

HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

PUBLICATION No. 13

1994



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Publication No. 13 — 1994

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe

Edited by

M. J. KIMBERLEY

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

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With the continuing astronomic inflation in Zimbabwe in the 1990s and the regular increases in printing costs, the Society is again in trouble as our projected income for 1994 and 1995 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.

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Erratum

Heritage No. 12

On page 28 of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* No. 12, 1993, as an illustration for the article entitled *Our Sixth Judge — Sir Murray Bisset* by your Honorary Editor we reproduced a group photograph of the Attorney General's Staff in 1931. The names of those in the group were written in pencil on the reverse of the photograph by the National Archives of Zimbabwe photographic section from whom the photograph was purchased. The writing was far from copperplate and the typesetter misread the first three names and your Honorary Editor failed to correct the error. Six of our readers were good enough to draw attention to the error.

The first three names in the back row should read —

E. W. G. Jarvis, who was appointed a judge of the High Court in 1964

F. C. Wisdom, who became Master of the High Court

V. E. Robinson who became Federal Attorney General in 1954 and was knighted in 1959.

The lady to the right of centre in the middle row, recorded as — by the National Archives, has recently been identified as Mrs Kay Hartnell.

Still in need of identification is the gentleman in the middle of the back row.

Can anyone help?

M. J. Kimberley

CONTENTS

FOREWORD, by Michael J. Kimberley	ix
NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS, by Michael J. Kimberley	xi
THE BEGINNINGS OF PHARMACY IN ZIMBABWE, by Alistair G. McKenzie	1
OUR SEVENTH JUDGE — SIR ROBERT MCILWAINE, by Michael J. Kimberley	17
FORGOTTEN MISSION, FORGOTTEN MARTYR, by Rob S. Burrett	29
THE PHYSICAL ENERGY STATUE, by John McCarthy	39
ASPECTS OF THE COINAGE OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA, by Peter Locke	51
ARTHUR JOHN CHARLES MOLYNEUX FGS, FRGS, 1865–1920, by Peter Fey	63
A CONNECTION WITH THE ROYAL WEST FRONTIER FORCE 1939–1945, by Edwin Morris	69
THE SHANGANI STORY, by David Grant	81
FOCUS ON ASPECTS OF THE LAST STAND OF THE WILSON PATROL AND ITS AFTERMATH, by David Grant	97
THE MEIKLES, by John Meikle	101
HISTORY OF CIVIL AVIATION 1938 TO 1961, by Martin Madders	113
THE SOUTHERN RHODESIA AIR FORCE, 1939–1945, by Peter D. Cooke	123
THE HISTORY OF ZIMBABWE'S INDIGENOUS CATTLE, by Carmen Stubbs	137
NOTE ON THE MASHONALAND BRANCH OUTING TO THE MIDLANDS AND SHANGANI, by M. B. E. Whiley	141
LETTER TO THE EDITOR	145
OBITUARY— GUY STORRY	147

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FOUNDED: 1953

P.O. Box CY 35, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

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A. The journal RHODESIANA

(40 issues published from 1956–1980)

The following issues are available though some issues are in very short supply

No. 19, 1968	No. 24, 1971	No. 29, 1973	No. 34, 1976	No. 39, 1978
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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	

B. The Journal NADA

(Published annually from 1923–1980)

A limited number of the following issues are available
1977, 1978, 1979, 1980.

C. The journal HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE

(Published annually). Nos. 3 and 7 are out of print but the following issues are available —

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No. 8, 1989	No. 9, 1990	No. 10, 1991	No. 11, 1992	No. 12, 1993
No. 13, 1994				

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Foreword

This is the thirteenth volume of The History Society of Zimbabwe's annual journal *Heritage of Zimbabwe*. It appears almost on schedule for 1994 and some fourteen years since the first volume in that series and thirty eight years since the Society, then known as the Rhodesiana Society, began publishing a journal. As always, the journal aims to offer at least one article of interest to every reader, wherever he may be.

The content of this issue is very much a miscellany and offers some medical, military and numismatic history, some farming, geological and judicial biography, some sculpture, some aviation and some pioneer history.

The major article is a moving account of the Shangani Patrol by David Grant, a history teacher from Matabeleland, based on a very moving lecture given to members of the Society during a visit to the Midlands in 1993.

There are biographies of Sir Robert McIlwaine, an early High Court judge in this country and a water court judge for thirty years, and A. J. C. Molyneux, an early geologist.

The story of the peregrinations of the Physical Energy Statue and notes on the history of our coinage are followed by a short note on our indigenous cattle and some recollections of service in the Royal West Frontier Force during the second world war.

An interesting history of the early days of pharmacy in this country is followed by articles on civil aviation and the air force, being the text of talks given to members of the society under the auspices of its Mashonaland Branch.

The compilation and editing of this annual journal is a fairly ongoing extra mural activity and typed and illustrated relevant articles are always welcome at any time, for possible inclusion in future issues of the Society's journal.

Finally and most importantly, grateful thanks are expressed to the six benefactors and fourteen sponsors, as well as the advertisers, whose generous financial contributions and overall support and encouragement ensure the continued existence of our journal notwithstanding galloping inflation.

Michael J. Kimberley
Honorary Editor
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Notes on New Contributors

by Michael J. Kimberley

Peter Devereux Cooke was born in Salisbury, the third son of Herbert Cooke, a miner and farmer. He was educated at Allan Wilson School and the Witwatersrand Technical College, Johannesburg, and joined the topographical section of the Department of the Surveyor General in 1950.

In 1953 he was transferred to the Southern Rhodesia Air Force on a two year commission followed by a medium service and then a permanent commission. He retired from the Air Force of Zimbabwe in May 1983, with the rank of Wing Commander, after 30 years of air force service.

He held various command appointments including A and B Flight Commander of No. 7 Helicopter Squadron and Officer Commanding of No. 4 Trojan Squadron, Nos. of 1 and 2 Force Units, of No. 1 Ground Training School, and of the Volunteer Reserve. Currently manager of a horticultural enterprise, his interests are air force history, medal collecting, rebuilding old cars and fishing.

Peter Fey was born in Tanganyika of German parents and spent the war years in Southern Rhodesia. Repatriated to Germany in 1947 the family eventually returned to this country overland in 1956.

Peter attended Prince Edward School, then studied geology at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. Since 1965 he has worked as a geologist in several Southern African countries, spending 10 years with the Geological Survey in Harare.

He emigrated to Australia in 1980 but returned in 1992. He is once again employed by the Geological Survey through an Australian Government aid programme, and is in charge of regional mapping.

David Grant was born in Bulawayo. He attended various primary schools as his father was in the Ministry of Education and was transferred on promotion from time to time. He completed his high school education at Plumtree High School. He was commissioned into the Army and served with the Rhodesian African Rifles. He is currently teaching English and History at Falcon College, Esigodini, and his wide interests include history, literature, cricket, rugby and fishing.

Born in London, England, in 1915, **Martin Madders** left school in 1931 and enlisted in the Royal Air Force as a Halton Aircraft Apprentice. Following technical duties at various Home stations including Biggin Hill and Kenley, he was selected for a three year secondment to the Southern Rhodesia Air Unit, flying out with the then D. C. A. Major Dirk Cloete in 1938. Responsibilities included aircraft servicing and overhaul with instructional periods and lecturing to territorial aircrew and tradesmen. At this time the Unit's permanent staff consisted of only two officers and six other ranks. Martin was commissioned in the Tech. (E) Branch of the R. A. F. in 1942 serving in the Rhodesia Air Training Group until 1944 when he was transferred to the U.K. Returning to this country in 1946 he joined Central African Airways as Maintenance Superintendent and then the Airworthiness Branch of the Department of Civil Aviation, becoming Director in 1966 a position he held for twelve years, followed by two additional two year periods.

Martin is a Chartered Engineer, a Fellow of the Royal Aeronautical Society and a former Member of the International Society of Air Safety Investigators.

John Meikle was born in Mutare and attended Ruzawi School in Marondera and St Andrews College in Grahamstown. After obtaining a Bachelor of Science degree in Agriculture from the University of Natal, he was awarded a Commonwealth Scholarship to the University of Cambridge (Clare College) where he obtained a postgraduate Diploma in Agriculture. Subsequently, he studied externally with the University of South Africa attaining a Bachelor of Commerce (Honours) degree. He is the Managing Director of his family business, E. C. Meikle (Private) Limited, which is headquartered at Mountain Home Estate, Penhalonga, and is involved principally in forestry, saw-milling and flower cultivation and export.

Edwin Morris was born in Harare and educated at St. Georges College until 1938 when he joined the Ministry of Justice in the district courts. From 1939 to 1945 he served in the Royal West Africa Frontier Force Gold Coast and Nigeria Regiments, being awarded the Military Cross. Upon demobilisation he rejoined the Ministry of Justice as an assistant Registrar. In 1945, he left government service to join a firm of legal practitioners where he served articles of clerkship and was admitted as an Attorney of the High Court in 1953. In 1959, he joined the Federal Government Solicitor's office and became State Attorney in this country upon the dissolution of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, retiring from that post in 1980.

The Beginnings of Pharmacy in Zimbabwe

by Alistair G. McKenzie

Early Days

The earliest written records reveal that plants with some medicinal properties were used by tribes occupying present-day Zimbabwe before the advent of Western influence.^{1,2} All such remedies were unstandardized. Drugs of pharmacopoeia standard* were introduced by the first missionaries. As early as 1854 Robert Moffat successfully treated Mzilikazi's dropsy with mixtures and left him a supply of medicines³.

Dispensing of medicines became a prominent activity at Inyati Mission during the eighteen sixties. The same occurred at Hope Fountain Mission after its establishment in 1870⁴. The early missionaries used a wide range of medicines as evidenced by the long list requested by the Rev. W. A. Elliott (Inyati)⁵ in his letter of 8 January 1883 to the London Missionary Society. He requested a total of 112 items, of which 34 were apparently allowed by the Society (see figure 1).

Harare

Following the arrival of the Pioneer Column at Salisbury (now Harare) in September 1890, the first Salisbury Hospital was founded early in 1891. The first dispenser and secretary to the hospital was W. E. Franceys who was succeeded by Mr Malcolm Scott in 1895. Though it is doubtful whether either of these men had a pharmaceutical qualification, they were required also to assist at operations and administer anaesthetics⁶. Franceys apparently was a man of many talents — his shorthand writing ability was utilized by W. E. Fairbridge,⁷ who launched the country's first newspaper, the *Mashonaland Herald*.

The first commercial pharmacy was that of Lowenstein & Strachan, which opened in June 1891. This was a branch of the Johannesburg firm started by Leopold Lowenstein.** The Salisbury business was commenced by John Strachan (figure 2). He had qualified as a chemist and druggist (C & D, Great Britain) in 1878^{9a} and also trained at Guy's Dental Hospital. It was the C & D qualification which entitled him to register as a dentist in terms of the British Act of 1875.¹⁰ The initial fixed premises comprised a round pole and dagga hut in Pioneer Street. There Strachan performed tooth extractions under nitrous oxide which he administered himself. His first customer was Tom Ross, nephew of A. R. Colquhoun, the Mashonaland Administrator at that time.⁷ Strachan was soon reputed to have the strongest arm in Salisbury!

Owing to an incident which the drivers of Strachan's supply waggon had with a lion on arrival in Salisbury, the chemist shop acquired the name of Lion Dispensary.⁷ At the end of July 1891 a wagon full of drugs and chemist stocks (requisitioned by Strachan) arrived at the "kopje" fringe of Salisbury. It was driven by a man called Jones and a boy of sixteen. Seeing what looked like a huge dog disappearing in the high grass they stopped to investigate. A mangy old lioness leapt onto Jones' back and lacerated his shoulder. Fortunately his young companion managed to shoot the lioness dead.⁹ Jones was taken to the Salisbury Hospital and

* The first London Pharmacopoeia was published in 1618, the first British Pharmacopoeia in 1864.

** On 8 December 1886 Stand No. 1 Johannesburg was auctioned to this chemist and druggist from Germany — for 55 cents. He also secured the adjoining plot in exchange for a bottle of medicine!¹⁸

Chloroform	Zrui	1 pt.	x
Chlorodyne		6 bottles	x
Choral Hydrate		2z	x
Collodium flexible		8oz	x
Camphor (in lump)		1 lb	x
Cod liver oil		2 pt.	x
Castor oil	1 pt.	1/2 pt.	x
Castor oil		2z	x
Epsom salts		56 lb.	x
Ext Papaveris		2z	
" Rhei		4z	x
" Gentiana		2z	
" Tartar ac		4z	
" Aloes		4z	
" Colche		2z	
" Eryth liq		2z	
Fowler's soln of Arsenic		1z	x
Gum Arabic		1 lb	
Empl Canth		2z	
" Gallianum		2z	
Emarana		1oz	
Hypophosphate of lime		4z	x
" Soda		4z	x

Figure 1: List of medicines requested by Rev. W. A. Elliott (Inyati Mission) from the London Missionary Society: Jan. 1883

(School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London
with permission from the Council for World Mission)



Figure 2: John Strachan

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

was in the first group of patients to be nursed by Mother Patrick and her Sisters who arrived on July 27th.¹¹ This incident also led to the name of “Lion Dispensary” being given to the famous pharmacy in Market Square, Johannesburg.⁶

Towards the end of 1891 Strachan had a thatched hut built on the Causeway (see figure 3). A ‘handsome’ chemist shop under the name of Strachan & Co. was opened in Pioneer Street in

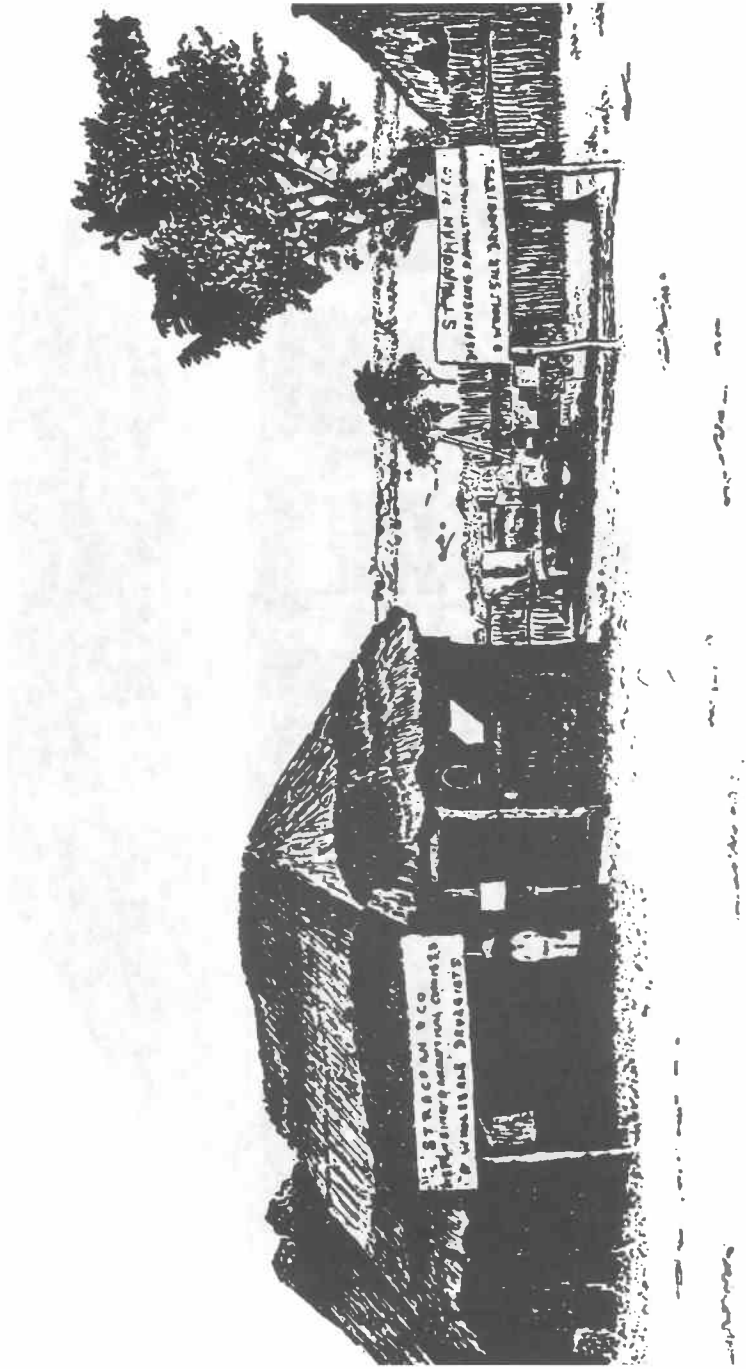
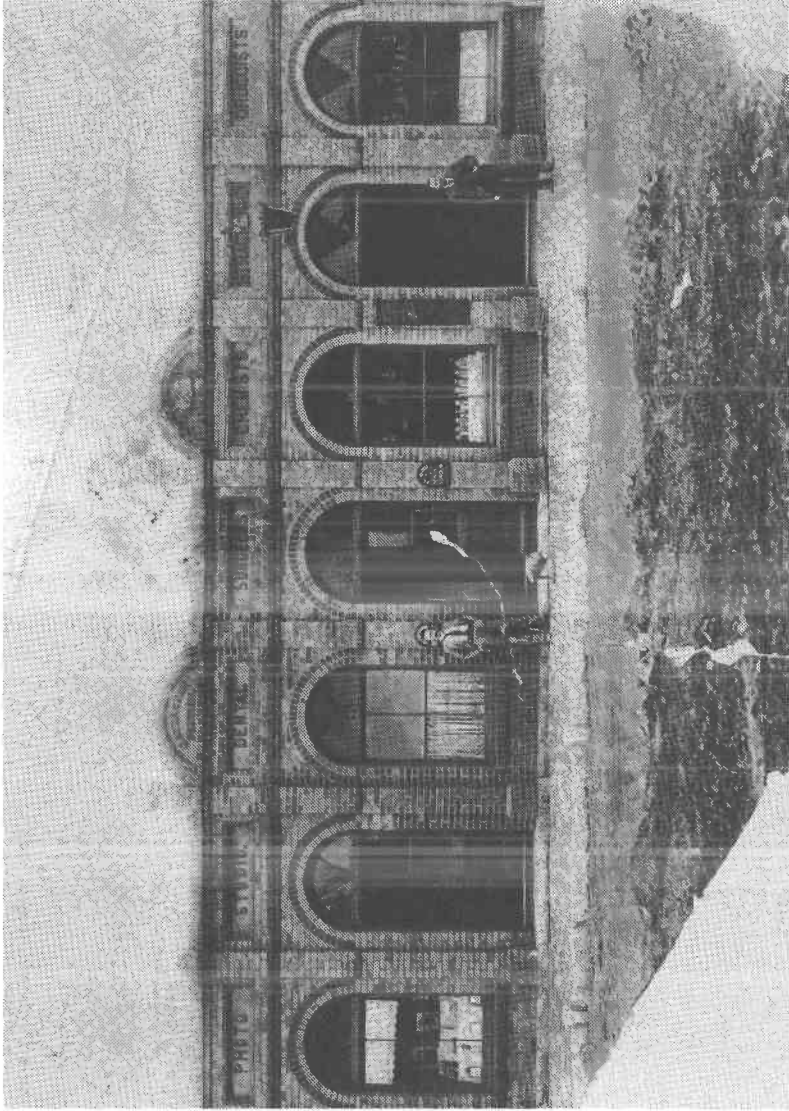


Figure 3: Strachan's chemist shop in Salisbury: 1892

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Figure 4: Strachan & Co., Baker Ave., Salisbury: circa 1902

December 1895.¹² Later a more modern establishment was built in Baker Avenue in the area known as Causeway (see figure 4). In 1902 he sold out to Mr James Dobie and Mr George Drakes, who retained the name of Strachan & Co.¹³

By 1910 the firm had premises at Causeway, Kopje and a branch in Manica Road. (The Kopje establishment was closed in 1914). George Drakes became renowned as Huntsman of the Salisbury Hunt Club.⁹⁶

Bulawayo

The first commercial pharmacy in Bulawayo was B. G. Lennon & Co. which commenced business there in 1894.¹³ It was first managed by Mr C. F. Conrath¹⁴ (who had been a member of the Victoria Column that occupied Matabeleland in 1893¹⁵). Mr Charles Cattell became manager in 1895 when the premises were at the corner of fifth Street and Sixth Avenue.¹⁶ The firm was joined in 1897 by Mr W. J. Bickle, who became manager after Mr Cattell departed for England in 1900.¹⁴ The name of the business became Lennon Limited in 1899¹³ and in 1902 new premises were acquired in Selborne Avenue.¹⁴

In 1895 C. F. Conrath commenced business as Conrath & Duncan, Chemists in Abercorn Street.¹⁶ He served as Sub-Lieut. in the Ambulance Corps, B.F.F. during the Matabele Rebellion of 1896 and earned the Clasp.^{17a}

Another pharmacy which opened in 1895 (in fifth Street) was that of F. J. Byrne.¹⁶ He soon moved to Abercorn Street (see figures 5 and 6) and engaged J. S. Loxton as manager.^{18a}

There is very little information about the chemist Mr Conrad (of German descent) who worked at Lennon & Co. in 1896. He also had a small shop in Abercorn Street.^{10,14}

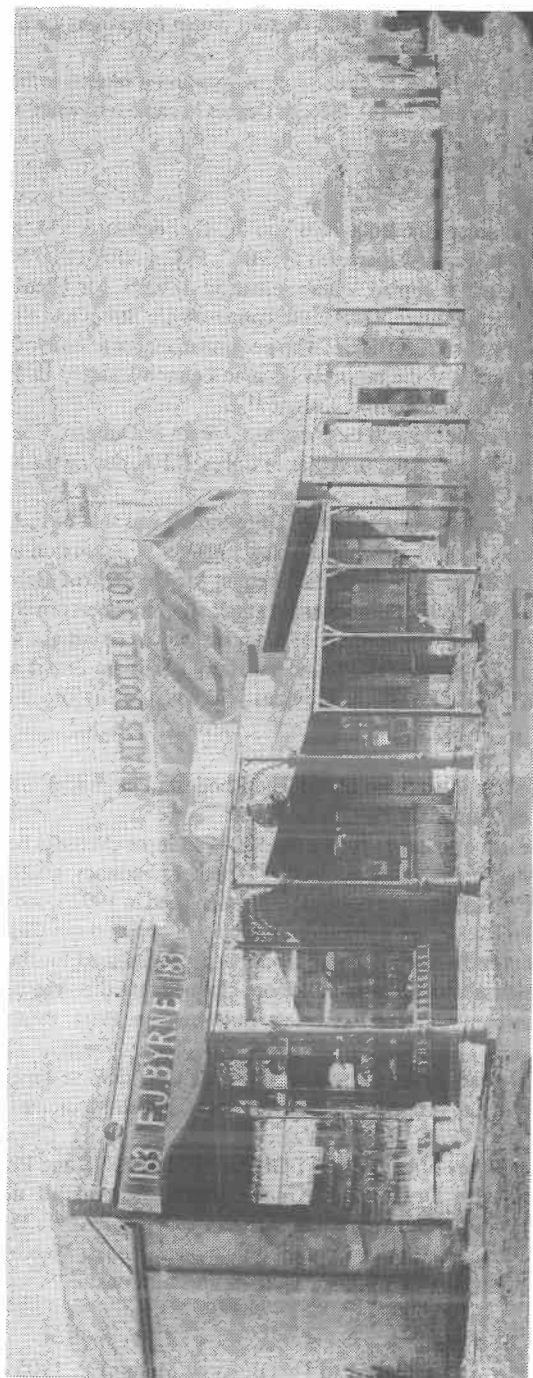
Of note in 1897 was the commencement of the pharmacy of Smart and Copley — destined to become the largest in Bulawayo. The founders, Harold William Smart and William Dawn Copley, had both arrived in Bulawayo the previous year when Smart joined Lennon & Co. and Copley joined Mr Byrne.¹⁴ The Smart and Copley partnership lasted until 1906 when Smart left¹⁹ — however, the name was not changed. Initially this pharmacy was opposite Standard Bank in 8th Avenue (when it was also called The Rhodesia Pharmacy)^{18b} and later moved to Main Street (see figures 7 and 8).

Bulawayo had a dearth of dentists before the 1900s so some chemists helped out. It is said that Mr Conrad and Mr Copley extracted teeth.¹⁰ Another pharmacy was opened in 1898 by Leopold Frank Moore.²⁰ This man had political aspirations and in 1902 stood unsuccessfully for election to the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council. He opposed the Chartered Company's intention of bringing out indentured Chinese labour and campaigned for the abrogation of the Charter. When his business was bankrupted Moore claimed that this was caused by a boycott organized by the Chartered Company! He left Bulawayo in 1904, establishing a shop in Livingstone in 1906.

Advertisements by these early pharmacies illustrate their diverse business interests. For example B. G. Lennon & Co. offered: "Patent Medicines, Dutch Medicines, Toilet Articles & Perfumery, Photographic Goods, Soda Water Materials, Mining Chemicals and Assay Apparatus".¹⁶ Smart & Copley offered to "FIT OUT EXPEDITIONS and PROSPECTING and TRADING PARTIES with Drugs, first-Aid Requirements and all necessary Medical Appliances".^{18c} Moore & Co. advertised: "EDISON'S PHONOGRAPH: 25 New Records just arrived. New Songs, Comic Dialogues, Operatic selections, Dances, Marches etc., etc."^{18d} All had no compunction in advertising for dispensing of prescriptions!

Mutare

Pharmaceutical services were extended to Umtali (now Mutare) in 1905 when a branch of Strachan & Co. was opened there.¹³ This was managed by Mr George Thomas Branch until



(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Figure 5: Pharmacy of F. J. Byrne, Abercorn St., Bulawayo: circa 1896



Figure 6: A closer view of F. J. Byrne's pharmacy in Abercorn St., Bulawayo: circa 1902
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

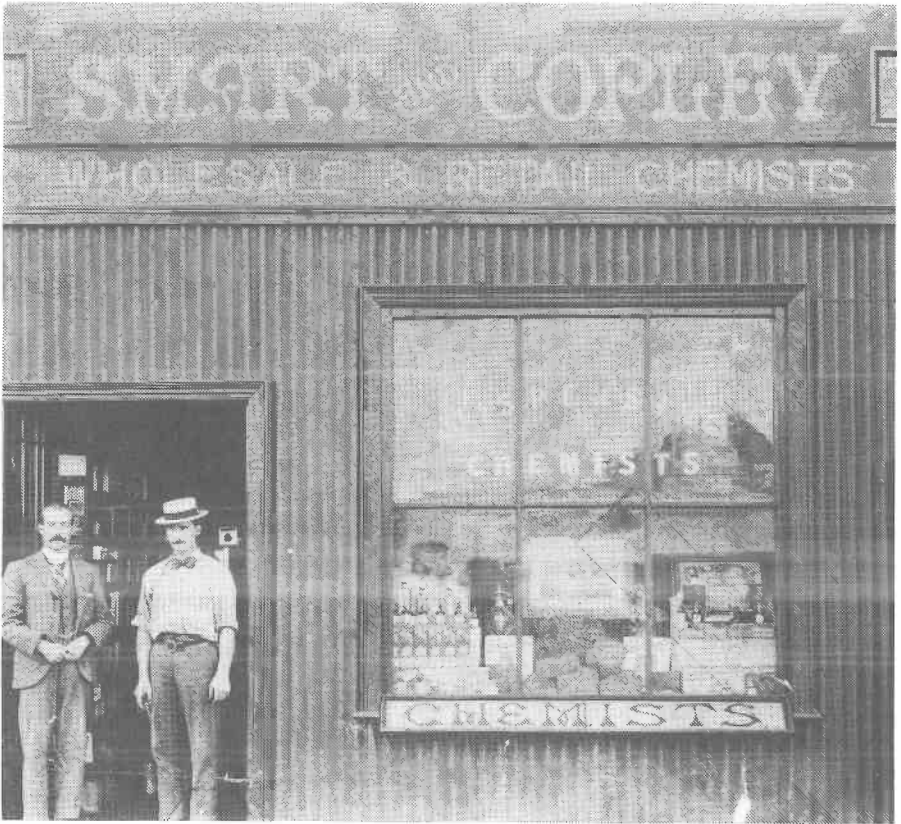


Figure 7: Premises of Smart & Copley, Bulawayo: 1897

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

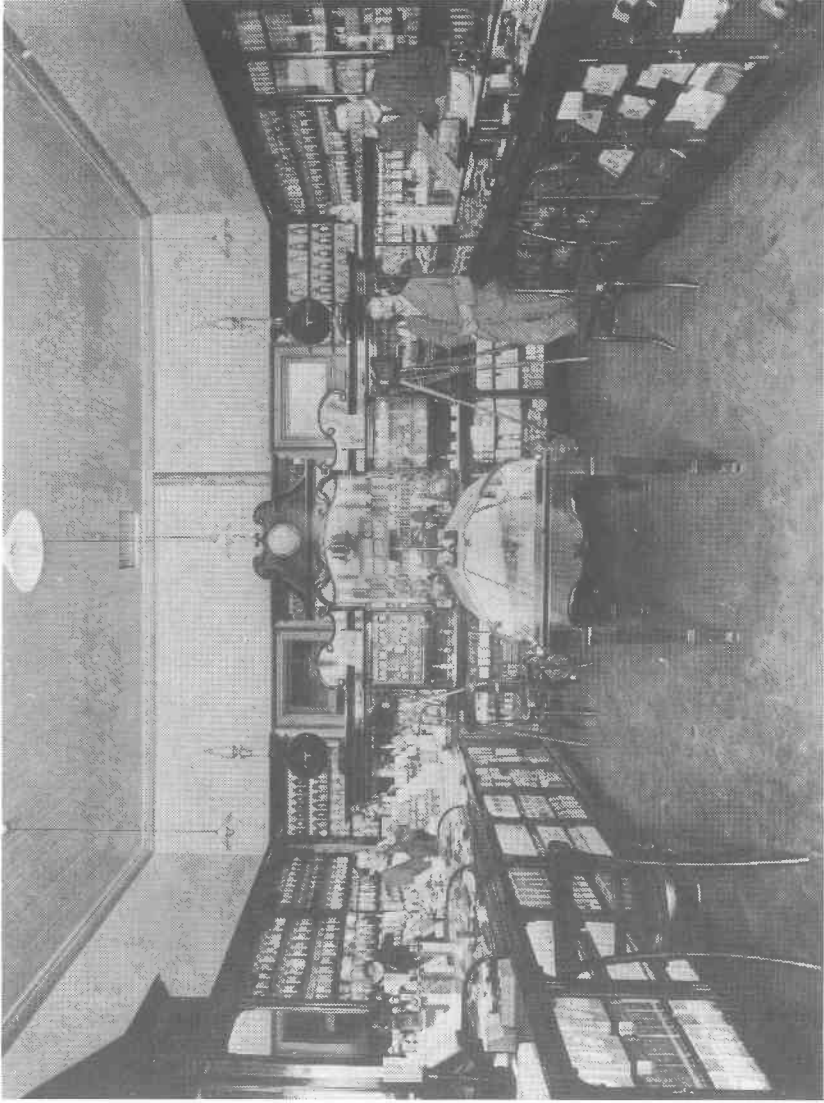


Figure 8: Interior of "Smart & Copley", Bulawayo: circa 1902. Mr Copley is on the extreme left.
Mr Smart is second from right
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

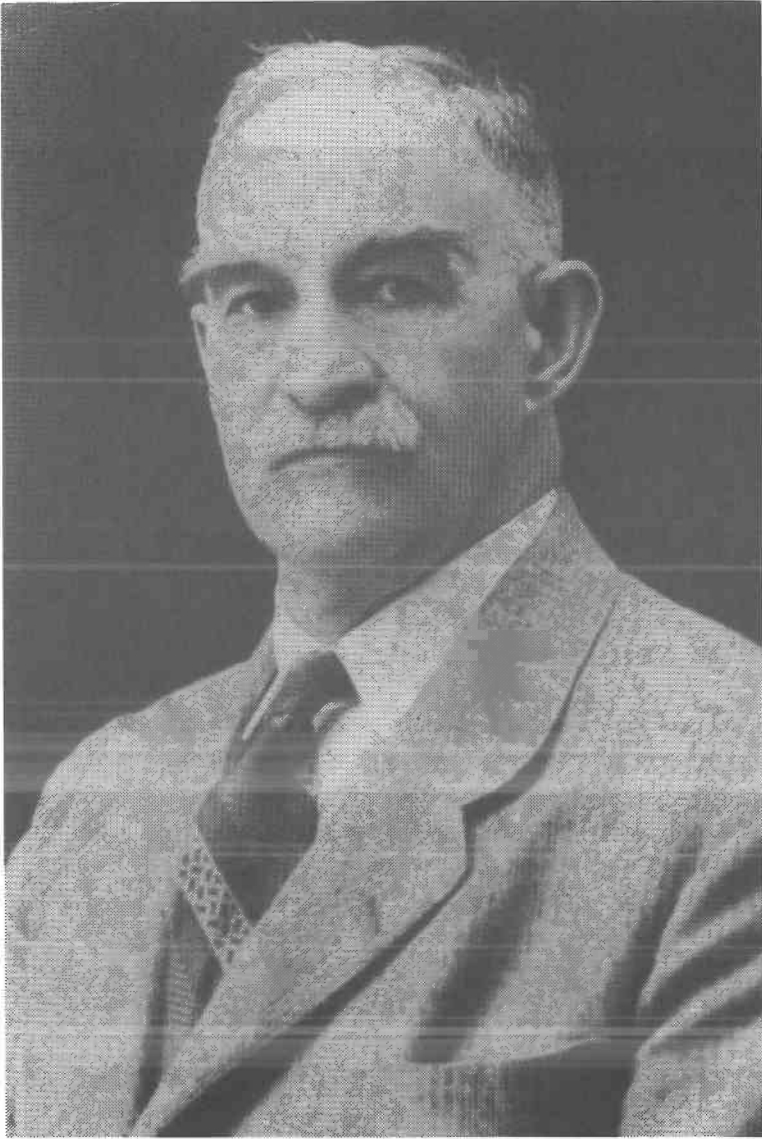


Figure 9: George Thomas Branch

(Mr H. G. Branch)

1910 when he became a partner to Mr G. Drakes at the Salisbury branch (on the death of Mr J. T. Dobie).^{9c} George Branch (see figure 9) was a keen entomologist and distinguished himself in 1908 by walking from Umtali to Cape Town.²¹ David Ruxton was the next manager of "Strachan & Co. (Umtali)" until 1925 when he started his own Umtali business. The "branch" came to an end in 1927 when it was taken over by Mr H. D. Milne under that name.

Gweru

In the middle of 1897 Harold William Smart (of the "Smart & Copley" partnership) paid 40 pounds for a bicycle, on which he cycled from Bulawayo to Gwelo (now Gweru). He practised dentistry in Gwelo for a week thereby more than covering his expenses!^{4b,13} He must have been attracted to Gwelo, because 12 years later (1909) he returned to open the pharmaceutical business of Smart & Co. (see figure 10). By then Mr Smart was an accomplished photographer, having captured many historic scenes on film.^{4c} For example after the Matabele Rebellion of 1896 he photographed two of the rebel chiefs (Babyana and Umjoh) behind Lennon's pharmacy in Bulawayo.^{4b}

Registration

Formal licensing of "Chemists and Druggists" to practise in Southern Rhodesia apparently began in 1897.^{17b} The first to be so registered was H. W. Smart, followed 5 months later by W. D. Copley. The exercise was apparently not initially enforced, judging by the omission of several of the early pharmacists from the list. The earliest details recorded are shown in Table 1. Licensing was clearly haphazard in those days when the controlling legislation was still the inadequate Ordinance 82^{17c} of 1830 of the Cape of Good Hope. Moves for better legislation began in 1909 and culminated (18 years later!) in the Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act No. 8 of 1927.²² As a result the Medical Council of Southern Rhodesia came into being on 5 September 1928. Mr W. D. Copley was a member of Council from its inception until his death in 1936.¹⁹ The Act paved the way for regulations governing the professional practice of pharmacists (as well as doctors and dentists). Notably (many years later!) advertising of dispensing services was restricted.

The National Society

In 1898 the Pharmaceutical Society of Rhodesia was formed in Bulawayo by six founder members, viz. Mr H. W. Smart, Mr W. D. Copley (first Secretary), Mr L. F. Moore (first Chairman), Mr C. F. Conrath, Mr C. Cattell and Mr Scott. After a few months Mr F. J. Byrne took the Chair — a little later Mr L. F. Moore became "President".

The headquarters of the Society was in Bulawayo until 1923 when it was temporarily moved to Salisbury — for closer contact with Government during deliberations on the forthcoming Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act. So in 1928 Bulawayo was again the centre of operations. Later the headquarters became determinable from time to time by the Council of the Society.

Conclusion

I have endeavoured to describe the first commercial pharmaceutical establishments in the four main centres of Zimbabwe. Remarkably the very earliest (Strachan & Co.) is the only one to have retained the original name — now Strachan's Photo Pharmacy (Pvt.) Ltd. Great strides in Pharmacy have been made since the "beginnings" here set out. The founder members of the profession in this country observed high standards and set an example to those who followed. The Pharmaceutical Society ("of Zimbabwe" since 1980) has the distinction of being the first professional association to be formed in the country. It would be fitting for the advances following these "beginnings" to be recorded at the Centenary Anniversary of the Society in 1998.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following:

- The Council for World Mission for permission to reproduce the "list of medicines" from the Archives



(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Figure 10: Premises of Smart & Co., cnr. Livingstone Ave/5th St., Gwelo: circa 1915

- of the London Missionary Society, and the Archivist, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London for access to it.
- The President of the Pharmaceutical Society of Zimbabwe for allowing me to photocopy their August 1968 Newsletter (70th Anniversary Edition)
 - The National Archives of Zimbabwe for access to records and photographs.

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Our Seventh Judge — Sir Robert McIlwaine

by Michael J. Kimberley

Robert McIlwaine was born at Larne, County Antrim, Ireland on 1st November 1871.

Education

He was educated at Larne Grammar School and then at Queen's College, Belfast and, finally, at Queen's College, Galway in Ireland. He then proceeded to the Royal University of Ireland receiving his Bachelor of Arts and his Master of Arts degrees in 1893 and 1894, respectively, and graduated Bachelor of Laws the following year.

At University, he was a keen participant in football and rowing, and also an enthusiastic fisherman with the latter pastime remaining a hobby of his for many years.

Emigrates to Africa

Soon after graduating he decided to travel to Africa, having read in the British press much about the exciting happenings there, especially in South Africa and further to the north in Rhodesia.

Arriving in Cape Town in November 1895 he approached the Government Law Department and accepted an offer of appointment in Knysna as clerk to Mr Maximilian Jackson, the registrar there. In July 1897 he was transferred to the Magistrate's Office in Cape Town and in December 1897 became an Assistant Secretary in the Attorney General's office, and subsequently Secretary to the Civil Service Commission.

Whilst resident in Cape Town he passed in first place in a special examination in Dutch and this led to him being appointed an examiner in Dutch for the Cape Civil Service and at Cape Town University.

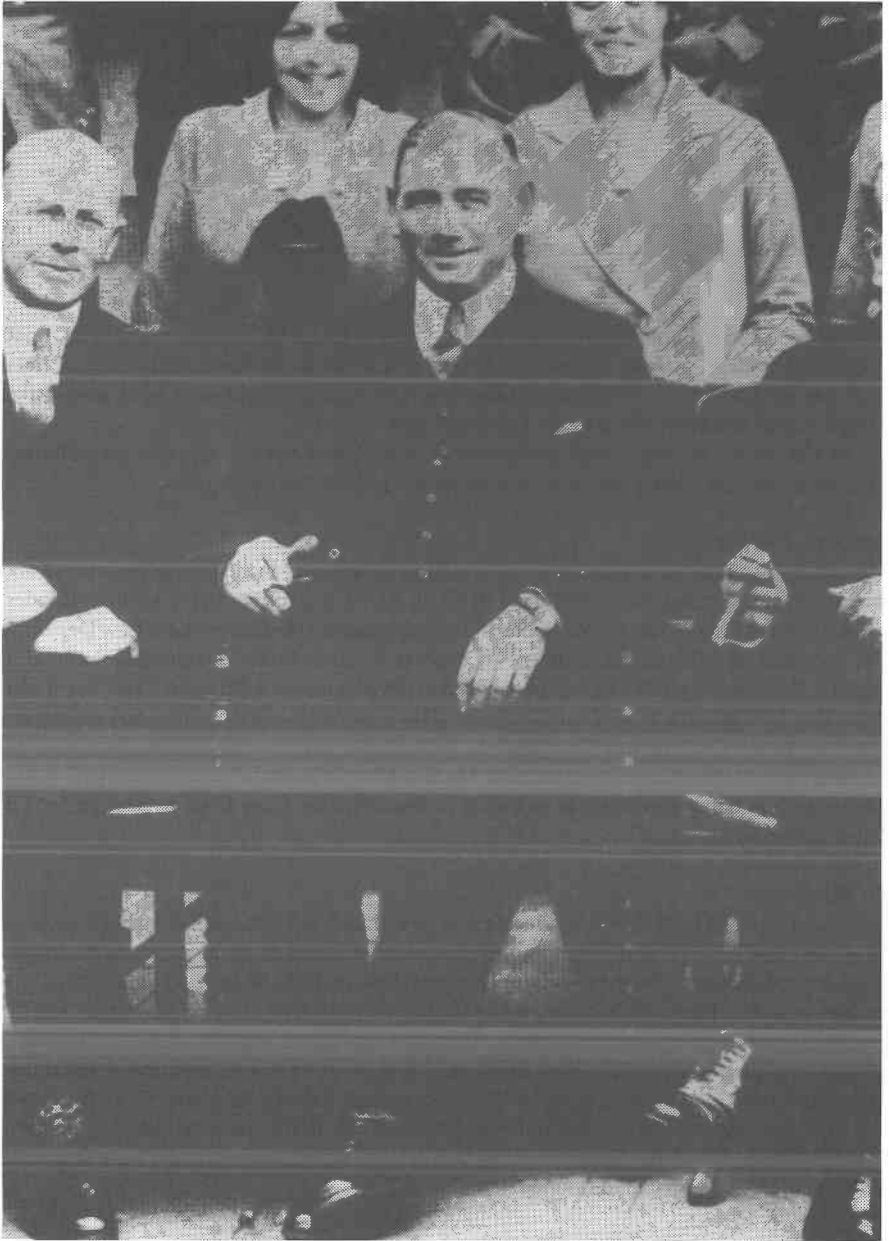
To Rhodesia

Impressed by Cecil John Rhodes during a meeting with him in 1898 and having been for several years attracted by the reported glamour of Rhodesia, he accepted an appointment as Assistant Magistrate, Salisbury, assuming duty in October 1898. In 1899 he became Chief Clerk in the judicial branch of the Chief Secretary's Department and in 1901 Relieving Magistrate and Civil Commissioner serving in Fort Victoria, Umtali, Enkeldoorn and Salisbury. Following his admission as an advocate of the High Court on 17th April 1903 he was appointed legal assistant to the Attorney General, who was then J. G. Kotze, and, shortly thereafter, C. H. Tredgold.

After serving as Master, Registrar and Sheriff of the High Court, followed by a spell as Secretary to the Education Department, he became, in 1908, Secretary to the Law Department with a seat on the Legislative Council.

Marriage

In 1902 he married Sophia Mary Hanna, the daughter of George Boyle Hanna of Kells, County Antrim, Northern Ireland, and they had three daughters (Sally, Molly and Joy) and four sons (George, Gerard, Terence and John). Two of their children, George and Sally, predeceased their parents. Sophia trained as a nurse and came to Rhodesia in that capacity. After her marriage she became a leading hostess in Salisbury, and developed a keen interest in the spiritualist movement being a gifted medium herself.



Sir Robert McIlwaine (front centre)

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



Mrs McIlwaine

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

She died in London on 10th November 1939 where she and Sir Robert had been staying on leave for a few months

Water Legislation and the Water Court

Whilst in the Law Department and a member of the Legislative Council, he drafted a Water Bill designed to give effect to the replacement of the Roman Dutch law governing rights to water by the vesting of all public water in the State and its allocation to users by a Water Court.

The Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council in 1913 but owing to opposition by the elected members many of its main principles were removed before the Bill became law. An amendment in 1920, however, inserted into the law most of the provisions that had been deleted from the 1913 Bill.

The legislation provided for the establishment of a Water Court and McIlwaine was appointed the first President of that court and served in that role for 30 years until his death in 1943.

The 1913 Act was replaced by the 1927 Water Act which was in the main a consolidating Act, and McIlwaine played a leading role in the drafting of that latter Act. The 1927 Act rested



Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council 1920 — Robert Mellwaine in front row at left end

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

on the firm foundation of state ownership of all water other than private water, widened the scope of the Water Court and dealt fully with rights to water.

Prior to 1927 the legislation regarding the apportionment of water was in an unsatisfactory condition as there was no single authority responsible for the control of public water. For example public water was available for apportionment under any one of the following four methods.

- a) The water for irrigation purposes was dealt with under the Water Ordinance 1913 as amended in 1920 and grants were issued after consideration by a Water Court
- b) Water for mining purposes was dealt with under the Mining Law Amendment Ordinance, 1908, and grants were issued by the Secretary for Mines on the advice of Mining Commissioners
- c) The Railways possessed rights to water under powers conferred by the Right to Water (Railways) Ordinance, 1910
- d) Local Authorities requiring public water for town supplies could obtain legal rights to water by means of a special Act.

If this state of affairs had persisted indefinitely, inevitably mutually incompatible grants would have been issued which would be difficult in interpretation and would result in a serious conflict of interests.

All this was remedied by the 1927 Act under which the control of all public water required for various purposes (irrigation, mining, railways, etc.) was vested in the Water Court.

His service on the Water Court for 30 years was very successful and his decisions in that Court were seldom challenged or appealed against.

Lake McIlwaine

The Hunyani Poort Dam on the Hunyani River (now Manyame) was completed in 1952 as a major source of water for the City of Salisbury and to provide some irrigation for nearby farmers. The dam has an earth wall and a capacity of 250 million cubic metres and a surface area of 2630 hectares. Until relatively recently it was the fourth largest dam in the country after Lake Kariba, Lake Kyle (now Mtirikwi) and Lake MacDougall (now Manjirenji), though Mazvikadei and Osborne, both completed in the last few years, are considerably larger.

Hunyani Poort Dam was named Lake McIlwaine to commemorate Sir Robert's work in connection with the allocation and use of water and his long service as a water court judge. A few years ago the name of the dam was changed to Lake Chivero, named after one of the early rulers (*circa* 1550) of the Munhumutapa State.

Adjoining what is now called Lake Chivero is the Robert McIlwaine National Park which contains a fair selection of animals, some very fine *Brachystegia* woodland and some important rock paintings.

Elevation to the Bench

In 1919 he became Solicitor General as well as Parliamentary draftsman, and served in that post until January 1930 when he was appointed a judge of the High Court, retiring from that Court at the end of 1937. He took silk in 1923 and was an Acting Judge for three months in 1928 and six months in 1929*. He was knighted in 1939.

During his service in the Law Department he acted for a spell as Inspector of Schools for Southern Rhodesia and as Government Statist. He wrote a small booklet entitled *Instructions for Special Justices of the Peace in Southern Rhodesia*.

* He acted as Chief Justice for six month periods in 1934, 1935 and 1937.

Whilst on the High Court bench only two of McIlwaine's reported judgements were the subject of appeal to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa. In *Rex v Eteberg* (1982 AD 142), an insolvency matter, his judgement to the effect that the requirement that an unrehabilitated insolvent wishing to obtain credit exceeding £25 without disclosing to the lender that he was an insolvent applied to persons whose estates had been sequestrated outside Rhodesia was reversed on appeal. In *Morgan v Salisbury Municipality* (1935 AD 167) his judgement requiring the Government to be joined as a Respondent in proceedings by Morgan relating to the alteration of the Municipality's boundaries by the inclusion of a farm known as Avondale, was reversed on appeal.

A perusal of the law reports from 1928 to 1937 shows that insofar as reported cases are concerned his work was mainly involved with criminal appeals and reviews with a few insolvency cases. He often sat with Bissett CJ and later with Russell CJ but in virtually all the reported cases the Chief Justice gave the judgement and McIlwaine concurred therein.

In *Rhodesian Corporation Ltd v The Globe and Phoenix Goto Mining Company Ltd* (1933 SR 1), heard before Russell CJ and McIlwaine J, after a 44 day trial of an action for specific performance of a contract, the longest civil trial in this country certainly up to that time, McIlwaine concurred with the judgement of the Chief Justice.

Arbitrations and Other Activities

From 1920 to 1923 he chaired a council comprising an equal number of representatives of Government and the Public Service established to discuss matters of common interest and make recommendations to Government. In 1923 as Chairman of the Public Services Association he recommended the establishment of a public services board.

In 1940 he served as Arbitrator in the dispute in Northern Rhodesia between the mine management and the mine workers regarding Copperbelt wage rates, and in 1941 he was President of the Board of Arbitrators in the dispute on the value of the land of the North Charterland Exploration Company to be expropriated by the Northern Rhodesia Government. He was also arbitrator in a major dispute within the building industry.

Agricultural Interests

McIlwaine had a great interest in agriculture and from as early as 1905 the *Rhodesian Agricultural Journal* contains articles written by him. In 1905/1906 he offered notes on citrus culture dealing with oranges and the advantages and disadvantages of grafted stock and seedlings. In 1906/1907 he provided cultural notes on citrus embracing planting, fertilizing, irrigating and pruning, and also recommended the most suitable varieties.

In 1907/1908 he wrote on the possibilities of Rhodesia as a citrus growing country in which he examined the existing sources of supply, the volume of trade, supply and demand, profitable cultivation, Rhodesian prospects, difficulties with existing sources of supply, the natural advantages of Rhodesia, probable returns from Rhodesian growers, and the alleged drawbacks to a Rhodesian citrus industry.

At about this time, George Alexander Simpson, a Scot and Boer war veteran, returned to Africa after having spent some time in Jaffa studying citriculture. He settled in the Mazoe valley on the farm, Southfield.

McIlwaine owned the farm, Laurencedale, situated a few miles north of Southfield and on the western side of the Mazowe River.

In 1909, Simpson and McIlwaine and the British South Africa Company formed the Mazoe Syndicate to develop the Mazoe Valley for general farming and, in particular, for the cultivation and production of citrus. In 1914, the Company purchased the interests of Simpson and McIlwaine and established the Mazoe Citrus Estates with Simpson as the first manager. As is

well known, the Estates continue to flourish to this day under the aegis of the Anglo American Corporation.

In 1909 a pamphlet by McIlwaine entitled *Orange and Lemon Cultivation* was published. The pamphlet begins thus: "The surprising results, attained with comparatively little effort, in the growing of oranges and kindred fruit in this country has led me to take a lively interest in the subject of citrus growing, and to acquire reliable information as to the conditions under which it is carried out in other parts of the world. The recorded experience of other countries and personal observations led to the firm belief that Rhodesia is singularly adapted to become a leading citrus producing quarter of the globe and all this is required to set on foot an industry highly profitable to the individual and of general benefit to the country is a little fostering care in its initial stages.

In 1913/1914 he wrote again on his personal experience of citrus growing extending over 15 years on "the south western slope of a kopje about 3 miles north east of Salisbury in reddish clay soil highly retentive of moisture".

His plot was probably in the Newlands area of Highlands and quite large because his first planting consisted of 300 trees, including eight varieties of orange, three of naartjie and three of lemon, obtained from the Botanic Gardens, Durban. By the fourth year the trees produced a good quantity and quality of fruit. He considered that varieties which had outstanding merit were the oranges Washington Navel, Valencia Late, Medium Sweet and Jaffa; the lemons Eureka and Villa Franca; the naartjies (tangerine or mandarin) Bombay, Satsuma, Darcy and Emperor; and the grapefruit Marsh's Seedless.

By 1924 he was writing about the pecan nut *Carya olivaeformis*, a deciduous forest tree (grows to a height of 25 to 45 metres) of the hickory family which grows naturally in Mexico and the Southern United States and is cultivated as an orchard tree outside its native habitat: "The pecan nut tree is scarcely known even by name, to many in South Africa; it may, therefore, be that the writer's experience in growing it near Salisbury will be of interest to some of the readers of the *Rhodesian Agricultural Journal* . . . The information contained in this article is derived partly from the writer's own limited experience, and partly from American sources."

In 1910 he chaired a Committee of Inquiry, consisting of himself, W. P. Bucknell, J. A. Edwards, E. A. Hull and J. Mack, into the cattle disease East Coast Fever caused by a parasitic brown tick which feeds in the blood of diseased animals. The report examined the cause of the disease and recommended various measures to eliminate or arrest the disease including fencing, dipping, restricting ox transport, increasing the number of cattle inspectors, and managing grazing on commonages. Whilst compulsory dipping throughout the country would have been a certain cure it was considered impractical. A full summary of the report was published in the 1910/1911 volume of the *Rhodesian Agricultural Journal*.

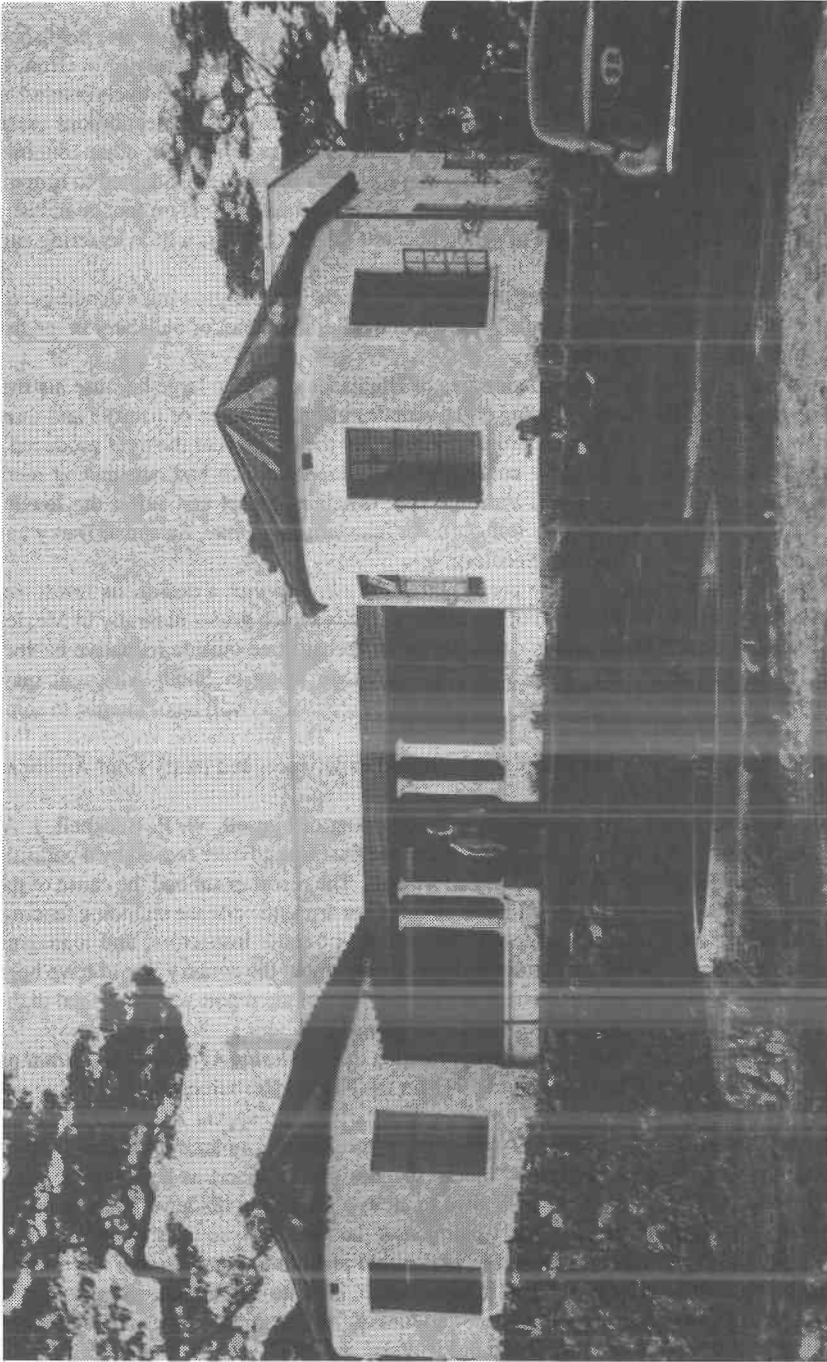
In 1920 and 1936 articles by McIlwaine appeared in the *Rhodesian Agricultural Journal* on the water law of Southern Rhodesia and in 1941 on the Natural Resources Act.

In the 1943 issue it was not surprising that an obituary should appear following the death of so regular a contributor to the journal and some extracts therefrom are reproduced below.

"All the farming community will mourn the loss of Sir Robert as he was a personal friend to many of them and was known to all as a staunch upholder of their rights by virtue of the outstanding work as Chairman of the Natural Resources Board."

"He was always keenly interested in agriculture and horticulture, started the original citrus plantation at Mazoe in partnership with the late Mr George Simpson, was instrumental in introducing many new varieties of fruits to this Colony, and contributed numerous articles to the journal on horticultural matters."

"He was the originator and administrator of the Water Act and the Natural Resources



Sir Robert McIlwaine at his home

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Act which are universally cited as examples of enlightened legislation and have placed this colony in the forefront of those countries which are combating the menace of soil denudation. The fruit of his labours in these directions will live on and will be a fitting monument to his name."

"The Judge endeared himself to all who knew him intimately as a loyal friend, a wise councillor, an ardent fighter in the right causes, and yet of modest and even shy demeanour in spite of his great gifts."

In his article published posthumously in *East Africa and Rhodesia* in 1944 (he died whilst the manuscript was in transit to England), he wrote on "The Conservation of Natural Resources — what has been done in Southern Rhodesia" and the following paragraphs are very much to the point:

"In the early days of European settlement the limited operations of Africans working with primitive tools to meet domestic requirements did little damage to the land; but with the creation of other and widening markets for their products, they began to use ploughs, with the result that in many places they have caused appalling destruction of the land. Wholesale destruction of trees by European miners also began. A few individuals warned the people of the dangers of what was happening but they were voices crying in the wilderness."

RAHS President

He served for a spell as President of the Rhodesian Agricultural and Horticultural Society.

Conservation of Natural Resources

He was appointed Chairman in 1938 of the Natural Resources Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Governor "to enquire into and report upon the extent to which the natural resources of this Colony are deteriorating or being wasted through: (a) soil erosion; (b) destruction of trees, grasses and other vegetation, whether taking place in the course of farming and mining operations or otherwise; (c) overstocking and improper or undesirable methods of farming and treatment of the land; (d) interference with natural courses, catchment areas, swamps or other sources of streams or rivers; (e) any other causes.

The other commissioners were S. Milligan, A. C. Jennings and G. A. Davenport and the Commission reported on 28th April 1939 in a 76 page report complete with 8 full pages of illustrations showing erosion and denudation.

Many of the recommendations in the Report were adopted by Government and in due course the Natural Resources Act was presented to and passed by Parliament and came into operation in 1941.

A principle of the Act is that the landowner is the Trustee of the land during his lifetime for posterity. The Act was regarded as a pioneer endeavour in conservation legislation and has been widely cited outside the country for the comprehensive and far reaching insurance that it provides for the preservation of natural resources.

He became first Chairman of the Natural Resources Board in 1941 and was in that office at his death.

He had an abiding interest in conservation and two months before his death, in September 1943, in an address to a South African audience he described the far reaching steps taken by Rhodesia under his leadership to conserve the Colony's natural resources. He emphasized that the Board's powers would be applied without hesitation to "the soil robber who without thought for the future is content to squeeze the last ounce of fertility out of the soil and then abandon it."

It was an address which made a great impact on the audience, many of whom were very moved by this passage:

“When I first went to Rhodesia, I found a beautiful virgin country, practically unspoiled by man. However, with the advent of the European, his plough and other instruments of destruction, some of our richest soil began to suffer, and are now in parts sad reminders that if the riches of the soil are removed without an adequate return, swift retribution is sure to follow.”

Spiritualist

He was exceedingly interested and involved in psychic research and spiritualism and was patron of the Spiritualist Union of South Africa. This was an interest which he shared with his wife right up to her death in 1939.

Salisbury Club

He was a member of long standing of the Salisbury Club, serving on its Committee for a number of years, and as Chairman of the Club continuously from 1929 to 1939 following V. A. Lewis, MC, later Mr Justice Lewis, and being succeeded by F. Rixom and later Captain W. E. Thomas, MC, later Mr Justice Thomas.

Death

In mid October 1943 he was admitted to hospital with pneumonia from which he did not recover. He died in Salisbury on 26th October 1943 at the age of 72, having lived in Salisbury for 45 years.

Funeral Service

He was buried the following day after a service conducted by the Reverend J. Kennedy-Grant in the Presbyterian Church. There were about 400 mourners from all walks of life and Parliament suspended its business to enable mourners to attend the funeral. Sir Godfrey Huggins in moving a motion to suspend, which was unopposed, stated:

“Sir Robert had rendered the Colony considerable service in many directions and particularly by writing a memorandum which resulted in the establishment of the Natural Resources Commission, which made the Colony one of the foremost countries in the world in dealing with soil erosion”.

The pall bearers were Mr Justice Lewis, the Minister of Agriculture Captain F. E. Harris, Mr W. R. Benzies of the Natural Resources Board, the Attorney General Mr W. E. Thomas KC, Mr James Watson, Mr W. E. Gill representing the Law Society, Mr A. W. Redfern, and Mr H. W. Strong representing the Salisbury Club.

The large congregation included representatives of the civil service, of the farming community and of business houses, and the chief mourners were his sons Gerard and John, his daughters Molly and Joy, his sister in law, Miss Hanna, and his nephew, Mr Pat McNulty.

In paying tribute the Rev. Kennedy Grant said:

“The Colony had lost in Sir Robert one of its landmarks and his career had assured him no mean place in Rhodesian history. He gave of his best all the way along and won the regard and affection of a vast number of his fellow countrymen. His strong commonsense had won the respect of all who came in touch with him. His rugged figure and face would ever remind them of that quality.”

“But perhaps his greatest work for this country was done after he retired from the bench, in the Natural Resources Commission. Into this work, which lay very near his heart, he put all that he had of vision, zeal, persuasion and personality; and these put the work of that Commission right in the forefront of public thought and life. He thus laid future generations under a deep debt of gratitude.

“A lover of the soil and all growing things, Sir Robert could nevertheless see beyond nature to the world of the unseen. A loyal and devoted member of the Presbyterian church, he was, for years, interested in psychic research and became a convinced spiritualist. He felt the church as a whole was slow to do justice to a subject dear to him, yet he never gave way to petulant criticism of the leaders of the church. He held on to his faith to the last.”

Kennedy Grant concluded:

“So we honour the memory of one who fought the good fight, who kept the faith and who finished the course; of one who was a good Christian; a senior citizen; a devoted husband; a loving father and a loyal friend.”

Before his death McIlwaine expressed the wish that no mourning dress should be worn for him and this wish was respected by all.

Tribute at Special Session of the High Court

At a special session of the High Court on Thursday 28th October 1943 Mr Justice Lewis paid tribute to

“one who for 40 years had administered justice in this Colony. From 1903 to 1928 he held various offices and rendered valuable service to the Department of Justice.

“His *magnum opus* was the Water Act which he brought to fruition in 1927. It was a monumental tribute to his sagacity and capability. It had been acclaimed as a model system of law and had proved a boon to both the farmer and lawyer. From 1913 he had presided over the Water Court where his work had been marked by conspicuous success and soundness of judgement. His judgement was ever a well balanced one depending on the exercise of his well known common sense of which he had an ample part.”

The Attorney General Mr W. E. Thomas in replying on behalf of the Bar states inter alia:

“To those who did not know him intimately he sometimes appeared to be austere and possibly ungracious. His manner was bluff and possibly at times it would appear to be almost churlish. But to those of us who had the privilege of knowing him as a friend we realized how intensely shy he was, and we also knew that he wore this brusque manner as a sort of coat to cover his shyness. It is true that he seldom suffered fools gladly and that he was notoriously contemptuous of anything that savoured of humbug or hypocrisy. But underneath the rough coat that he wore there beat a very kindly, benevolent and chivalrous heart. Witness the fact that children and animals, who are seldom deceived by disguises, used to trust him and make friends with him on sight. His honesty and integrity and goodness of heart were unimpeached. Today we mourn the loss of a very dear and loyal friend.”

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Heritage of Zimbabwe (volumes 8 and 11)

Law Reports of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa (1928–1939)

Zimbabwean Prehistory Journal

Number 21 of this journal published by the Prehistory Society of Zimbabwe appeared early this year. There are nine articles in all on prehistorical subjects ranging from the search for early man in the Victoria Falls area, iron age sites and stone enclosures, to natural draught furnaces, dating stone walls, cairn burials and Bambata sherds. Most journals in Zimbabwe today contain only short articles and the pages of advertisement exceed the pages of text. In this highly recommended journal there are forty four pages of text and illustrations and the Society is to be congratulated on its production.

Copies are available from the Prehistory Society, P.O. Box 876, Harare.

M. J. Kimberley

Forgotten Mission, Forgotten Martyr

by Rob S. Burrett

Today most people in Zimbabwe know of the Anglican Martyr Bernard Mizeki who died in the vicinity of modern Marondera. Fewer probably know of the nearby martyrdom at about the same time of the Wesleyan Modumedi Moleli. Both died in the Mashonaland Uprising, or Chimurenga I, of 1896. Both had come from foreign parts to their respective stations to be catechists to the local people. However, because of their association with the White Settlers they were eliminated. Today books on both these men are available describing their personal backgrounds, their hopes and aspirations, and the tragic histories of their efforts in newly colonized Mashonaland.^{1,2} Yet almost no one seems to remember the third martyr of the period, James Anta. Anta likewise died for his faith, yet he, like the Mission Station he worked on, has faded from memory. This shouldn't be so. I reiterate the words of a Wesleyan historian who in 1935 wrote:

“When the full history of Mashonaland is written by some historian in the future, it may be found that James Anta and his family were the first in the noble army of martyrs, who thus suffered for their faith. He had been a faithful witness to the power of the Gospel and his spirit never shrank.”³

Very little of Anta's early life is known. There was at the time a tendency to pay little heed to such detail so much so that, despite our having a group photograph of the period, no one seems to have bothered to record the names of those shown. Anta was a Xhosa speaker from somewhere in the Eastern Cape. He was supposed to have been the son of a Chief, and before his conversion was a most noted hunter.⁴ However, he was soon influenced by the Wesleyan Missionaries who were extending their work into the area. He was baptised James, and thereafter channelled his efforts into spreading the word of the Gospel. Anta would have learnt to read and write in the Zulu medium, since this was the common practice of the time. It is possibly because of this that several chroniclers have erroneously referred to him as being Zulu.⁵ Apart from this I have been unable to discover much else about Anta the man. Before proceeding, I think we should digress somewhat to consider the background to Anta's arrival in the country.

The Wesleyan Methodists began their work in the sub-continent in 1813 at Cape Town. Even at that time they were looking towards the horizons, with the stated desire “to build chains of mission stations stretching northwards and eastwards”.⁶ This underlying theme of “lines of enlightenment penetrating into the heart of darkest Africa”, underlies their work in the early Wesleyan settlement of this country.⁷ By 1880 they had extended into the Transvaal, which was accordingly made into a new District of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, based in London. At its head was appointed Reverend Owen Watkins. Watkins persistently sought to persuade the “Home Committee” to allow him to push work across the Limpopo. However, during the 1880s financial constraints prevented this.⁸ With the 1890 Pioneer Column, however, occupation of Mashonaland became more feasible. In fact Watkins got from Cecil John Rhodes, even before the Column set off, an offer on behalf of the British South Africa Company of £100 per annum towards the support of a Wesleyan Minister in Mashonaland. Unfortunately, this information had to be relayed back to London, and arrived there only after the Column had reached Fort Salisbury (Harare).⁹ Thus it was that no Wesleyan minister was to accompany the Pioneers during their march.

The London Committee accepted Rhodes' offer and Watkins was given permission to push

northwards. On 2 June 1891, he set off with a small party consisting of Watkins (Chief Organizer); Rev. Isaac Shimmin (the man who was to be left in charge in Mashonaland); Michael Bowen (an African Evangelist); John Peters (driver); and John Walters (leader of the oxen). The journey was extremely arduous. None-the-less they arrived on 29 September 1891. Salisbury at the time was a very rough place with no infrastructure worthy of comment. Their first service was in a pole and dakra (daga) "Store" with a congregation of four seated on soap boxes. "So inauspicious was the beginning of the Salisbury English Circuit!"⁶ Watkins knew that he would soon have to return to his work in the Transvaal, but was not prepared to leave until a firm foundation for his Society's work had been laid. On 20 October 1891 as a result of a surprise visit to Rhodes who was in the "Town", Rhodes was bathing at the time, Watkins managed to wrangle out of him the promise of three farms on which to establish Missions. This was despite the strong disapproval of this offer by Dr Rutherford Harris (Secretary of the BSAC) and Dr Leander Starr Jameson (the Administrator).⁶ Of these farms one was pegged at Chiremba's near Salisbury (this became Epworth); one was along the road to the Manica District at Negombo's (today Waddilove); and the third was to be north-west of Salisbury at Chief Lomagundi's (Makonde's), and here lies our story.

Watkins now returned to the Transvaal and Shimmin was left to peg these farms. Although he had intended to set out immediately to Chief Lomagundi's, Shimmin hadn't left before news was received of the Paramount Chief's murder by the Matabele. He consequently delayed and consulted the advice of those better acquainted with the country. He was informed in no uncertain terms that Lomagundi's was a bad choice, since it would be very isolated and was in "fever country".⁸ It was suggested he look rather for a closer location on the Highveld proper.⁶ After being assured of the safety of travel in the area by Dr Jameson, Shimmin set off in late 1891.⁴ On the basis of advice from Frederick Courtney Selous and Jack Spreckley, he finally chose a spot near the Hunyani (now Munyame) River just to the west of the Great Dyke.⁸ The area pegged seemed healthy enough. It had a reasonably large resident population, including the kraal of Paramount Chief Zvimba.⁸

Shimmin records the event as follows: "On Tuesday, December 15th, we marked out and beaconed our new Mission farm "Hartleyton" and I could not help feeling rather proud of the task. Here I was nearer the centre of Africa than any other Wesleyan minister had ever been before — within ninety miles of the great Zambezi — the first to carry the Gospel into these wild regions; hundreds of miles of unoccupied territory behind me, and in front an open door to millions of heathen. But I have no doubt regarding the future. The people called Methodists believe in forward Movements — here then is a mighty stride forward in the foreign field! Since last June our Church in South Africa has moved forward nearly seven hundred miles beyond . . . our most northerly station in the Transvaal. And surely the fact that our flag is now waving within a few days journey of the River Zambezi is sufficient to intensify the enthusiasm of every earnest worker in the Kingdom of God."^{4,6} "Zimba (sic) was delighted to know that we intend sending a Christian teacher to live with him, and has promised to give him both protection and assistance . . . (We) hope to make Hartleyton an active centre from which our Missionary operations will radiate in all directions."⁸

The farm was 13 000 acres and was the first registered in the Lomagundi (Makonde) District. Although it no longer exists as a single unit, the name Hartleyton persists in the area. The name, by the way, does not refer to the early elephant hunter Henry Hartley, but to Rev. Marshall Hartley, a minister, Missionary Secretary, and then President of the Methodist Conference. The farm was also the first Wesleyan farm pegged in Zimbabwe, predating Epworth by a couple of months.²⁰

At about the same time as this momentous event, Shimmin wrote to the Transvaal District Committee, under whose authority he remained, asking if they would arrange for a number of

voluntary African catechists to help run these embryo missions. In response eight African catechists were sent up from South Africa. There were three of Basotho origin (of whom Moleli was one) and five of Xhosa origin, including Anta. They arrived on the last Sunday of May 1892 and were sent out to Epworth where Bowen had established a Mission.² Here they would have been given an idea of their future work and would have had their first contact with Mashona customs and language. A few days after their arrival, another important Wesleyan Missionary, Rev. George Eva, arrived in Salisbury. He too was initially sent out to Epworth.²

Hartleyton was still at the time but a name. However on 1 December 1892 Shimmin again set out for the area. Initially, he went to Hartleyton to see Paramount Zvimba to whom he had talked almost a year earlier. Shimmin records that the Chief seemed "delighted to see us again, as he had come to the conclusion that we had altogether forgotten him and our promise to send him a teacher".⁸ Here Shimmin left two of the catechists, one at Zvimba's kraal and the other at the neighbouring kraal of Zvimba's nephew Shimanga. Shimanga was at first unenthusiastic since he had heard strange tales of the doings of the White Missionaries. To quote a contemporary report, "they first build a huge house in which they make an extraordinary amount of noise of various kinds, and they induce natives to enter where they are put to death."⁴ It must have taken a fair amount of persuasion to get Shimanga to agree finally to allow one of the catechists to stay in his village.⁸

Thereafter, Shimmin and Eva proceeded further to the kraal of the new Paramount Lomagundi where they intended to peg another Mission farm. It was still their desire to get "a step closer to the heart of darkest Africa". They arrived at the chief's kraal and were cordially received. The Chief seemed in favour of the Mission, but delayed his approval. First he said he had to clear it with the local spirit medium, a woman by the name of Salokazana who lived a day's march to the west.⁸ After she agreed Lomagundi procrastinated yet again, this time saying he had to clear it with King Lobengula, lest he offend the Matabele Monarch. This would have taken several months, so Shimmin decided to peg provisionally a farm four miles east of the Paramount's kraal, and then he returned to Hartleyton. He took with him the two catechists he had hoped to leave at Lomagundi's, and these he left at Hartleyton.⁸ Thus, in late 1892 there were four catechists at Hartleyton, one of this number being James Anta. I might add the Lomagundi Mission never developed further.

Life at Hartleyton wouldn't have been easy at this early stage. There would have been no central complex as one probably envisages from knowledge of modern Missions. Rather these catechists would have had to live in isolated huts amongst people whose language and customs they would have found foreign. It must have been a lonely and hard life and it is not surprising that within a year only one, James Anta, remained at Hartleyton.

Although Anta was working entirely alone on the Mission, he was visited fairly regularly by Rev. G. Eva who had the unenviable task of supervision which involved constant movement between the various Mashonaland Mission Stations on "roads" less easy than today, a circuit of 180 rough miles.⁹ Still Anta's work was beginning to show progress despite the resistance of traditionalists. The people were less scared and it seemed to the Missionaries that, for a small number, their deeply inherent superstitions were being abandoned. They seemed less under the sway of the nyangas, the ancestral spirits, and they were coming to live in small numbers around their teacher, adopting European type clothing and were attending regular church services.⁹ However, history shows the Missionaries were overestimating the results of their efforts. The people were not being transformed to any large degree. In fact, it was only after the crushing of the 1896 Uprising that traditional values were really undermined and the true spread of the Gospel began.

After a time Anta was able to establish himself permanently at Zvimba's kraal, where he built a rough pole and dakha school/church.¹⁷ One of his pupils later recalled ". . . he used small

Xhosa/Fingo spelling books for teaching spelling. He taught counting one to ten and beyond in English. The children used slates. Anta read from the Zulu Bible, doing his best to translate into Shona. There were no games.”¹⁷ Progress was certainly being made.

Despite such apparent successes, there was a growing resistance to the Missionary work at Hartleyton. Ironically, this came from two opposed forces. On the one hand there were the White Settlers who saw the efforts of the Mission as interference.²⁰ They rejected the idea of education for the Mashona, and they had been actively opposed by the Missionaries on a number of occasions in their efforts to enforce labour from the people to work on their mines. There were a number of disturbing clashes between the Settlers and the local people often resulting in death (on both sides),²¹ nothing conducive to good neighbourliness. After one such incident Anta, who at the time had been in Salisbury to collect supplies, was so angered by the Settler’s attack that he had to be restrained and disarmed by Chief Zvimba who wished to prevent further trouble.¹⁷ Frequently the Missionaries, especially Eva, complained both publicly and in the Press (local and foreign) of the “shameful acts of selfish undisciplined whitemen”.⁹ This didn’t engender acceptance of the Missionaries’ work to the hearts of the Settlers.

There was also resistance to the Missionaries’ work from the traditionalists in Mashona Society. The Elders in particular saw the new doctrine of “equality for all in the eyes of God”, as being a threat to their status in Society. Thus, although initially welcoming the Missionaries, Chief Zvimba later actively discouraged his people from attending services. In fact the initial friendship was in many cases insincere, for the various leaders didn’t really want to embrace this new God, but they thought these newcomers might be useful “allies” in the conflicts inherent in their Society. The local spirit mediums, of whom Goronga was the most important in the area considered here,²¹ also began to incite the people against *all* the newcomers, Anta included. The foundation for the 1896 Uprising was thus being laid.

In July 1894, possibly because of the growing tensions within the traditional settlements, Anta and Eva decided it would be best to relocate their Mission Station away from Zvimba’s kraal.²⁰ They chose a new spot a little way to the north on an open plain. This movement into the open from the traditionally occupied kopjed areas, was a symbolic break with the past.¹⁸ Here the Missionaries thought they would have a greater impact on their followers, whom they hoped would come and live around them. A few probably did relocate to the new centre, although there is no definite record. If other stations are anything to go by, these few were often young people whose decision to move was seen as a direct threat to the traditional authorities. It was a clear rejection of the Chief and the Elders.

In 1894 during a patrol to enforce the payment of the new Hut Tax, an issue the local people didn’t understand and resented, a police officer, Trooper Cooper was killed. This occurred at Paramount Lomagundi’s kraal, some distance to the west of Hartleyton. A police Patrol under Sub-inspector Hopper was accordingly sent out from Salisbury to investigate. Hopper found that the Paramount and his people had fled the area. He therefore burnt a number of deserted villages and made for Hartleyton.¹⁴ Here he had arranged to meet the local chiefs.¹⁹ This was in September 1894.

At the time Rev. Eva was visiting Hartleyton. He and Anta, at the request of the local Mining Commissioner, Edward Pocock, had “succeeded after much persuasion and a good deal of trouble to get most of the Natives in the District to come together on our Station. Those who had arrived numbered about 500 or 600 souls and some chiefs.”¹⁹ Since it was Sunday 10th September 1894,¹⁷ a service was held for the gathered people. All attended except one woman who had a sick child. As Eva was finishing his sermon, they saw the woman running towards them being followed by a White Trooper. Anta approached the man who, when he saw Eva, made off leaving a “Native Constable” to keep watch. From this Constable they established that the Police Patrol was approaching. It was thus decided to close the service and they were

singing the final hymn when the patrol arrived. Hopper dismounted and through a Mr Kenny acting as interpreter demanded that the Chiefs come forward. All seven Chiefs present did so. They were Gusha, Zvimba, Murumbeza, Chikamba, Chifamba, Chizwanzwariba, and Umbani. Hopper ordered that they were to be prisoners required to guide the Patrol to the renegade Lomagundi.¹⁹ Anta protested but Eva thought it would be alright.¹⁷ Hopper then addressed the people castigating them "on their ingratitude of treacherously killing our (white) people who had saved them from the Matabele". He then had two men publicly flogged after they were identified as having deserted their European masters.¹⁹

Here I quote Eva's words as to what happened: "Sub-Inspector Hopper then turned to Mr Eyre who pointed out a boy who had run away from him and Mr Kenny also pointed out a boy. These boys were put on trial. Mr Eyre's boy was first asked if he knew Mr Eyre to which he replied in the affirmative. He was then asked why he had run away from Mr Eyre. The answer given by Mr Kenny, who was interpreter, was that the boy had agreed to work two months for Mr Eyre, when he had done he agreed to work after this a third month, but he found the work too hard and he ran away. He was sentenced to twelve lashes.

"The same questions were put to Kenny's boy and having answered in the affirmative to the first, he replied as his reason for running away, that Mr Kenny had engaged him to go to Damba's, but he (Mr Kenny), when they reached Damba's, wanted him to go further. The boy refused and ran away. In reply Kenny said that this was a lie. Sub-Inspector Hopper said that he believed the whiteman and not the native and sentenced the boy to twelve lashes. The two boys, one a young fellow and the other an elderly man, were then flogged. Sub-Inspector Hopper said that he wished all to see this done, men, women and children, as it was an example of what would be done to boys who ran away from their masters."¹⁹

After the lashings Hopper left with his prisoners. Anta wanted to resist and fetched his gun. However, Eva persuaded him otherwise.¹⁷ Soon after they heard a rifle shot and Eva records events. "The teacher (Anta) said, 'What is that, sir?' I replied, 'Oh! I suppose they have seen a buck.' I had scarcely finished speaking when I heard several other reports. The teacher (Anta) then turned to me and said, 'They are shot, Sir.' I replied, 'Nonsense!' We rushed down to where the Police were . . . to find only three of the seven chiefs remaining. I saw Sub-Inspector Hopper and spoke to him and he said to me, 'Your boys, or Indunas, have run away' and that he was very sorry for what had happened, but there was no alternative. Whilst we were talking I heard a shot fired in the stone kopjje (sic) close to where we were standing followed by a cry in Mashona, 'Oh, I am shot!' (Maiwe ndabaiwa). A policeman returned saying, 'I have done for him'.¹⁹ This fourth victim is supposed to have been none other than Chief Zvimba who died nobly.¹⁷

To continue with Eva's account, "towards evening when the police had left we searched for the dead and traced them by their blood spoor. The poor Mashona by (sic) the assistance of the teacher (Anta) buried the dead men. The Chiefs were absolutely innocent of Cooper's death, to this I am prepared to take my oath, for when it occurred I was amongst them and speaking about the coming together on our Station, and several of them had not heard of the murder until I told them. Besides they are different people from those who murdered Cooper and do not intermarry with them. They were not near them, being two and a half days from Mazimbagupa's kraal. The only charge than can be laid against them is that of running away and for that they suffered death."¹⁹

The result of this action was to shatter all confidence of the local people in the Settlers and in the Missionaries themselves. Many felt that Anta had connived to get them to assemble so that their leaders could be arrested and shot. A tremendous hate began to fester against the Mission.¹⁷ As in the case of Mizeki and Moleli, some of the local people probably viewed Anta as being a whiteman masquerading within a black skin — a foreigner to be destroyed.

Not all the people would have turned against Anta however, and he retained a small following. At a District Synod Meeting held in late September 1894, it was agreed that in the light of recent events at Hartleyton Mission, a European Missionary would be stationed permanently at each Mission to assist the African catechists in dealing with the White Community. It was decided that Rev. G. Eva be sent to Hartleyton to assist Anta.²⁰ However, he was there for only a couple of months before being transferred to Bulawayo, where there was a growing demand for Wesleyan services in the newly conquered Matabeleland.²⁰ Accordingly, Rev. John White, who had recently arrived in the country, was appointed to supervise Eva's post. White was supposed to have been stationed at Negombo's.²⁰ However, because of the dual demands being made upon him, he too, like Eva before him, adopted a nomadic approach. Hartleyton remained under the sole charge of James Anta, with only periodical visits from White. "A lack of staff meant that the policy of clear supervision was never carried out."²⁰

White did, however, achieve a few successes for the Hartleyton cause, although his major claim to fame was to lie elsewhere at a later time.³ His outcries instigated a full official investigation into the killings at the Mission, while he successfully persuaded the Administrator to replace the local Mining Commissioner. Mining Commissioner Edward Pocock had provoked tremendous resentment and fear as a result of his hard-handed enforcement of Hut Tax, while his "immoral abuse of native girls" finally led to his being fired.¹⁴

For the period 1895 and early 1896, I can not find much as to the goings on at Hartleyton. Official records seem to have ignored it for whatever reasons, while the missionary journals likewise have very little to say regarding this far flung outpost of Wesleyan activity. Things, however, must have been going reasonably well, for in November 1895 the following brief note appears concerning Hartleyton, "we are the only Church working among the people, and if we make the most of our present opportunities, the future results will be very good."¹¹ Elsewhere it is recorded that 400 people were attending services and the school had an enrolment of 40 pupils, although there were no indigenous converts as yet.²⁰

This brings us to the tragic year 1896. Following the apparent initial success of the Matabele Uprising, the Mashona people likewise rose up against the newcomers. Encouraged by the Spirit Mediums, various groups fell upon the unsuspecting Settlers murdering most of those in the outlying areas. As already mentioned, there was a strong local resentment towards the Hartleyton Mission and Anta in particular. Unbeknown to him, various groups began to plot for his death. Here I quote the events as recorded by one of Anta's followers: "When the rebellion came people arranged to kill Anta because they said that it was through him that the four men, their relatives, were killed. Those who arranged to do the killing were relatives of the dead Chief's (Zvimba's) wife. They gathered at night at the kraal of the half-brother (of the late Chief) . . . , Matare was his name, and they resolved to come at night and do the killing because they were afraid of . . . (one of the Chief's sons) and Anta. They came where the congregation was singing beside the campfire. Anta knew the people were coming, but thought that they were only visitors. They came up behind Anta and shot him in the neck. The bullet continued and smashed Patrick's sister's foot. Anta got up and ran away, shouting, 'Someone is trying to kill me'. He ran to the hut, but another man was waiting for him and killed him."¹⁷

It must be recorded that the martyrdom occurred after a service on 21st June 1896. The full congregation had dispersed, and Anta was chatting to a small group of young people around a fire. Everyone fled after the attack, and only later did one of the girls return to find Anta "asleep in death".¹² His body was removed by several of the sons of the late Chief Zvimba, and they buried him amongst the boulders on a rocky outcrop some way from the Mission.¹² Two days later a group of warriors from Mashiangombi's area, Chegutu, arrived and ransacked the Mission.¹⁷ They also attacked a number of Anta's followers, reportedly killing eighteen of them.¹⁵

Very little of this news filtered through to besieged Salisbury, and for over a year the Wesleyan Church remained uncertain as to events, although it was accepted that Anta had been murdered.¹⁰ Because Anta was not white, the Mission received no attention from the various Settler/Imperial Forces which subsequently visited the area, while it remained too dangerous for the Wesleyans themselves to visit a territory which was still in open rebellion. Only in September 1897, one year and three months later, was it felt safe enough to investigate. At the time Rev. J. W. Stanlake set off, without military protection, for the area. "We were anxious to know where the natives were, as, of course, they had been driven from the Mission farm, and also to get some trustworthy information about Anta, who, as you know, was murdered there."¹²

Stanlake met several of Anta's followers, and would have no doubt been shown his grave. Thereafter Anta seems to have been forgotten. The grave site was lost, and it was only in the late 1970s that it was relocated as a result of the hard work of Rev. C.B. Manyoba and Chief Patrick Zvimba. At the time a plaque was erected and a memorial service held, attended by the then Chairman of the Methodist District of Rhodesia, the late Rev. A.M. Ndlela.¹⁶ However, with the Civil War of the time the site was again forgotten, and the plaque removed by persons unknown. It was only in 1991 that it was again relocated by Rev. B. Graaff who kindly described its location to the Author. Rev. Graaff has now had Anta's name engraved into the granite boulder lest the site be forgotten again.⁵

Shortly after Stanlake's visit, the Rev. G. Eva assisted in leading a police patrol from the nearby Fort Lomaghunda. This patrol sought to pacify the area, disarm the "rebels" and to arrest those implicated in Anta's murder. Eleven men from Nyanmenyara's kraal were charged,¹⁴ although I can not establish if they were punished. Possibly not.

After Anta's martyrdom Hartleyton Mission was effectively abandoned for several years. As a result of its remoteness and associated dangers,¹⁸ it was initially ignored in favour of consolidating work at the more accessible of the Wesleyan Mission farms, while later a serious shortage of staff meant that no one could be posted to this Station, despite requests from the local people for a replacement for Anta.¹³ It was only in 1900 that work was eventually resumed at Hartleyton with the appointment of a new teacher.²⁰ Unfortunately, the name of this person has not been recorded. For the first time the Mission could boast of success in conversion of the local population, and its records indicate that there was one fully converted and baptised member of the Church, together with four trial members and 200 regular attendants. There was also a school with 16 pupils.²⁰ By 1905 there had been some progress. Although there was still only one teacher, there were now three full Church members, eleven on trial, and 650 people attending services. The school enrolment had meanwhile grown to 56 children.²⁰

Despite this apparent growth, the success of the Hartleyton Mission is only slight when compared with the rapid growth in many other Missions at the time.²⁰ There was still a tremendous resistance towards the Mission amongst the local people who blamed all their problems upon it and so comparatively few attended services.⁵ Then there was a further blow in August 1902, when Chief Zvimba moved his kraal some distance to the south.⁶ Thus the Mission slowly began to die since the population it was designed to serve had largely left the area. Still, Wesleyan efforts persisted and in 1907 the first full time preacher was appointed. He was Rev. W.T. Grantham who was, however, promptly transferred elsewhere in 1908.²⁰ Owing to a shortage of personnel, a replacement was appointed only in 1910. He was Rev. J. Butler,²⁰ who, when he arrived, found a fairly viable Church network operating at the Mission. There were a number of people (no details recorded) attending services, while there were three *local* catechists, fifteen full Church members, 39 trial members, two teachers and the number of pupils had risen to 100.²⁰ Growth, yes, but still insignificant compared with that elsewhere.

In 1912 Rev. J. Butler was replaced by Rev. J.H. Lovelace, the last Wesleyan preacher at Hartleyton.²⁰ A year later in 1913, it was decided to give up the Hartleyton enterprise. Rev.

Lovelace was transferred to Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) to pursue Wesleyan work in that territory,⁶ while the farm was exchanged with the British South Africa Company for two others with larger “native populations”. One of these new farms was Marshall Hartley Farm near Selous. Here a boarding school of the same name was opened and it became the centre of the modern Makwiro-Chinhoyi Circuit of the Methodist Church. The other farm was Pakame near Shurugwi. The Church thus gained its first foothold in the Midlands.⁶ Both these Missions still exist providing valuable educational and health facilities to the surrounding populations.

What of Hartleyton? After its surrender, the Administrator, realizing its valuable agricultural potential, subdivided it up into several farms which were sold to various early Settlers in the area. One of these landowners was Otto Zimmerman (later changed to Rawson) of Darwendale who played an important role in the Mazowe Patrol of 1896.²² The Missionary endeavours were soon forgotten, and the area has become a productive centre of large-scale commercial agriculture. Only two odd names of the various subdivisions remind one of its missionary past — Hartleyton and the Monastery.

Such is the short, and tragic, story of the Wesleyan Mission of Hartleyton in the Makonde District. It was the place of one of the 1896 Martyrdoms — James Anta — but, surprisingly, he has been forgotten. I don’t understand why, and hope that this brief note will do justice to his memory. To conclude, I would like to cite Rev. J. W. Stanlake’s tribute which he wrote after his visit to Hartleyton in 1897 during which he would have seen Anta’s grave:

“He died in the midst of his work, a brave man and a true missionary of the cross. He has left behind him a memory (sic) which will be cherished for many years amongst the heathen . . . The task before us is immense. In every kraal the Lord will be known . . . Our Mission has been baptised in blood, it now shall be baptised in fire.”¹²

Acknowledgements

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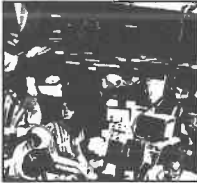
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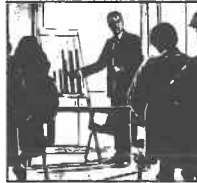
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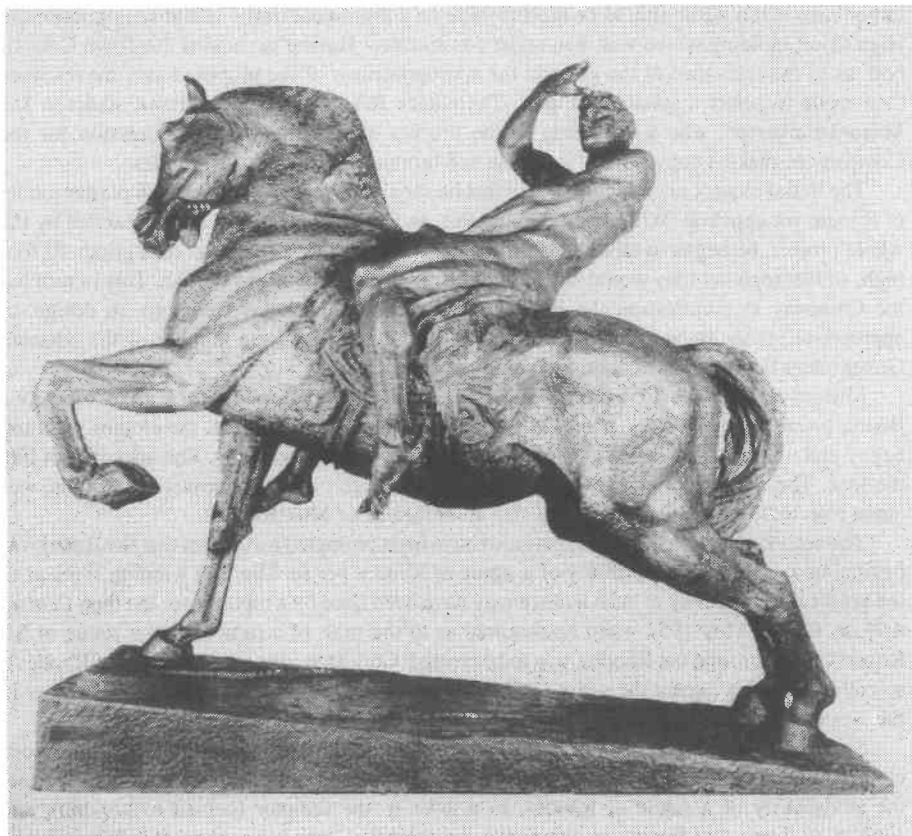
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Physical Energy

Anglo American Corporation

Older members of the History Society of Zimbabwe may remember something of the “toings and froings” of the Statue of Physical Energy. This widely travelled bronze colossus, the original of which was sculpted by G. F. Watts, RA, in 1904, was cast in England in 1959, before

being shipped out to Lusaka for erection and unveiling in 1960 as a memorial to Cecil John Rhodes. It was then strategically withdrawn from there in March 1965, re-erected in 1966 on a site near Rowan Martin Building and the new ZANU PF Headquarters in Harare, and then finally moved in 1981 to the seclusion of the grounds of the National Archives.

However, the original intention of the donors, the British South Africa Company, had been, in 1956, to give to the people of what was then Northern Rhodesia, a statue of Rhodes himself to commemorate what was perceived as his role in the opening up of that country. It is not clear from the records just who, within the Company hierarchy, was keen on such a statue of Rhodes, but it is most likely to have originated from Lord Robins. The first American Rhodes Scholar, from the State of Pennsylvania, Robins was to hold successively the posts of General Manager, Resident Director, and finally President of the Company between 1928 and 1962, and he remained an ardent Rhodes disciple throughout his adult life.

Since Lusaka was being developed as the capital of Northern Rhodesia the Company was rather keen that a statue should be erected there on a prominent traffic island site opposite the High Court building which was then under construction. Having persuaded the Town Council both as to the relevance of the gift and the appropriateness of the proposed site, moves were then made to select a suitable sculptor. The choice fell upon the Cape Town sculptor, Ian Mitford-Barberton, who was already in the process of finishing off a commission for the Company to make a copy of the "immense and brooding spirit" bust of Rhodes.

The initial request to this sculptor was that he should work-up a two foot high plaster model of Rhodes for approval. While he was doing this, and because obviously he was excited by the whole project, he began to talk in terms of a statue 18 foot high, mounted on a plinth 10 foot high, so that together they would not be dwarfed by their surrounds in Lusaka. This in turn led the Company to commission the Johannesburg architect, Nicholas Hoogterp, to design an appropriate plinth, since it was he who had been the architect for a number of the adjacent Government buildings in Lusaka, including the High Court.

Mitford-Barberton's first prototype was rejected in December 1956 by the Company's Board, prompted by Rhodes' niece, Miss Georgia Rhodes. She said that the clothes were too baggy and unkempt, the legs and neck too long, and the body too slight. She also did not like the face. The second attempt several months later, though initially approved by Robins, was again rejected by the Board, probably also at the behest of Miss Rhodes.

The second rejection, however, may also have been prompted by the fact that the Board was beginning to doubt the advisability of a statue of Rhodes per se. The first warning shots as to the political insensitivity of such a move may have been fired by a reporter for the then *Central African Post* in May 1957 when he enquired as to the truth of a rumour that a statue of Sir Robert Coryndon, and not Rhodes, was to be erected. Coryndon, one of the original of Rhodes's so called 'apostles', spent the years 1897-1907 as the Company's Resident Commissioner in the western portion of Northern Rhodesia.

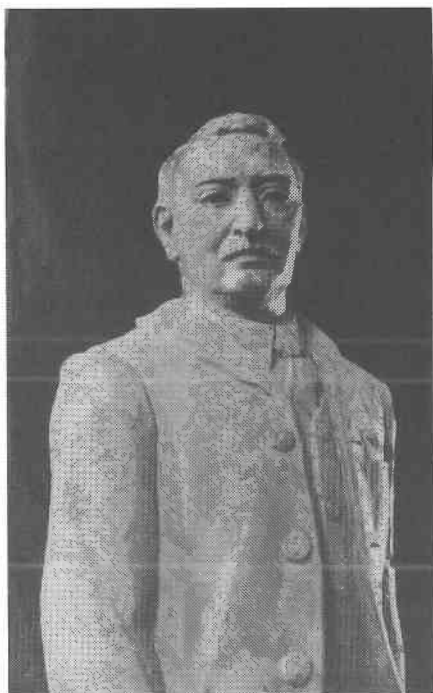
Sir Charles Cummings, too, now Resident Director in place of Robins who had been elevated to the Presidency of the Company and had moved to London, expressed doubts about the advisability of a statue of Rhodes. In a letter to the sculptor (copied to London), and supporting the idea of finding an alternative, he wrote that "one has seen what is happening to statues in India and Sudan, and anyway such a statue is a hostage to vandals. I think I would hesitate to set up a new statue of Rhodes in Northern Rhodesia." In a postscript to this letter he noted that Lord Malvern, who had stepped down the previous year as Federal Prime Minister and was now a Director of the Company, had also advised against such a statue. He went on to say that if he had to commission a statue for Lusaka he "would think about a group of bearers carrying the body of Livingstone to the coast". Robins wrote back rather testily confirming the choice instead of the statue of Physical Energy, by the Board, and saying that he believed it to



First Prototype of Statue of Cecil Rhodes by Cape Town Sculptor, I. Mitford-Barberton, 1956
(Anglo American Corporation)

be a "fine work of art . . . symbolic of the dynamic personality of Rhodes himself and of those qualities which we hope will in time inspire all races living in the Federation in building up the new State". He went on, "There is to my mind no conflict between the ideals of Livingstone and Rhodes. They both gained the respect and affection of the Africans. I should not like to see a statue of Livingstone's body being borne to the coast — out of Africa. He had brought something in which we all hope will be permanent and will never go out again, and such a statue as you suggest would give the impression of something temporary and fleeting — a mere episode . . . Rhodes laid the foundation on which Malvern's policy has been built up, and we believe it is going to succeed. We do not anticipate that the fate which has overtaken — most unjustly — the monuments of British rulers in India and the Sudan will be repeated in the Federation." All rather ironic in the light of subsequent events!

In the meantime the Cape Town sculptor, probably anxious to retain the commission, disputed the relevance to Africa of "Physical Energy", and submitted various drawings of animals on plinths. He even went to the lengths of making and despatching a two foot plaster



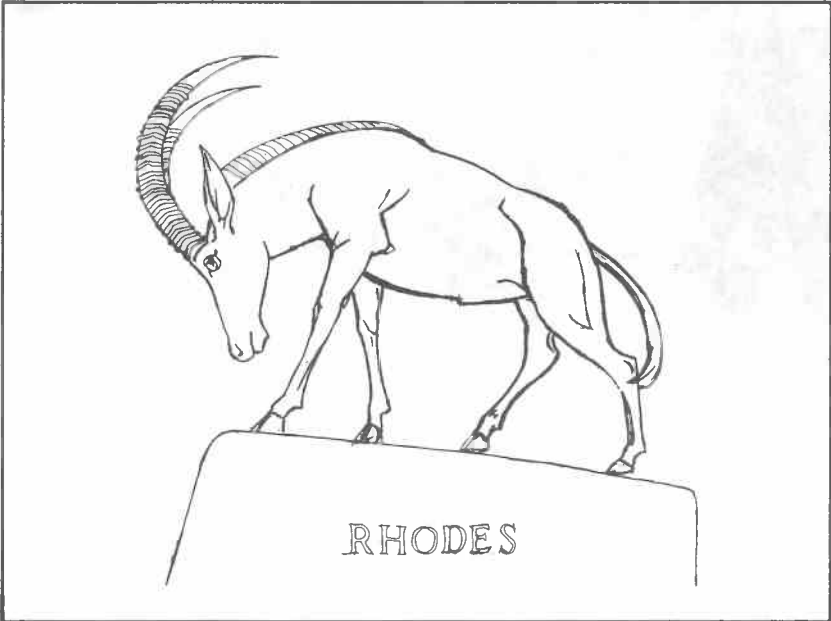
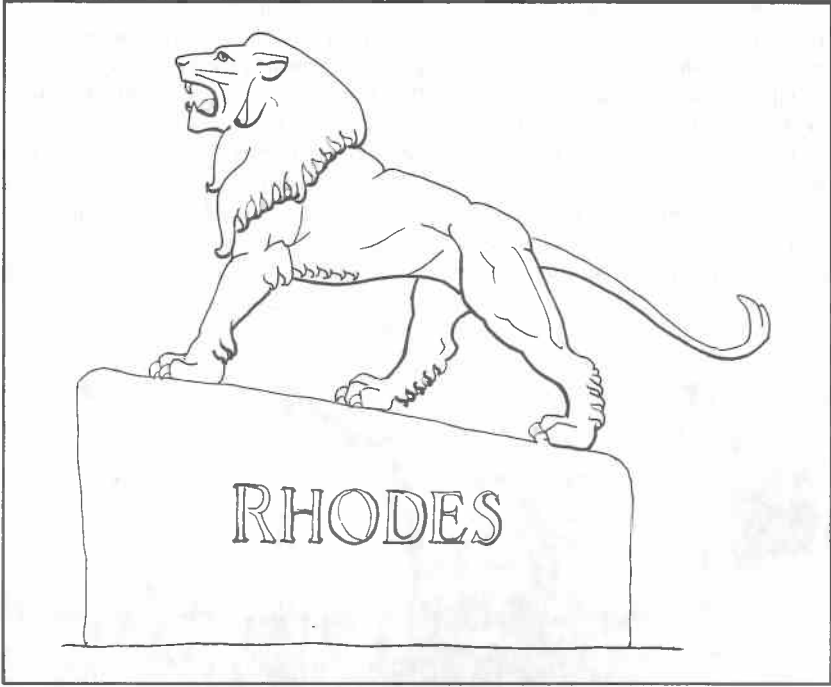
Second Prototype of Statue of Cecil Rhodes by Cape Town Sculptor, I. Mitford-Barberton, 1956
(Anglo American Corporation)

model of a lion for consideration, but the latter seems never to have arrived, despite embarrassed searches for it in 1960, and the drawings were rejected as not being suitable.

Having changed its mind as to which statue to donate, the Company then had to persuade the Lusaka Town Council as to the relevance instead of “Physical Energy” e.g. arguments to the effect that the sculptor G. F. Watts had dedicated his original as “an emblem of the energy and outlook” that he believed was characteristic of Rhodes himself. The Town Council accepted the change in principle but, when the first estimates from the foundries came in for this statue at between £8 000 and £9 000, the Company in October 1957 shelved the whole scheme as being too expensive.

The issue then lay dormant until March 1959 when the Company once again indicated its willingness to donate the statue. The reasons given were that its financial position had improved substantially, but it seems likely that they were also influenced by rumours of a visit to be made in the following year to the Federation by the Queen Mother. It was thought that such a statue might help “especially to signalise the visit” and it was even hoped that she might agree to unveil it.

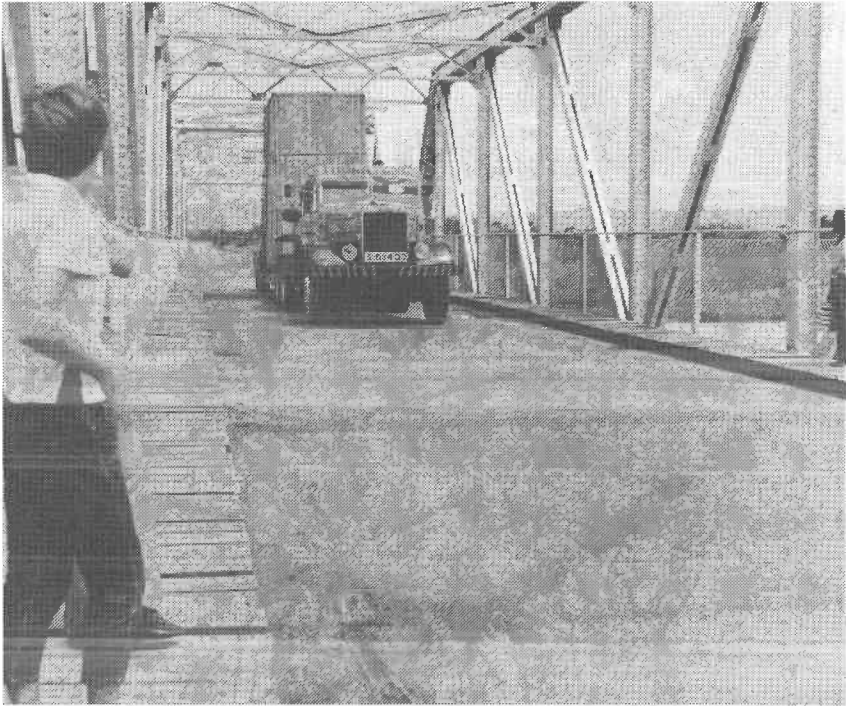
The Lusaka Town Council again accepted the offer and from then on all the necessary arrangements were set in motion. The work of casting the statue, at an estimated cost of £8 405, was given to the Corinthian Bronze Company. It was to weigh approximately seven tons and



Further suggestions for a Statue to Commemorate Rhodes from Cape Town Sculptor, I. Mitford Barberton, 1957
(Anglo American Corporation)

85% of its bronze content was to be comprised of Northern Rhodesian copper. Tenders were also put out and agreed for the manufacture of a plinth, commemorative plaques, a silver replica, and for transport and insurance. All these arrangements proceeded despite grumbling letters in the Northern Rhodesian press to the effect that Livingstone and not Rhodes should be commemorated, that Rhodes had never even set foot in the country.

A particular complication that arose in the December of 1959 was a threat from the Federal Controller of Customs to charge a 10% duty on the value of the statue on the grounds that, according to Customs tariffs, it could not be classified as an original work. It took what was termed as “one of his characteristic letters” from Lord Malvern, now Resident Director of the Company, to the Federal Minister of Finance, to elicit the promise of a refund. Similar “characteristic letters” had to be written subsequently with regard to the granite stones for the plinth, and for the plaques, since these too were imported.

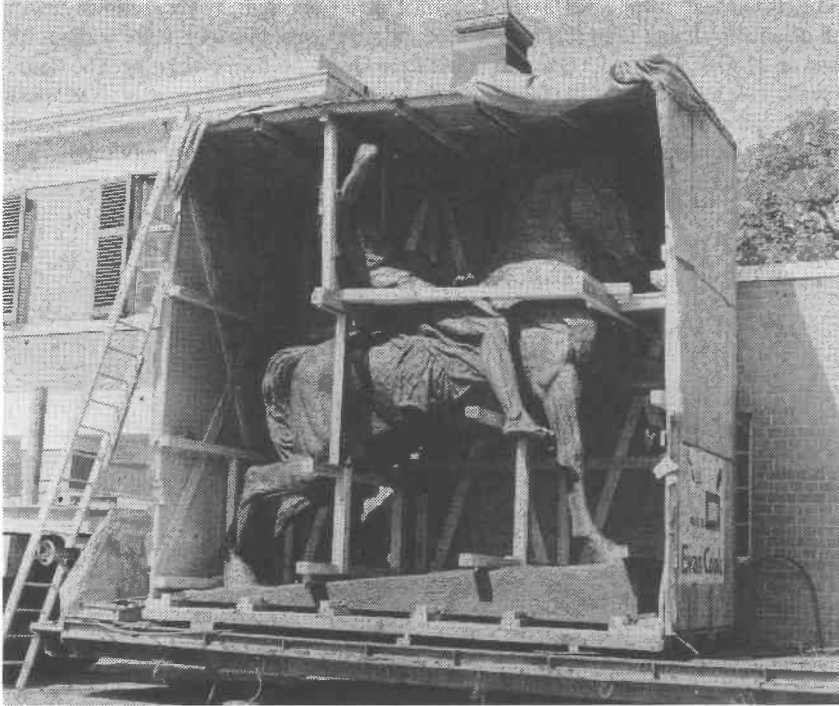


“Physical Energy” crossing the Zambezi in late 1959

(Anglo American Corporation)

An amusing round of correspondence during this period, between Rex Boys as Joint General Manager of the Company in Harare, and Gerald Percy as Local Secretary in Lusaka, concerned the need or otherwise to maintain the statue after unveiling, since Lord Robins had issued instructions to the effect that furniture polish would have to be applied every three months in order to retain its “lovely bronze colour”. The response from the Corinthian Bronze Company was that no maintenance was necessary on the “bronze colossus and that the

bronzework itself is . . . to all intents and purposes indestructible and will certainly last for many thousands of years". As the statue, suitably crated, had by now arrived in Lusaka, this response provoked the comment from Boys that someone should take a photo of the colossus while in "that funny box in the garden (of Charter House) in order to record it in its pre-neo perpetual state".



The statue "Physical Energy" still in its crate in the back yard of Charter House, Lusaka, 1960 (Anglo American Corporation)

Upon unpacking and inspection a small crack was found on the right foreleg of the statue, and a small piece of bronze packing appeared to have fallen out at a point where the naked rider's right thigh veered away from the horse's body. This prompted Percy to telex Boys that it would be "rash to assume that the statue will necessarily evade the fate of that other colossus of etymologically similar association, even if it does have an extra leg to stand on. Especially is this so if I am right in thinking that the crack in the horse's foreleg may have been caused by the weight of the base when the wretched animal was slung by its belly and that if this leg-pulling is repeated we may yet wind up with a kind of latter-day OZYMANDIAS on our hands."

The Corinthian Bronze Company, although not privy to this particular exchange, but aware of the implied criticism of their workmanship, denied that any handling on their part could have caused the crack, and maintained in any case that it was of no consequence. As to the loosened piece of bronze packing they agreed that the piece was not on the original statue, but said that

their workmen had added it because they “felt that it would be more proper to close it (the groin) more especially for a figure going to Lusaka”.

The statue itself was mounted on its plinth in Lusaka on 1 April 1960, the choice of which date led to even further witty exchanges between Boys and Percy. The fact that it was decorated at night some two weeks later with “a hat, brassiere, woollen jumper and other impedimenta” by persons unknown can only have served to fuel the humour.

Lord Robins meanwhile was taking the formal unveiling ceremony very seriously and, after much detailed planning as to seating and other arrangements, this took place without further mishap on 21 May, 1960, with Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, officiating. The statue had eventually cost in excess of £20 000 and, in his handover speech, Robins expressed “the hope that this symbol of ‘Physical Energy’ may stand here for all time to remind the people of Northern Rhodesia of the great Englishman to whom all of us of whatever race owe so much”. As events were soon to prove, these turned out not to be particularly propitious remarks.



“Physical Energy” in Lusaka showing the High Court in the background, 1960

(Anglo American Corporation)

Within days of Zambia gaining formal independence on 24 October 1964 calls began to be heard for the statue to be taken down. In one newspaper article, headlined ‘Statue must giddyup’, the writer made it clear that Zambians had long associated the statue with remarks attributed to Lord Malvern, when still Federal Prime Minister, that the Federal arrangement could be likened to that of the partnership between horse and rider, with whites being the rider.

“Physical Energy” by G. F. Watts, OM, RA

Watts first conceived of the idea of such a statue in 1870, but the work was not completed until just before his death in 1904. He had therefore worked on it for nearly 34 years.

The association of Cecil Rhodes with this statue came about as a result of a visit made by him to Watts’s studio in 1898 in the company of Earl Grey. He is reported to have said that he greatly admired the statue and would like to have it to commemorate the completion of the Cape to Cairo railway. Lord Grey then apparently offered on behalf of Lord Salisbury’s Government to have it cast at public expense, but Watts turned down the offer because the statue was incomplete.

Four years later, after Rhodes’s death, Lord Grey renewed the offer, with the object of using the statue as a Rhodes Memorial in the Matopos, where Rhodes was buried. This offer Watts accepted, but with the stipulation that, apart from the cost of casting, the work should be a gift from him — “an emblem of energy and outlook” so characteristic of Rhodes himself. Speaking of the statue Watts said that his aim was “to create a figure that would suggest man as he ought to be — a part of Creation, of Cosmos in fact, his great limbs to be akin to the rocks and the roots, and his head to be as the sun.”

Difficulties of transportation at the time caused the Matopos project to be abandoned and instead the statue was used as part of the Rhodes Memorial at Groot Schuur in Cape Town.

The model of the first statue was then slightly revised by Watts and a new version cast there from was erected in Kensington Gardens, London, in 1907, the money coming from public funds.

The third and final statue, the one that is the subject of the adjacent article, was cast from the revised model.

Another article attacking the existence of the statue stated that it had been specially aligned by Robins so as to have its rear quarters facing the offices of the Ministry of Finance because he objected strongly to the modern design of the building.

Initially the Company was in a quandary as to how to react, since technically it no longer owned the statue. However, as pressure mounted, when it became clear that unless the statue was taken down and removed elsewhere it might well be destroyed, approaches were made to the Town Council for permission to repossess it. This was granted and on 23 December 1964 it was quietly removed from its plinth in Lusaka.

Meanwhile, as soon as it became clear that the statuë would no longer be tolerated in Zambia, given its Rhodes and ‘horse and rider associations’, the Civic Authorities of Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo, Fort Victoria and Umtali all put in requests to have it. Since Salisbury was the first to ask it was promised to them, but Sir Frederick Crawford, now Resident Director, also had hopes that the statue would be located on the traffic island that was still diagonally in front



***Northern News*: 24 December 1964**

of Charter House. This was not possible, however, because the City Council already had plans to phase out the island and, instead, a site was offered on the vacant ground near the corner of Samora Machel Avenue and Rotten Row.

This site was accepted and, after the removal of the statue and the dismantled plinth from Zambia in March 1965, and allowing for a period to rebuild the plinth, the statue was formally unveiled in Salisbury on 7 July 1966. No definite figures are available for the removal costs of the statue and plinth from Zambia, but an estimate in excess of £1 000 was given in advance of the move. The construction and mounting costs in Salisbury were almost certainly met by the City Council.



“Physical Energy” surveying its new surroundings on the old race course, Harare, 1966.

(Anglo American Corporation)

The final chapter (so far) in the life of this statue began in 1980 when, again because of its “colonial” associations, pressure began to mount for its removal from the public eye. In 1981, together with the statue of Rhodes that used to stand at the other end of Samora Machel Avenue at the junction with 3rd Street, it was removed to the grounds of the National Archives of Zimbabwe located at Gun Hill. It stands there on a simple concrete base at the back of the old Records Centre repository. One is tempted, however, to wonder whether this is in fact the final resting place of this rather splendid statue. There were rumours in the early 1980s for example that the Rhodes University authorities in Grahamstown were keen to have it and were offering a computer system as a swap. More recently the Zambian authorities were thought to be interested in having it back as one of the exhibits in a “colonial era” museum that they were said to be considering.

Aspects of the Coinage of Southern Rhodesia, the Federation and Rhodesia

by P. G. Locke

The coinage of Southern Rhodesia, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and Rhodesia, is widely regarded as one of the most striking and desirable series of Africa. Eagerly collected by numismatists both within and outside Zimbabwe, the high valuations placed on coins struck in certain key years and many other coins in top condition are testimony to the interest which the series engenders.

Aesthetic and investment considerations aside, however, the numismatic history of Southern Rhodesia through to Zimbabwe is also a fascinating example of the manner in which coinage can reflect political events and the history of a country. Under British influence until 1965, when the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) was proclaimed by Rhodesia, the coinage struck was typical of British colonial Africa, with the head of the reigning monarch on the obverse and a local emblem on the reverse, based on the British currency standard. Even after UDI lingering loyalties to the crown maintained this format for some years (in the case of the threepence coin) but thereafter the national arms of the rebellious state were defiantly featured, emphasizing its independence. Subsequent to black majority rule and the creation of the state of Zimbabwe in 1980, this coinage was one of the first symbols of the previous government to be abolished and a new nationalistic series was issued, affirming that full political independence had now been achieved.

A full description and detailed history of the currency has been recorded previously in a number of publications, primarily a comprehensive booklet on the subject by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.¹ In addition, there are at least two numismatic catalogues dealing specifically with these coins, each incorporating an historical survey based closely on this original source.^{2,3}

Over and above the official history, however, there are many aspects of detail, anomalies and inconsistencies, of particular interest to coin collectors, which have apparently never been fully documented before. These include the existence of one date series (1976) which has been widely catalogued but evidently never minted and the existence of other types which were minted but never issued and are known only from small numbers acquired by collectors. Also, certain coins are officially recorded as having a high mintage, which is totally at variance with their scarcity. There are also a number of mis-struck errors, pattern coins and a surprising number of deliberate fakes.

In attempting to clarify the various anomalies and to place the additional data in perspective, a brief resumé of the development of the coinage, listed chronologically, bears repeating as follows:

- 1891 — The coinage of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope became the standard currency to be used in the territory of Mashonaland.
- 1894 — Use of this coinage was extended to include the whole of the area which became Southern Rhodesia.
- 1910 — British coins from £5 to ¼d were proclaimed for use in Southern Rhodesia.
- 1932 — Under the "Coinage Act" of Southern Rhodesia the Colony's first coins were

- minted in denominations from 2/6d to 3d, and the current British and Union of South Africa coins were declared legal tender.
- 1933 — An amended “Coinage Act” was promulgated which excluded provision for the minting of gold coins and under which coinage of the Union of South Africa was no longer legal tender. Southern Rhodesia coins were first issued in Nyasaland.
- 1934 — The first 1d and 1/2d coins were struck and Southern Rhodesian coins were issued in Northern Rhodesia.
- 1937 — Coins minted after the death of King George V in 1936 now bore the effigy of King George VI.
- 1938 — A new Coinage and Currency Act came into force.
- 1939 — British coins ceased to be legal tender.
- 1942 — The composition of the 1d and 1/2d coins was changed from cupro-nickel to bronze due to a war-time decline in the availability of nickel.
- 1944 — Owing to a world shortage of silver, and other war-related factors, the fineness of the silver coins was reduced from .925 to .500.
- 1947 — Due to the increased price of bullion, the silver coins were debased to cupro-nickel and silver coins were withdrawn from circulation.
- 1953 — A crown piece in .500 silver was issued to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Cecil John Rhodes.
- 1954 — Following the accession to the throne of Queen Elizabeth II in 1952, the only Southern Rhodesian cupro-nickel coins bearing her effigy were issued.
- 1955 — New coinage of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was issued in denominations from 2/6d to 1/2d.
- 1964 — Following dissolution of the Federation in 1963, the first Rhodesian coins from 2/6d to 6d were minted.
- 1965 — Federal coins of the denominations 2/6 to 6d were demonetized.
- 1966 — A proof set of gold coins in denominations of £5, £1 and 10/- was issued to mark the first anniversary of UDI.
- 1968 — Rhodesian 3d coins were minted.
- 1970 — With the introduction of decimalization, new 2 1/2 cent, 1 cent and 1/2 cent coins were issued.
- 1973 — Southern Rhodesian and Federal 1d and 1/2d coins were demonetized and a new Rhodesian 5 cent coin was issued.
- 1975 — New 25 cent, 20 cent, 10 cent and 5 cent coins bearing the Coat-of-Arms of Rhodesia were issued.
- 1979 — The Rhodesian 2 1/2 cent and 1/2 cent coins were demonetized.
- 1983 — Following independence and the minting of Zimbabwean coins, all Rhodesian coinage was demonetized.

Fact and Fallacy

In addition to the historic outline above, there are a number of other little-known points of interest which are of relevance as follows:

- During the Boer War there was a critical shortage of coins (and notes) in Southern Rhodesia and small cards with BSA Co. postage stamps affixed were issued in Bulawayo in 1900 as a temporary substitute. In denominations from 3d to 10/-, these were known as Marshall Hole notes after the official responsible for their issue.
- All Southern Rhodesian and Federal coins (from 1932 to 1963) were struck by the Royal Mint in Great Britain, while the subsequent Rhodesian coins (from 1964 to 1977)

were minted by the South African mint in Pretoria. For Zimbabwe coins (post 1980) minting resumed at the Royal Mint.

- Various British artists were responsible for the designs of all Southern Rhodesian and Federal coins. Noteworthy amongst these was G. Kruger Gray, artist and engraver at the Royal Mint, who produced the reverse designs for all the Southern Rhodesian silver coins other than the crown piece. Except for the effigy of Elizabeth II, the designs of the Rhodesian coins from 1964 were the work of Thomas Sasseen of the South African Mint. In keeping with tradition, the initials of the artists appear on the relevant coins — unless the designs are adaptations.
- According to reports at the time of first issue of the ½d and 1d denominations, the reason for piercing these coins was to enable them to be strung on string or wire — a practice it was believed would suit the rural population who mostly did not have the convenience of pockets.⁴ Like coinage elsewhere in Africa, apparently the concept was adopted from China where peasants traditionally carried their ‘cash’ strung in necklets. Despite the official reasoning, however, there is little evidence that this custom was ever followed to any great extent in Zimbabwe (schoolboy collectors excepted!).
- After the issue of pennies and half-pennies in bronze commencing in 1942, the earlier coins in these denominations (which continued in circulation) were commonly but erroneously referred to as “silver” pennies and half-pennies — alluding to the silver-coloured cupro-nickel alloy in which they were struck.
- The 3d (and later 2½ cent coin) was always known colloquially as the “tickey”, this term being adopted from the South African vernacular name for the same denomination coin. (In fact the origin of the word in South Africa has not been established with certainty but it is believed to be derived from “tiki”, the Zulu word for “something small”).⁵ Great sentiment was attached to the tickey in Zimbabwe and its withdrawal in 1979 was viewed with considerable dismay. Consequently, large numbers of this coin were hoarded when news of its impending demonetization was released.
- It is generally acknowledged today that the florin denominations in silver are the least common of the Rhodesian series* and, consequently, the most difficult for collectors to acquire. This has been attributed to the fact that people in the rural areas, who traditionally hoarded coins by burying them (providing the source of many collectors’ coins), kept mainly the silver halfcrowns and did not retain the lesser denominations to the same extent.⁶ Many low denomination coins are abundant, however, and the scarcity of some florins is more likely to be a simple consequence of the relatively lower mintage of these coins.
- According to the Royal Mint’s records for Southern Rhodesia and the Federation, coins dated a particular year were also commonly struck in one or two subsequent years before the dies were altered to reflect the current date.⁷ As an example, the 1932 silver coins were still being struck in 1934 before the date was changed later that year. Presumably, this practice ensured economical use of the dies.
- A peculiarity of the 1953 crown piece is that the edge inscription “1853 OUT OF VISION CAME REALITY 1953” is not uniformly applied and is “inverted” on some coins. This is due to the fact that the lettering was struck with either the obverse or the reverse of the coins facing upwards at random.
- Rhodesia was the fifth country in the world to replace the sterling system with decimal currency — after South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Zambia.

* For the sake of brevity the term “Rhodesian series” is used where appropriate to describe collectively the whole series from the inaugural Southern Rhodesian issue through to the last Rhodesian coinage.



Figure 1: The only crown piece to have been issued in the Rhodesian series is regarded as being a very imaginative design and quite exceptional in the detail depicted on the reverse.²⁵ Interestingly, though it is a Southern Rhodesian issue, the reverse design also incorporates the armorial bearings of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, anticipating the Federation of the three territories later in 1953. The edge of the coin bears an inscription which is “upside-down” on some coins, as no attempt was made to uniformly orientate the coins when they were inscribed (Actual size)

- Change to decimal currency was first mooted by the Federal Decimal Coinage Commission in 1960. However, political considerations delayed implementation of the system in Rhodesia until 17th February 1970.⁸
- In anticipation of the change-over and in order to acquaint the population with the new decimal system planned for 1970, Rhodesia pioneered in 1964 the marking of its coinage with both the sterling values and the future decimal equivalents.
- A popular proposal for the new decimal currency unit in Rhodesia was the “Rhodes” but this name was officially rejected in favour of “dollar” due to possible confusion of the abbreviation “R” with the South African Rand.

Scarcity of Coins Inconsistent with Official High Mintage Figures

Determined from relative values in the appropriate catalogues, the 1946 florin, the last issued in silver, is the scarcest of all Rhodesian coins — despite a recorded mintage of 700 000. Though official confirmation has never been given, this anomaly must be explained by the fact that the major portion of the mintage was withheld in anticipation of the imminent change from .500 silver to cupro-nickel coins in 1947. In addition, most of the small number of 1946 florins issued were likely to have been quickly withdrawn from circulation in 1947 before being acquired in any quantity by collectors, thus increasing the scarcity of the coin.¹⁰ It is also of interest that, despite its catalogue rating, many authoritative collectors and numismatic dealers regard the 1939 florin with low mintage of 120 000 as actually being the rarest of all Rhodesian coins.^{11,12}

With a high official mintage of 2 400 000 the 1957 Federal halfcrown is another coin in the series of which only a small percentage of the coins struck was put into circulation. Ironically, it is considerably rarer in Zimbabwe than elsewhere as fair numbers of uncirculated coins were acquired by overseas collectors and dealers with prior knowledge of the coin being withheld.¹³ Not fully explained are the precise reasons behind the partial release of this coin and the fact

that no further Federal halfcrown coins were struck in subsequent years. However, this has been attributed simply to low demand for the last issue of Federal coinage in the higher denominations and, despite the date of minting of this coin preceding the dissolution of Federation by six years, it seems that only a small portion of the mintage had been issued when the impending break-up of Federation caused the bulk of the coins to be withheld. Also it is noteworthy that, according to the Royal Mint's records, Federal halfcrowns dated 1956 were still being struck in 1957.¹⁴



Figure 2: Three of the scarcest ordinary issue Rhodesian coins. All these coins were minted in relatively large numbers but, in each instance, only a proportion of the total coins struck was actually put into circulation. According to its catalogue rating the 1946 2/- is the most valuable and, by inference, the rarest of the Rhodesian series. Ironically, many collectors consider the 1939 2/- to be even scarcer (Actual size)

Certainly, the collapse of the Federation is the reason for the scarcity of the 1963 sixpence, only 4 000 of the 800 000 coins struck having been inadvertently released into circulation.¹⁵ Again, collectors must have had prior knowledge of the fate of this coin for it was also hoarded in some quantity and the artificial situation pertains whereby the coin occurs more often in mint than circulated condition.

Coins Minted But Never Issued

Amongst the coins reportedly struck by the South African Mint are two 1/2 cents dated 1973 and 1977 respectively, neither of which was ever issued. According to the definitive text on world coins, except for a very few examples acquired by collectors, in both instances the total mintage was melted.¹⁶ Now the 1/2 cent series, which commenced in 1970, was demonetized in early 1979, so that the decision not to issue the 1977 1/2 cent may have been taken in anticipation of this action. In addition, demand for coinage in this denomination must have been declining in the latter part of the decade as the purchasing power of this coin diminished. However, there is no obvious reason why the 1973 1/2 cent, which fell in the middle of this series, was never circulated. Moreover, a further enigma persists in that no specimens of the 1973 1/2 cent are known in South African numismatic circles today and the question arises as to whether this coin was actually ever minted. Less than 30 of each type are reputed to exist and, interestingly, most of the 1977 examples seem to have exhibited what appear to be scorch marks, suggesting perhaps that they had been rescued from the furnace at the last moment!¹⁷

Enquiries directed to the South African Mint and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe concerning the melting of these coins have both drawn a blank.

Coins Catalogued But Probably Never Minted

Complete mystery surrounds the cataloguing of three coins, all dated 1976, in denominations of 10 cents, 20 cents and 25 cents, none of which is known to actually exist. Surprisingly these coins are all recorded by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe itself and even precise mintage figures are given by the relevant coin catalogues.

In the case of the 10 cent and 25 cent coins, 1976 would have been the last year of issue. However, the 20 cent coins terminated with the 1977 issue so that it cannot be presumed that circulation of all of these coins was withheld pending a change in the series type.

Accordingly, it must be concluded that either these coins were never minted or that the total mintage was melted — for reasons unknown. Certainly, no examples are known to exist.

Errors

Numismatic errors (mis-strikes, blanks and breakages) engender far less enthusiasm amongst coin collectors than their philatelic equivalents but, nevertheless, they are an integral part of the complete numismatic picture. Recorded errors are as follows:

Halfpenny (various dates) } — hole punched off-centre or absent altogether
Penny (various dates)

1968 3d — double strike error, giving shadow effect

1964 6d — rimless blank

1953 Crown — error in rim transcription (no space between CAME-REALITY)

Generally, the incidence of numismatic errors is rare, though the double strike 3d is regarded as relatively common.



Figure 3: Examples of penny coins with (left) no hole punched and (right) hole struck off-centre (Actual size)

Varieties

A small number of uncatalogued rare varieties of normal issue coins are known to exist.

These are mainly proof* sets or single proof coins which were struck in very small quantities as special presentation pieces and which were produced over and above the “standard” proof releases. These special proofs date largely from the period 1968–1977 and are mostly

* Proof coins are struck from specially polished dies as collectors items or presentation pieces and are distinguished by a mirror-like or matt surface.

exceedingly rare or even unique. No official records exist for these proofs and the existence of examples is only known when they occasionally appear on the market, listed in the sales catalogues of numismatic dealers.

Due to their obscure nature and the fact that they were not intended for general circulation, these special proofs are considered to be outside the scope of this article.

In fact only one variant of a standard issue coin (the 1964 florin) has been noted. Though no examples have been examined, when first issued a small number of coins of this denomination are reliably reported to have appeared with the initials of the designer "TS" (for Thomas Sasseen) omitted from the reverse, unlike the common variety.¹⁸ These are said to be very rare.



Figure 4: When first issued a very small number of the 1964 2/- coins appeared without the initials of the designer "TS" (for Thomas Sasseen) on the revers
(Enlarged 40%)

Pattern Coins

A number of rare and interesting pattern coins which were used in selecting the designs and preparing the dies for striking the Rhodesian coins at both the Royal Mint and the South African Mint are known to exist.



Figure 5: Uniface pattern florin in tin depicting a proposed design for the obverse of the first issue of Southern Rhodesia coins in 1932. The design was rejected, King George V apparently objecting to the style of the crown

(Actual size) (Royal Mint)

In the collection of the Royal Mint is a uniface florin obverse of George V struck in tin and showing the monarch wearing a crown with two arches. Prepared in October, 1932, the design was not approved, the King apparently objecting to the form of the crown.¹⁹

Interestingly, a set of five uniform patterns in silver dated 1932 of the reverse designs which were adopted for currency, comprising halfcrown, florin, shilling, sixpence and threepence, has recently surfaced on the numismatic market in Britain.²⁰ Formerly the property of the engraver, Kruger Gray, and described as “excessively rare”, the plain obverses of these patterns are neatly engraved *Model*.



Figure 6: Extremely rare 1932 pattern set in silver with reverse designs of the type adopted for the first issue of Southern Rhodesia coins. The plain obverses are engraved *Model* (Actual size)

A unique series of pattern coins emanating from the South African Mint has also been recorded.²¹ Evidently used in selecting the designs for the first Rhodesian issue in 1964, these are patterns which were obviously not accepted, as follows:

1. South African halfcrown struck from dies with the date removed.
2. Uniface Elizabeth II crown with the figures 5 shillings engraved below the bust.
3. Uniface Elizabeth II two shillings piece with the figures 2 shillings engraved beneath the bust.

(It is of interest to note that consideration was apparently being given to striking a crown piece at the time. This would have been only the second crown issue in the Rhodesian series.)

In addition, a set of 1964 coins of circulation pattern but with the designs struck in very high relief is reported to exist in South Africa. Evidently the protruding design did not permit the coins to stack easily and the dies were altered to produce a lower relief for the circulation coins.²²

Lastly, proof 1970 1/2c and 1c bronze pattern coins in which the Rhodesian Coat-of-Arms is of reduced size compared to the circulation coins are also reported. The existence of these patterns and the fact that the Coat-of-Arms was reduced in size on the final issue 5c coin suggests that alternative heraldic designs were considered for the decimal series.

Fakes and Altered Coins

Due to the resurgence of interest in collecting Rhodesian coins in recent years, with high prices being paid for the rarer items, inevitably there has been a corresponding increase in the number of faked and altered coins being produced.

Most common of the fakes is the altered threepence which has been modified by hand so that the central assegai on the reverse is lengthened relative to the adjacent pair. Whilst of no numismatic value, coins so altered are believed by many to be a genuine aberrant form and are in great demand. Sometimes with dates changed as well, many of these fakes are expertly converted and readily deceive the untrained eye. Asking prices of up to \$30 000 for a "tickey with a long spear in the middle" reflect the exaggerated myth surrounding these valueless coins.²⁴



Figure 7: *Left & centre:* Two examples of 3d coins which have been skilfully altered on the reverse so that the central assegai appears longer than the adjacent pair. The "1939" example is actually a 1949 coin with the date changed to enhance its value — the earlier date being scarcest in this denomination. *Right:* An unaltered coin is shown for comparison (Enlarged 40%)

Due to the high value of the genuine coin, the 1946 2/- is occasionally faked by altering the last digit of the date of a 1948 or 1949 coin of the same denomination and then fraudulently tendered to collectors. In all examples examined it has been easy to distinguish these coins as fakes for, obviously, they are struck from cupro-nickel rather than silver. No coin altered from an earlier silver florin has been encountered and, undoubtedly, such a counterfeit could catch the inexperienced collector unawares.

An exceptional example of the forger's art is demonstrated by a single example of a 1947 halfcrown which has been skilfully altered to fabricate a spurious 1917 coin. On the obverse, the features of the crowned monarch (George VI) have been completely remodelled to produce a striking likeness of an uncrowned effigy of George V, while the shield on the reverse has been restyled and supporting lion and unicorn added after the manner of the Royal Arms. Despite the expert workmanship, the altered coin does not represent any sought-after item and the precise objectives of the exercise are obscure.

An attempt to produce a fictitious 1953 penny, in which year no coin of that denomination was struck, has also been seen. Fabricated by altering the date of a 1963 penny, this coin could have easily been accepted as a genuine rarity by an uninformed collector.



Figure 8: Top: A 1947 Southern Rhodesian halfcrown which has been radically altered to fabricate a spurious 1917 coin. The remodelling of the crowned effigy of George VI on the obverse to produce a close resemblance of an uncrowned George V, and addition of lion and unicorn on the reverse, are testimony to the art of the forger. Reproduction belies the quality of the contrived coin, the actual purpose of which is obscure.

Bottom: an unaltered coin is shown for comparison

(Enlarged 40%)



Figure 9: Penny with date altered to 1953, in which year no coin of that denomination was struck. This has been carried out in an attempt to produce a fraudulent “rarity”

(Enlarged 40%)

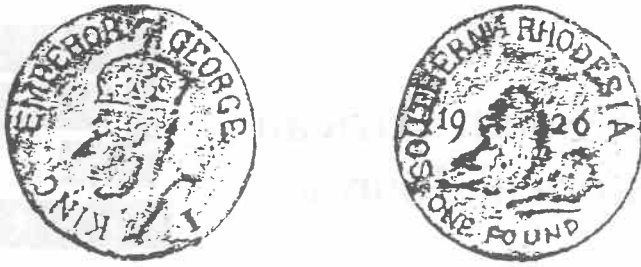


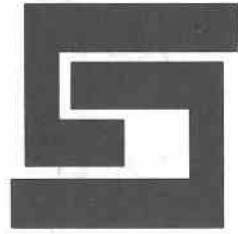
Figure 10: Spurious 1926 Southern Rhodesian £1 coin struck in copper from hand made dies. With a somewhat crude effigy of “King George I” on the obverse, the intended purpose behind the fabrication of this coin is unknown (Enlarged 40%)

A spurious Southern Rhodesian £1 coin dated 1926 and struck in copper from handmade dies is an intriguing fake, the intended purpose of which remains unclear. Competently made, the coin features a somewhat distorted effigy of “King George I” on the obverse with a lion *passant* on the reverse. Though apparently produced with an intention to deceive, the type of metal and concoction of unrelated date and monarch render the item an obvious fraud of curiosity interest only.

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Arthur John Charles Molyneux, FGS, FRGS, 1865–1920

by P. Fey

Molyneux was one of the first geological and mining consultants in the Rhodesias. During a career spanning almost 30 years he undertook numerous exploration journeys both north and south of the Zambezi River, thereby acquiring a broad and often exclusive knowledge of the geology and mineral deposits, notably coal in the Karoo* strata. On his travels, generally along footpaths, he used a compass for direction and a cyclometer for distance, latitude being established by stellar measurements. These measurements and his observations were meticulously recorded in notebooks, augmented by sketch maps, geological sections and a sizeable legacy of photographs (National Archives, as yet unclassified). Instrumental in founding the Rhodesia Scientific Association as well as the Rhodesia Museum, Molyneux published widely on a variety of topics but particularly on the Karoo System (now Supergroup), on which he became an accepted authority (Molyneux, 1903; 1905a; 1908; 1909; 1911; 1920a; 1921). At the time of his premature death he was a member of the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey.

Very little is known about his early life. His father, William Molyneux, FGS, was active in England and later in South Africa, dying in 1882. Arthur was born in Burton-upon-Trent in 1865 and trained as a mining geologist (Oldham, 1921). He became one of the first Europeans to enter Matabeleland in 1893 when it was opened for prospecting. Of pleasant disposition, he was well liked and became widely known through his scientific contributions. A Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, he was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society in 1897, receiving the Society's Wollaston Donation Fund in 1909. He married in Cape Town, his wife Katherine dying in childbirth some time after 1903.

The date of Molyneux's arrival in Southern Rhodesia remains speculative. He appears to have based himself at Fort Victoria, from where in a letter (Molyneux, 1892) to Kirkpatrick, he mentioned a proposed 7–10 day journey to the Sabi River, stated that gold mining was very quiet and that money was in short supply country wide.

With the outbreak of the Matabele War late in 1893 Molyneux joined the Victoria Column as sergeant-major of "A" Troop. He took part in engagements at Shangani and Bembesi, was promoted to lieutenant, and received the British South Africa Company's medal for operations in Matabeleland. Details of the period 5.10.–12.12.1893 are recorded in a diary (Molyneux, 1893).

Thereafter, he settled in Bulawayo, living in the suburb of Hillside. He initially advertised himself on his letterheads as consulting mining engineer, later as mining geologist.

Following the discovery of coal by de Gruyter in the Limpopo Basin, Molyneux pegged ground there in 1894. The various occurrences were taken up by Tuli Consolidated Coalfields Limited, for whom Molyneux supervised field operations during the years 1898–1902. Also during 1894 Molyneux mounted his first expedition into the Zambezi Valley. His party of four travelled by oxcart as far as the Bubi River, some 105 kilometres north of Bulawayo, then proceeded on foot with carriers because of the presence of tsetse fly. Outcropping coal was pegged on the Lubu River in what is now Binga District. The trip appears to have been remarkably uneventful compared with an earlier, disastrous coal prospecting expedition down the Bumi River, undertaken on behalf of the British South Africa Company by Alford (1884).

* Although Karroo was formerly used, Karoo is now the accepted spelling.



A. J. C. Molyneux, 1865–1920

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

On that occasion all the horses and oxen succumbed to the tsetse fly and the men to malaria, the sole survivors Alford and Carden struggling back to Salisbury on foot.

Molyneux next returned to the region late in 1899, having been commissioned by the Bechuanaland Exploration Company Limited to locate and peg occurrences of coal, nitrate and plumbago (graphite) in what are now known as the Sengwa and Lusulu coalfields. He observed that, with the outbreak of rinderpest since his first visit, the game population and hence the tsetse fly had decreased markedly. Accordingly, instead of having to employ carriers, he was able to travel by pony cart. Exploration of the coalfields began in 1900, and it took six weeks to get the first steam-driven drill on site at Sengwa, some 200 miles (320 kilometres) from Bulawayo. By 1903 this was the best-explored field in the region, a main seam averaging five feet in thickness having been established over an area of 8000 acres (Molyneux, 1903, p 281).

Maintaining his interest in the region through subsequent visits, Molyneux in 1914 claimed registration, on the 'pound spent' principle, of the Marowa coalfield, located 75 kilometres below the confluence of the Umfuli and Umniati Rivers. The Marquis of Winchester was involved in the venture, and correspondence between the two men indicates that exploitation of the various coalfields in the region depended entirely on the route of the proposed Sinoia-Kafue rail link, which remains to be built.

The founding of the Rhodesia Scientific Association is directly attributable to Molyneux, who in a circular proposed "An initial meeting of gentlemen interested in the formation of a society for the investigation of Natural History, Archaeology and other cognate sciences, with their special application to Rhodesia . . . It is felt that the inception of such a society should no longer be delayed as the opportunities for research in several of the above sciences are daily becoming more confined . . ."

The inaugural meeting of the association was held on 21 February 1899 in Dr Hans Sauer's office in the Goldfields Building, Bulawayo. Molyneux, voted to the chair, was confirmed as secretary at the annual general meeting in May of that year. At the first ordinary meeting (31 January 1900) membership stood at 66 ordinary and 4 associate (lady) members and Molyneux reported that Council, with the aid of several individuals, including Rhodes, was able to offer monetary prizes for collections in various classes of specimens found in Southern Rhodesia. The Administration had been approached for financial assistance, Council had ordered books from London towards a reference library, and members were urged to contribute material for the planned monthly meetings. It was hoped that these collections could form the nucleus of a proposed museum (the Rhodesia Museum, Bulawayo) which became a reality with the appointment in December 1901 of F. P. Mennell as the first curator. Molyneux became a trustee, and was chairman of the museum committee from 1911 to 1918.

He vigorously supported the Rhodesia Scientific Association, of which he was president from July 1902 to July 1903. At the first ordinary meeting he exhibited Rhodesian minerals, land shells and crystal models, followed at the 28 March 1900 meeting by a display of fossil ferns from Bechuanaland, together with petrographic sections. At the next gathering (25 April 1900) he read the first paper, entitled "Notes on some rock paintings in the Tuli District", continuing until 1910 with periodical papers and discussions.

Perhaps Molyneux's major contribution to Rhodesian geology was his discovery of fossils in a widely developed sedimentary assemblage which he subsequently (Molyneux, 1908) correlated with the Karoo Supergroup of South Africa. At the Rhodesia Scientific Association meeting of 27 February 1901 he exhibited a collection of bivalves, bones and plants which he had collected from the coal-bearing "Matobola Beds" at Sengwa. In November of that year he addressed the association on these fossils, which had been sent to the South Kensington Museum for identification. The exhibits were supplemented by a slab of rock measuring 3 feet by 2 feet 6 inches bearing the remains of a fish, subsequently named *Acrolepis* (now *Namaicthys*)

molyneuxi after its discoverer, from the same locality. These fossils, together with others from the region, were discussed in appendices to the author's first paper (Molyneux, 1903) presented to the Geological Society of London. Another noteworthy contribution (Molyneux, 1905b) was a scientific account of the Victoria Falls, based on observations made during visits in May and August 1903.

Molyneux undertook the first of his numerous journeys to Northern Rhodesia in June 1906. In October of that year he inspected coal occurrences between the Lufua and Losito Rivers east of Monze for the N. Zambezi Coal Syndicate and also visited the thermal springs on Walker's Farm near Choma. In 1907 there were trips to Marsland's Copper (February), Lusenfwa Coal Concessions (March) and the Luano coalfield east of Broken Hill (October). Instructed by C. Grey, general manager of Rhodesia Katanga Junction Railway and Mining Company Limited, Molyneux revisited Luano in August–September 1909 and at the end of that year supervised the drilling of the first borehole on the field.

By this time he was sufficiently familiar with the local geology to present to the Geological Society of London a major paper (Molyneux, 1909) which complemented his earlier work (Molyneux, 1903) on the Karoo stratigraphy of Southern Rhodesia.

There followed other significant traverses, viz: Hartley to Gatooma via the Mafungabusi Plateau, Bumi and Sanyati Rivers (1910), Kafue to Sinoia (1912) and Pemba to Sinoia via the Zambezi and Sanyati Rivers and Marowa coalfield (1913). These journeys allowed Molyneux (1922) to outline the geology of the Sanyati Basin.

A letter (National Archives, as yet unclassified) dated 10 May 1911 to Molyneux from his brother Cecil F. Molyneux marks the beginning of another chapter in Molyneux's life. In the letter Cecil offered to send Molyneux four spurwing geese to add to his "zoo", and urged him to acquire land which he, Cecil, had inspected at Kafue in Northern Rhodesia. As a result, Molyneux applied to the British South Africa Company for 6000 acres at the end of May, 1911, but did not pursue the matter because the land in question had already been partly allocated. On 30 April 1914 he resubmitted his application to chief surveyor Otto L. Berringer in Livingstone for farms 278, 280, 281 and 282, totalling some 20 400 acres and located four miles downstream from the Kafue River bridge. On these farms Molyneux and a partner were prepared to spend up to £4 000 on stock at 100 head per annum for 3 years, and to take up "beneficial occupation".

In a letter dated 11 September 1914 the Commercial Branch of the British South Africa Company advised that the land in question was valued at 3/9 per acre, including survey costs, and Molyneux was offered any two contiguous farms of the four applied for, subject to settlement of any occupiers' rights. Late in September 1914 he selected farms 281 and 282, totalling some 8850 acres, but was obliged to compensate occupiers in an amount of £90 for them to leave the property. Granting of the certificate of occupation was conditional upon this payment, which Molyneux attempted unsuccessfully to have deferred until after the war. Eventually, having prevaricated for almost a year, he withdrew his application for the farms on 2 August 1915.

The Geological Survey of Southern Rhodesia had, since its inception in September 1910, been based in Bulawayo, and in February 1916 geologist A. M. Macgregor, a temporary appointee, resigned in order to enlist. It is possible that this event, coupled with the economic downturn associated with the war, prompted Molyneux to approach the director, H. B. Maufe, for employment. The latter was keen to secure Molyneux's services and specialized knowledge of the Karoo rocks, but, in view of the then large financial deficit facing the Administration, was unable to take him on. Molyneux was obliged to wait a further two years before being offered a one year contract, commencing 1 April 1918, with the Geological Survey. His salary was fixed at £600 per annum and he became entitled to "the usual allowances when actually travelling on the company's service".

Since 1 April was a public holiday he assumed duty the following day and began fieldwork almost immediately by mapping a small area around Pasipas, a siding located a short distance northeast of Bulawayo (Molyneux, 1920a). The area, contiguous with the ground previously mapped by Lightfoot, Maufe and Macgregor, contains the most complete section then known of the Upper Karoo Group, comprising the Forest Sandstone, named by Molyneux (1903), and the overlying Nyamandhlovu sandstones and basalts. Its economic importance at the time lay in the occurrence of freestone in the Nyamandhlovu sandstones, quarried at Pasipas and used in the construction of numerous public buildings in Bulawayo.

The Geological Survey was transferred to Salisbury at the end of May 1918, and Molyneux spent the remainder of the field season in the Lomagundi district. There he mapped 200 square miles in the north-east-trending "copper belt", characterized by numerous small copper or copper-gold occurrences, at the headwaters of the Piriwiri River. He then reconnoitred 50 square miles of the country to the west, including the Alaska copper belt, the Hunyani Range as well as the auriferous Eldorado "conglomerate" and established the stratigraphy of the Lomagundi System (now Supergroup).

During the year he attended the Midlands Agricultural Show at Gwelo, where he exhibited and spoke on collections of local rocks and base metal ores.

The 1919 field season was to be Molyneux's last. Together with Maufe he visited the neighbourhood of Lake Alice on the Gwampa River, northwest of Lonely Mine, in order to collect gastropod and plant fossils which he had noted some 18 years earlier as occurring in the chalcidony at the base of the Kalahari Sand. He also completed his work, published as a preliminary report (Molyneux, 1919), on the Lomagundi district. He noted the occurrence and exploitation by local residents of bat guano deposits in caves developed in the various dolomite beds, and visited the Silverside copper mine east of Mangula. He also investigated the Sinoia Caves, already briefly described by Mennell and Zeally in 1910, and took soundings of the pool which he found to be 280 feet (85m) deep (Molyneux, 1920b).

Shortly afterwards, Molyneux became ill and was granted sick leave from 11 February to 12 April 1920, spending part of this time in the Cape. At the same time his contract was renewed for two years at a salary of £625 for the first year and £650 for the second year.

Molyneux returned for a short time to the Geological Survey, where he worked on the bulletin and map of the Lomagundi district, eventually to be published by Maufe *et al.* (1923). However, his health deteriorated and he was granted further sick leave from 31 August to 30 November 1920. He briefly visited England once more (Oldham, 1921), but died on 28 December 1920 of heart failure shortly after returning to Bulawayo.

Acknowledgements

In addition to the sources cited below, use was made of letters, files and annual reports of the Director in the Department of Geological Survey. I am particularly grateful to Mr I. R. Johnston of the National Archives for allowing access to much as yet unclassified material.

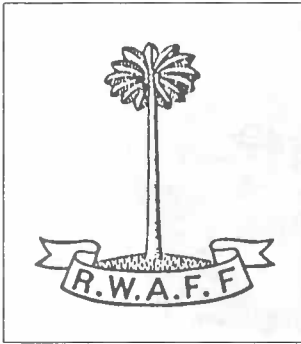
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A Connection with the Royal West African Frontier Force 1939–1945

by Edwin Morris



From about 1930 Germany started expanding her armed forces and her territory and it gradually became certain that this, together with Hitler's general belligerence, would result in a war. It also became apparent that we in this country, then part of the British Empire, would be involved in it, probably (so we thought, as young men) in Europe, as had been the case with many of our forefathers in 1914–1918 and because Germany had since lost her African possessions.

Military training was compulsory for European men over the age of 19 years and was oriented towards a possible war against the same adversary as in 1914. Training lasted for a period of three years and consisted *inter alia* of attendance at weekly parades, an annual shooting course, an annual weekend exercise near one's town of residence, and an annual seven day camp held at Gwelo and attended by active members of the Regiment from all parts of the country. The last mentioned camp was suspended for some years during the economic depression of the nineteen thirties when the country had to exercise financial stringency and there was a general reduction in public expenditure, including cuts in higher salaries.

The shooting course was held in Salisbury on two rifle ranges, west of Gun Kopje, on which inaccurately fired rounds ended up. These ranges now form part of the Police Golf Course and Gun Kopje is part of Gun Hill suburb. In addition to this training many of us had been cadets at school and had learned basic drills and discipline and how to maintain and use a .22 Carbine.

The weekly parade which lasted about an hour was held at the local Drill Hall and became part of our lives as it also involved the preparation and cleaning of our uniforms and equipment, travelling from work to home to change out of civilian clothing and then travelling, usually on bicycles, to the Drill Hall. There we drew our arms from the Battalion Armoury and fell in on the parade ground west of the Drill Hall. Our uniform consisted of army boots, canvas leggings, khaki shorts and bush shirts, webbing equipment, leather bayonet scabbards and khaki helmets, all of which required ironing, scrubbing, blancoing or polishing. (The helmets were subsequently changed for slouch hats and the leggings for puttees).

We were initially given foot and arms drills, instructed in the use of .303 Lee Enfield rifles, Lewis Guns, 36 grenades and infantry formations. Our signallers used Morse, flag and heliograph signals and field telephones and military tactics did not appear to have altered much since 1918.

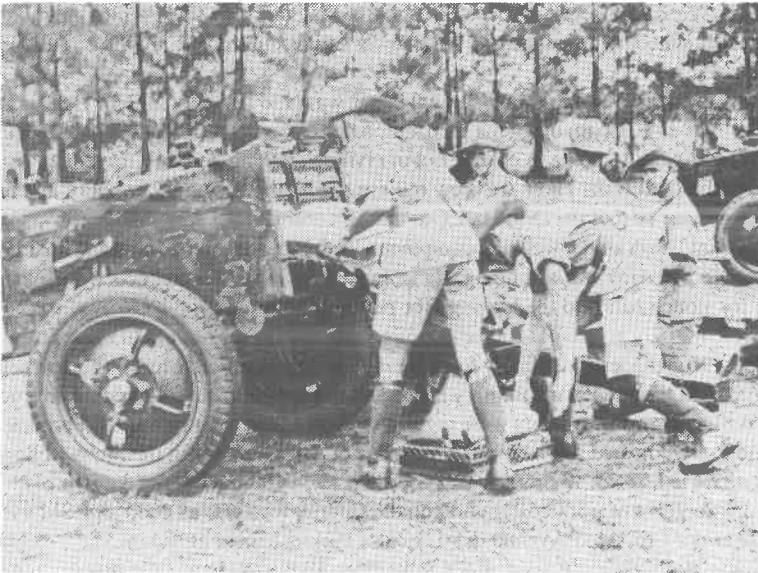
Our drill and arms instructors were regular soldiers of the country's small Permanent Staff Corps, most of whom had served in the British Army. They carried out their jobs well and some of them increased, if not improved, our vocabularies. Perhaps the best known of them was Regimental Sergeant Major Crossland, Croix de Guerre, who was as good an RSM as any that we met later on. Crossland Avenue in Alexandra Park is named after him.

War was declared by Britain on 3 September 1939, following Germany's invasion of Poland, and I heard the news at the Half-Way Hotel near Selous, where we had stopped on our



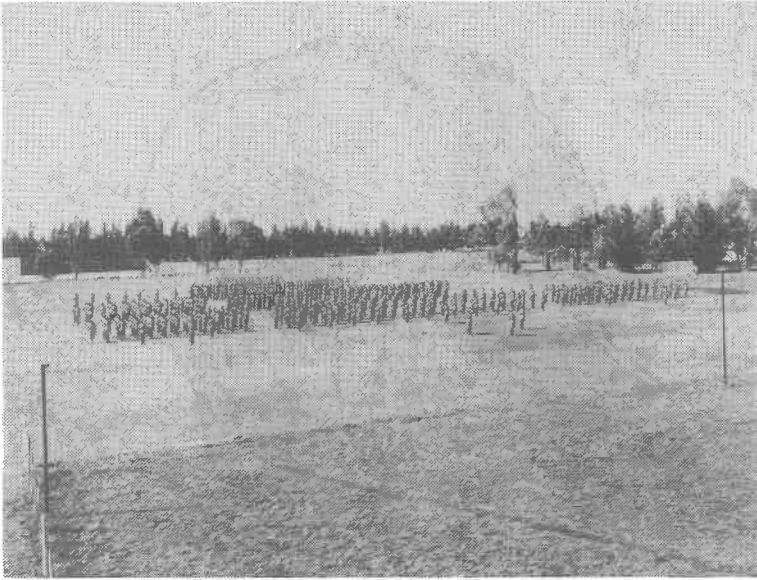
Reveille, No. 1 Training Camp

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



Gun Drill, No. 1 Training Camp

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



Parade, No. 1 Training Camp

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

way to play rugby against Eiffel Flats, who had a particularly good team that year and won the Black and White inter-town competition.

Not many days afterwards about 600 of us, active Territorials and Reservists, were called up, to attend full time at No 1 Training Camp situated at the Show Ground. We were accommodated in canvas bell tents, each holding about six men, erected amongst the still existent gum trees and were fed in messes which were previously exhibitors' halls. The Show Ring was the parade ground. The camp was under the command of Lt Col. N. S. Ferris, who in addition to being a fine Territorial Officer was the Editor of *The Herald*. Companies and Platoons were commanded by Territorial Officers and NCOs who, after completing their compulsory military service, had volunteered to stay on and become an essential part of the Territorial Force. Three of these that I can think of, who are still living here, are Maurice Clarke, Jack Dudley and Bill Preece.

Amongst those attending camp was Peter Foster of Bulawayo, then the South African amateur heavyweight boxing and 440 yards freestyle swimming champion. His presence in the Military Police helped to make it an effective and respected unit although, as with most good boxers, he did not resort to using his ability outside a ring unless forced to do so, as I understand once happened in Egypt when two aggressive troops from an overseas dominion were causing trouble and he felt obliged to restrain them.

Some months previously we had volunteered to serve outside the country in the event of a war and as mentioned above many of us anticipated being sent overseas to a European theatre. It gradually became apparent, however, that most of us in camp were due to be sent to East and West Africa to take part in the expansion of the King's African Rifles (KAR), the Somaliland Camel Corps and the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF). This was rather different from our visions of Europe and in those days it even required a close look at an atlas to locate places such as Berbera, Eritrea, Mogadishu, Lagos, Accra and Freetown.



Pte Amadu Busanga, Gold Coast Regiment

(Drawing: R. B. Ross)

Some 400 of us were advised that we were to be posted as Officers and NCOs in the Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia Regiments which comprised the RWAFF. In due course we entrained at the Show Ground railway siding on 4 October, 1939, stopped at the town station to say goodbye to our families and friends, and then left for Cape Town. There we were immediately transferred to the *SS Strathaird* without being able to visit the city. About two days later we sailed North for Lagos where some 230 of us disembarked and were posted to the Nigeria Regiment at Kaduna, Kano and Zaria.



Battery Sgt. Major Maida Musa DCM, MM, Nigeria Regt.
(*RWAF History*)

Our next stop was at Takoradi where another batch of us, about 150, disembarked to join the Gold Coast Regiment at Accra, Tamale and Winneba. The remainder were dropped off at Freetown in Sierra Leone and Bathurst in Gambia. The Officer Commanding the Gold Coast Regiment, Brigadier Richards, met us aboard the *Strathaird* and gave an introductory address. His appearance was quite different to that of a regular British Officer as portrayed in fiction or a film and our first view of him, short and stubby, climbing up the ship's gangway, explained his nickname of "Piggy". He was, however, very experienced and his remarks and advice were pertinent and wise and he had our respect and affection from then on. Some 40 of us (including myself) were posted to the 3rd Battalion Gold Coast Regiment (3 GCR) near Winneba, on the coast, about 100 miles east of Takoradi, where we were met by the Officer Commanding the Battalion, Lt Col. E. W. D. "Tank" Western, seconded from the Royal West Kent Regiment. He was a big and fine looking man and left one in no doubt as to who was the C.O. Having been told what companies we would join, we were taken to our various quarters. The man looking after me and others in "A" Company was Lieut. J. MacGranahan MC, an "Old Coaster" who had been badly gassed in France in 1918 and advised to spend the rest of his life in a hot and humid climate and he certainly chose the right place.

He offered us a cup of tea which was welcome after the hot journey from Takoradi on the back of a half-ton "mammy lorry" with "Elijah Express" painted in front of its cab. I had to stop him strengthening my cup with whiskey which I had not then even sampled. Mannie Ellenbogen of Bulawayo, who was posted to Tamale, told of a similar experience there when an Old Coaster's steward asked if he could give him "tea like Master" and produced a cup laced with enough whiskey to nearly choke him. Subsequently we learned in certain circumstances to appreciate "tea like Master".

One day MacGranahan was telling me about his service with the Royal Ulster Rifles on the Western Front in 1917 and showed me his silver cigarette case engraved with the signatures of his fellow officers. I recognized one of them as being that of Capt. C. H. Harding, MC, a Magistrate under whom I had served at home. It turned out that he had been MacGranahan's Company Commander and because of this coincidence they arranged to meet again in this country which MacGranahan would never otherwise have visited.

During our voyage on the *Strathaird* we had been given various lectures including one by Major R. A. Baillie who had, about 20 years previously, served in the Gold Coast Regiment and described living there in well established army cantonments cooled with punkahs and sometimes being carried in a machila in the heat of the day. This seemed to be an attractive existence, but it did not materialize for us as our accommodation consisted of bamboo and grass thatch huts which we called "Gidas", being Hausa for "houses" ("Babangida" the name of the recent Nigerian ruler meaning "father of the house"). We were also genuine infantry and never saw or heard again of a machila. A matter that did cause discontent, however, was not this sort of thing but the thought that we were in for a war consisting of endless training in a military backwater. I stress military, because otherwise the Gold Coast was at that time reputed to be a rich and efficiently run country and regarded as one of the most progressive in Africa.

Amongst those of us who were posted to 3 GCR were Major N. S. Reid DSO, MC, a founder of Tanganda Tea Estate; Capt. T. W. H. Beadle who was recalled to be a Cabinet Minister and ended his career as Chief Justice; and Capt. A. D. Campbell, Rhodes Scholar and a master at Milton School, who was killed leading "D" Coy in an attack at Wadara in Abyssinia.

"A" Company was commanded by Capt. E. M. Harper, a Regular Officer, seconded to the RWAFF from his home regiment, the Beds and Herts, with considerable regimental experience. He was efficient and a martinet and, unfortunately, although understandably, he, as with other Regular soldiers, had a prejudice towards the new arrivals because although we had only been part-time Territorials, some were senior in rank to them. This difference was also aggravated to some extent by others of dress, speech and attitudes. For example, to us their wide shorts worn to one hand's width above the knee and their puttees to one hand's width below, looked incongruous, but to them so did our short shorts and puttees worn at calf's height. However, we gradually got to know and accept each other and we learned the values of discipline and loyalty and to appreciate and to endeavour to live up to our position in a Regiment with a long and proud tradition with battle honours earned in Ashanti, German East Africa and German Cameroon.

3 GCR was a newly formed battalion and its African soldiers consisted of a backbone of regular NCOs who had considerable service and were well trained and highly disciplined, and freshly recruited other ranks. Most of them came from the Northern Territories (NTs) of the Gold Coast and neighbouring French Territories. For example, our Company Sergeant Major in "A" Coy, Timbela Dagarti, was from the NTs; he had 20 years service, was well respected and had shot at Bisley. "B" Coy CSM was Musa Fulani from a French Territory who had served in the French Army and spoke some French; he had a good sense of humour and his impressive appearance included a shining gold front tooth which contrasted well with his coal black skin.

Unlike those of us who went to Nigeria and had to learn Hausa, we and our troops learned

to converse in "pidgin" English and it was surprising how soon we got to understand each other. We at least spoke English but the troops did not and coming from a number of tribes, all speaking different languages, they also had to learn "Barrack Hausa" which was the *lingua franca* amongst themselves. I thought that "pidgin" English was probably not used nowadays, but was surprised recently to see the following in the Order of Service on Nigerian Independence Day at St Anne's Hospital Chapel, which is presently used by Seminarians from all over Africa:

"Offertory Hymn: Na Di Gift Wey You Give Us, Papa

Refrain: Papa é é é, é é Papa éé,
Make You take am wit all your heart. (2X)

Na di bread wey you give us, Papa,
Na im dis we dey bring am so;
Na di wine wey you give us, Papa,
Na im dis we dey bring am so. (Refrain)

Na dis life wey you give us, Papa,
Na im dis we dey bring am so;
Na di song wey you give us, Papa,
Na im dis we dey bring am so. (Refrain)

(Pidgin English)"

My first personal orderly was Michael Yawonde from the Cameroons who was a fluent "pidgin" English speaker and an inveterate smoker. I could tell when he had finished his cigarette ration because of his miserable demeanour leading up to his inevitable remark "I done die for cigarette Oh", knowing that I still had some. Another orderly I had later was Musa Bazabarimi, a Mahommedan, from Timbuctu which he said was a "fine fine town much better pass Winneba". From pictures that I have since seen of Timbuctu he carried his loyalty to his home a little far in his description of it.

We fed in messes each accommodating about 20, also built of bamboo and grass thatch, and took turns in carrying out the duties of Messing Officer or "Chopmaster" as he was called. When my turn came I was fortunate to have, as Mess Cook, "A" Coy's Kofi Mensah and he was not only a good one but had a pleasant and cheerful character. He still owes me £10,00 which he borrowed for his "uncle's funeral" which was a three day celebration. In 1939 we were able to buy some provisions from Britain and with these and local eggs, chickens, oranges, bananas, pineapples, coconuts, cassava, yams and okra, he provided tasty meals. It was the custom on Sundays at midday to have a groundnut stew or curry with many side dishes including all these items, with red pepper to taste. This was an epicurean experience which we still enjoy recalling but, our capacities being reduced by time, are not able to repeat. One was expected to provide good food at a low cost and had to ensure that the inhabitants of Winneba were not being fed at our expense, as happened in another mess with an unsuspecting Chopmaster recently out from England.

A typical day started with Reveille at 0530 followed by PT, drills, inspections, education, weapon training etc. There was also administration to be attended to, such as Orderly Officers' duties, Company orders, preparing training programmes, looking after pay and kit, keeping the lines clean and shipshape, with special attention being paid to hygiene which in that climate was vital. On looking back one recalls the more pleasant and light hearted scenes of those days such as after a route march, that of a company of glistening ebony skinned troops shouting joyfully and running into the surf near Winneba, all modestly covering themselves with one hand; or the sight of a battalion doing PT and suddenly breaking ranks and ululating to chase a rabbit

running across the parade ground, senior ranks having no option but to stand and enjoy the merriment as they were powerless to stop it. After daily training all our firearms were kept in a Company Armoury, watched over by the Company Armourer, L/Cpl Abali Frafra, a trustworthy old soldier with unusually heavy tribal markings. He also kept a dog which seemed to be an abnormal trait. Some time later, during a lull in Abyssinia, he acquired a local dog and fattened it up. I remarked to my orderly what a kind fellow Abali must be. He replied, "You no savvy that Abali do only keep dog for chop?"

We gradually progressed to field exercises and manoeuvres involving longer marches, river crossings and night operations, learned to cope with the heat and humidity and got to know the bush and our troops well.

Although the Gold Coast was infested with malaria, the health of the African soldiers was good and they had a resistance to the local type of malaria. With exercise and regular meals they developed physically and one could see the difference between a new skinny recruit and a soldier who had done a few months training. For Europeans, however, malaria had given the country the name of the "White Man's Grave" and we had to adopt strict precautions such as taking quinine daily, using mosquito nets, wearing long sleeved shirts and mosquito boots and applying mosquito cream at dusk. One ailment that was common in West Africa was "Yaws". Our Battalion MO, a Scot, said he hoped to earn a drink at his home pub by bringing up the subject and waiting for the question "what's Yaws?" so that he could reply "gin and tonic thanks with a little ice please".

Being near a swamp, the camp had to be drained with trenches about three foot deep, running through the lines. At night these trenches sometimes trapped those who had spent too convivial an evening and after a dining in night one would sometimes, next morning, see a previously smart khaki uniform hanging on a clothes-line covered in black mud.

In addition to platoon and Company exercises, we had battalion schemes on a larger scale which involved dealing with an elusive "enemy" and covering long distances on foot, carrying out and giving detailed orders, supplying and cooking food and exercising water discipline. Captain Beadle, commanding R Company, sometimes led the "enemy" and was a very mobile, energetic and irregular type of "enemy" to deal with. The troops referred to him as "Capting Béédle" with a very long "E". A similar type of scheme was held at Brigade level near Accra and I remember our newly formed and inexperienced 2nd and 3rd Battalions being outmarched and out-manoeuvred by the regular and older 1st Battalion, commanded by Col. Bruce, a First World War Veteran. It made us appreciate that experience and a high standard of training and leadership were important assets. All this contributed to the building of a good brigade with efficient administration and a high degree of fitness, discipline and morale, which were to prove useful later on.

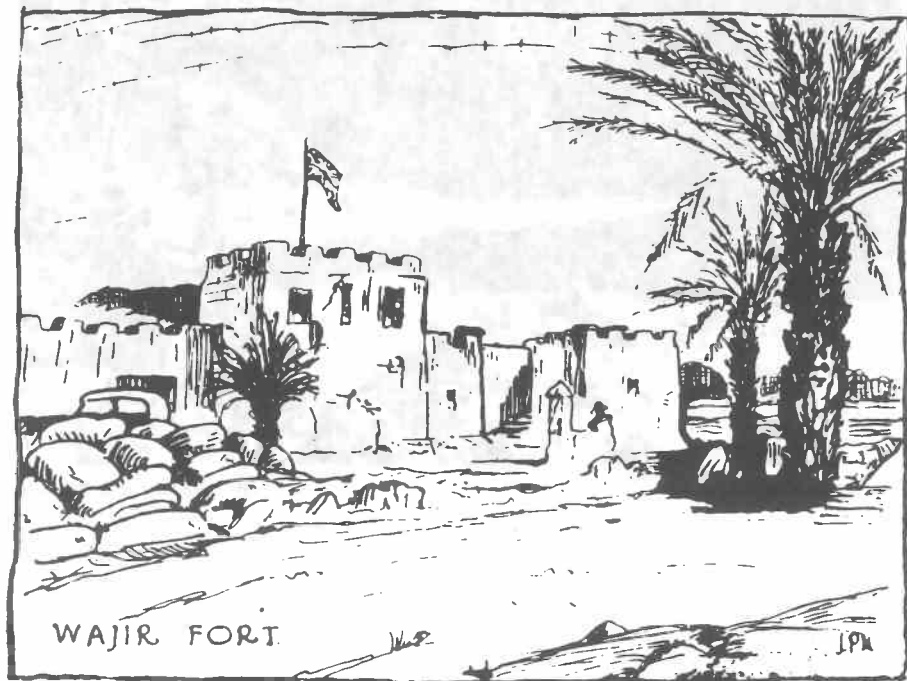
The Gold Coast had that year beaten the rest of British West Africa at cricket and had some country cricket players in their team. A game with them was arranged at Kumasi and we were able to field a side which included J. H. Charsley, H. R. Chittenden, H. A. Clarence, M. W. Clarke, M. W. Grant, J. de L. Thompson, D. S. Tomlinson, R. W. Tomlinson and W. R. Walker, six of whom had played Currie Cup cricket and with them we were able to win what was billed as a "Test Match".

In or about March, 1940 we were warned that we were to go to East Africa, it being anticipated that Italy would sometime side with Germany and that North and East Africa would consequently become theatres of war. Preparations must have required much foresight and planning at higher level, but even for us there was a lot to be done, such as issuing and marking clothing, identity discs, equipment, kit bags, weapons, stores, utensils, crating stores, updating nominal rolls and pay books etc. As the majority of our troops were not literate this was time consuming work.

The 3rd Battalion and some other units of the Gold Coast Regiment finally embarked for East Africa in June, 1940 on the *SS Orion*, a 30 000 ton Orient liner, not yet converted into a troopship. For us all, but particularly for the troops, the *Orion* was a great experience. In their homes and in the lines at Winneba they had lived under thatch and slept on the ground and there was no such thing as electricity. They were suddenly introduced to decks, bunks, staircases, mirrors, lights, switches, ventilators, life belts, lifeboats, water borne sewerage and the barber's shop. The shop was quickly cleaned out of knives, watches (called "go-go's" because of their noise) and Brylcreem which they discovered made a tasty spread on ship's biscuits.

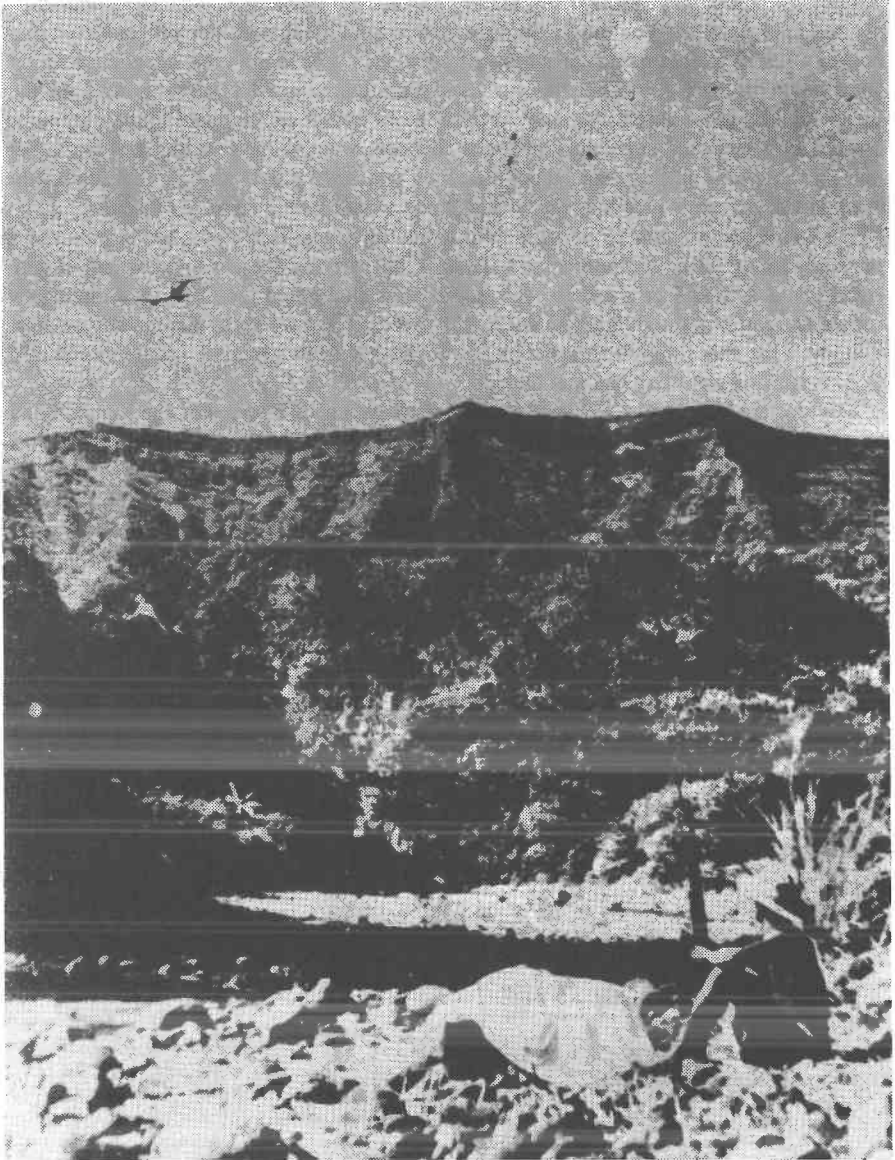
The *Orion* joined a convoy of other ships including the majestic *Rena del Pacifico* and the troopships *Devonshire*, *Lancashire* and *Dilwara*, all carrying the Gold Coast and Nigerian Brigades and with cruiser and destroyer escorts we sailed round the Cape for Mombasa via Durban. Durban was a highlight and during the few days that we spent there taking on stores, we enjoyed the shops, restaurants, hotels and hospitality of its generous people. Some of the RWAFF married girls they had met there.

Italy declared war whilst we were at sea and strengthened its forces on the Kenya, Somali and Abyssinian borders, taking the British fort of Moyale in Northern Kenya in the process. There was consequently a good deal of apprehension in Kenya and on landing at Mombasa the First and Third Battalions of the Gold Coast Regiment were sent by train to the railhead at Nanyuki from where we marched to Isiolo and were then conveyed in trucks to Wajir and its outposts. The Second Battalion was sent to Marsabit, now probably better known as the former habitat of Ahmed, the famous elephant. British Somaliland was lost within a short time and we were fully engaged in improving and enlarging the defences of Wajir and its outposts and patrolling the Northern Frontier District, operating towards Somaliland and Abyssinia as an



Wajir Fort, N.F.D., Kenya, Near Somali Border

(Drawing: J. Peel-Nelson)



Air Supply Drop, Arakan

(War History of S. Rhodesia)

invasion of Kenya from that direction appeared to be imminent. The Nigerian Brigade was dispersed on the South Eastern part of the Kenya/Somali border and carried out similar duties in that area and the N.F.D.

The anticipated Italian invasion never took place and early in 1941 almost simultaneously with the first Allied Advance from Egypt into Cyrenaica, the East African Forces, of which the South Africans and the Nigerians and ourselves were part, invaded Somaliland and Abyssinia.

Amongst the GCR casualties suffered in Somaliland, one which still has a content of local interest was that of CSM T. Watson who was killed by a grenade in an attack by 2 GCR against a strongly defended position at Buro Erillo on the Juba River. His revolver, which was damaged by the grenade, was presented by his friends in 2 GCR to the Sports Club in North Avenue which he built in 1936 and it is still displayed there. Maurice Clarke, who was closely involved and wounded in the same attack, now lives in "San Sebastian" opposite the Sports Club. He had a hip operation many years later and a piece of a similar grenade was discovered still in the region of his hip.

After the conclusion of the East African Campaign, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour, over-ran the Far East and Burma and reached the borders of India. The Gold Coast and Nigerian Brigades returned to West Africa where the RWAFF was expanded into two divisions which were trained in jungle warfare in the equatorial forests and then sent to Burma via India to fight against the redoubtable Japanese in the Arakan. In the course of this expansion many of us were dispersed over the two divisions.

I am sure that all of us who left here in 1939 to join the West Africans, and in 1945 bade them adieu, will recall with some poignancy the sound of the "Hausa Farewell" on the battalion bugle, possibly on the Arakan coast. At various stages we may have thought wistfully of our compatriots in other places but on the other hand we and the West Africans developed a rewarding mutual respect and loyalty which was earned by serving with each other over those years.

A RWAFF Association has existed here since 1946 and has annually celebrated the anniversary of our departure in October, 1939. This initially consisted of a well attended dance with the Police Band providing the music, at the Drill Hall, which we decorated for the occasion with palms and vegetation reminiscent of the bush and jungle, but with the passing of the years it is now limited to a smaller and more sedate lunchtime get-together. The Association's first Chairman was Bob Baillie and our current one is Bill Preece.

In conclusion I would like to mention the following men amongst those who left here and joined 3 GCR in 1939 and did not return. Their names are written in this country's Roll of Honour and some readers may recognize them:

M. Benatar	—	Brother Dan is still here
A. D. Campbell	—	Schoolmaster, Milton, Bulawayo (mentioned above)
A. Coker	—	Family farmed at Mazoe
W. R. Edwards	—	Father was in the Police and then a Commissionaire at the Main Branch of the Standard Bank
E. F. Montgomery	—	Ex Duly's Bulawayo
N. Price	—	Family owned Price's Brickfields, Prices Avenue, off the Golden Stairs Road
R. B. Ross	—	Was in Barclays Bank, First Street
S. Schragger	—	Father was associated with Banet & Harris and relations are still here
J. W. Smith	—	Father was a Minister of Finance
N. Wathen	—	Ex Bulawayo

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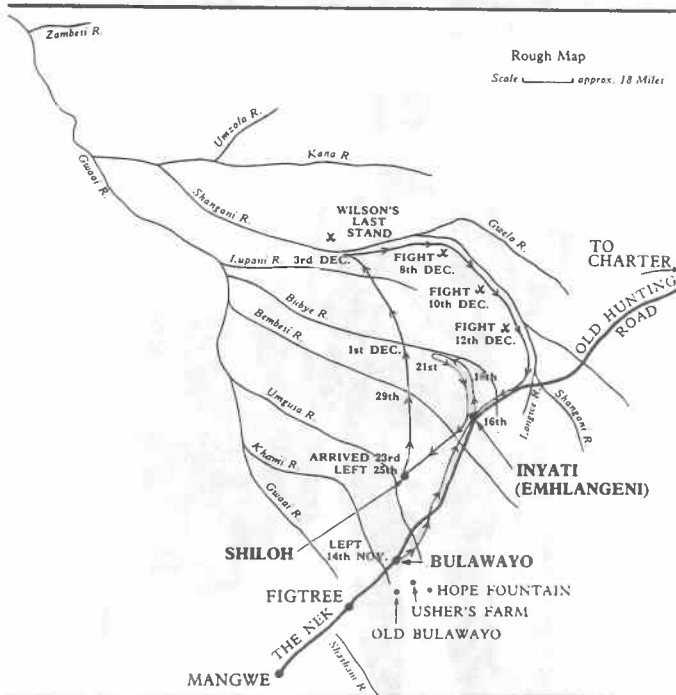
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The Shangani Story

by David Grant

Buluwayo was occupied by Jameson and his forces on November 4 1893, exactly a month before Allan Wilson and his famous patrol were wiped out near the Shangani River. The capture of Buluwayo was of psychological and symbolic importance, rather than actual strategic importance. True, Buluwayo was the administrative and political capital of Lobengula's kingdom — but this was a very loose situation in the context of the Matabele way of life at that time. There was no reason why the Matabele could not lead a very nomadic existence, or wage a highly unconventional war against the settlers, once they had reorganized and composed themselves following their military setbacks at Shangani and Bembesi and the loss of their capital.

Jameson realized that the only way that he could claim to have buried Matabele resistance was with the capture or death of Lobengula. It appears that he, in common with most of his senior officers and scouts, harboured a genuine belief that the Matabele forces were demoralized and all but beaten — but he still saw the need to physically subjugate the king. The belief that the Matabele troops were finished was foolish, because it was an assumption backed up with no reliable proof. To base military strategy on assumptions is to court disaster, and so it proved in this case. But that lay in the future, and in early November Jameson and his advisors and officers planned their course of action.





Sir L. S. Jameson (*National Archives of Zimbabwe*)



Lobengula (*National Archives of Zimbabwe*)

Jameson had to wait for the arrival of the southern column, under Goold-Adams, in Buluwayo, and at this time he made a genuine effort to reach Lobengula by envoy and persuade him to come in and accept surrender terms. Lobengula appeared to respond positively, but it is now clear that he was buying time to put more distance between himself and the white men. Consequently, when Goold-Adams and his Bechuanaland Border Police (BBP) arrived on 13 November, Jameson wasted little time in deploying a force to “do their utmost to capture the King”.

The force was initially made up of plus or minus 300 men, roughly equally drawn from the Salisbury column, the BBP, the Tuli column and the Victoria column. It was led by Major Patrick Forbes, with Commandant Raaff (BBP) as his two i/c. Allan Wilson led the Victoria element. The King was believed to be in the heavily wooded area near Shiloh, some 20 miles north of Buluwayo, and a large impi was said to be situated at Inyathi Mission 35 miles to the north east. The plan was to travel to Inyathi and defeat the impi based there in relatively open country where the maxim guns would be most effective. They would then swing around and approach Shiloh from the north. What follows is a summary of the subsequent events.

16th November

The dawn attack on the location of the impi at Inyathi revealed that no impi was present. Native reports convinced Forbes that he should press on to the Bubi River, where he believed the King was now situated. He had no rations left, but captured oxen would suffice to feed them.

18th November

The patrol reached the Bubi, and again found no Matabele. Envoys were dispatched to try and reach Lobengula, and the troops waited about two days for a reply before returning to Inyathi. While at the Bubi, a “man management” crisis occurred. The men were disgruntled with boredom and with what appeared to be indecisive leadership, but the subsequent upset could have been nullified with the provision of a solid resupply of rations and medical supplies (in the opinion of some of the officers present).

Forbes appears to have interpreted this mood as a lack of willingness to proceed with the pursuit of Lobengula. He paraded the men and bluntly told them to declare their willingness to proceed. This caused a great deal of indignation, and certainly did not seal a solid bond of understanding and trust between Forbes and his officers. Incidentally, some contemporaries believed that Wilson (who, along with Forbes and Raaff, was one of the three who knew the purpose of the parade) had briefed his men surreptitiously to stand firm for the pursuit. If this is true, it can only have been to create an impression of discipline and may be an indication of a fairly strong rivalry between the Victoria and the Salisbury volunteers.

23rd November

The force moved to Shiloh on Jameson’s instructions, where they met up with reinforcements and rations. The King’s line of flight had been positively established, and the pursuit was to continue with all haste in an effort to catch up with the King before the rains really set in.

25th November

The patrol had been reconstructed and reduced to about 260 men, and set off on the trail of Lobengula. The effective pursuit of the King was under way at last.

27th November

The rate of progress was determined by Forbes to be too slow. The force was reduced further to 258 men on the fittest horses with two maxim guns. The remainder of the troops returned to Buluwayo with the wagons.



Major Forbes P.W. commanded the British South African Co. forces in Matebeleland throughout the campaign. Later died in 1922
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Raaff, Commandant Pieter Johannes C.M.G. commanded Raaff's Rangers in Zulu War 1879
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)





A group of officers of the Victoria Column
Standing, L–R: Lieut. Stodart, Capt. Judd*, Major Allan Wilson*, Capt. William Napier,
Capt. Fitzgerald*, Lieut. Hamilton, Lieut. Williams
Seated, L–R: Lieut. Sampson, Adjutant Kennelly *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*
(*killed on 4th December 1893)

On the 28th Forbes, Wilson and the Shangani Patrol now moved away into the Matabele bush and towards the cataclysmic events that would take place on the banks of the Shangani River.

28th November–2nd December

The pursuit made good progress, although rations again began to run low. Increasing numbers of Matabele were encountered, many of whom indicated that they wished to lay down their arms. This probably reinforced the white men's belief that the Matabele had no heart left for the war — a Matabele ruse that worked, because days later many of these same warriors had turned back on the patrol when it was fighting for its survival.

There were warning indications that the Matabele still harboured a very strong will to fight, but these largely went unheeded. Some of the men they encountered were sullen and hostile in their attitude, and this attitude became more common as they neared the Shangani — but it seems that they were regarded as an aggressive minority who would fall into line with the will of the majority. The clearest warning that things might not be as assumed came on 2nd December, when the scout Burnham and a companion, while resting their horses, encountered a group of about 20 warriors who were very hostile — indeed, several of them were all for cutting the scouts up on the spot. The two scouts managed to mount their horses, and backed off, covering the leading warriors with their rifles. The fact that Burnham was badly shaken by



Major Allan Wilson
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Mtshana (called by Europeans, Mjaan) was one of Lobengula's Generals and Commanded the Mbizo Regiment, died in 1907
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



this experience should have been of greater significance to the leaders of the expedition than it actually was.

Be that as it may, the gap between the patrol and the King was closing as fast as the patrol's rations were dwindling. It was now clear to Forbes that he was very close to Lobengula — but would he have time to effect the capture when they found him? His horses were exhausted and his supplies almost finished. He determined that he could not continue the mission beyond the next couple of days.

3rd December

This was a momentous day, during the course of which events were set in motion that would reverberate through the early history of Rhodesia. Forbes's life would never be the same again, as blame would be apportioned, both fairly and unfairly, for what followed. Allan Wilson would make decisions that would seal the fate of his band and write them into immortality. Future generations of Rhodesian schoolboys would have a legend to revere, historians a jigsaw of events to try and evaluate. Poignantly, the day began with an act of dishonesty that lives in infamy in the minds of most Europeans of the time and those subjected to the story in recent years.

Lobengula sent a peace offering to Forbes — a bag of gold sovereigns with a message to the effect that he wanted to talk. The envoy was apparently too nervous to approach the front of the column, and so gave the gift to two stragglers at the rear of the patrol. They kept the money and failed to pass on the message to their commander.

It is not easy to determine the actual extent of the damage this action may have caused. It may have persuaded Lobengula that the whites were beyond any form of trust, and directly precipitated the events that followed. But it is also highly likely that Lobengula was trying to buy time again — after all, in his circumstances the money was worth nothing to him, and it is known that he kept moving after sending the gift — although this may have just been to give himself some space to judge his pursuers' reaction to his gift. Whatever the actual effect was, it remains a singularly unpleasant incident, and the culprits were fortunate to escape a lynching when they were compromised.

In the late afternoon of this fateful day, the patrol reached the Shangani River and the place where Lobengula had spent the previous night. Having established this fact, Forbes tasked Allan Wilson to take a patrol and follow the King's wagon spoor, which could be seen travelling up the southern bank in a north-westerly direction. He was to see if the King had crossed the river, try and confirm his exact location and be back by dark. This last point was of great significance in the light of later events.

Wilson had been told to take a dozen men, but his officers were so keen to accompany him that the party that rode out comprised twenty men, with the ridiculously high number of eight officers. Ridiculous, that is, unless one remembers that they were to be back by dark. Forbes tolerated this amendment to his instructions without comment, no doubt reflecting that commanding irregular forces poses unique problems. He told Burnham to accompany them, and the force disappeared into the bush. All seemed promising, but Forbes's personal nightmare was about to begin.

First of all, shortly after Wilson left, interrogation of captured herd boys revealed clearly that a very large Matabele force was gathering to attack him in strength. So much for the dispirited, almost beaten Matabele army. The Matabele coordinator and commander of this phase of the war, M'jaan, had determined his place of action and was ready to engage his enemy at the moment of his choosing.

Forbes took all precautions against a night attack and waited anxiously for Wilson's return. But he was never to see Allan Wilson again. Darkness came, and Forbes was left frustrated and

perplexed as still Wilson did not appear. Obviously something had happened to keep him. They had experienced a heavy rainfall, but heard no shots. Where was he?

Forbes was now in a most unpleasant situation. He was facing a threat that they had all convinced themselves did not exist up to a couple of hours previously. One of his most able officers was missing with 20 men, and Forbes could not desert them. He was edging into a situation where any decision he made could have thoroughly unpleasant and unpopular consequences. At least if Wilson were with him he could make his decisions without having to consider whether or not to rescue or abandon his reconnaissance patrol. Two men from Wilson's party returned to the camp during the evening, but they had been sent back because of the condition of their horses. All Forbes could confirm from them was that Wilson had crossed the river.

Shortly before midnight Forbes finally received word from Wilson, when a detachment comprising Captain Napier, Trooper Robertson and the scout Bain came in. The news they brought was dramatic, and far from bringing Forbes any relief, merely just changed the nature of his difficulties.

Wilson had found the place where Lobengula had crossed the river, and had crossed to the north bank to continue the pursuit. After covering a few miles, they began to encounter armed Matabele in larger numbers than anyone had anticipated. The numbers encountered vary according to the sources studied. Burnham stated in later years that there were 7000–8000 warriors, but this is unlikely. Napier's diary makes no mention of these sorts of numbers, and Burnham had a reputation for exaggeration. In *A Time to Die*, author Robert Carey points out that Burnham told the subsequent Court of Inquiry that there were about 1500 natives, and that he said the same to some reporters in London in 1895. But even 1500 warriors was a more concentrated force than expected.

Wilson characteristically decided on a bold course, and rode directly up to a large group of Matabele, asking them to take him to the king. A guide set off with them, and many of the Matabele began to follow. A great storm was gathering, and light was fading quickly.

Wilson had now decided to catch up with Lobengula, even if it meant staying out after dark. Eventually, almost at last light, their guide stopped at a scherm and indicated that this was where the king was. The patrol called on the king to surrender. At this point several of the following warriors began to cock their weapons. Until now, they appear to have been surprised and unsure of what to do in the absence of orders from their leaders, but now they were clearly becoming more agitated and aggressive.

Just then the storm broke, and Wilson used the cover it provided to ride clear of the main body of Matabele and to retire into the sheltering bush. There they realized that they had lost their three man rearguard, who obviously had not seen the main body ride off quickly into the dark.

The decision was made to stay and locate the missing men. Napier, Robertson and Bain would return to Forbes and ask him to cross the river and link up with Wilson so that the king's location could be pointed out to him and the capture effected by the entire force. It must be appreciated here that Wilson knew nothing of the threat to the main party. That intelligence had been received after his departure.

The wisdom or otherwise of Wilson's decision will be debated as long as this story is told. Subsequent events proved it to be disastrous, but one or two points are worth noting here. There is no way that Allan Wilson or his followers would abandon their missing rearguard. Such an action simply was not part of their personalities or their code of conduct. Also, while it may have been rash to assume that Forbes could move with total freedom, it seems circumstantially probable that Wilson knew nothing about the large force that was to cut him off the next day. I will go into more detail on this point later in the story. This does not alter the culpability of Wilson's actions in the final outcome of the saga, but it does make them more understandable.

Forbes was now placed in a situation from which he could scarcely escape criticism, no matter what course of action he took. He felt that he could not risk a night crossing of the river, particularly since he now knew that he was probably going to be attacked. If he recalled Wilson, he could only expect the party back at about first light. This would at least have meant that his force would be operating as one unit again, but could well mean that they would lose the opportunity to capture the King — and the capture of the King was his mission.

He need not have worried about this, although there was no way Forbes or Wilson could have known it. Lobengula had kept moving throughout the day. He wasn't even at the King's scherm when Wilson reached it earlier that evening.

4th December

Shortly after midnight, Forbes made his decision. He would send a party to reinforce Wilson and attempt to link up with him as soon as possible after day break. This way he could cover the river crossing with the maxim guns, and probably still have a crack at Lobengula before the ration shortage forced them to turn back. Unfortunately, this decision was a compromise — and compromises can be lethal in military situations. Its success depended on Forbes being able to cross the river and join Wilson without getting bogged down beating off the expected attack. A further complication was that the river was starting to rise as a result of heavy rain further upstream, and could become difficult to cross.

Henry Borrow was asked to take his 20 Salisbury men and go to join Wilson, with Trooper Robertson as a guide. Bain and Napier were not well, and stayed with Forbes — Ingram being asked to go along as another scout. They appear to have gone off very cheerfully, and Borrow even asked Forbes if he had to take the full 100 rounds per man, as this would weigh down the horses. These facts would mitigate further against the number of Matabele encountered by Wilson being the 7000–8000 that Burnham claimed. One cannot envisage Borrow behaving in such cavalier fashion had these been the numbers bandied about during his briefing.

At first light the dawn attack did not materialize, and preparations were made for the link-up with Wilson. Forbes and his column were following the King's spoor to the King's crossing point when they heard gunfire from Wilson's side of the river and then they came under attack themselves from a belt of bush about 300 metres away to their left. Soon they were so intensely engaged that it was obvious they would not be able to cross the river at all, and that Wilson was on his own.

They held off the attack, and at about 7.30 am began a slow retreat to the position where they had spent the night. By this time the river had risen to the point where a crossing by the column would not be possible, and intense gunfire from across the river indicated that Wilson had been involved in a very heavy engagement. Sporadic fire continued through the morning from the same direction, while Forbes and his men made themselves secure and tended to their wounded.

Shortly before the withdrawal to their night position, Forbes had been joined by three members of Wilson's band — the scouts Burnham and Ingram and Trooper Gooding. The story that Burnham had to tell explained the initial burst of gunfire that had been heard, but did not tie up the ultimate fate of the patrol, although it was not a promising picture that was sketched.

Borrow and his men had joined Wilson shortly before first light, neither having been disturbed by nor having even seen any Matabele en route. Wilson was obviously shaken that the column had not arrived, and decided that it was imperative to ride on to the King and attempt to capture him or take his surrender immediately. Incidentally, the missing rearguard had been reunited with their comrades during the night, following a daring search for them by Wilson and Burnham.

In assessing Wilson's action at this time, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he was being very rash, if typically forthright and bold. Borrow must have brought Wilson up to date

with the news that Forbes was expecting to be attacked, and one must assume that Wilson believed that the most positive opportunity to capture their quarry lay with him. Wilson is known to have possessed a cast iron self confidence and circumstances had now placed him in another very difficult situation. Perhaps this decision was just typical of the man — to sit and wait for events to unfold does not appear to have been in his nature, and it is safe to assume that those under his immediate command were of similar temperament.

Here I will return to a point made earlier. It seems very likely to this writer that Wilson still did not know that a large impi had moved into position between himself and the river, despite the dramatic picture to the contrary painted by Burnham in *Scouting in Two Continents*. The reasons for this conclusion are as follows, but it must be stressed that this is a personal opinion and nothing more.

1. Napier's party did not ride through such a force when returning to Forbes.
2. Ingram later said that they had not encountered any natives on Borrow's ride to join Wilson.
3. As far as the writer knows, no Matabele sources mentioned the movement of a body of horsemen through the bush in the darkness (i.e. Borrow's group moving to join Wilson). A large impi lying in wait, could not have failed to see Borrow and his reinforcements on the move.
4. According to Sir John Willoughby's account of his subsequent talks with Matabele leaders, the impi that Wilson's men retreated into only crossed the Shangani early that morning. There is corroborating evidence for this from other sources.
5. For all his self-confidence and boldness, Wilson was renowned for his consideration and kindness. All the Victoria men and several of Borrow's men were known to him or were good friends of his. Some were married, all had hopes and plans. It is not consistent with his reported character that he would take his men off on a suicide mission, or that the hope of capturing the King before Forbes's arrival would spur him into risking everything his men had planned. In short, Wilson certainly knew he was in danger. But if he believed that his line of retreat to Forbes (who was meant to be moving towards him all the time) was open, his actions become understandable even if they were rash.

Having made the decision to march on the King, the patrol at once put the plan into action. On arrival at Lobengula's scherm they had called out to the king, telling him they had come in peace and asking for his surrender. They came under heavy fire, and were forced to retreat as hundreds of Matabele were seen to be running along the edges of the woodland, apparently in an effort to outflank the white men. Wilson halted his party near a large anthill and brought this particular phase of the fight to a halt with sustained and very accurate fire. This was the first volley of gunfire that Forbes and his men had heard.

The band of white men had suffered some casualties to both men and horses, and they began to move back towards the river, with the injured on horseback flanked by watchful comrades, while walking wounded were in the middle of the formation. They were hoping, initially, to link up with Forbes, despite the fact that their pace was now reduced to that of those on foot.

Wilson had then called Burnham to him and asked him to try and reach Forbes. Burnham asked if he could take Ingram, and Gooding was sent as additional fire power because his horse was in relatively good condition.

Shortly after leaving Wilson they encountered a strong force of Matabele moving through the bush from the direction of the river. They managed to outrun this group, and confuse a detachment of pursuers with some anti-tracking, before moving in on the sound of Forbes' fight. They managed to reach him after crossing the now raging Shangani River.

Forbes and his men stayed in their position for the remainder of the day and for the night, in the hope that Wilson and his men or the survivors of the group might appear. Some isolated shots had been reported in the late morning, but nothing further was heard. Nevertheless, flares were fired that night in the hope that they might have guided home some survivors.

We now know that Wilson and his men soon ran into the main body of the force that Burnham had encountered. The white men had probably heard the sound of Forbes's struggle, and realized that they could no longer hope for help from that quarter. The Matabele force had crossed the river early that morning, and had closed in on the sounds of Wilson's first engagement. Now they were ready for the kill, and the 34 remaining men formed a circle of their horses in a clearing that gave a relatively good field of fire, and prepared to fight and die.

All the errors in judgment and planning, all the tricks of circumstance that had brought them to this place were now history and they had no choice but to pay the price.

There is no question that they died bravely and exacted a fearful price for their lives. Their courage made a real and lasting impression on those that killed them — particularly the way that they cared for each other, cheered and taunted their foe in the face of certain death and finally submitted to the stabbing spear when their ammunition was exhausted, with no plea for mercy. There is even a legend that they joined in song before they died. James Dawson, who found and buried the remains and who knew the Matabele well, scorned this story, but where there is smoke there is fire, and several Matabele sources claimed it to be true. Whatever the truth or otherwise of this, and whatever else one might have to say about the story, Allan Wilson and his 33 companions truly earned their Matabele epitaph that they were "men of men", and are owed the honour due to brave men.

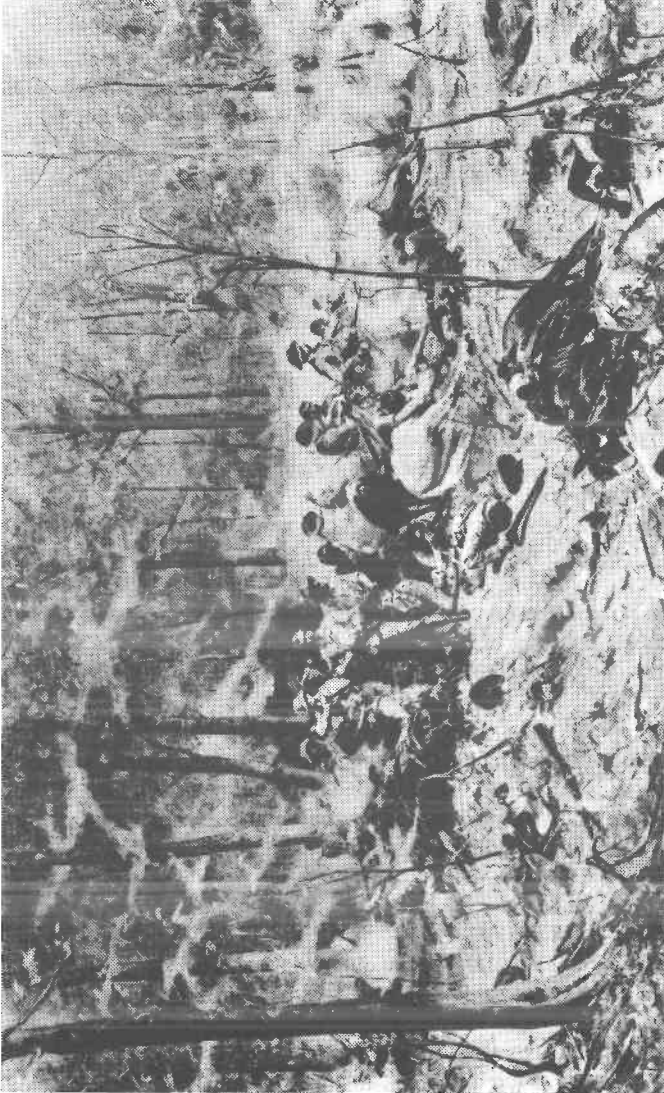
As Patrick Forbes sat shivering in the aftermath of a tremendous storm that night, he must have felt sick with foreboding. Allan Wilson and Henry Borrow were two of the most revered and respected men in the colony. All the others had friends and family. If they had perished, as must have now seemed very likely to Forbes and his men, then Forbes must have known with a growing and numbing certainty that he would be saddled with the blame, irrespective of anyone else's contribution to the disaster.

5th December

Forbes had another problem on his hands, quite apart from the tactical situation. Right from the start, his relationship with his second-in-command, Raaff, had been deteriorating. They were both to blame. Raaff was continually pessimistic, and became openly hostile as the days passed. Forbes, in turn, encouraged this hostility by regularly snubbing the advice of a man who had a great deal of experience in native warfare. He also subjected Raaff to some very puerile treatment that seems to have had its roots in the class system. This was like a red rag to a bull with a frontiersman like Raaff.

Unfortunately for Forbes, several significant officers in the force threw their sympathy, and ultimately their loyalty, behind Raaff. Probably the most notable of these was Captain Lendy, who was a substantial and well known figure among the colonials in the country. So Forbes not only had a serious situation to extricate his force from, but he also faced an officer corps with a distinctly rebellious element infused in it.

During the previous evening, Ingram and another scout called Lynch had left Forbes to carry a message to Jameson. This message was to inform Jameson of the situation and secure the deployment of a relief column. Then early on this date the column began the withdrawal towards Buluwayo. From then until 10th December they were regularly harassed by the enemy and fought several skirmishes, but they did not face a major attack. However, there were several verbal skirmishes between Forbes, Lendy and Raaff (who appears to have been a sick man by now) which did nothing to help morale.



“The Last Stand” This historic but tragic episode occurred on the Shangani river. Major Forbes and his patrol reached the Shangani in pursuit of Lobengula to find that he had crossed the river some hours before

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

10th December

This day brought both the expected major Matabele attack and the leadership crisis that had been inevitable for some time.

The attack came in the afternoon, when the column was resting in a very insecure position astride a donga, exhaustion literally causing everyone, Forbes, Raaff and Lendy included, to neglect the selection of a tactically suitable position to rest in and the maintenance of proper security. The attack was beaten off with difficulty, and the column attempted to move off. The enemy kept harassing them, and eventually the Matabele forced them to halt in a rocky outcrop.

They appeared to be trapped, and a heavy thunderstorm added to their discomfort. As evening fell, the night was punctuated by the Matabele taunting the white men with the information that they would be finished off the following morning.

The white men managed to escape the net through a deception plan that completely deceived the Matabele. A scherm was built around the position and logs placed to resemble maxim guns in the dark. Bundles of blankets were left to resemble sleeping men. The horses' shoes were covered in cloth and all metal parts on saddles and bridles tied down. At 10 pm the patrol slipped away and kept moving through most of the night. By the time the Matabele discovered the ruse the next morning, the white men were well clear of their predicament.

The significant thing about this is that it seems the escape and retreat may have been led by Raaff, and not by Forbes. Several sources are adamant on this, including Captain Francis, Captain Lendy and a trooper from the patrol, who wrote a magazine article many years ago. This trooper stated flatly that none of the column would have survived if it had not been for Raaff. Other important witnesses such as Howard and Napier said nothing to indicate that Forbes relinquished command or had it taken from him. It remains a valid question as to whether Raaff's supporters were exaggerating, or Howard and Napier maintaining a diplomatic silence.

Forbes maintained that the plan was concocted between Lendy, Raaff and himself, and admitted that he was reluctant at first because it would mean dismantling the maxim guns. He also says that Raaff gave a large group of the men their orders, and that he tolerated this because he thought Raaff was merely ignorant of military etiquette. He maintains that this in no way indicated a hand over of command.

We will never know the complete truth. Raaff and Lendy both died within a matter of weeks of getting back to Buluwayo, and the findings of the Court of Inquiry were kept very quiet by the Charter Company. These were ultimately destroyed in the Company's London archives during the blitz. Raaff certainly played a major part in the escape and retreat from the Matabele on 10th December. One doubts that it was a mutiny, and it is very probable that Forbes realized the situation was beyond his experience and let the more experienced man see them to safety. Or perhaps he was so overwhelmed by the preceding events and the continued conflict with senior officers that he was quite willing, in a state of depression, for the experienced men to make the decisions. The former option does seem the most logical and plausible.

11th–14th December

The nightmare was almost over. The column was attacked again on the afternoon of 12th December, and repelled the Matabele after some fine work with the maxim gun by one Sgt Pyke, who was later to lose his arm as a result of the wound he received in this action.

After this, the column reached more open country, and the chances of a serious attack diminished. But the patrol was now in a state of physical devastation. Days of hard physical endeavour, discomfort and rain, lack of rest, miles of walking in riding boots and very poor food left the men of the Shangani Patrol emaciated, exhausted and dressed in rags. Their hats were now shapeless lumps on their heads, their trousers were in tatters and their feet often wrapped in horsehide or saddlebags leather. Many of them could scarcely walk.



First grave of Allan Wilson and party at Shangani

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Ingram and Lynch had reached Jameson, and a relief column was *en route* to Forbes. In the late afternoon of 14th December contact between the two groups of men was made and the salvation of the Shangani Patrol was a reality. Raaff and Lendy were shortly to die, and Forbes to spend the rest of his life carrying the burden of the previous month and all that had taken place therein. But for the moment, the ordeal was over.

Aftermath

The King of the Matabele died early in 1894, probably in late December or in January. The cause of his death has been the subject of much debate and examination that is beyond the parameters of this exercise. Suffice to say that Lobengula's death persuaded his more logical indunas that their people were now leaderless and that their short term interests, at least, would best be served by surrender. The Matabele war ended.

The trader James Dawson, specifically deployed during 1894 by Jameson, located and buried the remains of Allan Wilson and his men. They were moved to Fort Victoria shortly afterwards, and finally to the Matopos in 1904.

The Court of Inquiry was held, and Forbes was slated by officers such as Francis, Lendy and Colenbrander. The Court sent the evidence to Jameson, who in turn sent it to the Governor of the Cape. The bulk of the evidence was not made public, and Forbes remained a scapegoat. He held administrative posts, both civilian and military, in the Rhodesias for another ten years before returning to England, where he married and lived until his death in 1922.

Troopers Wilson and Daniel were imprisoned for the theft of Lobengula's peace offering, but were later pardoned due to certain irregularities in their trial, no doubt caused by the emotional circumstances in which it was held.

It should be mentioned that Burnham, Ingram and Gooding have been seriously suspected over the years of deserting Wilson and his men. This is possible, but the subject will not be dealt with at length here because the evidence is so inconclusive. It should just be said that if Wilson still believed that his route back to Forbes was open, it is very feasible that Wilson could have sent his scouts, with a rifleman for extra fire power, to link up with Forbes and hurry him on while he made what progress he could with his wounded men.

Conclusion

The story of the Shangani Patrol is one of a complete military failure. It failed in its objective, which was the capture of Lobengula. A detachment from the patrol was wiped out. The patrol itself had to fight a harrowing retreat, and reached safety in appalling physical condition. And to top it all, it reached safety with its command element completely fractured. It seems the only redeeming features were the exhausted tenacity of the retreating force and the undoubted courage shown by Allan Wilson and his doomed patrol.

The failure of this mission has caused endless headaches for historians and enthusiasts trying to establish an accurate picture of the whole story. It contains elements of military incompetence and whispers of possible desertion or mutiny. It was obvious that a detailed investigation would take place, and most contemporary accounts are characterized either by "track covering" or diplomatic silence. Consequently, one finds conflicting statements on nearly every major issue in the story, and these statements come from eye witnesses. At best, the historian (or enthusiast) has to fall back on reasoned conjecture, and can seldom say with certainty that this or that happened.

The other problem is that such a failure was unacceptable to Rhodes and Jameson. They had shareholders and governments to keep happy, and the war was by no means a popular one. The findings of the Court of Inquiry were not made public, and public attention was focused entirely on the fact that the rising river had tragically cut Allan Wilson off and left his band no choice but to die heroic colonial deaths. This belief was readily accepted by most contemporary Rhodesians, and especially by the emotional Victorian public at home. Thus, there was comparatively little critical examination of the events, and so comparatively few embarrassing questions were asked by the public. We now know, though, that the rising river only affected affairs in a minor way, and that had Forbes not been attacked he would have been able to link with Wilson. The rising river did not help things, but it was not the cause of Wilson's tragedy.

The major causes of the failure of the Patrol were the appalling casualness of the settlers about the Matabeles' willingness to fight, and the choice of the commander for the mission.

This lethal casualness has been highlighted several times already. It is best illustrated by the fact that the force that originally left Buluwayo did so in light marching order, with four days food and absolutely no orders about what to do if the Matabele were not where they were supposed to be. It is also illustrated in the fact that Major Forbes led it.

One can say this because, despite the fact that he was the senior officer, his shortcomings must have been apparent to Jameson. He had no experience of bush warfare, and was known to be a "book" soldier of little flexibility. This would not be an ideal characteristic against the Matabele. In addition, he was known to be somewhat pompous and class conscious, which was hardly likely to make man-management of a colonial force his strong point. John O'Reilly, in his very fine *The Pursuit of the King*, makes the point that by not returning to Forbes by dark, Wilson placed him in a position that he did not have the experience or personality to handle, and that this makes Wilson very culpable for what happened. This is true, but it also makes those who deployed the force under a man who had neither the experience nor temperament to handle such a situation very culpable indeed.

Forbes's seniority could have been diplomatically bypassed, and both Wilson and Raaff

were better qualified to lead such a mission. Wilson, in particular, was charismatic, bold and experienced. Admittedly, Forbes had handled the march to Buluwayo successfully, but old hands were still critical of some of his leadership, particularly the disposition of the columns' horses just prior to the fight at Bembesi.

Forbes could not help being the personality he was, so it is not denigrating him to say he was not the right man to lead the expedition. Jameson must have had his reservations about Forbes, and Forbes' deployment again indicated that nobody expected any serious resistance.

In fairness to Forbes, many of his senior officers were of no help to him whatsoever. In fact, the Governor of the Cape, Sir Henry Lock, summed the situation up very well in the following quote:

"The Patrol was far too weak for the duty it was expected to perform . . . organisation of the Patrol was based upon the belief that Lobengula was deserted, in opposition to every evidence to the contrary. An absence of good feelings between the O.C. and officers and men under his command rendered it probable that if the Patrol found itself in a critical situation, disaster would ensue . . . Whilst on one side the O.C. failed to command the confidence of his officers, many of the officers in their part failed in the loyalty to their O.C. which is essential for the maintenance of discipline."

The Matabele outmanoeuvred the Shangani Patrol most of the time, and it was lucky to escape without further calamity. But people who love History have an endlessly fascinating tableau to study and reflect on. Perhaps, like the Matabele who fought them, we should leave the saga by honouring the memory of Allan Wilson and his 33 doomed companions who fought on a flood tide of adrenalin and anger, and won for themselves the respect due to heroes. The young colony lost so much with these young men, for they were of superb calibre and would have made their mark in no uncertain way in early Rhodesia. The place where they fell is much changed. A road runs by just metres from their memorial, and people now live all round the battle site. But for all that, the feeling of their presence is very strong when one visits the place of their passing. So it is whenever one visits places where great deeds were done. They were, indeed, brave men.

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Focus on Aspects of the Last Stand of the Wilson Patrol and its Aftermath

by David Grant

The article on the Shangani Patrol covers a wide canvas, so we will now focus on some points of interest relating to the last stand and its aftermath.

The thirty four young men who formed a circle in a clearing in the mopani forest north of the Shangani River came from varied backgrounds. Soldiers, miners, farmers, businessmen or adventurers, they were selected by fate to create an epic out of a series of errors, through their heroism. It is a fact of war that so often the courage of the condemned does this. Think of Little Big Horn, think of Isandhlwana, think of the charge of the Light Brigade. Indeed, think of the battle of Bembesi only a month earlier, where the courage of the Matabele Impis in repeatedly charging the maxim guns so impressed the white men, after the Matabele indunas had so rashly ignored Lobengula's advice not to attack over open ground.

The party that died were mainly of British stock, and varied in age from early twenties to late thirties. Borrow and Captain Greenfield had attended the same grammar school, though they had come out to Africa independently. Sgt. Harry Brown was educated at Oxford and Sgt. Major Sidney Harding at Cambridge. Money and Dillon had been born in India and Vogel in New Zealand. Henry Tuck had been educated in Germany. Now they stood to arms and looked over their horses' saddles at the hordes that would kill them, knowing that whatever hopes and dreams had brought them to their Empire's frontier were ending right there. All that was left to them was the opportunity to die well, and so they channelled their adrenalin, fear and anger and fought with savage and despairing ferocity.

It seems that the party beat off two massed charges before the Matabele, now secure in the knowledge that Forbes would not be able to reach the patrol, settled down to pick them off. The white men fought until their limited ammunition supplies were virtually exhausted, and then a long delay ensued before the Matabele moved in to finish them off. This was probably around midday or early afternoon.

As the Matabele closed in, the survivors rose and shook hands. Those that had revolvers discharged them at the Matabele, and either used a last round on themselves or covered their eyes and waited to be killed. One account, quoted by Dr Oliver Ransford, tells how Wilson and the man who killed him stood looking at each other for some moments before the warrior suddenly stepped forward and plunged the assegai into him. Wilson, with his flamboyant moustache, was easily recognizable and had been identified as the white men's leader during earlier events.

There is another tale to tell — that of the "unidentified hero" who fought a lone last stand from an anthill about 20 yards from the main body of defenders. It would seem that this incident took place when the Matabele closed in for the kill, although it may have happened earlier in the fight.

All the white men had been wounded by the time this last act of defiance took place. Suddenly a man moved from the circle of dead men and horses, carrying several rifles and a bandolier. Perhaps he was less badly hurt than the others, for he seems to have been very mobile. He took up a position on an anthill and began a lone fight that made a lasting impression on the Matabele.

He personally shot up to twelve warriors (depending on sources used) before he was shot

through the hip and fell from the anthill. Now crippled, he continued firing with his revolver until he was overwhelmed and killed.

It has proved impossible to identify this man. All the white men would have been unshaven and probably looked the same to the Matabele, unless they had an identifying feature like Allan Wilson's moustache. Popular opinion at the time inclined towards the hero being Henry Borrow. One or two Matabele references to the man's size suggested it may have been Jack Robertson. But the description given to James Dawson, that the man was "of strong build, dark, not very tall with a long moustache and close cut black beard", may militate against this, although it doesn't give the historian much to work on either. Perhaps it is fitting that he will never be identified. Somehow the fact that the hero could have been any one of the party seems to symbolize that they were one in bravery as well as death.

An interesting footnote to this part of the story is that James Dawson found the skull of this man on an anthill some distance from the remainder of the party, which would tend to confirm the story. He took this skull back to Bulawayo, as he hoped that "the peculiar stopping of the teeth" would facilitate a positive identification of the hero. It would seem that the skull disappeared, and is not entombed with the others in their final resting place.

While on this topic, it is also worth noting that Dawson only found 33 skulls, although 34 men died. We know from *Scouting on Two Continents* that no one had been killed by the time Burnham left Wilson. Was one killed between Burnham's departure and the final fight? Or was a skull taken by a Matabele for some reason? If wild animals (hyenas or jackals) had ravaged the bodies it would seem likely that more than one skull would have been lost, and the bones scattered more widely than the 15 yard circle found by Dawson. We can only speculate, but it does seem sad that there are probably only 32 skulls in the patrol's final grave.

The splendid courage shown by James Dawson in carrying out his mission to try and contact the fleeing King and persuade him to come in is often overlooked when the story of the Shangani Patrol is told. Dawson was a trader who knew the Matabele well. He and Mr Riley volunteered to try and find Lobengula, and also to confirm the fate of the Wilson patrol. This was a particularly gallant undertaking as they had no way of gauging how hostile the Matabele may have been at the time, and there was every possibility that they would be cut up as soon as they made contact with the Matabele. But if Lobengula would come in the bloodshed would end, and Dawson was trusted by the King. He was prepared to back his favoured status against the potential danger he faced.

He left Bulawayo on February 2nd, and encountered groups of Matabele who seemed ready to end the fighting. He encouraged these to go in and surrender, and wrote to Jameson that "your police will of course meet a lot of parties carrying arms, but I assure you they are quite harmless. They are indeed surprisingly meek. There are a great many of the young rowdies of the army about us but they are very civil and carry our messages. Maxims, hunger and fever seem to have knocked the life out of them."

He also learned after a while that Lobengula might have died. He and Riley reached a point on the Shangani near the furthest point that Forbes had attained, but had to halt here for a few days as the river was still running high. It was here that several very militant young Matabele soldiers appeared on the far bank and shouted to Dawson that he was not welcome to them, and that he was lucky that the river was too high for them to cross.

When the river subsided on 23 February, a group of these soldiers crossed and confronted Dawson. Following the theory that attack is the best form of defence, Dawson told them that he wasn't interested in talking to "youngsters", and that Jimsolo (his Matabele name) demanded to speak to someone of standing and importance. This threw the young men, and eventually one of them took Dawson to some elders. Dawson and Riley said that they wanted to find out what had happened to Wilson and his party, and were taken to the battle site.

They found the bones, intermingled with those of the horses, in a circle about fifteen yards in diameter — with the exception of the remains of one man that were found on the anthill about twenty yards away. They paid silent tribute to the dead, and then buried the remains under a tree on which they carved the stunningly apt and moving epitaph: “To Brave Men”.

They searched the area for anything that may have been of use to the relatives of the dead, but found very little. The scraps of paper and notebooks that were lying around had been destroyed by rain and ants.

Dawson was then taken to M’jaan, who confirmed the news of Lobengula’s death. Having persuaded the remaining indunas of the advisability of ending the war, Dawson returned to Bulawayo. It was a brave, conscientious and committed piece of work that he and Riley carried out, with the help of five Matabele that had accompanied them. These were men of calibre and fortitude, and it is tragic to think that a failed business venture and financial embarrassment caused Dawson to take his own life in 1921.

With the death of Lobengula, more and more Matabele sought to end hostilities and the Matabele war ended. What part did the death of the Wilson party play in ending the hostilities? A strong body of opinion held that the heavy losses sustained in wiping out a small group of white men with no maxims persuaded the Matabele that they had no chance of defeating the whites, a line of thought enhanced by the almost mythological status accorded to the event by subsequent generations in the country. A balanced assessment is consequently a difficult undertaking.

Certainly the Matabele were highly impressed by the courage and ferocity of the doomed band. Very sincere tribute was paid to them by many of the Matabele who had fought them in subsequent dealings with whites. Human courage is a virtue traditionally respected by friend and foe alike, and M’jaan himself is credited with referring to them as “men of men”. The tribute paid to the party by the old Matabele Malida in A.A. Campbell’s reproduction of an oral history of the Matabele is both fulsome and moving. There are many other accounts of tribute paid to indicate that the death of these men left a real mark on the thinking of the contemporary Matabele.

This will have contributed to the sum total of circumstances that led to the Matabele ending hostilities, but it is unlikely that the fine performance of the Wilson party was the dominating factor in the matter. The retreat of the main body, complete with maxim guns, will have certainly gone a long way towards dispelling any feeling of white invincibility that Wilson’s group may have created. The death of Lobengula, the lack of immediate and dominant leadership and the ravages of illness from enduring the wet season on a nomadic basis, with no crops to supplement an almost entirely meat diet, would probably have been the major factors that persuaded the indunas to “come in”. It is a fact, though, that M’jaan said that if it took so many to kill four and thirty whites, he wondered how many he would need to drive the remainder out of his country. Obviously, others also thought like this, and on top of their practical problems it must have seemed that there was no future in protracting the war. In the short term, anyway, the 1896 uprising was only three years away!

Wilson and his men earned the epitaph “they were men of men” from M’jaan. It is worth noting, though, that the entire murky saga of the Matabele war is salvaged by men of character and courage. The motives for the war may have contained elements of suspect motive from both sides, though it is always imperative to view the start of the war in its correct context (i.e. from the viewpoint of the men on the spot at that time) to remain objective. There were examples of foolhardy and sometimes incompetent leadership, again, from both sides. There was arrogance and there was dishonesty. But the story is constantly redeemed by acts that transcend the distasteful and sordid aspects of the tale.

It is worth remembering that Lobengula gave his word that the white traders in Bulawayo

would not be hurt, and that he kept his word despite all the events that took place around him. It is worth remembering the courage of the Matabele who charged the maxim guns at Bembesi, and found a place of honour in the memories of those who fought them. It is worth remembering the heroic last stand of Captain Williams, when his horse bolted and carried him into the heart of the enemy when the column was marching on Bulawayo. It is worth remembering the ride through the Matabele to take news to Jameson that was carried out by Ingram and Lynch. It is worth remembering Borrow's ride to turn the bolting horses at Bembesi. It is worth remembering the respect accorded to the dead by M'jaan when the Wilson fight had ended. It is worth remembering the ride into the heart of the Matabele nation to end the war that was carried out by Dawson and Riley and their five Matabele companions. It is worth remembering all of this as well as the 34 young men who died on 4th December 1893, and to remember that the entire saga was graced by "men of men" from both sides. It is a fitting aim for men and women from both sides today to honour their memory in a worthy manner, free from racial or political taint. It is no more than they deserve.

The Meikles

by John Meikle

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at the Harare Club on 28th October 1992.

John Meikle of Strathavon, Scotland, master builder by trade, who had studied mathematics at Edinburgh University, was the father of the three Meikle Brothers who founded the firm of that name in Rhodesia. His wife, Sarah, was born of farming stock in Avondale. The suburbs of Strathavon and Avondale in Salisbury were named after their respective birthplaces.

John's decision to emigrate to South Africa was made after receiving encouraging letters from John's half-brother Tom from Natal. Money was sent out to buy a farm in Natal, to whom it is not recorded, but on their arrival there, it was found that the money had been misappropriated.

A presentation was made of a silver salver on their departure from Strathavon, on which the following was inscribed "Presented to Mr John Meikle, Builder, Strathavon. As a parting mark of respect by his numerous friends and wellwishers along with 120 sovereigns on his emigrating to Natal, Strathavon — December 1868".

It was to be a stormy crossing in the 366 ton barque *Umgeni*. With them they took two bloodhounds and a Suffolk Punch stallion. The children on the voyage were Tom aged 6, Jeannie, Stewart and John or Jack as he came to be known. A fellow passenger was Major Dartnell, the first to scale the defences at Lucknow, and later Brigadier General Sir John Dartnell of the Natal Mounted Police in the Boer War. John rented a farm in Natal from Major Dartnell and when this venture proved unproductive, they went into partnership in 1871 on the Kimberley diamond fields. Sarah was prevented from joining them by the outbreak of the Langalibalele Rebellion. Initially, the partnership was very successful. They bought stones which were sent overseas for polishing, but a slump in the diamond market made the finished stones virtually worthless.

John returned to the farm and found employment as a stone mason, while Sarah, helped by Jack and Jeannie, grew maize, tobacco, winter wheat and oats. Jack writes of Jeannie "I can see her now in her check shawl on a cold frosty morning, and how we used to look forward to the coffee that mother sent us. The wheat was so tall that we could not see each other walking through it, and would get wet through with the dew."

John bought a farm at Mooi River, which was named Avondale, and Jack records "Before I was 10 years of age I was sent to Pietermaritzburg, 60 miles away, with 2 loads of forage, driving one of the waggons myself. People who saw me on the road said that they saw a whip stick coming along and wondered where the man was who carried it."

Greytown was the base of the 24th Regiment and the boys, then at school, used to visit the camp to listen to the regimental band. Jack records "The news of the Isandhlwana disaster, where the gallant 24th were cut up to a man, came just as we had gone to bed. I remember well the head coming into our dormitory and saying 'Get up boys and dress, don't get excited, we have to go into laager but there is no danger at present'. How a handful of gallant men defended Rorke's Drift is history."

In 1883 Tom, now aged 21, went into partnership with a Russian carpenter on the alluvial goldfields of the De Kaap Valley in the Eastern Transvaal. They unearthed a 5 lb nugget which was stolen later from Tom's tent. Since the prime suspect was the Russian, the partnership broke up. The Russian, unable to dispose of the nugget, returned to Natal, where Jack received



(Jack) John Meikle

a mysterious letter composed of words cut from a newspaper, that gave the buried location of the nugget in their garden. The family excitedly went out with a lantern and found the nugget. Characteristically, as the culprit could not be positively identified, Tom disposed of the nugget for £200, and gave the Russian his half share.

In 1886, father John and Jack joined Stewart and Tom in Barberton. Jack mentions one morning seeing the migration of springbok and blesbok which stretched as far as the eye could see, and took the whole morning to pass them by.

Tom and Stewart were transporting goods to the mining camps and firewood to Barberton. The Sheba Gold Mining Company's mine was on the top of a mountain range 13 miles from Barberton, but 35 miles by road. There was, however, a shortcut called the "Shoot", down which gold ore was taken on a sledge and up which a team of 20 oxen could only pull 1 ton. During the rains it could take a month to move 2 miles. The oxen were up to their bellies in mud, but because one dare not lose one's place, every morning the oxen were inspanned even if the progress was a hundred yards.

Jack found himself in trouble with the authorities while transporting one dark night. Cattle theft was prevalent, and a horseman passed their waggons driving some cattle. A bit further on, he recognized one of his own oxen lying in the road, and assumed the horseman was the thief. He caught up with the horseman near a wayside pub, where he tried to pull the man off his horse, but was struck by a riding crop. The man then ran into the pub and as Jack followed, a shot was fired narrowly missing him. In the dim light, he recognized the man wore the uniform of the Transvaal Mounted Police. Wrongly assuming that the police themselves were implicated, he went to report the incident, whereupon he was jailed and fined £5.

The brothers had been operating in Fever Creek, which hitherto had been free of the fly. However, Pettigrew opened up a much shorter route to Delagoa Bay using donkeys through the fly belt. Other transport riders started using this route, and soon the fly moved up to Fever Creek and only two spans of their oxen survived out of eight. Tom and Jack purchased more oxen, and began transporting from Moveni, the terminus from Delagoa Bay, travelling through the flybelt by night. They were transporting machinery from the Horo Concession and the Three Sisters Mine. One day Jack was climbing up from Fever Creek to Eureka City when there was a huge explosion and looking back he saw a pall of black smoke. This was the tragedy that befell Sam Coombes, which is mentioned in *Jock of the Bushveld*. Three teams of oxen were hauling explosives which detonated, the only survivors being the lead ox and the leader.

Jack Meikle in his unpublished book *The Reminiscences of John Meikle* devotes eight pages to the patient ox, for which he had an obvious affection, and which he acknowledges to be the basis of their success and that of many others. The art of driving a span, he says, depends on good drivers, good oxen and good, strong waggons. Jack explains that, in heavy places, the eye roams over the span and if any one ox is not doing its duty, its name is called and if there is no response, the whip is used. Oxen of equal strength and keenness must be matched and the trek chain must be kept straight. The 'gentleman ox' is usually a hind bullock, a monument of strength and quietness. A good driver will never use his whip on him, for he is never lazy, has pride in his work and can be depended upon to give his last ounce of strength in difficult places. Their reward for faithful service is usually to die of poverty, in the yoke to the last, or more mercifully fattened up for the butcher. Jack is scathing about the McKenzie Brothers, particularly Dunk McKenzie, who were noted for heavy loading. He records seeing 25 000 trek oxen grazing around Volksrust, part of the huge effort to transport materials from the railhead at Glencoe to the Rand. Jack proposes a memorial to the ox, whose "bones lie scattered over the South African veld".

Stewart and a partner undertook a contract to build a railway bridge, which was not a financial success, while Tom and Jack continued transporting from Moveni. The Komati River



Stewart Meikle — quiet, easy-going; the second of Sarah's three sons

flooded frequently and often waggons loaded with mining machinery were stuck in mid-river, requiring the unhitching of the oxen, swimming them back and then attempting to pull the wagon back out of the crocodile infested river.

Leaving his waggons at the Komati, Jack accompanied Stewart to Delagoa Bay. Pauling had built a temporary bridge across the Komati, and Jack found the Komati in full flood when he returned from Rissano Garcia. Only the rails and a few sleepers remained from the floodwaters. Jack crawled across and shortly afterwards the line was washed away. He records a crocodile perched on a dead horse passing downstream. He took his waggons over the flooded Kaap and Queens Rivers and contracted a bad dose of malaria. By the time he reached Ermelo he was delirious, and Stewart had to come from Natal to fetch him.

The brothers now had net savings of £10 000. They wanted to buy a wattle estate in Natal, but the asking price was £13 000. Jack returned to Charlestown, where J.W. Dunlop brought news of Mashonaland. The brothers had eight waggons and three loads, so Tom went down to Durban and purchased a further five loads of merchandise, comprizing two loads of men's outfitting and three loads of liquor.

They left Charlestown on 28th February 1892 and had an uneventful journey to Tuli. Tom remained at Tuli, because the liquor required to be consigned to a resident. From Tuli precautions had to be taken against lions taking the oxen. Tom followed three weeks later, but became lost for three days while out shooting on horseback. Jack recalls the story of van der Ruit who was similarly lost for 45 days and, when found, bolted, wild-eyed, down an antbear hole. In later years when under the influence, a strange look came over his face, he would climb onto the bar counter, and dive to the floor, at which moment reality returned!

Stewart and Jack left Fern Spruit, passed through the Providential Pass and arrived in Fort Victoria on 7th May 1892. The town consisted of a few wattle and daub huts surrounded by earthworks topped by sandbags.

A store was built from whisky cases and a bucksail, and so began the firm of Meikle Brothers. They reduced the price of sugar from 1/6 to 6d a pound, a fact much resented by the established traders, who were still selling stores brought up by the Pioneer Column. Theirs was the first merchandise to enter the country since the Occupation.

Stewart remained in Fort Victoria, while Tom and Jack returned to Pretoria for further loads. Tom went on to Natal to purchase further oxen and waggons. Jack's return journey was delayed by an outbreak of foot and mouth among the oxen at Mara near the Zoutpansberg. Most of the drivers and leaders absconded, a serious situation for any transport rider that required tracking down the offenders. An ox was lost to a lion on the Bubi River, where Jack also mentions the discovery of a quagga carcass. Jack took over the management of the Fort Victoria branch, while Stewart went on to build the Salisbury store, a wattle and daub structure in Pioneer Street.

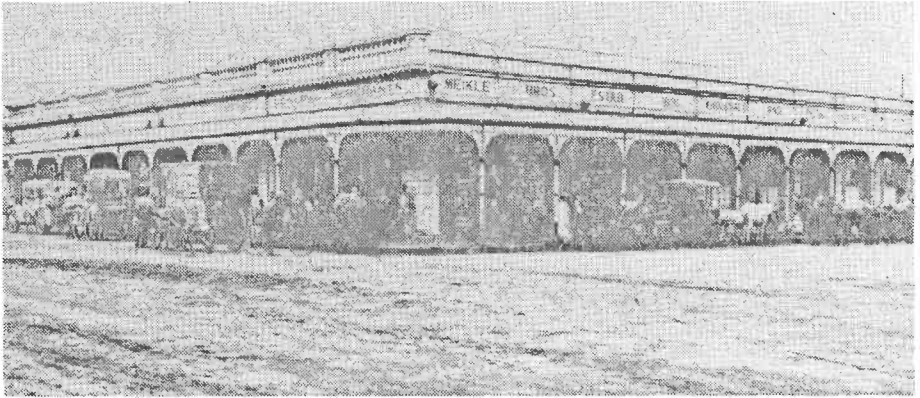
In June 1893, 5000 Matabele invaded Mashonaland, surrounding the 30 whites in Fort Victoria and killing any Mashona in the vicinity. Europeans in the surrounding area returned to Fort Victoria unharmed, as the Matabele were under strict orders not to harm any white. The Civil Commissioner summoned Jack from his sickbed where he was recovering from malaria, as he was a fluent Zulu linguist, to interpret at a meeting with 20 indunas headed by the King's nephew. The Matabele agreed to await the arrival of Dr Jameson for a further meeting.

Jack is of the opinion that when Lobengula signed the concession, he considered that he could continue his traditional raids without hindrance. The Chartered Company, on the other hand, finding that Mashonaland was not the Eldorado they expected it to be, were looking for an excuse to invade Matabeleland. Lobengula was in a weakened state as he had an impi raiding across the Zambezi. Due to a smallpox outbreak, he ordered them to remain at an outlying kraal until the disease had run its course.

Jameson arrived in Fort Victoria and met the indunas outside the town. He told them in no uncertain terms that unless they crossed the border 30 miles away at once, they would be driven across, whereupon the indunas laughed at him. Captain Lendy led 60 mounted men, including Jack, out of the fort. They passed through a gap in the ridge and into open country. The order to open out in skirmishing order and the charge was led by Captain Lendy with sword drawn. The bugle was sounded to open fire. To his right, Jack saw the King's nephew, a big man too proud to run, but he could not bring himself to fire. The patrol remounted and then developed into a running fight, if it could be called a fight Jack relates, for the Matabele made no attempt to stand or retaliate. The Matabele had implicitly obeyed orders not to interfere with white people.

Meanwhile, Tom was camped on the Tokwe. He asked Captain Lendy for an escort, but no man could be spared. Under cover of darkness, Jack drove 18 spare oxen arriving at the Tokwe at sundown the following day. Despite the Matabele being reported close by (they were in fact in Chibi's country) the waggons arrived back safely in Fort Victoria.

The Victoria Column of 200 men, commanded by Major Allan Wilson, was made of volunteers, BSAP and, Jack says, "a party of hardcases recruited from the Rand". Jack was offered a commission by Allan Wilson, but as he says "The only reliable man I had in the store was attached to the gun squad. I made many attempts to persuade him to remain behind and take charge while I joined up. This he refused to do. Allan Wilson had offered me a commission if I would go. Had it been my own business, I would have closed it, but I had others to consider. It is pretty certain that I would have been with him at the last if I had gone, as most of those who died with him in the Victoria Column were officers and his close friends."



Meikle Store in Salisbury's Manica Road in 1912. The date of establishment is incorrectly shown as 1891. It should have been reflected as 1892. The error probably occurred during repainting



This is the Bulawayo store in the 1890s. The staff pictured, left to right, are Jack Marney, Alf Perry, unknown, W. A. Perry (Tom Meikle's group accountant), P. J. Phillips, J. Beesley, Harry Browning, S. Hayler

In the defence of Fort Victoria, Jack was commissioned as a Lieutenant and appointed Adjutant. Shortly afterwards, he joined a party of 12 under an unnamed captain tasked to recover the King's cattle in Matabeleland. The captain and one other partook of the medicinal brandy one night and came to blows, whereupon he was reduced to the ranks, and Jack took charge.

By the time they had camped at the base of the Selondi Range, they had collected 340 head which were sent back with two men. Jack and another climbed the Selondi Range, where they were surprised by a uproar emanating from captured Mashona women. The Head Induna was sent for, who it transpired had commanded the impi of young men at the first battle of the Shangani. He had with him 900 apparently unarmed warriors aged between 20 and 24 years.

Jack asked the Induna for, and was granted, 80 warriors to drive the 600 head of cattle. There was a report of a big Impi near the Lundi sent to kill them. However, they returned safely to Fort Victoria with 1400 head of cattle and 30 Mashona women and children. Each member of the force received 72 head of cattle, while a deputation of his men offered Jack two head from each of their allotments, which he refused to accept.

Instead, the men presented him with a gold ring made from gold ornaments looted from Zimbabwe inscribed "Matabele loot 1893". The news of the Allan Wilson tragedy only came on their return to Fort Victoria.

Jack reports visiting Bulawayo, where Tom had started a branch. He had bought some looted cattle when lung sickness broke out. As an astute cattleman, Tom realized that those with short tails had been inoculated by the Matabele, so these animals were selected.

Stewart had fallen ill, so Jack returned to Salisbury via Fort Victoria to take over the branch. He himself fell ill with malaria, which he cured with Dr Rand's "kicker", and never fell ill to malaria again. During this period he visited the railhead at Chimoio, travelling by mule-drawn American saloon coach.

Stewart was commissioned into Gifford's Horse during the Matabele Rebellion of 1896, and was present at the relief of Insiza. A mysterious disease at this time was killing buffalo in the north east. Rinderpest progressed like a veld fire through the cattle population, leaving only 3% of immune animals alive. Jack valued the cattle for compensation when the BSA Company ordered herds to be slaughtered in a vain attempt to arrest the disease.

Jeannie Strickland was anxious to visit the family in Natal. Jack accompanied her and her son Newby (aged 2) on their journey to Chimoio by Cape cart. They saw 20 armed Mashona who disappeared and received disquieting news of unrest when they put up for the night at Marandellas. Workers had threatened a farmer in a dispute over pay for brickmaking. The next night they made Rusape. It was full moon and the drums were beating all night. The next day they met Mr W. M. Taberer, the Chief Native Commissioner and Captain Norton (later murdered near Marandellas). They had also heard the news of the unrest. The day after reaching Umtali, the Mashona rose in rebellion. They reached Chimoio with the last part of the journey being undertaken by lighter from Fontesvilla to Beira. The BSA Company representative there had a message for Jack from the Acting Administrator, asking him to buy a cargo of mealies in Delagoa Bay, and 30 teams of mules and waggons in Natal. On arrival in Durban, he was told these were no longer needed as they had been provided by the Cape Government, so he returned with 12 horses.

On his return to Umtali, he found Alderson's Column had already left. It was while searching for two lost horses that he fell in love with the Eastern Districts. He rode to Salisbury in a party of seven, which included Dr Rand. By this time the back of the Rebellion had been broken and Chief Makoni captured. He then rode on to Fort Victoria to close the store there, due to a lack of supplies.

The cost of commodities rocketed, caused by the Rinderpest and the rebellion. Dunk



Tom Meikle — a legendary figure despite his personal aversion to the limelight

McKenzie bought oxen (salted against Rinderpest) and waggons from the Beale Column, and transported from Chimoio to Salisbury, realizing £6000 for five loads. Transport was also done by carriers from Chimoio to Salisbury with two carriers carrying a 100 lb sack between a forked stick, as food had to be imported for employees.

Towards the end of 1896, Jack left Salisbury for good, travelling alone with two horses. In the Makoni district he heard the heavy guns firing into the kopjes as the last resistance there was crushed.

Rhodes paid £50 000 in compensation for those who lost property in Old Umtali, so Jack moved his store to the New Umtali in 1897. The BSA Company auctioned stands in the new township, and many paid too much for them. Flush with compensation money, some stands were sold for £930 with the value subsequently falling to £30.

Umtali boasted a Tramway Company which ran trams between the station and the Club, but was never viable. A lion killed four donkeys near the Umtali Club, while a gentleman named Theale was taken by a lion from under his Scotchcart one night near Christmas Pass. His one foot was found still with his boot on, which begs the question of whether he habitually slept in his boots! Umtali boasted thirteen clubs and canteens, as well as a brewery. As beer could be imported duty free, it soon closed down.

Jack met Rhodes on a few occasions, one of which was when he came into the Fort Victoria store for a chat after the columns had set off to quell the Matabele Rebellion. He again came across Rhodes bathing in the open at Nyanyadzi in mid-winter, who invited him for breakfast. He asked Jack's opinion of the new Matopos Dam, to which he replied that it seemed a costly luxury. Rhodes seemed hurt by this reply and said "It will come in useful one day". Rhodes was often approached by men with hard luck stories, but Rhodes was reported to have said "I like the Meikles, you know they never want anything." Jack though on this occasion did ask for his assistance in obtaining transfer of a farm.

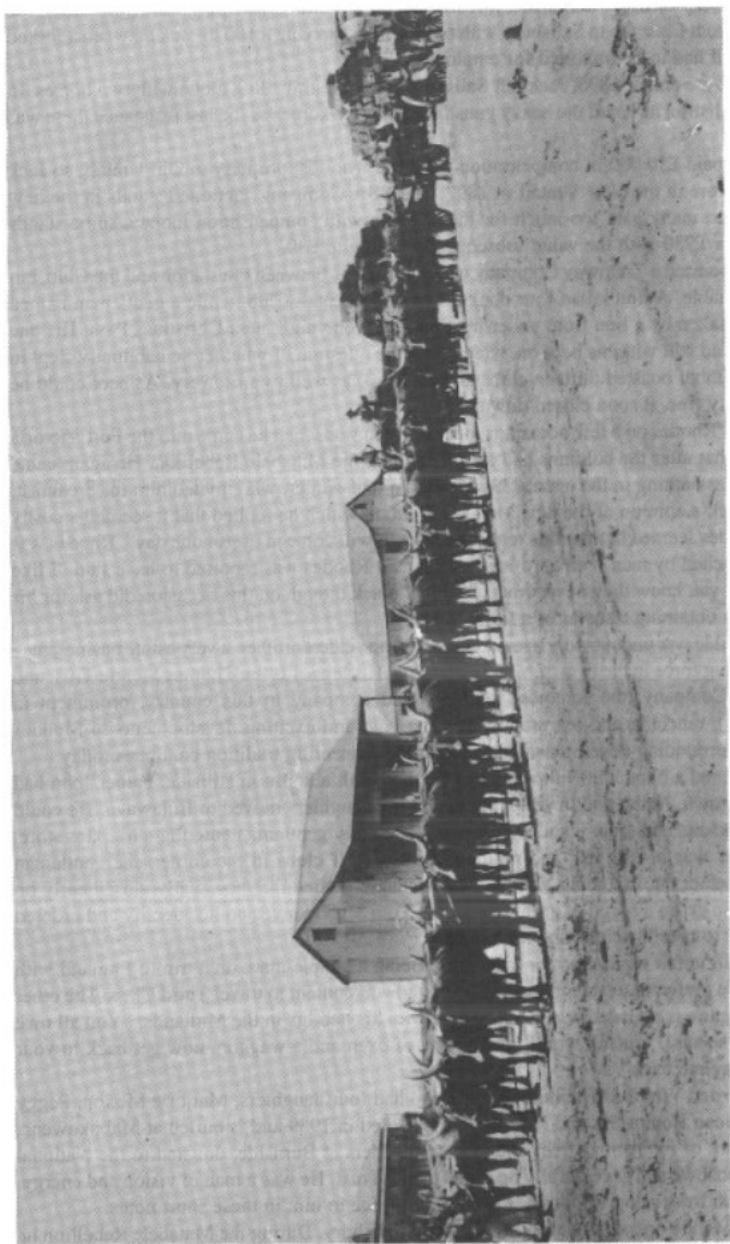
Tom Meikle was undoubtedly a remarkable man, the eldest brother, a very astute businessman and the driving force in the firm of Meikle Brothers. His legacy is the Thomas Meikle Trust and Investment Company, the foremost family-owned company in this country, prominent in stores, hotels, ranching and tea production. The bold and exciting developments to Meikles Hotel and surrounding development shows that the pioneering tradition continues today.

Tom opened a branch in Bulawayo in 1894 and built a house in Hillside. Father John had died at Greytown, Natal, and in 1898, Sarah and her daughters moved to Bulawayo. He could not abide slackers and there is the anecdote of the elderly gentleman entering a Meikles store. The Manager was having tea, and noticing a set of golf clubs in the corner, the gentleman enquired whether he was going golfing. The Manager replied that he usually closed early on Wednesday to get in a round of golf, whereupon Tom Meikle revealed his identity and ordered the Manager to take his clubs and not return.

He had an unfair reputation for meanness. Being a simple man, on a trip to England with a manager, he preferred to stay in a cheap hotel and was content to travel Third Class. The other side of his nature is revealed at a meeting held with his debtors in the Midlands: "You all owe me money" he said, "outside you'll find a span of oxen and a waggon, now get back to your farms and pay me back".

Tom married Winifred Hubbard in 1907 and had four daughters, Marjorie Moxon, Peggy Thompson, Joan Hampshire and Jane Redrup. He died in 1939 and is buried at Mabukuwene, a tranquil park of indigenous trees and granite boulders at Burnside, donated to the National Trust of Zimbabwe and successfully operated by the Trust. He was a man of vision and energy, who did much to develop Rhodesia. I cannot do justice to him in these short notes.

Stewart Meikle opened the Meikles branch in Salisbury. During the Matabele Rebellion he was commissioned in Gifford's Horse and was present at the relief of Insiza. He was the most



Umtali, 21st March 1898. Meikle Bros. wagons (14) leaving for Salisbury.
On the right — J. McWhannel, A. Newmarch, W. S. Nelson

dashing of the Meikle brothers and described as 'splendid in uniform'. He married Lilian Blackie, a sister in the Gwelo Nursing Service in 1900, and had two sons, Jack and Cyril, and a daughter Agnes. They lived in the house "Ivanhoe", which was subsequently demolished.

Stewart saw the potential for hotels and bought land facing Cecil Square for £250. Tom continued with the idea after Stewart's death, and Meikles Hotel was completed in 1915 and described as "the finest structure north of the Limpopo", where the tariff remained at 17/6 a day all inclusive until 1945. Stewart died in Durban in 1912. He was the most easy going of the brothers and a true friend of Jack's.

The youngest brother Jack was headstrong and impetuous. He broke with Tom in 1899 and took as his share the Umtali business. He married Bertha Campbell of Fort Beaufort, who was of 1820 settler stock, and had four sons, Douglas, Evian ("Toosie"), Gordon ("Jackie") and Ian, and two daughters, Dorothy and Natalie. Jack set about developing Manicaland. He built the Cecil, Royal and Penhalonga Hotels, and opened stores at Umtali, Penhalonga, Odzi, Rusape, Melsetter and Macequece. He developed the farms Stapleford (now Forestry Commission), Mountain Home at Penhalonga and Fairview, Albany and Willowgrove in the Melsetter district.

He is the acknowledged founder of the forest industry experimenting with eucalypts and pines at Stapleford, Mountain Home and Border Farm in Mozambique. The first sawmill for exotic species was opened in Umtali in about 1924, and subsequently moved to Mountain Home. His contribution is acknowledged by a plaque at the John Meikle Forest Research Station, named after him at Stapleford Forest Reserve.

He interested himself in mining, discovering bauxite at Mountain Home (still mined today), gold at Monarch Mine and scheelite at the Bulldog Mine. However, mining and his trusting nature were to be his downfall. He invested heavily in the Asp Mine at Bindura, now part of the successful Cluff Freda Rebecca Mine, and went bankrupt in 1927, with liabilities of £87 000.

Jack was the only brother to enter public service, serving as Member of the Legislative Assembly, Mayor of Mutare, President of the Umtali Chamber of Commerce, President of the Farmers Association and President of the Umtali Club. In his own words "I had tried to do so much for my town and district, whereas if I had been selfish and thought only of self, I might have been a wealthy man. With me, public duty came first, to help develop the mineral and farming resources of the district, and the cause of my financial downfall was due to helping the country and not striving for personal gain."

On Jack's death in 1949, this epitaph appeared in the *Umtali Advertiser*, "With the death of Jack Meikle, there passes from us a man of great worth. If ever Nature produced gentlemen, Nature was at its best in moulding him."

Jeannie Meikle had married Arthur Strickland. When the Meikle Brothers bought the farm Marshbrook and other farms in the Charter District (one for an oxwaggon and a grand piano and another for six blankets and a plough) to form Charter Estate, the hotel and store were run by Arthur Strickland and Jeannie. Charter Estate was inherited by Stewart's sons Cyril and Jack and subsequently sold in 1939.

Arthur and Jeannie moved to Inodzi Farm at Penhalonga next to Mountain Home. They built a gracious home in 1910, now fully restored by the present owners, Mutare Board and Paper Mills. Inodzi was the home farm around which the activities of five other farms revolved, and which was featured on the £1 note and a Federal stamp. The Stricklands had a son, Newby, tragically killed in a shooting accident, and daughter Thelma who married Sir Ian Wilson the Federal Speaker. Arthur died early on, and the formidable Jeannie successfully managed the farms for many years. On her death the farms were sold and the proceeds used to start Strickland Lodge, an old people's home in Umtali.

Jessie Meikle married Charles Browning and lived at Rockylodge, and had three sons

Charles, Ivan (“Bengy”) and Jack, and two daughters Eileen Speyer and Joyce Bazely. Jack farmed “Fontainebleu” for many years and Bengy farmed at Bindura.

Beatrice Meikle married John Parke Richardson and had two sons Maxwell and Stuart and three daughters Zenith Tredgold, Ray Wemborne and Stella Coulson.

Constance Meikle married Charles Brownlee Walker but died in childbirth.

Marion Meikle married H. U. Moffat the second Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and had two sons Robert and Maurice and two daughters Unity Lindsay and Mary (“Bobbie”) Rosen.

The old jibe of Rhodesia belonging to the Meikles and the White Ants is not true today, but it is a remarkable family that has contributed and continues to contribute to the development of this country.

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History of Civil Aviation 1938 to 1961

by Martin Madders

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at the Harare Club on 20th July 1993.

The short talk I have prepared for this evening will have an engineering or perhaps an airworthiness preponderance since, because of faulty eye alignment, it was not possible to qualify medically for aircrew duties, a big disappointment for me, but in later years proving to be an excellent excuse for my performance on the bowling greens.

My introduction to civil aviation came in 1938 during my service at RAF Kenley. I was top of the roster for a five year stint at some remote and probably sandy overseas command when a circular arrived inviting application for a two year secondment to the Southern Rhodesia Government for two lucky Airmen. I applied and to my surprise was accepted. Whether it was my past exemplary technical performance or the opportunity taken by the commanding officer for us to part company, following an unfortunate incident when he became soaked in glycol when starting up a Hurricane I had just signed out, I will never know but I fear the latter reason!

With the DCA, Major Cloete, acting as ferry pilot, the three of us collected a brand new de Havilland 89a Rapide from Hatfield, cleared Customs formalities at Lympne, and set off for Salisbury via Germany, Turkey, the Eastern Mediterranean and Cairo, then down the usual route to the South flying over the high ground near M'Beya where Mr and Mrs Perrim had forced landed in their single engined Heinkel *en route* from Europe to Umtali. He took off solo, over the edge as it were, picked up lift and his wife, from down below and continued successfully home, a good achievement in those days with few, if any, navigational aids to assist. Our flight took us twelve days including the week-end in Cairo. People now complain if it takes twelve hours for the same distance!

The Rapide was purchased for use by the Governor, Sir Herbert Stanley. It had five armchair seats, a cocktail cabinet and jump seat probably for the Air Hostess? Christened the 'Gin Palace' it did excellent work in the Colony in a communication role and was later conscripted with myself into the Southern Rhodesia Air Force (SRAF) Communication Squadron, to be used with other Rapides, Leopard Moths and a Proctor. Certain of the aircraft retained civilian nationality and registration markings for flights into neutral territories. An Audax and a Gauntlet were also maintained by the Squadron for upper air meteorological readings. I remember flying down to Beira with Captain Jack McAdam in the Proctor, which was not renowned for its take-off performance, but the trick was to choose a long diagonal path across Belvedere Aerodrome, wait for a gap between taking off and landing 25 EFTS Tiger Moths and then aim to clear the least high trees surrounding the old race course!

The Rapides were ideal aircraft during the War years since their inverted Gypsy Six engines were simple to operate, maintain or repair and the mainly wooden airframe construction enabled fuselage, mainplane and empennage parts, including main wing spars, to be locally made.

On a request from the Aero Club de Beira I demobilized for a week or two to carry out inspection and certification for Certificate of Airworthiness renewal of a Tiger Moth and Talorcraft in Beira. This completed without internment, my RAF association with civil aviation ended until returning to this country following the cessation of hostilities and joining Central African Airways (CAA).

During the war period Civil Aviation duties had been undertaken by Steve Launder, a long

time and experienced Ground Engineer acting under the direction of Lt Colonel Charles Meredith who had taken over from Dirk Cloete in mid '39, after the latter officer had left with the intention of becoming Director of Civil Aviation (DCA) in South Africa. In 1945 Departmental duties were allocated to SRAF officers pending the establishment of a permanent Department of Civil Aviation. For some months Colonel Ted Jacklin was DCA assisted by Geoff Cox and Peter Pennant-Rea. In 1946 Colonel Maurice Barber was recalled from Rhodesia House duties and appointed as the fifth Director of Civil Aviation, Ted Jacklin being appointed to command the SRAF.

It is interesting to recall that Lt Barber was the first Permanent Staff Corps Officer of the old Southern Rhodesia Air Unit in 1937, and Lt Jacklin the third PSC officer of the Air Unit in 1939 having taken over the position following the death on active service of Lt Hugh Peyton in a flying accident in East Africa.

Important legislation was passed in 1946 constituting the Central African Air Authority (CAAA) and the Central African Airways Corporation, the latter being formed with 50% finance from Southern Rhodesia, 35% from Northern Rhodesia and 15% Nyasaland, Sir Charles Meredith becoming Chairman of CAA and Colonel Barber also becoming Secretary of the CAAA.

Maurice Barber was DCA until the break up of the Federation in 1963. He did a remarkably fine job in steering the Department of Civil Aviation through its early days until he had built up a highly efficient and well ordered system recognized as such by all international and local users of this country's and the Central African Territories' air space. This was no easy task since it meant starting from scratch, required recruitment of specialized staff, supervision of airport siting, construction and design in co-operation with other ministries, setting up ATC, Operations, Airworthiness, Fire/Rescue, Telecommunications, landing aids, both in Southern Rhodesia and later in the Federal area. It should be remembered that specialized aviation services were provided to Northern Rhodesia and to Nyasaland before Federation. I believe, and I sincerely hope it is recognized, that the development of aviation in this country owes a good deal to Maurice's foresight, drive and initiative.

The Avro Yorks of BOAC and the Rapides and Ansons of CAA were now very much dated and the first, should I say modern, aircraft of those days in the shape of Vickers Vikings, de Havilland Doves and Bristol Freighters were arriving for CAA. The Dove with the Gypsy Queen 70 engines gave endless trouble and it could be said quite truthfully that CAA did nearly all the development flying for the type. I remember on one occasion, I was the Maintenance Superintendent, the GM said to me 'Martin how are the Doves today?' To which I replied 'Well for the first time all five are serviceable'. Just then Foreman Bill Wallace came up and said 'You had better come to the hangar and see VP-YES'. We did, and saw that the whole of the carb. injector and supercharger assembly had detached itself from the engine's rear end.

The Bristol Freighters were good workhorses You remember they had those large frontal doors which could receive a light vehicle. Trouble was that after a long flight to Kenya and return it would be necessary to patch up the upper surface of the wings which were very prone to panting, and by the time the hire period was over the wing upper surfaces resembled a patchwork quilt. Later we learned that one of the aircraft formerly hired to CAA crashed in West Africa after wing failure, as did another freighter between the north and south islands of New Zealand.

The Vickers Viking was a good aircraft following on from the design of the Wellington light bomber which had a very successful war record, based on Barnes Wallis's geodetic construction. The centre wing assembly of the Viking was fully geodetic. CAA's equipment and the like was sadly lacking and to get an aircraft into the hangar the wing tips had to be removed, side-tracking proved to be the answer although it was still necessary to take off a wing

to rectify a Pacitor fuel gauge until Henry Radnitz produced his magic box of tricks.

Post war British aircraft used main structural members of DTD 363, a duralumin alloy having a high strength weight ratio, ideal for wartime manufacture but with limited life expectancy, but having a low fatigue resistance due to a relatively high percentage of zinc in its make-up. Additionally the wings were supported in most cases by a single spar structure concentrating the load on the one main member as compared say to the DC3 which although designed in 1933 had a multi load path arrangement. The Viking's centre wing two lower booms were tubular and attached to the outer wing inner spar booms of duralumin 'L' section by one inch diameter steel pins. In 1953 Viking VP-YEY suffered a wing failure on service over Tanganyika resulting in the death of Captain Perry St Quinton, his entire crew and passengers. The fracture bore the unmistakable fatigue characteristic pattern and had occurred some hours prior to the flying hours when the boom was due for replacement. Usually, the replacement life is calculated at one fifth of the period that the test specimen has survived before failure, or in other words a safety factor of five. In the case of the Viking accident however, electrolytic action had taken place between the two dissimilar metals, i.e. the steel pins and the duralumin boom, assisted by an ingress of moisture which had accelerated the fatigue failure. An added factor was that the steel pins had not been cadmium plated, or were required to be so plated by design, although other pins in the same aircraft had been so plated. You may remember the subsequent court proceedings when CAA sued Vickers, I'm sure the learned judge became a fatigue and corrosion expert by the time he had listened to the numerous arguments advanced by the many UK aviation specialists. The case was finally settled out of court. About this time Vickers advised CAA that they required a high life Viking for fatigue tests at the factory, VP-YEW was chosen and made ready for departure to be lightly loaded and to proceed without passengers. Before departure Jack Hinton the Chief Inspector experienced a dream which prompted him to get up early and go down to the aircraft and check condition of the twin lower booms of the geodetic centre section assembly. Removal of the upholstery etc. revealed that one of the tubular booms was cracked right through! VP-YEW did not depart as scheduled!

In this part of the world unpressurized aircraft sustain a good deal of fatigue damage through buffeting when climbing, descending and even when cruising over the very high terrain. During the problems with the early Vikings, Douglas DC3s were purchased and brought into service, although not as comfortable and fairly noisy they were very useful and many are still flying regularly today. The Beavers gave good service and the sight of the substantial looking wing strut on either side was very reassuring!

Opening of the new Salisbury International Airport in 1956 saw the move of CAA to its new site and the introduction of the Viscount, a truly great aircraft which was to see many years of service with the national airlines. Although the design was again a single spar structure the Corporation were persuaded to wait until the larger cross section L65 spars were available in the 748 series. The spar booms were also required to be replaced at set intervals but since the centre section booms had been cleared to 20 000 flights, following satisfactory testing to 100 000 flights, this was acceptable particularly since the inner and outer spar booms were cleared to much higher periods. As with all pressurized aircraft the fuselage is affected by fatigue considerations because of the expansion and contraction which takes place, and although the fuselage life was appreciably extended by reducing the cabin differential pressure, the situation had to be faced whether to carry out major fuselage modifications or consider replacement of the type, which seems to have been done with purchase of the Boeing 737.

Acquisition of the first Boeing turbine powered aircraft was a memorable and brilliant exercise undertaken by the national airline in 1973. Crews were trained in far off places unbeknown to their spouses or close colleagues working with them in the airline. I remember

the GM, Captain Pat Travers and I found ourselves in Europe to assist in the operation, two of the three 720s had arrived at the rendezvous and the third was due on the morrow, we decided to have a drink at a remote place to ease the tension when a man walked in and continued staring, finally saying to the GM, 'I know your friend. He is from Salisbury'. Having assured him that I had never been further north than Johannesburg, he said, 'Oh it's all right, don't worry, I live in Canada but I'm also in tobacco'. To our relief the third aircraft arrived as planned and it was with further great relief that we saw the formation disappear over the horizon. Fortunately the flight leader Captain Tony Beck had a recognizable voice to the controllers at Victoria Falls although at an unusually high altitude, so the flight was allowed to proceed without complications. I was with the GM at the next Paris Air Salon when he signed in as the latest Boeing operator, but we were received well, albeit with some embarrassment to the hosts. Later of course five Boeing 707s were purchased from Lufthansa and these were operated very successfully from 1982 onwards. In fact one is still being used by the Corporation.

During this post war period of re-equipping we must not forget Jack Malloch and Jamie Marshall who started Fishair operating between PEA and this country with a Rapide. Later purchases include a DC4, three DC7s, Canadair CL44 and of course the DC8s which are still operating with Afretair to and from Europe. Certainly Jack did a wonderful job pioneering freight operations for this country and his tragic loss of life while flying his beloved Spitfire was a great loss to the country and to aviation generally.

Many new aerodromes were constructed and opened during the period I have mentioned and these included the landing stage for flying boats and other facilities at Victoria Falls (1949) and Grand Reef (1951). The latter was never successful from a civil point of view but was the only site within reasonable distance from Mutare; the old Perrim, now Municipal, is very limited in scope because of the surrounding high areas. Mount Hampden (Charles Prince) opened shortly after Harare International, Bulawayo in 1959, Induna 1960, Kariba 1959, Buffalo Range 1965, Victoria Falls 1966 and Hwange National Park 1976. Landing, navigation and communication equipment was installed including VOR/DME, VASIS, main locator and holding beacons, VDF and associated equipment was provided at as many of the eight manned airports as finance would permit, but a break-through was the provision of radar at Harare, followed by ILS a few years later. Additionally pavement areas and taxi-tracks were constantly being updated and extended when possible. The Department had advanced designs prepared by consultants for the improvement and enlargement of facilities at Harare International way back in 1976, but unfortunately finance was not available.

Three areas gave me cause for concern during my period with DCA and these were firstly the bird danger, secondly the possibility of a large aircraft becoming immobilized on any one of the single runway airports, and thirdly the ever present threat of air piracy. Birds, particularly the Abdin stork, just love the open airfield space and seem immune to most methods of scaring them off that we have tried. The best way we found was to eliminate, as far as possible, the insects on which the birds feed, so on all our airports you will see equipment which is used to spray the grass on either side of the runways. This method has been reasonably successful in the majority of cases, but occasionally the little plover or kiviak which seems to nest in the grass is disturbed at night by the big jets and rises up only to be ingested into the fans which are broken, and pass through the engine with very expensive results. An abandoned takeoff follows, causing maximum brake application, deflated and burst tyres, plus power plant replacement and delay. Three 747s have been affected in this way at Harare.

Secondly, an aircraft immobilized on a runway can cause havoc with schedules as happened in a case involving a Viscount, which is normally very easily handled. The Viscount had landed wheels up on a training flight, resulting in the closure of Harare Airport for some ten hours until 0530 the following morning. It would be far too expensive for the Department to have heavy

lifting equipment available and capable of handling a large passenger aircraft immobilized on a runway but I understand that certain airlines have pooled resources and have such lifting equipment available at notified points.

The air piracy of a Boeing 727 between Harare and Blantyre some years ago resulted in major alterations having to be made to our terminals, recruitment of specialized staff and provision of X-ray and other expensive equipment. The hijackers had pieces of wire protruding out of the end of a camera tripod member carried in the man's belt, but it was effective. After passengers had deplaned on the far side of the airport, the aircraft took off for Blantyre where it was dealt with by the military. I know because a passenger telephoned me after getting her luggage returned to her, complaining that it was full of bullet holes!

Events which took place during my three spells with the DCA are obviously too many to try and mention this evening, but although the prime objective of the Department is to encourage aviation and to assist and prevent accidents, publicity concerning the DCA has generally to do with aircraft accidents. There are always a number of sides to most accidents and I remember, but not personally, I hasten to add, a First World War report reading 'Pilot De Courcey-Watney's Nieport Scout was extensively damaged when it failed to become airborne on take-off'. The original Court of Inquiry found that the primary cause of the accident was carelessness and poor airmanship of a very experienced pilot. The Commandant-General however not being wholly satisfied that de Courcey-Watney could be guilty of so culpable a mistake ordered the Court to be reconvened. After exhaustive inquiries and lengthy discussions with the Meteorological Officer the Court came to the conclusion that the pilot was authorized to fly his aircraft when there was absolutely no lift in the air, and therefore could not be held responsible for the accident. The Court wished to take the opportunity to extend its congratulations to de Courcey-Watney on his reprieve and also his engagement to the Commandant-General's daughter which had been announced shortly before the accident.

Two incidents come to mind which you may be interested in, the first, concerning a light aircraft from the south, low flying quite happily, when the undercarriage struck some overhead wires which pitched the nose down, only to fly into more wires which caught the vertical fin and righted the aircraft, after which the pilot made an emergency landing none the worse for the adventure. The second incident, really two, concerned a twin-engined light aircraft on a commercial flight approaching to land at a Midlands aerodrome when the audible warning horn sounded to indicate wheels retracted. Thinking this was disturbing his passengers the pilot switched off the offending noise and made a perfect landing, less wheels, which were still retracted. But the extraordinary thing was that about a year later in the same aeroplane, at the same aerodrome, the same pilot, but with different passengers, repeated the operation. Unbelievable, but on the second occasion rather more serious action than previously had to be taken against the pilot.

Many civil aviation accidents and incidents occurring in the earlier jet ages were caused by altimeter mis-reading. After flying at a cruising height between ten and fifteen thousand feet crews sometimes tended to forget the small ten thousand foot indicator hand on the altimeter when descending from thirty to forty thousand feet in a high flying turbine aircraft. Altimeter setting reminds me of the Comet on the approach to Nairobi which touched down in the Game Park without hitting tree or elephant and flew on to land safely at Nairobi Airport although I believe the captain and first officer proceeded to the UK in a supplementary role. The altimeter had been set by mistake to 938 millibars instead of 839 resulting in a discrepancy of 3 000 ft on the wrong side.

Two aircraft accidents I was closely involved with were the Viscount at Benina and the DC6 at N'Dola, both accidents occurring while approaching to land and striking the ground. The Viscount was under the control of a very experienced captain who had flown the sector

many times from Entebbe with fuel stops at Khartoum and Wadi Halfa, on the Zambeze service to London. The Benina approach controller had cleared the aircraft to continue its descent to 2 500 feet and this was acknowledged by the aircraft. The pilot then asked if he was clear to position for a direct approach on responder and locator beacons. Benina replied 'affirmative I have no other traffic, you are cleared to position for a direct approach on locator beacon and responder. Advise finals.' This was acknowledged 'Roger leaving two-five now'. This was the last call from the aircraft. Following this call, the controller got up from his desk and went on to the control tower balcony expecting to see the Viscount coming into sight on final approach to runway 330° right, instead he saw a red glow in the sky and a column of smoke. The time lapse between the last call from the aircraft was between 20 and 30 seconds. This period was confirmed to the investigating team by a timed demonstration, since the tower's clock minute hand moved only on the minute. Since the aircraft had struck the ground at a height of 964 feet, a rate of descent of some 3 100 to 4 600 feet per minute would have been necessary if the aircraft was at 2 500 feet when the call was made. Survivors interviewed testified to the normality of descent taking place just prior to the collision with the high ground. This was also confirmed by an Argonaut captain flying some twenty minutes behind the Viscount, and expert witnesses aboard the latter. The main point at issue in the accident is the determination of why the aircraft struck ground 539 feet above aerodrome level and five and a half miles out when it should have been 1 650 feet at this distance. If the crew were aware of the distance from the aerodrome then they would have elected to be a great deal higher, or if they were aware of their height then they must have estimated they were considerably nearer to the aerodrome than they actually were. As the Board stated, in its opinion, 'The reason why the pilot descended so low, 5½ miles from the aerodrome, cannot be established, but the most probable cause is that he misinterpreted the reading of his altimeter'. The investigation of this accident was passed to the Federal DCA as the aircrafts' State of Registry, assisted by a representative from the UK AIB. There were no company instructions to pilots advising against carrying out a direct approach to land using DME and locator beacons only, the weather was above minima for an instrument let down, but the Report contained the observation that 'If descending below the minimum safe altitude, it is unlikely that the aircraft would have struck the ground'. Hindsight, but the method of approach used by VP-YNE, which in reality is the last part of the published DME/locator procedure, is acceptable if all the equipment is serviceable, and in this case it was so. The controller advised that the type of approach used by the captain of YNE was often used by pilots when landing at Benina.

The second accident which I don't think I shall ever get clear of concerns the Swedish registered Douglas DC6B with a crew of five and eleven passengers, including the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr Dag Hammarskjöld, who were all killed. The aircraft had flown from Leopoldville and crashed in the bush 9½ miles short of N'Dola Airport runway, during the night of 17th September 1961.

The Federal Department of Civil Aviation team headed by Maurice Barber, with Group Captain J. Blanchard-Sims, Wing Commander Tommy Evans (the Air Advisor to the UK High Commission) and myself, arrived at the site on the 18th. We were soon joined by accredited representatives from the Royal Board of Civil Aviation, Sweden, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Federation of Airline Pilots Association, who brought with them eight technical advisers. Also present were three members of Transair, the aircraft's owner and operator. This is not to mention the world's press who descended on N'Dola in droves.

The Board found that the aircraft flew overhead N'Dola radio beacon 2½ miles west of the airport, continued in a normal procedure turn and let-down. It was reported low over the beacon and very low during the turn. Although it had been cleared down to 6 000 feet MER or



View of the DC6 approach path showing swathe cut in the trees indicating a normal angle of descent and lateral stability of the aircraft before impact

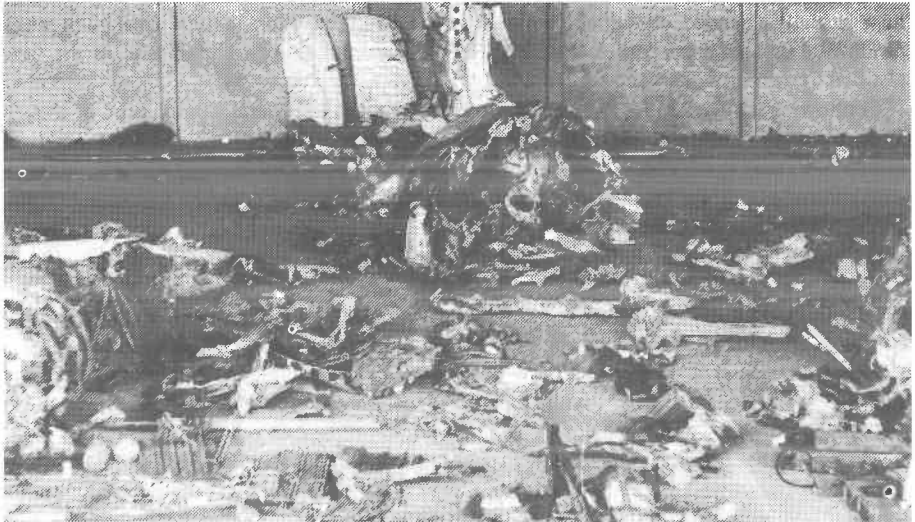
1 840 feet above N'Dola airport it did not report having reached that altitude, and in fact hit trees and the ground at a shallow angle of rather less than 5° at what appears to have been a normal approach speed at an altitude of 4 357 feet MER. The undercarriage was locked down, flaps partially extended, all four engines delivering power, propellers in the normal pitch range, heading towards the beacon in a landing approach configuration. The swathe in the trees testified to the normality of the approach.

Following the Department's Investigation and Report, the Federal Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Sir John Clayden took evidence in the N'Dola and Salisbury High Courts and came to the conclusion 'that the aircraft was allowed to descend too low, so that it struck the trees and was brought to the ground'. The next in line was the UN Commission, also taking evidence at the same places but not on oath, as in the Federal Commission. Finally, the new Secretary General U Thant appointed Dr Max Frei-Sulzer, a forensic expert from Zurich, to check, particularly when we finally melted down the fused pieces of wreckage at Raine's Works in N'Dola to look for offensive material which may have been concealed. He also considered that the DC6 had been engaged in a normal operation and had not been subjected to sabotage or been shot down. I had now been about twelve months on this accident and the subsequent inquiries and it was with some relief that we were able to bury the whole of the wreckage at the spot where the new N'Dola Airport terminal now stands.

In September last, the *Guardian* newspaper in Britain published a letter from two former high UN officials who were stationed in Katanga at the time, giving their reasons why they thought the aircraft was shot down, and a theory that a Fouga fighter had done the damage. Ivan Smith, one of the two, "gathered startling evidence that industrialists gave their two rogue pilots



Part of the DC6 wreckage confronting the Investigating Team on their arrival



Part view of the DC6 wreckage identified and positioned in N'Dola Airport hangar for analysis

permission to send a warning shot, the warning shot must have hit a wire and caused the plane to veer out of control so that it could not complete the landing". Hardly consistent with the evidence of the aircraft's final descent configuration! In another letter they refer to two de Havilland Doves fitted with machine guns. As a result of these 'revelations' shall we say, the Swedish Government commissioned a senior diplomat to look into the evidence again. I was pleased to be asked to comment on some 26 pages of extracts from his Report which the retired diplomat was good enough to send me. A copy of his letter to the *Guardian* correcting many of the inaccuracies is available here on the table should you wish to read it. His last sentence in a letter addressed to me reads "No Swedish aviation expert has any doubt in his mind that the only reason for the crash was that the pilot allowed the plane to descend 1 000 feet too low for reasons we shall never know". He also adds that upon finishing his Report he has the highest admiration for the Report submitted by the Board of Inquiry. Further testimony to Maurice Barber's efforts.



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The Southern Rhodesia Air Force

by Peter Devereux Cooke

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at Eaglesvale School on 27th February 1994.

Introduction

My talk this afternoon will cover in brief the history of the Southern Rhodesia Air Force (SRAF) during the period 1939–1945 and I hope that I will be able to do justice to all those who served.

In the first talk given by Bill Sykes who covered aviation in the Colony he left off with the formation of the Southern Rhodesia Air Unit. I now pick up the story from there but will recap to a limited degree for the sake of continuity.

Those of you who attended Bill's lecture will recall that in 1934 a member of Parliament Col. Brady proposed that a sum of £10 000 be made available to the Royal Navy as a contribution towards imperial defence. This was later changed and the decision taken to utilize the £10 000 to raise and train an Air Unit in Southern Rhodesia. As such an Air Section of the existing Territorial Force was formed under the command of Major Dirk Cloete MC, AFC.

A Government Notice N° 765 in November 1935 formally established the Air Section of the Territorial Force. The CO of 1 Rhodesia Regiment (RR) asked for volunteers and eight candidates started their training with the Flying School run by the de Havilland aircraft company. The members of this the first course were: M. C. H. Barber, J. Marshall, G. A. Smith, E. T. Smith, A. Holderness, Styles, Cazalet, plus one other.

In March 1936 Group Captain A. T. Harris from Air Ministry visited the Colony to advise on the development of the Air Unit. Harris of course was no stranger. He had come out here to this country before World War I. He had farmed at Lowdale. He served in the BSAP and joined 1st Rhodesia Regiment and served in German South West.

A military airfield was first discussed in June 1935 as it was considered that service flying would interfere with commercial flying at the civil airport (Belvedere). To this end work started in 1936 on clearing of trees and the construction of Hillside, later to be known as Cranborne airfield. Work continued through into 1937.

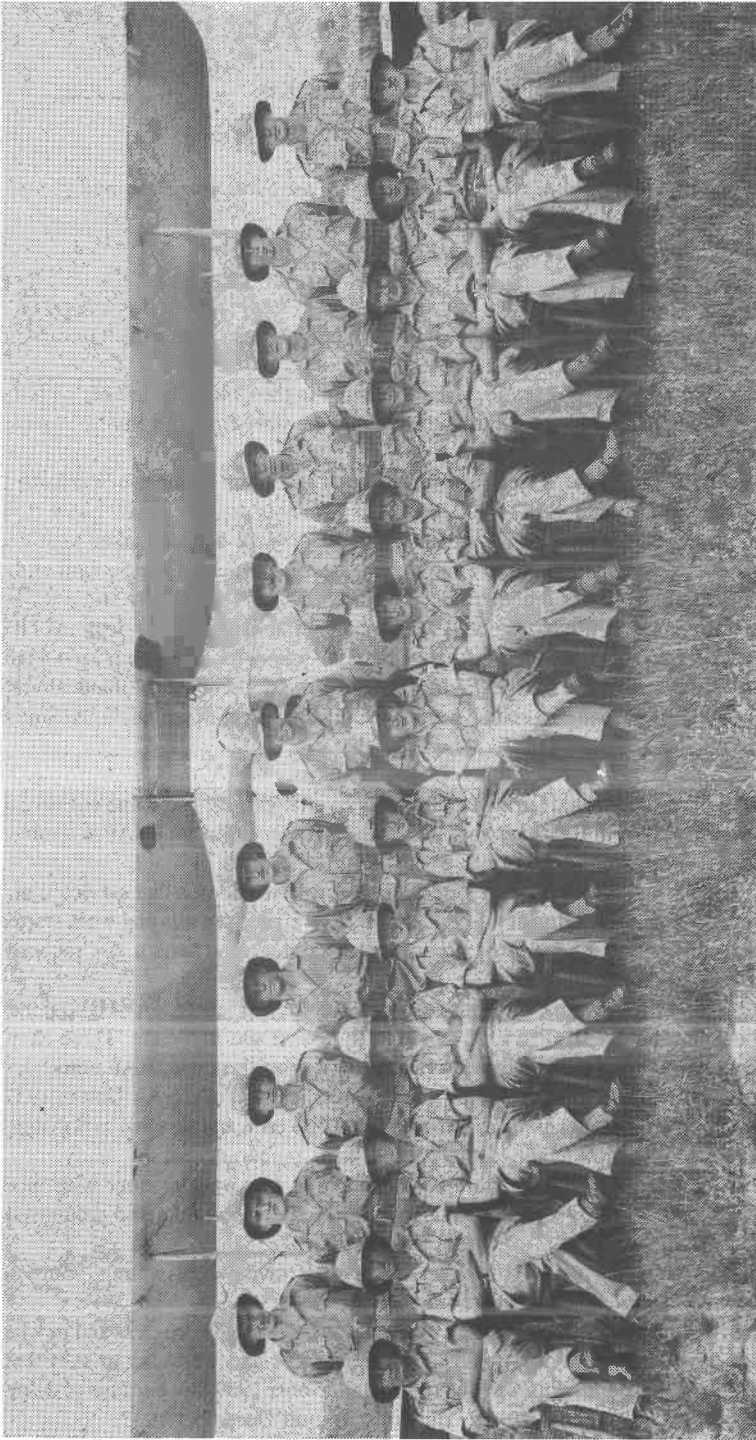
Also in 1936 the first six Technical Apprentices were selected and sent to RAF Halton; they were B. H. Gibbons, E. Gericke, R. Parry, R. Boswell, R. Cashel and S. Young. These chaps returned to the country in 1940 as fitters having served for a short time with RAF units.

No doubt as a result of Harris's visit we now see the establishment of the Air Unit in 1937. Six Hawker Hart aircraft were purchased from the RAF at £200 each and shipped to Salisbury and delivered to the BSAP Stores as the hangars at Hillside/Cranborne were not ready.

In August 1937 Flt Lt J. A. Powell from CFS and Flt Lt Maxwell together with three technicians F/S Greenwood and Sgts Horton and Royce arrived as instructors and groundstaff from the RAF.

The Harts were partially assembled and towed on their own wheels minus wings to Cranborne where they finally had their wings attached.

While all this was going on, the first Pilot's Course was making steady progress and nearing the completion of their *ab initio* flying training on Tiger Moths and were due to start their Intermediate training on the Harts. This was due to start in October 1937, but because of delays in the construction of Hillside/Cranborne they did not start until December 1937.



No. 3. War Time Course. Enlisted into SRAF as pupil pilots 9/2/40 elementary flying training on Tiger Moths at Cranborne. Proceeded to No. 4 FTS RAF Habbaniya Iraq April 1940 for intermediate training school on Hawker Harts and Audaxes.
Back Row L-R: Bedford, Cairns, N. Bowker, Cumming, J. S. S. Bazeley, Booth, J. Hooper drc, S. A. Wells, R. R. Webley, J. T. Berridge, G. F. Talent
Front Row L-R: S. J. Barbour, J. H. Scorrer, G. Bates, P. Brunton, Moore, G. Reynish, J. P. Ellsworth, J. Still, Sheppard, D. Milne, C. D. Ripsher, P. Donaldson, J. C. R. Hooper

The Hart packing crates were put to good use and were soon transformed into the Officers' and NCOs' Mess; with these two essentials, i.e. a mess and a hangar, training could commence.

In December the airfield was inspected by Col. J. S. Morris and then by Lord Trenchard (the father of the RAF) in February 1938. By this stage the second Pilot's Course had been selected and started their *ab initio* training, the names being E. Spence, A. T. R. Hutchinson, E. W. S. Jacklin, R. Christie, H. Peyton and N. Tyas.

It would seem that the interest in military aviation was increasing at such a rate that the local infrastructure could not cope and so eleven young men were selected for a Short Service Commission in the RAF and left on 16th February for England. They were Keith Taute, C. A. J. Macnamara, R. D. S. Olver, S. R. P. Edwards, W. J. A. Wilson, H. S. James, G. R. Gunner, D. F. H. Smith, S. L. Davison and N. G. McFarlane.

On 1st April 1938 the Air Unit was separated from the Territorial Force and came under the command of S/L Powell with Major Cloete as Staff Officer Air Services in control.

On 12th May the Governor Sir Herbert Stanley presented N° 1 Course with their "wings". The brevet, or flying badge, was soon to become the envy and ambition of hundreds of young Rhodesians.

Major Cloete then visited England, and consulted the Air Council on the form in which the Air Unit should be expanded.

It was recommended that a complete first line squadron should be formed, and to this end the Air Ministry sold the Southern Rhodesian Government six Hawker Audax and three Gloster Gauntlette aircraft.

Major Cloete flew back to Rhodesia a Dragon Rapide aircraft which had been specially ordered for H.E. the Governor, to be used by the Governor, Ministers and government officials.

The Rapide was collected from de Havillands at Hatfield and accompanied by Cpl Higham and LAC Martin Madders left England on 2nd August 1938, via Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and arrived at Cranborne on 14th August having had a weekend in Cairo.

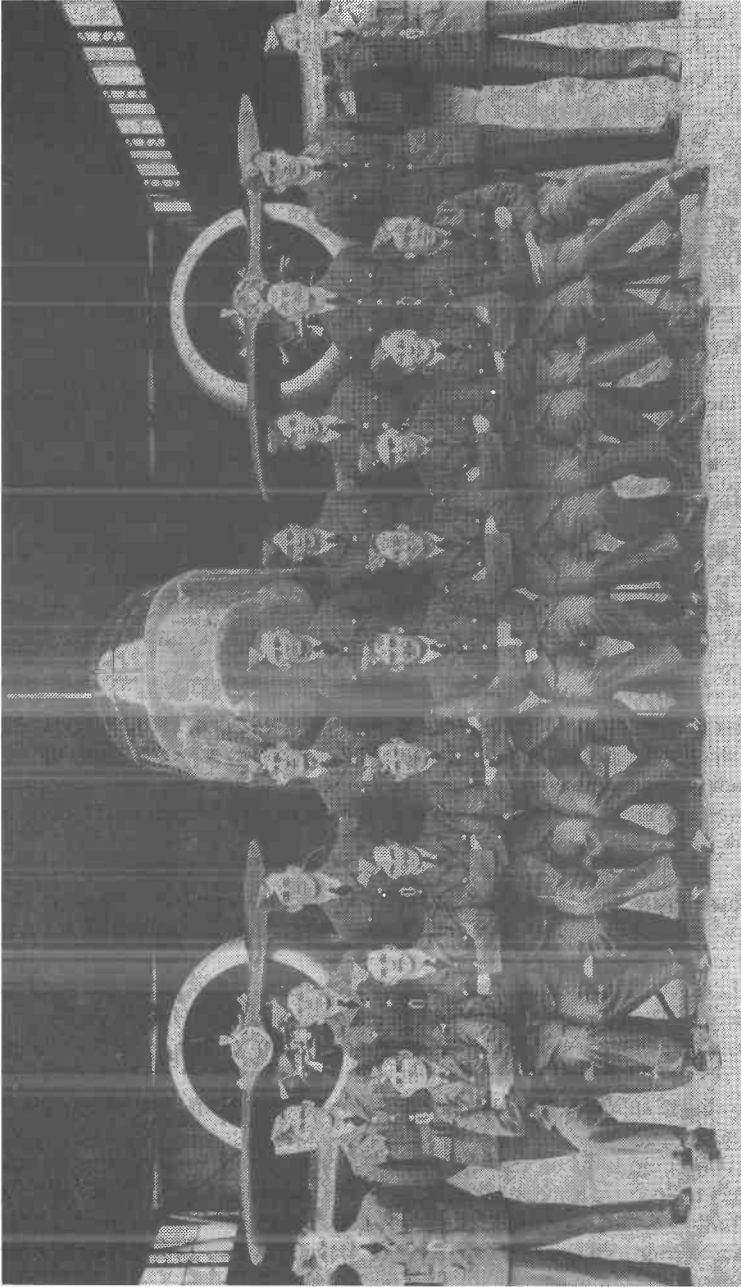
On Major Cloete's return the Air Unit visited Bulawayo, Victoria Falls, Wankie and Bulawayo again, where a display was given with the 2nd Battalion RR present to study the co-operation of aircraft with the Army.

Later S/L Powell and Flt Lt Maxwell co-operated with the Army at the annual TF camp at Gwelo.

N° 1 Course now started their Advanced flying training and N° 2 Course moved to Cranborne. The government then agreed to train twelve pilots a year, six from Bulawayo and six from Salisbury. The 3rd Salisbury Course and 1st Bulawayo Course started their training but I do not have their names.

In June 1939 Lt Col. C. W. Meredith AFC relinquished his post as OC Aircraft and Artillery Depot, Roberts Heights, Pretoria and came to Southern Rhodesia as Staff Officer Air Services and DCA to succeed Major Cloete who had retired in March. S/L Powell remained in command of Cranborne and in July five aircraft of the Air Unit visited Nairobi Kenya, via Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, showing in an impressive way the advance which had been made in aviation in Southern Rhodesia.

Whilst the visiting Flight was on its visit to Nairobi news was received that one of the Audaxes on delivery to Southern Rhodesia was damaged at Khartoum. They had been collected from the Middle East by SRAU crews and flown down to Southern Rhodesia in two flights of three. A second Audax overturned on landing at Lusaka, so that only four arrived at Cranborne. Cpl Higham was despatched from Nairobi to repair the damaged Audax at Khartoum but due to delay in obtaining spares he did not get back to Southern Rhodesia until 1944! He eventually repaired the aircraft which with him reinforced the Air Unit on the Abyssinian border.



No. 1. War Course SRAF Contingent on I.T.S., No. 4 F. T. S. RAF station Habbaniyah, Iraq December, 1939
Standing L-R: A/C Mushett; A/C Ron Mackie; A/C Jack Fringle-Wood; A/C Des Taylor; A/C Peter Simmonds; A/C Ken Wilson; A/C Geoff Cox; A/C Tony Parker; A/C John Cloete; A/C Duncan Strange
Seated L-R: A/C Willy Treger; A/C Ian Stewart; A/C Percy Newton; A/C Archie Wilson; P/O Jim Storey; A/C Billy Miller; A/C Jack Stidolph; A/C Eric Albon; A/C Colin Campbell

Training continued and in concert with the worsening situation in Europe and much signal traffic between London and Salisbury, preparations were made to despatch the SRAU north. In August 1939 eight pilots, one Medical Officer, two NCOs, six Air Gunners and six Aircraftsmen were called up for full time service. On 27th August S/L Maxwell in command of a flight of three Rapides, three Harts and three Audax aircraft left for Kenya to take up war stations.

It is fitting to record that Southern Rhodesia thus became the first Commonwealth country to take up war stations outside of its own borders.

With the departure of the SRAU and the declaration of war on 3rd September 1939, much reorganization took place at Cranborne. The remaining Air Unit aircraft were joined by requisitioned aircraft from the flying clubs together with instructors and training continued. A recruiting campaign brought in 499 applicants in twelve days.

On 19th September the SRAU became N° 1 Sqn SRAF, the squadron having been split into two flights. A Flight found itself based at Isiolo and B Flight at Garissa on the frontier between Kenya and Italian Somaliland.

The exploits of N° 1 Squadron in those early times would take the rest of the afternoon to tell you, but unfortunately time is short. Lt Col. Meredith, OC SRAF, together with Lt Col. E. Lucas Guest, visited Nairobi to arrange for the training of recruits in ground duties.

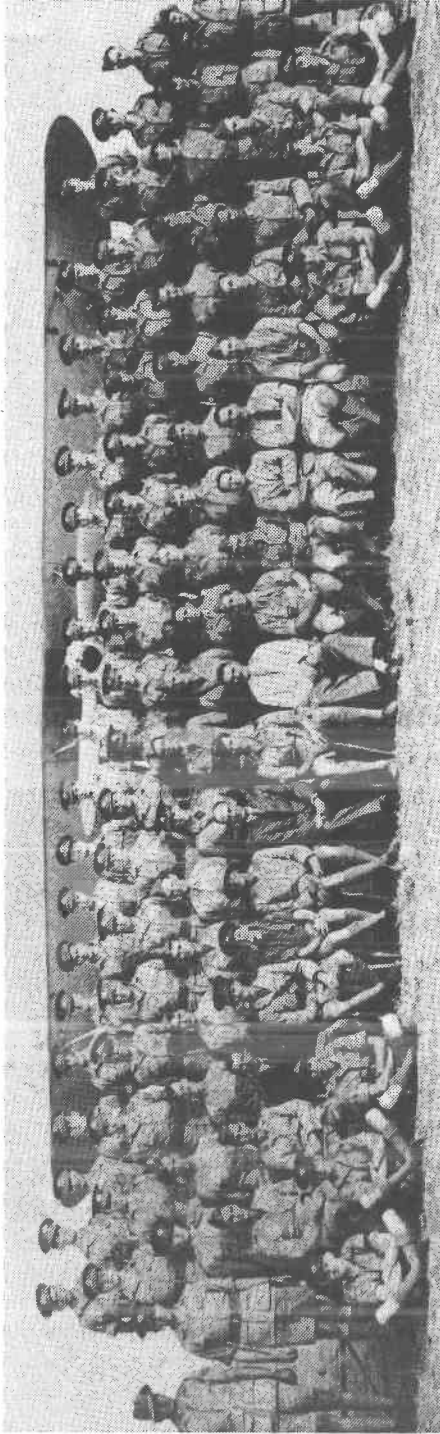
In October Meredith went to England by air to discuss the future of the SRAF with the Air Council. It was this visit which led to the huge expansion of aviation in Southern Rhodesia and the formation of the Rhodesian Air Training Group as part of the Empire Air Training Scheme.

Training continued but it was soon evident that with the limited resources we could not cope with the Intermediate and Advanced training. An offer from the RAF Flying Training School at Habbaniya in Iraq to take on the training was accepted. At the end of November the first draft of partially trained pilots went north and N° 1 Squadron was topped up. More men were sent for training in Nairobi. This move required a further reorganization of Cranborne which was now only involved with Elementary training with ten Moths of various types and an increase in instructor strength.

With the return of the CO SRAF with plans for the formation of RATG, a separate Department of Air was formed under the Minister of Justice and Defence, and the training programme had to be abandoned in view of the bigger developments. However in the space of seven months with six instructors and twelve aircraft the School had trained fifteen pilots through Intermediate and Advanced courses and 62 pilots through Elementary and nine air gunners and three instructors, besides partially training many fitters, riggers and photographers.

The following were the members of N°s 1, 2 and 3 wartime courses of the Southern Rhodesia Air Force: Eric Albon, John Cloete, Billy Cooper, Geoff Cox, Ron Mackie, Billy Miller, Mushett, Percy Newton, Tony Parker, Jack Pringle-Wood, Johnny Rau, Rowbotham, Peter Simmonds, Ian Stewart, Jackie Stidolph, Des Taylor, Willy Treger, Archie Wilson, Ken Wilson, Matetich, Montgomery, A. Mc Barnett, D. Morrison, Jack C. Cox, I. Orminston, Charles McClure, R. H. Baker, Peter Rennicker, Miles Orbel, Harley, Griffiths, Glen Godden, Attwood, George H. Forder, Hugh Baker, J. Fortune, Brown, Eldon E. Trollip, Attwell, Ten Cunnison, Bedford, Cairns, Neville Bowker, Cumming, J. S. S. Bazeley, Booth, Jack Hooper DFC, Stan A. Wells, R. R. Webley, John T. Berridge, G. F. Talent, Stan J. Barbour, Tommy J. H. Scorrer, Ginger Bates, Pete Brunton, Moore, George O. Reynish DFM, John P. Ellsworth, J. Still, Sheppard, D. Milne, C. D. Ripsher, Pete Donaldson, Campbell J. R. Hooper.

In April 1940 N° 1 Sqn SRAF became 237 Rhodesia Sqn RAF with all elements absorbed into the RAF. As such the SRAF after a very short life ceased to exist. The history now becomes but a part of a much greater history — that of the Royal Air Force.



The Rhodesian Airforce October 1939

Back Row L-R: P. Simmonds, D. Taylor, G. Newton, J. Pringle-Wood, K. Redfern, A. Griffiths, —, J. Blignaut, T. Parker, K. Wilson, D. Konschel, J. Rowbotham, J. Rau, H. Gundry, D. B. Cooper, R. Allen, J. Burl, V. Kluckow, C. Allberry, J. Cloete
2nd Row L-R: I. Stewart, Coates Palgrave, A. Wilson, C. Campbell, J. Hall, —, I. McCormack, —, —, O. Willows, G. Kluckow, —, C. Page, Mushett, Gellman, G. Cox, —, E. T. Albon, W. Treger, Moss
3rd Row L-R: Kalshoven, P. Pennant Rae, C. Lennard, J. Hutchinson, T. Jones, C. Chillvers, P. Holdengarde, M. Johnson, C. Palmer, S. Flett, L. Oliver, H. Baron, —, F. Hales, V. Royce, B. Hardy, M. Madders, F. Stenson, J. Seddon, A. Greenwood, W. Short
4th Row L-R: S. Macintyre, C. Sindall, J. Finnis, Seymour, Hanson, H. Davy, Ross, J. Powell, Hall, D. D. Longmore, B. White, K. Hensman, Moody, C. Prince, —, Kleynhans, P. Fletcher
Seated on the grass L-R: P. Kramer, P. Bireman, A. Gull, —, Jackson, B. Miller

Rhodesian Air Training Group

The history or the story of the RATG has to the best of my knowledge never been written. However, I am fortunate in having a Memorandum written to Lord Malvern in January 1970 which could itself be the subject of a talk, so all I can do is to cover some of the highlights. When I mentioned that the OC SRAF returned with plans for bigger developments, it was to be the setting up of the EATS and RATG in particular.

Before Meredith visited the Air Council in October he had done his home work and come up with the fact that the estimates indicated the possibility of Rhodesia being able to man three RAF squadrons with air and ground crews and that initial aircrew training could well be done in Rhodesia, where aircraft and equipment available. This offer was made to London and culminated in Meredith's visit.

In the discussions which started off low key along the lines of the offer made it soon became apparent that Air Ministry was interested on a much bigger scale because of a desire to get most, if not all air training out of England, and also because difficulties were being experienced in getting the Empire Air Training Scheme going in Canada. After further meetings it was decided to start off in Rhodesia with one ITW, three EFTS and three SFTS.

This programme was far in excess of the need to train only the Rhodesian personnel and quite beyond the technical and manpower resources of Rhodesia. Air Ministry would have to provide the wherewithal. But six air stations would have to be built using local resources. On the matter of Finance Air Ministry's attitude was one of indifference because of the urgency, and the discussion ended with Meredith being told to "Buzz off and get Air Training going because the Canadian scheme is bogged down in apples." The reference to apples was because the Brits and the Canadians were discussing joint finances and the Canadians were wanting to offset apple exports against their share of expenses.

When Meredith queried finances he was told to get what you want from the Southern Rhodesian government and we will settle up later. This blank cheque was honoured by the Southern Rhodesia Treasury in full. It must be remembered that Meredith had no authority to commit Rhodesia financially, but only to establishing an Air Training School and so the Southern Rhodesia government could have said — 'Use our country by all means but you pay'. But we did not do things that way and our final financial contribution was £11 215 552 and like Topsy the scheme grew and finally consisted of —

HQ RATG

4 EFTS Belvedere, Guinea Fowl, Induna and Mount Hampden

4 SFTS Cranborne, Kumalo, Thornhill and Heany

1 Bombing, Gunner and Navigation School Moffat

1 FIS Norton

1 ITW Bulawayo

2 Aircraft and Engine Repair Depots Cranborne and Heany

1 CMU Bulawayo

1 Rhodesian Air Askari Depot

ITW opened in April 1940.

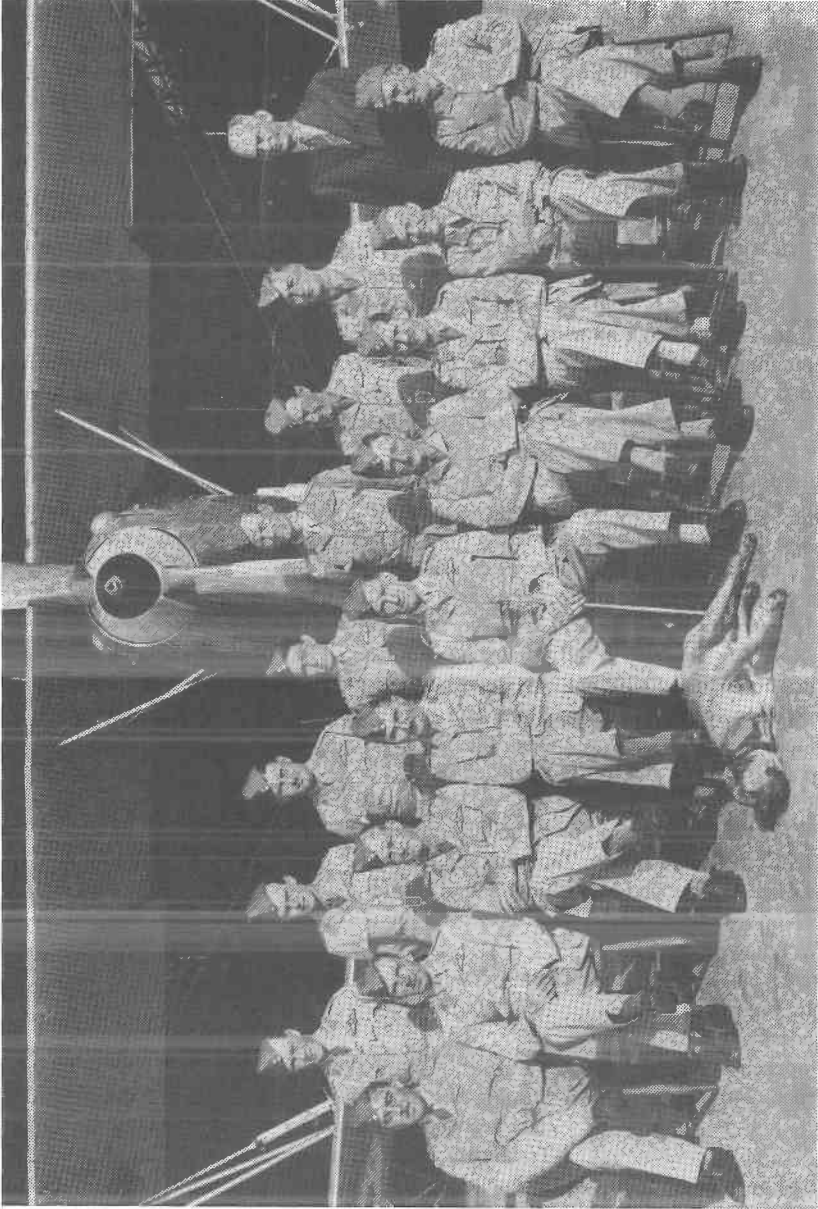
Belvedere 24th May 1940 — Starting from nothing was operational in 5 months and we thus beat the Canadians by weeks in getting the Empire Training Scheme off the ground.

Guinea Fowl 16th August 1940

Cranborne 19th July 1940

Kumalo 11th October 1940

6 relief landing grounds and 2 air firing and bombing ranges. From bare veld Guinea Fowl was built and fully operational in a time span of twelve weeks.



Staff Officers and Instructors SRAU at Cranborne early 1940
Back Row L-R: J. Holderness, P. Fletcher, M. Barber, Greenshields, K. Hensman, D. Longmore, Ross
Front Row L-R: C. Prince, J. Finnis, R. Marshal, —, J. Powell, Fynn, Sanders, —, Humfrey-Davey

7 600 pilots were trained half single engine and half twin and 2 300 navigators, bomb aimers and airgunners utilizing Tiger Moths, Harvards and Oxfords.

Of the 10 000 aircrew trained 674 were Australians.

There were also a number from the Royal Hellenic Air Force.

“The air training scheme in fact formed Southern Rhodesia’s greatest individual contribution to the war, and in an unexpected way also proved a major economic boom.

Farmers and industrial firms suddenly found an almost insatiable market, and Guest calculated that Imperial expenditure on the scheme alone almost equalled the indirect benefit which the country derived from its entire gold mining industry.”

The RATG which started with nothing — no staff, no organization as a base on which to build — was unusual, even unique. It combined in one command not only air stations for flying and aircrew training but also aircraft and engine overhaul and repair facilities, controlled its own works and buildings and supply sections and its own finances both in local and Air Ministry funds.

An aspect of which sight should not be lost is that the whole effort originated in Rhodesia. It was Rhodesia who put forward the idea. True, Air Ministry quickly saw the possibilities. But even Air Ministry, with all its resources, could have achieved little without Rhodesian co-operation.

In short, it was Rhodesia that made the whole affair possible. True, Air Ministry bore the bulk of the expense in manpower, equipment and money, but it was Rhodesia’s initiative that brought about an outstanding contribution not only to the war effort as a whole but as an individual contribution by a population of about 63 000 souls. As a sidelight, you may be interested in the fact that when South Africa came into the war and started building air stations etc. a party of officers and officials came to Salisbury to find out from RATG how things were organized and how to achieve such remarkable speed. A thing that impressed them, in addition to the RATG works and buildings and supply sections, was the great degree of assistance and co-operation given by bodies and people outside RATG.

The Three Rhodesian Squadrons

In keeping with the Rhodesian offer to man three Squadrons with aircrew we saw the change in name of N° 1 Squadron SRAF to N° 237 Rhodesia Squadron.

In Aug 1941 N° 266 Squadron became the second and 44 Squadron the third in September 1941.

Whilst in theory the concept to man three squadrons with Rhodesians was possible in practice this was not achieved. I think that it was soon realized that particularly in the case of 44 Squadron that, with the losses being suffered by Bomber Command, reviewed at squadron level Rhodesia would have found it difficult to sustain the losses.

237 Rhodesia Squadron

Originally a flying boat squadron at the end of World War I, on 23rd April 1940 it was reformed by renumbering N° 1 Squadron SRAF, and spent the first months based in Kenya.

In September 1940 they moved to Khartoum and in November was equipped with Lysander aircraft, and in March 1941 one flight was equipped with Gladiators.

In June 1941 Sqn Ldr Maxwell who had commanded the squadron since leaving Rhodesia was promoted to Wing Commander and posted off the squadron. The squadron moved to Wadi Haifa and command of the squadron was taken over by S/L G. A. Smith.

In August the squadron moved again to Kasfareet and one flight was patrolling the Libyan Desert as far as Kufra Oasis over very bad country. Graham Smith handed over command to S/L E. T. Smith DFC in November 1941. The squadron, now equipped with Hurricanes, moved to

the Western Desert where it remained until February 1942. It then moved to Ismailia and then to Mogul in Iraq, followed by moves to Quiara and then Kermanshah in Iran.

In December 1942 they moved to Kirkuk where training took place with the Army, prior to their return to the desert and redesignation as a fighter rece squadron.

In April 1943 Wg/Cdr E. T. Smith handed over command to Sqn-Ldr J. W. Walmsley.

Late 1943 the squadron was re-equipped with Spitfires to continue their work watching over the eastern Mediterranean.

In August of 1944 Sqn Ldr Ian Shand DSO DFC took over command, and in April 1945 he handed over to Sqn Ldr Devenish DFC.

The Squadron also saw service in Italy and became heavily involved in the southern France landings, returning to Italy when it was disbanded at Rosignano on 15th September 1945.

The squadron crest was the BSA Company lion and tusk charged on the shoulder with an eagle's claw.

The motto *Primum Agmen in Caelo* can be translated as 'The First Flight in the Sky'.

The fact that 237 was originally a unit of the SRAF is commemorated by the introduction of the eagle's claw, the SRAF having used the RAF eagle/albatross and a lion as their badge.

266 Rhodesia Squadron

266 Squadron was first formed in Malta in April 1918 as a seaplane and flying boat unit and disbanded 1st September 1919.

It reformed on 30th October 1939 at Sutton Bridge as a fighter squadron.

The squadron operated from Wittering during the Battle of Britain but only one Rhodesian is recorded as a Battle of Britain pilot.

In August 1941 it was given the prefix 'Rhodesia' when the majority of its members were Rhodesian, and in December it was presented with the squadron crest which portrayed the bateleur eagle and the motto *Hlabezulu*, meaning 'Stabber of the Sky'.

The first Rhodesian squadron commander was S/L Charles Green, later Group Captain DSO and Bar, DFC, who commanded the squadron from October 1941 to July 1943. He was succeeded by Sqn Ldr Sandy McIntyre from July 1943 to 15th August 1943 when he was killed in action.

The squadron was then commanded by three COs who as far as I can ascertain were not Rhodesian.

Then in October 1944 Sqn Ldr J. H. Deall, later to become Wing Commander DSO, AFC Dutch, DFC, took command through to March 1945.

One other Rhodesian, Sqn Ldr Johnny Plagis DSO, DFC and Bar, commanded from September 1943 to December 1947.

In February, 1943, the squadron was being equipped with Typhoons, and in August a Rhodesian pilot flew the first Typhoon to shoot down an enemy aircraft. Moves were made to Duxford and subsequently Exeter. Prior to D-Day the squadron was employed in silencing radar targets in order to make a success and surprise of the Invasion. These targets, especially Cherbourg, were heavily defended but the raid was successful though the squadron received some casualties. On D-Day the squadron was first in on the initial landings, bombing transports coming up in enemy support on the beach-head.

The squadron was then fitted up with rocket firing apparatus and moved to France. On its first trip as a rocket Typhoon squadron it was attacked by 25 ME 109s with the result that one enemy was shot down and two damaged. The squadron soon proved the value of its new equipment, doing damage to troop transports and barges crossing the River Orne. It also gave close support to the Army by smashing mortar guns, troop concentrations, and observer posts.

The squadron played its part in attacks on the Falaise Gap and was most successful against

enemy transport vehicles and tanks. Although there were few enemy aircraft in the air, flak was always intense, which resulted in some losses. The results of this hammering of the enemy were so successful that the Army, on more than one occasion, complimented the squadron and its good work.

The squadron continued to play an important part in the invasion and moved forward as the Army advanced into Belgium, continuing to give support until it returned to England. From its new base it made many shipping strikes off the Dutch shores and was engaged in strafing the Channel ports and hindering evacuation.

The squadron again moved and continued strafing the Channel ports from bases in Belgium. A most successful attack was made on the dykes at Walcheren, where direct hits were made, flooding surrounding areas and blocking the canal. A 6000-ton ammunition ship was sunk off the Dutch coast after direct hits from a salvo of eight rockets.

Shipping was now the squadron's main objective and many hits were scored, resulting in the sinking of two 3000-ton ships off Flushing and many tugs and barges, as well as sea-going vessels transporting troops from the mainland in defence of the Dutch islands.

On 13th October 1944, the Rhodesian squadron was honoured by a visit from His Majesty the King, who was accompanied by Generals Montgomery and Dempsey, and was complimented on the good work it had done during the invasion.

Then came a period of penetration raids into Germany. All forms of transport were attacked, including trains, lorries and tanks. Rail communications were dislocated. With four other squadrons, a German Headquarters was attacked at a time when a staff conference was being held. The Headquarters was completely destroyed and two generals, 17 staff and 30 other officers and 200 men were killed. This resulted in one of the biggest state funerals the Germans had ever held.

The squadron continued giving support to the Army, hammering at transports, and three trains full of ammunition and supplies were totally wrecked. On another occasion, the squadron was given the task of destroying an important bridge at Dordrecht. This raid was completely successful, the attack being made at very low level. The aircraft went so near the bridge that the last to attack returned to base with two massive bolts from the bridge structure in its mainplane as evidence that the raid had achieved its object.

Nº 266 Rhodesian Squadron played an important role in the invasion and deserved the good reputation it earned.

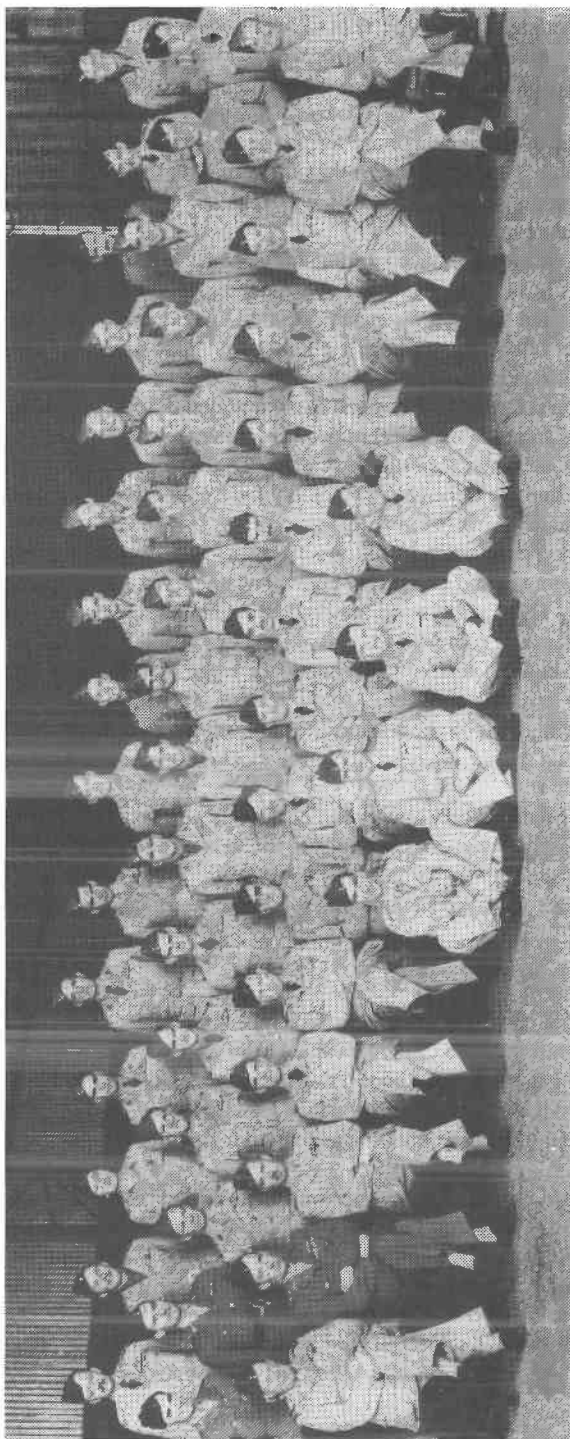
44 Rhodesia Squadron

We pick up the story of 44 Squadron when early in September 1941 the squadron was given the prefix 'Rhodesia' in recognition of the Colony's valued contribution to the war effort. By this time 25% of the squadron's strength was Rhodesian. The first ground crews had arrived earlier in the summer. The net result was a ground crew which included many lawyers, architects and other professional men, and ultimately Rhodesians formed a significant proportion of the air and ground crews.

In November 1941 His Majesty graciously approved the squadron crest which was described *On a mount an elephant* with the motto '*Fulmina Regis Iusta*' which can be translated as 'The King's Thunderbolts are Righteous'.

The elephant was symbolic of the weight of the squadron's bombing attacks. The elephant was also the seal presented in 1895 to King Lobengula of Matabeleland by Queen Victoria. Lobengula was an extremely loyal subject of the Queen who called himself 'Her Majesty's Thunderbolt of Matabeleland' and claimed his followers were righteous in their loyalty to the Crown.

However, going back to September 16th 1941 was a glimpse into the future for 44



**Officers and Warrant Officers of the SRAF and RAF
Wilson's Airfield, Nairobi early 1940**

Squadron when the prototype Lancaster rolled down the Runway at Waddington for 44 Squadron was to be the first squadron to operate the new four-engined heavy bomber. They handed their faithful Hampdens over to N° 420 RCAF Squadron.

The Squadron wrote itself into world history with the Augsburg Raid when on 17th April 1942 six aircraft together with six aircraft from 97 Squadron took off on a daylight mission to bomb the MAN diesel engine factory at Augsburg in southern Bavaria. The raid was led by Sqn Ldr Nettleton whose aircraft was the only one to return. 97 Straits Settlement Squadron lost two aircraft — eight aircraft reached and bombed the target.

As we know, Nettleton received the VC, Flt Lt McClure the DFC, Plt Off. Dorehill the DFM, Sgt Don Huntley the DFM, Flt Sgt Churchill the DFM (South African), Sgt Dando DFM, Plt Off. Friend, a Rhodesian with 97 Squadron, received an MID. Plt Off. Peall, Sgt Venter and Sgt Moss lost their lives. Sgt Dando and Sgt Dedman became POWs.

The raid was fraught with danger involving 1000 miles across enemy territory in daylight. Yet for sheer tenacity, courage and skill by men not yet long experienced in the new Lancasters, it must rank as an unsurpassed feat in Bomber Command.

At one stage the 44 Squadron aircraft were set upon by 25 to 30 fighters.

Photo recon of the target three days later showed the factory had suffered severe damage. However the implications were far wider and more varied.

The next milestone in the squadron's story was the 1000 Bomber raids on:

Cologne	30th May	9 Lancasters, 2 Manchesters, no losses
Essen	1st June	11 Lancasters, 1 Manchester
Bremen	25th June	12 Lancasters

Some names of Rhodesians who flew in these raids were: Grimwood Cooke, Bill Picken, Francis Robertson, Bill Whammond, Rowan Parry, Bill Rail, R. Alan, "Chips" Holland, R. Gruber, Tommy Hackney, W. Cook, S. Young, D. Taylor, Norman Goldsmith, Sgts Coley, Rose, Rix, Shatock, Richards, Edwards, Lincott. Of the above, the following were Captains: Grimwood Cooke, Bill Picken, Francis Robertson, Bill Whammond, Rowan Parry and Tommy Hackney.

We should remember that not all the Rhodesians served on the three Rhodesian squadrons. Many found themselves in other squadrons in Bomber Command and Fighter Command.

In October 1942 nine crews participated in another daylight raid, this time on the Sneider works at Le Creusot. This was a very successful raid compared with Augsburg, with only one aircraft lost but not from 44 Squadron. Then came the Battle of Berlin with 44 Squadron carrying out some 20 raids on the German mother city.

Other squadron headlines read:

The Biscay ports — Battle of the Ruhr — Hamburg — Peenemunde — Nuremburg — Prelude to Overlord — D-Day — Ardennes Offensive.

At the end of May 1943 the squadron moved from Waddington to Dunholme Lodge to allow for tarmac runways to be laid. The night before an impromptu but nevertheless enormous party took place at the Aircrew Sergeants' Mess. No plans had been made to dispose of the bar stock. 'We just had to drink it', said Sgt Palmer. The Sergeants' Mess was ably assisted by the whole Officers' Mess, the Groundcrew Sergeants' Mess, most of the WAAF and a good many corporals and airmen. Some not so very brilliant landings were made at Dunholme and R/T was highly unorthodox, but all aircraft landed safely.

The last raid by the squadron was on 25th June on the barracks at Berchtesgarden.

After VE Day the squadron repatriated some 3000 POWs from France and Belgium followed by more from Italy.

The Squadron only had one Rhodesian Squadron Commander, Wing Commander F.W. Thompson DSO, DFC, AFC.

44 Rhodesia Squadron flew on 637 missions or raids which involved 2034 Hampden sorties, 4362 Lancaster sorties and lost 43 Hampdens and 149 Lancasters. It suffered the heaviest overall losses in 5 Group. It suffered the heaviest Lancaster losses in 5 Group and Bomber Command and had the distinction together with 149 Squadron of being the only two squadrons to operate continuously throughout the war.

The squadron lost over 1000 aircrew of whom nearly 50 were Rhodesians.

Rhodesian Losses in the RAF

977 served as officers, of whom 238 lost their lives. 1432 served as NCOs of whom 359 lost their lives. 10% of them (a very high percentage) earned honours and awards.

The name *Rhodesia* is well recorded and preserved:

- on the headstones of their resting places
- in the stained glass panel in Lincoln Cathedral
- in the RAF central church of St Clement Danes in London
- on memorials in France and Holland
- and also at Runnymede.

THEIR NAMES LIVETH FOREVER

In conclusion I would like to quote an eighteenth century prophecy translated from *Luna Habitabilis* by Thomas Gray, 1716-1771.

The time will come when thou shall lift thine eyes to watch a long drawn Battle in the Skies
While aged Peasants, too amazed for words, stare at the Flying Fleets of Wonderous Birds.
England, so long Mistress of the Sea, where Wind and Waves caress her Sovereignty
Her Ancient Triumphs yet on high shall bear
and Reign the Sovereign of the Conquered Air.

Let no one say that we did not play our part in the fulfilment of this prophecy.

The History of Zimbabwe's Indigenous Cattle

by Carmen Stubbs

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at Headlands on 6th June 1993.

Wild cattle, aurochs (*Bos primigenius*) originated on the Indian subcontinent. After the Great Ice Age (approximately 250 000 years ago), the aurochs spread from western Asia over large areas of the globe. As the species spread, it began to differentiate. Two major types of auroch can be identified:

1. *Bos primigenius* of Europe, gave rise to the humpless cattle of today; and
2. *Bos primigenius namadicus* of Asia, gave rise to the zebu/humped cattle of today.

Aurochs have vanished from the earth, the last member of the species was killed in 1627, but their genes remain in the domestic cattle of today. The exact time of domestication is not known, but it followed that of sheep, goats, pigs and dogs and was closely bound with the development and spread of agriculture.

Generally, there is a lack of historical records in Africa, therefore our conclusions about indigenous cattle must be regarded as somewhat speculative.

Five main groups of indigenous cattle have been recorded:

1. *The Humpless Longhorn Cattle*

These were the original cattle of North Africa as illustrated in paintings in the tombs of Egypt 7000 years ago. Today these are only found in West Africa.

2. *The Humpless Shorthorn Cattle*

These began to be depicted in the Egyptian tombs from about 2500 BC. They displaced the Longhorns to the south and west. The cattle of the Mediterranean region today are mainly of this type.

3. *The Neckhumped Lateral-horned Zebu*

There are records of this type of humped cattle from the old civilizations north of the Persian Gulf and later records of their appearance in Egypt. They entered at the "horn" of Africa and became established in Ethiopia and spread north and south. Today they are only represented by the Afrikaner breed which was developed from Khoi Khoi cattle which early settlers found at the Cape.

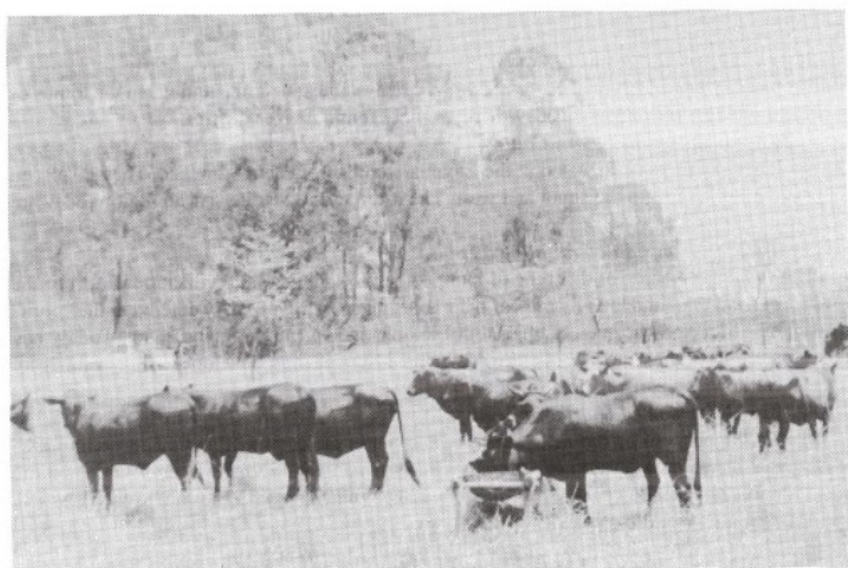
4. *The Chesthumped Shorthorn Zebu*

This appears to be the most recent type to enter the continent and evidence indicates that it was introduced down the East Coast by Arab and Indian traders from about the middle of the 7th century AD. It is now the dominant type in East and Central Africa.

5. *The Sanga Cattle*

This type is widely spread in South, Central and West Equatorial Africa. They are obviously the result of cross-breeding between the original humpless cattle and the zebus. They are usually neckhumped but vary greatly in the size and shape of the horns. The indigenous breeds of Zimbabwe fall into this group.

As the migrating Bantu tribes moved down the continent they took their cattle with them, crossing the Zambezi in about 700 AD. Portuguese explorers reported the presence of cattle in what we now know as Zimbabwe in the 16th century. The settlers found large numbers of stock,



Mashona Cattle

estimated at 500 000, herded by local inhabitants. This was mainly along the central plateau, which was free of tsetse fly.

The cattle which the pioneering settlers found were almost exclusively of the Sanga type. They were neck-humped, small in stature, rounded in appearance with sloping rumps, their coats were sleek and shiny, they were fine of bone, had small, broad, alert heads and long, thin, active tails. The horns of the cow curved outward and forwards and were round and fine in cross-section. The horns in the bull were also rounded, but shorter and heavier, curving out and upwards. The horns in the oxen were longer and more widespread. A few of the animals were naturally polled. The colour patterns were many and varied with the predominant colour being black, while yellows and duns were the least common. These colours were often accompanied by white patches or stipples very broken in outline. Black and red were frequently mixed, giving rise to variations of the M'Sundu pattern or, more rarely, the Mhuru/brindle pattern.

Settlers soon found that cattle were of fundamental importance to the people of Africa and have always been looked upon as more than just a source of meat and milk. There is a religious and social significance attached to cattle. Cattle were of fundamental importance in traditional Shona and Ndebele society. *Lobola* (bride price) was paid in cattle. *Mombe youmai* and *mombe yababa* were dedicated to the parents of the marrying daughter's parents. A married man will name a bull *kudira mombe* for a dead grandfather. Of interest, we also find that the latin word *pecus* (a herd of cattle) has given the Western world many words that illustrate the historical importance of cattle: impecunious (having little or no money); peculate (to embezzle or steal, especially from public funds). Therefore, it is not surprising or unusual that in Shona and Ndebele society, where, until recently, other forms of storable and exchangeable wealth were few, cattle should have been of great social importance.

In 1896, the Rinderpest epizootic swept down from the North, killing cattle and antelope. This was preceded by the contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia epidemic and followed a few years later by the introduction of East Coast Fever from Mozambique. The herds were decimated and it was estimated that over 95% of the cattle perished. By the time these diseases were brought under control, the national herd remained at approximately only 50 000 head of cattle. To help build up numbers again, cattle were introduced from Zambia, mostly cows of the Angoni-type shorthorn zebu. Also at around this time, bulls were imported from South Africa and overseas allegedly to "improve" the indigenous stock. This was followed by indiscriminate cross-breeding and resulted in heterogenous, degenerate animals which lacked the desirable characteristics of their parent stock. The indigenous breeds which exist in Zimbabwe today, the Mashona, Nkone and Tuli, have developed from this original stock. There are close genetic similarities between these breeds, but the animals do in fact fall into distinct groups.

The Nkone cattle have descended from the cattle belonging to the a'Mandebale tribe which settled in Matabeleland in 1838. These animals are mostly found in the Gwaai and neighbouring communal areas in the western part of Zimbabwe. The Nkone Cattle Club was established with a number of commercial breeders in the early 1960s. The Tuli breed was evident in the lowveld and improvement of the breed was carried out at the Lowveld Cattle Breeding Station, which later became known as the Tuli Breeding Station. Commercial breeders became interested in the breed and an official Breed Society was formed in 1961. Prior to this, in 1941, Mr F. B. Willoughby and Mr E. A. B. McLeod began building up herds of indigenous Mashona cattle. The enthusiasm of these two men led to the founding of the Rhodesian Indigenous Cattle Society in 1950, the name of which was later changed to the Mashona Cattle Society. A herd book was opened for the registration of foundation stock and, at a ceremony in Bulawayo, the names of four outstanding bulls were the first entries to be made. In fact, these were the first cattle to be registered in Rhodesia because, prior to this, the exotic cattle were registered in the South African herdbook.

Rules were drawn up for a system of registration based on records and visual inspection of both parents and progeny, which is today accepted as the most advanced and enlightened system practised by any of the breed societies.

Today, indigenous cattle are found in —

- a) Recorded herds of pure-bred cattle run by commercial breeders
- b) Non-recorded herds in the large-scale commercial sector
- c) In the communal sector.

Indigenous cattle are still the dominant genotype overall in this country. They have had many hundreds of years in which to become adapted to the local environment and have evolved into well-adapted and hardy, fertile animals. There was vision and enterprise in establishing these indigenous breeds and research has confirmed that, in terms of weaner output per unit mass of cow, the Mashona cow has no peer on the natural veld.

The indigenous breeds have contributed greatly to our country and will continue to do so in the future.

Report on the Society's Midlands/Shangani/Matabele War Outing on Saturday and Sunday 25th and 26th September 1993

By 11 am on Saturday most of the participants of this trek were seated on the camp chairs, happily enjoying their picnic . . . in the shade of a grove of Msasa trees, on Finland Farm some 40 kms west of Mvuma. We were gathered around Captain Campbell's grave near the place where the Victoria and Salisbury Columns met in October 1893 before proceeding on their historic march on Bulawayo.

Eagerly, the 150 members and friends of the History Society of Zimbabwe awaited Tim Tanser's welcome. After months of meticulous planning with several visits to the places to be visited, Tim's hard working committee had produced a mass of detail, clear and precise instructions, and a superb brochure to mark the occasion. All credit to this group for detail and expertise that we have come to expect from our Society.

Here at Finland Farm Tim Tanser gave an excellent address on the causes of the Matabele war, the events which led to the gathering of the two columns, and the details of those two columns until they met at Iron Mine Hill. Tim then described the formation of the combined column and their progress towards Bulawayo.

We then travelled to Fort Gibbs, a further 12 kms towards Gweru, and 7 kms south of the main road. Somehow Tim's red Toyota was not in the lead and several cars diverted off the route, but control was regained and by lunchtime we were parked at the base of a dwala, and in the shade we enjoyed picnic lunches in comfort and companionship. Then we straggled to the summit of Fort Gibbs to be greeted by a view that can justly be called Mini World's View. While Rhodes' grave site commands the most majestic country in Africa, the view from Fort Gibbs is quite lovely, and is a 360° panorama of the whole area. Lovely kopjes, vleis and Msasa groves appeared in plenty. Here Tim continued the tale of the column's march, while Rob Burrett gave us a most interesting talk on the siting and construction of the Fort at the time of the Rebellion in 1896. Out of context with the 1893 events but still not a chance to be missed as we passed by. In addition Andrew McNaughtan spoke on the vegetation of the area, adding to the interest and enjoyment of the occasion.

Back again and tea for those with capacious flasks before we rolled away to the Fairmile Motel south of Gweru for our night's accommodation. The festering finger of fate had somewhat upset the committee's careful organization of accommodation, but we were soon deployed, washed, changed and strengthened by the evening imbibing. One such trekker even had his own hip flask! Dinner was a happy occasion with good service, enlivened by Richard Wood's reminiscences of his childhood in Gweru which amused us all.

Sunday morning brought forward the speedy and the tardy. We collected our picnic boxes and set off to Shangani and the special clearing made for us by the local farmers on site of the battle of Shangani.

Picture the scene. A large clearing with umbrellas spaced in a curve facing West. There Bob Manser's truck was parked with an awning, the microphone and speakers, plus an excellent selection of maps and diagrams. To the north were sited better PKs than any seen in Bulawayo in 1893. Splendid Mukwa planked boxes and even basins of water, soap and towels. How the



Descendants of members of the 1893 Columns

L–R: Gary Hensman (grand nephew of H. H. Willams), Tim Tanser (descendant through marriage of H. J. Hellet, killed with Allan Wilson), Binks Bain (grandson of Scout Bain, sent back by Wilson to report to Forbes), Mike Whiley (grandson of Tpr Barnard, wounded at Battle of Bembezi), Patrick Mavros (grandson of Capt. Napier, sent back by Wilson to get reinforcements from Forbes), 4 Mavros sons in front row

ghosts of our forefathers might have smiled at the comforts sought by their asphalt rat descendants.

After welcoming a group of local ranchers and Bulawayo guests Tim Tanser continued his talk on the passage of the column and the Shangani Battle which took place almost 100 years before at the very site on which we sat. Then Bob Manser took over and gave us an excellent paper on the battle of Bembezi. He highlighted the siting and disposition of the laagers and the match winning effect of the maxim and gatling guns. He spoke of White's miraculous escape, the bravery of the Matabele and their reliance on their Martini-Henry rifles rather than their traditional formations for spear and shield attacks.

Then followed some short excerpts of stories presented by pioneer descendants. Mike Whiley spoke of the hardships suffered by the ordinary troopers, for his grandfather Mosteyn William Barnard was shot in the knee at the battle of Bembezi and he has left the story of the pain and discomfort of the journey to Bulawayo and of his life and recuperation in Bulawayo. Binks Bain, Guy Hensman and Patrick Mavros also gave us stories of interest on their relatives

who had participated in the events of 1893. (Relationships of descendants to their forebears are: Binks Bain is the grandson of Scout Robert Bain whom Wilson despatched back to Forbes to seek reinforcements; Guy Hensman the grand nephew of H. H. Williams who did not cross over the Shangani as his horse went lame; Patrick Mavros the great grandson of Captain Napier, also sent back by Forbes and Tim Tanser related through marriage to Trooper Harold Hellet who was killed with Wilson).

David Grant then presented his paper on the Allan Wilson patrol. It was a long session, over an hour, but everybody was enthralled. David had obviously spent many hours in preparation for his discourse and covered every conceivable angle of this episode. He produced arguments for the contentions he proposed and it was certainly the most comprehensive talk this reader has ever heard on this topic. David's presentation was excellent and we all enjoyed this excellent discourse.

We lunched then, enjoying the picnic boxes prepared for us by the Motel. Those fortunate trekkers with ice-filled flasks were much sought after. It was hot and the shade scanty.

Rob Burrett then spoke on the 1896 rebellion and how it affected the Shangani area. Not the easiest task because it was hot and our group, no longer in the first flush of youth, had absorbed plenty of very interesting information. Tim Tanser rounded off the talks on the travels of the 1893 columns before John Bousfield expressed the thanks of the History Society to all who had helped so generously to make the outing so very memorable. History Society mugs were presented to David Tredgold and Clive Swanepoel who had prepared the site, graded the roads, provided the umbrellas and had the exquisite toilets erected and about 2.30 pm we left Shangani to drive home.

The whole expedition bore the hallmark of excellence. To Tim Tanser and his committee we offer our profoundest thanks for their attention to detail and determination to make this weekend so memorable. It was both fun and profitable, and thus the reason why we take such pride in the Society.

M. B. E. Whiley

Souvenir Brochures

From 1970 to 1978 major Society outings were commemorated by a numbered souvenir brochure beautifully printed in sepia on art paper, and sponsored by the National Breweries, with illustrations from the photographic collection at the National Archives of Zimbabwe. After a gap of nine years a souvenir brochure was produced for the Society's visit to Mutare and Penhalonga in September 1987. Six years later, in 1993, the Society's Mashonaland Branch produced a souvenir brochure to commemorate the Society's visit to the laager site near Iron Mine Hill, to Fort Gibbs and to the Shangani Battlefield during the centenary year of the Matabele war of 1893.

This latest brochure is by far the best of the now very valuable complete set of ten. There are no less than sixteen pages of text and the brochure is generously illustrated. Sadly, the sponsor of earlier issues appears to have fallen by the wayside.

The dates of issue of the ten souvenir brochures issued so far and the subjects dealt with in the text are as follows:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1 Mashayamombe's Kraal and Fort Martin | 26th July 1970 |
| 2 Historic Mazoe — The 75th Anniversary of the Mazoe Patrol | 20th June 1971 |
| 3 Salisbury's Historic Buildings and Sites | 26th September 1971 |
| 4 Salisbury-Shamva Line Farewell to Steam | 29th October 1972 |
| 5 Fort Haynes and Makoni's Stronghold | 23rd September 1973 |
| 6 Chishawasha | 28th July 1974 |
| 7 The Laager Site at Iron Mine Hill, Fort Gibbs, Nalatala Ruins | 29th–30th May 1976 |
| 8 Salisbury-Marandellas Line | 14th May 1978 |
| 9 Mutare, Premier Estate, Old Mutare and Penhalonga | 11th–13th September 1987 |
| 10 Centenary of the Matabele War of 1893:
Visit to the Laager Site near Iron Mine Hill,
the Shangani Battlefield and Fort Gibbs | 25th–26th September 1993 |

M. J. Kimberley

Letter to the Editor

The Editor
Heritage of Zimbabwe

Dear Mike

I should be grateful if you, or any of your readers, could help me solve a puzzle which has been worrying me for some years. In the original Pioneer Cemetery at Fort Victoria (near the present Masvingo) there are apparently nineteen graves. Fourteen of these are marked "unknown", although the letter of C. E. Judge to his mother of 10 February 1893 which says "we have had four deaths at Victoria since I last wrote to you: two of them old BSACP, Blythe and Paxton" supplies the names of two of those. Of the five named graves, J. J. Rogers died on 26.3.92, and Sgt Atwell, H. Carnsew, C. C. McCantyre and C. Phelps all on 6.9.92. The same names and dates (except for transformations to C. McCantyre, O. Phelps and J. S. Carnsew) appear on the bronze plaque on the more recent stone-built memorial near the gate (which also commemorates "twelve other Pioneers who are buried here"). So four men apparently died on one day in early September 1892: what could have caused such a simultaneous loss of life and, if it was an accident of some sort, why is it not remembered and mentioned in such books as *A Town Called Victoria*? Remember, too, that early September is not likely to be a bad time of the year for malaria.

My own tentative solution is provided by a round plaque on a metal cross at the head of an apparent grave. The wording on this plaque reads:

"For Queen and Empire"				
J. J. Rogers	..	..	..	26.3.92
J. N. Carnsew	..	..	..	6.9.92
C. McCantyre	..	..	..
Sgt Atwell	..	..	..
O. Phelps	..	..	..

My suggestion is that this plaque is the original memorial in the cemetery and that when the later ones were made those who made them assumed that the blank spaces for the dates were intended to represent ditto marks, whereas in fact they simply indicated that the three men concerned died on dates not known. Can anyone confirm or refute my hypothesis?

Yours sincerely

J. N. CLATWORTHY
P.O. Box 113, Marondera



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When you play the game in a dynamic environment like Zimbabwe, resolution scores success. Apex has resolved to meet the challenges associated with the country's development. Working within the framework of Government's guidelines, we are developing our skills to fulfil our expanding role in the economy. Planning for the future... investigating possibilities... diversifying our activities to maximise employment and training programmes for our people. We aim to create as many winners in the development game as we possibly can. Zimbabwe is why

APEX CORPORATION OF ZIMBABWE

Obituary — Guy Storry

John Guy Storry died of cancer at his home in England on the 21st October 1994. He was only 61.

Many members of the Society will recall Guy. He was an active member of the Society for many years, a Mashonaland Branch Committee member in 1974 and 1975, a National Committee member in 1976, Honorary National Secretary 1976, 1977 and 1978, and a lecturer in the Symposium which formed part of the Society's Jubilee celebrations in May 1978 (*Rhodesiana*, September 1978).

Guy was born in Yorkshire in 1933 and was educated at St Edmund's School, Canterbury. After completing his National Service with the North Staffordshire Regiment in England and Trieste, he came to this country in 1953 to join the British South Africa Police, in which he served for the next eleven years, at stations such as Inyanga, Cashel and Bikita. It was while he was in the B.S.A.P. that he met and married Margaret and their three children were born. In 1964, with the rank of sergeant, he transferred to the Ministry of Law and Order as a public prosecutor at the old Salisbury Magistrate's Court in Forbes Avenue. In 1968, having been called to the English Bar and admitted as an advocate at the High Court of Rhodesia, he joined the professional staff of the Attorney-General's Office in Salisbury, serving variously as Senior Public Prosecutor, prosecuting counsel in the High Court and as a Government legal adviser, and establishing himself as a popular and highly respected member of the legal profession. He took early retirement from the Public Service in 1981 and returned to the United Kingdom with his family.

Back in the United Kingdom after nearly thirty years in this country, Guy commenced practice at the English Bar. For the last few years, until ill-health compelled him to stop work earlier this year, he presided over a tribunal hearing appeals in immigration cases, an appointment reflecting recognition of his fine qualities as a lawyer.

A man of great energy and wide-ranging interests, Guy was active in many fields apart from his legal work, including history, archaeology, heraldry, the Order of St John and writing. While in this country, he wrote several books — *The Shattered Nation* (Howard Timmins, Cape Town, 1974), a history of the Matabele nation which was the product of much research; *Jubilee Scrapbook: 1952–1977*, an account of the history of the Order of St John in Rhodesia; *Rhodesian Criminal Practice* (1978); and *Customary Law in Practice* (Juta, Cape Town, 1979). He also published numerous articles and papers on the prehistory, history and heraldry of Rhodesia. After leaving Zimbabwe he continued to write, on legal, heraldic and historical themes, and was active in the affairs of the Overseas Pensioners Association.

The Society's sympathy goes to Guy's widow, Margaret, and his children, Jill, Paul and Chris in their tragically early loss.

B. C. Brown