to schools and anywhere else we were invited, and site museums. Under Cran, such museums were built and displays created at Great Zimbabwe, Nyanga, Khami and the Matopos. Farmers who showed an interest in the antiquities on their properties were incorporated into the Commission as Honorary Wardens. His policy on issuing permits for archaeological research, another of the Commission's responsibilities, was generous: amateur archaeologists who were known to be responsible and had some training, usually from short Schools of Archaeology, were permitted to undertake their own excavations under close Commission supervision and if these were adequately completed and published — a point on which Cran was insistent — they often moved on to larger projects. In a country with few resources or technical facilities for research in such 'marginal' areas as archaeology, the contribution of the dedicated amateur was vital. The Commission's incorporation and encouragement of the amateur could be contrasted with the much more restrictive policies in other countries then or this country today. In South Africa it was particularly envied at that time, for it was enlightened, encouraging and positive and, by enlisting cooperation, easier to enforce — and it produced results that could never have been achieved if the Commission had relied solely on its own resources.

I was first introduced to archaeology and to Cran in 1959, at one of the annual Livingstone Schools of Archaeology, started by one of Africa's most eminent archaeologists, Desmond Clark. When I started similar schools in this country with Ranche House College, Cran made a point of coming to spend at least a day or two lecturing at them also. His last major excavation, at Zombepata Cave in Guruve in 1968, was initiated as part of a School excavation programme. In the same way, he never refused our invitations to speak to the Prehistory Society in Harare, though he was always suspicious that societies like it were not the places to find those individuals who were fully committed to the subject.

From his appointment as Director, for 25 years he served on the Committee of the Matabeleland Branch of the Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society, for many as Chairman. He took part in 16 of the 22 expeditions of those years and transformed them from schoolboy outings to serious scientific enterprises to take large numbers of boys, under leaders expert in many different fields, to very remote parts of the country with vehicles, generators, large mess tents, catering and maintenance staff and all the facilities to support fieldwork of reputable quality. Much of the material in the reports of these expeditions — which he edited — was of real value. These expeditions showed other facets of Cran. He was successful in his determined

insistence that every expedition was entirely non-racial and that schools attended by any race had the right and would if necessary be helped to take part: this at a time when racial mixing within schools and in inter-school sports was under sustained attack from the Government. And I have never seen Cran happier than as expedition leader, ensconced in the evening in a deck chair beside the bank of some remote river, whisky in hand and nibbling what for anyone else were unendurably hot chillies and listening to accounts of the day's activities.

With no formal or academic training in archaeology, and only entering the field fully when already a pensioner, Cran learnt through his own fieldwork. Even this did not come easily: an early injury to an elbow had left one arm unable to support any weight, a real hindrance in climbing in and around hills in search of paintings and in excavation. His other mentors were Desmond Clark, whose influence is apparent in early papers on styles and techniques of rock paintings and the weapons shown in them;[1] Geoffrey Bond, then Keeper of Geology at the National Museum, who collaborated with him at the Khami Waterworks excavation and, breaking new ground, correlated the sequence of archaeological material with changing climate, evidenced by changes in the character of mineral particles;[2] and Bob Brain, the palaeontologist and then Curator of the Queen Victoria Memorial Museum, with whom he worked on the Stone Age fill of a former cave, exposed in open cast mining at Redcliff.[3] He delighted in excavation — and classification. In my first experience of fieldwork with him, I was both startled and dismayed when, after a hard day and a late dinner, he settled down to spend several hours sorting debris from stone tool-making that the day had yielded — and assumed that everyone shared his pleasure at this prospect. He concentrated on the practicalities of fieldwork and analysis and here the standards he set himself were the highest and he was contemptuous of others — including several professionals — who did not match them. He was much less concerned with the theoretical implications that underpinned his work. He designed no careful problem-oriented research projects: he excavated a site because it was there and because it seemed probable that it would add to knowledge of the past. It could scarcely fail to do so given how little was then really known of that past.

Cran was himself an exemplar of all that was best in the 'amateur'. This is no pejorative. He exemplified the amateur's enthusiasm for and love of his subject for its own sake, seeking no advancement or reward. It was also only a part of an encompassing love for many different aspects of this country,[4] one that extended to more recent history:[5] expressed in his particular concern for the preservation of the graves of Mzilikazi and Lobengula and their contents;[6] his long championing of recognition of the role of his friend, J. P. Richardson, in the negotiations that brought the war of 1896 to a close in Matabeleland; his ornithological expertise, passed on to and shared with his son, Peter; his impressive collection of the postage stamps of this country; his even more impressive collection of aloes and cycads, a large part of which he donated to the Commission and planted round the Site Museum at Khami; his paintings of local landscapes, developed into his careful watercolour copies of rock paintings.

The number of papers that he wrote, particularly during his Directorship of the Commission, was extraordinary and a source of particular pride, culminating in *The Rock Art of Southern Africa* in 1969.[7] Cran also delighted in the recognition of his merits, in his Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries and Royal Anthropological Institute and Presidency of the South African Archaeological Society, in invitations to and attendance at major conferences, in meeting international colleagues,[8] in his vast collection of offprints exchanged with such colleagues (and later donated to the National Museums). But he also saw such honours as increasing the standing of the Commission as a whole and in at least one crisis, used them to fend off challenges to the Commission's reputation and work.

In 1966, previously unknown tensions arose within the Commission. The Commission appointed in that year — and indeed the last Commissioners — included for the first time

political appointments of people with little apparent knowledge of the country's history or the work of the Commission and ready both to denigrate its work and force it to conform to particular line. At the same time, one of the Government's new censors demanded that labels attached to exhibitions of excavated material be submitted to him for his approval. Cran took his protests at these sorts of actions as high as he could. I probably did not help the situation when I protested publicly at what I saw as the more outrageous of the Government's actions which had nothing to do with archaeology, and claimed that, as I worked for an independent non-governmental body, I had the right to do so. Cran disagreed with my views but supported my right to express them publicly — and this was accepted. But as time passed, though I never doubted Cran's own commitment, eventually I felt the Commissioners were no longer willing or able to withstand the new and increasing Government interference in our freedom of research and publication. I resigned from the Commission at the end of 1970. Cran strongly disagreed with my assessment.

Sadly, I met Cran only twice in the following years and never talked to him about the changes he saw in that time. Many of his interpretations of his material were questioned. His work on rock paintings seemed to be considered more and more irrelevant. He certainly found at least some of this hurtful and said so publicly: "Any new approach is to be welcomed rather than condemned. However this . . . denigrates in no uncertain terms practically everything that has been written before . . . The views of [earlier workers] cannot be cast aside as valueless".[9] Research and publication became more restricted than at any time before. The Commission for whose values and independence he had long fought was abolished as a separate entity. Inspectors of Monuments were no longer archaeologists and conducted no archaeological research: and archaeologists no longer had to spend time in the field on inspections. The division and specialization that resulted narrowed the exposures and experiences of both and thus diminished both. In his last published words, he found his colleagues "all alas departed to situations new".[10] With cruel irony, *Cookeia*, the Museums' publication established in 1982 to disseminate research papers in the humanities and named in his honour, has published only five papers: even more ironically, the last paper, published nearly seven years ago, was by Cran himself.[11] He believed — I think correctly — that his Archaeological Survey became muddled and misused. The Schools Exploration Society expeditions that he had done so much to mould died as he knew them when war in the 1970s made the parts of the country in which they had worked insecure. The last of the Ranche House Schools of Archaeology was held in the mid–1970s. Neither has been revived.

Almost everyone in the archaeological world now insists that there is no longer a role for the amateurs that these Schools and expeditions sought to encourage and give some preliminary training. The Prehistory Society survives in the shadows, the sort of cooperative projects that it undertook with the Commission a dim memory. Cran's encouragement of the amateur and generous licensing policy have been replaced by an impenetrable and hostile bureaucratic nightmare. The numbers of professional archaeologists working in the country have multiplied ten or twenty-fold: people trained overseas and many with impressive postgraduate qualifications and doctorates, equipped to design and operate problem-oriented research programmes and to formulate and test specific hypotheses and theories within particular social, political or economic paradigms — all concepts alien to Cran. There is access to foreign donor research funds on a scale undreamt of in Cran's time, when every cent of this came from funds earned and generated by the Commission itself. He may have been unsympathetic to most of these new judgements, policies and processes; he certainly must have been dismayed at the paucity and quality of the publications that resulted.

Almost every aspect of the work to which he gave so many years of his life seems in ruins. But none of this in fact diminishes Cran. It was his character, his generosity, integrity,

dedication, energy, zest and enthusiasm, his constant concern for his Commission, its work and his staff, that was the man. Cran Cooke was the Monuments Commission and the Monuments Commission was Cran Cooke. They were the embodiment of a particular moment in the history of this country, creatures of their time. But can anyone claim more? That time appears to have passed but in that time they served their country well.

Notes

1. 1957: 'The prehistoric artist of southern Africa: his materials and techniques as a basis for dating' in Clark, J. D., ed. *Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory* (London: Chatto and Windus); 1958: 'A comparison between the weapons in rock art in Southern Rhodesia and weapons known to have been used by Bushmen and later people'. *Occ. Pap. natn. Mus. Sth. Rhod.*, 3, 22A; 1959: 'Rock art in Matabeleland' in Summers, R., ed. *Prehistoric Rock Art from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (Salisbury: National Publications Trust).
2. 1957: 'The Waterworks site at Khami'. *Occ. Pap. natn. Mus. S. Rhod.*, 21A.
3. 1967: 'A preliminary account of the Redcliff Stone Age site in Rhodesia' *S. Afr. archaeol. Bull.*, 21, 84.
4. Here I am reminded of Lionel Cripps, one of the original Pioneers and who became Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and one of the founding Commissioners of the Historical Monuments Commission. His diaries, now in the National Archives, reveal the same encompassing love of almost every aspect of his adopted country (Diaries, Vol. 1, 1934–7: CR 1/4/2; vol. 2, 1937–42: CR 1/4/3; Vol. 3, 1942–7: CR 1/4/5. Unpublished. Historical Manuscripts Collection, National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare). After his retirement from the House at 72, copying rock paintings became his totally absorbing passion for many years. The results are now in the Queen Victoria Memorial Museum.
5. Papers contributed by Cran Cooke to *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage of Zimbabwe* include 1970: 'Dhlo Dhlo Ruins: the missing relics', *Rhodesiana*, 22; 1971: 'The Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics', *Rhodesiana*, 24; 1972: 'Dhlo Dhlo Ruins and Regina Ruins', *Rhodesiana*, 26; 1973: 'The Stone Age in Rhodesia', *Rhodesiana*, 29; 1973: 'Present and future action to preserve the past', *Rhodesiana*, 29; 1975: 'The Zeederberg coach', *Rhodesiana*, 32; 1975: 'Finaughty's cannon', *Rhodesiana*, 33; 1977: 'Moodie's Drift', *Rhodesiana*, 36; 1986: 'The history of the Museums in Bulawayo'. *Heritage*, 6; and 1990: 'Early Matabele settlements in Esigodini District', *Heritage*, 9. The editor tells me that his last contribution appears in this number of *Heritage*.
6. 1970: 'Lobengula: second and last king of the Amandebele — his final resting place and treasure', *Rhodesiana*, 23.
7. His *An Archaeological Bibliography of Rhodesia* (Bulawayo: Historical Monuments Commission, 1970) lists 2 papers written by him before he became Secretary, 17 while he was Secretary and 36 while Director.
8. See his 1991: 'Archaeological name dropping'. *The Digging Stick*, 8, 2.
9. 1983: 'More on San rock art', *Curr. Anthr.*, 24, 4, which is a riposte to Lewis-Williams, J. D. 1982: 'The social and economic context of southern San rock art', *Curr. Anthr.*, 23, 4.
10. 1992: 'Grindstones', *The Digging Stick*, 9, 2.
11. 1986: 'An open site of the Charama Industry on Mwala Farm, Bulawayo District, Zimbabwe', *Cookeia*, 1, 5.

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

FOUNDED: 1953 **P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.**

PUBLICATIONS PRICE LIST

A. The journal **RHODESIANA**
(40 issues published from 1956–1980)

The following issues are available

No. 19, 1968	No. 24, 1971	No. 29, 1973	No. 34, 1976	No. 39, 1978
No. 20, 1969	No. 25, 1971	No. 30, 1974	No. 35, 1976	No. 40, 1979
No. 21, 1969	No. 26, 1972	No. 31, 1974	No. 36, 1977	
No. 22, 1970	No. 27, 1972	No. 32, 1975	No. 37, 1977	
No. 23, 1970	No. 28, 1973	No. 33, 1975	No. 38, 1978	

The nett price **per copy**, inclusive of **all** bank charges and surface mail postage, is $20.

B. The Journal **NADA**
(Published annually from 1923–1980)

The following issues are available
1977, 1978, 1979, 1980.

The nett price **per copy**, inclusive of **all** bank charges and surface mail postage, is $20.

C. The journal **HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE**

(Published annually). The following issues are available —

No. 1, 1981	No. 2, 1982	No. 3, 1983	No. 4, 1984	No. 5, 1985
No. 6, 1986	No. 7, 1988	No. 8, 1989	No. 9, 1990	No. 10, 1991

The nett price **per copy**, inclusive of **all** bank charges and surface mail postage is $10 for issues Nos. 1–7, $25 for Nos. 8 and 9, and $40 for No. 10.

D. History Society of Zimbabwe Neckties $65 per tie including registered surface mail postage.

ORDERS

Orders accompanied by payment should be sent to the Society at the address indicated above.

PAYMENT

Zimbabwean subscribers may remit by cheque or postal order. Please add $1 to cheques from outside Harare.

American subscribers should preferably remit the amount indicated above by cheque in favour of the Society but cash is acceptable.

Other foreign subscribers should preferably remit by bank draft but cash is acceptable.

In the case of American and other foreign subscribers, please add a $10 bank clearing charge to each cheque.

Bank charges and commission include a bank commission on all foreign cheques together with a charge for returning foreign currency to the drawee or issuing bank. Postage includes increased Zimbabwean postage charges.

Slave Trading South of the Zambezi River

by C. K. Cooke

ABSTRACT

This paper was written because leg-irons and handcuffs were found at Dananombe (Dhlo Dhlo) Ruins about 50 km south of the city of Gweru in Zimbabwe. Comparisons are made with similar artefacts used in the slave-trade from West Africa during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

The slave trade south of the Zambezi River in Mozambique, Botswana and to some extent in Zimbabwe is discussed. It is shown that the early slave-trade on the Mashonaland Plateau was of little significance after the middle of the 17th century, but was continued in Mozambique over the eastern border with Zimbabwe and to some extent in Matabeleland. It again flourished in those countries in the late 18th and 19th centuries. In spite of being a signatory to anti-slavery agreements Portugal continued to turn a blind eye to this trade as late as 1890.

The possibility that Great Zimbabwe and other prehistoric stone buildings were associated with the slave trade is examined but insufficient evidence was located to come to any conclusion on this controversial matter.

INTRODUCTION

One pair of leg-irons and two handcuffs, one incomplete, were recovered from Dananombe (Dhlo Dhlo) Ruins (Fig. 1: a, b, c). These artefacts, now housed in the Museum of Human Sciences, Harare, are almost identical to those used to restrain slaves during the slave trading in west and east Africa during the 16th to 17th centuries (Figs. 2, 3, 4). Similar artefacts were mentioned by Harding (1905) but he gave no description or illustration.

It cannot be proved by archaeological evidence alone that Dananombe (Dhlo Dhlo) and other prehistoric structures in Zimbabwe and Mozambique were slave-trading posts. However, besides the iron artefacts, many Portuguese religious relics and two cannon were found at Dananombe. Portuguese as well as Arab articles were recovered at other ruins. The evidence of the transfer of Portuguese prisoners from various regions near Manica to Vorobze (Dananombe, Dhlo Dhlo) a distance which took a month to cover, may have some bearing on the question (de Souza et Brito, 1795, in Beach and Noronha eds., 1980).

The very elderly custodian Vambi Moyo at the nearby Nalatale Ruins stated that the highly decorated walls there were built by Portuguese prisoners, saying this legend had been brought down by word of mouth from his ancestors. He appointed himself custodian, but later because of his great interest he was placed on the staff by the Historical Monuments Commission. He died during the early 1950s.

There is little written evidence pointing to Arab participation in the slave-trade in areas south of the Zambezi River either in the 16th to 17th centuries or during the 18th to 19th centuries. However, there is evidence of considerable general Arab trading at Great Zimbabwe during the building period (12th–15th centuries) and up to the closing years of the 19th century, and of Portuguese influence early in the 17th century (Garlake, 1973). Zimbabwe at this time was known to the Portuguese as Butua.

EVIDENCE OF SLAVE-TRADING SOUTH OF THE ZAMBEZI RIVER

Hall (1909 p. 138) states "This slave trade was commenced by the Portuguese in 1645, and was carried on by them until 1760, when their power inland became broken, during which time

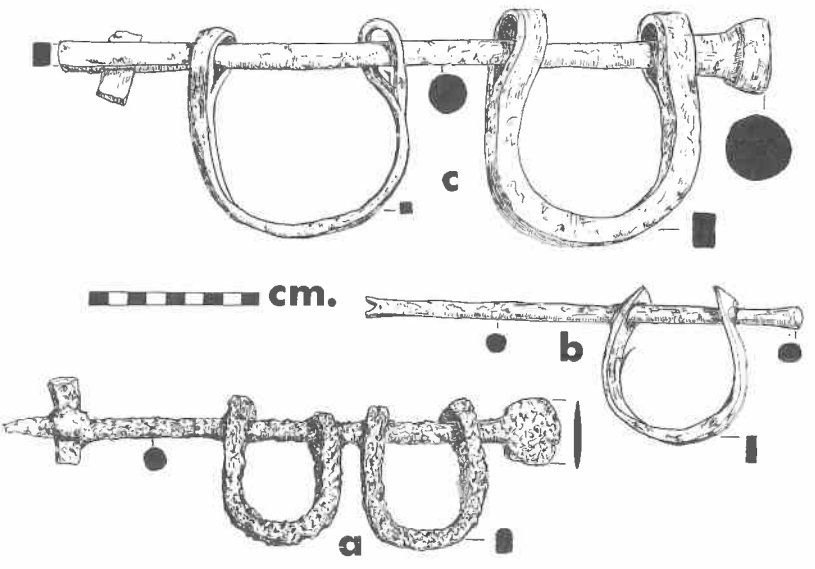


Figure 1

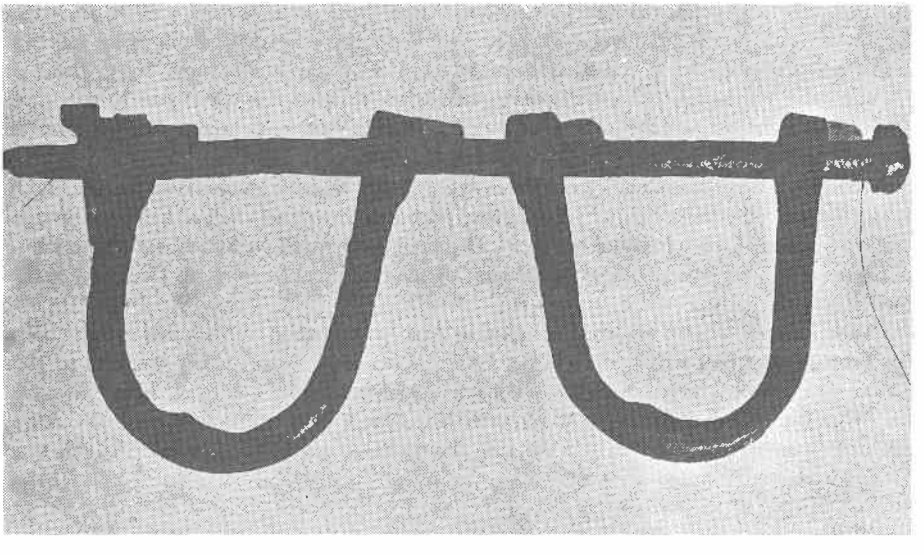


Figure 2

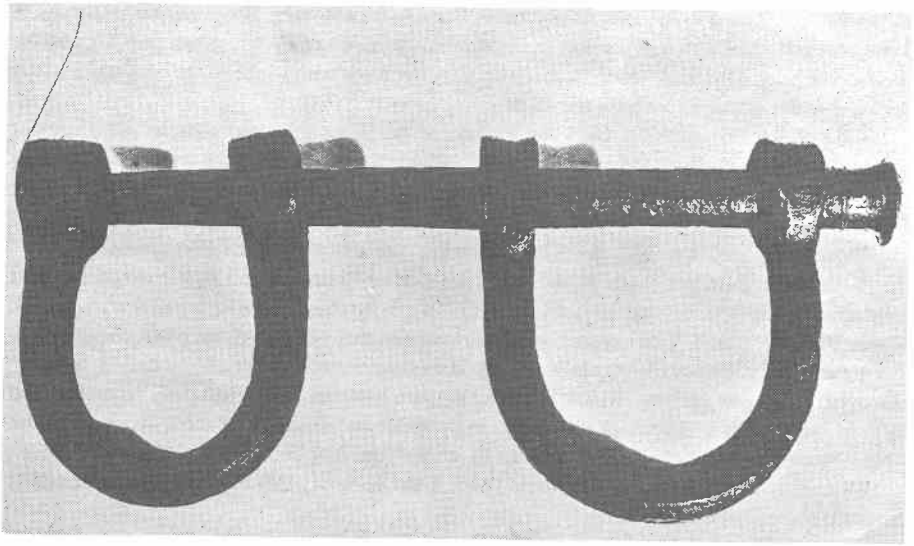


Figure 3

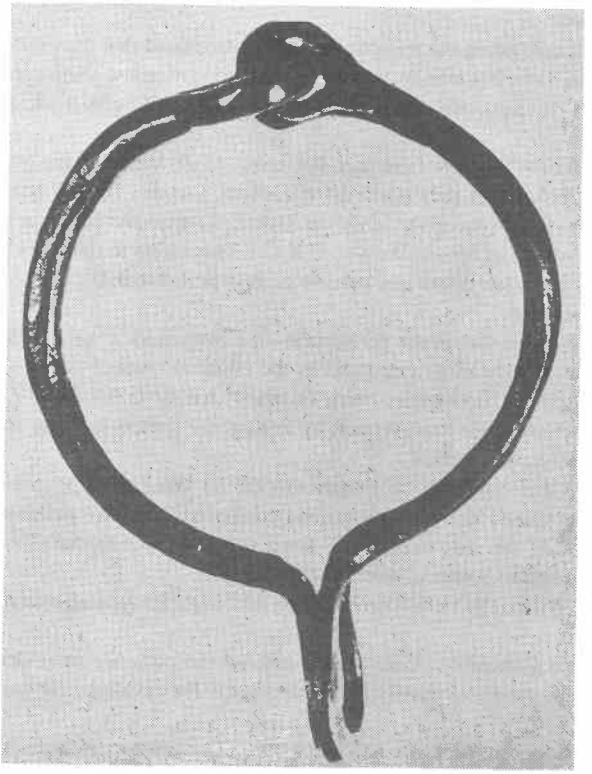


Figure 4

slaves were exported to the Brazils and other Portuguese colonies. The Makaranga still have some dim and indefinite recollection or tradition of the raidings by whitemen (not Moors) for slaves, who they state, were taken from the country by 'birds with white wings coming from the sky', the usual native expression for ships".

Hall (1909 p. 56) states "In 1645 the Portuguese, being disappointed with the small amount of trade in gold, commenced to trade in slaves . . . Raids for slaves were, for at least one hundred years, carried out most extensively in the very territories which had formerly yielded the gold supply".

Theal (1900 Vol. 4 p. 302) gives the following translation from the Portuguese:

"I the King greet you well, as one who I love. Having understood that it would be most conducive to my service, and advantageous to my treasury and vassals, to open a trade with Mozambique to Brazil, to bring cargoes of slaves from that place to those parts, to supply by this means the deficiency of Angola slaves, upon this understanding I granted a licence to a ship belonging to private persons, which left this kingdom last year; and I earnestly recommended Julio Monis de Silva, captain of that place, to persuade the residents of those rivers to fit out (ships) to do the same, of which I think fit to advise you, that you may be informed thereof.

Written in Lisbon, the 13th January 1645, I the secretary Affonço do Barros Caminha caused it to be written. The King".

Willis (1973) recorded; "Since 1645 when, losing their grip on the Shona plateau, they continued to export slaves from Mozambique until c. 1870. South of the Zambezi in the 19th century there was little slave-trading, both Arab and Portuguese influence having long disappeared from Mashonaland".

Alpers (1975) confirmed the trade to Brazil; he also stated that trips inland varied from 30 to 90 leagues from Tete. His map (p. 123) shows a secondary route southwards in Abutua (now Zimbabwe, C.K.C.) it also indicates routes southwards from Zumbo across the Zambezi south of Tete.

Theal (1900 Vol. VI p. 368; Francisco Barreto c. 1569) stated on the question of the slave and ivory trade "From Tete they go to three markets, Luanhé, Bucoto and Masapa which is reached 50 leagues from Tete on the Masouva River". (Luanze and Mazowe River, Masapa was near the present village of Mount Darwin, C.K.C.). This refers to the ivory trade slaves being used for transporting trade goods and purchases. It is probable that slaves, if available, would also have been bartered.

It is highly probable that in the period prior to Changamire's wars of the 1690s, southern Zambezian elements were more important in the ethnic origins of *prazo* slaves, since in the seventeenth century the Portuguese were involved mainly in southern Zambezia. Antonio Gomes in 1648 writes of the enslavement by Portuguese traders in some areas of Mukaranga (Beach and Noronha, eds., 1980).

Oswell (1900 Vol. 1 p. 263), "Last year (1850) the Mambari, a people apparently subject to the Portuguese, visited him (Sebitoane) and purchased some two hundred slaves for cloths and calicoes . . .". At this date Sebitoane's town was at Linyati on the Chobe, afterwards the Kalolo capital moved to Sesheke, north of the Zambezi.

According to Willis (1973) the Mambari were half-caste Portuguese operating from Angola's west coast.

Near the Great Zimbabwe, Carl Mauch noticed the presence of traders from Tete who brought forty eight guns and goodly numbers of girls for exchange for white ivory (Mauch, 1969).

Besides the Europeans there are half blacks from Goa, known as basungu . . . The lucrative business however remains the trade in girls which shows a good profit, and there is a great demand for such in the interior (Mauch, 1969).

Men from Manyika went to Sena and Tete on the Zambezi with hoes, goats, gold and skins to buy women and small boys (Nat. Arch. Hist. mss. M.A. 14/1/1 quoted by Yoshikuni, 1982).

According to Baines in Northern Goldfield Diaries, p. 469, 484 the Mambari were half-caste traders armed with guns.

Selous (1893) recorded having seen during 1882 slaves tied together by their necks at the confluence of the Umzengesi River (Msengesi, C.K.C.) with the Zambezi, at the headquarters of a Portuguese half-caste named Perizengi. At Kanyemba's village some miles south of the Zambezi he saw nine slaves all chained together, an iron ring around their necks, and about five feet (1,53 m) of strong heavy chain between each two. A ring used to restrain slaves in America and elsewhere is illustrated (Fig. 4). Albino Manoel Pacheco found 'domestic slavery' in Dande and Chedima in 1862. He writes: "The shortage of labour found in these two countries makes them to go and buy them (slaves) at Sanga and from Maraves to use them in the cultivation of their fields; but no native of either of these countries is sold as a slave except those condemned by the Muave" (quoted by Yoshikuni, from Beach and Noronha, eds., 1980).

In the 1920s C. Bullock found two slave girls in one of the kraals of a Zezuru chiefly family, although he did not inform us of how they were obtained and where they came from (Bullock, 1927, quoted by Yoshikuni). Within Shona society, there was also a "trade" in human beings. There is a 1898 record on a Korekore woman called "Manando" who was bought by Mangwendi and given to his son (Nat. Arch. N. 3/1/15 1898 quoted by Yoshikuni).

Although scholars' attention has been drawn to northern Zambezia so far, there is a number of ex-slave communities in modern Zimbabwe. According to one of the earliest surveys on African people, conducted by the Native Commissioner at the turn of the century of the country around Mvuradonha Mountains, existed some small communities led by such leaders as Chigango, Chipara, Gomo and Magaranewe, all of them being said to be previously slaves of the Portuguese (Nat. Arch. N. 3/33/8 1906 quoted by Yoshikuni, 1982).

The evidence, if taken together, appears to underscore the following points. First of all Shona communities in the nineteenth century did not own slaves very extensively and most of their slaves apparently came from the north (Yoshikuni, 1982).

The most infamous of the 19th century slave traders was undoubtedly one Manuel Antonio de Souza, better known as Gouveia. He was governor of the Gorongoza province in Mozambique during 1890, having been given the title of General in the Portuguese army (Jones, 1953). Prior to this he was in charge of the slave-trade south of the Zambezi River when he had his headquarters between the Ruenya and Mazowe Rivers.

N. J. Brendon (1950, p. 19–25) refers to Gouveia as having stayed in Chief Katsitu's country which is the area along and around the Mazoe (Mazowe) river in North Eastern Mashonaland.

Bailie (1878) stated: "Slavery is carried on in the Portuguese settlements on the Zambezi and I have myself seen slaves in the Amandebele country that have been bought from a Portuguese half-caste from Tete called Antonio" (this man was Antonio de Souza alias Gouveia, C. K. C.).

Graham (1941 p. 33–34) notes that at the time of the pioneer advance on Zimbabwe in the 1890s Gouveia (Antonio de Souza), a Goanese half breed, was a 'Capitao Mor' of a province in the Portuguese territory of Mozambique. Lockhart and Woodhouse (1963 p. 223) stated "A much less respectable agent was the Goanese Manuel Antonio de Souza or (Gouveia) a thorough-going scoundrel who was appointed *Capitao Mor* (Military Governor) in the province immediately north of Manica where he plundered without any hindrance from Mozambique . . . was busy robbing the inmates of their possessions and freedom . . .".

Barnes (1975) recorded that "Gouveia was renowned as a ferocious slave trader . . . He recruited men for his private army from the local people in the Mtoko (Mutoko) and Mrewa

(Murewa) districts of Zimbabwe". He operated in the Goromonzi area about 50 km from the modern city of Harare.

On Gumanifor Hill near to the Nyazinge River he built a fortified camp; he was attacked by Mtoko's people armed only with spears, his musket-armed followers were routed, he was forced to flee in disorder to his headquarters (Brendon, 1959). This incident took place during 1877. The stone-built fort could still be seen only a few years ago.

The quotations above are but a few which indicate the spread of slave trading south of the Zambezi River and the evil influence of Gouveia in the 19th century.

The relics found at Dananombe by MacIver (1906), Mr Thokozane during 1967 and the religious relics (Cooke, 1970) indicate the Portuguese associations and that the stone structures could possibly have been collecting points for slaves at some period. An account of a visit to Regina Ruins (Njanga) (Anon., 1894) stated "The natives gave the whole history of this interesting place which proves that about 50 years ago (c. 1844, C.K.C.), the Arabs were trading there for gold, ivory and slaves".

Harding (1905) made the following reference to handcuffs ". . . which are used to put on the hands of slaves at night, some of them large enough to hold three slaves. These are left behind often on the corpses of the unfortunate prisoners". He was referring to the Arab trading in Barotseland, Zambia.

There are many other references to slave trading south of the Zambezi in Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Deare, 1929; Fagan et al., 1954; Birmingham, 1966; Hepburn, 1973; Axelson, 1973; and National Archives Documents, 1976). Other works consulted were mainly repetitive references to the capture of Gouveia at Massi Kessi (Macequece, C.K.C.) during 1890.

DISCUSSION

The finding of leg irons (Multiple handcuffs vide Harding 1905) and handcuffs at Dananombe (MacIver, 1906) and the later finds at the same place by Mr Thokozane, suggests that there may have been a connection with the slave trade. MacIver (1906) stated when discussing the find "A pair exactly the same in form as that from Dhlo Dhlo (Dananombe) may be seen represented on a Valencia tile of the sixteenth century". Hutchinson (1979) illustrated similar shackles used during the Middle Passage in the 16th–18th centuries (Figs. 2b, 3). These are similar to the Dananombe artefacts.

Other artefacts from these buildings include a priest's ring issued by a Jesuit Missionary College, probably Evora, which could be dated anywhere between 1505 and 1760. Experts assigned a date towards the end of the 16th or very early in the 17th century (Cooke, 1970). Two cannons bearing the arms of Portugal were also recovered, these are probably of similar date (Garlake, 1973). All these are now housed at Groote Schuur in South Africa. Pieces of Portuguese pottery found at Kame Ruins were dated as being late 17th century (Robinson, 1963). Arab glass (Caton-Thompson, 1931), and an Arab coin dated about 1375, were recovered from Great Zimbabwe (Huffman, 1972).

It is reasonable to suggest that the iron artefacts from Dananombe are no later than the early 17th century.

Exactly how the three iron artefacts came to Dananombe is impossible to deduce. They could have been brought in by some traveller, but it is unlikely that any African would have removed them from a corpse. If abandoned they might have been carried for some distance if the finder was likely to have a use for them. Slaves were forced to walk shackled over great distances. Harding (1905) recorded slaves in Barotseland with the flesh of their legs worn down to the bones. Therefore, the artefacts may have arrived on the limbs of the unfortunate.

If as suggested by the author the single cuff was locally forged, this is then a strong argument in favour of Dananombe being associated with some form of detention.

There is evidence that slave trading was carried on in Zimbabwe particularly by the Portuguese and probably by the Arabs. Willis (1973) considered the trade was greatly reduced after 1645. However, trade was still active in Abutua (Zimbabwe, C.K.C.) to a distance of over 400 km from Tete during the 18th century (Alpers, 1975). This distance would include Great Zimbabwe; from other Portuguese trading posts a similar distance would include Dananombe, Njanja and other ruins as well as the Zambezi River as far as its confluence with the Hunyani River, but not so far south as Kame. Although there are Portuguese forts in the Nyanga area nothing so far discovered indicates a direct contact with slave trading either by the Portuguese or the Arabs.

It is highly probable that no pure blooded Arabs were living on the East Coast of Africa when the Portuguese arrived. Kenyon (in Caton-Thompson, 1931 p. 265) . . . "they (the Portuguese) found that through constant intermarriage with the Bantu, the Arabs were by then often indistinguishable from them in appearance, though maintaining their own institutions to a certain degree".

It is not possible to decide which league was used as the measurement by the various authors. It has been presumed that the English league of 3 miles (4800 m) and not the Roman of 3 000 paces or the Gaelic one of 4 500 paces was used.

The 19th century slave trading appears from the evidence available to have been concentrated near the Zambezi River, in the vicinity of Mazowe, Mutoko and Murewa and the eastern border with Mozambique. The captives were sent to Tete for transportation, a number of half-caste Portuguese, including the notorious Perizengi, being in charge of the collecting points (Selous, 1893).

During the 16th — 17th centuries there was a number of Portuguese trading posts in this country, including Dambarare, Luanze, Masapa, Angwa River and Suri Suri. Some of these (Theal, 1900, Vol. 7 p. 368; Francisco Barreto, c. 1569) and possibly all of them had some connection with the slave trade. Dambarare, close to the present village of Mazowe, was occupied by the Portuguese as late as 1760. Both African and Euro-African skeletons were recovered by excavation (Garlake, 1969). Those buried outside the church walls had not apparently been accepted by the Catholic religion, and could possibly have been domestic slaves.

"Dambarare was sacked by Changamire (Xangamire) who (was born of a slave) . . . founded the Kingdom of Changamire . . . 40 days journey from Sofala" (Theal, 1900, Vol. 7; Sen. Ferao c. 1765). It has been suggested that his name was derived from Changa Emir, a name given to him by the Arabs. He may however have been born of a domestic slave within Zimbabwe.

There is little evidence which points to Arab slave trading in Zimbabwe; however the few artefacts of Arab and Persian manufacture including beads (Caton-Thompson, 1931; Huffman, 1972) indicate that Arab trading was part of the economy at Great Zimbabwe.

Most of the literature consulted points to the Mozambique coast as the export outlet. However, the fact that the Mambari are said to have traded from the Angola coast indicates another route from northern Botswana to that coast.

Birmingham (1966) stated "Guinea is a geographical term for the coast line and broad hinterland of that part of West Africa which provided most of the human material . . . Guinea stretched for 4000 miles (6400 km) from the region of the Senegal River to the southern border of modern Angola". The Kunene River would be considerably nearer the Chobe River in Botswana than the Mozambique coast. Dependant on the route taken, a saving of up to 800 km might be made.

Ransford (1971) showed on maps Luanda as the southernmost port of embarkation of slaves during the 18th century.

CONCLUSION

There is little doubt whatsoever that the manacles found at Dananombe (Dhlo Dhlo) were used in slave trade south of the Zambezi. The dates given by MacIver (1906) and Hutchinson (1979) for similar artefacts point to the earlier phase of slave trade rather than that which took place during the 19th century. The fact that the Portuguese relics are dated to the earlier period (Robinson, 1963) tends to confirm this. Unfortunately Harding (1905) did not describe the shackles used in Barotseland at the end of the 19th century.

The evidence from Njanja (Regina) Ruins is unconvincing although the report may well be correct in most details. It is most unlikely that Arabs were trading in the Fort Rixon area as late as the 1840s. The "Moors" suggested (Anon., 1894) could be, and probably were, Portuguese half-castes. It is almost certain that the Portuguese were responsible for most of the slave trade in the area.

Kame Ruins lie beyond the 90 leagues suggested by Alpers (1975) as the distance from Tete whence the slaves were collected, but the presence of Portuguese ceramics and beads indicates a distant trade connection; slaves may well have been part of the inter-changeable goods. Robinson (1959) quoted from an informant "trade was carried on with the Portuguese, Arabs and Bechuana".

Although Arab artefacts were located at Great Zimbabwe no evidence has been found to connect it with the slave trade. Slavery is of course almost impossible to prove or disprove archaeologically (Fagan et al., 1954).

It has long been the general opinion that slave trading, as opposed to the domestic and military slave usage by the Ndebele and others, was almost non-existent south of the Zambezi River. The wealth of evidence in publications consulted shows that it was widespread in Mashonaland until after 1645, after which it appears to have been spasmodic, except possibly in the eastern districts adjoining the present territory of Mozambique (Hall, 1909).

With the advent of the (mainly half-caste) Portuguese during the latter half of the 19th century, the slave trade was greatly increased (Selous, 1893).

From inside Zimbabwe the main trader was one Manuel Antonio de Souza alias Gouveia who lived in Mashonaland for a number of years until he settled at Massi Kessi (Macequece) in Mozambique. He was the last of the active traders whose operations came to an end in 1890 (Jones, 1953).

Finally, it appears both in the earlier and the late phase that the occupants of the stone-built structures may have played a part in the slave trade, although this is by no means certain. The evidence from Dananombe and Njanja Ruins certainly indicates this as a possibility. There is no doubt that the evil acts of Gouveia were encouraged by the Portuguese in spite of the anti-slavery agreements to which they were signatories (Lockhart and Woodhouse, 1963).

Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to Mr Kufa of the National Archives, Harare, for his help in locating material, to Dr P. J. Kinsey for permission to publish photostats of slave shackles on display in the American Museum of Immigration, Liberty Island, New York, to Mr E. T. Hepburn for supplying a long list of references concerning Gouveia, to Mr H. D. Jackson, Regional Director, Western Region, National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe, for reading the draft and for many helpful comments and to the late Mr E. E. Burke for many helpful suggestions and references to publications to which I had not had access. Professor Bhila of the University of Zimbabwe read the draft and made useful comments, and also kindly gave permission to quote from the seminar paper written by T. Yoshikuni, a student at the University of Zimbabwe.

References

Alpers, E. A. 1975. *Ivory and Slaves in East Africa*. London: Heinemann.

Anon. 1894. An important find. *Matabeleland News and Mining Record* 1(12).

Axelson, E. 1973. *Portuguese in South-east Africa 1488–1600*. Cape Town: Struik.

Bailie, A. 1878. Report on general features of the interior of South Africa between Barkly and Bulawayo. *Jnl Royal Geo. Soc.* 48: 278–293.

Barnes, J. C. 1975. The battle of Massi Kessi. *Rhodesiana* 32: 1.

Baines, T. ed. J.P.R. Wallis. (1969–72). *The Northern Goldfield Diaries*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1946.

Beach, D. W. and Noronha, H. de, eds., 1980. *The Shona and the Portuguese* Vol. II, 1700–1890. Cyclostyled, University of Rhodesia.

Brendon, N. J. 1959. Chiuzingu. *NADA* 36: 19–25.

Bullock, C. 1927. *The Mashona*. Cape Town.

Caton-Thompson, G. 1931. *The Zimbabwe Culture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cooke, C. K. 1970. Dhlo Dhlo Ruins: the missing relics. *Rhodesiana* 22: 45–52.

Cooke, C. K. 1972. Dhlo Dhlo relics and Regina Ruins. *Rhodesiana* 26: 48–52.

Cooke, C. K. 1988. Slave artefacts from Zimbabwe. *S.A. Archaeol. Bull.* 43: 125–127.

Deare, C. K. 1929. Eighteen months with the last of the slave raiders. *Nat. Archives* 1/1/1.

Fagan, B. M., Phillipson, D. W. G. & Daniels, S. G. H. 1954. *Iron Age Culture in Zambia*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Garlake, P. S. 1969. Excavations at the seventeenth century Portuguese site of Dambarare, Rhodesia. *Proc. Trans. Rhod. Scient. Ass.* 45(1): 26–61.

Garlake, P. S. 1973. *Great Zimbabwe*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Graham, H. D. 1941. *Outpost* (V): 33–34.

Hall, R. N. 1909. *Prehistoric Rhodesia*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller.

Harding, C. 1905. *In Remotest Barotseland*. London: Hirst & Blackett.

Hepburn, E. T. 1973. European pre-Pioneers. *Rhodesiana* 29: 38–45.

Huffman, T. N. 1972. An Arab coin from Zimbabwe. *Arnoldia* (Rhod.) 32: 1–7.

Hutchinson, L. E. 1979. *Out of Africa: From West African Kingdoms to Colonisation*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Jones, N. J. 1953. *Rhodesian Genesis*. Glasgow: University Press.

Lockhart, J. G. & Woodhouse, C. M. 1968. *Rhodes*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

MacIver, D. R. 1906. *Mediaeval Rhodesia*. London: Macmillan.

Mauch, C. ed. E. E. Burke. 1969. *The Journals of Carl Mauch: His Travels in the Transvaal and Rhodesia 1869–1872*. Salisbury: National Archives.

National Archives Hist. Mss. M.A. 14/1/1 (Machiwenyika). *A short history of Mangwendi's people*. 1982.

National Archives. N. 3/33/8 *History of Native Northern Mazoe District*. 1906.

National Archives M. 3/1/15. *Inquest at Matankuni's 1898*.

Oswell, W. E. 1900. *William Cotton Oswell: Hunter and Explorer*. 2 vols. London: Heinemann.

Ransford, O. 1971. *The Slave Trade*. London: John Murray.

Robinson, K. R. 1959. *Khami Ruins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, K. R. 1963. Dated imports from Khami Ruins: Southern Rhodesia. *S. Afr. archaeol. Bull.* 16(62): 66–67.

Selous, F. C. 1893. *Travel and Adventures in South-eastern Africa*. Reprinted 1972. Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia.

Theal, E. 1900. *Records of South-eastern Africa* Vol. IV, VI & VII. Printed for the Government of the Cape Colony. Reprinted 1964. Cape Town: Struik.

Willis, A. J. 1973. *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa*. 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yoshikuni, T. 1982. *What is the evidence for the existence and extent of domestic slavery and the Slave Trade in this period?* Zimbabwean Iron Age Seminar Paper, Department of History, University of Zimbabwe (unpublished).

The Eyre Brothers: Additional Notes

by Rob S. Burrett

Since the publication of my article on Arthur and Herbert Eyre, Heritage of Zimbabwe No 9, further research has uncovered additional information which fills a few of the gaps in that article.

As already mentioned Arthur Eyre was attested to the Pioneer Corps on 7 May 1890. On 21 June he was placed in the "A Troop" unit, but soon after on 25 June he was transferred to "B Troop" where he was appointed as one of the Lance-Corporals. It was in this position that he served until the disbanding of the force on 30 September 1890.[1] After this he did proceed to the Lomagundi District which thereafter became his headquarters. However, his gold prospecting wasn't, as previously thought, confined to this District. Like all the Pioneers he tried his luck on all of the then known Goldfields in Mashonaland: Hartley Hills (1894) [2] and in the Mazowe Valley just to the south of Alice Mine (1895).[3] Furthermore Arthur's discovery and sale of the Eldorado Mine was not as clear-cut as I had originally thought. He certainly discovered the main deposit and its associated Ancient Workings, but he only formally registered it some time later, 22 September 1894, by which time the adjacent Claim Blocks had already been registered by Malcolm Frazer (May 1894) and Jack Spreckley (June 1894).[4] These three blocks and further adjacent ones, were then sold and resold in a very complicated history of transfer between various parties: prominent amongst whom were R. M. W. Swan; H. Hirsh and Company; the Mashonaland Agency; and the Hunyani Gold Mining Company Ltd.[5] Interestingly it was only much later that these Blocks were consolidated to form a single, successful mine. (Article in prep.)

One thing that has always been of concern to me is that unlike most of the prominent Settlers of the time, Arthur Eyre apparently did not partake in the Anglo-Matabele War of 1893. An adventurer like he would have surely been attracted by the possibilities. Recently I have discovered the reason for his absence. With the outbreak of hostilities, most of the Settlers converged on either Fort Victoria or Salisbury to attest in the Columns being organised to march against the Matabele. In Salisbury positions of Senior Command were offered to several men, including Arthur Eyre and "Skipper" Hoste. However, a rumour was soon circulated to the effect that the British South Africa Company was to restrict the men to seven pounds of personal kit, hardly enough for comfort in the winter months. The reason for this decision was largely economic, the Company wished to add Matabeleland to its territory but at the least cost, thus it was decided to minimise transport costs to the detriment of the men serving it. Hoste and Eyre were the only commissioned non-Company employees, so they were encouraged to question this decision publicly. They accordingly interviewed Captain Forbes who was in command of the Salisbury Column, pointing out that seven pounds was far too little, merely the weight of a single blanket and excluding any change of clothing. Forbes would not negotiate, so they both declined their commands on the principle that they were not prepared to enlist men on such terms. Their places were filled by others, and Eyre and Hoste resumed their civilian occupations having no further involvement in the event. Ironically the day after this interview, the Company altered its ruling to allow the men sixteen pounds of kit each.[6]

In my article I mention there being tension between the Eyres, the local Mashona people, and the Wesleyan Missionaries. Arthur certainly did use force when "enlisting" labour to work for him. In 1894 he is reported to have shot dead a male villager while trying to collect labour together with the Lomagundi Mining Commissioner, F. W. Ferguson.[7] About the same time he

accompanied a punitive police patrol to the nearby Wesleyan Mission of Hartleyton (near modern Trelawney but no longer in existence). Here Arthur Eyre and other local Settlers had several "runaway employees" lashed for indiscipline.[8] Understandably there was a strong Wesleyan reaction, and Arthur threatened to take court action against one of the Missionaries, Rev. G. Eva, for defamation of character. At the same time Herbert Eyre called on the Administrator to take strong action and investigate the "interfering" conduct of these Missionaries.[9] Tensions were therefore already high in 1894, and gradually worsened over the next two years culminating in the murder of Herbert Eyre in June 1896 during the Rebellion. The Mashona resentment was probably largely towards Arthur Eyre, but he was fortunate to escape due to his being in Bulawayo with Beal's Relief Column, in which he was in charge of the Intelligence Department.[10]

The last additional item of interest relates to the family's disposal of the farm Kilmacdaugh after Arthur's death in 1899. The Eyres sisters sold it to a prominent British Banking family, Coombe-Tennant, who were old family friends. A member of this family completed the Pioneer and Early Settler Questionnaire which was my main reference. This family still owns the farm, so in a sense the contact with the Eyre Brothers is still there.[11] The original farmstead, now a ruin, is on map 1730B3 grid reference 669463, however permission should be sought if you visit it.

References

1. Cary, R. 1975. *The Pioneer Corps*. Galaxie Press: Salisbury. p. 78.
2. Map of Property of the Mashonaland Agency Ltd, 1895. *National Archives of Zimbabwe: Map Collection*. NA ACC 798 PC.
3. Davies, N. S. (ed). 1977. *Gold Fever*. Pioneer Head: Salisbury. p. 139.
4. Lomagundi District Claims Register. *National Archives of Zimbabwe, Public Archives*. ML 4/2/1.
5. Ibid. Article on Eldorado Mine in preparation.
6. Davies, N. S. ibid. p. 140
7. Letter Ferguson to Administrator, 29 March 1894. *National Archives of Zimbabwe, Public Archives*. DS 1/1/1.
8. Notes sent to myself by Rev. B. Graaff, Methodist Church — Epworth Mission, being copy of old records in that Organisation's Archives, London. Original dated November 1894, written by Rev. G. Eva.
9. Letters by J. ff. Darling. *National Archives of Zimbabwe, Historical Manuscripts*. DA 6/1/1.
10. Hoste Diaries. Copy recently deposited with *National Archives of Zimbabwe*. p 359.
11. Letter Mr L. Perry dated to 19/3/76 to Mrs M. R. Izzett, Author's Collection.

Notes on Skipper Hoste's Mining Activities

by D. D. Henderson

In June 1891 my Great uncle, Skipper Hoste, and his party investigated two mining claims in the Northern Goldfields — the St. Valentine and the Blue Peter. Skipper's grandson N. S. Davies, who edited the account in the book "Gold Fever", had never been able to pin-point the locality of these claims. In June 1991, the centenary of these events, I was prompted to approach Rob Burrett to research the matter on my behalf, and he did indeed find an old map that named the St. Valentine Claim alongside the Butterfly, United Two, Kitty Wheal and Wheal Granville, all in an area between the Umsenge and Dondo rivers and just to the North of the present main road. Though Skippers brief visit hardly contributed to the History of Lomagundi, his account does give a vivid picture of prospecting throughout Mashonaland in those adventure-filled days after the occupation.

Skipper Hoste was first and foremost a man of the seas. At the age of 36 he was at the top of his profession being commodore of the Union Shipping line and Captain of its Flagship. It was at this moment in time that Cecil John Rhodes, a regular passenger on the Union line, offered Skipper the command of a troop of mounted infantry on an expedition into the heart of the African Continent. I was always surprised that Skipper should have accepted this offer, but I imagine that the thought of shipping passengers out to the Cape for the rest of his life paled in comparison to what Rhodes was offering. However he did have experience of the interior when, as a junior ship's officer, he was given time off to accompany a Foreign Office expedition to investigate and discourage the slave trade in Nyasaland. Rhodes would have had knowledge of this expedition, as his brother Herbert was in the same party. Rhodes had the knack of picking the right man for the job, and someone with this experience was just what he needed for his new venture. In the event, Skipper seemed to have been equally at home on the back of a horse, when at the head of B Troop he led the Pioneer Corps across the Tuli River, as he was being tossed about on a clipper ship in the South China seas.

After the occupation of Mashonaland, the pioneer Corps was disbanded on the 30th September, 1890, and within 24 hours most of the pioneers were prospecting all over the countryside. Firmly convinced that this was the land of Ophir, they each reckoned on making a fortune within 12 months. (This would enable them, amongst other things, to attend the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1892. One pioneer actually did make it, but not by finding gold: he married a rich American lady!) Syndicates were formed, and Skipper teamed up with his brother Derrick (also in the B troop) and E. C. Tyndale-Biscoe, a Lieutenant in C company. Derrick had worked at the Geldenhuis mine in Johannesburg, and had joined the Pioneer Corps in Mafeking, along with Mandy, Beal, Spreckley and Arthur Eyre, all of whom had mining experience. For this reason Derrick headed off on his own to prospect in the Hartley Hills area. Meanwhile Skipper and Biscoe headed towards the Mazoe valley, where they were led to some "Ancient" workings on the Simoona hill. These workings still showed visible gold, and so they busied themselves in establishing their claim.

Biscoe was always ready for new adventure, particularly if it involved a scrap. Being ex Royal Navy, he was an expert with guns, and could write his name with a maxim gun onto a target. (Quite apart from this being a commendable feat with such a long name, it would, I think, have been an extravagant use of ammunition!) Therefore, when the Administrator asked

Skipper to deliver some dispatches to Forbes in Manica, Biscoe was only too ready to postpone prospecting for a while in order to accompany Skipper. A confrontation with the Portuguese was imminent, and probably neither of them realised that it was going to take some months to resolve the affair. The very wet rainy season compounded the delay, and the flooded Odzi river prevented them from returning to Salisbury until March 1891.

There was now a further delay in prospecting, as Skipper heard disquieting news of his two younger brothers, Cyril and Bill. These two, along with hundreds of other travellers, had started out towards Salisbury from Fort Tuli four months earlier, but the heavy rains had flooded the lowveld, and the wagons were stranded South of the swollen Lundi River. Countless numbers had died of malaria, and the others were so weakened that they could scarcely care for themselves. Skipper decided to go to their rescue, and converted his wagon into a two-wheeled scotch cart, to be pulled by ten oxen, in order to negotiate the still muddy and pot-holed roads. He achieved the round trip in a remarkable three weeks, having found his brothers and a friend, Max Lambert, stricken with malaria and in pretty desperate straits. Cyril, Bill and Max were, in fact, never able to rid themselves of recurring malaria, and Max succumbed to kidney failure, associated with black water fever, dying in Salisbury in August 1891. In the years to come, Bill was constantly down with fever to the extent that in 1894 Skipper packed him off to England for good.

It was not before the beginning of June then, that prospecting could be resumed, and Skipper, his three brothers, Biscoe and Lambert set out this time to the Northern Goldfields. This area was familiar to a number of prospectors, even before the occupation — amongst them Mandy and Spreckley — and it was from Mandy's syndicate that rights to the St. Valentine claim were acquired. It was not recorded whether the area had been mined by ancients, but I am certain that the prospectors would have been looking for visible gold in quartz reefs. They had scant knowledge of other geological occurrences of gold, and furthermore had none of the equipment necessary for deep mining and milling of large tonnages. Labour was difficult to recruit; the locals found money of no value, and Skipper remarks that he had run out of old clothes for remuneration. However the party of young men were happy to wield the picks and shovels, though they probably baulked at any hard rock that needed blasting. Life appears to have been none the less enjoyable; game was abundant and the experience of a highveld winter with clear blue skies improved their health considerably. By the end of July though, the St. Valentine proved to be of no value, likewise a nearby claim called the Blue Peter, and so Skipper decided to concentrate their attention on the Hartley Hills area, where Derrick had prospected the year before. Here they investigated three claims: the Phoenix, which had more water in it than they could handle; the Cumberland, which had no water and no gold; and the Harvester. The Harvester was the most promising. It had been worked by the ancients and showed visible gold, but it was in tsetse-fly country, and everything had to be carried in on foot. They had the bright idea of bringing in the wagons at night, when they hoped the fly might be asleep, but needless to say every ox involved in the enterprise subsequently died of sleeping sickness. The onset of the rains decided them to return to Salisbury, as they had no wish to be cut off by swollen rivers as in the previous year. Skipper had acquired some land at the base of Salisbury Kopje, and the summer months were spent building some accommodation.

By the end of 1891, the disappointing results from mines throughout the country created a growing despondency about the future prospects. It became clear that if there was gold, it could only be extracted at a cost greater than the small syndicates could afford, and finance would have to be raised by floating Companies. Rumours were rife however, that there was no gold, and, anxious to dispel the bad image the country was acquiring, the B.S.A. Company desperately tried to keep some of the mines productive. Jameson had asked Skipper to see what he could do with a mine called the Bonanza in the Hartley area, which, with a neighbouring mine

belonging to the Bechuanaland Exploration Company, had ceased production. The Bonanza had originally been given to Lobengula as he, too, had a touch of "Gold Fever", but though equipped with a five stamp mill, this mill kept on breaking down. Skipper and his brothers worked the entire winter, coaxing what they could from both mines, but in the end they closed them both, being better off by a mere six pounds sterling

Returning again to Salisbury for the rainy season, Skipper and Bill decided to take a trip to England. Now that the dispute with the Portuguese was settled, traffic through Beira became possible, taking some twenty days to cover the three hundred miles, providing the roads were dry. There was still the pressing problem of raising finance. Biscoe had tried unsuccessfully the previous year, and all Skipper was able to do on this occasion was to persuade a cousin of his, Henry Hastings (my grandfather), to come out to Rhodesia and join his party. It was not until 1894, in fact, that Biscoe and Cyril did eventually raise some money in the form of the Holton Land and Mining Company. Until then, Skipper was happy enough to run Frank Johnson's Company, in the latter's absence, employing Biscoe, Bill, and Hastings for the erection of a ten stamp mill at the Vesuvius Mine near Mazoe. Unfortunately Skipper's party had been reduced by the death of Derrick. In May 1893 whilst Skipper was still in England, Arthur and Herbert Eyre had invited Derrick to join them on a prospecting trip to Hartley, where Derrick had gone down with Black Water Fever. In those days, little was known of this form of malaria, or its treatment, and in a very short time, he died. Due, possibly, to this loss, Skipper did no more development on the Harvester claim for a couple of years. Then in 1896, the Matabele and Mashona Rebellions caused a cessation of mining throughout the country for some time to come.

In 1991, as we celebrated the Centenary of these events, we reflected on the fact that, of that party of young men, only Skipper was to live out his long life in Rhodesia. Max Lambert and Derrick had died; Bill and Cyril had left the country for health reasons; and even Biscoe was soon to return to England. Biscoe's legacy to the country, however, was that his nephew, a recent graduate in Geology, came out and served the country well on the strength of his uncle's recommendations.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

- ☆ The Society encourages all readers and their friends and colleagues to enrol as members.
- ☆ The Society aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Zimbabwean history.
- ☆ Members of the Society are not, by any means, all historians. Among our members are collectors of Africana, libraries and learned institutions wishing to acquire background knowledge of one of Africa's key areas whilst the majority are Zimbabweans interested in the story of their own country.
- ☆ Outings to sites of interest with talks on related subjects and an annual dinner are part of the organised activities offered to members.
- ☆ The society encourages historical study and research; and endeavours to record in interesting form the story of Zimbabwe in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* the only publication devoted exclusively to this purpose.
- ☆ Membership is open to everyone. Paid-up members will receive *Heritage of Zimbabwe* published during the subscription year which begins on the 1st January.
- ☆ *Heritage of Zimbabwe* is published once a year. The articles will appeal to Zimbabweans as well as people beyond our borders who seek to understand our country.
- ☆ Each issue of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* contains a wide variety of articles on Zimbabwe's historic background: pioneering, military, transport, agricultural, political, biographical, literary, cultural and so on.
- ☆ History creates a sense of common purpose that develops into a healthy national consciousness. An active historical society can thus exert a tremendous influence for the good of our country.
- ☆ Your support would, therefore, be both welcome and worthwhile. Do join the Society now.

If you wish to become a member write for an application form to —

The National Honorary Secretary,
The History Society of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box 8268,
Causeway,
Zimbabwe.

Fort Charter

by Cormac Lloyd

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at Fort Charter on 13th May 1990.

This monument engraved with the words "Fort Charter 1890" stands on what remains of the rampart of a Pioneer fort. It was unveiled by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia in what was a rather low key ceremony in 1954. The fort was constructed by a troop of some 60 B.S.A. Company Police, left behind by the Column, which mustered about 300 men as it moved north from here.

I would like to say a few words firstly about the Charter after which this place was named. The Royal Charter defined the area of operation of the British South Africa Company as "the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese dominions". It was Rhodes' plan that the chartered territory would have a corridor to the sea, but the wording of the Charter appeared to deny that ambition. The reality of the matter was that the Portuguese's claims were contradicted by those who knew the situation in Mozambique, described thus by a Portuguese cavalry officer then serving there:[1]

> "We controlled the capital of the province on the island of Mozambique; we also controlled the entire district of Inhambane; we occupied Lourenço Marques and exercised a more nominal than effective authority in the surrounding lands ruled by chiefs who were vassals of the Crown; we had forts at various points in the province — Sofala, Tete, Sena, Quelimane, Ibo, Tungue, and a few more. Thus was the extent to which were reduced our royal domains in Portuguese East Africa; in the rest of our possessions in this part of Africa we had no authority of any kind."

Mr Rhodes was not one to miss this opportunity. On 13 May 1890, he left written instructions[2] with Colquhoun at Mafeking. This was shortly before the Pioneers set out from there to join the B.S.A. Company Police assembling at Macloutsie between the borders of Matabeleland and the Transvaal. The task of the Column was to make a new road to Mashonaland and the first duty of the Administrator of Mashonaland was to be this:

> "As soon as practicable after entering Mashonaland, you will . . . visit the chief of the Manica country and obtain from him on behalf of the Company, a treaty and concessions for the mineral and other rights in his territory . . . You will endeavour to secure the right of communication with the sea board, reporting on the best line of railway connection with the littoral from Mashonaland."

Avoiding confrontation with the Matabele apart, this was the most important task which lay ahead. Mt Hampden was 800 miles away from Mafeking. This was too great a distance from which to sustain the development of Mashonaland. However, Mt Hampden was only 350 miles from the Indian Ocean.

The whole plan almost came unstuck on 20 August 1890, when the Column had just left

1 A report of Musinho de Albuquerque quoted in James Duffy's *Portuguese Africa* 1959 at p. 230.
2 "Memorandum of Instructions for Mr M. Colquhoun": CT 1/1/1 National Archives, Harare.

Fort Victoria, proceeding in this direction. In London the British and Portuguese Foreign Ministers, Lord Salisbury and Senhor Freitas, agreed that Nyasaland would go to the British and all lands to the east of the Sabi river would be recognised as being Portuguese. Now, the Save river rises to the north and east, five miles from where we are. It is indeed fortunate that this Anglo-Portuguese convention was never ratified by the Portuguese Parliament, because of a riot it sparked off in Lisbon.

One of the Pioneers who settled in this country[3] and died in 1936, was well known as "Skipper" Hoste. In August 1899 he was in command of the R M S Trojan. Rhodes was a passenger returning to the Cape. He enlisted Hoste's help in locating the bay for the port he wanted, on charts of the Mozambique coast. Hoste was later in the advance party, which arrived here on the Pioneers' 107th day after leaving Mafeking. His account[4] reads as follows:

> "On 2 September we were laagered at the headwaters of the Umniati river. The following day was the coldest of the whole trip; it was blowing a hard easterly gale, accompanied by showers of icy cold rain. We who were ahead were trying to reach a place that had been christened Mooi Fontein by Van Rooyen, a very celebrated hunter. Ted Burnett, who was with us, was careful to explain that although the Fontein was there all right, he had never been able to discover where Mooi came in. We reached the place just before sunset and Burnett was proved quite right. It was a beast of a place to come in on such a cold night. There was not a scrap of shelter so far as could be seen. I sent out two or three parties to prospect round for a place of some sort where we would camp for a night with some chance of a modicum of comfort. Presently a man came back and said that he had discovered a few skimpy bushes that might give a little shelter, so we shifted over to them. They did not amount to much so we turned to and dug some trenches to sleep in. It was easy work digging, as the soil was mostly sand. We made them about two feet deep and as we threw up all soil we dug out on the weather side, we were fairly well sheltered and passed a comfortable night after all. The Column turned up at dawn and laagered near us. We stayed there the day, partly to give the cattle a rest and partly to select and mark out a place to build a fort, which was called Fort Charter. "A" Troop (Police) were left behind to build the fort and garrison it. September 5 "A" Troop (Pioneers) took the lead and "B" Troop took their place in the column. The next day we laagered at the headwaters of the Sabi river, where we found Mr Colquhoun and his party, with the exception of Mr Selous and a few troopers, waiting for us having fixed up his treaty satisfactorily. Selous had gone on to Manica to make a treaty with Mtassa, otherwise known as "Sifamba Basuku" ("he who walks by night"), who was an independent and powerful chief on our side of the Portuguese boundary."

As a result of his excursion Colquhoun, who had left the Column on 26 August, was later to report to Rhodes:[5]

> "Lobengula's claims in this neighbourhood (Mt Wedza) I have understood to extend at least as far east as the Sabi river. I consider, however, that (especially if any enquiry were made on the spot) this claim would be most difficult to establish, and it would be as undesirable to have the question raised. Between the Sabi and Razarwe rivers . . .

3 At the turn of the century, according to the voters roll, about ten per cent of the members of the Pioneer Column remained in the country, representing much less than one per cent of the total white, adult, male population — R. S. Roberts, "A Neglected Source of Pioneer History", *Rhodesiana* No. 40, 1979.

4 "Forty Years Ago — Rhodesia in 1890", published in *Rhodesiana* No. 12, Sept. 1965.

5 Letter from Colquhoun to Rhodes, 27 September 1890: CT 1/1/3 National Archives, Harare.

there are chiefs who acknowledge no one's authority. They have certainly never been under Matabele authority. I propose to lose no time in coming to arrangements and understandings re minerals etc. (by means of presents and friendly interviews) with these . . . chiefs so as to exclude the Portuguese. I do not consider it expedient to execute formal treaties with them (which might be constituted as being tantamount to an admission that we had no business there) especially in view of the Portuguese arrangements."

Selous, who knew the country better than any other white man at the time, maintained that Lobengula had authority only as far as the Sabi river in the east, and to the Hunyani in the north. Selous' views were not palatable to the Chartered Company, for an independent Mashonaland meant the Rudd Concession from Lobengula could not be used as a basis for the occupation of Mashonaland. It was the Rudd Concession which had secured the Charter and therefore Lobengula should be regarded as supreme. There was a certain amount of hypocrisy in this view, for the Mashona chiefs in the east had to be recognised as independent in order to secure treaties excluding the Portuguese.

That is all I am going to say about the Charter and Pioneer politics. When first visiting this place Richard Franks and I were surprised to see that a fair haul must have been involved from the nearest water supply to the Fort. It has since occurred to me that the site was chosen specifically for its distance from water or vlei. In those days the biggest killer was malaria. The walls of the fort were not thrown up from nearby diggings and the earth originally used was carried in from elsewhere.[6] The moat which we now see came in later at the time of the Mashona Rising. Work in constructing the fort was carried out under the command of Capt Heyman, one of the least flamboyant but most capable officers at the disposal of the Column. In the following year he was the victor at the battle of Macequece with the Portuguese. He would have acquired undying fame had he been allowed to push his men down to the coast. Instructions from the British Government were that on no account was he to advance further, but Rhodes countermanded this, saying "take all you can and ask me afterwards". At the end of May 1891 a patrol of B.S.A. Company Police were about to take the Portuguese garrison at Chimoio, when a British envoy came scurrying up from Beira and sent them back.[7]

A description of life at Fort Charter at the end of 1890 was given by Mr Mallet Veale when writing in *Outpost* magazine some fifty years later.[8]

> "In December I left Salisbury and from then onwards during the next three months we had such a season of heavy rain as I have never experienced since. We were, however, more fortunate at Charter as regards shelter, having quite good rainproof huts, whereas in Salisbury just before I left, our only shelter consisted of our blankets pegged over us on a forked stick, and owing to incessant rain, one was often wet through for days on end. Although we fared better off in this respect we fared badly in the way of rations, food supplies being of the scantiest . . . We subsisted chiefly on mealie meal and green mealies, not even supplemented with salt, meat of course we had, but anything more unappetising can be appreciated only by those who have experienced it."

A hospital had to be constructed of poles and grass, when "D" Troop arrived from Fort Tuli during the rains, with 80 men down with malaria. Cpl Devine was sent out with a party, to camp

6 J. K. G. Borchards, "A Brief Description of Fort Charter", Sept. 1960 BO 9/1/1 National Archives, Harare.

7 J. C. Barnes, "The Battle of Massi Kessi", *Rhodesiana* No. 32 March 1975.

8 "Despatch Rider in 1890", republished in *Blue and Old Gold — Stories of the Rhodesian Police.*

next to a nearby swamp and cut the poles, and he later described in *Outpost*[9] encountering mosquitoes such as he had never come across before. "D" Troop later came under orders to follow "A" Troop to Manicaland, but was unable to move owing to lack of footwear. Cpl Devine was sent down to the Lundi river where it had been learnt wagons bringing a fresh supply of boots were being held up. On his return journey Devine encountered "D" Troop moving south to intercept a Boer commando at Naka Pass in Chibi District. The commando was turned back when a force of 140 men, with two maxim guns arrived there to block their path.[10]

Another tale of Fort Charter in 1891 was told by a Police trooper of how he endured his hardships by keeping his fingers clean and his mouth shut.[11]

> "The 1000 mile trek from Kimberley to Salisbury was almost an accomplished fact, and those of us who had managed to withstand the hardships of a wet season among the rivers and swamps that lie between Tuli and Victoria were, after 6 months of toil and trouble, within measurable distance of the capital. Towards the end of the journey my luck was out. I had been thrown from the front of a wagon, which had struck the stump of a tree. As I was down with a dose of fever at the time, I remember little about it, and would never have done so, had it not been that a bag of mealies followed me, and as the front wheel of the wagon passed over both, the country was saved another funeral. I was carried into Fort Charter and for five months I had to lie in one position in a hut, until I had recovered sufficiently to limp up to Salisbury and see the promised land ... One day I had a visit from good old Sgt X, who held a dual position, for he was Postmaster, and being one in great authority for he had the key to the dop cask. "You are green and young yet", said he, "and this life is new to you, but you must buck up and get well again. You will soon get used to your new surroundings and like this country." "Wait until I'm better," said I, "and all will be alright, but the days are long and the nights terrible. Why the last newspaper, given to me 10 days ago was 6 months old and I knew it by heart, even the advertisements." "Do you like seeing illustrated newspapers?" said he. "Rather", said I, "but where can I get them here?" "Well there are always ways", said he, "and if you promise to keep your mouth shut, once a week you shall have a treat. Now the post cart comes in every Tuesday at 7 am and does not leave until 4 pm. I am the Postmaster and in that bag are Doctor Jameson's papers. I know how to slip off the string, open them and put them back again so that no one will be any wiser. But you must have clean hands and there must be no thumb marks on them papers."

Sgt X, the Postmaster at Fort Charter, later became the magistrate in a number of towns in this country.[12]

After 1891 Fort Charter was not manned as a Police post again until the Rebellion, but remained a Post station. At Christmas 1892 Dunne's Drift Hotel of Charter — presumably near the crossing of the Ngezi river to the north of us on the old road to Salisbury — advertised in the "Mashonaland Times and Mining Chronicle". In 1896 the hotel was managed by a Mr Arthur Strickland, who married a Meikle sister. When the Rebellion broke out he assumed command of the laager. The Postmaster and local Justice of the Peace at the time was Mr Joe

9 "Some Reminiscences of the Pioneer Expedition Mashonaland 1890", republished in *Blue and Old Gold — Stories of the Rhodesian Police*.

10 D. K. Parkinson, "The Fort at Naka Pass", *Rhodesiana* No. 19 Dec. 1968.

11 Neville Jones, "Rhodesian Genesis" 1953 from an account by unknown author in a file of the Pioneers and Early Settlers Society.

12 The Postmaster at Charter was Mr C. W. Cary according to R. Cherer Smith, *Avondale to Zimbabwe* p. 85.

Firm. A burgher, Mr Van Niekerk, received a telephonic summons from him to enter laager forthwith and had a narrow escape when bringing his family in from T. Bucknill Farm.[13] A group of heavily armed Mashona tribesmen arrived at the farm and escorted his ox-wagon part of the way. As dusk came they fell back and disappeared before entering the country of Chief Mutekedza. In darkness now, Van Niekerk walked into a bark rope tied across the track. Fortunately no alarm sounded from the end of the rope and the children within the wagon kept quiet. So as not to wake an ambush party, he fastened the rope to a shrub on one side, to maintain its tension, and cut it. His wagon passed on through the night and reached the laager at Charter. The following morning others came in with reports of a body found and signs of a large encampment near where Van Niekerk's wagon had been held up.

There is a difference of views amongst historians of the years 1896 and 1897 on the extent to which the outbreak of rebellion in Mashonaland was the result of widespread co-ordination of activities by rebel leaders, particularly the religious ones, in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. The story I have just related about the Van Niekerk family tends to support the view that it was not the "night of the long knives" it was later made out to be, and there was confusion in the pattern of events which marked the outbreak. Chief Mutekedza joined in the Rebellion, but found himself with people on both sides of the fighting, as he had earlier in April allowed his men to join the Salisbury Column. Yet in his work Terence Ranger maintains that Charter District was the nursery of the Mashona Rebellion. In making this claim he relies on the fact that a man called Bonda was living there under Chief Musarurwa, and was the Mwari cult officer believed to have been in contact with Mkwati, before the Rebellion spread to Mashonaland. Mkwati[14] was an influential religious figure in the Matabele Rebellion. Before that he put out a new version of the ancient Rozwi "Mwari" cult. In Ranger's work this version is given from the accounts of prisoners captured during 1896–7.

> "after the white people came, Mkwati came back from Njele with a woman with a light complexion; her name was Tengela. And he told the people she was the Inkosikanzi of the Mlimo . . . The Mlimo has one wife and three children. Mkwati is the father of the three children."

Ranger points out that this cult, in which Mkwati assumed for himself a central role, was concerned with fertility. Before the Rebellion this was threatened on a national scale, by rinderpest and prolonged drought, none of which was relieved by those in authority.

In its day Charter owed its importance to road communications, being at the intersection of the first road south to Fort Victoria and a road from the Marandellas Inn (where Ruzawi School now stands) in a south-westerly direction criss-crossing the watershed to Bulawayo. The stage coach firm, C. H. Zeederberg Ltd, plied these roads and had an agent and a coach house and stables at Charter. The ticket issued by that firm in Bulawayo contained a disclaimer of liability which read:[15]

> "The Contractors will not hold themselves responsible for loss or damage caused by capsizing of the coach unless this is due to the drunkness of the driver."

In 1891 Lord Randolph Churchill, when writing from Mashonaland, described thus the progress of the stage coach which carried him on his journey:[16]

13 "Before Charter Laager 1896", *NADA* No. 13 1935.

14 The *Rhodesia Herald* 13 October 1897 published a story which held that Mkwati had been murdered by his nephew and ward Mike, who was the true 'high priest' of Mwari and who now resumed direction of the cult; T. O. Ranger in *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896–7*, 1967, states that there is no other evidence to support this story about Mkwati's death.

15 Basil Fuller, *Bid Time Return*, 1954 p. 137.

16 Harry Zeederberg, *Veld Express*, 1971 p. 102.

"They are drawn by ten or twelve mules or horses harnessed in pairs. Two men are required to drive the team — one holding the reins and the other the long whip with which he can severely chastise all but the leading pair. Driving a team of mules, the whip is in operation every minute, forcing the stubborn animals to do their best. At times one of the drivers is compelled to descend from the box, and run alongside the team, flogging them all with the greatest heartiness and impartiality. Despite this an average of six miles an hour is all that can be realised, despite the harsh treatment. Roads there are none, and they go along, reeling and plunging like a ship at sea, and constantly reeling over at an alarming angle."

The proprietor of C. H. Zeederberg Ltd — who by all accounts ran a tight ship and not just a dry one — would not have been amused by these words. His drivers, with few exceptions, used the whip sparingly but were experts at cracking the long whip twenty inches or so above the backs of the animals. When a regular service was established, the team was changed at intervals every twelve miles or so, at coaching stables along the route. Generally these structures comprised a rough wooden shed opening onto a small brushwood corral, with a hut or two alongside. It is my own guess that the coach house and stables erected at Charter were substantial permanent structures because at the time it was anticipated that the railway line would pass through Charter. This was not to be and as a result Fort Charter passed into relative obscurity in this century.

The Zeederberg transport network brings me to the last story I have to tell. It is not specifically a story about Fort Charter, but one I came across when delving into the mysterious presence at Charter of two unknown soldiers of early this century. These graves are in the middle of the veld near here, and were reported to Dave Worthington, as Australian graves, by a Boer War veteran.[17]

After defeats in the South African War, in one week at Magersfontein, Colesberg and Colenso, the British Empire as a whole went onto a war footing. There was a problem in getting enough men and artillery into action in time. Note was taken that there was now a railway from Beira to Salisbury, after which the line was still under construction. On 21 April 1860, the "C" Battery of the Royal Canadian Artillery, with 792 men, disembarked at Beira.[18] Four hours later the Canadians left by train, with six guns on board, and a contingent of Queensland Mounted Infantry, who had been waiting for them in Beira. In Rhodesia the delivery of mail was temporarily suspended. Zeederberg's firm collected mules in Bulawayo and then drove them day and night on the road to Marandellas, picking up a further ten animals from each posting station on the way. All mail coaches in the country, and between 700 and 800 draft animals, assembled at Marandellas station, ahead of the train.

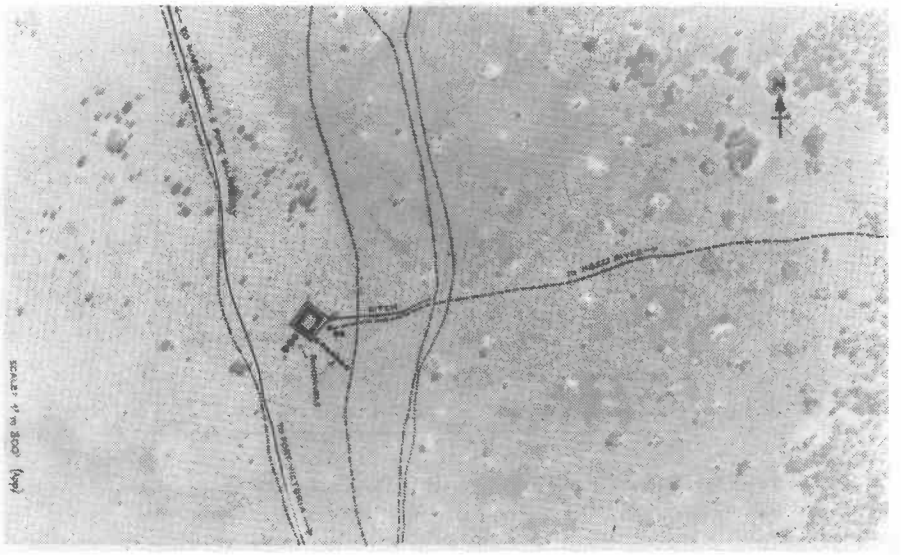
The journey by coach and wagon back to Bulawayo must have been the most fantastic spectacle at Charter before or since — the coaches each loaded with 25 men, running at times at ten mph, some with field guns hitched behind, and each wagon bearing equipment, ammunition and a complement of 30 men.[19] The two mile long flying column reached the railhead at Bulawayo on 7 May. After a further train journey and four days and a night of forced marches, the artillery reinforcements arrived at the place appointed for battle. On the morning of 16 May

17 Dave Worthington's informant was Major "Griff" Chumley, who was from New Zealand and settled in Wedza.

18 Peter Gibbs, *The History of the British South Africa Company Police* Vol. 1 1972 p. 239.

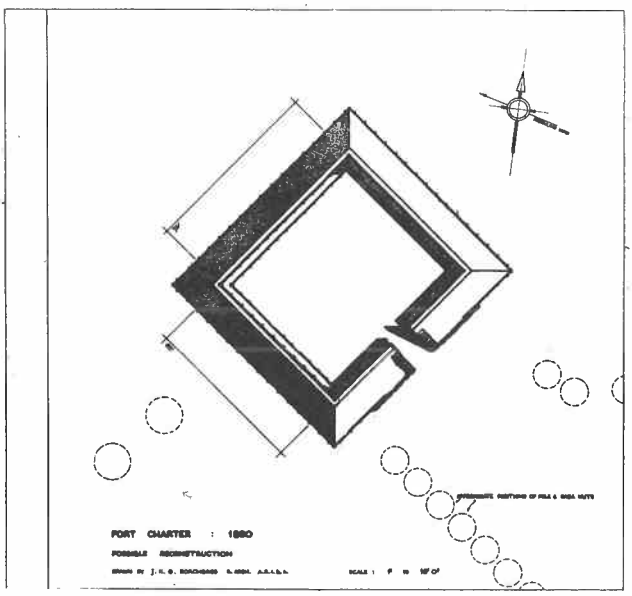
19 Sir J. Ellengerger, "The Bechuanaland Protectorate and The Boer War, 1899–1902" *Rhodesiana* No. 11 Dec. 1964, for an eyewitness account of the battle for the Relief of Mafeking.

relief columns under Colonels Plumer and Mahon began the final advance on Mafeking. They were engaged by General De la Ray in the afternoon and evening[20] and entered the town in the early hours of 17 May. It was the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Pioneers' leaving of Mafeking. And the journey from the port of Beira into that beleaguered town had taken 26 days.

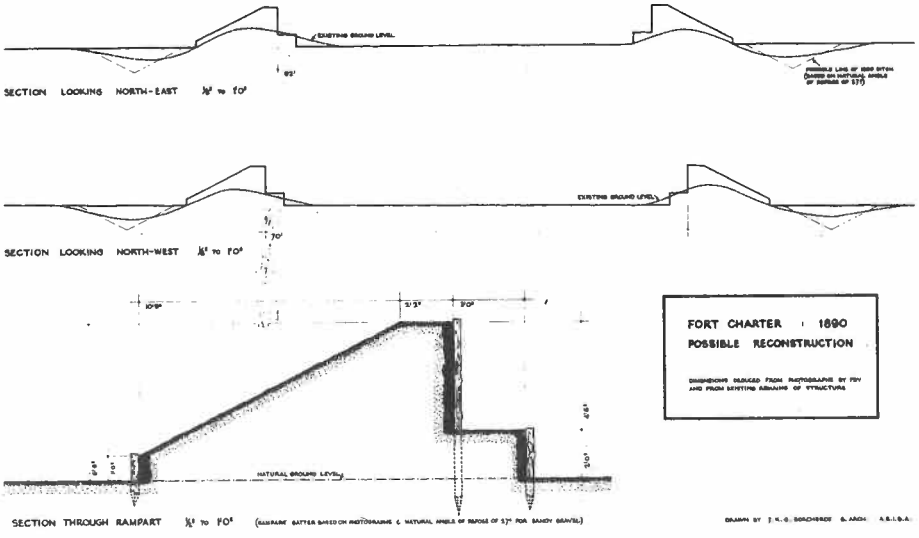


Plan of Fort Charter *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

20 Stanley Portal Hyatt, *The Northward Trek*, 1909 at p. 196; the date of Column's departure is generally given as 27 June 1890, which is when the Pioneer and Police Troops together left Macloutsie.



Possible reconstruction of Fort Charter in 1890, drawn by J. K. G. Borcherds *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*



Possible reconstruction of Fort Carter, 1899, drawn by J. K. G. Borcherds
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Opening of the Commemoration Exhibition of select works by Robert Paul (1906–1980) Paintings and Drawings at the inauguration on 3rd December 1991 of 110 Livingstone Avenue as the new venue for Gallery Delta

by Peter Jackson

It is now over seven months since Gallery Delta held its last exhibition, before having to vacate their much loved and unique premises in Strachan's Building. I feel especially honoured and pleasured therefore to have been asked to re-open Gallery Delta here at 110 Livingstone Avenue. This new home for the Gallery is very different, but is equally unique and of special historical significance having been the home of the country's most eminent landscape painter, Robert Fowler Paul, who lived here from 1937 after his marriage to Doreen (Dreen) Hawkings, up until his death in 1980. It is therefore most opportune for Gallery Delta to be able to re-open here with this special commemorative exhibition of Robert Paul's work.

Robert Paul liked buildings, especially the part they play in the landscape. He clearly appreciated the special qualities of many old buildings. His own house dates in its earliest portions to 1894, and may well be the oldest remaining house in Harare, although it is predated by the 1892 Government Offices (the Stables) and the 1893 Market Hall.

The stand, comprising 125 square roods, was originally given to Edward Vigne, a solicitor, by Deed of Grant from the B.S.A. Company in 1894. Edward Vigne had come to the country with his brother Dr Alfred Vigne during the previous year. Edward Vigne was born in 1857 in Fort Beaufort in South Africa, and practised as a solicitor in Kimberley. On 28th August 1893 he became the ninth solicitor to be admitted to practice before the Chief Magistrate of Mashonaland. He built his house in 1894 and by early 1895 he was in practice with Mallett and Honey, the beginnings of today's legal firm of Honey and Blankenberg. Vigne was an enthusiastic cricketer and sponsored the Vigne Cup, which I am told is still in existence. In November 1908 he was subject to fits of depression, when he mysteriously disappeared from the Mazoe Hotel one Sunday afternoon. His decomposed body was found in the bush a few days later on 9th December.

Vigne had sold the house in 1900, which by then comprised two narrow thatched rooms, with a separate kitchen and cooks room for £700. The next owner kept it for only a year selling it in 1901 for £400 to a Leonard Wigg by which time Wigg had already had plans drawn up for a major extension linking the existing rooms beneath a new corrugated iron roof. This is the appearance that Derek Huggins's restoration is intended to achieve (plus the additional front gable added by the Pauls in 1940).

Less than six months later the extended house was sold again, to an Irishman James Ffolliott Darling for £1500. Darling, a failed Dublin medical graduate, was born in 1859, emigrating to the Cape in 1883, where he became a medical orderly. He joined "A" Troop of the 1890 Pioneer Column, and upon release took up prospecting. He was one of those rescued

by the Mazoe Patrol during the First Chimurenga. He was an enthusiastic naturalist, being a Fellow of both the Dublin and London Zoological Societies, to whom he sent back numerous specimens from South Africa and Rhodesia. He eventually retired to Ireland and settled down as a gentleman farmer, where he died in 1929.

Darling sold the house in 1907, and it passed through a number of company liquidations during 1910. From 1912 to 1922 it belonged to Transvaal and Rhodesia Estates. After 1922 it was owned by Ethel Cooper, a spinster. The property was purchased by Marie Hawkings in 1928, who added a separate garage in 1929 and a further small stoep (later enclosed) was added to the east side of the house in 1933. In 1934 the original earth closets were upgraded and connected to the new Municipal sewer laid in the lane behind. Her daughter Dreen, a well known tennis player, had moved into the house in 1933, and after her marriage to Robert Paul in 1937, a further bedroom and bathroom were built-on in 1940 to provide an additional gable to the front elevation.

Dreen seems to have been one woman who knew how to cope with Robert Paul, particularly with regard to his roving eye. The other was her mother, of whom Robert stood in awe; frequently though he sent her a gift voucher from Mashfords for Christmas. On one occasion 'Ma' made a surprise visit to her daughter's house, while Robert was out at an army mess night. When it got late, Dreen offered her mother their main bedroom for the night, and stayed up to tell Robert of the change until she eventually fell asleep in the spare room. On his return Robert unsteadily undressed in the darkness, climbed into his own bed and slapped his mother-in-law hard on the bottom, telling her to "move over you old cow". She didn't budge! 'Ma' Hawkings sold the house to her daughter in 1953, and after Dreen passed away in 1981, it was inherited jointly by the children Paul and Colette.

The original architectural character of this lovely house remains intact. The "railway carriage" plan of the 1894 structure is an excellent example of the frugal architecture from the earliest years of Zimbabwe's colonial settlement, typified by narrow rooms, a thatched double-pitched roof and small window openings. The 1901 timber verandah was also typical of the upgrading of buildings that took place about the turn of the century — for example also at the Stables, and Market Hall that I have already mentioned. This verandah was later modified by replacing the delicate timber posts with brick, and by having some sections of it enclosed, and other parts removed. However, one timber post has survived, and Neil Morgan has generously replicated this with the new posts of Oregon Pine. Eventually the rear verandah may also be similarly restored, though the small store at the west end will probably be kept, as this is a room where Robert Paul did a great deal of his painting.

I must especially congratulate Derek Huggins and his building team on the restoration that they have achieved. Very little alteration has taken place — but the transformation is quite remarkable, while Arthur Azevedo's grilles give it a necessary and magical continuity with the original gallery.

What I find to be particularly encouraging is the support that the City planners department have given this project. Although it has taken many months for Special Consent for the gallery use to come through, it has at last been approved. It is an important milestone for historic building conservation in our City, despite being entirely outside the provisions of the current Town Planning Scheme. It is exactly an example of what the proposed City of Harare (Historic Buildings) Regulations are intended to achieve. Further good news is that these are now included within the current draft of the new Harare Combination Master Plan.

In 1985 Christopher Johnson prepared a thesis for his Masters degree in Fine Arts at Rhodes University Cape Town, on "The Life and Works of Robert Paul" from which I would like to draw a few observations.

Johnson stresses the early influence of the post-war British Neo-romantics on Paul's work,

particularly through John Piper and Ivon Hitchens, both of whom Paul came to know very well. "Both John Piper and Robert Paul shared a similar interest in painting both buildings and landscapes and one must remember that one of the reasons Paul came out to Rhodesia in 1927 was to find new landscapes." After his retirement his output of work was prolific — he could be painting up to six canvasses at the same time. On the other hand he would sometimes go into stagnation for months without painting, and when particularly depressed would throw away many that frustrated him. (These were very often saved by his wife Dreen, who would rescue them from the dustbin and store them in the roofspace over the house or garage).

Robert Paul's love of alcohol was notorious within the context of the very conservative Rhodesian society in which he lived. His daughter Colette has recorded however that he never mixed drinking and painting. Terence McCormick wrote of him to be "eccentric, alcoholic, philandering, iconoclastically orientated, witty, a man of considerable charm . . . a person to whom authority and convention meant nothing at all and from whom you could always expect the unexpected." Christopher Johnson believed that "the kernel of his theme was a protracted visual mining into the mood, texture, colour and cogent charisma of the Inyanga landscape. He explored it with a depth of familiar understanding and with a range of media and technique which no other painter in the country has equalled. He was not afraid to explore the same scene over again in a variety of styles and media . . . . He was essentially an intuitive artist." In Johnson's thesis Robert Paul is clearly acknowledged as the foremost painter in Zimbabwe . . . "he stands ahead of others, because he confronted modernism honestly, as an Englishman in Africa. There was nothing pretentious about him." I believe that this exhibition will even further enhance the painter's reputation as an outstanding artist, as well as giving a wider public the first opportunity to view such a broad range of his work since Independence. The marvellous content of this show really does let Robert Paul's art speak for itself.

Finally, on behalf of all of us here this evening I would like to congratulate Paul Paul, Colette Wiles, Helen Lieros and Derek Huggins on their achievement with both this exhibition and its setting, and to welcome you all, on their behalf, back to Gallery Delta.

Footnote

The alterations and restoration work were completed in October 1992, and Gallery Delta is now able to occupy the entire building. Improvements to the grounds should be complete early in 1993.

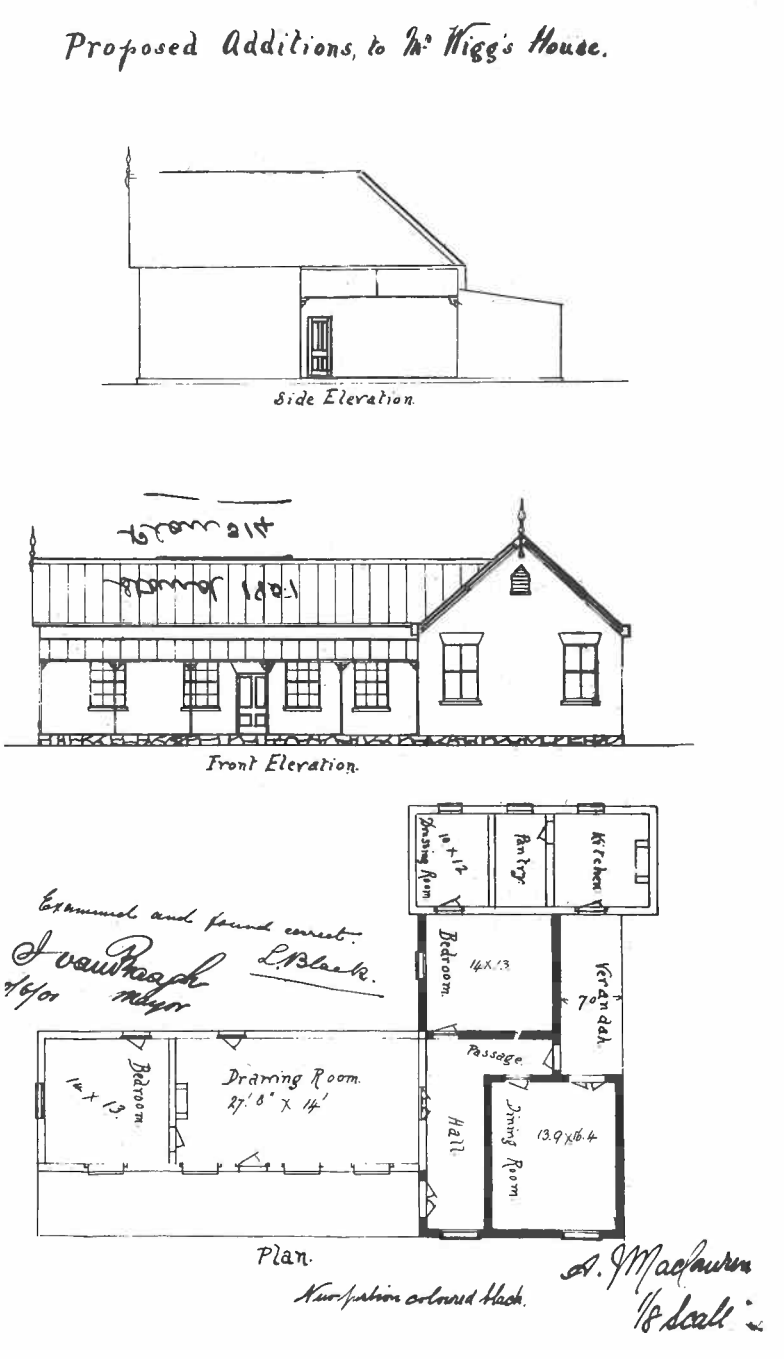


Figure 1. **The builder A. Maclaurin's plan for the 1901 extensions, linking the two original structures beneath a new iron roof**

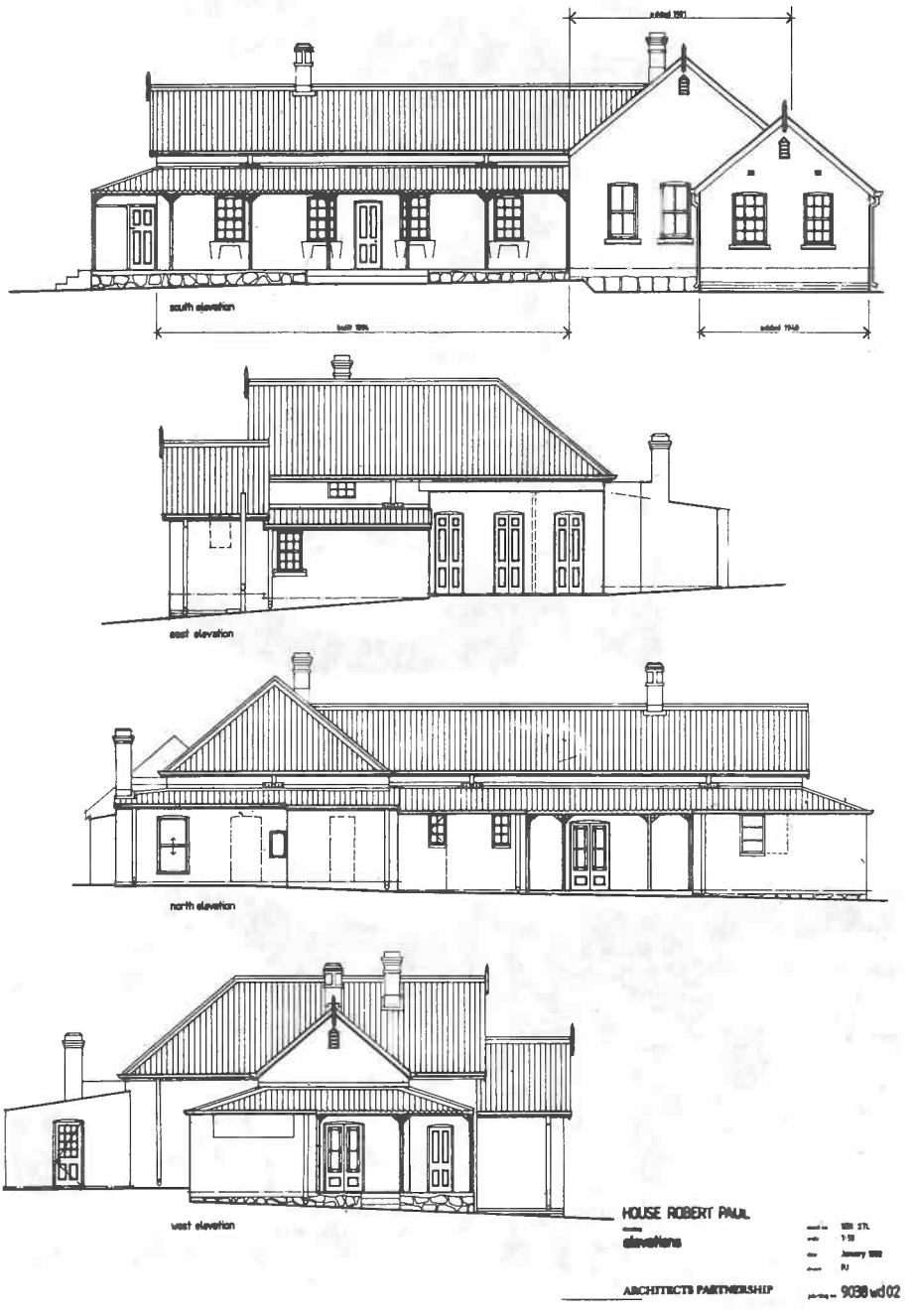


Figure 2. **The author's elevations showing renovations**

Figure 3. **Robert Paul**

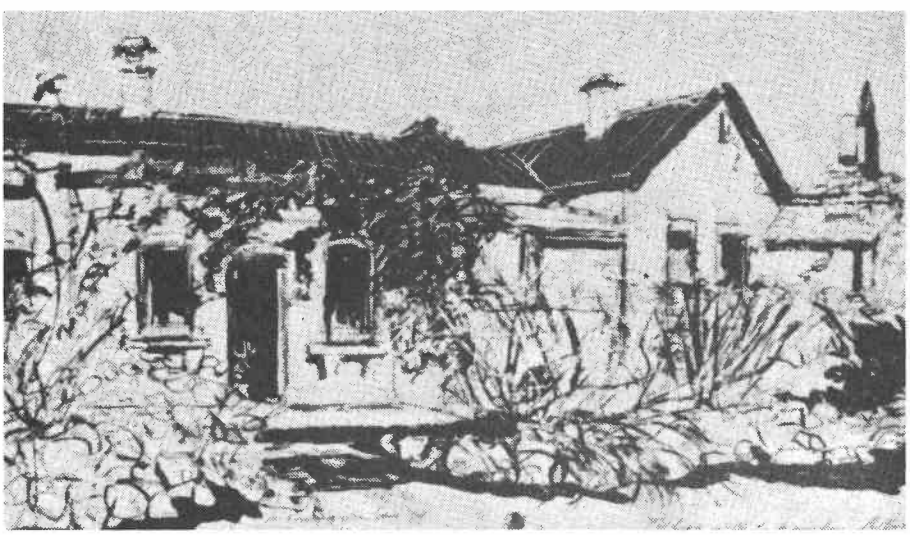


Figure 4. **110 Livingstone Avenue, as painted by Robert Paul in 1978, showing part of the verandah enclosed** *(Photo Ilo)*

Figure 5. **The same view as '4', after renovation. The 1894 structure is on the left; the large gable dates from 1901, and the smaller from 1940** *(Photo Ilo)*

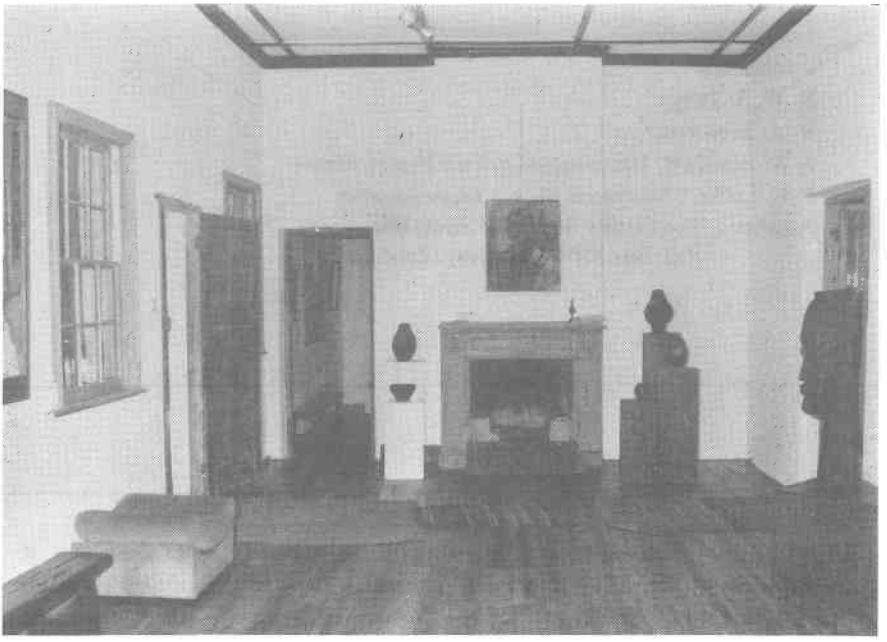


Figure 6. **An interior view to show how well the old house is adapting to use as a gallery. The only self-portrait painted by Robert Paul hangs over the fireplace** *(Photo Ilo)*

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

The Society exists to promote historical studies and to encourage research. It also aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of the history of Zimbabwe and neighbouring territories.

For further information and particulars of membership please write to the National Honorary Secretary at P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

For information on Branch activities please write to:

Manicaland Branch, 15 Shelley Avenue, Fairbridge Park, Mutare, Zimbabwe.
Mashonaland Branch, P.O. Box 3946, Harare, Zimbabwe.

Address: The History Society of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box 8368, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

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

History Society of Zimbabwe

National Chairman's Report for 1991

It is my pleasure to present the Chairman's report for 1991 which was a successful year for the Society. The Mashonaland Branch of the Society under the able leadership of Tim Tanser was particularly active during the year and arranged a range of attractive outings, including a weekend at Kariba and also evening talks which included a very well-attended address by Lord Blake at the Harare Club. We now have 696 voting members.

The next volume of the Society's journal, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, No. 10 will be published shortly and we already have in hand most of the material for *Heritage of Zimbabwe,* No. 11, which should follow shortly afterwards, provided that we do not experience production problems. I would like to take this opportunity to thank our editor, Mike Kimberley for his outstanding service to the Society in producing the journal.

Without consulting the Society, the organisation which housed the Society's Publications including back-numbers of *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage* moved them to very unsatisfactory premises and left them in disorder. Under Rose Kimberley's direction, the publications had to be sorted. We thank her very much indeed for taking control of the situation and also for handling orders for back-numbers and the Society's membership records. As a result of the move and the unsatisfactory manner in which the publications were then stored, some volumes were damaged for which the Society made an insurance claim and received compensation. The publications are in the process of being moved to Richard Wood's house as a temporary measure. The Anglo American Corporation is constructing a new building in Avondale to house its archives and has undertaken to house the Society's publications for at least ten years, once the new building is complete. We are most grateful to both Richard Wood for agreeing to house the publications immediately and to Anglo American for their helpful gesture.

The cost of producing and publishing the Society's journal has increased a great deal. The annual subscription has had to be increased to cover part of the budgeted cost of producing the next volume of the journal but it is clear that subscriptions alone will no longer cover the cost of publishing the journal so we are making an appeal for sponsorship. Several of our Corporate members will already have received or will shortly receive details of our appeal. The Society's neck-tie has been out of stock for about ten years so the Committee decided to adopt a new design and to arrange for the production of the tie which should be available shortly. You will be receiving details through the post soon. I would like to thank Tim Tanser for his efficiency and enthusiasm in arranging for the production of the new tie.

The Society will celebrate its 40th Anniversary next year. The incoming committee will be planning special events to mark the occasion.

The Society held its Annual Dinner for 1991 on 12th April 1991 at the Harare Club. Members and their friends attended the dinner at which the guest of honour, Mr Roy Lander, delivered a very well researched paper on the History of the British South Africa Company.

The Society will once again be holding its annual dinner at the Harare Club on 10th April 1992 at which the guest speaker will be the Headmaster of Plumtree School, Mr Mike Wiley. If you have not already done so, please confirm whether you are coming to the dinner by posting the tear-off slip with your cheque as soon as possible.

We are all very grateful to Richard Wood and Lex Ogilvie for carrying out their duties as National Secretary and National Treasurer so efficiently during the year and to Richard Franks for making the arrangements for the Annual Dinner. I would like to thank all the other members of the Committee for their enthusiasm and support during the year.

A. M. Rosettenstein