HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

PUBLICATION No. 14

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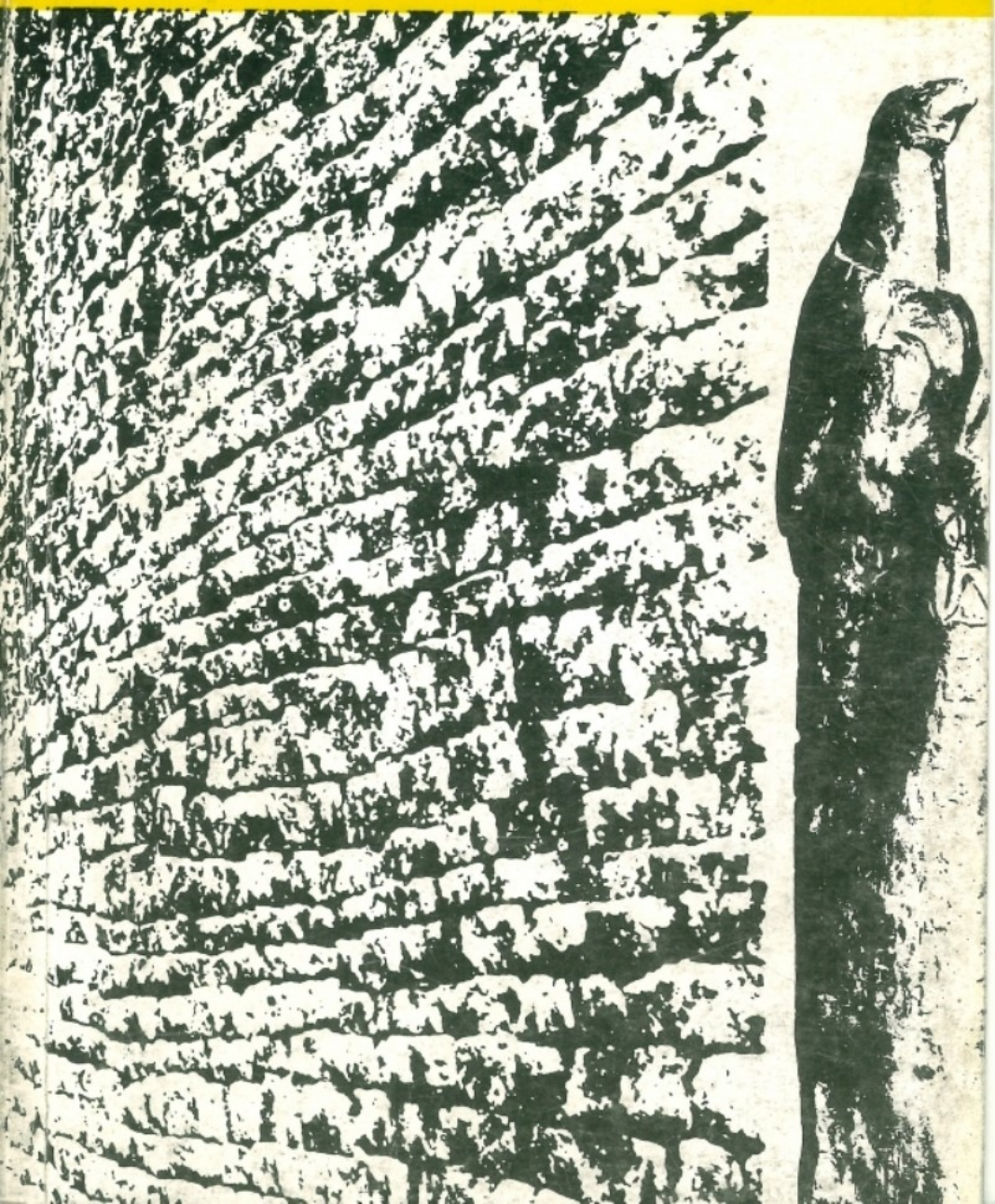

HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 14 — 1995

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe

Edited by

M. J. KIMBERLEY

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

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

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

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

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- ☆ The Society encourages all readers and their friends and colleagues to enrol as members.
- ☆ The Society aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Zimbabwean history.
- ☆ Members of the Society are not, by any means, all historians. Among our members are collectors of Africana, libraries and learned institutions wishing to acquire background knowledge of one of Africa's key areas whilst the majority are Zimbabweans interested in the story of their own country.
- ☆ Outings to sites of interest with talks on related subjects and an annual dinner are part of the organised activities offered to members.
- ☆ The society encourages historical study and research; and endeavours to record in interesting form the story of Zimbabwe in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* the only publication devoted exclusively to this purpose.
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Erratum

Heritage No. 13

This list was unfortunately omitted from the article entitled The Beginnings of Pharmacy in Zimbabwe by Alistair G. McKenzie published in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* No. 13, 1994.

Table 1: List of the earliest chemists and druggists licensed to practise in Southern Rhodesia.

Date	*Name*	*Address*	*Qualifications*
2 August 1899	BICKLE, William John	P.O. Box 21, Bulawayo	
24 Jan. 1910	BRANCH, George Thomas	c/o Strachan and Co., Salisbury	C & D, Gt. Britain
9 Sep. 1897	COPLEY, William Dawn	P.O. Box 594, Bulawayo	C & D, by exam of Ph. Soc., Gt. Britain
20 Mar. 1903	DRAKES, George	c/o Strachan and Co., Salisbury	C & D, Gt. Britain
20 Mar 1903	DOBIE, James Turner		C & D, Gt. Britain
18 Dec 1920	MILNE, Harry David	P.O. Box 51, Umtali	Ph. Chemist, Edinburgh
14 Apr 1897	SMART, Harold William	P.O. Box 102, Gwelo	C & D, Ph. Soc. of Gt. Britain
17 Feb 1898	MOORE, Leopold Frank	P.O. Box 5, Livingstone	Ph. Soc. (Eng.)
28 Jul 1909	WILKINS, George S.	P.O. Box 370, Bulawayo	M.P.S.

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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

FOUNDED: 1953 **P.O. Box CY 35, Causeway, Zimbabwe.**

AVAILABLE PUBLICATIONS

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

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 —

No. 1, 1981	No. 2, 1982	No. 4, 1984	No. 5, 1985	No. 6, 1986
No. 8, 1989	No. 9, 1990	No. 10, 1991	No. 11, 1992	No. 12, 1993
No. 13, 1994	No. 14 1995			

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Foreword

With this, the fourteenth volume in the series *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, the History Society of Zimbabwe enters its forty first year-as a publisher in this country with a track record of forty volumes of its former journal *Rhodesiana* and fourteen issues in the current series.

As always, the content of this issue is a miscellany with no particular theme, other than history itself, evident in its make-up. The principal articles embrace geology, medicine, railways, agriculture, industry and the airforce, as well as some history of Felixburg, Marondera, Chakari and the Mangwe/Marula area of Matabeleland.

In some ways there is an international aspect to this particular volume, if only because of the authors. Peter Fey lives in Australia and George Stewart in New Zealand, while R. C. Plowden now resides in the Isle of Man.

Peter Fey offers two articles, one on part of the history of the geological survey in this country and the other a biography of A. E. V. Zealley, an early geologist. There is further biography in MacDougall's Land, which was previously published in the *RTA Journal* thirty years ago and which narrates MacDougall's pioneer work in the lowveld, and in the life sketch of that outstanding medical pioneer, A. M. Fleming.

Railway history is a popular topic and George Stewart tells of the last Royal train which carried Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother and Her Royal Highness The Princess Margaret through this country in July 1953.

Medicine is covered by R. T. Mossop in his history of malaria and blackwater, and in Eric Thomson's medical survey patrol undertaken in the mid-1930s with the late Dyson M. Blair, a former secretary for health.

There are interesting snippets on Glenlivet, on the pioneer from Peel and an African fable.

The Society's Mashonaland Branch, established in May 1969, which is now the Society's only operational branch, continues to offer on a regular basis with great enthusiasm and energy a plethora of lectures and expeditions to historical places. These lectures are the result of hard work, including not inconsiderable research by the presenters, and it is this journals's policy to reproduce the relevant texts as they become available.

This issue, then, contains the texts of lectures given on expeditions made by members of the society to Chakari, to Marondera, to Felixburg and to the Centenary area, which lies in the former Mutapa State.

A few years ago the Mashonaland Branch arranged a series of four lectures on the airforce and aviation generally in this country, and Group Captain Sykes' talk on the period 1950 to 1980 is included herein.

Finally, the major historical expedition of the year under the auspices of the Mashonaland Branch was to the Mangwe/Marula area of Matabeleland, when, over a period of three days, various excellent historical lectures were given to a substantial number of members and their guests at Mangwe Cemetery, at Mangwe Pass and elsewhere in the area. A souvenir brochure (No. 11) was produced to commemorate the expeditions.

The Mangwe Memorial, which is illustrated in this journal, was unveiled at a ceremony on 18th July 1954, a year after our society was established, and we repeat the moving speech made on that occasion by the Late Sir Robert Tredgold, K.C.M.G., Q.C.

There is a continual need for relevant articles on any subject relating to the history of Zimbabwe and all readers are urged to consider putting pen to paper and submitting their work to the Honorary Editor for possible publication in a future issue of *Heritage of Zimbabwe*.

Finally, on behalf of the History Society of Zimbabwe, grateful thanks are again expressed to our 22 benefactors and sponsors, all of whom have magnanimously committed themselves

over a five-year period to assist the society financially in meeting its ever-escalating publishing costs in the face of galloping inflation.

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

Michael Kimberley
Honorary Editor
Heritage of Zimbabwe.

Notes on New Contributors

by Michael J. Kimberley

Kunyalalo Gumpo, 'KG', as he is known to his colleagues, was born in Plumtree and started his schooling at Masendu Primary School, which is some 50 km north of Plumtree.

He then proceeded to Inyathi High School to study for his "O" levels and from there was accepted by Mzingwani High where he successfully achieved good "A" levels. From 1983 to 1985 he was studying at the University of Zimbabwe and after graduating in 1985 he was posted to teach History at Plumtree School.

During 1986–1987 he was studying for his Graduate Certificate of Education and, having passed in 1987, he has continued to teach at Plumtree.

Married, with one child, KG is interested in Music and History and has proved a very competent teacher of History at "A" and "O" levels, regularly achieving excellent results.

Raymond Thomas Mossop was born in Cape Town in June 1921. Better known as Ray or by his school mates as "Josser", he was educated in his earlier years by parents and a governess/companion or two. Later he spent two years in the Boys' House at the Salisbury Convent and 8 years at Prince Edward Junior and Senior schools, where, he believes, his academic and sporting achievements did not reach their potential owing to the lethargy induced by attacks of malaria which occurred with some regularity 10 days after the school holidays spent in the Mazowe valley. Possibly bilharzia added to this, but this was not diagnosed until many years afterwards.

His subsequent career as a medical student was interrupted by nearly 6 years in the Southern Rhodesian and then the South African Medical Corps, cut short by German mortar fire in North Italy which facilitated the resumption of his studies at the University of Cape Town in March 1945.

After internships, he obtained a post in the Southern Rhodesia Medical Service in 1952, serving in Bulawayo, Nyamandhlovu, Gatooma and Fort Johnston (Mangoche). In 1955 he entered and expanded an extremely busy and varied general practice in Gatooma.

In 1975, he obtained the post of senior lecturer, with the accent on general practice, in the Department of Community Medicine in the University of Zimbabwe. During his tenure he was appointed Associate Professor at Emory Medical School in Atlanta, U.S.A., accepted an invitation to become an Associate Founder of the College of Medicine of South Africa, and served terms as President of the College of Primary Care Physicians of Zimbabwe, and of the Mashonaland Branch of the Rhodesia Medical Association.

Together with almost 100 journal articles and chapters in various books on a wide variety of medical subjects, he co-authored with Professor Sam Fehrsen of Medunsa a small text on Family Medicine, currently in use in Southern Africa and Western Australia.

Retiring in 1986, he has maintained an active interest in Occupational Medicine, continued research into the place of chromium in human nutrition, developed a taste for writing, and played enthusiastic C division golf.

George Stewart was born in Bulawayo in 1942, educated at Umtali Boys' High School, after which he joined the civil service for 8 years. He then entered the world of commerce and was in business in Mutare until emigrating to New Zealand earlier this year.

Involved in Church activities, George also pursues interests in philately and postal history, writing periodically for the Rhodesia Study Circle Journal in the United Kingdom. He also

writes for *Classic Car* magazine about Vintage Car runs in Zimbabwe and, while on runs, an interest in Street Furniture can be pursued simultaneously.

While coming from a Railway family he is not really into Railwayana but came across the train working instructions for the Royal visit while looking for ephemera in Bulawayo.

Group Captain R. W. J. (Bill) Sykes AFZ (Retd.) was born in Kadoma in 1943. His father was a regular officer in the Royal Air Force and was posted from the UK to Rhodesia in 1940 where he took up the post of Chief Flying Instructor at Mount Hampden. After the Second World War the family settled in Rhodesia.

Bill attended the Eagle School in the Vumba and then St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown. A short tour at the University of Cape Town proved unproductive and itchy feet found him diamond mining off the coast of Namibia for two years.

During that period he (aged 22) had his first opportunity to go for a flight in an aircraft — around the Cape Peninsular. From that moment he was 'sold'.

He applied to the Royal Air Force, was accepted, and gained his Wings in August 1968. He flew Provosts, Vampires and Hunters from Thornhill and was then posted to Helicopters in 1975. After nearly 4 years on 'Choppers', he went to Air Force Public Relations Officer, to Joint High Command at Independence, then to various administrative posts and ended up as a Group Captain, Director of Operations.

From 1980 to 1982, he produced the film "Spitfire — Pursuit of a Dream", the story of the rebuilding and final demise of the Jack Malloch Spitfire.

He retired from the Air Force of Zimbabwe in June 1985. After various efforts at becoming a civilian he 'gave up' and now works from home, making grandfather clocks and painting pictures of aeroplanes.

Eric Reginald Thomson was born in London in January 1906 and educated at schools in Frien Barnet, Bristol and Lincoln. As a youngster, during the First World War, he saw, with his family, a German Zeppelin brought down in flames over Potters Bar.

Leaving school in 1922, he worked successively in the vulcanizing and retreading business and as a commercial traveller for Nestlé, before opening his own business as an importer and manufacturer's agent. Later he worked for a firm of accountants and then for Mr Bertram Mills of Olympia Circus.

In 1929, he arrived in Cape Town on a Union Castle ship and worked for the South African Wine and Vinegar Company and then the Shell Company.

In 1931, he arrived in Salisbury as a recruit in the British South Africa Police. His first posting was to Shamva where he met Dr. Dyson Blair, the Government Medical Officer for Shamva and district. Subsequently, he served in Banket, Miami, Sipolilo and Darwendale, being member in charge of the last two stations.

In 1934, owing to the incidence of sleeping sickness, a trypanosomiasis survey was introduced, and Trooper Eric Thomson's acceptance of Dr Blair's invitation to be laboratory assistant resulted in a course at the Pasteur Institute and secondment for two years from the Police to the Department of Public Health.

Dr Blair, in his 1935 Report No. 3, refers to Eric Thomson as "the perfect companion for the field when livers may often be engorged and nerves rather frayed". He adds, "his capacity for hard physical and mental work is amazing".

The survey took place in the Sebungwe district and embraced firstly the Lubu River and Kariangwe area and secondly, the Sengwa–Manhoni confluence. All in all, the team travelled 5000 miles by car, 200 miles on foot and 200 miles by boat over a period of five months.

Eric's account of the expedition was first published over 50 years ago in *The Outpost*, the

magazine originally of the BSAP and now of the ZRP. The account was written 60 years ago and, as it makes such fascinating reading, part of it is reproduced in this issue of *Heritage of Zimbabwe.*

In 1936, Eric left the Police and became a farmer until 1939, when he became a soldier, serving in Somaliland and Abyssinia before returning to Salisbury in the Rhodesian African Rifles with the rank of Lieutenant.

After his discharge from the army, he resumed farming at Darwendale and then on his own farm in Karoi, which he sold in 1963, and retired to Salisbury where he lives with his wife, Edna.

The Geological Survey of Southern Rhodesia — the Period 1910 to 1929

by P. Fey

THE BACKGROUND

Prospecting and mining, initially for gold and copper, began immediately after the Pioneer Column had been disbanded at Fort Salisbury in September 1890. At that time geological information on the new country was restricted largely to fables of gold-rich Monomatapa and to the descriptions of travels undertaken some 20 years earlier by the German explorer Karl Mauch. It is estimated that, of the approximately 4000 significant mines that were subsequently established, most were on the sites of ancient workings. The occupation of Matabeleland late in 1893 opened the western parts of Southern Rhodesia to prospecting, and the discovery of coal at Wankie in 1894 by A. Giese (Lightfoot, 1914) spurred exploration elsewhere in the Zambezi and Limpopo sedimentary basins.

Bulawayo became the seat of the British South Africa Company's Resident Engineer and the headquarters of numerous mining and exploration companies. Also based there was A. J. C. Molyneux, former member of the Victoria Column, explorer and geological consultant. He was involved in the discovery and exploration of, *inter alia*, the Sengwa and Tuli coalfields and became an expert on the Karoo Supergroup in the Rhodesias (Molyneux, 1903; 1908; 1911). The Rhodesia Chamber of Mines (Bulawayo) was formed in 1895 and immediately began working towards the establishment of a library and museum, with mining engineer Wallace Broad, the honorary curator, assembling a mineral collection. The first geological map of Matabeleland was published in 1897 by R. A. Fletcher and W. M. Espin, and Molyneux was instrumental in founding the Rhodesia Scientific Association, which held its inaugural meeting on 21 February 1899.

With the high level of mining and exploration in the country the need for a geological survey became apparent, and in October 1900 Wallace Broad offered his services to the Chamber of Mines. He proposed to either work alone at a cost of £3000 per year for an indefinite period, in part reporting privately to the various contributors to the scheme, or to undertake a regional survey with a qualified team, at a cost of £5000 per year for five years. The Chamber eventually decided that the work of a geological survey should be undertaken by the Government, which at the time showed no interest, and Broad's offer was declined.

On Cecil John Rhodes' last visit to Bulawayo in 1901 he was confronted with two requests. The Chamber of Mines asked for funds to appoint a geologist who would assist the many prospectors and small miners of Matabeleland, whilst the Rhodesia Scientific Association sought premises to house its growing collection of mineral specimens. Rhodes reportedly suggested that a geologist be appointed to look after the museum. A sub-committee of the Rhodesia Scientific Association, comprising Messrs Molyneux and Webb, considered the matter of a permanent curator in collaboration with a sub-committee of the Chamber of Mines, which voted £250 per year for two years, the sub-committee of the Association offering £100 per year. Other donations totalling £316 were promised and, with funding assured for two years, a salary of £500 per year was proposed, with a further £50 towards each of travelling and provision of apparatus, including a microscope. The museum committee requested Professor J. W. Judd of

London to advise on the appointment of a curator who was both a geologist and a petrologist. Judd's choice fell on Frederick Philip Mennell, FGS, who took up his post in December, 1901, aged but 21 years.

Although he had completed less than one year's formal training, Mennell came to be regarded as the father of Rhodesian geology, and, in a long career, published over 100 papers as well as five books. By the time he resigned from the museum in August 1908 he had undertaken 1341 mineral determinations and had identified, *inter alia*, chromite from Selukwe, chrysotile asbestos from Fort Victoria, wolframite from Essexvale and diamonds from the Somabula gravels. He furthermore produced the first account (Mennell, 1904) of the geology of Southern Rhodesia, together with a geological map of the Bulawayo area at a scale of four miles to the inch. These scientific contributions were of considerable help to prospectors, miners and explorationists and no doubt eased the pressure on the Administration to establish a geological survey.

This issue continued to be debated throughout the first decade of the century, a major stumbling block being the cost of funding such a facility. Nevertheless, in the Chamber of Mines report for 1907–1908 there is reference to a meeting with the British South Africa Company's directors, who were by then receptive to the establishment of a survey, suggesting that it should be funded jointly by the Administration, the Company and the Beit Bequest. The issue was fuelled by the first issue (6 January 1909) of the *Rhodesian Mining Review*, which carried an article by Mennell advocating the establishment of a geological survey. Yet, a year later *The Rhodesia Journal* (13 January 1910) referred to the Government's 'utter indifference' to the matter, and accused the Chartered Company of 'crass negligence to the vital interests of the territory under their charge' (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1972, p. 4).

At long last the Administration was stung into action and sought advice on staffing levels and costs from the Geological Survey of South Africa. However, the then Director, Dr A. W. Rogers, was on field work and unavailable. The matter being considered urgent, the Geological Survey of Great Britain was consulted, as were Dr E. A. Nobbs, Director of Agriculture, and A. H. Ackerman, the Company's Resident Mining Engineer in Bulawayo. The latter made the following estimate (Tyndale-Biscoe, *op. cit.*, p. 5) of the requirements.

	£ per annum
1 Director	800
1 Petrologist	700
2 Geologists	1 100
1 Clerk	300
Transport (2 carts, 8 mules)	1 000
Native Labour	150
Office and laboratory expenses	80
Instruments	100
Maps and publications	100
Travelling allowances	750
Total	£5 080

From the information provided, Sir Lewis Michell, one of the Company directors and a Rhodes trustee, concluded that a geological survey of Southern Rhodesia would cost one million pounds and take 50 years — news which came as a great shock to the Administrator, Sir William Milton.

The matter was further debated, the Administration eventually voting £4000 per year (subsequently reduced to £3000), funded in the ratio four to one by the Legislative Council and

Commercial Branch of the Company respectively. The *Rhodesian Mining Review*, in its editorial to the issue of 29 June 1910, labelled this a 'ridiculously small sum' and maintained that the only hope for the proposed survey would lie in close co-operation with the Resident Engineer and the Rhodesia Museum. This notwithstanding, in due course Herbert Brantwood Maufe, MA, FGS, was recruited from the Scottish office of the British Geological Survey.

Born in 1879 in Ilkley, Yorkshire, Maufe had qualified in 1900 with a First Class BA from Cambridge, winning the Harkness Scholarship there. He joined the British Geological Survey in 1901, working in Scotland and Ireland, with a six month spell in Kenya during 1905. Taking up his new appointment, initially on a two year contract at £800 per year, in September 1910 he became the first and longest serving Director of the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey. He retired in 1934 but returned to the Department as geologist over the period 1940–1945. Maufe was a man of the highest integrity and scientific calibre, but his output of published work was limited by his passion for accuracy. Nevertheless, he himself was responsible for three geological bulletins and nine short reports, co-authoring a further three publications of the Geological Survey, as well as writing numerous scientific papers. During his directorship, 27 bulletins and 29 short reports were published, as were the first two editions (1922 and 1928) of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of the country. These were followed in 1924 and 1928 by a mineral map at the same scale. Elected President of the Geological Society of South Africa in 1918 he was awarded the Draper Medal in 1934, the Geological Society of London honouring him with the Lyell Fund in 1909 and the Lyell Medal in 1930. Married in 1914, with one son, he died in London in May 1946 after an overland journey from Africa.

The Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey was thus started in 1910 by the British South Africa Company, which owned the mineral rights of the country. With the granting of responsible government in 1923 Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing colony and hence unique in the British Commonwealth. Although now a Government Department, the Geological Survey continued to be financially assisted by the Company until the April 1933 purchase of the mineral rights by Government.

It was decided at the beginning that the Department could best serve the mining community by undertaking routine geological mapping, and by offering a free service comprising advice on all geological problems together with determinations and analyses of rocks, minerals and ores. This programme remains the basis of the Geological Survey's activities.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS (1910–1918)

Although Salisbury was the administrative centre of the country, Maufe based himself at Bulawayo in order to facilitate co-operation with the geological and mineralogical sections of the Rhodesia Museum. He soon found the offices allotted to him in the Government Block too dark, moved to three rooms in the Mashonaland Agency Building and was joined in October by Henry Stobie McVey, formerly also of the British Geological Survey's Scottish office. McVey combined the roles of draughtsman and clerk until the appointment of the first clerk in 1914. Having decided to initially base the geological maps on available farm plans, prepared by the Surveyor-General at a scale of 400 Cape roods (a little over a mile) to the inch, Maufe wasted no time in commencing field work. Why he chose to start in the Enterprise mineral belt, just east of Salisbury, instead of selecting an area nearer to Bulawayo, is not on record. Nevertheless, 50 square miles of country had been geologically surveyed by December 1910 but publication of the results, as Bulletin 7, had to wait until 1920.

Until the advent of aerial photography in 1932 geological mapping was undertaken by plane table and alidade, altitudes being determined by barometer. Field work was initially confined to areas of economic interest, principally the auriferous Archaean greenstone belts. Apart from the annual reports presented to the Legislative Council, Maufe decided to publish

the work of the Geological Survey in two forms, a practice which persists to this day. Comprehensive surveys of an area, complete with descriptions of all mines and mineral occurrences, are described in a bulletin, whereas the results of less detailed or reconnaissance mapping are issued in short report form. Since the early years, information on mines and mineral occurrences visited by Geological Survey geologists has been recorded in reports, often with plans, now numbering some 10 000 and collectively making up the Department's technical files.

In May 1911, Arthur Edward Victor Zealley, ARCS, curator of the Rhodesia Museum since 1909 and Ben Lightfoot, BA, a colleague of Maufe's in the British Geological Survey's Scottish office, joined the Department as geologists. Together with the director they commenced work in the Selukwe gold belt, in the centre of the country. Maufe, however, left the area in August to examine the newly discovered Victoria tinfields before returning to the Enterprise district to continue mapping there. Transport and accommodation for the field party consisted of full tent donkey wagons capable of moving at two miles an hour, and there were innumerable interruptions from prospectors and miners requesting examinations of their properties. Weaned on the geology and superb 6-inch maps of Great Britain the party found the going hard. There were no topographical maps, the terrain was mountainous and the geology complex. Nevertheless, mapping of some 400 square miles was completed by Maufe and Zealley in 1912, the results appearing as Bulletin 3 in 1919.

Lightfoot, who had worked on the British coalfields, was despatched in November 1911 to report on the Great Sabi Coal Syndicate claims. These were located on the west bank of the Sabi river some 55 miles below the Umkondo copper mine, then the end of the road. Lightfoot left Gwelo in a cart drawn by eight mules, had a rough trip to the Umkondo Mine, then cut a track to the coalfield, which he described as a regular den of lions. He was not impressed with the quality of the coal nor with the fact that, having brought along salt to trade for food and grain, he found the local natives producing salt. The rains broke early and a very battered party, less two mules, eventually arrived back in Gwelo.

In the following year Lightfoot was assigned to map the 400 square mile concession over the Wankie coalfield, exploited since 1904. There, owing to difficult terrain and a lack of native porters, he had to resort to using pack donkeys for transport. The region, covered in dense, thorny bush, was largely devoid of roads and water. It was hot, and there were constant problems with wild animals, notably elephant. In the absence of a base camp, Lightfoot was obliged to survey topographically an area of 380 square miles in the southwestern part of the concession, using the company's beacons, and was able to define the western limit of the coalfield. Fortunately, the geology was simple and intimately related to the topography. The geological succession established for the sediments by Molyneux (1903) was upheld and plant fossils collected by Lightfoot (1914, pp 23–25) proved beyond doubt the Karoo age of the coalfield. Furthermore, the survey allowed Lightfoot (*op. cit.*, p. 41) to conservatively estimate coal resources of 600 million tonnes within the concession, which was subsequently repegged by the company in order to take in more coal-bearing ground.

Upon completion of mapping at Selukwe, Zealley began work at Eiffel Flats near Gatooma, where he was joined by Lightfoot in 1913, then spent the years 1914 and 1915 on an investigation of the country's known diamond resources. These comprised the kimberlite bodies northeast of Bulawayo as well as the gravels at that time being worked by 30 to 40 diggers. In 1914, Lightfoot mapped an area of some 200 square miles around Shiloh, north of Bulawayo. There he panned gold from the Forest Sandstone and speculated on the possibility of auriferous deep leads, corresponding to former river beds, occurring at the base of this formation. He never completed his investigations, for he resigned from the Geological Survey in September 1914 in order to accept the Sorby Fellowship at the University of Sheffield. There he was to undertake

research on the Yorkshire coalfields for five years. However, soon after arriving in England he joined the army, where he attained the rank of major, was awarded the Military Cross in 1915 and was twice mentioned in dispatches.

During the 1915 field season work begun by Lightfoot north of Bulawayo was continued by Maufe, assisted by Alexander Miers Macgregor, BA, who had joined the Department in July. A graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge, he was in 1912 appointed Mineralogist and Assistant Curator of the Rhodesia Museum. Although his initial spell with the Geological Survey was brief, for he resigned in February 1916 in order to enlist, Macgregor made a significant contribution during his first, short field season by recognising and defining the Kalahari System. He saw active service in France, attained the rank of lieutenant and was severely wounded.

With the field staff reduced to Maufe and Zealley over the period 1916–1917 mapping was suspended. Owing to the increased demand for strategic minerals prospectors turned their attention from gold to base minerals, and the Department was faced with a large number of requests for mineral determinations.

These war years were noteworthy for a number of new mineral discoveries, namely microlite (Umtali district), barytes (Gwelo), graphite and fluorite (Wankie district). Significantly, chrysotile asbestos was found at what was to become Shabani, and a platinum-bearing horizon, the Dream Reef, was identified on the Great Dyke near Fort Gibb, east of Gwelo (Zealley, 1918).

Following the appointment in April 1918 of Arthur John Charles Molyneux, FGS, field work was resumed. Molyneux briefly joined Maufe north of Bulawayo before being sent to map in the Lomagundi district west of Sinoia. Zealley, meanwhile, completed his investigation of the Somabula diamond fields and in December 1918 the first female clerk, Miss D. Holland, began her seven and a half years service with the Department.

When the Geological Survey was started it was inevitable that too much was expected of it. Although it received support for its work, it was also censured in some quarters as being too academic. Matters came to a head in 1918 when the then Secretary for Mines and Roads, E. W. S. Montagu, in correspondence to the Administrator, Sir Drummond Chaplin, criticized the Geological Survey's slow rate of publishing reports on areas of completed field work. Montagu continued to castigate Maufe for over a year, called repeatedly (fortunately to no avail) for his compulsory retirement from the service, and was instrumental in moving the Geological Survey from Bulawayo to Salisbury in May 1918. Hitherto directly under the Administrator, it was placed in Division 5 under Montagu. In another setback in October 1918 two staff members died in the influenza epidemic; the clerk H. Cripwell and Zealley, the latter aged but 32.

The year 1919 saw the return from war service of Macgregor in August and McVey in October. Molyneux completed his fieldwork in the Lomagundi district, where he also reported (Molyneux, 1920) on the Sinoia Caves. Macgregor joined Maufe in the Bubi district, then reinvestigated certain aspects of the Somabula diamond field. Maufe visited Wankie to examine the site of the proposed new colliery, and together with Molyneux collected fossils from the base of the Kalahari beds at Lake Alice on the Gwampa River.

THE SECOND DECADE (1920–1929)

This period in the Geological Survey's existence was one of steady development and growth. Facilities improved, the staff gradually increased and with it the mapping coverage as well as visits to mines and prospects. Furthermore, the Department became motorized. Regrettably, Molyneux died of heart failure in December 1920, aged only 55.

During the 1920 field season Macgregor and Maufe continued with the survey north of Bulawayo. In addition, Maufe undertook reconnaissance trips to the Sebungwe district, the newly established Miami mica field, and the chromite deposits of the Umvukwe Range. During

the following year Lightfoot, then prospecting for coal in India for Messrs Perin and Marshall under an 'out and home' agreement worth £1000 per year plus expenses, was recruited by Maufe to fill the vacancy left by Molyneux's death. He resumed work for the Geological Survey on 5 September 1921, under a three-year agreement at a salary of £800 per year. His passage from England was, contrary to expectations, not paid and the terms of his appointment were the subject of considerable correspondence between Maufe and G. N. Fleming, the Under Secretary for Mines and Works.

In 1921 Southern Rhodesia was the fourth largest gold producer in the British Empire, and sixth in the list of world producers (Director, Geological Survey. Annual Report for 1923). Maufe and Macgregor spent the early part of the year on a rapid reconnaissance of outlying areas in order to fill in the detail required for compilation of the first 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of Southern Rhodesia. This 1922 edition of the map was produced by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company of Johannesburg, which until 1923 printed all bulletins. These were subsequently produced by the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company in Salisbury until 1949, when the Government Printer took on the task. Most bulletin maps were printed in Cape Town between 1918 and 1930, subsequent maps being produced by the Government Printer in Salisbury.

During the 1922 field season, Macgregor completed his work around the Lonely Mine. In the Darwin district, Lightfoot mapped 250 square miles topographically and geologically between June and November. His was the first map to show contours, which were based on corrected and standardized aneroid readings.

The first full-time mineralogist, John Reekie, assumed duty in October 1921. In the following field season he accompanied the director on investigations of the Eldorado 'conglomerate', the alluvial diggings on the Angwa River and the Miami mica field. There opencast workings were giving way to underground mines, and the Grand Parade Mine had been developed over a regular strike of some 500 feet to a depth of 130 feet, reaching 220 feet in 1923. Reekie also undertook 238 mineral determinations, increasing this number to 398 in 1923. Although forced by ill health to resign in May 1924, he ensured that rock specimens no longer had to be sent to England or Germany for thin sectioning by training local Africans for this task.

In the Midlands, work begun in 1912–1913 by Zealley and Lightfoot was, from August 1923, continued southwards from the Umsweswe River by Macgregor who, in the absence of a reliable topographical map, had to plot roads, rivers and mines. The flat, heavily bush-covered terrain made plane tabling difficult, and Macgregor was forced on at least one occasion to set up his instrument on a platform built in a tree. Nevertheless, working at intervals over the period 1926 to 1934, he completed three map sheets covering over 2150 square miles, also carrying out a detailed examination of the two major gold producers in the country, the Globe & Phoenix and Sherwood Starr mines.

No geological mapping was undertaken during 1924. Lightfoot spent most of the year in England as mining representative in the Rhodesia Section of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, while Reekie's resignation compelled Maufe and Macgregor to take over his duties. In March 1924 McVey at long last acquired an assistant in the form of Basil Bredell Napier, who was to serve the Department for 41 years. Geologist Ronald McI. Tyndale-Biscoe succeeded Reekie in December but transferred to the mapping section in 1926.

The year 1925 was significant for several reasons. There was a further discovery of platinum, and the Department acquired its first motor vehicle, chemist and two topographers.

The possibility of platinum occurring on the Great Dyke had been pointed out as early as 1908 by F. P. Mennell, and in 1917 Zealley actually discovered the metal in the Dream Reef on the Great Dyke east of Gwelo. He had earlier (Zealley, 1915) published the first reference to the mineral in Southern Rhodesia in his account of the Selukwe chromite deposits, and had later

(Zealley, 1918) suggested that concentrates from the Somabula diamond fields might be platiniferous, a fact subsequently confirmed by Maufe (1919). Under instructions from the Minister of Mines and Public Works, Lightfoot, who had resumed duty in March 1925, spent three weeks studying the newly discovered Lydenburg platinum field in South Africa. He returned with a collection of typical rocks which were exhibited in the Salisbury and Bulawayo museums as well as at mining commissioner's offices.

On 16 May 1925, a series of specimens from the Great Dyke was submitted to the Geological Survey by a Mr R. Sacchi of Makwiro. One sample was identical with the Merensky Reef at Lydenburg and, visiting the Makwiro prospect on 18 May, Lightfoot (1926) identified mineralization, assaying 2 pennyweights of platinum metals per ton. This mineralization occurred in an horizon which was subsequently pegged for a considerable distance along the Dyke. However, attempts to exploit the oxidized portion of the horizon at the Wedza Mine near Shabani in 1925–1928 failed because the mineralization was too fine grained for efficient concentration.

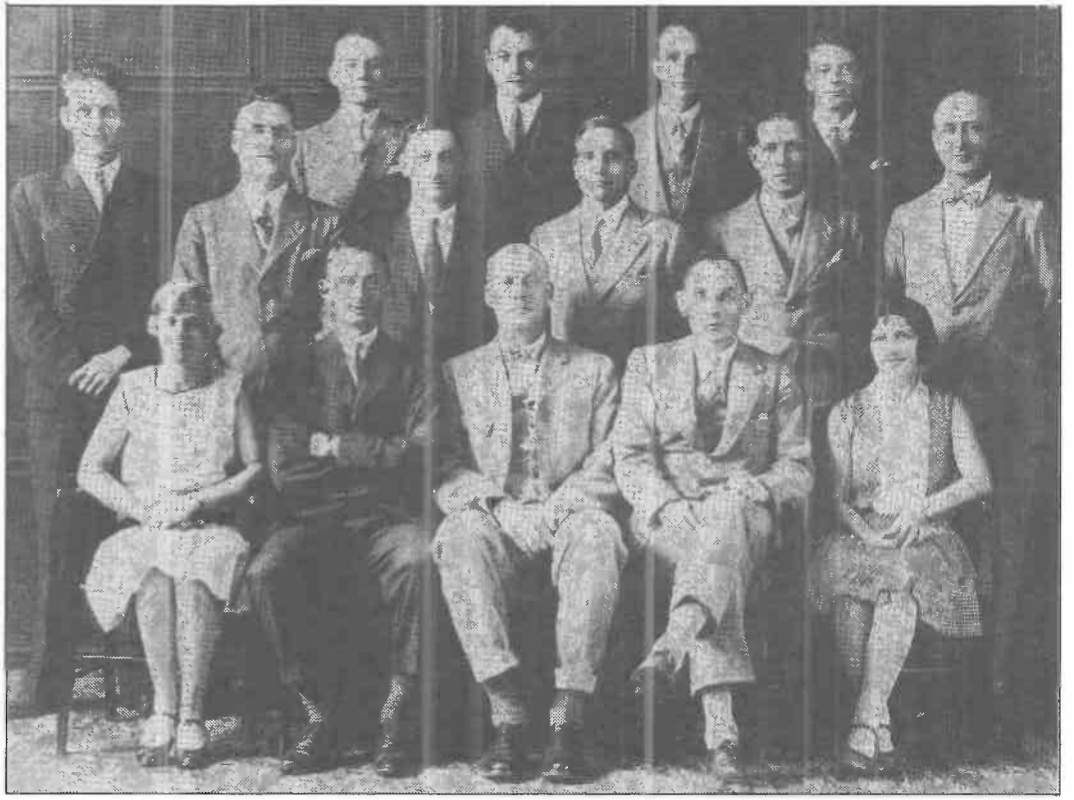
As a result of his identification Lightfoot was equipped with a covered one-ton Ford 'motor wagon' and was sent to map the Great Dyke between the Hunyani and Umfuli rivers. Although often coming to grief in the black soils developed along the Dyke margins, by mid-September 1925 Lightfoot had mapped 450 square miles, considerably faster and at only one third of the cost of traditional surveys using mules and wagons. Accordingly, a fleet of six Chevrolet half-ton vanettes, without doors or canopies, was acquired for fieldwork in 1926, resulting in the permanent replacement of mules by motor transport. Lightfoot (1927) extended his survey to the extremities of the Great Dyke, thereby completing the first study of this unique geological structure.

The first chemist, Guy Whately Bond, assumed duty in August 1925 but took ill soon afterwards and was succeeded in February 1926 by Ernest Golding, formerly assayer at the Falcon Mine, which had closed. Maufe's reiterated appeals for topographers bore fruit in September 1925 when Messrs Muldownie and Woram joined the Department. Their appointment obviated the need for geologists to prepare a topographical base before embarking on geological mapping.

Also during the year Maufe undertook, mostly out of office hours, the compilation of the sheets for Northern and Southern Rhodesia, as well as for the Bechuanaland Protectorate, for the International Geological Map of Africa. In October 1925 the department moved two blocks eastwards to 'temporary' premises in the form of two semi-detached cottages, located on the corner of Fourth Street and Jameson Avenue. These offices were to be occupied for fully fifteen years.

Dr James Watson Lunn replaced Tyndale-Biscoe as mineralogist in May 1926 but resigned some 13 months later on his appointment as geologist to the Anglo-Belgian Boundary Commission. Also in May the director attended the International Geological Congress in Madrid, returning via Walvis Bay in July. Stanley Caleb Morgan, BSc, BA (Oxon), a Rhodesian Rhodes scholar, assumed duty in July and initially joined Macgregor in the Midlands before taking over from Lunn. Mining geologist Francis Eric Keep, MSc (Birmingham) arrived in September and began field work at Shabani. The first librarian was appointed in September 1927, at which time Lightfoot was attending the triennial Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress in Canada. The year was also noteworthy for the large number of examinations of deposits, traverses and reconnaissance surveys undertaken, the latter made possible only by the use of motor transport.

Because of alterations, subsequently abrogated, to their conditions of service neither Keep nor Morgan remained beyond their three year contracts. Nevertheless, both contributed significantly to mining geology in Southern Rhodesia. Morgan (1929) investigated the Gaika gold mine at Que Que while Keep (1928) reported on numerous mines and undertook a thorough, widely acclaimed study of the Shabani chrysotile asbestos deposits (Keep, 1929). He furthermore



Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey 1929
***L–R Back Row*: B. B. Napier; L. Thornton; E. Golding; J. L. Cobbett. *Middle Row*: V. E. Horne; V. H. Woram; F. E. Keep; S. C. Morgan; L. A. N. Brooks; H. S. McVey. *Front*: Miss V. Tanfield; B. Lightfoot; H. B. Maufe (Director); A. M. MacGregor; Miss R. Margolis. *Absent*: R. M. Tyndale-Biscoe.** *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

(Keep, 1930) described the asbestos and chromite deposits of the Great Dyke near Umvukwes. A prolific writer, he became president of the Geological Society of South Africa in 1934.

Exploration and development on the Wankie coalfield made it necessary to update and expand the information contained in Bulletin 4, which went out of print in 1927. Lightfoot again undertook the necessary field work, and during June, July and October 1928 covered an area of 340 square miles straddling the railway line between Deka and Tshontanda sidings. More fossils were discovered and in Bulletin 15 Lightfoot (1929, p. 53) estimated coal reserves in the field to be at least 6000 million tons. Also in 1928 Maufe mapped an area of some 10 square miles around the Victoria Falls in readiness for visits by delegates to the 1929 International Geological and 1930 Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congresses. Elsewhere, Tyndale-Biscoe took time off from regional work to reconnoitre the geology along the proposed route of a railway line through the Zambezi Valley to link Southern and Northern Rhodesia more directly. During the following year Macgregor took part in an expedition, led by Captain the Hon. B. E. H. Clifford, Imperial Secretary in South Africa, around the Makarikari salt pan in Bechuanaland and along the route of a line intended to connect the Rhodesian railway system with Walvis Bay. Neither link was built.

The economic bias of the Geological Survey's work continued with the inconclusive investigation between June and September 1929 by Lightfoot and Tyndale-Biscoe of the tsetse fly-infested country surrounding the copper-lead-zinc deposits at Copper Queen, west of Sinoia. The occurrences had been owned and explored since 1925 by the Southern Rhodesia Base Metals Corporation, which ceased operations towards the end of 1928 following presentation of an unfavourable report by consultant Dr W. S. McCann. Some thirty years later the Messina (Rhodesia) Development Company similarly failed to develop the metallurgically complex deposits which are, however, currently the focus of renewed interest.

At the 1929 International Geological Congress in Pretoria, attended by Maufe and Macgregor, it was decided to establish a Commission of African Geological Surveys. Approximately 100 delegates participated in highly successful excursions organized in Southern Rhodesia. A comprehensive guide book had been prepared by the Geological Survey in Salisbury, and Maufe led tours of the Victoria Falls while Lightfoot looked after the Wankie coalfield and the Selukwe chrome deposits. Macgregor was responsible for the Globe & Phoenix gold mine and Sebakwe Poort, Keep showing delegates over the Shabani asbestos deposits.

The Geological Survey ended the second decade of its existence with a professional staff comprising a director and three geologists. In addition, there was a chemist, mineralogist, librarian, typist and senior clerk, whilst the drawing office employed three draughtsmen and two topographers. Since the Survey's inception a large number of mineral deposits and mines had been visited, the Wankie coalfield as well as several of the principal gold belts had been mapped and the results published in 15 bulletins and 24 short reports. Furthermore, there had been two editions of both the geological and mineral maps of the country.

Worth commenting on, in view of Montagu's criticism of the Geological Survey's performance, is the rapidity with which publications generally followed the completion of field work in those early years. It is a sad reflection that in later years this can no longer be emulated. When one reflects on the harsh, primitive conditions prevailing in Southern Rhodesia at the time the achievements of the small, dedicated Geological Survey staff over the period 1910–1929 are truly remarkable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to the references cited the author has drawn extensively on Departmental files, annual reports of the Director, Geological Survey, and on other published material kindly supplied by colleague T. J. Broderick. My wife Maxine is sincerely thanked for typing the text.

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Malaria and Blackwater Fever

by R. T. Mossop

COLONIZATION

Livingstone's mixture of quinine and calomel, named the 'Rouser', was one form of South American Cinchona bark which enabled explorers to enter and re-enter the Land of Ophir from the mid nineteenth century. Previously darkest Africa had kept its mystery by virtue of the malaria which killed the curious.

In 1890 Rhodes, with a concession from the Matabele King, sent his pioneers to occupy Mashonaland. This was not only to exploit the gold, ivory and soil, but urgently to pre-empt the Germans and the Portuguese from doing the same. This would have destroyed Rhodes' ambition to gain for the reluctant British a sphere of influence from the Cape to Cairo.

Having entered from the South at the best time of the year, the Pioneer column avoided the worst malarial areas, but could not have lasted throughout the first year in Mashonaland had it not been for quinine.

QUININE

The pioneers were issued with quinine, mostly in powder form. Dosage was elastic. If a little in the palm did not make the patient deaf, the next dose was increased. If it did, it was reduced.

Dr Rand of the Pioneer column poured his supply into the medical supply of Cape brandy, almost the only alcohol with the column. The mixture was most unpleasant, known as Rand's Kicker. Rand was therefore able to defend and hotly deny allegations of drunkenness among the men.

Many went into the districts after disbandment, in search of gold or to farm. If they ran out or forgot their quinine they died of malaria or blackwater unless they could rapidly get medical attention. Even then, without injectable quinine, they were doomed if they were already vomiting or could not swallow.

EARLY SOUTHERN RHODESIAN REPORTS

In March 1901, four years after Manson and Ress's description of the life cycle of the malaria parasite through man and the mosquito, Medical Director Andrew Fleming reported 1391 admissions for malaria and blackwater during the preceding twelve months. This was about half the total admitted to government hospitals. Many more had treated themselves at home, and many had died, uncounted.

The incidence in the towns was diminishing, largely because township development inhibited mosquito breeding, but in the districts it was still by far the major cause of illness and death.

The Hartley (Chegutu) district was a notable exception. One of the worst malarial areas, there had been a remarkable decrease due to the universal use of mosquito nets, mosquito gauzing of houses, covering the limbs in the evening and regular evening quinine; as recommended by the district surgeon.

Morbidity amongst the Police had also dropped due to the use of mosquito nets and quinine on patrol.

CONSERVATIVE DISBELIEF

The message about the life cycle had not got through to many settlers. When Manson gave talks on the subject throughout the country, a member of a Bulawayo audience rose to say that his

labourers went down regularly with malaria as soon as they released bad air when digging in swampy ground. He received an ovation.

BLACKWATER

Characterized by severe illness and haemoglobinuria which made the urine black, it was usually preceded by several attacks of malaria. It was almost confined to whites, with a mortality of about 40%. In any one year blackwater constituted 5 to 10% of malaria, and was the major cause of malarial death.

Local blacks (as opposed to the immigrant Fingoes) appeared to have some sort of immunity to both malaria and blackwater. One suspected of having blackwater was eventually found to have severe urinary bilharzia.

INEXPENSIVE GOVERNMENT QUININE

In 1915 Government acquired and distributed 5gr (300 mg) quinine dihydrochloride tablets. Coloured pink, they were sold at about five shillings per hundred, depending on the cost of acquisition, from Post and district Offices. Due to public demand, they were also sold from 1923 for 3*d.* for five.

In 1927 public mistrust of Government quinine was fostered and many people bought more expensive brands from pharmacists. There was no truth in the rumours and, sensibly, the boycott was shortlived.

Sales of Government quinine continued through the same outlets until 1945, when the world ran out due to the destruction of Cinchona plantations in the Far East by the Japanese. Sales of modern anti-malarials continued till 1949 when it was deemed to be no longer of financial advantage to the public.

RESEARCH

Arrangements had been made with the London School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene for a joint study of malaria and blackwater. The Kaiser's war interrupted the arrangement, but it was honoured in the early 1920s when Dr Thompson did a good deal of valuable preliminary work. He was succeeded by George Reuse who later transferred to the Rhodesian Service as a pathologist. These men established for certain the relationship of blackwater to malaria. Reuse, using the new 'van den Bergh' test, suggested that malaria became blackwater when the red cell destruction, which always occurred, exceeded a critical level.

ENTOMOLOGY

Entomological research was first carried out by Dr Howarth from the London School in 1924. He got little further than the training of mosquito collectors when he and his work were terminated by a more modern epidemic, a motor accident.

He was succeeded by Mr Leeson who eventually established that the female anopheles was the only real carrier.

This was of great importance, since anti-mosquito measures could be limited to the destruction of larvae in still pools and man made equivalents such as sagging roof gutters and old tyres.

HEALTH ENQUIRY AND EDUCATION

In the mid 1920s, Fleming, highly critical of rural settlers and their attitudes to malaria prevention, sent Dr G. Barratt to the Mazowe Valley and Lomagundi to enquire and to teach.

Barratt noted that, despite opinion to the contrary, settlers were well aware of the dangers and took precautions in the light of prevailing knowledge. They used mosquito nets, wore suitable clothing and took quinine regularly.

However, mosquito proofing was not perfect, since chimneys and the chinks under corrugated iron were not proofed. They had not been told of the flying capability of the mosquito and many houses were well within range of the dwellings of their immune, but parasite carrying, workers. Often, though the white family might be well protected, the hut occupied by the recently arrived assistant from Britain or the Cape had no protection at all.

CONTINUING CRITICISM

A few years later, Director Andrew Martin continued to criticize rural dwellers. With considerable asperity, in 1935 he noted the lack of personal protective measures. He thought they still regarded preventable disease as a necessary evil. Those who fell ill or died had only themselves to blame, while those who failed to protect their children were little short of criminal.

Supporting his claim, he produced figures from the period 1919 to 1938, to show that 58.5 of every 10 000 white children born had died of malaria despite the ease of prevention at this age. Mute testimony to this can be seen on tombstones in the old Shamva cemetery.

Martin and his colleague, Vickers, were both school doctors in Harare, as well as doing their many other jobs, and may have unconsciously contributed to the rural problems. School boarders who had taken their quinine regularly during school holidays often developed malaria ten days or so after returning to school. These men treated the sick children with large doses of quinine, but for some reason never got around to ensuring that in future they should rather continue prophylactic treatment for the first three or four weeks after arriving back at school.

CHRONIC MALARIA

It was a common experience going to the coast or to a cooler clime to 'go down with a dose of fever'. For many years this was ascribed to infection with the benign forms such as *P. malariae*, *P. vivax*, and *P. ovale*. But in fact these forms were extremely rare, the first two being less than 1% found in any survey, and *P. ovale* found only once, by Dyson Blair. It is likely that most of the holiday attacks were due to suppressed *Falciparum* (malignant tertian), allowed to manifest itself after cessation of quinine, in the same way as the boarders returning to school.

In these days with the more efficient prophylaxis that has been characteristic of chloroquine, we seldom hear of the holiday bout of malaria.

NEW DRUGS

Germany was subjected to a quinine shortage during the first world war and began to research a substitute. In 1930 this resulted in the development of Quinacrine, known better to the Germans as Atebrin and to others as Mepacrine. During the latter stages of the second world war, after Japan had become involved, quinine was not available to the Allies, and large scale production of mepacrine began. This was successful in combatting malaria in exposed troops but because it was toxic and failed as a proper prophylactic a great deal of research for substitutes was undertaken, mainly in the United States.

Chloroquine and several close relatives proved highly effective, but American scientific faces turned red when, after the war, it was found that it had been marketed as Resochin since 1934 by the Germans.

Chloroquine came into general use in the late 1940s under a variety of trade names and was found to be an excellent curative and prophylactic drug in proper doses.

Two other preparations, chlorguanide (Paludrine) and pyrimethamine (Daraprim) had very good activity, especially as prophylactics, while primaquine was found useful in removal of the lurking sexual forms of the benign parasites waiting their opportunity to produce another bout of fever, which none of the other drugs entirely eradicated. Great care had to be taken in some black people in whom certain enzyme deficiencies could be aggravated.

Judicious and knowledgeable use of these was much more effective and less toxic than quinine.

INSECTICIDES

After the Italian campaign in 1944, the newly developed organochlorides such as DDT became famous for their part in stopping an outbreak of plague in Naples. Andrew Martin hoped that they would soon prove useful in the campaign against malaria.

THE ANTI MALARIA WAR

This began in 1946, under Dyson Blair who had been appointed by Under Secretary for Health, Richard Morris, to be responsible for preventive matters. At first there were small, but very successful, campaigns, mainly in resettlement areas, using indoor spraying of residual insecticides and the issue of chloroquine, 600 mg per adult and less for children, twice during the malaria season.

In 1949, the first year in which no blackwater death was reported, an ambitious trial of malaria (and bilharzia) control was started over 2 000 square miles of the Mazowe valley. The first beneficial results noted included better sleep due to lack of biting insects. Employers were impressed with a resultant better work output. The first year was an unqualified success, with malaria admissions at an all time low, failure to find anopheline mosquitoes, and near negative results in blood film searches. Many mines, farms and rural local authorities started their own control measures with variable efficiency.

By 1953, 20% of the population was protected by spraying and another 20% by living in an urban area. In all, 800 000 of the two million total population experienced no transmission.

In 1953, Government ceased work on the central plateau and deployed its workforce to draw a malaria free ring on its periphery. The whole of this was intensively sprayed and the population given chloroquine. The outer Lomagundi area was poorly done and provided one fourth of all known malaria cases in the country.

Sample surveys elsewhere, apart from the untouched Zambesi basin, showed a very low level of parasitaemia, most being due to infected immigrants.

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)

These successes attracted WHO, whose entomologists arrived in late 1957. It was confirmed that *A. gambiae* was still around but had become exophilic and zoophilic — they now lived outdoors and preferred other mammals to man, but it was soon discovered that the outdoor females still enjoyed human blood and were dangerous in spreading the malaria parasite.

By 1980 an 'intercountry eradication project' was in full swing south of a line from Plumtree, Bulawayo, Mberengwa to the Save/Runde river junction. Preliminary 10% blood samples showed 0. 26% positive, most *P. falciparum*, with *P. vivax* and *P. malariae* well below 1% of these. Many of those showing positive were immigrants from the north. There were 110 000 coming in annually, 34% with detectable parasites. Intensive checks and counterchecks were applied to ensure that the measures taken were entirely successful. Outside the eradication zone immigrants were each given a single dose of 60 mg pyrimethamine and 600 mg chloroquine, but doubtless many entered by informal routes and were missed.

DISAGREEMENT

WHO, in the light of experience elsewhere, began to rethink its policy on malaria, accenting control rather than eradication. The Federal Government had already gone a long way in negotiations with WHO to eradicate malaria at a very high cost for that time, US$200 000 in the first year rising to $1 million at the peak.

Most of this expenditure was to place trained people in rural areas to provide surveillance, primary care and the registration of births and deaths.

But Federation was breaking up and Southern Rhodesia was worried about cost. By mutual agreement the scheme was shelved and action left to the Provincial Medical Officers of Health.

RESUMPTION OF TRANSMISSION

In Triangle alone, part of the previous eradication area, there were over 600 cases in 1964, against virtually none in the previous few years. The outbreak was checked, but not completely controlled by a hastily mounted spraying campaign together with the issue of antimalarials.

The spraying was largely ineffective because of the exophilic mosquito which had little else to bite other than man.

UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In 1965 the shelved agreement with WHO was enlarged into a joint effort to 'roll malaria off the face of Rhodesia'. Personal luggage belonging to the WHO team arrived in November, but no experts. Correspondence received no reply. Doctors and others were aghast that WHO, an humanitarian organization, had yielded to political pressure from the United Nations and decided that Rhodesia was a non country and its people non people. With considerable difficulty and only after many months, the personal possessions of the WHO team were returned.

BLESSING IN DISGUISE

By 1987 the Ministry of Health heaved a figurative sigh of relief. A great deal of useless expenditure had been saved. It had become clear by this time that eradication would have resulted in failure. The high level of transmission, and the rate at which immigrants entering through informal routes topped up the parasite levels, would have rendered any campaign ineffective.

LOCAL MEASURES

Many parts of the country were free from malaria, while others were undergoing active treatment, such as Mount Darwin, Kariba Township, Chipinge, Hwange and Lupane. In the Zambesi valley, where there was a high level of transmission throughout the year, amongst a highly immune population, nothing was to be done unless a mass movement of communities was envisaged. Provincial Medical Officers, assisted by a strengthened Blair research laboratory, were financed to continue and initiate further control work as and where deemed possible and desirable.

BLACKWATER FEVER, AGAIN

In 1967 four cases of blackwater fever occurred, all in Africans who had lived for many years in malaria free areas. They contracted severe malaria on visiting hyperendemic areas and went on to pass the typical blackwater haemoglobin. They all recovered with the help of the single dialysis unit in the country, based at Harare Hospital.

Thus the quinine and racial theories were finally put to rest. Blackwater was plainly an unwelcome feature of malaria in people with little immunity.

PROPHYLAXIS AND 'CURE'

Even before reports of chloroquine resistance, theory had suggested the wisdom of the use of different drugs for prevention, reserving chloroquine for treatment. Few took any notice, and even after chloroquine resistance became fairly widespread people took it rather than the recommended dapsone/pyrimethamine and related mixtures. In the 1990s, with chloroquine

resistance common, overseas doctors still recommend its use together with paludrine as a prophylactic.

Chloroquine is still the best curative drug available in the many cases who have not acquired a resistant type of malaria. Failure is followed by the use of older drugs such as quinine with tetracyclines, mixed drugs such as the American Fansidar, or new drugs such as Halofantrine (Halfan), and extracts of long-used Chinese herbs, all of which have their dangers, side effects and failure.

OTHER MISUSE OF CHLOROQUINE

The fact that Chloroquine has several trade names, Resochin, Aralen, Nivaquin, Malaquin and Norolon for example, has resulted in many unenlightened people overdosing themselves by taking courses of several of the trade names together or one closely after another in trying to overcome a stubborn fever. In clinics it is prescribed thousands of times a day for undefined fevers.

Too often, with no laboratory aid to diagnosis and little inclination to pose a few important questions, doctors treat fevers with shotgun prescriptions of chloroquine, propranolol or aspirin and an antibiotic or two for what is most often a viral infection yielding to none of these, albeit self limiting.

In the form of Norolon it is easily available from supermarkets and trading stores. It is not infrequently taken for parasuicidal or suicidal purposes, with sometimes fatal results. Most frequently such users are teenage girls faced with love problems or looming examinations.

THE ENVIRONMENT

In the 1970s the environmentalists raised an alarm. Eagles and other birds of prey were failing to breed. At the end of the food chain, the excess accumulation of residual organochlorides had caused extreme fragility of eggshells. This and other problems eventually resulted in the banning of DDT.

The banning was achieved in part, but the Ministry of Health excused itself on the grounds that it used comparatively little, and was applied only to the walls of dwellings, so could not affect the general environment in the same way as had cotton growers. It refused to forsake an inexpensive and effective method of malaria control.

Unfortunately, the limited and scattered use of the material during the Chimurenga war increased the speed with which mosquitoes became resistant, necessitating the use of more expensive and often more acutely toxic insecticides.

THE FUTURE

High technology medicine in the larger hospitals, growing expectations of the populace for Western medicine, and the Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) pandemic have claimed an inordinate amount of the medical budget, leaving little for malaria control.

Older methods are becoming less effective because of the insecticide proof exophilic mosquito and the drug resistant parasite it transmits. Though much of the central plateau and the Eastern Highlands are malaria free, the anopheles is making its way up the river systems and malaria will be back on the plateau, in due course.

We eagerly await new methods of dealing with the problem, including vaccines promised for the future, but with foreboding doubts in view of our experience of differing immunity from area to area.

Until such times arrive, and new methods are proven, it would be sensible in malarial areas to adopt and expand the rules of hygiene used in Chegutu nearly 100 years ago.

The Last Royal Train

by George Stewart

Rhodesia enjoyed many visits by the Royal Family while it fell under the British sphere of influence. In more recent memory is the Royal tour of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother and Her Royal Highness The Princess Margaret, in July 1953.

Some of the principal events undertaken by Her Majesty the Queen Mother at that time were the opening of the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Bulawayo, the laying of the Foundation Stone for the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury and the unveiling of the Kingsley Fairbridge statue in Umtali.

The tour around Rhodesia was essentially by train and it is the movements of the train which are dealt with in this article.

The Royal Party flew by Comet into the new Salisbury Airport and toured by steam train. The juxtaposition of these means of transport is evident. It was the phasing out of steam on trains and the dawn of the jet passenger aeroplane age.

Sadly, it was one of the last grand tours done by steam train for a Royal tour. Only six years earlier the Queen Mother, with her husband King George VI and their two daughters, had toured the whole of Southern Africa by train having first sailed out to the Cape. Now it was a jet plane in to Salisbury followed by a train journey still in the grand style.

Sometime before the tour the Chief Superintendent of Rhodesia Railways, Mr. L. W. Lane, issued a 36 page Private and Confidential document headed:

RHODESIA RAILWAYS

Special Working Instructions
For the Running of Trains in Connection with the
Visit to Rhodesia of
Her Majesty The Queen Mother and Her Royal
Highness the Princess Margaret

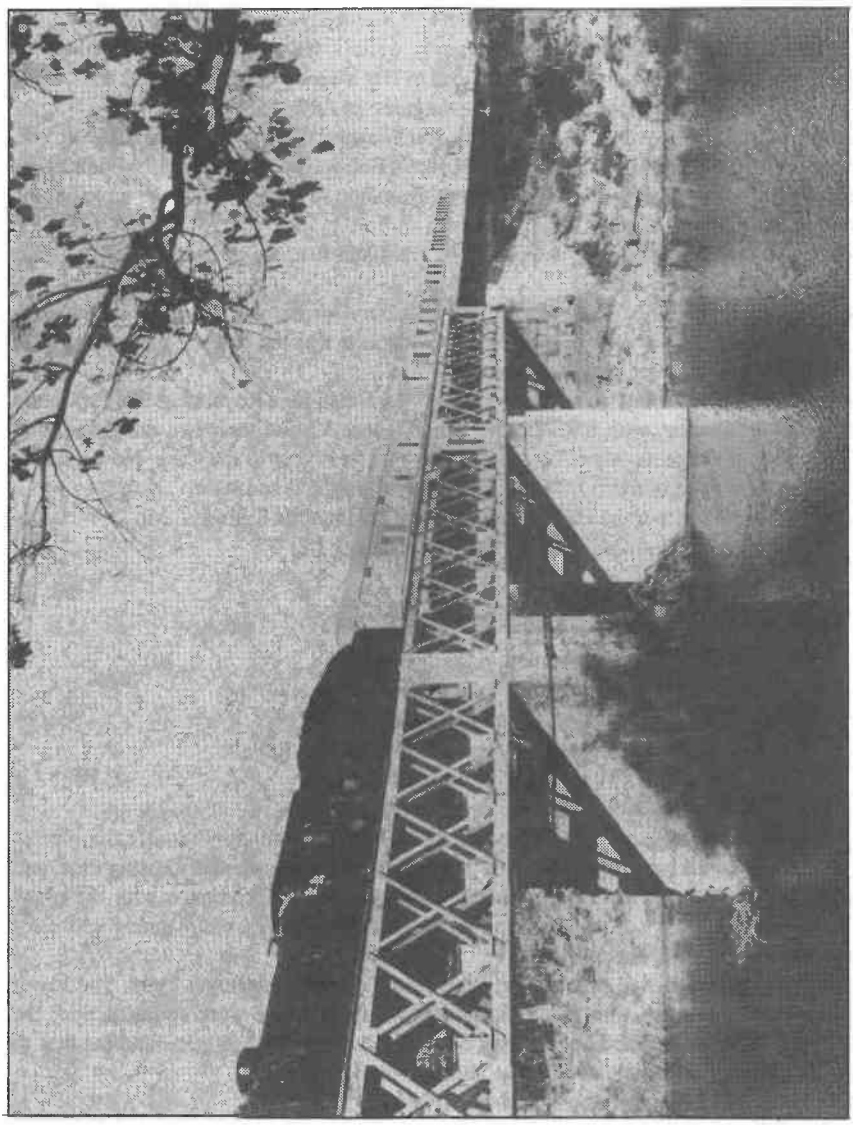
In this document, from which I have extracted *in extenso* for this article, the precise instructions for the working of the trains was detailed to the minute when discussing time, and the quarter inch in relation to length. Did the operation go in accordance with the plan? Probably yes, and if it did not who is going to admit that! However, the planning was most detailed and most carefully thought out.

The Royal Train consisted of two trains, the Pilot Train and the Royal Train. The Royal Train was painted white and what a spectacular sight it made. In the working instructions the Pilot Train is always mentioned first, simply because it was the first to leave and the first to arrive. In fact, it travelled some 40 minutes ahead of the Royal Train.

The composition of the two trains is shown overleaf.

The Royal Party arrived on the 1st July 1953 by air in Salisbury, resided at Government House and on the 2nd left at 7.30 p.m. by way of a private departure to Bulawayo, a straight run through with no official stops or visits on the way.

Back to Salisbury on the 2nd, the trains were assembled in Lochinvar and shunting engines hauled the Royal Train and the Pilot Train into Salisbury station. The Pilot engines, being Beyer Garratt 15th Class steam engines Nos. 390 and 395 with a bogie water tank separating them,



The second engine and the all white Royal Train crossing a river. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

PILOT TRAIN

	Weight lbs.	Axles	Overall length ft.	ins.
15th Class Engine			92	4
R.R. Bogie Water Tank	101 300	4	42	7
15th Class Engine				
R.R. Passenger Van	70 400	4	65	6¼
R.R. Third Class Saloon	83 000	4	65	6¼
R.R. First Class Saloon	93 700	4	65	6¼
R.R. First Class Saloon	93 700	4	65	6¼
R.R. First Class Saloon	93 700	4	65	6¼
R.R. Dining Car (Vumba)	82 000	4	62	1
R.R. First Class Saloon	93 700	4	65	6¼
R.R. First Class Saloon	93 700	4	65	6¼
R.R. First Class Saloon	93 700	4	65	6¼
R.R. Passenger Van	70 400	4	65	6¼
R.R. Refrigerator	73 900	4	44	1
	1 043 290	48	923	1¼

When worked by two 16A Class engines on the Salisbury-Umtali Section, the overall length of the train will be 903 ft. 3¼ ins.

Load of train	522 tons on 48 axles
Equipment	30 tons
Total Load	552 tons on 48 axles

ROYAL TRAIN

	No. of Saloons	Weight lbs.	Axles	Overall length ft.	ins.
15th Class Engine				92	4
R.R. Bogie Water Tank		101 300	4	42	7
15th Class Engine					
R.R. Passenger Van	30	70 400	4	65	6¼
R.R. 3rd Class Saloon	31	83 000	4	65	6¼
R.R. 1st Class Saloon	32	93 700	4	65	6¼
R.R. Dining Saloon (Chimanimani)	33	66 000	4	62	7
R.R. Kitchen & Staff car	34	79 500	4	62	7
R.R. 1st Class Saloon	35	93 700	4	65	6¼
R.R. 1st Class Saloon	36	93 700	4	65	6¼
R.R. 1st Class Saloon	37	93 700	4	65	6¼
S.A.R. Private Saloon	38	100 800	4	67	6
S.A.R. Private Saloon	39	100 800	4	67	6
S.A.R. Lounge Car	40	100 800	4	65	6
R.R. Kitchen & Staff car	41	70 650	4	62	1
R.R. Private Saloon	42	83 000	4	62	7
R.R. Private Saloon	43	88 000	4	63	1
S.A.R. Passenger Van	44	68 000	4	65	2
		1 387 050	64	1198	11½

When worked by two 16A Class engines on the Salisbury-Umtali section, the overall length of the train will be 1 179 ft. 1½ ins.

A passenger van has been attached both rear and front to avoid the necessity of turning the train en route, and the marshalling must not be disturbed except in the event of emergent circumstances, for which the authority of the Train Manager must first be obtained.

were positioned for departure at 5.20 p.m. At 5.00 p.m. the two Royal Train engines, Beyer Garratt 15th Class Nos. 423 and 393 again separated by a water bogie, were positioned as follows:

> "Thereafter the train will be drawn forward and the driver of the leading engine must stop at the train marker provided, which will ensure Royal saloon No. 40 being directly opposite the main entrance to Station Building.
> The train electrician will then install the telephones on both engines.
> Two members of the B. S. A. Police will place the ramp in position on Saloon No. 40 in readiness for The Royal Party to entrain.
> When The Royal Party has entrained, the ramp will be removed by the two members of the B. S. A. Police and replaced in the van.
> The train will depart at 18.00 p.m."

Off into the night the two trains steamed and, as the normal rail traffic still had to proceed along the single railway track, crossings had to take place.

At Norton, in relation to the Royal Train, the instructions were as follows:

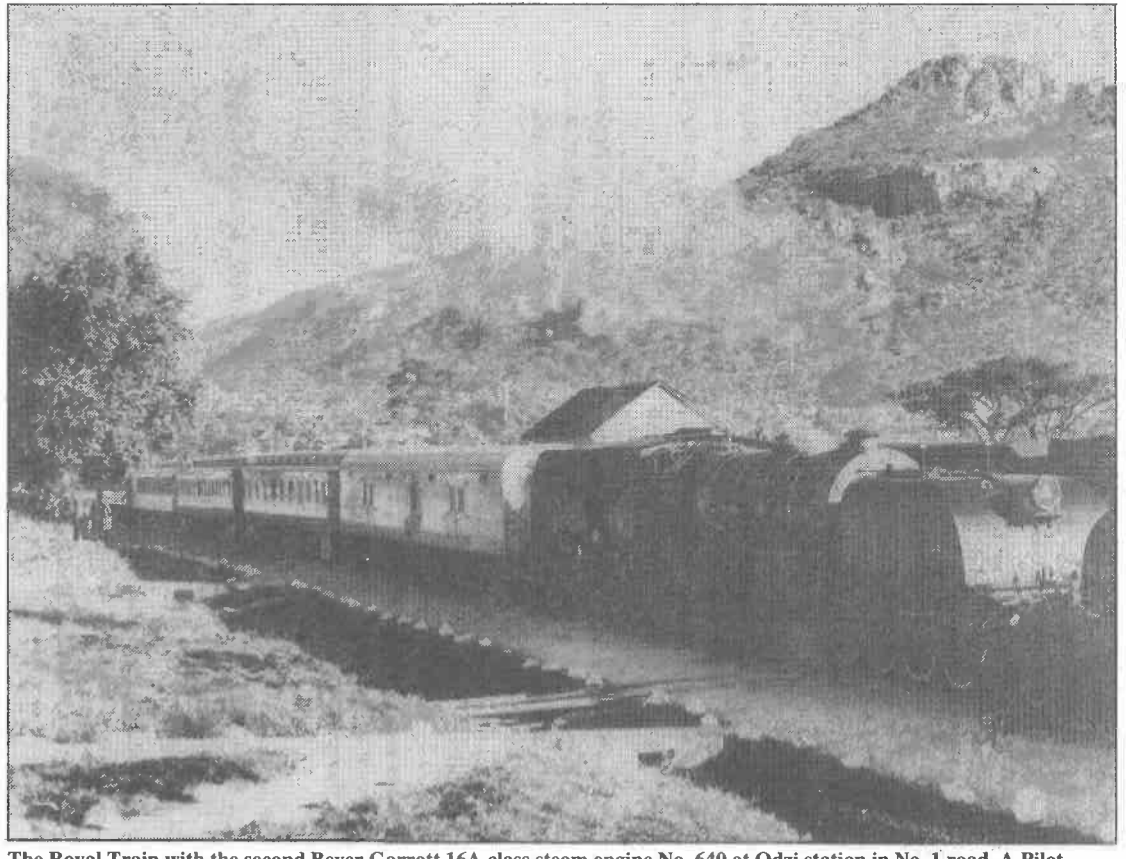
> "On arrival at 20.29, the driver of the leading engine must stop short of the water column and immediately thereafter the train electrician will disconnect the telephones between the engines and the train. The guard will then uncouple the engines, which will move forward for watering.
> After watering, the engines will move back and be coupled to the train by the guard and the train electrician will connect the telephones between the engines and the train.
> All movements will be under the direct control of a Traffic or Trains' Inspector.
> The train will depart at 20.54 hrs."

With the exception of times and the disconnecting of the telephone link which it seems only the Royal Train had, the Pilot Train engines followed the same procedure. In fact, this was the procedure at all watering points.

Who were on the trains? On the Royal Train, apart from Her Majesty and Her Royal Highness, there were private secretaries, ladies in waiting and equerries. In addition, there was a Minister in Attendance plus his staff, senior Police and Railway officials and their respective staff. The Pilot Train carried the rank and file of police and railway representatives, newspaper correspondents, minor members of the Royal Party staff and one of the guard vans served as a post and telegraph office.

In Gwelo the Pilot Train had an 11 minute stop and the Royal Train 10 minutes and the instructions stated:

> "The B.S.A. Police have specially requested that all concerned should respect the privacy of The Royal Party by keeping well away from the train and it is essential that the UTMOST QUIETNESS SHOULD BE OBSERVED whilst the Pilot and Royal Trains are at Gwelo.
> The Salisbury crews will work the trains through to Dabuka under pilotage by a Locomotive Inspector and return with the light engines to Gwelo, where they will book off.
> The Bulawayo crews will work the light engines from Gwelo to Dabuka, and the trains from Dabuka to Bulawayo."



The Royal Train with the second Beyer Garratt 16A class steam engine No. 640 at Odzi station in No. 1 road. A Pilot Train engine can be seen in the Sand Spur. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

The Royal Train arrived at Dabuka at 1.00 a.m. on 3rd July 1953 and was admitted into No. 2 road with the Pilot Train already in No. 3 road and here the driver of the Royal Train is required to ". . . stop at the train marker provided which will ensure that the Royal saloons do not overlap the pilot train". Shortly after they arrived, the engines on both trains were detached, had brakes fully applied and, in the case of the Royal Train, telephones disconnected. The engines then travelled 'light' back to Gwelo where the crews booked off duty.

The Station Master Gwelo ". . . must ensure that all trucks containing explosives are cleared from Dabuka before the arrival of the Pilot Train".

To ensure the minimum disturbance of the sleeping occupants, trains passing or crossing the two trains were to be piloted through No. 1 road by an Inspector after coming to a stand at the facing points.

For some five hours, high on the Rhodesian Highveld, in the middle of winter the two trains sat engineless. How they were to be heated without the engines attached is not mentioned.

Meanwhile, in Gwelo the two engine sets would have been rebunkered, rewatered and thoroughly cleaned. With the new crews on board the Pilot Train engine left at 5.15 a.m. for the 15 minute run up to Dabuka, coupled up to its train and set off for Bulawayo. The Royal Train engine likewise left Gwelo at 6.00 a.m. and after coupling up left Dabuka at 6.15 a.m. on the 3rd July 1953.

The trains watered at Shangani Tank and proceeded into Bulawayo. The Pilot Train was due in at 9.45 a.m. and stopped on the platform road at the marker provided to let the passengers disembark and was then sent into platform No. 4. Regarding the arrival of the Royal Train the instruction read:

> "On arrival at 10.30, the train will be admitted into the Main Platform Road and the driver of the leading engine must stop at the train marker provided, which will ensure that Royal saloon No. 40 is directly opposite the main entrance to the Station Building.
> Two members of the B. S. A. Police will immediately place the ramp in position on Saloon No. 40 to enable The Royal Party to detrain."

A marker was used to position the train, which was nearly 1 200 feet in length, so that Her Majesty would step out of the carriage right onto the middle of the red carpet. The instructions regarding the positioning of the trains were quite specific and the train markers referred to are:

> *Pilot Train*
> A circular board painted yellow with the letter 'P' in black, mounted on a pole 5ft 3ins. in height.
>
> *Royal Train*
> A circular board painted white with the letters 'RT' in red, mounted on a pole 5ft 3ins. in height.
>
> These train markers, which will be provided at the stations mentioned, will be placed in position on the right-hand side as seen from the approaching train and the driver of the leading engine must bring his train to a stop with his shoulder directly opposite the train marker.
> The Engineer's Department will arrange for suitable indicator marks to be provided at the stations concerned and Station Masters will be responsible for ensuring that the train markers for the Pilot and Royal Trains are placed in their respective positions. The Royal Train marker should not be placed in position

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother and Her Royal Highness The Princess Margaret alighting from the lounge door of Saloon No. 40 of the Royal Train at Bulawayo Station.

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

until after the arrival of the Pilot Train, and the train marker for the latter train has been removed. It is essential that these markers be placed in the correct positions so as to enable the drivers of the leading engines, who will be solely responsible for stopping the trains, to do so at the specified points.
The official detraining point for The Royal Party at all official stops is from the lounge door of Saloon No. 40 on the Royal Train.
4 portable ramps for use on the Royal saloon No. 40 will be carried in the leading van of the Royal Train."

The arrival of the Royal Party was occasioned by a 21 gun salute, the meeting of dignitaries, and an inspection of a Guard of Honour of the Southern Rhodesian Territorial force. It was the first ceremonial occasion which these royal trains were involved in since having made their private departure from Salisbury.

After baggage had been unloaded the Royal Train left for Kumalo Aerodrome Private siding followed by the Pilot Train. From Friday 3rd July to Monday 6th July, the trains were to be watered twice daily and coaches cleaned, which pre-supposes that the trains were being used by some of the staff on the tour as accommodation.

While the Royal Party were at Government House, Bulawayo, amongst the official duties conducted by Her Majesty was the opening of the Central Africa Rhodes Centenary Exhibition.

At 2.20 p.m. on Monday 6th July 1953 the Pilot Train's engines, with the water bogie between, set out "Bunkers Leading" or backwards for Kumalo private siding. When hooked up to the Pilot Train it was taken to Bulawayo and on its arrival it was admitted into No. 2 road ". . . and will proceed through the Yard and round the balloon". This enabled the train to make a full 'U' turn. It was then set into platform No. 3 at 2.40 p.m. The Royal Train engine set likewise, collected its train from Kumalo, came into Bulawayo around the balloon and was set in the platform road with the Royal Saloon No. 40's door in the exact position.

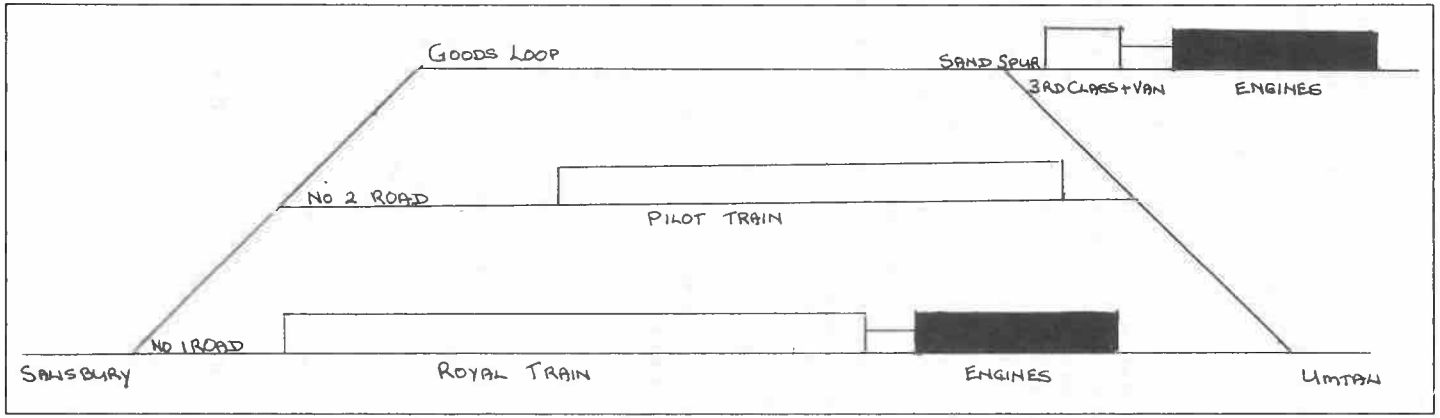
The departure from Bulawayo station in the late afternoon was a formal occasion with a Guard of Honour of the Royal Air Force and a 21 gun salute as the train left. The Pilot Train set off at 5.00 p.m. on a run that would take two nights and a day to Umtali with the Royal Train departing at 5.35 p.m. The same crew which brought the trains from Dabuka took them back.

The two trains watered at Shangani Tank and pulled into Dabuka. The engine sets uncoupled and headed off to Gwelo and as it was comparatively early in the evening "Members of the Royal Party may wish to alight from the train while it is staged at Dabuka. In this contingency, two members of the B. S. A. Police will be available to place and remove the ramp on Saloon No. 40".

Again it must have been a somewhat eerie sight to see these two magnificent gleaming trains sitting engineless in that exposed area of Dabuka overlooking Gwelo for about 12 hours while the occupants dined, slept, and breakfasted before the first official engagement of the day.

On Tuesday, 7th July 1953, the Pilot Train engines left Gwelo Bunkers leading at 8.20 a.m. with the Royal Train engines off 30 minutes later. On arrival they connected to their respective trains and left for Gwelo. The Royal Train arrived at 10.00 a.m. for an official three hour stop. The Southern Rhodesia Armoured Car Regiment provided the Guard of Honour and in the course of the brief visit Her Majesty the Queen Mother opened the Memorial Gates at the Chaplin School and conducted other engagements.

After 'farewells at Gwelo Station' the Royal Train left at 1.00 p.m. for Que Que for the 25 minutes stop there. Only after the Royal Party had detrained were the engines allowed to detach. At Que Que, as subsequently in Gatooma and Hartley, the Royal Party met Civic leaders and residents of these towns. In all cases "Leading Africans will be presented". Interestingly, the Pilot Train was in and out of each of the three official stops of Que Que,



Sketch of Odzi Station yard showing the layout of trains and engines while the trains were waiting to enter Umtali. Similar layouts were at Dabuka and Norton except for the Sand Spur which, in the case of Norton, resulted in the Pilot engine's van and coach occupying the Goods Loop — blocking the line.

Gatooma and Hartley before the Royal Train arrived. They were only to meet up at Odzi at 5.12 a.m. on the following day.

The Royal Train arrived at Gatooma at 3.24 p.m. for a 25 minute official stop. Hartley was reached at 5.03 p.m. and at 7.15 hrs the train arrived in Salisbury.

The Pilot Train arrived first in the capital city at 7.15 p.m. and admitted into the Platform Road (or main platform) and stops. "Immediately thereafter the Crest will be removed from the leading engine by a fitter. The engines will then be uncoupled by the Foreman Shunter and sent to the Running Shed."

Two 16A Class steam engines were normally used on the Salisbury–Umtali line due to their higher power needed for this difficult terrain between the two towns.

After the Pilot Train had left at 7.45 p.m. the Royal Train pulled into the platform road at 7.55 p.m. and the carriages were rewatered. Provision was made for the Royal Party to have a walk around while the Coat of Arms was removed from the leading engine. The engine set with 16A Class locos No. 640 leading a bogie tank and No. 641 were coupled to the Train, the Coat of Arms was fitted and telephone connected. All taking place within 25 minutes and the Royal Train left at 8.20 p.m.

Being night time now there were, as may be expected, no official stops on the way to Umtali. The trains were rewatered with the usual uncoupling procedure so as not to disturb the passengers at Melfort, Macheke, Rusape and at Odzi.

It is interesting to note that on a journey from Salisbury to Umtali water was taken on four times, whereas two waterings were effected on the Salisbury–Gwelo section, a similar distance. This was occasioned by the 16A Class Beyer Garratt Steam Locomotive having a lesser water storage capacity of 5 000 gal. compared with the 15th Class Locomotives with 7 000 gal. which were used west of Salisbury. In addition the terrain was much more demanding and water consuming.

At Inyazura the two trains had a 25 minute stop while the Salisbury train crews booked off and the Inyazura based crews took over.

At Odzi the Pilot Train in No. 2 road after watering pulled the train so that the leading first class coach was as far as the loop would allow before the points. The train was uncoupled behind the third class coach and this little unit of an engine, water tank, engine guard van and a third class carriage was placed in the Sand Spur (used to load sand from the Odzi River). This manoeuvre now allowed the Royal Train to come alongside in No. 1 road and stop so that the saloons occupied by the Royal Party did not overlap the Pilot Train.

This was the first time the two trains had met up since departing from Gwelo, about eighteen hours before. While the two trains were standing in Odzi other trains wishing to pass or overtake had to stop at the facing points and be piloted through the Goods Shed Loop by an Inspector. In stating the obvious, but no doubt a necessary reminder, the instructions noted:

> ". . . arrangements must be made to ensure that the Goods Shed loop is kept clear of vehicles while the Pilot and Royal Trains are at Odzi".

The Pilot Train arrived in Umtali on Wednesday 8th July at 10. It was admitted into the platform road (the main platform) to allow the passengers to detrain, after which the train was put into No. 2 road and the engines uncoupled for despatch to the loco shed.

Forty minutes later the Royal Train was due in and set to be down on the platform road with the usual procedure so that the door on coach No. 40 was in the exact position. After the Royal Party had detrained the engines went off to the Loco sheds.

The arrival at Umtali was a formal occasion with the Royal Party being met by His Worship the Mayor of Umtali, Clr. Harry Went and Mrs Went. Her Majesty inspected a Guard of Honour

Her Majesty The Queen Mother's private suite on the Royal Train. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

by the Royal Rhodesia Regiment. The Royal Party proceeded by car up Main Street on its way to Christmas Pass (a fact which can be verified by the writer who was with the other school children standing outside Meikles Park, waving a little Union Jack which is still in his possession). On the Pass, Her Majesty unveiled the Memorial to Kingsley Fairbridge who was the Uncle of Mr Harry Went, the Mayor.

Back at the Umtali railway station the trains were watered and cleaned. The apex of the triangle to turn the engines in Umtali was too small for the two engines and water bogie so they had to be disconnected to effect the turn around. The rest of the trains had passenger vans at each end.

The Royal Party arrived back at the train just after 1 p.m. to lunch and rest before proceeding to a garden party at Hillside Club for 3.45 p.m. In this regard the instructions had this to say:

> "During the period between 12.00 and 15.00, while the Royal Party are having lunch and resting, shunting movements and other noisy operations must be reduced to a minimum. All essential shunting movements must be conducted as quietly as possible, and every effort must be made to prevent disturbances such as engines blowing off steam, whistling and unnecessarily emitting smoke."

The departure from the train by the Royal Party and its entourage for the Garden Party was the start of a rather remarkable journey. The Royal Party spent two nights at the Leopard Rock Hotel before carrying on by motor car to meet the trains at Fort Victoria.

The car journey from Umtali to Fort Victoria was a straight forward one, due south for 89 miles to Birchenough Bridge and then west for 100 miles to Fort Victoria.

The trains on the other hand had a far more circuitous route. Back to Salisbury, on to Gwelo then south on the branch line to Fort Victoria, a distance of 390 train miles. Losing no time the Pilot Train left Umtali at 4 p.m. followed by the Royal Train at 4.40 p.m. The two trains did not meet up until Fort Victoria about twenty five and a half hours later. Not having Royal personages and staff on board, although Rhodesia Railways, B.S.A. Police and Postal officials and an element of the press corps remained, the trains were not uncoupled from the engines during watering.

The Pilot Train arrived in Fort Victoria Station at 5.20 p.m. on 9th July and was then shunted into the 'Farmers' Co-op Shunting Leg'. The Royal Train arrived in at 5.55 p.m. The engines were disconnected and uncoupled and moved to the other end of the train and ". . . the train will then be propelled into the Cold Storage Commission Spur". After the Royal Train was stabled the Pilot Train was brought forward out of the Farmers' Co-op Spur and stabled in No. 1 Platform road.

The two trains remained in their respective berths for another 24 hours until the Royal Party arrived.

On Friday 11th the Royal Party set off by road to Fort Victoria, with stops at Eagle School, a meeting with Cashel farmers, lunch at Nyanyadzi, a stop at Birchenough Bridge to meet Chipinga farmers, and tea in Bikita Reserve. Her Majesty and Her Royal Highness joined the train in the Cold Storage Commission yard at 6.35 p.m. in Fort Victoria by way of a 'private arrival'. The Royal Party remained on the train until 9.30 a.m. on Saturday 11th July 1953 when they went on to visit Great Zimbabwe and Morgenster Mission before rejoining the train at about 1 p.m. for lunch.

Special arrangements were made to coal the engines at Fort Victoria as it was not a rebunkering station. The Royal Party left the train in the early afternoon at 3.30 p.m. to attend a Civic Garden Party at the Victoria Sports Club. The Pilot Train was made ready for its departure to Salisbury and left at 4.45 p.m. The Royal Train departed at 5.30 p.m. for the last

The inside of the Lounge Car, Saloon No. 40, on the Royal Train. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

part of the journey around Southern Rhodesia on the last of the great Royal Trains to tour the country.

The trains steamed north towards Gwelo while the full complement of passengers, the Royal Party, equerries, ladies in waiting, government officials, heads of Police and Railway staff, the rail workers, cooks and bottle washers all prepared to have the last dinner on the train.

The Royal Train came into Gwelo at 12.20 a.m. on the Sunday morning and departed for Salisbury at 1.15 a.m.

The fresh crew on the trains were the original ones who had started out with the first run of the trains on the 3rd July, nine days earlier, and this crew was now on its fourth shift pulling these illustrious trains. What pride these men must have felt (as assuredly all crews felt) to have been involved in this historic event. Perhaps they did not realize that this would be the last of the great Royal Trains to tour Southern Africa.

The trains steamed eastward in the early hours of the morning and proceeded to Norton where they were stabled to allow for a mid-morning arrival in Salisbury.

Unlike all the other places where the trains waited out the morning to allow for a sociably acceptable time of arrival, Norton did not have a spare loop to allow other trains to pass or overtake. Instead of using the Sand Spur, as in Odzi, to place the front part of the Pilot Train, the goods loop was utilized, blocking for the first time the main line through the country for 1 hour 45 minutes. The Pilot Train set off at 8.30 a.m.

The Royal Train followed at 9 a.m. for the last hour's run of this memorable journey which had been on the rails for eleven days. It had been the home for many of the occupants for most of the time and for Her Majesty the Queen Mother and Her Royal Highness the Princess Margaret it had been their home for five nights.

The Pilot Train arrived in Salisbury at 9.30 a.m. at the main platform and after disembarking of the passengers at their journey's end it was placed in No. 2 road, the engines uncoupled and sent to the running shed.

The Royal Train arrived by way of a private arrival at 10 a.m. on the main platform stopping at the precise point for the disembarkation.

The final instruction was:

> "All the staff working the Royal Train, including Africans, will immediately assemble, in accordance with instructions that will be issued in this connection, to be presented to Her Majesty The Queen Mother and H.R.H. The Princess Margaret. Two enginemen must be available to take over from the engine crews while the presentation is being made.
> After the presentation, the train electrician will disconnect and remove the telephones on the engines. The engines will then be uncoupled by the Foreman Shunter and sent into the Running Shed."

The attention to detail for this whole exercise is exemplified by the reference to the two enginemen to take over from the crews during the presentations as these two engines could not be left sitting in steam unattended for the 25 minutes the Royal Party had at the station for the presentation.

The Royal Party left the station and went to the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints for Divine Service. They would, it is hoped, have had time to reflect on the competency and efficiency in the planning and executing of the journey they had just completed.

It was an undertaking of which all those who took part, especially the Railway staff, could be justly proud.

A Life-Sketch of Dr Andrew Milroy Fleming, a True Pioneer

by C. J. van Straaten

Undoubtedly, one of the most outstanding medical figures in pioneer Rhodesia is Dr Andrew Milroy Fleming, CMG, CBE, MB, CM, FRCS, DPH. Dr Fleming distinguished himself as a medical practitioner and administrator, and it was largely owing to him that Rhodesia emerged from 'fever-ridden Darkest Africa' to become one of the healthiest countries in the world. He arrived in Rhodesia in 1894 as Medical Officer of Salisbury but, after playing a prominent role in laager Salisbury during the Mashona Rebellion, he was appointed Principal Medical Officer of the Police and Medical Director. In the thirty-four years that he retained this post he established medical services throughout the country. He organized an Anglo-Russian Hospital unit during World War I, and appeared briefly on the Executive and Legislative Councils before the advent of Responsible Government. However, such an awesome record stifles the humanity of the man; Fleming was indeed a man to inspire respect, and even fear, amongst his employees, but outside the office his ready humour, sparkling imagination and his kindness earned him the affection of all who knew him.

The son of a Free Church of Scotland Minister, Andrew Fleming was born in 1871 in Stirling, Scotland, one of five children.[1] He was educated at Edinburgh Academy, Durham School and Edinburgh University where he gained his MB and CM in 1893.[2] After qualifying, he became Assistant Physician at Victoria Hospital for Consumption in Edinburgh.[3]

Fleming soon gave up his work to accompany his twin sister (ironically a sufferer from tuberculosis) to the healthier climate of the Karroo.[4] He became House Surgeon in Kimberley Hospital and it was here that he was recruited by Dr Jameson to work in Rhodesia.[5] A visit to Cape Town resulted in his appointment as Medical Officer of Salisbury with the right to practise privately,[6] and in September 1894 the young doctor set off for Salisbury. The 'Fleming Letters' provide us with a graphic description of the journey by post cart and lurching coach,[7] and also give us a valuable insight into Fleming's character. Many remarks display an engaging sense of humour and an ability to write a vivid, interesting account, one of the most memorable and succinct lines being his comment on Bulawayo: 'Dear, Dirty and Damnable!'[8] One is afforded a glimpse of the ebullience lurking in a man already bearing considerable responsibility.

At this time, medical facilities in Rhodesia were very much in their infancy and the missions were largely responsible for the few traces of medicine that did exist. However, the missionaries mostly confined their activities to the healthier parts of Matabeleland before the arrival in Salisbury in 1891 of the Dominican Sisters. Soon this devoted sisterhood was staffing most of the Chartered Company's hospitals, and others followed their example. The advance of medicine was further hampered by the frightening lack of knowledge, for it was only in the closing years of the last century that the renaissance of modern medicine occurred. It was Fleming who was to lead medicine in Rhodesia out of the superstitious murk of centuries into the antiseptic science it is today.[9]

When he reached Salisbury, although the new hospital was still under construction, a few primitive buildings were in use. These were staffed by the Dominican Sisters, with whom Fleming established a most cordial relationship.[10] In his first two years in Salisbury, the doctor

evidently worked extremely hard;[11] apart from administering the hospital, he managed a demanding private practice, served on the Sanitary Board[12] and yet had time to raise hospital funds by holding a dinner.[13] Such was the success of Fleming's administration of Salisbury Hospital that Sir Alfred Milner said in 1897 that 'it was one of the best arranged and worked that he had seen in Africa'.[14]

Fleming seems, indeed, to have been the ideal choice for the position and soon earned the people's trust. He was very reliable, never refusing to visit any case, and he paid no more visits than was necessary nor charged those unable to pay him.[15] Of his private character at the time we know little. However, there are several records of his astute bargaining ability which gained him a house, a horse and a servant from the Chartered Company.[16]

In 1896 Fleming returned to Scotland on leave to marry a life-long friend, Philadelphia Alice Fisher, whom he brought back to Rhodesia. Their journey from Beira to Salisbury, however, was hazardous as rinderpest was at its height and the Mashonas were on the verge of rebellion. Indeed, Philadelphia's trousseau was captured by the rebels.[17] Nevertheless, the bride bore up very well[18] and was safely installed in her new home which, by contemporary standards, was enviably comfortable. (The house, together with the large tree loved by Fleming's daughter, is still standing.)[19]

'Delphie' soon adapted to life in Salisbury and proved herself an awesomely versatile woman. She was a talented sportswoman, actress and musician, and played a prominent role in many Rhodesian charities.[20] A gay person,[21] she yet possessed a strong character for she locked her husband in a room during the Rebellion to allow him some sleep.[22] Fleming had chosen a wife well. 'They were a completely devoted and happy married couple.'[23]

In June 1896, on the outbreak of the Rebellion — which was unexpected by Fleming[24] — the Doctor became a member of the local Defence Committee and was placed in charge of the laager hospital which was situated for six weeks in the gaol.[25] Being the only doctor in the laager, he bore a tremendous workload but was also in charge of the women and children and responsible for the training of an ambulance corps.[26]

Fleming accompanied several patrols during the Rebellion, as the 'Fleming Letters' record.[27] Most notable was the Hartley Patrol for which he acted as Medical Officer. He appears to have acquitted himself well although his surgical equipment was inadvertently left in Salisbury.[28]

For being 'untiring in his efforts to alleviate the suffering of the sick and wounded'[29] throughout the Rebellion, Fleming was awarded the CMG in 1898, at that time the youngest person so distinguished.[30] As Surgeon Captain in the Salisbury Field Force, he was also awarded the Rhodesia 1896 Medal.[31]

It was in April 1897 that his career as Medical Director began[32] — with a complaint at the extra amount of Company work expected of him. For a salary stipulated by himself, Fleming offered to take charge of the Medical Department, pursuing a scheme formulated by him for the development of medical services.[33] His suggestion was accepted and he was commissioned to establish a medical service and Public Health Department. To accomplish this, he was appointed Medical Director General, Inspector of Hospitals and Registrar of Births and Deaths.[34] At the same time he became Principal Medical Officer of the BSA Police with the rank of Colonel[35] and also retained his post as Surgeon-in-Charge of the Salisbury Hospital.[36] Such was the astonishing responsibility placed on the shoulders of a man of twenty-six.

As PMO of the Police, Fleming was responsible for the health of the force, but, in addition to his administrative duties, he carried out patrols, conducted inspections and sick parades at the Police camp and attended officers and their families.[37] He pressed for better conditions for the police[38] and it was owing to his efforts that their housing was gradually improved.[39] In recognition of his services to the Police, in 1897 he was awarded the Mashonaland clasp to his Rhodesia 1896 medal.[40]

In his capacity as Medical Director, Fleming instituted numerous reforms for he was 'both progressive and original'.[41] However, in organizing the Public Health Department, he followed a policy of decentralization, since he regarded a central bureau as 'soulless' and because he wished to avoid health being dependent on the see-saw of politics. Consequently, the administration of Public Health largely devolved on local authorities.[42]

With the end of the Rebellion, Fleming was able to concentrate on his duties as Medical Director. These included the supervision of hospitals and medical supplies, the staffing of hospitals and the arrangement of the duties of virtually all medical officers.[43] In addition, he continued to run a consulting practice, only giving this up after World War I.[44]

One of his major achievements lay in the siting and staffing of hospitals, a mere handful of which existed when he arrived in Rhodesia. Fleming was responsible for the establishment of small cottage hospitals, under District Medical Officers, at a dozen minor centres. Unfortunately, staffing these clinics posed a serious problem as many doctors only remained a short while. In addition, the hospitals at Salisbury, Bulawayo and Umtali, although founded before Fleming's time, were reorganized. The Medical Director took considerable interest in the privately-run institutions at Umtali and Bulawayo, and eventually the Administration took control of them,[45] Bulawayo being the last hospital to become a Government institution.[46]

Meanwhile, until 1920, Fleming continued as Surgeon and Superintendent at Salisbury Hospital.[47] During this period, Dr Huggins successfully spearheaded a campaign to move the hospital although this was against the wishes of Fleming who contended that the old site in Fourth Street was convenient for poorer people.[48]

Over the years, numerous facilities were established by Fleming to form the solid core on which today's health service is still based. A serious outbreak of rabies in 1902 led to the establishment of a small Pasteur Institute[49] which prepared anti-rabic virus and treated cases of rabies.[50] A bacteriological laboratory was opened in 1909 to carry out research and prepare vaccine.[51] At Fleming's instigation,[52] this seems to have been enlarged in 1912,[53] and eventually became the Public Health Laboratory in 1921.[54] Fleming then made arrangements with the London School of Medicine whereby a field station was established in Salisbury.[55]

Institutions were also founded to treat specialized maladies. A suggestion by the Medical Director in 1899[56] resulted in the building of a lazaretto for the treatment of patients suffering from contagious diseases, while the mentally deranged were housed at Ingutsheni Mental Hospital by 1908. Before this time, in accordance with a proposal by Fleming,[57] they were confined in gaols, although, in the early years of Rhodesia, they were sent to asylums in the Cape. For lepers, a voluntary segregation camp was opened at the beginning of the century with Fleming's support.[58] However, this was little utilized and a committee appointed by Fleming advocated compulsory segregation.[59] The Doctor was opposed to this on the grounds that Africans did not yet trust European medicine,[60] but a compulsory segregation asylum was planned in 1912.[61]

Fleming also instituted reforms in the rules governing the practice of medicine. These rules had hitherto been rather loose and as early as 1898 the Medical Director had advocated the formation of a Medical Council to frame regulations for the licensing of members of the medical profession.[62] However, it was not until 1905 that a Medical Committee was inaugurated, with Fleming as a member and later its President.[63] In 1927 the Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act was promulgated, replacing the now 'antiquated'[64] Ordinance which had set up the Medical Committee. Under the new act, the Committee was replaced by the Medical Council which admitted people to practise medicine and submitted regulations for the registration of other medical personnel. Fleming was a member of this body.[65] He again showed his concern for medical practitioners when he was largely responsible for an improvement in the conditions of service of district surgeons. A beginning had been made in 1918 when the Administration had

agreed to pay surgeons for visiting outlying farms,[66] but in 1921 surgeons became civil servants proper, whilst still being allowed to engage in private practice. This innovation soon led to the filling of numerous vacancies.[67]

Another scheme devised by Fleming to alleviate the shortage of medical staff was a training centre for probationers in Salisbury. This was instituted in 1901 after the Dominican Sisters relinquished their nursing service.[68]

A final sphere of reform carried out by the tireless Medical Director lay in the field of Public Health legislation. Some of the most important acts were the Births and Deaths Registration Ordinance of 1904, for which Fleming had long pressed;[69] the Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act; and the extremely important Public Health Act. Broadly, this act, which took effect in 1925, consolidated and extended Public Health legislation. Its merit may be gauged from the fact that the act remains virtually unamended today.

The indomitable pioneering spirit of the Medical Director in instituting all these reforms cannot be denied. Moreover, Fleming had yet more reforms in mind, and was only prevented from implementing his plans by the slump in 1928. The successes achieved by Fleming are the history of the Public Health Department.

His achievements can, perhaps, be divided into European and African categories. This is because Europeans were prone to malaria and other diseases prevalent in summer, whereas Africans were more affected by the winter diseases of scurvy and pneumonia.[70]

Malaria and its extreme form of blackwater fever (recognized as such by Fleming in spite of opposing views)[71] were the worst scourge of early settlers. Fleming persuaded chemists to sell quinine at virtually cost price and was instrumental in bringing about measures in the police force to combat the disease. However, the Doctor's greatest weapon against malaria was the education of the public.[72] He initiated a campaign of informing people of the gravity of the disease and of the precautions they should take to safeguard against it, a particularly important publication being his twelve-point plan.[73] Eventually, Fleming obtained the legal powers he sought to compel employers of labour to protect their employees.[74] It is no mean tribute to Fleming's indefatigable altruism that a research scholar, Dr J. G. Thomson, said of him: 'I should say that had it not been for his work . . . , this country would have driven out many of the white people and so hindered its development'.[75]

As early as 1906 sleeping sickness (trypanosomiasis) was recognized by Fleming as a potential danger,[76] and he had the foresight to conduct experiments to find out whether game were carriers of the disease.[77] When the first case was reported in 1912, he immediately began to delineate all sleeping sickness belts and organized an expedition to the Sebungwe district.[78] He agreed that the Africans in the district be moved to fly-free areas and the region was opened to hunting. Despite this, the fly-belts spread, but, by 1922, the German drug, Bayer 25, was being considered a cure.[79]

Yet it is not only for his concern over malaria and trypanosomiasis that Fleming should be remembered today. Equally important were his work for the African mine-worker and the rural African and his success in allaying the African's hostility to European forms of medicine.

African mine-workers, in particular, were ravaged by disease, and Fleming termed the death-rate amongst them 'appalling'.[80]

In 1907 he investigated the prevalence of scurvy[81] and, subsequently, helped bring about the appointment of Inspectors of Mine Compounds and better living conditions for mine-workers.[82] A medical officer was also stationed at Beira to examine the disease-prone labourers from the north.[83] As a result, the incidence of disease amongst mine-workers dropped, but in 1910 a Commission of Inquiry, with Fleming as its chairman, was appointed to study the causes and distribution of scurvy and pneumonia. The commission visited mines in Rhodesia and the Transvaal and its report was 'a masterpiece of clear thinking and excellent deduction . . .'[84]

Many of its numerous suggestions to improve conditions on mines[85] were adopted in 1911. By this year, too, hospitals for Africans were established on all the larger mines,[86] but Fleming was still dissatisfied. Vaccine introduced to Rhodesia achieved only debatable success,[87] but, by 1930, the mortality rate had dropped to 17,36 per mille[88] from the staggering 51,67 of 1906.[89]

Another major sphere of innovation benefited the African in the reserve and eventually resulted in the establishment of clinics. The scheme originated with Fleming's concern over the spread of venereal disease.[90] In 1909 he began to press for the erection of African dispensaries under the control of district surgeons and was opposed to the view that lay missions should provide medical facilities.[91] Two years later he obtained official approval for his project,[92] but, unfortunately, all of the first four dispensaries, except Ndanga, soon ceased functioning for various reasons.[93]

Meanwhile, Fleming had changed his mind and had resolved that 'the fully qualified medical missionary is in many ways more suited to this work than the ordinary medical practitioner'[94]. However, his emphasis on 'fully qualified' led him into conflict with the missionaries,[95] and it was only in 1927 that the dispute was resolved. In that year, grants were made available to missions employing qualified medical staff. Missions were also encouraged to train African nursing staff (an innovation to which Fleming had formerly been opposed).[96]

The inflexible attitudes of both Fleming and the missionaries are to be regretted although one can understand the Doctor's insistence that missionaries be qualified to practise medicine. However, the broader vision of Fleming's programmes remained unaffected by the dispute. In the reserves he envisaged the establishment of dispensaries, followed by the building of hospitals and, 'following or probably concurrently', the establishment of institutions for the isolation of special diseases.[97] The success he achieved in providing medical facilities may be gauged from a synopsis given by him of the service in 1929:[98] Africans could avail themselves of virtually all the facilities of developed countries.

Many other minor innovations were also made by Fleming: the appointment in 1919 of a Medical Inspector of Schools following an investigation by Fleming;[99] the establishment of maternity wards in Government hospitals;[100] and, at the Doctor's instigation,[101] the systematic vaccination of Africans. Fleming's advice also led to an improvement in municipal health.[102]

This was the work performed by Fleming, these the achievements of an evidently dynamic Medical Director. Dr Morris recalls that Fleming was a hard task-master, and strict: he once told the Bulawayo Hospital to 'stew in their own juice'.[103] Yet it was his outstanding administrative ability and his adept manipulation of very little finance[104] that laid the foundations — and much of the erection itself — of the health services of today. It was this and his devoted philanthropy which gained Andrew Fleming the CBE (Civil) in 1924.[105]

Fleming is also remembered in some different capacities, the most noteworthy being his role in World War I. The Doctor badgered the authorities until he was granted permission to join up,[106] whereupon he travelled to Russia as organizer and administrator of the Anglo-Russian hospitals at Petrograd. A year later, however, he was invalided home to England with blood poisoning,[107] but, after a lengthy illness, he returned to Rhodesia.

Fleming played a brief political role in 1923, being a member of the Legislative Council from May to October[108] and a member of the Executive Council for a month. In the former council, he acted as Chairman of Committees for a short time,[109] but he made only one speech of any significance.[110]

Other interests lay in the fields of general education (Fleming was a governor of Ruzawi School and a member of the Government Education Committee)[111] and the Red Cross. His work in Russia in World War I was for this Society[112] whilst in Rhodesia he helped his wife form a local branch.[113] He preserved his link with the Red Cross when he became a member of its Perthshire Committee after retiring to Scotland.[114]

However, one might well ask, 'What of the man? What sort of man was hidden behind the cold achievements and the authoritative moustache?' and here the documentation is more scanty, although fascinating.

Fleming was a short, but handsome and well-built man, but liable to severe attacks of asthma.[115] In outlook, he was conservative — except in his work — and he supported union with South Africa.[116] It was almost impossible to change the Doctor once his mind was made up, but his daughter, Mrs P. M. Noaks, does not view this as obstinacy.[117] By all accounts, he was inclined to be 'peppery' as Colonel Hickman has good cause to remember:[118] the young officer, out riding, came on his senior lying in a pool of water having been thrown from his horse: 'We were told in no uncertain terms to leave him to look after himself . . .' However, although Fleming was irascible, he only became angry with good cause[119] and Mrs Noaks recalls that her father was quick to apologize if he had been unjustly angry with one. His African staff were devoted to him: 'I remember one of his African servants saying, "The master, well he gets very angry and he says this and he says that, but we know he does not mean it, so we do not hear"'.[120] Moreover, all who knew him are quick to attest to his kindness; Colonel Hickman remembers Fleming personally rolling him in blankets and taking him to hospital when he went down with malaria.[121]

The Doctor is remembered as a gay person in his few private moments: 'He was the greatest fun as he had a marvellous imagination and a keen sense of humour and told wonderful stories and invented the oddest games'.[122] The Flemings enjoyed an extensive social life for Fleming made an excellent host; very well-mannered and thoughtful of others, he was a thorough gentleman.[123] Dances were numerous[124] but Fleming himself did not dance as he was tone deaf and had no sense of rhythm.[125] The Doctor was a lifelong friend of Dr Jameson[126] and was acquainted with Rhodes.[127]

Fleming supported the Presbyterian Church in Salisbury and attended services there occasionally. 'He was very much a Christian and had a deep fundamental faith', but the extraordinarily strict observance of the Scottish Sabbath in his childhood evidently deterred him from attending church services.[128]

He was fond of sport and seems to have fitted a great diversity of sports into his crowded days. He played rugby in his youth but in Rhodesia abandoned this for more staid golf and — when on holiday — for fishing.[129] However, his major interests were horses and shooting. On most mornings the Doctor rode before breakfast[130] and he had his own racing colours.[131] The Flemings were great supporters of the Salisbury Hunt Club,[132] Dr Fleming being Master of the Salisbury Fox Hounds after World War I.[133] The couple were keen shots, both at targets and at game.[134]

Colonel Hickman provided us with one of the more amusing personal records that we have of the Flemings: the couple travelled to a dinner party outside Salisbury one night and, on the way back to town, Colonel Hickman recollects coming on the Flemings' car on the edge of the road. It transpired that some sanitary buckets awaiting the 'Chambezi Boys' had been knocked over by Fleming and one of them had become wedged under the vehicle. The stench was memorable.[135]

Leave was taken by Fleming every two years when the family visited Britain to see their son.[136] On several occasions, the Doctor took the opportunity of 'rubbing up my forgotten medicine',[137] and, in 1902, he took eleven months leave[138] to gain a DPH (Cambridge) and to become an FRCS (Edinburgh) the following year.[139]

Andrew and Philadelphia Fleming had two children: a son, John Fisher, and a daughter, Philadelphia Margaret. 'Jock', born in 1898,[140] was sent to school at Rugby and then studied at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. He returned to Rhodesia to farm but later went back to Scotland where he now lives. He married and has two daughters.[141] 'Bay' Fleming, who was six years

'Jock's' junior,[142] was also sent to school in England. She married E. W. L. Noaks, MP, in 1938 but has no children. Mrs Noaks now lives on the family estate of Dunsinnan in Scotland.[143]

In June 1930, Dr Fleming went on leave to England pending retirement[144] and, at the end of the year, after thirty-seven years service in Rhodesia, he retired.[145] However, loth to sink into inactivity, he acted as Medical Officer at Wankie for six months before retiring to his farm, Collace, near Marandellas. In 1931, while on the farm, he suffered an acute appendix, but Dr Huggins operated successfully and the tough old doctor recovered and went to Mazoe as Medical Officer.[146] He remained at Mazoe until 1947[147] and it was during this period that Philadelphia, the wife who had complemented him devotedly for nearly half a century, passed away.[148]

A few years later, Fleming inherited Dunsinnan Estate (the Dunsinane of 'Macbeth') and a private brewery nearby in Perth, and, to take up the inheritance, changed his name in 1946 to Fleming-Barnard.[149] He retired to Scotland but still occasionally returned to the country he had served so faithfully.[150] Andrew Fleming died on November 6th, 1953, at the age of eighty-two.[151]

His service is a good example to us all of the suppression of self for the sake of a higher goal. Minutely versed in every aspect of his work[152] and never satisfied with his achievements,[153] Fleming had the breadth of vision of Rhodes. However, he also possessed the logical practicality which enabled him step by step to pursue his goal. If the value of one's life is gauged by one's service to others, then Andrew Fleming attained a nobility very few can hope to emulate.

It is fitting that the new hospital in Salisbury [now the Parirenyatwa Hospital] was named after a man who gave so much to Rhodesian medicine.

END NOTES

1. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks and *Guide to the Historical Manuscripts in the National Archives of Rhodesia.*
2. 'Obituary: Mr A. M. Fleming-Bernard' in *East Africa and Rhodesia* November 26, 1953; and *The British South Africa Company Civil Service List 1920*, page 86.
3. *The British South Africa Company Civil Service List 1920*, page 86.
4. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*, introduction.
5. Dr R. M. Morris and *The Rhodesia Herald*, November 9, 1953, both state that Dr Fleming was engaged by Dr Jameson. However, in 'Some notes on Police Pioneer Doctors and Others' (in *Central African Journal of Medicine*, Volume 4, 1958) Colonel A. S. Hickman writes (on page 167) that Dr Fleming was personally recruited by Rhodes at Kimberley.
6. See *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Fleming to Philadelphia Fisher, 1894, September, Kimberley, and Fleming to Philadelphia Fisher, 1894, September 17, Kimberley.
7. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Fleming to Philadelphia Fisher, 1894, September 30, Dixon's Hotel, Mafeking, and Fleming to Philadelphia Fisher, 1894, October, Avenue Hotel, Salisbury.
8. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Fleming to Philadelphia Fisher, 1894, October, Avenue Hotel, Salisbury.
9. The survey of early medicine in Rhodesia is taken from *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, pp. 109 to 116 and N. A. Hist. Mss. FL 2/1/1 pp. 1, 2.
10. *Mother Patrick and her Nursing Sisters*, p. 272, and *ibid*., Letter from Sister Ignatius from the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Kingwilliamstown, to Mother Patrick, 27 August, 1897. Sister Ignatius writes, 'May God spare Dr Fleming for you for a long time, because he is I think a good friend.'
11. *The Fleming Letters (1891–1914)*: Fleming to Philadelphia Fisher, 1895, September, Salisbury, and Fleming to Philadelphia Fisher, 1896, January 17, Salisbury.
12. *Tropical Victory*, p. 68.
13. *Mother Patrick and her Nursing Sisters*, p. 193.
14. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1897, November 20, Salisbury.

15. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1896, June 15, Salisbury.
16. *Ibid.*: Fleming to Philadelphia Fisher, 1894, September 17, Kimberley, and Fleming to Philadelphia Fisher, 1894, October, Avenue Hotel, Salisbury.
17. 'A Bride and her Luggage, 1896' in *Experiences of Rhodesia's Pioneer Women*, p. 260.
18. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1896, June 6, Salisbury, and 'A Bride and her Luggage' in *Experiences of Rhodesia's Pioneer Women*, pp. 259, 260.
19. See *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*, Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1896, June 15, Salisbury. The house is situated on the corner of Rhodes Avenue and Fifth Street.
20. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Fleming, 1896, January 5, Edinburgh; Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1896, June 15, Salisbury; Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1897, August 14, Salisbury; Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1897, undated, Salisbury; and Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1900, April 11, Salisbury; also 'Delphie & Co. The Rest of the Story' in *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 26 February, 1970, p. 25.
21. 'Delphie & Co. The Rest of the Story' in *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 26 February, 1970, p. 25. Mrs P. M. Noaks said, 'My mother was very gay — she adored adventures of any kind'.
22. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1896, 24 June, Salisbury (entry on 5 July).
23. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks.
24. 'A Bride and her Luggage, 1896' in *Experiences of Rhodesia's Pioneer Women*, p. 259.
25. 'Some notes on Police Pioneer Doctors and Others' in *Central African Journal of Medicine*, Volume 4, 1958, p. 167.
26. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1896, June 24, Salisbury (entry on 5 July).
27. *Ibid.*: Fleming to Mrs Fleming, 1897, February 1, Salisbury; Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1896, September 21, Salisbury; and Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1896, June 24, Salisbury (entry on 22 July).
28. *Ibid.*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1896, September 21, Salisbury, and *Tropical Victory*, p.87.
29. Part of General Carrington's report contained in *Tropical Victory*, p. 92.
30. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks.
31. N.A. B 4/3/1: *Roll of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men entitled to the Medal or Clasp for operations in Matabeleland and Mashonaland in 1896, together with those who have forfeited the same by misconduct.*
32. *The British South Africa Company Civil Service List 1920*, p. 5.
33. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1897, April 17, Salisbury, and *Tropical Victory*, p. 99.
34. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Fleming to Mrs Fleming, 1897, April 14, Salisbury, and The British South Africa Company Civil Service List 1920, p. 5.
35. Private interview with Colonel A. S. Hickman.
36. *Tropical Victory*, p. 99.
37. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1897, November, Salisbury.
38. N.A.H. 1/1/1 and following files: *General Out Letters of the Department of Public Health.*
39. *Tropical Victory*, p. 102.
40. N.A. B 4/4/1.
41. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks.
42. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1927*, pp. 1, 2.
43. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1897, April 17, Salisbury.
44. Private interview with Professor M. Gelfand.
45. *Tropical Victory*, p. 101, and N.A. H 1/1/2. This file (covering the period from March 14, 1899 to November 12, 1900) records much correspondence by Fleming on the takeover of the Umtali Hospital, culminating in the letter from Fleming to the Chief Secretary, Salisbury, written in Salisbury on 28 August, 1899 (pp. 315, 316), stating *inter alia* that the Administration took over control of the hospital on 1 July.
46. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1926*, p. 1.
47. *Tropical Victory*, p. 209.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 211–214.
49. N.A.Hist.Mss. FL 2/1/1, pp. 5, 6. See also 'Report on the District Surgeon, Bulawayo' in Moore P. L., *Report on the Public Health for the Year Ended 31st March, 1903*, p. 12.

50. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1923*, p. 5.
51. Orpen, L. J. J. 'Report on the Bacteriological Laboratory and Pasteur Institute for the year 1909' in Fleming, *Report on the Public Health for the Year Ended 31st December, 1909*, p. 18.
52. N.A. H 2/10/1, Fleming to the Secretary, Department of the Administrator, Salisbury, 29 January 1912, pp. 6–8.
53. Orpen, L. J. J. 'Report on the Pasteur Institute and Public Health Laboratory' in *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1912*, p. 25. Orpen writes, 'The Laboratory is now in going order . . .'
54. N.A. FL 2/1/1.
55. The nature and date of the agreement with the London School of Medicine are not clear. In the *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1920*, p. 30, Fleming writes that agreement has been reached whereby a series of experts will be sent to Rhodesia as research workers, and in the report for the next year, he writes that the first research scholar, Dr J. G. Thomson, has begun research on Blackwater Fever. The report N.A.Hist.Mss. FL 2/1/1 states that in 1921 the London School of Medicine agreed to establish a field station in Salisbury. However, it seems that a second agreement is referred to in *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1924*, in which Fleming writes that he discussed setting up a field branch of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. It was agreed that a research worker would come to Rhodesia. The problem is complicated by Professor M. Gelfand's reference in *Tropical Victory* (p. 183) to Fleming travelling to England to complete an arrangement for Dr Thomson and other research scholars to come to Rhodesia. However, in the *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1924*, Fleming writes that he went to England in 1924 (a second time?) to negotiate with the London School of Medicine. Professor Gelfand was unable to clarify the problem.
56. N.A. H 1/1/2. Letter from Fleming to the Chief Secretary, Salisbury, 26 September, 1899 (pp. 364, 365).
57. N.A. H 1/1/2. Letter from Fleming to the Chief Secretary, Salisbury, 15 November, 1899 (pp. 418–423) and *ibid.* Letter from Fleming to the Attorney General, Salisbury, 30 October, 1900 (p. 961).
58. N.A. H 1/1/4 pp. 714–716. Letter from Fleming to the Chief Secretary, June 13, 1902, in which Fleming urges that Dr Helm be allowed to open a voluntary leper settlement.
59. N.A. H 2/10/1. 'Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by His Honour the Administrator to report upon the Segregation of Lepers in Southern Rhodesia'.
60. N.A. H 2/10/1. Fleming. 'Memorandum on the Allocation of Funds voted for the Relief of Sick Natives Indigenous to the Country', p. 3. Fleming wrote, 'As far as leprosy, syphilis and tuberculosis are concerned any attempt at compulsory isolation and segregation would in my opinion be fatal at the present stage . . .'
61. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1912*, p. 14, and Report on the Public Health for the Year 1913, p. 14.
62. N.A. H 1/1/1. Letter from Fleming to the Acting Administrator, Salisbury, 8 October, 1898, pp. 540–543, and *ibid.*, letter from Fleming to the Under Secretary, Salisbury, 8 March 1899, p. 738.
63. *Tropical Victory*, pp. 244, 245.
64. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1925*, p. 12.
65. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1928*, p. 5.
66. *Tropical Victory*, p. 236.
67. *Tropical Victory*, pp. 236, 237. See also Fleming, *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1920*, pp. 10, 11.
68. N.A. Hist.Mss. FL 2/1/1, p. 5; *Tropical Victory*, p. 209; and private interview with Professor M. Gelfand.
69. N.A. H 1/1/3. Letter from Fleming to the Chief Secretary, 1901, March 6 (pp. 269, 270) and the reports of the Department of Public Health for the first few years of the century.
70. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Year Ended 31st December 1908*, p. 7.
71. 'The Prevention and Treatment of Blackwater Fever' in *Rhodesian Agricultural Journal*, Volume 6, 1908–1909, p. 645: 'At the present stage of our knowledge, Blackwater Fever may be considered to be result of Malarial infection, which has been imperfectly treated.' By 1917 he was more terse: 'You cannot get blackwater fever without malaria' ('Notes from a Lecture on Malaria and Blackwater' in *Rhodesia Agricultural Journal*, Volume 14, 1917, p. 640).
72. See especially the following, written by Fleming: 'Malaria, its History, Prevention and Cure' in *Rhodesia Agricultural Journal*, April 1905; 'A Note on Malaria' in *Rhodesia Agricultural Journal*, Volume 10, 1912–1913, p.255; and 'Quinine Prophylaxis in Malaria' in *Rhodesia Agricultural Journal*, Volume 20, 1923, pp. 680–682.

73. See 'Twelve simple Rules Recommended to be Practised for the Avoidance of Malaria and Blackwater' in *Rhodesia Agricultural Journal*, Volume 11, 1913–1914, pp. 121, 122.
74. Public Health Act of 1924.
75. *Tropical Victory*, p. 184.
76. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Year ended 31st December 1906*, p. 11.
77. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1910, September, Salisbury.
78. *Ibid.*: Fleming to Mrs Fleming, 1912, October, Sinosatsmaka's kraal, Sebungwe; and Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1912, November, Salisbury. See also Fleming, *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1912*, p. 16.
79. *Tropical Victory*, pp. 193–195.
80. Fleming, *Report on the Public Health for the Year Ended 31st December 1906*, p. 2.
81. *Tropical Victory*, p. 136 and *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1907, September, Camp near Hartley.
82. *Tropical Victory*, pp. 136–138.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 138, and Fleming, *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1914*, p. 9. See also *Report on the Public Health for the Year Ended 31st December, 1908*, pp. 1, 2. It is noteworthy that some accounts, including *Tropical Victory* (p. 138), of the appointment of a medical officer to a station on the Zambezi name the station as Feira, while others, including Fleming: *Trypanosomiasis in Southern Rhodesia*, p. 309, call it Fundu.
84. Professor M. Gelfand in *Tropical Victory* (p. 139).
85. See 'Report of Committee appointed to Enquire into the Prevalence and Prevention of Scurvy and Pneumonia amongst Native Labourers', bound in *Miscellaneous Reports 1909–1916*.
86. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Yea Ended 31st December 1910*. p. 7.
87. *Tropical Victory*, pp. 141, 142.
88. Askins, R. A. *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1930*, p. 21.
89. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Year Ended 31st March 1906*, p. 2.
90. Fleming was worried about the cure of Africans suffering from venereal disease as early as 1900. See N.A. H 1/1/2, Fleming to the Chief Secretary, Salisbury, 15 January, 1900, pp. 499–501; Fleming to the Chief Secretary, Salisbury, 1 May 1900, pp. 653, 654; and Fleming to the Secretary to the Administrator in Bulawayo, Salisbury, 30 April, 1900, pp. 655 and 657.
91. *Tropical Victory*, p. 148, and N.A. H 2/10/1, Letter from Fleming to the Secretary, Department of the Administrator, Salisbury, November 30, 1909.
92. N.A. H 2/10/1. Letter from the Secretary, the Administrator's Office, Salisbury, to the Medical Director, 28 December, 1911.
93. See the reports of the Department of Public Health for the years 1913–1917.
94. N.A. H 2/10/1. Fleming, 'Memorandum on the Allocation of Funds Voted for the Relief of Sick Natives Indigenous to the Country' (March 1911).
95. See *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, pp. 120–123, for the views of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference of 1924 and 1926.
96. *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, pp. 120–124.
97. N.A. H 2/10/1. Fleming, 'Memorandum on the Allocation of Funds Voted for the Relief of Sick Natives Indigenous to the Country' (March 1911) pp. 3–5.
98. Fleming, *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1929*, p. 29: 'The provision made for indoor and outdoor medical relief of natives includes the provision of beds in general hospitals, special hospitals for native employees on mines, mission hospitals in the reserves, dispensaries for outdoor relief maintained by the Government or by missionary societies, special clinics and treatment centres for venereal disease and yaws'.
99. *Tropical Victory*, p. 238. See also Fleming, *Report on the Results of an Examination of School Children (being a Supplement to the Report on the Public Health for the Year 1913)*.
100. See *Tropical Victory*, p. 229, for the opening of the first maternity ward in a Government Hospital in 1915.
101. N.A. H 1/1/4, pp. 1–3. Letter from Fleming to the Chief Secretary, 12 July, 1901.
102. *Tropical Victory*, p. 166.

103. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris.
104. *Ibid.* In Umtali, Fleming built a hospital consisting of a two-storeyed European block, an African block, a nurses' home and the secretary's home for a total of £30 000 in 1928 and 1929.
105. The November 26, 1953, edition of *East Africa and Rhodesia*, p. 363, gives the year of the award as 1924, but *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia* dates the award 1923.
106. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris.
107. Eaton, W. M. *Report on the Public Health for the Year Ended 31st December, 1916*, p. 1, and 'Who's Who' in *East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 13, 1937.
108. *Holders of Administrative and Ministerial Office 1894–1964 and Members of the Legislative Council 1899–1923 and the Legislative Assembly 1924–1964*, Source Book No. 3, p. 65.
109. *Debates in the Legislative Council during the Fourth Session of the Seventh Council 25th to 31st May, 11th to 14th June, 20th to 28th June, 23rd to 27th July and During the Special Session of the Seventh Council 3rd to 11th October, 1923*, column 986. Fleming was appointed Chairman of Committee on 9 October, 1923.
110. *Ibid.* A debate on 23rd July, 1923 (columns 507–531).
111. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris.
112. 'Who's Who' in *East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 13, 1937.
113. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris.
114. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks.
115. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris.
116. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks.
117. *Ibid.* 'I wouldn't say he was obstinate so much as opinionated.'
118. 'Some Notes on Police Primary Doctors and Others' in *Central African Journal of Medicine*, Volume 4, 1958, p. 167.
119. Private interview with Colonel A. S. Hickman. For an example, see 'Some Notes on Police Pioneer Doctors and Others' in *Central African Journal of Medicine*, Volume 4, 1957, p. 167, telling of an incident when Fleming upbraided a chief during a smallpox epidemic.
120. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks.
121. Some Notes on Police Pioneer Doctors and Others' in *Central African Journal of Medicine*, Volume 4, 1958, p. 167.
122. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks.
123. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris.
124. See *Rhodesian Punch* June 5, 1908, p. 14, and *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1900, April 4, Salisbury, and Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1900, April 11, Salisbury, for accounts of two dances.
125. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks.
126. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: introduction. See also *ibid.*, Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1897, August 14, Salisbury.
127. *Ibid*: introduction. See also *ibid*: Fleming to Mrs Fleming, 1896, December 3, Salisbury; and Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1897, undated, Salisbury.
128. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks.
129. *Ibid.* and private interview with Dr R. M. Morris.
130. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris.
131. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*, Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1897, November, Salisbury. Mrs Fleming writes, 'Ada made Andrew's racing colours very well, pale blue and chocolate'. See also *ibid.*, Fleming to Mrs Fleming, 1899, December 21, Salisbury.
132. 'Some Notes on Police Pioneer Doctors and Others' in *Central African Journal of Medicine*, Volume 4, 1958, p. 167. See also *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*, Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1897, November 20, Salisbury.
133. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks.
134. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris and *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)* (mention is made several times of the Flemings' interest in shooting).
135. Private interview with Colonel A. S. Hickman.
136. 'Delphie & Co. The Rest of the Story' in *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 26 February, 1970, p. 26.
137. *Mother Patrick and her Nursing Sisters*: Fleming to Mother Patrick, 12 May, 1898, University Club, Edinburgh.

138. N.A. H 1/1/5. Letter from Dr P. L. Moore to the Chief Secretary, July 24, 1902, pp. 89, 90.
139. *The British South Africa Company Civil Service List 1920*, p. 86, and the Registrar of the Medical Council of Rhodesia.
140. Private conversation with Mrs E. Fleming.
141. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris and 'Delphie & Co. The Rest of the Story' in *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 26 February, 1970, p. 26.
142. Her actual date of birth was August 2, 1904 — *The Rhodesia Herald*, August 3, 1904.
143. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris and *The Rhodesia Herald*, January 26, 1938, and November 9, 1953. For reference to the children, see *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1899, August 22, Salisbury; Mrs Fleming to Fleming, 1899, October 30, on board ship off East London; Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1900, April 4, Salisbury; Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1907, September, Camp near Hartley; Mrs Fleming to Mrs Fisher, 1909, August 6, Salisbury.
144. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris.
145. The report N.A.Hist.Mss. FL 2/1/1 and Colonel Hickman in 'Some Notes on Police Pioneer Doctors and Others' in *Central African Journal of Medicine*, Volume 4, 1958, p. 167, give the date of Fleming's retirement as 1931, while in 'Delphie & Co. The Rest of the Story' in *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 26 February, 1970, Fleming is said to have retired in 1932. However, the correct date would appear to be that given by R. A. Askins in *Report on the Public Health for the year 1930*, and by Dr R. M. Morris — the end of 1930.
146. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris and 'Some Notes on Police Pioneer Doctors and Others' in *Central African Journal of Medicine*, Volume 4, 1958, p. 167.
147. 'Delphie & Co. The Rest of the Story' in *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 26 February, 1970, p. 26.
148. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
149. Private interview with Dr R. M. Morris and obituary in *East Africa and Rhodesia*, November 26, 1953, p. 363.
150. Private correspondence with Mrs P. M. Noaks. On these holidays in Rhodesia, Fleming visited Mr and Mrs Noaks at Glendale, but he never lived there as the *Guide to the Historical Manuscripts in the National Archives of Rhodesia* states (on p. 165).
151. *The Rhodesia Herald*, November 9, 1953.
152. *The Fleming Letters (1894–1914)*: introduction: 'There was hardly a problem with which he was not acquainted'.
153. Fleming. *Report on the Public Health for the Year 1922*, p. 1. He could still write in 1922 that Rhodesia 'also provides many examples of what might have been accomplished, if only the knowledge had been more universally and practically applied'.

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Mrs P. M. Noaks
Dr R. M. Morris
Colonel A. S. Hickman
Professor M. Gelfand
Mrs E. Fleming
The Registrar of the Medical Council of Rhodesia

Arthur Edward Victor Zealley, ARCS, FGS, Geologist, 1886–1918

by P. Fey

Born in England, Zealley trained there as a geologist, then during 1909 became the second curator of the Rhodesia Museum in Bulawayo. Preceding B. Lightfoot by barely a month he was, after director Maufe, the first geologist to join the newly established Geological Survey in 1911, remaining with that organization until his untimely death in 1918. A tireless worker, he made a major contribution to knowledge in this country, his geological publications alone amounting to over thirty.

Arthur Edward Victor Zealley was born in Worcestershire on 1 March, 1886 and received his early education at the Royal Grammar School, Worcester, where a bent towards geology led him to collect shells and fossils. Although his parents had hoped that he would devote himself to chemistry, as had his grandfather and uncles on his mother's side, he proceeded to study geology at the Royal College of Science in South Kensington under Professor Watts. Having obtained his Associateship in Geology he remained for some time at the School of Mines as a demonstrator and lecturer (Lightfoot, 1919). During that period he investigated the metamorphosed limestones of Donegal and published a short note in the *Geological Magazine* (Zealley, 1909) but the completed work remained in manuscript.

In 1908 the first curator of the Rhodesia Museum in Bulawayo, F. P. Mennell, resigned and Zealley succeeded him early in August 1909. At that time the museum occupied the former Congregational Chapel in Main Street, moving in 1910 to the site in 8th Avenue where it was to remain until 1962. During his tenure of the curatorship Zealley saw the museum's collections housed in the first portion of a new building, later to become the geological gallery. He continued the task of mineral determinations begun by Mennell and also published extensively on Rhodesia's minerals, ores and rocks. Furthermore, he laid the groundwork for the co-operation which has ever since been maintained between the Department of Geology at the Museum and the Geological Survey.

With the establishment in Bulawayo of the Geological Survey under H. B. Maufe in September, 1910, the Chamber of Mines withdrew its grant from the museum and the condition that the curator should be a geologist fell away. This may have prompted Zealley to apply for a position with the Geological Survey, to which he was appointed on 1 May, 1911 for a three year period. The starting salary was £500 p.a., rising to £540 p.a. and £580 p.a. respectively for the two subsequent years plus 15 shillings per day 'when travelling on the Company's service and the usual service transport facilities'.

The agreement between Zealley and the British South Africa Company, signed on 28 April, 1911, set out *inter alia* that the employee:

> '1. Shall, during the continuance of this Agreement, devote his whole time and attention to the service of the Company . . . ; and shall not otherwise engage himself in any other business or employment.
> 2. Agrees during the continuance and after the expiry of this Agreement to observe strict secrecy respecting all business and transactions of the Company . . .
> 3. Shall not hold stocks or shares . . .

4. May be granted vacation leave on full pay of six weeks in every year after completion of one year's service and this leave may be accumulated to an extent not exceeding twelve weeks after two years' continuous service.'

The Company furthermore reserved the right to 'dismiss the employee for incompetence, insobriety or other misconduct without notice or payment of salary in lieu thereof.'

Geologist Ben Lightfoot, subsequently to become the Department's second director, was recruited from Yorkshire and reported for work at the Geological Survey offices on 26 May, 1911. Maufe lost no time in putting his two new geologists to work. He had previously decided to map the centrally located Selukwe district, which was experiencing a mining boom at the time. The area was duly reconnoitred in June, then divided into three parts for mapping purposes, Zealley being given the country to the east and south of Selukwe, Lightfoot that to the southwest. Maufe himself tackled a small portion in the northwest and, feeling that the work was well started, left in August to inspect and report on the newly discovered Victoria tin field. Thereafter he returned to the Enterprise district east of Salisbury to complete mapping he had begun late in 1910.

Meanwhile Zealley and Lightfoot, working out of separate but often closely adjacent camps, found the going hard in the mountainous geologically complex terrain. There were innumerable interruptions from prospectors and miners requesting examination of their properties, and the geologists soon became adept at going down shafts up to 30 metres deep, with one foot in a slowly gyrating bucket dubiously suspended from a headframe and windlass made of bush timber. In the absence of topographical maps, base plans had to be prepared using the only surveyed points available, namely farm beacons. Mapping, both topographical and geological, was by plane table survey and bicycle wheel traverses, the geologists studying the technique in American text books, then learning the practical side by trial and error (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1972). The inevitable mismatches of geology and topography occurred on the margins of adjacent sheets mapped separately by the men, but all such problems were overcome. Work continued until late in the year, when Zealley completed his field season by undertaking a geological traverse of the road between Gwelo and Bulawayo.

Preliminary results of the year's work, detailed in the director's annual report for 1911, show that considerable emphasis was placed on economic geology. Whilst at Selukwe Zealley had visited, *inter alia*, claims pegged for bauxite at Sebanga Poort, various podiform chromite deposits of which at the time only the one at the Chrome Mine (now Railway Block) was being exploited by quarrying, as well as numerous gold mines. Of these, largest producer in terms of tonnage milled and gold won was the ironstone-hosted Wanderer group of claims (169656 oz. gold for the period 1902–1911), followed by the quartz-vein hosted Dunraven (43874 oz. since 1898) and Csardas (15330 oz. since 1909) mines (Dept of Mines, 1934). Zealley also provided the first detailed description of a portion of the Great Dyke in which chromite, although known, had as yet not been found in commercially viable quantity and grade.

During 1912, with Lightfoot away mapping the Wankie coalfield, work at Selukwe was continued by Maufe and Zealley, coverage of some 400 square miles having been achieved by the end of the year. Publication of the results, however, had to wait until 1919. On completion of this project Zealley was immediately transferred to the Gatooma district where be began mapping at Eiffel Flats. There he made a careful study of the numerous gold reefs, noting that these were commonly of shallow dip and had shed abundant quartz rubble, often characterized by clusters of 'ancient workings' in the form of shallow, circular depressions. These were pegged shor / after the occupation of Mashonaland but in many instances not recognized as former rubble workings, so that much fruitless work was done before the parent lode was found. A preliminary account of the geology appeared before the end of the year (Zealley, 1913).

With the impending expiry of Zealley's initial contract, Maufe, at the end of January 1914, recommended his appointment to the fixed establishment at a salary of £580 p.a., since 'during his service he has done his work efficiently and well, he is regular in his habits and his conduct has been good'. However, the board of directors in London indicated that it preferred Zealley and Lightfoot to continue serving under agreements. In April 1914, Zealley, then acting director, attempted to personally negotiate a renewal of his and Lightfoot's original agreement for a further three years, requesting an increase of £20 p.a. in the salary of each officer to £600 for the first, £620 for the second and £640 for the third year. Although not provided for in the estimates, these increments were only half of those awarded under the first agreement, and Zealley anticipated that they could be offset against savings under vote 10A by reason of the director's anticipated absence on leave at half pay over the period 19 August–18 September 1914. In the event, Zealley's wishes were not entirely met and he was obliged to continue working under one-year agreements, with annual increments of £20, until 1 May 1918 when his salary was increased by £40 to £700 p.a.

Lightfoot resigned his post early in September 1914 in order to accept the Sorby Fellowship at the University of Sheffield. Maufe's leave had been extended until 18th December and Zealley again acted on his behalf. With the department thus short-staffed it was perhaps inevitable that his request to enlist fell on deaf ears. In his letter of 17 September 1914 to the Secretary, Department of Administrator, he asked for permission to join the Rhodesian Imperial Service Contingent, hoped that his post would be left open and that he would be granted the leave due to him, namely four months on full pay and one month on half pay, and thereafter, whilst on active service, leave on one quarter pay. He added that he was married, and a member of 'A' squadron of the Southern Rhodesian Volunteers. He reiterated his request in September 1915 and November 1916, but the Administration was unable to grant him war leave on one quarter pay.

Having completed the survey of the Gatooma area in 1913, Zealley spent much of the following two years on an investigation of the country's diamond potential. This was centred on six known kimberlite bodies, located in the Bembesi and Shangani river valleys northeast of Bulawayo, and on the gravels of the Somabula Forest southwest of Gwelo. After their discovery both types of occurrence were acquired and worked by the South African Option Syndicate, a subsidiary of Willoughby's Consolidated Company. The kimberlites were exploited at the Wessels and Colossus mines between 1908 and 1912, while the diamondiferous gravels were unprofitably worked by the company between 1905 and 1908 before the ground was opened to individual diggers. There were about forty of these at the time of Zealley's visit in the first half of 1914, the number declining thereafter until the short-lived rush of 1919. This was occasioned by the discovery of platinoid metals in concentrates obtained by Zealley from the black sand which had settled in the diggers' rotary pans (Macgregor, 1921).

Returning from vacation leave during 1915 Zealley took the opportunity of examining the Vaal River alluvial diamond diggings, as well as the diamond mines at Kimberley. Back in Bulawayo he supervised the excavation of fossil mammalian bones recently discovered at the Waterworks Reserve, later presenting his findings to the Rhodesia Scientific Association (Zealley, 1916). Other noteworthy publications (Zealley, 1915; 1917) to appear at that time relate to earlier field work at Selukwe. These papers were regarded by A. L. du Toit (1946), who described Zealley as 'debonair, dark and rather saturnine — an infrequent visitor to the Union', as that geologist's most outstanding contributions.

Geologist A. M. Macgregor, having joined the department in July 1915, left in February 1916 in order to enlist. With the field staff thereby reduced to Maufe and Zealley over the years 1916–1917, mapping was suspended and field work restricted to the examination of prospects, which, with limited development, could be brought into production. Owing to the increased call

for strategic minerals, prospectors turned their attention from gold to base metals and the department was inundated with requests for mineral determinations. During the first eight months of 1917 nearly 100 were made on specimens submitted through mining commissioners. Written determinations of specimens and answers to requests for geological information totalled over 300, whilst verbal answers to enquiries at the office reached nearly 250. In addition, there were determinations made for the public in the field, and on material collected by staff members. During this time Zealley took an active part in, and wrote articles on, several commodities for the Rhodesia Munitions and Resources Committee (Maufe, 1919) giving freely of his time to all who sought his advice. Of numerous new mineral discoveries made, those of the Umtali gold belt, the tungsten deposits at Essesxvale and platinum in the Great Dyke were described in Short Reports 1, 2 and 3 (Zealley, 1918a; 1918b; 1918c), a new series of publications introduced by the Geological Survey to rapidly disseminate information among the mining community.

Following the appointment in April 1918 of geologist and well-known consultant A. J. C. Molyneux (Fey, 1994) it became possible to resume field work and Zealley was able to conclude his mapping of the Somabula Forest diamond field. A full description of the occurrence, based on his maps and notes, was subsequently prepared by Macgregor (1921).

With the impending transfer of the Geological Survey from Bulawayo to Salisbury, Zealley, in a letter dated 9 April 1918, again took up the subject of war leave, this time with the director, stating that he anticipated completing work in hand by August. In what may have been a reference to the death, a few months before his own, of his wife, a lady of great literary ability (Lightfoot, 1919), Zealley noted that his circumstances now differed from those obtaining at the time of his earlier applications. He intended to accept the offer of a commission in the Royal Engineers to undertake special technical work abroad, hoped that the Administrator would grant him the vacation leave due to him, and thereafter war leave on one seventh pay.

Except for a proposed Short Report on saline residues and the Somabula bulletin, Zealley completed the work as promised, and was on the point of leaving for England when, during the epidemic which visited Rhodesia, he contracted influenza followed by pneumonia. Ill for ten days and unconscious for the last two, he died on 28 October 1918, aged but 32 years.

With his passing 'a most promising career has been cut short' (Maufe, 1919), and his loss was keenly felt, not only by the fledgling Geological Survey, but by the entire mining community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to the sources quoted below, use was made of letters, files and annual reports of the Director in the Department of Geological Survey.

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MacDougall's Land

by Wilson MacArthur

This article was first published in two parts in the RTA Journal, *Vol. 1 No. 2 (Nov. 1964) and Vol. 2 No. 1 (Feb. 1965) published by the Rhodesia Teachers' Association.*

The original article was prefaced by these words:

'In view of the wide interest in lowveld development, and the inaccurate accounts which have been given of the late Murray MacDougall's life, we print the following account, which he read and approved before his death.'

Murray MacDougall reined in his horse and eased himself in the saddle. The pack horse, which had followed docilely, ranged itself alongside and halted, with drooping head, drowsy in the intense heat.

For nearly two months they had travelled together, through a vast unknown wilderness of arid bush, of mountain and ravine, through country that few white men had ever seen. In the year 1906 the Northern Transvaal was sparsely populated and great tracts of it were inhabited only by widely scattered and ancient small tribes — and by wild animals. All the way from Pilgrim's Rest they had encountered few white men, and a mere handful of blacks, but MacDougall had never had to worry about food for himself. It was there for the taking, meat in abundance and, since he was particular about his meals, in great variety.

They had crossed the Limpopo and so had come into the even wilder Rhodesian lowveld, the country of the acacia thorn, the euphorbia and the baobab, where only the hardiest drought-resisting vegetation could survive, where only along the river banks the eye-relieving greenery replaced the harsh greys and browns of the endless bush; and now suddenly, the lonely ride had worked up to a swift and undreamt-of climax. Heading vaguely north, following game paths and the wandering trails he came upon here and there, made by the feet of early men, he had halted before a sight that took his breath away. Swollen by the rains of the distant highveld, surging high up the green-clad banks, the Mtilikwe River poured its brown spate into the wide basin of the flooded Lundi and, lost in thought, MacDougall sat spellbound before this vast outpouring of liquid gold in a thirsty land. When he stirred at last, the first excitement of this revelation had settled into something deeper, something more significant, something that was to change the whole current of his life and, eventually, the whole face of Rhodesia.

A farmer's son, born and bred in Argyll, he knew the soil and he had not failed to note the richness of the lowveld soil or the profusion of vegetation that managed to subsist upon it in spite of all the evidences of a scanty rainfall. But he knew far more than that, for at twenty-six he was already a man of wide experience of several continents, a man too completely self-reliant and strongly individual.

At sixteen, with his father's blessing and money in his pocket, he had set out to see the world and seek his fortune. He went to North America first and made a leisurely way southwards, then on an impulse crossed over to Haiti, which had become an independent Negro republic as long ago as 1804. He was hardly there, however, before he ran into trouble and was arrested and thrown into jail — 'for not saluting some damned fellow in a cocked hat!' Plainly, there was no future for him in Haiti, so he moved to Demarara and worked for two years on a sugar plantation, after which he headed for another continent — Africa, which was to become his permanent home. He landed at Cape Town in 1902 and promptly joined up, too late however

for active service and he never fired a shot in the Anglo-Boer War. There was no future for him in soldiering so in 1903 he bought himself out and set himself up, at the age of twenty-three, as a transport rider, with £150 he had won gambling.

This was the sort of life that appealed to him. He was on his own, he was his own master and Africa was wide. It was a hard life, it was a grand life for a young fellow prepared to rough it, willing to face any sort of hardship and danger, and he had what was and still is the essential to success — the ability to handle his African workers.

It was a splendid apprenticeship for a youngster whose life was to be devoted to the taming of the wilderness.

MacDougall, with his mule wagons and his Cape boys, ranged widely, riding transport wherever transport was required, not just in the Transvaal but into Swaziland as well, and for some time he hauled the ore for the Swazi tin mines, from Mbabane to Machadadorp; there are old-timers in Swaziland who remember him still. Interested in everything, sharply observant and eager to learn, he was ready to turn his hand to anything and found a pleasant break from the hard life of a transport rider by spending a while in the Nelspruit area of the Eastern Transvaal, planting citrus. It was all experience — and all to be turned to good purpose. He also transported the whole of the machinery and equipment for the first hydro-electric scheme in the Northern Transvaal, for the Transvaal Goldmining Estates, and then, anxious to find out what it was all about, stayed and worked for a while on the construction.

Then, in 1906, the itch to see new places came again and he gave mules and drivers a well-earned holiday and took one himself, setting out with two horses and the simplest of equipment from Pilgrim's Rest.

For weeks he wandered northwards, through country that is today a great complex of tarred or gravel roads, of farms and citrus groves, bluegum and pine plantations, mines and factories, villages and small towns. Then it was very different and often, for days on end, the lone rider had neither sight nor sound of human life, only the mountains and the deep valleys and the endless bush and abundance of wild beasts. In the Rhodesian lowveld the population was as sparse, but in the afternoons he would be alert for any sign of human habitation and as often as not, coming upon a track made, clearly, by human feet, he would follow it and in due course be seen, by a piccanin, perhaps, or a woman working in her meagre patch of munga or rupoko. In a flurry of excitement his coming would be reported, and he would take it easily to allow time for his reception. Then the headman would stride out of the village to meet him, smiling a welcome with grave friendliness, for the welcome was genuine. In these people's memories there lingered still the remembrance of very different days, days when the impis of Lobengula came storming in to demand the annual tribute of cattle and slaves, to pillage and plunder and kill at will; the coming of the white man had changed all that and men and women and children could sleep in their huts at night with quiet minds.

The headman, proudly carrying the white man's rifle over his shoulder, would lead the way to the kraal and a large shade tree under which the guest could make his camp. Within minutes the women, smiling shyly at the stranger, would bring water and firewood and clean combed fresh grass for his bed.

MacDougall quickly learned what was expected of him.

'Is there any game here?' he would ask and the answer was always the same, for the country teemed with game. So, before dark, he would go off and shoot a buck to present to the village and thereafter he was welcome to stay as long as he pleased. His evening meal would be brought on a clean wooden platter — a dish of little firm cakes, resembling scones, made of white rupoko, and a bowl of stewed meat. Although, in the weeks of wandering in the lowveld, and later in the years he spent there, he quickly acquired complete fluency in the ChiKaranga speech, he was never able to learn how the women managed to cook the fresh killed meat and

make it so tender and so appetizing. Perhaps a young fellow's healthy hunger after a day in the saddle — and MacDougall was a big man, powerfully built — held some of the answer.

If the food had little variety in it, it was tasty and satisfying and the people, simple and naive as they were, met him always with a friendly welcome. They were naturally courteous and they had an innate dignity that appealed to the young Highlander, to whom dignity came naturally; on that first solitary trek he made many friends among the headmen of the villages, and he was to make many more in the years to come, and to win their complete trust and confidence.

Everywhere was evidence of a frightening aridity; yet the native cattle seemed in good condition and the villages were well stocked. Taking his leisurely way back south, MacDougall brooded over what he had seen and something of the immense potentiality of that desolate country caught his imagination. He had touched only the fringe of Southern Rhodesia, but he liked what he heard about the country as a whole and when, two years later, he learned of the opening of mines in the Mazoe district — and mines meant transport — he set off with his six wagons, his mules and his drivers, for the north. Among the men were two Zulus, Tom Dunuza, from Carolina, and Wilhelm; Tom, inspanned at first as piccanin in charge of the cooking pots, was rapidly showing his capabilities in other directions and was soon to become boss-boy of the wagons themselves. He was a big man, powerfully built like his master, and his remarkable forehead showed unusual intelligence. He was to develop, in time, an air of quiet authority and an initiative and enterprise that were to be invaluable.

Riding transport to the Mazoe mines was lucrative; but MacDougall had never forgotten that solitary three months' ride through the lowveld and he made up his mind to get to know the country from end to end. His boys and his mules needed regular rest; he would give them all leave from June to September and in those months be free to do as he pleased. With a spare horse to carry his blanket, his bags of coffee and sugar and meal and salt, he would set off for the lowveld and wander where the fancy took him, shooting his meat and, as it proved, finding the people, simple and poor as they were, as warmly welcoming as before. They would offer him the hospitality of their villages and in country where danger from elephant and rhino, from lion and leopard was never far away he spent his nights, as often as he could, in the friendly warmth and safety of the kraals.

From the Lundi to the Sabi he came to know the lowveld and the more he got to know it the more convinced he was that this could be a paradise not only for wild animals, not only for ranchers but for farmers as well.

In 1912, famine, endemic in those days in the tribal areas, hit the lowveld. From far and wide came reports of terrible distress. More than 40 000 people, widely scattered over a great area, were facing starvation; yet in fact the tribes were far from destitute and the Charter Company, which then administered Rhodesia, was faced with something of a problem.

Most villages, even those badly hit, had plenty of cattle, which represented their wealth, and they would if necessary trade their cattle for food. But they were not cattle men in the sense, for instance, that the Masai of Tanganyika and Kenya were cattle men. They were essentially a grain-eating people and they had none of the pastoral tribesman's ability to live exclusively on the produce of his beasts. Cattle were a source not of food but of wealth and animals changed hands so frequently, as local currency, that attempts to introduce stock marks had failed completely; a beast might have as many as a dozen different marks in as many months.

The people of the lowveld, furthermore, were quite unable to grasp the white man's conception of work. Women worked, performing all the heavy tasks, but the men stood puzzled, even sullenly resentful, when offered food for their families in return for a contract of work. But previous experience — famine was endemic among the tribes in those days and rarely a year went by without government help somewhere — had taught the Administration the dangers of either indiscriminate or gratuitous relief. If people believed that Government would feed them,

they stopped planting crops of their own; if they found that the genuinely destitute got free relief they hid their cattle and pleaded destitution themselves. Regulations had therefore to be laid down for the distribution of assistance and while the really destitute were given food the others — the great majority — were offered food in exchange for cattle at generous rates. Delivered to the lowveld, maize cost about £2 a bag; the price of four bags for a cow was considerably more than it would fetch in the Fort Victoria market.

The main difficulty was that the lowveld, unhealthy and sparsely inhabited, had long been a neglected region. The old Pioneer Road, turning eastward after the Shashi crossing to reach Mashonaland without touching the territory of the Matabele, had penetrated deep into it before striking north to the far more inviting highveld; but the collapse of the Matabele three years later had reopened the old Missionary Road from the south into Matabeleland, a far easier and safe route, and the settlers who came up thereafter all headed for the highveld. The lowveld was simply good hunting country with limited ranching possibilities; but only a handful of ranchers had accepted its hardships and dangers and although these were doing what they could to alleviate distress Government must do far more. So large cargoes of grain must be sent down to its officers scattered about the lowveld, who would then undertake an orderly distribution after thorough and careful inquiry into the real facts.

Few Europeans, however, apart from these Native Commissioners, had any knowledge of the lowveld and few transport riders could tackle the work.

Murray MacDougall was one of these, and the Charter Company called for his services.

So, breaking his rule for the sake of those people he knew, people in distress, he inspanned his teams and his boys to carry succour southwards. He saw plenty of evidence of distress. At each outspan the loads had to be guarded, for often the wagons were mobbed by as many as a hundred hungry people demanding food — and he could not give it to them. He had contracted to deliver his loads to various points where government officials were waiting to carry out their ordered distribution. So, at the end of a long day's trek, he and his drivers would mount guard to protect the precious cargoes.

Once Tom Dunuza called to him and led him into the bush, less than a quarter of a mile from the wagon trail, to a village that had died. Men and women and children, even dogs and goats, lay there in silent witness of the famine — and the jackals and hyenas and vultures had been there too, making the village a sight not for the squeamish, a sight to touch the hardest of hearts.

Perhaps it was this as much as anything else that changed MacDougall's plans; for he went into the lowveld with his loads of grain, trekking over the greater part of it from Chibi to the Sabi, convinced that all the lowveld needed was water; and he came out of it a man obsessed by a vision, passionately determined that the lowveld would have water, that one day the bright green of cultivated crops would replace the harsh greys and browns of this hostile land.

* * * * * * * * * *

When the operation of famine relief was finished MacDougall, fired still by the excitement of that first vision of plenty in a desolation of arid bush, applied to the Charter Company for a grant of land down towards the Mozambique border, watered by the Mtilikwe River.

'When we find out where it is,' they told him cheerfully, 'it's yours.'

MacDougall began making preparations to occupy what later became Triangle Ranch; but war intervened and he served through four years in Africa and overseas, while Tom Dunuza went back, heavy hearted, to his native Carolina district. Then MacDougall returned to his beloved lowveld and on 1st July, 1919, he and a partner, Spraggon, completed the purchase of Triangle.

It had of course no name then; but the Charter Company brought in a new branding ordinance, replacing the old simple symbol brands with three-letter brands three inches high. 'It'll spoil the hides,' MacDougall complained and, characteristically, circumvented it. He searched through the brand book for the smallest and neatest registered brand and found one — a small, plain triangle. It belonged to a man called Van Niekerk. MacDougall sent him £1 — and got transfer of the brand.

The beef market was booming. MacDougall bought a mob and drove them down to Triangle. It was the realization of a dream cherished through the long years of war; to a man less dedicated, less indomitable, it might have been the start of a nightmare.

Temperatures ranged from the thirties to the hundreds, often topped 110°. Conditions were primitive; yet MacDougall had always maintained the high standard of living he had been brought up with and even the temporary grass huts that were the first homestead had to be kept spick and span and in good repair, and his meals had to be properly served by cook and houseboy. Game was abundant, and MacDougall established a fine vegetable garden, watered from the Mtilikwe, and planted citrus and mangoes and bananas and other fruit; the partners fed well. But there were almost as many lions as game and if the cattle were not all to be taken the lions must be reduced. Between October 1919 and the following January 157 were shot.

Other big game abounded at first. Large herds of elephant roamed the ranch and a pair of black rhinos disputed possession; but these big beasts hate being disturbed and eventually moved off. Leopard were plentiful, living in the river beds, feeding off wild pig and baboon, but when the Mtilikwe and its tributaries came down in flood they were forced into the open where they could be shot in numbers.

So Triangle was established; but in the 1922–23 rainy season only five inches of rain fell; streams and waterholes dried up, the Mtilikwe dwindled to a series of diminishing pools . . . and the bottom fell out of the post-war beef market. Meat supplies were plentiful again. Beasts MacDougall had paid £15 or more for fetched only £2. Triangle Ranch was ruined. But the land that had failed them as a ranching venture must support them otherwise. The partners had grown cotton successfully, but as a rain crop; MacDougall returned to his first dream of plenty.

By then the British South Africa Company's charter had run out and the young country elected not to join South Africa but to stand on its own feet. So now, in 1923, it had its own parliament and prime minister and civil service — no longer Company servants but Rhodesians — a hard headed, hard living, hard working lot, prospectors and ranchers, smallworkers and farmers, transport riders and traders, with a sprinkling of professional and commercial men. There were many visionaries among them; they were out to build a nation; individualists all of them, self-reliant, enduring. So, full of hope, he went to see the Secretary for Agriculture.

The official answer was brief and final.

'You're mad. Sugar won't grow in Rhodesia.'

Everybody knew that. Sugar grew in moist tropical coastal belts, not in a drought stricken bush country. Frustrated, MacDougall, whose first need was water, went and talked to the Director of Irrigation, who, as he listened, became fired with the burning enthusiasm, the passionate conviction and the breadth of vision that inspired everything MacDougall had to say. Perhaps too he recognized that here was a man who had the obstinacy and the strength of character demanded in the long battle with the lowveld that lay ahead. He ordered a survey.

The engineer in charge, after a six-day journey by mule cart from Fort Victoria, set to work to peg a furrow; but at the selected take-off point on the Mtilikwe a huge granite kopje intervened and the only means of diverting the water to the lands would be by tunneling through more than 1400 feet of solid rock. Only a civil engineering firm employing trained and qualified men could undertake so formidable a task.

MacDougall, neither trained nor qualified, was undismayed.

His partner, Spraggon, saw things differently. The hardship and loneliness, the monk-like existence in the scorching heat and bitter cold of the lowveld, the constant struggle against wild beasts, drought, and disease might be endurable for a man obsessed; the partnership was dissolved and MacDougall, alone now, tackled the job himself. The engineer had pegged the weir just below where the tunnel should enter the kopje; MacDougall took oxen and a dam scoop down and for ten days of unremitting labour scooped sand.

'This is no good', he decided, and shifted the government pegs to a weir site he had himself first selected. Jatala Weir, named after the great kopje, began to take shape, with concrete foundations and a wall of stone. When this was reported to the authorities MacDougall received a letter stating that in view of his independent action in moving their pegs without consultation or permission, they could accept no responsibility whatever for Jatala Weir. MacDougall, who had never in his life expected anybody to take responsibility for anything he did, reacted characteristically. Across the foot of the letter he wrote: 'Who asked you to?' — and sent it back to them.

Now the Mtilikwe was tamed, and he set off to look for funds to drive his tunnel through the mountain. He found none. The man's mad, they said. You can't grow sugar in Rhodesia. He came back to Triangle with no money — but with a load of dynamite and detonators and fuses, a compressor and jack hammers and everything else he needed. If no one else would drive his tunnel he would do it himself.

Pick and shovel farm labour, instruments he improvised himself for levelling and measuring — and a stroke of luck. Mick Shanahan, a 'mad Irishman', a good miner and a first-class bush engineer, turned up and, sharing MacDougall's contempt of hardship and setbacks, proved invaluable while he remained at Triangle.

The great granite mass of Jatala Kopje rises sheer to several hundred feet out of broken country, heavily bushed, its feet standing in a tangle of harsh vegetation interspersed with patches of fine soft grass, shoulder-high.

In that wilderness of rock and bush the tunnel remains as a monument to high endeavour and grim labour, for all the skilled work, however strenuous, the two men did themselves; and, painfully, a few feet at a time, the tunnel thrust into the kopje. Then, in December, swollen by the rains, the river came down in flood, surged into the tunnel, submerged it completely, and the workings remained underwater until the following July.

MacDougall went to work on the eight miles of canal that would carry the water to his lands. It had to be hacked out of solid rock or compact soil nearly as hard, and it ran through broken country where he had to construct siphons to carry the water through outcrops and embankments and over dongas. When the tunnel dried out he went to work there again, but each year it was flooded and once for a two-year spell he could not get near it; and when funds ran out he had to go to work to earn more money to pour into his precious tunnel. For a total of twenty-six months he laboured in the tunnel — but the work was spread over seven years. He could have pumped the tunnel dry; but no one shared his vision or his faith, no one would lend him money to buy the big pumps he needed. So, indomitable, grimly determined, he struggled on alone and at last, in 1931, Mtilikwe water flowed to the waiting lands.

By that time he had hacked a road, mile after mile, through the virgin bush to link Triangle with Fort Victoria nearly a hundred miles away. By that time he had stumped and cleared, by hand, hundreds of acres of bush, had ploughed and harrowed it, made it ready for the crop to come. Only one thing helped; he was never short of labour. He had befriended the MaKaranga people of the lowveld, he was known and trusted and his complete fluency in their language won him affectionate respect.

Now MacDougall could confound the sceptics. He went to Salisbury to ask for an import permit for seed cane.

'Sugar won't grow in Rhodesia', he was told; but grudgingly, he was granted a permit — for three lengths each of three feet of cane.

He planted it; it grew, he began bulking up and two visitors from Natal, both sugar experts, were impressed. MacDougall bought an old 10-ton truck, went down to Natal, loaded it with seed cane and brought it to Triangle. Customs formalities were casual in those days, he was well known, nobody questioned his cargo, and soon some hundreds of acres of the deep, rich virgin soil of Triangle sprouted sugar cane. Now he needed a mill, so, with a few friends, he floated a company, was appointed managing director and empowered to spend £4000 on machinery. He went to Natal and bought the old Beniva mill, dismantled it and set to work to move it to Triangle nearly a thousand miles away. It was railed piecemeal to Beit Bridge and there Tom Dunuza took over with the truck; for after the war Tom, learning by bush telegraph that the *nkos* was back and living in the lowveld, had trekked up from Carolina and turned up at the Ranch with the simple greeting: 'Here I am, *nkos*.' He is there still, a pensioner now, with a school named after him and a farm of his own.

During the rains, with river beds flooded and drifts impassable, Tom would drive the truck under a large tree, hoist its load, piece by piece, up into the stoutest branches with block and tackle, and go back to Beit Bridge to fetch another load. MacDougall had cut a new road, 52 miles through virgin bush, to reach the Beit Bridge road, but there were many drifts and the short torrential summer rains closed the road often for weeks on end. When it was open again, Tom would lower his loads down from the trees and take them on to the Ranch, sometimes using ox wagons when the truck could not cope, and so, after two years on the road, MacDougall's mill was assembled bit by bit until, in 1939, it was ready to go to work.

The first Rhodesian sugar cane was milled and produced ten tons. With Tom at the wheel, MacDougall went up with it to Bulawayo, to deliver it to the refinery, first fruits of the labour of nearly two decades. The mill, largely dismantled now, still stands in the encroaching bush, a monument to the enterprise and determination that brought a vision to reality. Ten miles away the large new mill, incorporating MacDougall's plant, produces a hundred thousand tons of sugar a year.

MacDougall had made his point. Rhodesia could grow sugar. But again war intervened and again funds were not to be had. The Ministry of Agriculture made advances from development loan funds under its own control, but when the limit — £35 000 — was reached a crisis followed. In the end, the government decided to put a further £105 000 into Triangle, but appointed a Committee of Management to supervise the expenditure. At its first meeting at Triangle, it authorized the clearing and planting of a further acreage and just two months later, at the second meeting, the members were staggered to find that, with no mechanical equipment, MacDougall had stumped and cleared and ploughed more than forty acres. They offered their congratulations.

'Wait till I get my new machine', said MacDougall.

'What machine?' they enquired suspiciously, and learnt to their dismay that he had written to the United States for specifications of the largest Caterpillar earth moving and bush clearing machine on the market. So they had to explain to a disappointed MacDougall that the government's purse was far from bottomless and there could be no machine. Nor, for that matter, the new mill MacDougall wanted.

By now, of course, there was a proper homestead, where MacDougall maintained his usual high standard and kept a magnificent table. The house was of two large rooms, brick built, with thatched roof and the customary veranda. Close to it, MacDougall had built a large living-room, reminiscent of the dining hall of a Highland chief, with polished dark Rhodesian hardwood panelling and fittings, the central part of the ceiling raised, with panelling, and wooden plaques on which magnificent game trophies were displayed. There was a splendid fireplace against the

biting cold of lowveld nights in winter, and as he dispensed his open handed hospitality it was like being in another world, far away from the harsh wilderness he was taming.

Much more famous, however, was Mac's PK; this was on the sheer edge of the kopje, the doorway — there was no door — giving a splendid view of the plain below, where he had long ago made a landing strip. When the early morning mists were beginning to rise, a great variety of wild life could be seen grazing before the day's heat began — impala, zebra, wildebeeste, giraffe, eland, buffalo and many kinds of buck. There was always brisk competition among Mac's guests to be first out and down the garden path to the piccanin kaia in the early morning — and the greatest reluctance to yield it up to the next comer. Few PK's anywhere could rival the attractions of Mac's.

The Committee, however, was an interim measure; the government decided to take over Triangle as a national enterprise of great promise, and in due course the Company was wound up and the Sugar Industry Board set up, taking over on 1st January, 1945.

Murray MacDougall, a supreme individualist, was not the type of man to accept employment under government. He moved from Triangle, started ranching near Fort Victoria and in the next decade made such a success of it that he decided to get married, in 1949 — he had never had time before — and in 1959 sold out and retired to the shores of Lake Kyle, the great dam built to supply water to the lowveld. He had himself chosen the site as long ago as 1930. Now, free at last at the age of 79, he took his wife to New Zealand and Australia, and in Sydney bought a Volkswagen Combi with a canvas hood, a bucksail, two camp beds, chairs, table, blankets, food, a water container and a case of whisky; thus equipped, they set off and drove clear across Australia to Perth — a journey few men of 79 would even have dreamed of, far less enjoyed with so much zest. Thereafter they returned to Rhodesia, to the house they had built overlooking the Lake, a constant reminder of the fact that nearly 30 years before he had predicted to his friend Alfred Gifford that one day the dam would be built. Gifford had offered him a building site then; now Gifford was dead, but his son Jim, remembering, went to MacDougall and reminded him of the promise and gave him his choice of sites. Here, a hale and hearty eighty, MacDougall settled down at last to a leisured life, happy with his memories and, the restless energy unimpaired, with plans for the future.

It is given to few men to see their cherished visions turn to reality. It is not often a man becomes a legend in his lifetime. That has happened to MacDougall; for today the lowveld is booming. In the deep rich soil, in the great heat tempered by cold nights in winter, the cane flourishes, producing on the average over 60 tons to the acre and from 7 to 10 tons of sugar. In some of the lands 110 tons of cane have come off an acre. Not only that, but the plant cane matures in 13 to 14 months, and ratoon cuts are made in just eleven months. MacDougall was right. The lowveld could grow sugar. Nowhere in the world can better cane be grown.

Murray MacDougall lived to see the triumph of Triangle. But in May, 1964, he had a stroke which paralysed his right leg. The indomitable spirit remained undimmed and he set to work on exercises to recover the use of the leg, and partially succeeded. Perhaps the effort at the age of 84 was too much for the great strength he had always spent so unsparingly, and on Saturday evening, 30th May, 1964, he died, peacefully, in his sleep.

Medical Survey Patrol: 1935

by E. R. Thomson

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The 1934–35 survey for the suppression of infectious, contagious and obnoxious diseases was completed in September last, and in the following paper I have endeavoured to record my own personal impressions of what was primarily a series of medical surveys, but which proved in addition to have been a most interesting adventure.

The survey, which was to have lasted for six weeks, took nearly five months to complete, during which time the following complaints were investigated: bubonic plague in rats, yaws and human trypanosomiasis. In the course of the work we covered approximately 5 000 miles by car, 200 miles on foot, and a further 200 miles by boat on the Zambesi River. I will not attempt to write on the more technical side of the trip, this having already been done in a most expert manner by Dr Blair, the leader of the survey party, but will confine myself to subjects of more general interest.

Having been seconded to the Medical Department as laboratory assistant to Dr Blair for the duration of the survey, I, in company with the doctor, left Salisbury on 8th May, with our two boys, in two new Ford V-8 half-ton trucks, en route for Gokwe and the Sebungwe district.

On 12th May we were back in Salisbury, having been recalled after walking twenty-five miles from Gokwe towards the Umniati River. Cases of bubonic plague had been reported in Bechuanaland, and we were destined to spend the next six weeks looking for bubonic plague amongst rats in Southern Rhodesia. The result of this section of the survey is now past history; sufficient to say that no evidence of bubonic plague or the like was found in this Colony.

On the rodent survey we were joined by Mr Jack Ledger, of the Pasteur Institute, he acting as laboratory technician and holding *post mortem* examinations on all the rats caught by us.

Troopers Gandolfo, Edwards, Ferreira and Dobell also joined the party, and equipped with most superior Ford V-8 trucks toured over a large area of the Colony looking for rats and their fleas — certainly a queer occupation for Policemen.

During our travels we visited the 'troops' at Plumtree, Bulawayo, Figtree, Gwanda, Gwelo, Que Que and Fort Victoria, as well as at other smaller stations. Although some considerable amusement was caused by the mention of the work in which we were engaged, we found the occupation most interesting indeed. Many a time had we seen the small burrows in the veld, but beyond imagining that the holes were occupied by some squirrel-like creatures, I, for one, never really gave the matter a thought, not dreaming that the occupant was a rat — or, to give it its proper name, a gerbille — living there in company with its progeny.

In some areas we found as many as fifty burrows in as many square yards. Some of these we would dig up and capture the rodents as they emerged from their burrows. Others, on occasions, emerged from some obscure 'bolt holes', resulting in a chase across the country after the poor, unfortunate creatures. It took me back to the old days, when ratting with a fox terrier was a pleasant afternoon's sport. Later we improved our technique, and with the aid of cyanogas and a special type of pump obtained our material for examination with a little less excitement perhaps, certainly with less fatigue.

We found that some natives were very expert in locating the gerbille burrows and catching the rodents; others were quite the opposite. Mrewa boys were most expert, and on enquiry we found that they were used to hunting for rats in their own country, as they there formed an

article of diet. On the other hand, the Matabele natives were very poor at the work, and we learned that they do not eat veld rats. Later, when down on the Zambesi, we found that the Batonka native women fed upon the veld rats, whereas the menfolk of the tribe looked upon the practice with disdain. At least, that is how they would have liked us to have thought they regarded the practice. We were of the opinion that they were too lazy to dig for the rodents.

The rodent survey over, we said good-bye to Tprs. Gandolfo, Edwards, Ferreira and Dobell and returned to Salisbury, where we re-equipped for our trip to the Zambesi River.

On 7th July Dr Blair and I, with our boys, again left for Gokwe, where we arrived the following day. Here we saw our old friend 'Ginger' Jackson, full of his approaching leave.

On 9th July we left Gokwe, our destination being Binga's Kraal on the Zambesi. This kraal is approximately fifty miles downstream from Walker's Drift and opposite the Kancindu Mission.

The road — a really wonderful piece of work for amateur road-builders — was, nevertheless, very rough indeed. It took us high into the hills, down most precipitous slopes and through some desolate, rock country. We took two days to do the one hundred and seventy-five miles to Binga's from Gokwe.

A few days after our arrival we were joined by Mr Sweetman, whose services we were very fortunate in obtaining for the remainder of the survey. Before continuing with this narrative, I must say something about Mr Sweetman.

About twenty years ago Mr Sweetman left the haunts of white men and made his home in the veld, and here he has lived since that time. It is only of recent years that he has ventured into a civilized centre. No man whom I have met knows more about native customs and native ways than does Sweetman, and the adventures which have come his way sound more like fiction than real life. The following adventure is but one of many which have fallen to the lot of this remarkable man.

Some years ago Mr Sweetman was in the vicinity of a store in the Sebungwe district. With him was a coloured man and two natives. The storekeeper told Sweetman of the activities of a leopard which had been stealing his chickens. That night Sweetman set a trap-gun for the beast. This resulted in the leopard being wounded — a superficial wound, but this was not discovered until later. At daylight Sweetman, his three companions and a small terrier went after the leopard. Sweetman was carrying an old Tower musket (a muzzle-loading type of gun); the coloured man was carrying a shotgun loaded with some light shot (all that was obtainable); while each of the natives carried an assegai.

The spoor of the leopard was followed for some distance, and finally the pursuers were rewarded by coming upon the animal in some long grass. The leopard charged. Sweetman raised his gun and pressed the trigger, but the weapon misfired, and before Sweetman could avoid the charging beast, it had sprung upon him. Sweetman, clutching the animal by its throat, turned to the coloured man who was near to him, and who appeared to be in a daze, and told him to put the muzzle of the gun which he was carrying to the leopard's head and fire. At the word fire, the coloured man dropped the gun which he was holding, and ran away. Sweetman never saw that coloured man again. The two natives, who had been looking on, also ran away. Sweetman was left to deal with the leopard by himself — except for the small terrier which was snapping at the animal's feet. Both Sweetman and the leopard rolled together on the ground. In order to change the position of his hands, Sweetman fastened his teeth into the skin at the back of the leopard's neck. He was thus able to transfer his right hand to the animal's shoulder and force it to the ground; meanwhile, the leopard was inflicting terrible injuries upon Sweetman with its claws. His clothes were in ribbons, and he was soaked with blood. With a great effort Sweetman managed to get his knee against the leopard's chest, and being a very heavy man managed to break in some of its ribs. Blood began to gush from the leopard's mouth and Sweetman, thinking that the beast was killed, released his hold upon its throat. The leopard at

once sank its teeth into Sweetman's left arm. By this time one of the natives had returned, and picking up the Tower musket, hit the leopard on the head. This finished the fight.

For months Sweetman was laid up in a native's hut, where he was attended by native witch-doctors. He refused to go to a European hospital — in fact, it would have been dangerous to have moved him at all. The witch-doctors who attended him spared no pains to effect a cure, and few white men would have survived the treatment they inflicted upon Sweetman. The wounds in his body were syringed in the following manner. The dried urine of baboons scraped from rocks was dissolved in water and boiled. The mixture was then taken into the mouth of a witch-doctor as hot as was possible, and blown through a hollow reed which had been thrust into the open wounds in Sweetman's body. Each wound was treated in this manner at regular intervals, while men of the kraal held the struggling patient down. The wounds eventually healed, and Sweetman began to recover from his terrible injuries. The fever left him, and he was able to take an interest in what was happening to him. He remembers how the last bad injury was treated. His left arm was very badly swollen above the elbow and the witch-doctors who had been treating him decided to lance the swelling. Natives were called in to hold the patient down as usual, but Sweetman, who had become sane once more, told the doctors that they could dispense with their services, as he could stand the operation. One of the doctors then took an assegai which had been carefully sharpened and thrust the weapon through the swollen arm, after which the incision was treated with the hot baboon urine solution.

Eventually, Sweetman recovered from his multiple injuries, and now, except for a weak left arm and many scars, he is little the worse for that adventure. His native name *Ruwatera* means 'He who listens to scandalous talk says nothing, pretending that he does not hear.'

While at Binga's we visited the Kancindu Mission on the Northern Rhodesian side of the Zambesi, where we were received by the Reverend Matthews and Mrs Matthews — two very fine people indeed, who have isolated themselves from their kind in order to work amongst the natives in the vicinity, attending to their spiritual good and to their ailments. The mission is situated on the site of one of Dr Livingstone's old camps, and consists of two excellent brick buildings which form the home of the Matthews, a brick building for a school, and numerous Kimberley brick huts for the use of teachers and for use as hospital accommodation. The number of patients treated during a year runs into many hundreds, and they range from cases of veld sores to injuries sustained from crocodiles and lions, etc. One case which had been discharged shortly before our arrival consisted of a native boy who had been terribly injured by a crocodile. I saw the boy later, and the holes which remained in his chest and leg made me wonder however he survived, and says a great deal for the expert treatment given by the missionaries.

On 17th July we left Binga's en route for Kariangwe and the site of the Native Commissioner's old camp in the centre of the prohibited area. This area was closed in the year 1912 on account of sleeping sickness, the whole area being depopulated. Of recent years a few natives have returned, and in view of the reports which had been received by the Medical Director, we were proceeding to the place in order to ascertain whether these natives were suffering from sleeping sickness or otherwise.

Dr Blair, Sweetman and myself, with thirty carriers, left on the morning of the 17th July. Crossing the Pungula hills and the Donga River, we entered some very dry country — in fact, we had to continue our march until 1.30 p.m. before we came to water. Not having had a meal before leaving that morning, we wasted no time in pitching camp by this water-hole in the Buyumusuku River. By this time we were well in the tsetse fly country, and had been kept busy driving the pests from us, their bite being, as some of my readers know, very fierce indeed.

During the following three days we passed through some very fine country, well watered by the Buyumusuku River and the Lubu and Lugwalala Rivers. Game was in abundance, and we

had no difficulty in supplying the boys and ourselves with meat. On 19th July we arrived at Kariangwe, and here we pitched camp at the site of the original Native Department camp on the summit of the plateau. A splendid view was obtained from our camp-site over the plains and hills surrounding Kariangwe. Three miles from our camp we found a few native kraals. All the inmates were examined and blood slides taken from each one. All seemed very healthy, and no clinical cases of sleeping sickness were seen amongst them. In fact, although these kraals were situated in the heart of the prohibited area, we found no clinical or microscopic evidence of the disease amongst them.

On the northern edge of Kariangwe we found the graves of the late Vere Campbell and Rautenbach, who had been a trader. Campbell had died of blackwater and Rautenbach had died as the result of an encounter with a rhinoceros. The story might as well be told here.

Rautenbach, who had had little experience of the veld, arrived at Kariangwe in about the year 1899. He was very anxious to shoot something big, and one day, accompanied by a native messenger and equipped with a Martini-Henry rifle, he shot a buffalo with one shot. Thrilled with this success, he again went off to hunt. This time he came upon a rhinoceros. Rautenbach fired at the animal, but it did not move. He continued to fire at the animal until he had used up all his ammunition. Still the animal stood without moving, and Rautenbach, apparently thinking that the animal was almost dead, walked up to the huge beast, took hold of its tail and playfully smacking him on the flank, called to it to roll over. Instead of doing so, the animal swung round, and taking Rautenbach completely by surprise, tossed him into the air. As Rautenbach came down, the rhino tossed him into the air again.

The native messenger, who had witnessed the whole affair, ran up behind the animal and clapped his hands to attract the rhino's attention. He was successful, and the animal turned and chased the boy. He did not follow him very far, however, but returned to worry the body of Rautenbach, who was lying unconscious where he had fallen. Once again the rhino scooped up the man's body with his horn and tossed him into the air. His body, thrown high into the air, came down crashing through the trees, to land with a sickening thud at the rhino's feet. Once again the native messenger approached the huge, ungainly beast and repeated his tactics, clapping his hands loudly behind the rhino. This time he met with more success, and the beast gave chase, following him through the trees.

The native messenger circled and ran up to Rautenbach and dragged his unconscious body into a patch of thick bush. The rhino, having lost sight of the native messenger, returned to where he had left Rautenbach, and not finding him he made off into the veld. Whether he died as the result of the shots which had been fired into him is not known, as the beast was not seen again.

The native messenger returned to camp and reported the affair to the Native Commissioner. Rautenbach was taken back to camp; life was not extinct, but he died the following day without regaining consciousness.

With the aid of our carriers we erected a large stockade around the two graves to keep animals away. There are no head-stones to these graves, and there is no indication as to who is buried beneath the two cairns of rocks.

While encamped on the Lubu river, six miles from Kariangwe, we were joined by Mr Marr, who had been instructed by his department to accompany the expedition. As Mr Marr had his portable wireless with him, we despatched wireless telegrams to Salisbury reporting progress, etc., our address being Sibaba, Sebungwe. Replies to our wires were received within an hour, which goes to show the efficiency of present-day portable wireless under service conditions. Four carriers are sufficient to transport the whole set.

Every night while we were encamped in the vicinity of Kariangwe we heard many lions, hyenas and wild dogs. One morning Sweetman and I left to look for the remains of a waterbuck

which I had wounded the previous day. About half a mile from our camp, in the sandy bed of the Lubu River, we found the carcase of a wild dog. Sweetman, an expert in veld lore, described what had happened. The wild dogs had come upon the spoor of the waterbuck which I had wounded, and the whole pack had given chase. (We had heard the sounds of the chase the night before.) They had caught the waterbuck in a shallow pool and, after despatching it, proceeded to feed upon its carcase. A lion had come upon the scene and had driven the dogs away, giving chase to one of their number and killing it. The lion then proceeded to finish the buck, finally taking the bones on top of the river bank, where he had gnawed them until shortly before our arrival, his very recent spoor leading away into the bush.

Although we heard so many lions during the nights we spent in the area, we only once caught sight of one of their kind. This was shortly before we arrived at Kariangwe. On this occasion a lion appeared in the path in front of us and then disappeared into the long grass. Only a few of our boys saw him; his spoor showed that he was a very large animal indeed.

July found us once more on the road en route for Binga's Kraal. On the path we came upon the carcases of four elephants, these having been slaughtered by hunters who had penetrated into the area to poach ivory and rhinoceros horns. Later we heard that the persons concerned had received their just deserts — a very fine piece of work by Tpr. Hunt, who must be induced to write something of his experiences on that trip, not forgetting to mention the *Nkombos*, of which there were numbers.

On this day we visited the site of the old Lubu Camp (BSAP). There were still signs of the old huts, and rows of stones marked the paths between the buildings. Within the bounds of the camp we saw two metal tyres from some old donkey-cart, probably used to bring water from the Lubu River, or perhaps to bring stores from Malindi, a town nearly one hundred miles away.

Outside the precincts of the camp we found the graves of the late James Henry Lester, DSM, one-time Native Commissioner of Sebungwe district. By his side was the grave of George Crawford Hayes Hancock, who had been a Trooper in the Corps. From Sweetman we heard the cause of their deaths — an interesting story which proved to be a double tragedy.

On the morning of the 22nd January, 1899, Tpr. Hancock, hearing a disturbance by the stables, left his hut to see what the noise was about. He was met at the door of the stable by a lion, which immediately attacked the unarmed man, mauling him so badly that he died. Mr Lester the same day went out with two messengers to hunt the lion, and when they came upon him, one of the messengers lost his head and fired his rifle, shooting the Native Commissioner, with the result that he died the following day.

The old Lubu Camp was situated amongst a low range of hills. There was little to commend it from a scenic point of view — in fact, to us it presented a very disappointing aspect. The surrounding country offered many better sites, with water in abundance. The Lubu River, in which there were a few pools of muddy water at the time of our passing, certainly would keep a camp supplied with water of a kind, but the flavour must have been far from pleasant. Mosquitoes must also have caused considerable trouble to those who had occupied the camp in those far-off days.

That night we camped near a water-hole in the Kakonya River; a tributary to the Lubu River. Shortly after the sun had set, one of our messengers came hastily into camp and told us that there was a rhino approaching the camp. Sweetman and I grabbed our rifles and Dr Blair his camera, and off we went to meet the animal. Our luck was right out, however, as the beast, apparently hearing the sounds of activity in our camp caused by the sixty boys we had with us (these including the natives who were accompanying the Native Commissioner), had made off in another direction. We saw his spoor in the morning on the path in front of us.

The remainder of our journey to Binga's Kraal passed without much incident, except for an encounter with some buffalo on the part of Sweetman. He and I had left camp in different

directions in order to obtain meat for the carriers. I had been able to shoot an impala, but Sweetman had followed the spoor of a herd of buffalo, and suddenly came upon them in the basin-like depression of a river-bed which was thick with bush and trees. The herd had taken fright and had stampeded, coming straight towards Sweetman. Fortunately he had been able to drop those nearest to him; the remainder charged up the bank of the river and disappeared. We now had sufficient meat for our boys to last for some time, providing, of course, the boys were not allowed to eat all they could at a sitting. Nothing was left behind of those three buffalo except a little of the hides and bones; even the latter had been split open to obtain the marrow.

On 6th July we arrived at Binga's on the Zambesi — fresh water and a cooling breeze from the river. We also had some very welcome tea — tea which looked like tea, tasted like tea and smelt like tea — not like the terrible mixture which we had been forced to drink for the last few days — a grey muddy substance smelling very strongly of a cattle kraal or a stagnant pool in which cattle had been standing. The water-holes which we had encountered on the trip to and from Kariangwe had, with one exception, been used as bathing places by all types of animals, particularly elephants, buffalo, pigs and the itinerant baboon, so one can well imagine in what condition we found the water.

On the 29th July we again left with our carriers, this time proceeding along the banks of the Zambesi into Wankie district, visiting Sansali's Kraal and numerous others up river. We had been fortunate in being able to hire from the missionaries their steel boat of 3 000 lbs. capacity with its crew of four boat boys — or perhaps now they might be termed 'native sailors', in view of the fact that towards the end of our travels we had taught them to sail the boat with the aid of a sail consisting of three ground-sheets.

The boat was able to carry a considerable quantity of kit, so we were able to reduce the number of carriers and thus lighten our loads.

Our path led us through some hilly country cut up by deep gorges. The surface of the path consisted of deep sand, making the going very heavy indeed. Finally, we left the river and made our way inland to Tshabi's Kraal on the Mlibizi River. Here we found a number of hot springs, and where the hot water flowed into the Mlibizi River we enjoyed a most welcome hot bath. The springs had a decidedly sulphurous odour, and at their source the water bubbled from beneath flat rocks. We questioned the natives in the vicinity, and learned that at one time there had been earthquakes in that part of the country; their forefathers had told them about it. They described these phenomena as being the result of the movements of a big snake deep down in the earth, that on occasions woke up and moved, causing the earth to tremble.

The water of the Mlibizi tasted slightly of salt, and natives informed us that once each year natives came from all around to collect the salt from the river. They only did that at one period in the year, and only after a special ceremony had been held. According to their superstitious belief, nobody was allowed to take salt from the water until the big annual ceremony had been held; any person doing so would be killed and devoured by lions.

The ceremony took the following form. In August of each year natives from neighbouring districts gathered together at Chief Tshabi's Kraal, bringing with them quantities of grain for the purpose of making kaffir beer and for a great feast.

The wives of Tshabi have to make the beer, first crushing the grain brought by the visitors. Tshabi has to supply the meat, which consists of goat flesh. Many of his herd are killed each year. Dancing and feasting are carried on for three days. Finally, the last pot of beer is produced, called '*Kupeyera*' or *Paradza Mudzimu*'. This beer is then consumed and, the spirits being appeased, salt-making may be carried out.

At this period of the survey we were treating yaws, Dr Blair giving all sufferers intravenous and intra-muscular injections of arsenic and bismuth metal. Some one hundred cases had been treated to date. The majority of natives looked upon the party with suspicion, and we could have

treated only about half of the sufferers in the districts we visited. Some of those affected by the disease would hide in the reeds by the riverside and watch their brothers and sisters being treated; many would not present themselves for treatment, being too nervous of the consequences. We heard that they had been informed that we would take off their limbs and do other dreadful things to them. It was, on occasions, very difficult to convince them that we were there for their own good.

Yaws is a most repulsive complaint. The disease attacks the face and other parts of the body, and huge sores appear which are very slow to heal; often disfiguration and maiming results, such as the loss of the nose or roof of the mouth, or both. Eventually the sores leave the sufferer, and as a secondary symptom the patient develops pains in the joints. The natives call the disease *Sijolo*, which means literally 'Pains in joints'.

The drug used in the treatment of yaws is an arsenical preparation, and results from the injection are noticeable in three or four days. As an example, Dr Blair treated some persons who were unable to walk on account of sores and pains in their joints, these persons being carried to our camp for treatment. Three days later we again saw these people and they were walking, not completely cured, of course, but able to walk to us for their second injection. Very seldom would a native come for more than two injections, their belief being that if two would cure them, a third might kill them.

On leaving Tshabi's, we journeyed down the Mlibizi River to its junction with the Zambesi; we then continued along the south bank of the Zambesi to our old camp at the junction of the Sebungwe River, where we had left our boat at the upper limits of navigation. Our camp at this spot was very beautifully placed. The dense vegetation on the thirty-foot bank overlooking the river had been cut away, and there, surrounded by thick foliage with the large Tamarind trees overhead, we were well protected against the heat of the sun. The Zambezi narrowed at this point and a wide expanse of rock and sand stretched away below us, the river consisting of a narrow stream near the Northern Rhodesian bank.

In the cool of the evening Dr Blair and I walked along the river bank beneath the many Tamarind trees and wild fig trees, their shade contrasting very vividly with the bright sunlight outside. The footpath which we had been following led us down the bank of the river close to the water's edge and through native gardens in which mealies were growing. In places we could see where the hippo had raided them and where they had slid down the bank into the river. As we walked through the mealies we noticed the 'Heath Robinson' method adopted by the natives to alarm the thieving hippo. This consisted of strings to which were hung tins containing stones, one end being attached to a tree at the end of the garden, or to a stick which had been thrust into the soft ground. The other end of the string was fastened to the inside of the hut in which the watcher slept. One could well imagine the occupant turning over in bed and pulling the string in his sleep, causing the stones to rattle in the tins. Natives are too bone lazy to keep awake at night and watch their crops, and often they wake up, after sleeping too soundly, to find that their mealies have been cleared overnight by the raiding hippo.

At sundown we returned to camp, where the scent of cooking welcomed us and where later we did full justice to the only full meal of the day.

The following morning I went out to try and obtain some meat, as we were completely out of this commodity.

Although I was unsuccessful in obtaining meat, I found some more hot springs. These were sending up huge clouds of steam. At first I had mistaken them for fires, the steam resembling white smoke. On a closer inspection I found that the boiling water was flowing over some large flat rocks and so into the Sebungwe river. The atmosphere in the vicinity was very warm and damp. Tree ferns and other green vegetation which grew in abundance about the springs were a very welcome sight after the dried veld with its leafless, grey, gaunt-looking trees.

On 6th August we left our camp at the confluence of the Sebungwe and Zambesi rivers and travelled down the Zambesi by boat, and a very pleasant trip it was — a most welcome change from our previous method of travelling. Instead of strenuous climbs through steep, rough and sandy country — short of water, yet dripping with sweat — we reclined at our ease in the boat, good water all around us and a gentle breeze to temper the heat of the sun.

Our pleasant trip downstream never lacked for interest. Sometimes we were attracted by the appearance of huge crocodiles, which were frequently seen in the water, but more often on the islands and banks of the river. Many died as the result of a well-aimed shot from our rifles, but it was seldom that they died on shore; almost invariably they managed to enter the water, to be seen later floating belly uppermost downstream with the current.

Crocodiles often engage in tremendous fights with each other, inflicting terrible injuries. One crocodile which I shot had no tail. This, we surmised, had been lost in a fight with one of its kind. The remaining part of the body was of immense proportions, and during the whole of the survey I never saw a larger specimen. The largest crocodile which fell to my rifle during the trip and which remained on shore measured only fifteen feet — quite small in relation to some which we saw.

A few days later, when encamped at Binga's Kraal, I decided to spend an afternoon hunting crocodiles. I therefore collected all the old ammunition I possessed, consisting of nickel .303 Mark VIII., and with my service rifle I walked along the bank of the Zambesi, which rose in places to a height of seventy feet above the level of the water. In this stretch of the river there were many islands, and there were few that had not their full quota of crocodiles. Some good sport was obtained and considerable pleasure as the repulsive reptiles either crawled into the water badly wounded or remained on the island dead, to be eaten by another of their kind when he became sufficiently rotten.

Each year the natives lose many cattle through crocodiles, and many piccanins also lose their lives through venturing too far into the river. When the river is low and the water clear, the crocodiles have small chance of approaching sufficiently near to catch native women and their children as they go for water; but as soon as the first rains fall, the water becomes cloudy and the crocodiles lie well hidden beneath the surface of the water, and are able to catch the unwary, either human being or animal, who should approach too close to the water's edge.

Wild duck also fell to our guns, and we were able to supplement our fare with duck and green peas on numerous occasions. Green peas out of a packet, of course, but they were most welcome, as any form of vegetable was to us.

As we approached Siachilaba's Kraal, Sweetman caught a huge fish on the line which was being dragged behind the boat. We called it a barbel, and it must have weighed nearly 60 lbs. Since, however, we have heard that the fish must have been a Vundu. We thoroughly enjoyed eating the portion we had, the remaining portion was cut up and dried by our boys. This acted as an additional ration to their fare of mealie meal and an occasional feed of meat.

During our quiet voyage down the river we saw innumerable birds. Some were large, some were very small. Amongst those we saw and which we recognized were cranes and storks. These watched our approach with lofty disdain until we drew very close to them, then they arose with little effort and circled above us, casting large shadows upon the water, the poetry of motion ideally illustrated. We saw some of the small love birds, like tiny parrots, twittering in the bushes by the river and extremely pretty they were with their multi-coloured plumage and bright orange beaks. We saw many strange and rare specimens of birds; some were a wonderful dark copper colour, their plumage glistening in the sun, and others in varied colours, each one in itself a study of the Maker's magnificent workmanship.

It is as well that these birds are protected, but an aviary in Salisbury, in which some of them might be kept, would offer a great attraction to all.

In their natural surroundings by the river, with its bushy banks in which to build their nests, these birds are seen by few human beings, and those who do see them are invariably the natives, who catch them for food with scarcely a thought for the truly beautiful creatures they destroy.

8th August found us once more back at Binga's Kraal. Upon our arrival we heard that the Native Commissioner, Mr Marr, had completed his tax collection of this section of his area and had left for Sinekoma's Kraal, where we expected to join him a few days later.

Not having halted for more than a day at any of our halts since we had left Binga's to go up country, we decided to remain at this camp for three days, in order that we might have a general clean-up of kit, etc.

Whilst here, Dr Blair treated many more cases of yaws. Those cases treated on our first arrival at Binga's had been such a good advertisement that we had no more difficulty in encouraging the local people to come for treatment. Our total number of cases treated to this date was 330 — a total of 660 injections.

On Saturday, the 10th August, the Rev. Matthews, with Mrs Matthews, came to visit us at our camp-site and to watch the intravenous injections of arsenic being given, in order that the same kind of treatment might be given to natives suffering from yaws who should in the future present themselves at the Mission.

While the work was in progress, natives came to us and reported that hippo were in the river near their lands, and that during the night they had ravaged crops along the banks of the river, and that all their efforts to drive the animals away had failed.

During our journey up and down the river we had seen everywhere the destruction of crops by hippopotami, all the efforts of the owners proving unavailing against these great beasts. We therefore decided to assist these natives and have a few shots at the hippo.

Accompanying the natives who had reported to us the presence of the hippo, we proceeded along the river bank for about two miles, to where we could see in the centre of the river a number of dark objects. These proved to be the heads of five hippo. The animals were nearer the Northern Rhodesia bank of the river than the southern bank. We therefore decided that as the morning was well advanced we would return to camp, and in the afternoon we would cross over to the Northern Rhodesian side and approach as near to the hippo as we could, and endeavour to try and shoot one, or perhaps two.

At 3 p.m. the party proceeded downstream in accordance with our plans and found that the hippo were still sporting in the river where we had seen them in the morning. Taking posts of vantage, we settled down to await a favourable opportunity for a shot. We arranged that when one of the animals put its head out of the water, we would all fire together. After about five minutes, during which we waited patiently at the aim, having all adopted the sitting position behind whatever cover we could find, our patience was rewarded and a head appeared above the water. We all fired. I do not think one of the shots registered a hit. I always found shooting across water very difficult indeed, not only for the tendency to misjudge the distance, but there seems to be a tendency to shoot low as well.

Our shooting created a great stir amongst the hippo, and they immediately began to swim beneath the water downstream. We ran along the river bank and adopted firing positions in order to get a shot at one of the beasts as he came up for air. Some very good shots were registered, and when the hippo found that we were waiting for them downstream, they commenced to swim upstream. Sweetman, who had not left his first position, was waiting for them, and on firing from his position all the hippo submerged. They then commenced to come to the surface in one centre spot in the river. We all adopted suitable firing positions and potted at the animals as they appeared for air. As they only came to the surface for two seconds at a time, it was necessary to be very quick on the aim. The method I employed was to adopt the sitting position and to remain at the aim for as long as I could hold it, and if the animal did not appear for a

considerable time, I would lower my rifle and rest, permitting the hippo to appear and submerge without shooting. I would then come to the aim with my sights aligned on the spot where the hippo had gone beneath the water. A hippo in circumstances such as these will invariably reappear in exactly the same spot at which it submerges. In two hours I fired ten rounds with my .303 service rifle, after which we gave up the shoot. Two of the hippo had disappeared, and we were hopeful of obtaining the meat of one of them.

The following morning natives came to tell us that one of the hippo had come to the surface dead and had been dragged into the bank. We at once went down to the scene, and sure enough there was a very fine specimen of a bull hippopotamus. Sweetman gave us and the natives an object lesson in the art of stripping the hide from a hippo. Taking his knife, which had been sharpened to the keenness of a razor, he cut through the hide from the groove in the skin at the base of the neck to the flank. The ease with which the knife cut through the hide drew murmurs of admiration from the natives, who were present in hundreds; never had their knives cut in such a manner. We watched in silent admiration while he stripped the hide from one side of the animal. In order to strip the reverse side, the animal was pulled into the water, where it floated on the surface, owing to the internal gases not having been disturbed: then it was rolled over just like an empty barrel, natives strewing branches and grass upon the ground, on to which the animal was dragged. The remaining side was then stripped of its hide. All the hide having been removed, Sweetman commenced to butcher the meat with the assistance of some of our boys. Most of the meat was put into the boat for rations for our carriers and for the Mission boys. On examining the head of the hippo, four shots were found, three of which might have proved fatal. We therefore each claimed one shot and called the animal our beast.

Our beast being loaded with all the meat we required, Sweetman distributed that which remained to the natives who had been standing round, both interested and expectant. Care was taken that the women received their fair share of the meat, as the men, being in the majority, would have given little meat to their womenfolk. The question of meat with a native is a great one. Families are broken up through one of the family failing to share out any meat which he happens to come by. A native who kills a chicken for food has to do so with great secrecy, as all his relatives come round expecting to receive their share. In the event of an animal being caught in a snare, the whole kraal expects to share in the spoils, and in the event of the animal caught being a small one, the trapper will often take it to his hut and keep his capture secret, eating the meat surreptitiously. In the event of this deceit being discovered, a free fight often results.

The meat of the hippo being all distributed, we returned to our camp. We walked along the bank with the exception of Sweetman, who travelled in the boat with the meat and its many smells.

The Matthews, Dr Blair and I arrived at our camp well ahead of Sweetman, whose journey by boat upriver was naturally slow on account of the strong current. As we were to dine at the Mission that evening, it was decided that we should all cross the river by dugout and be joined later by Sweetman. We accordingly went to the landing stage, which consisted of an open space in the reeds by the water's edge. Here we found one small dugout only, all other boats having been taken by their owners in order to visit the scene of the hippo kill. All the paddles had also disappeared. However, we were determined to cross the river, so all climbed in and sat on the bottom of the boat. Three boys joined us, and in all there were seven in this small dugout. Two of the boys punted us up river for about two hundred yards, then we made for the centre of the river in order to drift downstream with the current and finally land on the other side of the river at a landing stage about three hundred yards further down. All went well until the boys found that they could no longer reach bottom with their poles. They sat on the edge of the dugout and commenced to paddle with their poles, making almost no progress against the swift current. We

had not realized quite what we had undertaken in attempting to cross the river, seven up in a small boat, with no paddles and only two small poles. The time was about 7 p.m., a new moon was overhead, and the river, which is teeming with crocodiles, swept silently beneath us. Occasionally a small wave would break against the side of the boat and we would ship a small quantity of water, the water-line being about three or four inches below the bulwarks.

We were carried past the landing stage on the Northern Rhodesian side of the river by the swift current, and we were beginning to wonder where we would land, when the current swept us in towards the bank, and by dint of hard work by our boat boys we were able to make the shore and land without mishap, and except for wet trousers caused by sitting in pools of water, we were none the worse for our adventure.

A Note on Glenlivet Hotel and Area

by Norman Glover and Christine Potts

The recent re-opening of the Glenlivet Hotel was a cause of much pleasant surprise for those residents of the Victoria District who harboured nostalgic memories of its halcyon days of the 1930s and 40s when, under the ownership of a very genial host in Mr W. T. Potts, it enjoyed a national reputation as a country hotel. It was particularly popular among newly-weds who looked upon it as the recognized honeymoon hotel.

Mr Potts, living in Ireland, first heard of Glenlivet when he saw an advertisement in the glossy paper, *The Field.* At the time Glenlivet was a Guest Farm offering a type of accommodation very popular in those days — 1933, when maize sold for 5/- a bag of 200 lbs and eggs were available at 3d. a dozen. It was a place of much natural beauty situated on lovely red soil and right under Chimberi mountain. Apart from the Mtilikwe river which formed the western boundary, it boasted a natural spring yielding 700–1000 gallons per hour. In the fertile soil a large plantation of gum trees, oranges, mangoes and pineapples all flourished.

After making further enquiries into the proposition Mr Potts decided to emigrate to make Glenlivet his home, taking over on arrival a well-built house of brick under an iron roof. Obviously impressed with the potential of the place he decided to take over the farm and establish a country hotel. This was in 1936, the same year as that in which Sheppard's Hotel, near to Great Zimbabwe, was also opened to the public.

The accommodation at that time comprised a block of five double rooms of brick under thatch. A second block nearer to the original homestead had not been completed when the sale took place but this work was immediately put in hand, to provide on completion four double rooms plus one suite with a private bathroom. All rooms had ceilings with hand basins, and hot and cold running water, quite an innovation in those days. A further three single rooms and a pair of rondavels now formed what was fast gaining a wide reputation for Glenlivet. What a pleasant experience was a visit to the hotel in those days. The lounge was most comfortably furnished and offered a display of beautiful ornamental china on shelves fitted on all four walls, and the table appointments in the dining room converted a snack into a banquet.

Much was on offer of a rural nature — the adjoining Mtilikwe river with its big deep pools being a great attraction for those keen on fishing or canoeing. There was any number of attractive walks in the immediate vicinity with, of course, Great Zimbabwe only a few miles distant. Horses were available for those who wanted to enjoy the countryside on horseback, as well as a riding school. This provided a jumping lane for those novices wanting to improve their horsemanship.

A Mr W. D. Gale, of the National Tourist Board, instituted a practice which carried on for many years — on one of his expeditions to the top of Chimberi, which rises 1300 feet above the hotel, he left a bottle of beer at the summit, to be drunk only provided the drinker replaced it. There was a book to sign with the code word Excelsior, which had to be passed on to the bar on descent. So well did this take on that in five years there were over 500 signatures, including that of Sir Evelyn Baring, one of five governors who stayed at Glenlivet.

The steady progress it had made since its opening was, of course, brought to an abrupt halt at the outbreak of the Second World War. Country hotels depending mainly on motoring visitors for guests were among the first to be hard hit when petrol rationing was introduced — a period of lean years could not be avoided.

When the war ended, conditions were very different: in the next few years Glenlivet changed hands several times. One who left his mark was a Mr Lloyd-Moore who built the

excellent swimming pool and adjoining saunas as well as completely renovating the tennis court to bring it in line with modern standards. He also built the existing wide approach to the hotel, blasting many tons of soil from the hillside to do this. The former owner in 1953 was a Mrs Marr — she was a German baroness in her own right, first cousin to the famous First World War flying ace, Baron von Richtoven. She had married a Scot named Marr when both were living in Tanganyika. Always appearing scruffily dressed to resemble more the hotel char than the owner, she had a marvellous sense of humour (sometimes quite unconsciously) and was a delight to chat to. It was during her ownership that all the thatched buildings were burned down, and business was brought to a halt.

Eventually the property was taken over by a building contractor who built the present hotel using materials from the two old farm houses, including the teak parquet floor in the lounge.

In its early days the hotel was within a few miles of Zimbabwe Ruins, being connected by a road usually referred to as the Circular Route in that there was a round trip from the town of Fort Victoria to the Ruins, then on to Glenlivet, carrying on to meet the main Umtali road and so back to town. This road was cut when the Kyle Dam was completed and there was now no direct road connecting the hotel with Zimbabwe. This situation carried on for some five years when eventually Government gave permission for the construction of a pilot road. Tony Carver of Conex surveyed the route and Mrs Marjorie MacDougall, widow of Murray MacDougall, of Triangle Sugar Estate fame, gave permission for the road to be called after her husband. Monies were raised by public subscription and the ten mile road was built. The road is longer than the original link with Zimbabwe Ruins but it offers a most attractive drive through pleasant Tribal Trust Land.

The filling of Lake Kyle added greatly to the attractiveness of Glenlivet itself, with the result that there was a growing demand for small sites of two acres or so on the lake shore. Such a demand could not be met because Government controlled the whole of the lake shore. Thus the Glenlivet Townships came into being. A total of 18 sites. On Glenlivet four sites of five to twenty acres were offered for sale to the public. All offered a good view of the lake, and most have now been built on to provide an ideal lakeside retreat for the lucky owners.

Norman Glover

Glenlivet has now been an Hotel for sixty years. It is difficult to look back and remember conditions in 1933.

Mr Ian de la Rue has described Rhodesia at that time as 'having a sound infrastructure, with the railway and towns very much in being'.

However, the roads were gravel and, in the wet season (four to five months) were virtually impassable. The two tarred strips to take the wheels of a car and the low-level bridges, which were developed from 1933 onwards, made travel easier. But the bridges were often submerged for hours and cars trying to cross before a safe level was reached were swept away and their occupants drowned. There was RAIN in those days! *The average* annual rainfall for the Glenlivet Station was 40 inches. Miss Caton Thomson, excavating for the Government at Zimbabwe, was rained out about this time.

The spring above Glenlivet was still working a sawmill in 1933. Water was led from a high earth dam, along the hillside, to a concrete storage reservoir. This gave a piped fall of over 300 feet, to run a large and a small Pelton Wheel. This was phased out as the Hotel developed. A lower concrete reservoir was used as a swimming pool for many years. It stored water from the saws which irrigated the large fruit and vegetable garden.

At this time the road to Zimbabwe had to cross the two big rivers, Mtilikwe and Shagashe. A bridge of long gum poles was made over the Mtilikwe with sawn timber planks laid over them. These rattled alarmingly when cars ran over them but were quite safe, really. The site, in

two sections, channels on either side of a rocky islet, was selected by Mr Gerald Heasman, whose younger son runs a business in Masvingo to this day.

The second big river was not bridged until after the 1939–45 War, having only a drift. The road ran straight across Kyle Game Park, a distance of 14 miles.

M. C. Potts

A Pioneer from Peel or the Manservant of Man

by R. C. Plowden

Peel is a fishing and tourist centre located on the west coast of the Isle of Man. Relics and artefacts of the Norsemen are preserved in the Peel museum. The Norse period of dominance on the Isle of Man dates from 800 AD to 1079 AD. It was from Peel that Edward Walter Kermode set off on his journeys which brought him eventually to Harare with the first white settlers. Edward was born on the 18 June 1854. He was the seventh child of Thomas Kermode and Eliza (Elizabeth) Cowley whose family consisted of twelve children in all. The family is said to have had the motto in the gaelic Manx language '*Nole Me Tangere*' meaning 'Do Not Dare To Touch Me'.

Edward left home as a young man and went to America. There he served under Colonel Cody in the campaign against the Sioux Indians. Colonel Cody later became well known as Buffalo Bill.

From America, Edward journeyed to South Africa in the 1880s where he purchased mining claims in the Krugersdorp area. Hearing of the formation of a column of men to proceed and to occupy the country to the north of South Africa, Edward applied, as did many others, to join the column. The expedition was the idea of Cecil John Rhodes who wished to colonize the land subsequently to become Zimbabwe. Edward was turned down by the leaders of the column but, nothing daunted, walked to Kimberley, where the column was due to commence its trek north and he applied again to join it.

Having been turned down for a second time, Edward offered his services to Colquhoun, one of the leaders selected by Rhodes to be the first administrator of Mashonaland. Edward was taken on as a manservant and accompanied the column to its final destination.

Edward served his master for a few years until Colquhoun resigned, releasing Edward from his employ. As was the custom with all the early white settlers, Edward claimed his right to farm No. 6, a piece of land located to the north-west of Harare. He built a dwelling on the highest part of the property in the section now named Sentosa, a Malay word meaning peaceful.

From his farm Edward travelled north on a hunting and prospecting expedition and reached the Zambezi river in the area of the Kariba Dam wall. Then he built a raft and sailed it down the Pungwe river commencing his journey inside Zimbabwe and ending it at Beira where the river joins the Indian Ocean.

Naming his property Spring Valley Ranch, Edward tendered and was successful in obtaining a contract for the construction of a wooden bridge, strong enough to support loaded wagons, across the stream running through the centre of the town. Using the timber from his property Edward was paid £25.00 for the completed structure.

In 1892 Edward decided to return to America to visit the Chicago Exhibition. He sold his claims in South Africa but was arrested on a false charge of 'Claim Jumping'. Seeking compensation from his accusers took some considerable time as the court proceedings dragged on. This delay prevented him visiting America. He did however clear his name and was awarded some compensation as a result of the court case.

While Edward was in South Africa he was awarded title to his property on the 3 August 1892. Consisting in area of 2 510 morgen, it was registered in the name of Mabelreign after the surveyor's girl friend, Mabel Mann. Harry Sawerthal, the surveyor, found minerals on the farm

and offered to purchase it but could not raise the price asked for it. On his return from South Africa Edward decided to retain the name Mabelreign for his property.

In 1895 Edward returned to his native land, the Isle of Man, where he married Mrs Elizabeth Blight, a widow whose maiden name was Meyrick. Elizabeth's first husband, John Joseph Blight, died on the 1 June 1894 at the age of forty. Elizabeth had four children by her first husband. She gave birth to a son, Edward Arthur Kermode, on the 31 May 1897. At the time of the birth the occupation of the father was stated as Mining Contractor residing at Devonshire House, Peel.

There were no offers for Edward's property, Mabelreign farm, the price for which was £1 000.00, a large sum of money in those days. Edward died in Peel on the 9 January 1900 at the age of forty-five and his property was let as a cattle ranch.

In 1929 Edward's son journeyed to Harare and sub-divided the property into sections named Meyrick Park, after his mother's maiden name, Monavale, Greeba (both names found in the Isle of Man), Greencroft and Sentosa. He retained the name Mabelreign for one section and another he named Tynwald, the name of the Isle of Man Parliament.

The Mabelreign Girls' High School has adopted the three legs of Man, the national emblem of the Isle of Man, as its school badge. This is displayed in the true Manx colours at the entrance to the school grounds. Both the former Mabelreign and Meyrick Park town councils incorporated the three legs of Man in their coats of arms.

Elizabeth lived to be eighty-four years of age before she passed away on the 8 December 1946. After her second husband's death she married Herbert Goulding, a Clerk in Holy Orders, who pre-deceased her leaving Elizabeth a widow for the third time. At the time of her death Elizabeth was living at No. 2, Meyrick Villas, Peveril Road, Peel, Isle of Man.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The author's thanks are due to Miss M. S. Cottier of the Isle of Man Family History Society, Peel, the National Archives of Zimbabwe for supplying photocopies of the Mabelreign coat of arms and permitting personal research into their records. Finally my thanks are due also to Tony Tanser for extracts from his book *A Scantling of Time*.

Without their help and encouragement this article would not have been written.

A Battle Royal

An African fable, as told to the writer in the early days

by H. M. T. Ashwin

In the mid '20s, I was hunting in the picturesque countryside of the district then called the Mrewa African Reserve. The vast area was sparsely populated. The indigenous inhabitants lived in isolated villages together with the numerous livestock, literally tens of kilometres apart. Game of all species was plentiful, to within a few kilometres of the Administration Centre, also called Mrewa, the Murewa of today. My tracker Gwende and I took a breather at the foot of a low but massive kopjie called Urungwe.

Urungwe is a huge block of granite without the fissures or rocky outcrops and vegetation that occur on the neighbouring kopjies. Its flanks are precipitous, in places bulbous, the summit is almost completely bare of vegetation, occurring only around and about a group of large and small boulders, some balancing one on the other. They give the appearance of warts bunched on the bald head of an old man. Surely to this day it is still the celestial eyrie of bird life. On that day many hawks and eagles were seen circulating above. In the 20s, Urungwe was considered unclimbable by man, the wild animals, the klipspringers, baboons and leopards seemed unable to climb to its summit either. Maybe to this day it is the same.

Gwende pointed above to Urungwe. 'That kopjie is the bull gomo of this area. From the Inyaguwi to the Nyadiri river, he is King. See those three gomos there. They are his wives.' He indicated large tree covered kopjies nearby. 'Those small gomos near them are their children.' Gwende turned to Urungwe. 'See that deep wound in his side?' There was what appeared to be a large and deep cave halfway up Urungwe's height. 'Let me tell you how he received that injury.'

'Long ago when the world was young, no humans lived on this earth. This family of kopjies lived happily and alone. Nearby there was food and water in abundance. Suddenly their peace was shattered. On a sunny winter's morning, the family heard a low rumbling sound far to the east. It sounded like distant thunder. They were puzzled, thunder in winter? Thunder without clouds? What could it be? Gradually the rumbling notes became louder. Faintly on the far horizon, almost obliterated by clouds of dust, they could see a stranger, a kopjie, swaying slowly towards them. As it moved nearer they perceived its tall and stately figure. There was a strip of vegetation growing from near the summit almost to the ground, not unlike a long beard.It was Dombo-lo-Umbudzi, a lonely bachelor from Portuguese East Africa. He was in search of a wife.

Urungwe's wives huddled together in fear, clutching their children to their sides. As the stranger rumbled nearer, their consternation gradually turned to admiration.

'Oh', whispered one, 'How tall and noble he is'.

Another breathed 'Do look at his beautiful beard'.

The third murmured 'How handsome and virile'.

Urungwe became annoyed. He snarled 'Keep quiet, women! I'll show who's king of this land.' He moved forward to confront the intruder.

The bull kopjies clashed head-on. You can see the scars of battle on the countryside to this day. They clashed near where the Mission stands. They battled, they battled for a day and a night and another day, they thrust, gored, butted, they bellowed. The noise of the gigantic battle re-echoed across the land. They gouged deep gullies in the ground, piled huge boulders. The

hurricane winds generated lashed the countryside, the biggest of trees were torn from the earth, huge clouds of dust billowed to the heavens, darkening the light of day. It was a terrific fight.

Urungwe was slow moving, but very strong. Dombo-lo-Umbudzi, lanky and light, was very agile, he easily evaded Urungwe's vicious charges. For long hours they fought without a pause. By the second day Dombo-lo-Umbudzi's continual dancing and dodging began to tire him. He made one final supreme effort — a sudden charge! He struck a mighty blow to his adversary's side, creating a massive wound. Urungwe gasped with pain, blood poured from the deep gash. He paused, rallied, crouched and sprang at Dombo-lo-Umbudzi's mid-rib, delivering the final punch which catapulted his enemy far, far into the distant Nyadiri Valley. There alone he stands.

Folk, if you care to take a short drive to the north of the present township, Murewa, you will come upon Urungwe and his family living as peacefully and happily as before. If you have the time and inclination, drive north east taking the old, the very old Mutoko road, you will come upon a lofty, solitary kopjie in the middle of a wide plain. That is Dombo-lo-Umbudzi, a bachelor to this day.

The Mutapa State

by Cormac Lloyd

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe near Centenary on 29 July 1995.

My talk today, at Zvongombe Hill, is about the emergence of the Mutapa State. The praise name, 'Mwene Mutapa', refers to one who conquers and owns land. The conquest occurred in the latter half of the fifteenth century, when a Karanga dynasty took control of a huge tract of the Zambezi valley from the Manyame river in the west to the Ruwenya river in the east. This dynasty descended from the high plateau of northern Mashonaland, where numerous Karanga dynasties had moved up from the south.

At the time of this movement of Shona north to the Zambezi the Great Zimbabwe state collapsed and was replaced by a state wealthy in cattle and gold in the south west, centred around Khami. When the Portuguese arrived at Sofala this new state in the south west and that in the north east were already in conflict. The supply of gold at Sofala was drying up and in 1513 the Portuguese sent Antonio Fernandes inland to report on how best to secure supplies. This led to the historic encounter of the first white explorer with the ruler of the Mutapa state on a hill near the Musengezi river, where he was building in stone.

The court of the ruling Mwene Mutapa was known as 'Zimbabwe'. Literally that word means a large house of stone. In fact the ruler lived in dagga houses, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries used stone walls to enclose or shield the houses within his court. On the top of this hill there remains a good example of such a complex. The configuration of the walling appears to be haphazard, until one fits in the houses which were located in a 1991 University excavation. One then realizes that the walling was not meant as fortification, but to regulate passage from one house to the next and to screen the entrance of each house from the others. The obvious reason for this type of structure is one of privacy, involving ceremonial rights, gold working (of which the excavation in this case has produced residues) and the other functions of an important chief.

The distribution of similar structures in Northern Mashonaland, each about 60 to 100 kilometres from the other, shows a pattern of trade routes, one imagines to Sofala. The one, via Masembura, Sindi and Harleigh, is through the gap in the Eastern Highlands at Mutare. The other, which was used by Fernandes, was around the northern end of the Eastern Highlands.

Fernandes reported that whereas all on the route from Sofala obeyed the Mwene Mutapa, the King of Butua did not. Butua is the state which I have referred to which had come into existence in the south west. Its ruler was reported by Fernandes as being 'as great a King as the King of Monomatapa and he is always at war with him'. These words of Fernandes, related to the scribe at Sofala, were prophetic. At the beginning of the sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century there was warfare between a state in the south west and the Mutapa state in the north east. In the end the former won and the Mwene Mutapa dynasty and their Portuguese allies were swept off the northern plateau and banished to the lowlands of the Zambezi Valley.

The archaeological datings taken from the site on the top of this hill span a period from ±1430 to ±1490. According to the genealogy obtained by D. P. Abrahams from the Mutoto medium in the Dande, this period covered the reign of five Mwene Mutapa, namely Mutota, Matope, Kadembo, Mavura and Mukombero. Abrahams gives 1490 as the date when the Changamire usurper overthrew Mukombero. The latter's son, Chikuyo, in turn overthrew the usurper and was the Mwene Mutapa at the time when Fernandes arrived on the scene.

The accounts we have through Abrahams of the early Mwene Mutapa associate them mainly with the lands which Mutope conquered in the Zambezi Valley. This would place their centre of operations further down the Musengezi River, below the escarpment. Tomorrow we will visit the Mutota 'zimbabwe' at the base of the escarpment. North of that, below the confluence of the Utete and the Musengedzi we have another court of a Mwene Mutapa, where in 1561 Father Silviera was murdered. One is left wondering what role the fifteenth century Zvongombe settlement to the south would have played in the emergence of the Mutapa state. I believe that the answer to this lies in the fact that the Mwene Mutapa, like all other Karanga rulers, liked to keep their wealth in cattle. The tsetse fly infested area below the escarpment was not cattle keeping country, whereas the land on top of the escarpment was. Indeed, at the time the large cattle herds were in the hands of rulers to the south, as food in times of drought and for gifts to stimulate gold production and seal alliances. If cattle were needed to obtain gold one imagines that cattle also changed hands as an incentive to allow gold to pass down the trade routes to the coast.

Up until the fifteenth century trade with the coast was through Sofala and on to Kilwa. During the fifteenth century the newly established sultanate of Angochi began using the Zambezi trade route to trade in ivory and gold with the Tonga and Tavara people along the Zambezi. The motive force behind the emergence of the Mutapa state was to seize control of this trade route in the north east and to use it to obtain wealth from the main cattle owning and gold producing areas to the south and west.

The role which I speculate the Zvongombe complex played in the Mutapa state is as a centre where the Mwene Mutapa kept the cattle he accumulated. The source of the Mwene Mutapa's herds was not the lands he had conquered in the Valley but his uneasy alliance with a cattle owning and gold producing state to the south west. The settlement continued only as long as this alliance. It ceased to exist when Mukombero was deposed as Mwene Mutapa and his cattle herds were confiscated.

An account of the usurpation of Changamire as the Mwene Mutapa was carried to the Portuguese at Sofala and was put in a written report to the Portuguese king by Diogo de Alcacova in 1506. This describes, in graphic detail, Mukombero, alarmed at the growing power of one of his governors, deciding to test him through trial by ordeal. At the time this involved sending a bowl of poison to the vassal, whom the ruler wished to eliminate. Changamire refused to drink the poison and sent cattle as a peace offering. When Mukombero still insisted that he drink the poisoned cup, he decided to overthrow the Mwene Mutapa. The usurper's reign was short lived, but despite the installation of Mukombero's son as Mwene Mutapa a state of war continued until the arrival of Fernandes. Fernandes found that this state of war existed with a kingdom separate from that of the Mwene Mutapa, to the south west. Two centuries later another Changamire, called Dombo, successfully banished the Portuguese and Mutapa state from the plateau. In this instance the Changamire was not a governor of the Mutapa, but a powerful Rozwi ruler, who had conquered the south west. Yet, according to the Portuguese writers, he was again a servant of the Mwene Mutapa, who kept cattle for him. The name 'Changamire' is interpreted by David Beach as simply the name of a dynasty from the north east, which went on to found the Rozwi state. This is discounted by Mudenge, the latest writer on the Mutapa state, who says that 'Changamire' was not a dynastic name but merely an honourable title.

The name itself seems to be a contradiction in terms. Abrahams points out that the name 'Changa' means 'a worthless person, one of no account'. This is immediately contradicted by the fact that the word 'mbiri' in Shona means an important person. As is evidenced by the report of Fernandes, it was also used during the reign of a Mwene Mutapa to describe the central province of his kingdom, or the place where he could be found. Applying this usage Abrahams explains the role of the 'Changamire' in relation to the Mutapa state as follows:

'The cattle are distributed by Changa throughout Mbiri (Central Provinces) . . . and he appoints a network of overseers responsible to him. In the process he is in a position to carry out a watching brief for the King, his father, over the activities of the Provincial Governors . . . and becomes a vital and influential link in the administrative machinery of the kingdom.'

One has to be careful about this statement of Abrahams. The King he refers to is the second Mwene Mutapa, whose centre of operations was in the Dande, which itself was known as 'Mbiri'. When Abrahams refers to cattle being kept in the Central Provinces he is referring not to the Province of Mutope but Mutope's ancestor, Mutota.

Abrahams made this leap into the past through enquiries of the spirit medium of Mutota, who at the time in 1959 lived next to a ruin, at the base of the escarpment, which we will visit tomorrow. The medium related that Mutota had set out from Gurwuswa in search of a supply of salt, which he had learnt could be found to the north east in the Zambezi Valley. Gurwuswa means literally 'long grass'. David Beach explains that it is the name which the northern Shona used to refer to their original home on open plains or grasslands. In the annotations to his questionnaire of the Mutota medium Abrahams more specifically associates Gurwuswa with the kingdom of Butua in the south west. In his questionnaire Abrahams asks of his informant, 'Who exactly came from Gurwuswa with Mutota'. The answer to this was that he was accompanied by his wives and sons and other members of the royal family, whose fathers were junior in precedence to Mutota, one of whom was Changamire. One can understand how later Mwene Mutapa, tracing their descent to Mutota, regarded Changamire, the keeper of cattle to the south, as their servant. In Shona society a person may keep cattle under usufruct ('kuronzera') but may not dispose of them without the owner's permission. At the height of his power this system was used by the Mwene Mutapa to keep cattle as far south as the central watershed. It seems to me that this was bound in the end to lead to disputes as to ownership. When these disputes led to warfare, the reports made to the Portuguese would emphasize that the Mwene Mutapa was at war with Changamire. Important as cattle were, the economic base of the Mutapa state was in the growing of crops. In fact the symbol used to demonstrate the power of the Mwene Mutapa was the hoe. One must remember here that to the north of the escarpment the Mwene Mutapa could not take tribute in cattle, because there were none. Instead a system was implemented whereby tribute was rendered by service in lands cultivated by the Mwene Mutapa. When one stands on the escarpment and views the vastness of the Zambezi Valley, one can only wonder how it was possible to enforce such a system. From Portuguese accounts one learns that the Mwene Mutapa would each year send his administrators out to receive a token of allegiance from his subjects, through the administration of a ceremony of fires. This involved all fires being put out so that new fire could be received from the representative of the Mwene Mutapa. What this meant in practice was that chiefs in the woodlands of the Valley could not put labour to work in the slash and burn for new fields, without first showing their readiness to render tribute to the Mwene Mutapa. As a way of keeping a pulse on the vast tracts of land in the Zambezi Valley, this system of administration must have worked very well. All the Mwene Mutapa had to do was to scan the horizon to see if smoke was being thrown up into the heavens. If it came from a quarter where he had not sent his administrator to hand over new fire, he would know exactly where to despatch his army to punish a failure to show due allegiance.

One last facet I would like to mention is the Mhondoro cult of the Mutapa state. Historians' interest in this subject arose as a result of Abrahams' interviews with the Mutota medium. Further interest in this subject was generated by the use of spirit mediums in the Dande during the recent liberation war, it should be said by both sides. A very interesting book has been written by David Lan entitled *Guns and Rain, Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe*. The issue which he confronts is the role played by spirit mediums when a ruler has conquered lands, which were not originally owned by his royal ancestor or 'Mhondoro'. This issue is discussed

firstly from the descendants' point of view of Mutota whom Abrahams identified as being the conquerors of the Dande.

When starting my talk I mentioned that the praise name 'Mwene Mutapa' means the conqueror who owns land. To say that conquest makes ownership of land is an over-simplification as far as Shona rain making rituals are concerned. During times of great drought it becomes necessary to determine whose ancestor originally owned the land so that the spirit medium of that ancestor may be consulted. After all it must be that ancestor who is best placed to bring rain. How this works, in a typical Shona society, can be shown by the operation of the spirit mediums in the following situation. Through conquest a paramount chief has moved onto lands which were originally occupied by the ancestor of the lesser chief, who now owes him allegiance. The problem is best understood when one realizes that each spirit medium operates within a spirit province which corresponds to the area controlled by the ancestor who has possessed him. The difficulty which the conqueror faces is that he can only bring rain by going through the medium who is possessed by the spirit of an ancestor of the chief he has conquered. In Shona society this difficulty was overcome by taking wives from the chief who is subjugated. Amongst the Shona it is normal for cattle to be handed over, in return for the wives and the services in the fields. I have already explained that in the Zambezi valley there were no cattle. Bride price, like tribute, could only be paid in service. For Shona descending into the Valley the problem was how to avoid ending up serving those they set out to conquer.

In the Mutota legend this problem was resolved with a good example of Shona ingenuity. When Mutota arrived on the escarpment, in his quest for a supply of salt, he stalled and turned back. Before he died he decreed that the son to succeed him would have to take his favourite daughter, Nehanda, as wife. By fulfilling this decree Mutope was able to maintain that his ancestor Mutota was both his father and father-in-law. What this meant for rain making purposes was that Mutota now resided at the summit of the spirit world. For the descendants of the Mwene Mutapa this entailed that the spirit province of their royal ancestor or Mhondoro was not limited by area. Wherever they conquered they would be able to bring rain because they were also the owners of the lands they conquered.

By way of a footnote I have to say that reading through Abrahams' questionnaire of George Kupara, the Mutota medium, I am surprised that one question was not posed. If Mutota existed, but never descended the escarpment, how was it that his medium was able to practise at the base of the escarpment? In point of fact George Kupara moved off the escarpment when his village from near Sipolilo made way for the development of European farms. The question was not put, one assumes out of sensitivity to the issue which gave rise to Kupara's move. It would nevertheless have been interesting to have heard Kupara's response to the question.

Felixburg — a Dream That Faded — but Legends Live On

by R. K. Harvey

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe at Felixburg on 18 September 1994

Felixburg is, today, only the name of an historic farm and the centre of some excellent ranching country, but a hundred years ago, it conjured up visions of Eldorado and became one of the early and most accessible gold fields in the newly opened country across the Limpopo.

Situated on the high plateau with abundant water, sparsely inhabited, with open healthy grassland teeming with wildlife, it seemed to be God's gift to the prospectors who flocked northwards at the turn of the century.

As in many of the schist belts of Zimbabwe, there were not only visible signs of gold bearing strata but also evidence of ancient mine workings. Soon claims were being registered along the length and breadth of this tell-tale red soil formation some fifteen miles long and four miles wide.

The names of over fifty of these old claims still recall some of the hopes and humour of those days.

The fanciful ones:	Golden Snake, Golden Cup, The Mint
The optimistic ones:	New Hope, Luck Be Mine, Success
The quizzical ones:	Puzzle, Erratic, Stoneybroke
The astronomical ones:	Sun, Sunshine, Sunrise, Sunbeam, Moonbeam, Aurora
The topical ones:	John Bull, Pickup, Wakeup, Cheerup, True Blue — all from a popular song of the Boer War era
A political one:	The Socialist

Sadly, the majority of them proved to be 'erratic', their claim holders ended up 'stoney broke' and drifted away.

They were defeated by the geological history and complexities of the area. The gold bearing schists originated as sediments on the bottom of the first primordial oceans to be formed by the continuous torrential rains that poured down on the planet earth for millions of years as it slowly cooled and its steam laden atmosphere turned to water. The thick sediments consolidated as layers of hard rock, some of which held thin bands of gold grains. These rocks were later to be lifted up and contorted by successive outpourings of molten lava from the earth's core, their very nature changed by the intense heat, their constituent elements distilled into liquids and gases and forced, under intense pressure, into fissures and cavities in the parent rocks.

These metamorphosed rocks cooled once more to be weathered and worn by more torrential rains, sheared and faulted by more upheavals in the earth's crust, until they finally came to rest and gradually were transformed into a world where many forms of life could flourish and, eventually, man would walk across its face.

The gold they were to seek so eagerly was now hidden in concentrated veins deep in the earth, sometimes easy to find, but most often the veins would pinch out or disappear altogether, due to those violent upheavals millions of years before. These difficulties and disappointments defeated all but ten claim holders and only three of these 'struck it rich'.

The dream had faded and Tom Meikle's manager, C. P. Hooper, closed the store he had so optimistically built at the crossroads on Felixburg Farm. It was said it was the only mistake Meikle ever made.

In retrospect, the Felixburg schists compared not unfavourably with other small goldfields scattered over the veld of the new country. By 1960, they had yielded some 73 000 fine ounces of gold, well over half of which came from three mines, the Welcome/Ilanga, the Castle and the Sunrise. Subsequent operations until 1988 raised the total to 90 000 ounces, worth $35 million by today's prices.

The most memorable historical characters of those early days, however, were not miners but two legendary brothers Harry and Willie Posselt. Sons of a German missionary, Felix Posselt, who settled in the midlands of Natal, they acquired pioneering skills and fluency in the Zulu language. Like many young men of those days, they were lured by the exciting challenges of the uncharted interior of Southern Africa, by tales of fabulous big game hunting, gold and diamond deposits, even some mysterious stone ruins north of the Limpopo river.

About 1880, a German explorer and archaeologist, Karl Mauch, had been guided to these ruins by a man called Reinders, who had married into a local tribe. When he returned to the coast he published an account of his experiences.

The two brothers decided to trek north with their ox wagon and horses, stopping for a while in the Transvaal, and eventually crossing the Limpopo in 1887, their main interest being hunting. They encountered a belt of severe tsetse fly infestation and were forced to turn back. They had, however, made contact with some of Chief Matibi's people who said they knew of the place of the great stone ruins and, in the dry season of 1888, they returned to Matibi's kraal.

A son of the chief, Mukati, agreed to be their guide but, when they reached the Lundi river, they were confronted by a Matabele impi and accused of being spies. When they said they were only hunting, the induna said the game belonged to Lobengula.

After a protracted indaba, in impeccable Zulu, the induna was appeased, but insisted that Lobengula should be given a present. Harry said that, at that time, they had no idea who Lobengula was but eventually asked what present was expected. The induna said, 'Lobengula has ten fingers', so the brothers, having come prepared to do some trading, handed over ten blankets. The induna then said, 'Lobengula has ten toes'. After a bit of a debate, they parted with ten pieces of limbo (calico), whereupon the induna casually mentioned that he also had ten fingers. Willie then decided to call his bluff by shouting, 'You are warriors but we are also warriors and you will only be able to steal our belongings when we are dead', and they turned their backs to walk away. The induna shouted 'Hatchi' (no), and the impi then became much more friendly, especially after Willie had shot a hippo for them. They advised them, however, to leave their wagons behind and proceed only on horseback because the induna guarding the next river (the Tokwe) also had ten fingers!

Harry prudently decided to remain with the wagon and oxen and Willie went on alone with his guide, Mukati.

After several days, the terrain became very much more broken and precipitous until, topping one more rise, he suddenly saw the valley of the ruins, and he was filled with awe.

A small Shona tribe had built their huts and cattle kraals in the Hill Complex. They were very timid but became unfriendly when Willie started digging within the walls. However, he was such a cheerful and likeable personality, later to be nicknamed *Nkonjere* (the Swallow) by the Ndebele, that he won them over and spent several days exploring the ruins. He was probably the first white man to do so in daylight, as evidently Karl Mauch had only visited them after dark to avoid antagonizing the inhabitants on the hill. He was also the first to appreciate the astonishing complexity of the site.

Willie discovered the soapstone birds and hid three of them for he could only carry the 'best

one' in his saddle bag, after first having broken off its pedestal. He also said he found a soapstone 'wheel' with writing on it.

After rejoining Harry, they returned to Pretoria where they had to recount their adventures to President Kruger himself, for he had personally hunted up the Lundi valley as far as Mount Belingwe, in his younger days. He declined to purchase their finds, however, but the word had gone round that they had discovered King Solomon's Mines.

Rhodes sent an emissary up from the Cape, one John Noble, who offered to buy the soapstone bird for £25, which they happily agreed to as that was a small fortune in those days! The bird was then taken to Groote Schuur.

Harry returned to Fort Victoria, in the wake of the Pioneer Column, where he met Dr Jameson who had heard of their exploits from Rhodes. He asked if they had any plans to settle permanently, whereupon Harry intimated that he would like to farm and was told to give his particulars to Sir John Willoughby. 'Do you know of any others/' asked Jameson. 'I have two brothers.' 'Right, give Willoughby their names. Any more?' 'I also have two friends in Natal.' 'Right, any more?' Then they all laughed.

Harry pegged a farm enclosing the ruins, where there was every likelihood of hidden treasure. In addition, he opined that the Temple would make an excellent cattle kraal.

Rhodes, having taken a proprietary interest in the ruins, applied his veto and eventually the three brothers were given their 'pioneer grants' on Maxwell Park (Willie), Felixburg (Harry) and Grasslands (Teddy).

The two older brothers volunteered for service in the 1893 Matabele War (in Colonel Napier's troop) and later, the 1896 rebellion.

Willie was sent ahead as a scout to reconnoitre the strength of the impis around Bulawayo and reported that the town was abandoned and burning.

Harry was standing near Rhodes when he received the news of the fate of Wilson and his men on the banks of the flooding Shangani river. He said Rhodes was overcome with grief. He got on well with Rhodes, who later commissioned him to capture some wild animals for translocation to Groote Schuur, so pre-empting Clem Coetzee by nearly a hundred years.

Willie and Harry were based in the Fort at Belingwe in 1896 and deployed on horse patrols to visit remote homesteads and mines. They had one contact with a marauding impi but managed to escape. Harry told how the sound of an impi on the war path was frightening beyond description. The warriors would keep up a fast pace, running and chanting in unison, stamping one foot with every fourth step, so that the drumming sound could be heard by their intended victims from some distance away.

After the rebellion, Harry returned to trading at Belingwe and went into a joint venture with four others in The Ancient Ruins Company, excavating in the neighbouring hills. They unearthed a total of 18 lbs of gold beads and other artefacts, some with strange inscriptions, which mysteriously disappeared at approximately the same time as two of his partners.

Harry never gave up his belief in the legend of King Solomon's Mines and on several occasions returned to explore the great valley of the ruins.

One extremely ancient informer had told him of two pots full of gold that lay buried beneath a boulder, but warned him that anyone who unearthed them would go blind and die soon afterwards.

He decided to take a chance and, after searching for a while, actually exposed a clay pot which to his great disappointment was filled with sand. There was no sign of number two. The pot, which the locals named Pfuko ye Nemhanga (a pot for beer), attracted a lot of attention and is now in the National Museum.

Harry lived to be 90 years of age and his eyesight dimmed a little but the curse never really caught up with him.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Willie and Teddy had both died before I was posted to Gutu District as a Conservation Officer in 1949, but I had the honour of knowing Harry and his wife Suzanna, and managed Felixburg Farm for a few years after his death. Ted's wife, Dolly, farmed Grasslands until her death in 1978.

Cattle farming in those days was not particularly remunerative and the two brothers had to transfer Maxwell Park farm to Stuart Meikle in repayment of a loan. Willie never married and moved into a room in the old homestead on Felixburg farm, sheltered by those colossal bluegum trees which had been planted as a hedge in 1904.

Tom Meikle's store at the crossroads was taken over by Russel Brown, another legendary character, whose father had been involved in the construction of the Beira/Umtali railway line, which was reputed to have cost a man's life for every 'sleeper' laid on the track, due to the ravages of malaria and blackwater fever. Like all the other little stores of those days, it was also the pharmaceutical dispensary, the post office, the discount house and the social centre of gravity for the settler community.

Harry and Willie Posselt and Russel Brown were all unassuming, gentle and generous men who loved nothing better than to reminisce about early Rhodesian days.

IN MEMORIAM

F. A. W. (Willie) Posselt	b. 11.07.1858	d. 26.04.1947
Herman (Harry) Posselt	b. 12.03.1863	d. 17.07.1953
Anna Suzanna Posselt (née Jordaan)	b. 16.02.1888	d. 17.08.1971
Theodor W. (Ted) Posselt	b. 11.02.1866	d. 07.03.1939
Ednha Louise Maria (Dolly) Posselt (née Nauhaus)		d. 19.07.1978
Russel H. Brown		d. 09.02.1955

History of the Rhodesian Air Force, 1950–1980

by R.W. J. Sykes

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe in Harare on 27 February 1994.

COUNTING THE COST

As well as the Rhodesians who fought in 237, 266 and 44 Squadrons, there were obviously many more who played their part in other Air Force units and in other theatres of operation. During the six years of war, the total numbers of Rhodesians in Air Force blue stood at 977 officers and 1432 other ranks. Of these, 498 were killed, a proportion of one man in every five who went to war, and 228 airmen received decorations or awards.

But one further casualty of the war was the Air Force itself — certainly as far as Rhodesia was concerned. No. 1 Squadron of the Southern Rhodesian Air Force (SRAF) had been turned into 237 Squadron, which had then been disbanded. Further, the training element of the old SRAF had been absorbed into the Royal Air Force and had become the nucleus of the huge Rhodesian Air Training Group (RATG). But in doing so it had lost its identity. The RATG, now under the command of Air Vice-Marshal Sir Charles Meredith, KBE, CBE, AFC, was essentially British in nature and in operation, and to all intents and purposes the Southern Rhodesian Air Force had simply ceased to exist.

It was not, however, a situation which was to last long, and the vacuum was soon to be filled. In the immediate post-war period, men trickled back to Rhodesia after being demobilized from the British services. Some of them rejoined the Southern Rhodesia Staff Corps, generally at very low ranks, and it was from this nucleus that the Air Force was to rise once again.

REBIRTH

Many of the ex-Air Force members of the Staff Corps itched to re-establish military aviation, but the prospects were far from promising. There was no money, there were no aircraft, and even the original SRAF buildings at Cranborne had been appropriated for use by immigrants and by various government departments.

However, the enthusiasts cajoled and persuaded, and eventually they attracted to their cause Sir Ernest Guest, the Minister of Defence, and Colonel S. Garlake, CBE, who was Commander of Military Forces in Southern Rhodesia. The result was the provision of a budget of £20 000 and the instruction to form an air unit. The financial grant was woefully inadequate, but there were almost limitless reserves of enthusiasm and resourcefulness to call upon. Within an oil-stained, petrol-soaked bowser shed set aside for their use at Cranborne, the small group started planning a viable programme for the new Air Force.

Under the leadership of Lt. Col. E. W. S. Jacklin, the dozen or so officers and men of the unit set about acquiring some aircraft.

LT. COL. E. W. S. JACKLIN

Ted Jacklin was born in Pretoria in 1917 and went to school in Surrey. He suffered ill health, and at one stage spent a year on his back with a serious chest complaint. After leaving school he came out to Rhodesia. In 1938 he played fly-half for Rhodesia against Britain's touring rugby team and was vice-captain of the team that toured South Africa in 1946.

Air Vice-Marshal Sir Charles Meredith, KBE, CBE, AFC.

Air Vice-Marshal E. W. S. Jacklin, CBE, AFC.

He went to war in 1939 with No. 1 Squadron SRAF (later 237 Squadron), and was then posted to Central Flying School to train as an instructor. He was rated as an exceptional instructor and in 1944, at the age of 26, was promoted to the rank of Group Captain to command Rhodesia's own Central Flying School at Norton.

In 1950, Lt. Col. Jacklin, who had just taken over command of Rhodesia's embryo Air Force, convinced Government that air power in Southern Africa must be developed. His foresight told him that Rhodesia must have an independent Air Force, not simply a support service, and that it must have an offensive and strategic capability. Remember — post-war thinking inclined towards peace, not re-armament.

Finance, of course, was the usual problem, but the British Government agreed to release 22 obsolescent Mk 22 Spitfires. Jacklin naturally wanted the new jets, but finance dictated . . .

In 1951, twenty airmen, with Ted Jacklin, went to Britain to collect the Spitfires and fly them back to Rhodesia. A certain RAF Group Captain was heard to say that '. . . the Rhodesians were mad, and they would be lucky to get 50% of the aircraft to Salisbury inside thirty days'. This was not, as it appears, a derogatory remark aimed at Rhodesian flying ability, but a factual statement — he knew the type of aircraft, the lack of facilities such as radio and navigation aids, and the inhospitable terrain. What he didn't know was Jacklin and the Rhodesians. Jacklin was not deterred by these remarks, and in fact they rather annoyed him — he could not wait to get started.

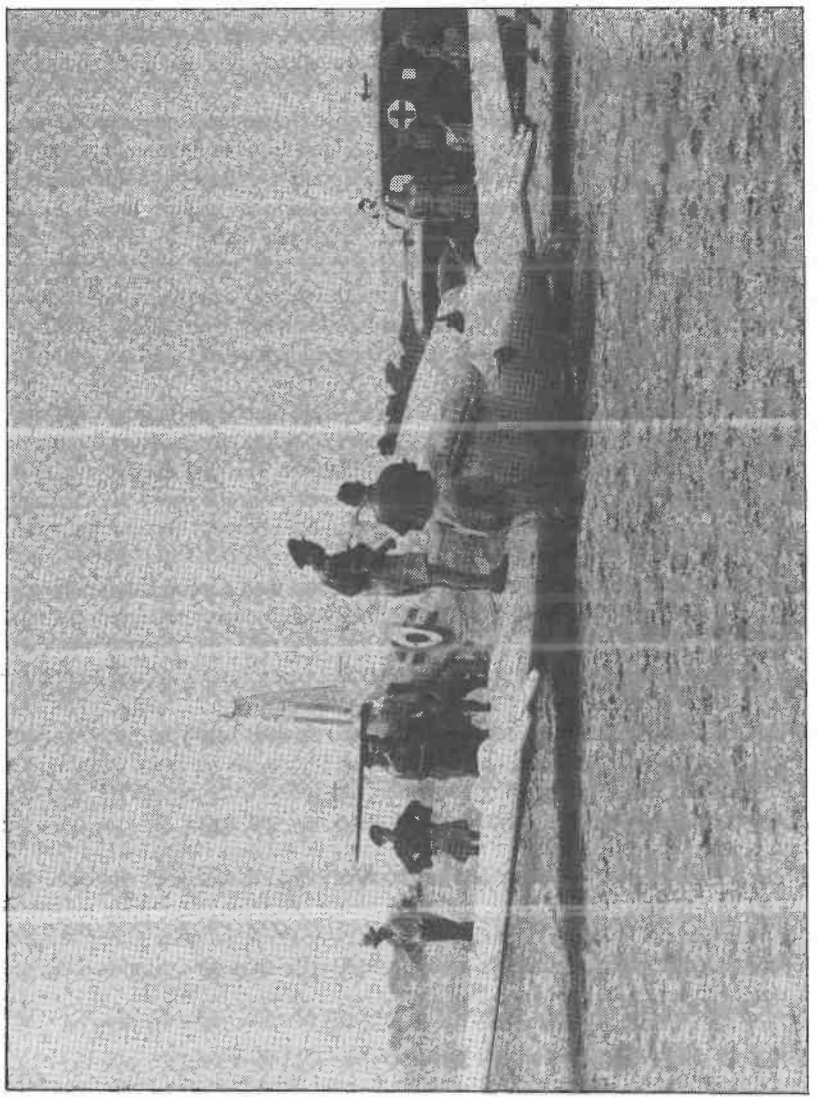
Now, Jacklin had not flown for many years, had very little time to re-familiarize himself, but personally led the flight over 5000 miles of the most forbidding terrain. The exercise was completed in ten days with only one major mechanical incident. This was the measure of the man who dedicated himself, to the exclusion of all else, to creating at the age of 31, a balanced and viable Air Force in Rhodesia in an inordinately short space of time. He knew that a well-trained and hard hitting Air Force would one day be needed . . . .

The Royal Air Force contributed a war-surplus Anson, and then a major salvage exercise started. The men went on forays through old RAF maintenance depots and even old scrap dumps. Tools, raw materials, spares, supplies and even trained personnel filtered through to the little unit at Cranborne from all over the country. Eventually, using basic tools and equipment, the unit had rebuilt six scrapped and abandoned Tiger Moths.

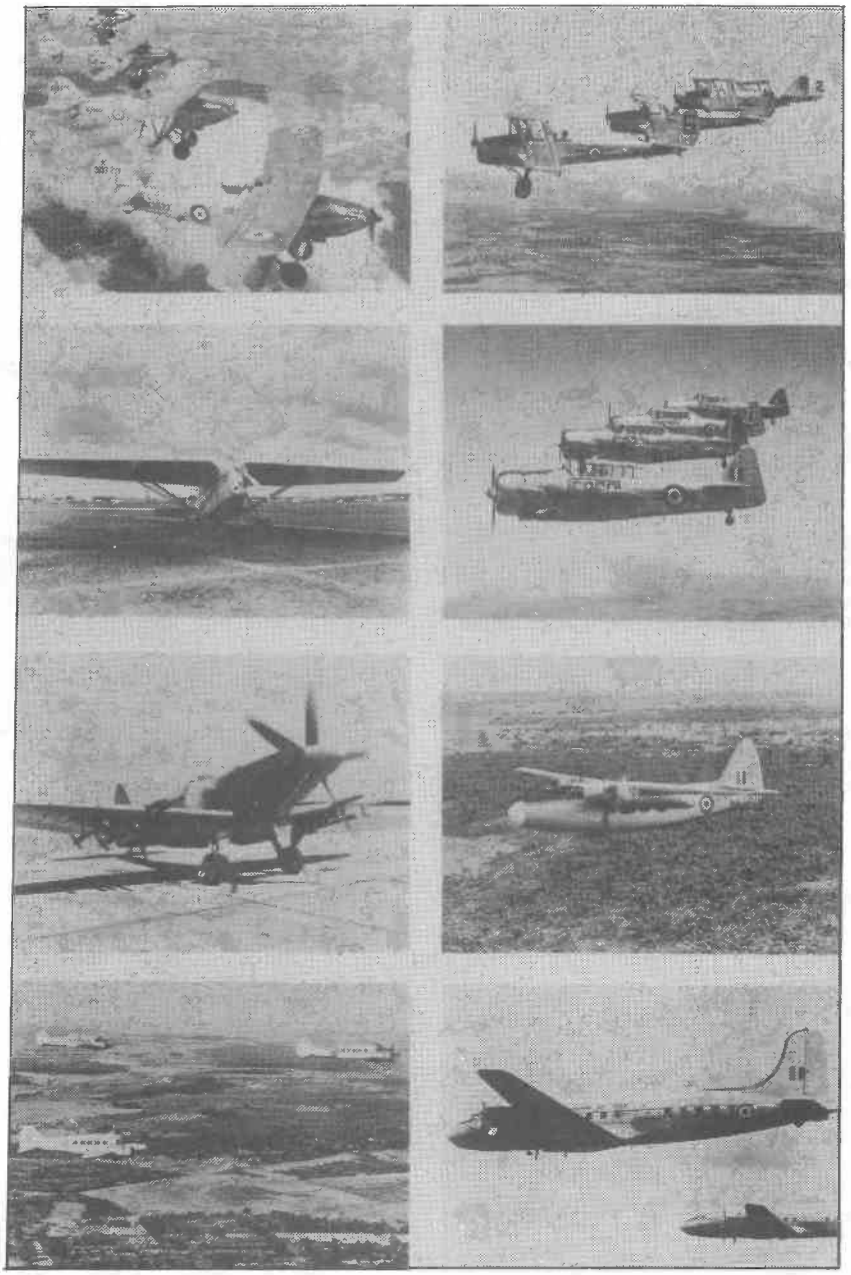
On 28 November 1947, the Government Gazette carried a notice establishing the Air Force as a Permanent Unit, and this was the real beginning of the Rhodesian Air Force of today. The six rebuilt Tigers were joined by six Harvard trainers purchased from the RATG, and later twelve more Harvards were obtained from South Africa at nominal prices.

But the problems were by no means over, and money and resources were still very short. The tiny Air Force continued to 'improvise' and its personnel came to be regarded with justifiable suspicion by those who had material or equipment which could in any way be of use on an airfield. The work paid off in gradual expansion; more ex-Air Force personnel joined the unit and gradually a varied selection of aircraft was acquired. By 1951 a Leopard Moth, a Dakota, Rapides, Ansons and Austers had been collected from a variety of sources, and the unit operated with a small regular element and one active auxiliary squadron — No. 1 Squadron.

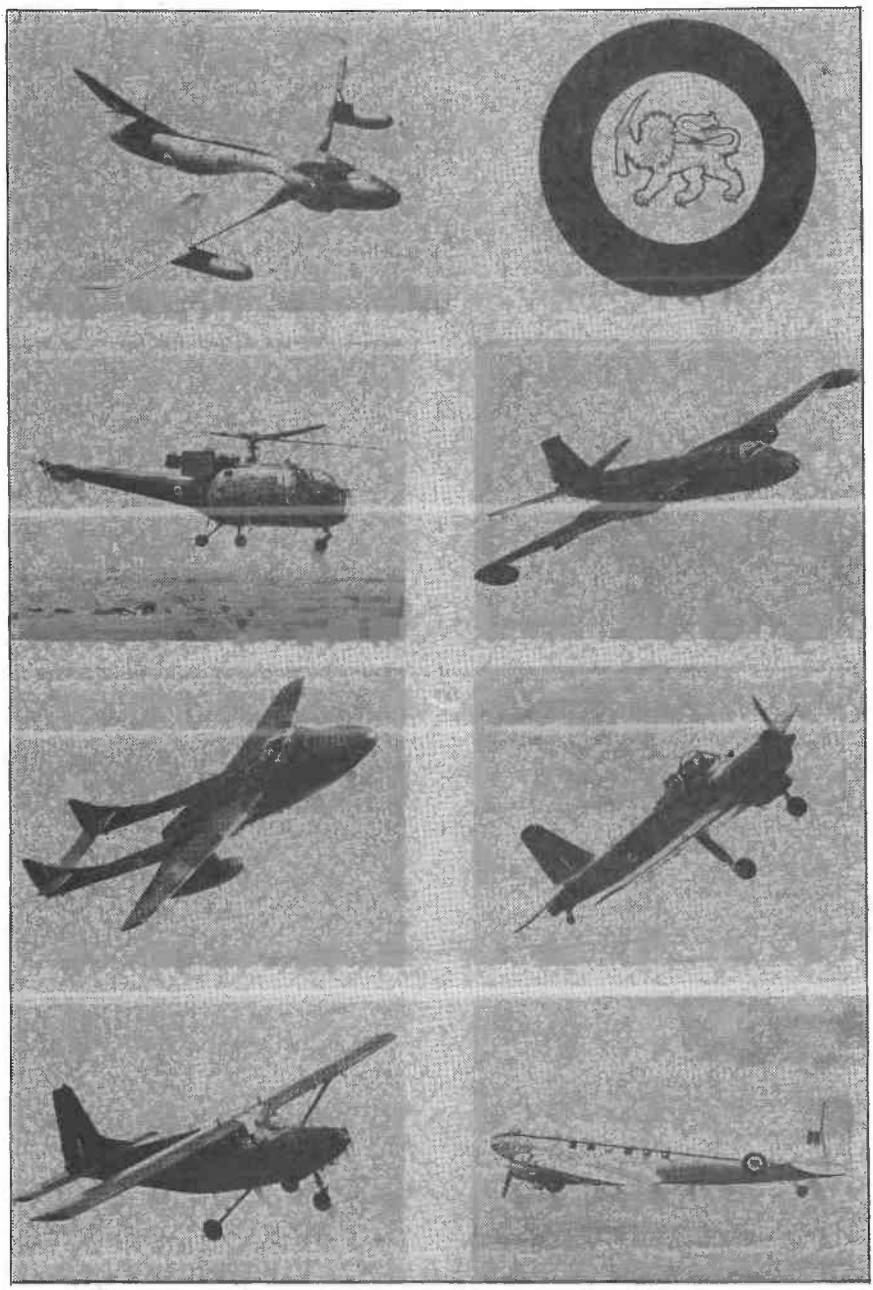
By this time the Berlin Blockade, the clamping of the Iron Curtain across Europe and the onset of the Korean War had made it obvious to all that the preservation of peace was to be more a matter of armed preparedness than of wishful thinking. So once again the Southern Rhodesia Government made a contribution to the defence of the Commonwealth, this time in the form of two fighter squadrons. 22 Spitfires were successfully ferried out from Britain (in spite of dire predictions and a certain amount of betting from a number of British aviation experts), and full-time flying training was reintroduced in the form of the 'Short Service' training scheme.



Spitfire Mk 22 "Wheels Up" at New Sarum (early 1950s). Note wooden propeller damage.



***L. column top to bottom*: Hawker Hart; Leopard Moth; Spitfire Mk 22; Avro Anson.**
***R. column top to bottom*: Tiger Moth; Harvard; Pembroke; Canadair C–4.**



***L. column top to bottom*: Hawker Hunter; Alouette III; DH Vampire TII; "Trojan".**
***R. column top to bottom*: English Electric Canberra B2; Provost; Dakota**

Out of the hundred or so aircraft ferried to Rhodesia over the years, the Spitfire ferry was probably the most difficult. Strapped into a tiny cockpit, wearing a 'Mae West', sitting on a Dinghy pack, with the undercarriage lever and fuel tank selection cocks in impossible positions, with the exceptionally long nose, narrow undercarriage and huge amounts of torque from the engine making take off and landing extremely difficult, not to mention the weather, certainly made the Spitfire ferry unique.

In February 1951 fourteen pilots and seven technicians assembled in UK to ferry the first eleven Spitfires back to Salisbury. (There were less than twenty pilots in the whole Air Force.) They were accompanied by one Dakota transport aircraft. The team was composed of Jacklin, Hawkins, Barber, Moss, Deall, Paxton, Schumann, Blair, Hough, Bradshaw, Penton, Malloch and Hone, and also another Barbour (David). Technicians were Gibbons, Pattrick, Nesbitt, Goodwin, Jones, Hamilton and Burton.

At Brize Norton each aircraft underwent a five-hour 'shakedown' by the pilots who were gaining experience on type — most had previously only flown Harvards. The first part of the route was Chivenor, the Channel Islands, across France and down the Rhone Valley to Istres.

Prior to arriving in UK, all the pilots had undergone a full instrument flying course which was to prove invaluable. Over central France a layer of cloud stretched from 200 feet above ground up to 20 000 feet. When the first section of four aircraft popped out of the top at 20 000 feet, they had lost each other — they had not done cloud formation flying before. They radioed back to the other seven aircraft who all diverted to Dijon. Later in the day they all managed to get themselves to Istres to prepare for the Mediterranean crossing.

Jack Malloch was leading this first of the three formations and David Barbour was desperately trying to hang on to his formation position — he relates how Jack had dirty fuel and the engine kept cutting out. Formation flying in cloud is bad enough without your leader's engine cutting in and out, compounded by the fact that Jack also had radio failure and couldn't tell anyone!

Flying over the sea always produces a phenomenon of strange noises emanating from the engine. These noises are unaccountable but nevertheless very disturbing and are in indirect proportion to the number of engines one has. In addition to this, there are the interminable minutes waiting for the auxiliary fuel tank to run dry, with the subsequent engine failure, followed by a massive adrenalin rush, with the associated octopus-like gymnastics trying to change the fuel cock over to the main fuel tank before the engine decides 'to call it a day'.

The Technicians, lest one should think they had been granted a wonderful holiday at Government expense, worked harder than anybody. Every day they were up before first light, manhandling the aircraft and doing full pre-flight inspections both inside and out. They would then help the pilots to strap in ready for start up.

Start-up was not like it is today — flick of a switch or push of a button with the engine bursting into life — not at all. There were no electric starters, just the starter cartridges. Depending on the weather, this could be a most frustrating exercise and many were the occasions when dozens of cartridges had to be used to get the desired result. Pilots who went 'duck shooting' hardly endeared themselves to the Technicians who had the unenviable task of reloading a red hot magazine.

Once the aircraft were airborne, the ground crew would leap into the Dakota, squeeze in amongst the spares, tool kits and baggage (no room for seats), and would endeavour to catch up on sleep. On landing at the next airfield there would be eleven thirsty Spitfires awaiting fuel, oil and rectification of snags, and eleven pilots anxious to take off on the next leg of the journey. After each day was complete it was up to the ground crew to 'put the aeroplanes to bed'. Seldom were they finished before nightfall. One pilot ventured to explain to a certain NCO that the aeroplanes were not quite lined up as well as they should be on the tarmac. He found out in one short sentence exactly who he was and where he could go . . . !

At El Adem (about the half way mark), there was a crosswind component of 30 knots on all usable runways. Any form of crosswind for a Spitfire is potentially hazardous and the pilots were put to a severe test. Fortunately, all got down safely, but the turn-round was lengthy and the aircraft took off late. Nightfall closed in sooner than expected (being near the equator), and all pilots had to make their first night landing in many years in an unfamiliar aircraft with poor instrument lighting. With the high nose attitude on landing, the flarepath disappears well before touchdown and all pilots once again did well to get their machines down safely. It should be noted that although all the pilots were instrument rated, the ferry itself was only authorized for VMC (Visual Meteorological Conditions) which also precludes night flying.

Then it was Wadi Halfa, Khartoum, Entebbe and on to Juba . . .

After take off it is important to check, amongst other things, the coolant temperature. Ossie Penton glanced at his radiator temperature gauge, and not only was it high, but it was 'right off the clock'. In a display of excellent airmanship he brought his Spitfire round onto downwind and then final approach and landed just as the engine seized. He had lost all his Glycol content due to a burst hose. The flight was delayed by one day as a result of Ossie's engine problem.

Lt. Moss had a similar problem on take off from Entebbe and immediately turned back and landed. Fortunately, it was only a faulty gauge. But Moss' troubles were not over yet — on the same day he used no less than 17 cartridges on start up and his technician, who had to load each subsequent cartridge individually, drank for free all that night.

So, on to Ndola and finally to Salisbury. On the 22 March 1951, the ten Spitfires flew majestically over the city and landed at Cranborne. (Penton's Spitfire, which had lost its Glycol, arrived safely on 5 April.) Huggins and Garlake were there and Jacklin began composing his signal to a certain Group Captain at Rolls Royce to inform him that 90% of the Spitfires had arrived within ten days. This paved the way for many other successful ferries.

In 1952 the Force moved from Cranborne to Kentucky Airport, which subsequently became the huge airfield jointly used by New Sarum Air Force Station and Salisbury International Airport.

Wing Commander Keith Taute and Ted Jacklin were sitting in the mess at Cranborne when Jacklin said, 'What do we call this new station of ours — we can't call it Kentucky?' So Keith said, 'Why don't we call it New Sarum — it's south of Hatfield (same as in England), it's south of Salisbury (as in England) and Old Sarum was the seat of the original Roman Salisbury. So how about calling it NEW Sarum? The RAF also had an airbase at Old Sarum during World War 1.' So it was agreed — New Sarum.

This was the Air Force's first permanent home and it was the first time that it had occupied buildings and facilities designed for its purposes. The expansion continued in 1954 with the acquisition of vampire fighter/bombers and Provost piston engined trainers. Seven more Dakotas and two Pembrokes were required to replace the Ansons and Rapides and further aircrew and technicians were recruited. By the beginning of 1956 the Air Force boasted four active squadrons, two Vampire fighter squadrons, a transport squadron and a flying training squadron.

Africa was now being subjected to the first of the many political changes leading to the withdrawal of the 'colonial' nations. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed and, in its turn, caused some major changes within the Air Force. The title was changed to Rhodesian Air Force, and then Queen Elizabeth conferred the 'Royal' prefix. As the Royal Rhodesian Air Force (RRAF), the unit forsook its Army ranks and khaki uniforms and adopted ranks and uniforms similar to those of the Royal Air Force. But the major change of the Federal inception was one of scope and responsibility. From being a minor, self-contained Force pre-occupied with territorial defence, the RRAF was now responsible for the defence of the Federation as a whole, and was also to acquire a wider responsibility as part of the Royal Air Force potential in the Middle East.

In 1956, Thornhill airfield near Gwelo was re-opened after RATG post-war closure, and work was started on the reconstruction of the runway and the installation of GCA radar equipment.

Thornhill was originally commandeered from two farmers, Messrs Jewell and Macdonald. The land was purchased after the war for eight pounds an acre. It was first occupied in 1941 and for the next four and a half years had a continuous flood of young men training as pilots. Eventually, 1810 pilots received their 'Wings' having flown some 314 000 hours. The station then closed in 1953 and was divided up among various government ministries.

In 1956, due to the unsuitability of Kentucky (Salisbury civil aerodromes) as a training base, Thornhill was re-opened with Squadron Leader Doug Whyte as its first Commanding Officer.

During 1959 Canberra jet bombers and Canadair C4 transport aircraft were acquired. The RRAF was now obtaining the potential it might need to make its contribution to Commonwealth defence.

In the event, Rhodesia made its contributions, and acquitted itself well enough to gain an envied reputation for efficiency amongst the Royal Air Force units in the Middle East. From 1958 the RRAF fighter squadrons regularly took part in RAF operations in the Arabian peninsula. It was during these detachments that they established the reputation for having to fly all their aircraft in one big formation early in the morning so that the RAF technical records staff would finally believe their recurrent '100% serviceability' reports. The reputation was enhanced by Rhodesian transport support to the British Army during the Kuwait crisis of 1961 and during the Kenyan flood-relief exercise of the same year. Again, the Rhodesian bomber squadron acquired an increasing reputation from its first training visit to RAF bomber squadrons in Cyprus in 1959. By the fourth and last visit in 1963, the squadron had developed its skills sufficiently to win the coveted Middle East Bombing Trophy from under the noses of the RAF units — most of whom operated newer aircraft and more sophisticated equipment.

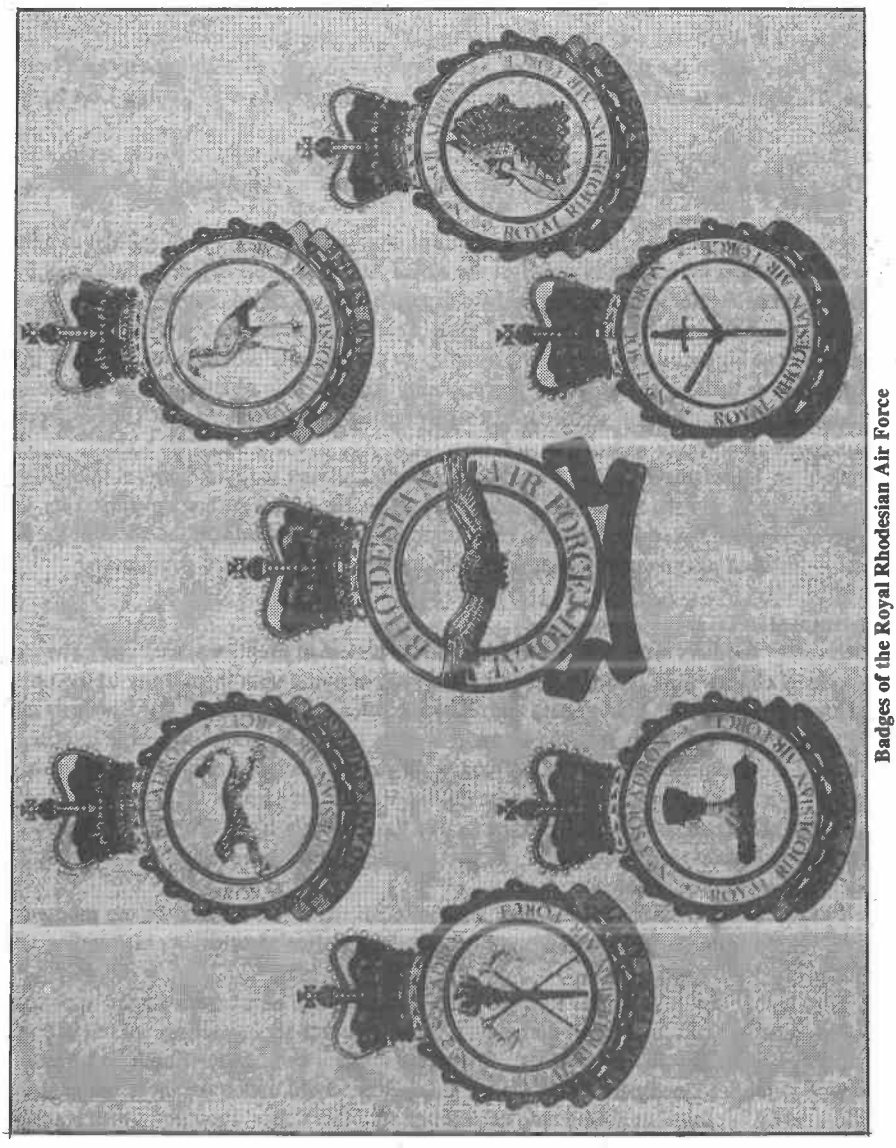
CONSOLIDATION

However, by the early sixties, it was obvious that the pattern of events was changing. The winds of political change were blowing through Africa and carrying with them many of the old ties and loyalties, many of the old treaties and responsibilities. It seemed that while Rhodesia might still be ready to offer support to the Commonwealth, that body would be unable to accept it. Indeed, it seemed possible that the Commonwealth might become so fragmented that it would cease to exist at all. But above all, it seemed likely to the far-sighted that the role of the Air Force would have to change again. In the face of threats to her own security, Rhodesia would be forced to abandon any thoughts of external responsibilities, and would have to concentrate once more on territorial defence.

In 1961, Air Vice-Marshal E. W. S. Jacklin, CBE, AFC, the 'father' of the modern Air Force, retired from the service and was replaced by Air Vice-Marshall A. M Bentley, CBE, AFC.

Also in that year a Volunteer Reserve (VR) of officers and airmen was started to provide a pool of essential skills throughout the country. They were self-administering, but fell within the regulations of the Force. VR Squadrons were established throughout Rhodesia in order to produce suitably trained personnel who, in emergency, could undertake those duties usually performed by the Regulars who would be required for other duties. Provided a man was of the age of 18 to 55 (and more) and physically fit and keen, he was eligible. Depending on the squadron to which he was posted, training was provided in Administration, Security, Operations, Air Movements, Supplies, Intelligence, Weapons and Field Units. The VR today consists of a well-trained, enthusiastic and efficient support for the Regular Force.

In 1962, a Squadron of French Alouette helicopters added a much-needed vertical support



Badges of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force

and rescue capability, and the following year a squadron of Hunter jet fighters added strike potential. By the break up of the Federation on 31 December 1963, the RRAF had achieved a workable balance of potential spread through its squadrons. In the aftermath of the dissolution of the Federation, a number of aircraft were relinquished and there was a small reduction in manpower, but the Air Force was largely unaffected. Its control, however, automatically reverted to the Southern Rhodesia Government.

During the next two years the RRAF pursued a training programme aimed at improving territorial defence procedures in concert with Police and Army authorities. The first signs of enemy activity became apparent along Rhodesia's borders, and the country's forces adapted their methods to deal with the threat.

In 1965, Air Vice-Marshal Bentley handed over to Air Vice-Marshal H. Hawkins, CBE, AFC. But the new Chief of Air Staff had little time to settle himself in before the Anglo-Rhodesian political confrontation came to a head. On 11 November 1965, Rhodesia declared herself to be an independent sovereign state and soon the economic war of sanctions was started. For an Air Force whose aircraft and equipment were almost entirely British, the situation presented some major difficulties. Not only was the RRAF prevented from purchasing new equipment in its traditional markets, but it was also cut off from overhaul and repair facilities and from a valuable recruiting area. Once again ingenuity and improvisation proved their worth, and under the impetus of the needs of the moment, the difficulties were gradually overcome.

New methods and new thinking reduced expenditure and improved efficiency — often with startling results. One post-Independence invention reduced the cost of starting a jet engine from $10 to 30c, replacing imported materials with local and extending the life of the starter system in the process!

Air Vice-Marshal A. M. Bentley, CBE, AFC.

Air Vice-Marshal A. H. Hawkins, CBE, AFC.

Air Marshal A. O. G. Wilson, ICD, OBE.

Quite how Rhodesia's Air Force managed not only to survive but to maintain operational efficiency under the restrictions of sanctions, is a mystery which baffled aviation authorities around the world. But to judge the extent of that efficiency it is necessary only to study the record. One of the early triumphs in the economic battle was the acquisition of yet another squadron of aircraft. Light transport and reconnaissance aircraft, they arrived in large, unmarked wooden crates — which might account for the application of the local name 'Trojan'. They were assembled and were quickly in service, for by now the Air Force had its sights set. In co-operation with Army and Police personnel on the ground, the Force carried out border patrol missions and effectively dealt with all enemy incursions as the need dictated.

In 1969, Air Vice-Marshall A. O. G. Wilson succeeded Air Vice-Marshal Hawkins as Chief of Air Staff — in time to preside over the most recent change to the status of the Force. In March of 1970 the 'Royal' prefix was dropped, and the official title of the Force became Rhodesian Air Force. In the same month the new aircraft roundel was adopted, and in April the new Force Ensign incorporating the roundel was unfurled for the first time. Badges of rank were also changed to incorporate the Rhodesian lion design.

In 1972 (the year of the Force's official 25th birthday), the Air Force provided a Guard of Honour at the opening of Parliament and later in the year on 28 November were presented with the President's Colour by the Honourable Clifford W. Dupont.

OPERATIONS

In December of the same year a large scale infiltration in the north-eastern part of the country developed into Operation Hurricane. Many units of the Air Force were heavily involved in this operation but particularly the helicopter and light aircraft units; 4 and 7 Squadrons and the Police Reserve Air Wing (which came under Air Force operational control). Members of the Air Force Volunteer Reserve began to play an important role in staffing the new Forward Air Fields (FAFs) which were established first at Centenary and Mount Darwin and later at Mtoko.

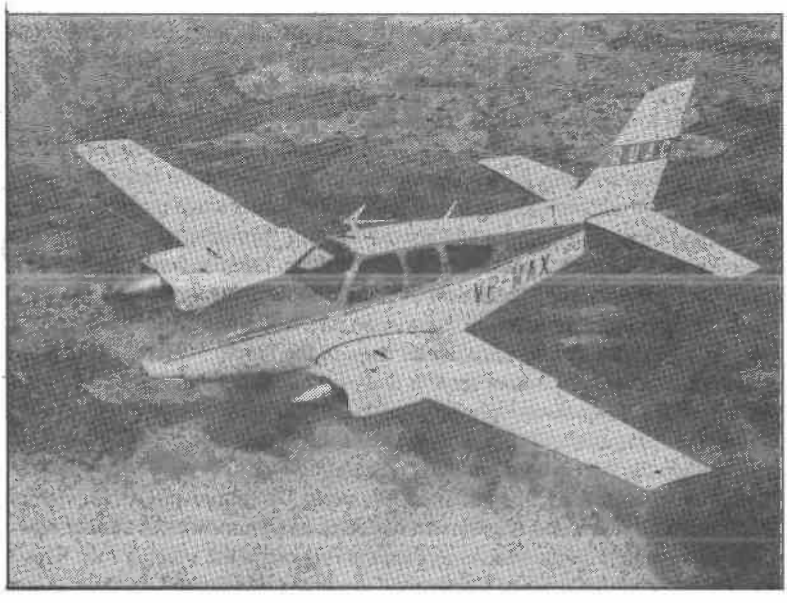
On the 13th April 1973, Air Marshal Wilson was succeeded by Air Marshall M. J. McLaren as Commander of the Rhodesian Air Force, a post which had been renamed from Chief of Air Staff on 1 March that year. In the same year Operation Hurricane continued and the requirement to defend FAFs was met by an expansion of the Security Sections. This involved increased Territorial Force members joining the Air Force as well as the call-up of reservists. Armoured cars were acquired to assist in this role.

The collapse of Portuguese control of Mocambique in 1975 caused an increase in the length of border threatened with enemy incursions. Operation Thrasher started early in 1976, and new FAFs were established at Chipinga and Grand Reef. Shortly afterwards the incursions spread to the south-east and Operation Repulse was started with the formation of new FAFs at Buffalo Range, Chiredzi and Rutenga. Later in the year Operation Tangent was started to defend the north-western area of Rhodesia. These developments involved increased commitments by the Air Force, particularly No. 3 Squadron in its transport role, which now included regular paratroop deployment, but at the same time affecting all units of the Force.

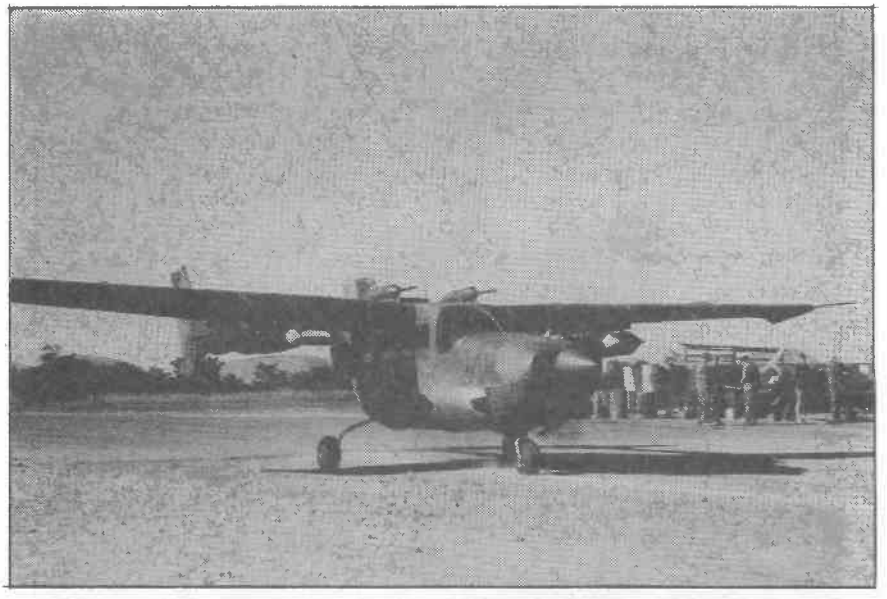
1976 also saw the introduction of another new aircraft type, the Lynx, which replaced the ageing Provost of No. 4 Squadron early in the year. Later in the year Britten-Norman Islanders supplemented No. 3 Squadron Dakotas in the transport role. A single Cessna 421 was also acquired to replace the Beech Baron in the VIP transport role.

1977 had seen continuing operations in all areas. On 12th April 1977, Air Marshall F. W. Mussell, OCM, succeeded Air Marshal McLaren as Commander. A further new aircraft type entered service early in the year to replace the Provost in the training role. This was the Genet basic trainer. The Ministry of Combined Operations was formed on the 4 March 1977, and Comops Headquarters became functional on 16 May 1977.

Air Marshal M. J. McLaren, OLM.



Beechcraft Baron



Cessna 335 "Lynx"

SF 260 "Genet"

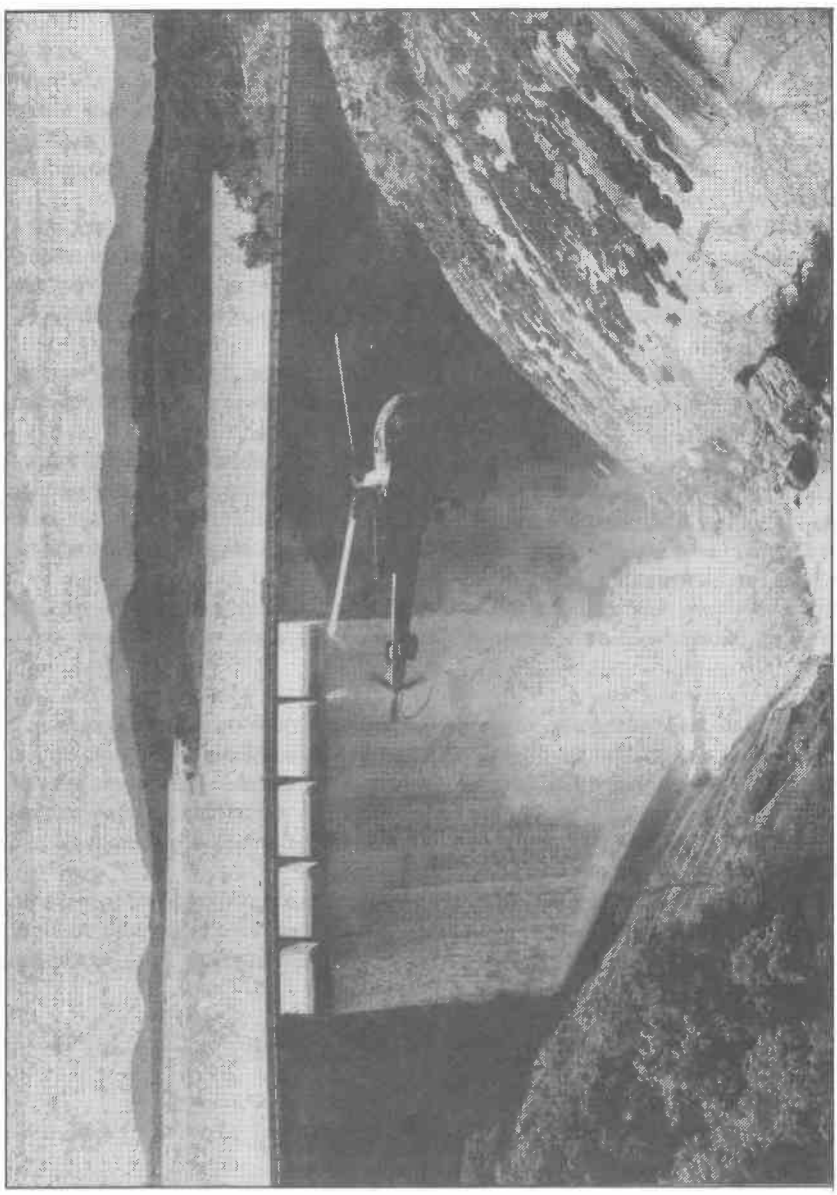
Bell 205

Air Marshall Norman Walsh took over the Command of the Air Force of Zimbabwe in 1981.

Finally, on both a lighter and more serious note, I would like to leave you with three stories, selected from thousands throughout the history of the Rhodesian Air Force.

The first concerns the famous Trojan. Seldom in the history of aviation has one aircraft come under so much adverse comment — it 'converted petrol into noise', it 'only got airborne because of the curvature of the earth . . .' Most, however, recognized its true value as a warhorse, especially in the reconnaissance role. It did, however, need a slightly more powerful engine which would have given it, amongst other things, a faster cruising speed. Now, night flying at Gwelo took one past the Drive-In Cinema. One pilot noted that with the Trojan's normal cruising speed one could take in the supporting programme as one flew past. To which some wag added, 'And given a slight headwind one can see the whole show'.

The second concerns the Alouette 111 helicopter which, in its role of vertical support for the Army, flew tens of thousands of hours in counter-insurgency operations. Needless to say the machines required spares and the French government, in compliance with UN sanctions, would not send these spares to Rhodesia. However, if there were to be a helicopter 'positioned outside the country', then spares would be made readily available for that aircraft. So one helicopter was stationed in a neighbouring state, spares were ordered for that machine and these spares somehow found their way across the border. During the aircraft's stay outside the country, it was found necessary to replace the engine 650 times, the gearbox 420 times, the tail rotor gearbox 740 times, and it required over 900 sets of rotor blades. It is not recorded in the



Alouette III at Lake Kyle

Guinness Book, but in the history of aviation this was surely the *most* unserviceable aircraft of all time!

And finally to the Hunter — 12 of which were ordered from the U.K. and flown out to Rhodesia from 1962. As with the Spitfire, dire predictions of disaster abounded — 'Even if you do get all 12 out to Rhodesia (which is unlikely) you will certainly never get all 12 airborne in a single formation'.

For the uninitiated, all aircraft have a servicing cycle which is mandatory. A 'major' service can deprive the Squadron of an aircraft for many months, and when that aircraft is ready the next one is taken. Seldom does a squadron have all of its aircraft at base, and rarely does it have all the aircraft at base serviceable. The chances of having all the aircraft at base and serviceable, therefore, are very remote. A photograph was sent back to UK in 1964 of a diamond 12 formation. In the following years many a diamond 9 formation got airborne .

The first Hunter was lost in the early 1970s when a fuel pipe broke and the pilot ejected safely two miles short of Bulawayo runway. The second was lost about five years later when a single bullet sheared the hydraulic lines during an air strike and the pilot could not lock the undercarriage down. He ejected safely near Thornhill. The third Hunter was lost with the pilot, on an 'external raid' in 1979.

With only nine Hunters left and each with 18 years of service, along with 15 years of sanctions, the chances of ever getting nine aircraft airborne again was so remote as to not even warrant consideration.

On the day of the opening of Parliament of Zimbabwe/Rhodesia (Bishop Muzorewa Government), a diamond 9 formation flew over the Houses of Parliament, within five seconds of the appointed time. What was not known at the time was that those nine aircraft had flown on a raid deep into enemy territory the same morning — they had simply refuelled and got airborne again for the flypast.

All those who were associated with the Air Force in any way during those years consider themselves very fortunate and are very proud to have been part of that unique history.

ADDENDUM

In my talk I recounted indetail the story of hte first Spitfire ferry which was classed as an 'Epic'.

A short mention was made of the second Spitfire ferry, which, although no less hazardous, obviously received less publicity. I asked if any member of the audience knew of the story of Owen Love. On that second ferry, W. O. Love lost control of his aircraft in formation in cloud over France, and crashed. It is known that he was buried by the French in a churchyard in a small village close to the sight of the crash.

Rumour had it that his brother, who was shot down over France in World War II, had been buried in the same churchyard, but this tale seemed to have even been beyond the realm of fiction. However, upon further investigation, I received the following letter from Mr Gordon Cheater, Director of the Commonwealth Graves Commission.

From Gordon A Cheater, Director

COMMONWEALTH WAR GRAVES COMMISSION
OUTER AREA
2 MARLOW ROAD
MAIDENHEAD BERKSHIRE
TEL (0628) 34221

Mr Bill Sykes
88 Harare Drive
P O Chisipite
Harare
Zimbabwe

OA 7/17

2 April 1986

Dear Bill,

Many thanks for your letter. I remember very well our meeting and conversation at the Hunt's residence and, indeed, my surprise at learning the materials used in the construction of a De Havilland Vampire!

I am afraid that I can tell you little more than you already know about your uncle, Flight Lieutenant David Moore (not Michael) Crook, DFC who died on 18 December 1944, age 30. He was the son of H C and W H Crook and husband of Dorothy Margaret Crook of Shrewsbury. He is commemorated on Panel 202 of the Air Forces Memorial to the Missing, Runnymede.

I was quite amazed to find that your story about the Love brothers is true; earlier I had been very dubious, but truth always seems to be stranger than fiction!

Flight Sergeant (Pilot) Wilfred Royce Love, RAF (VR), 266 Squadron died, aged 22 on 17 August 1944 and was buried in Sainte Marguerite Des Loges Churchyard, Calvados, France.

438 Warrant Officer Owen Love, Southern Rhodesian Air Force, died, aged 24, on 7 December 1951 and was, indeed, buried in the same churchyard.

I have no family details, about Owen, but our records show that Wilfred was the son of J and H V Love of Bulawayo and that he was a Kings Scout.

Yes, I had heard from the Legion of the death of Michael Hunt and had sent condolences to his wife, Sue. He was a very good friend to the Commission and will be sadly missed.

With very kindest wishes

Yours sincerely

Gordon

Letter from Mr Gordon Cheater, Director of the Commonwealth Graves Commission.

A Diary of Events In and Near Marandellas, June 1896

by John Clatworthy

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe at Ruzawi School on 6 June 1993

This Diary is mainly a compilation from articles by R. Hodder-Williams (Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion, *Rhodesiana* 16: 27–54) and W. Edwards (Marandellas and the '96 Rebellion, *NADA*, 1923; reprinted in *The Country Times*, Marandellas, 1967) and the terminology as regards people and places is mainly copied without amendment from those sources.

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

Very soon after the occupation of Mashonaland, it became obvious to everyone, including Rhodes, that the quickest route to Salisbury from Cape Town did not lie along the line of the original trek through Kimberley, Mafeking and Forts Tuli and Victoria, but by sea to the Pungwe and thence inland across Portuguese territory to the Eastern Highlands and along the watershed to Salisbury. A road from Salisbury to Umtali was surveyed by Selous and in order to encourage use of this route Rhodes offered 20 acres of land on this road to anyone willing to establish a coach stop and provide shelter and refreshment for travellers and stabling for their horses. Lewis' store, which figures in this story, was one such establishment. Another was started towards the end of 1891 by three members of the BSA Company's Police who took their discharges and built the Ruzawi Inn at Old Marandellas.

The three were Lance-Corporal David Bottomley, trooper Edwin Head (a cheerful Cockney standing only five feet tall) and Tpr. John Moore (a self-made tailor). The original Inn was built of pole-and-daga but it was not long before a more permanent hotel was built on the same site. This was an L-shaped building of burnt bricks and the local African people called it *Rudaka* — a name still in use for this area today. The only remains of the original Inn are a corner of the building preserved in the courtyard of the present Ruzawi School. The nearby large fig tree dates from that period, having grown from a small stake used either as a hitching post or as part of a small stockade. Even more popular than the hotel, perhaps, was the store, where profitable trade was carried on with the locals and where Bernard Mizeki came to buy sweets for the children at his mission.

The original three owners stayed less than three years and then sold the inn to Messrs Symington and Robertson, who also ran a coach service between Salisbury and Umtali. By 1896 the inn was being run by Sam Dalton.

Ruzawi was at an important road junction situated as it was at the point where the road from Umtali split into two branches, one to Charter and the other to Salisbury. In 1892, when the Company's Military Police was changed into a Civil Police, an outstation was formed at Marandellas a quarter of a mile south of the Inn and in 1894 a Native Commissioner was also stationed there. By 1896 Marandellas, therefore, consisted of a rambling collection of brick buildings spread over many acres with the NC's office about half a mile from the Inn. In 1896 the NC was 'Wiri' Edwards, with his broad Scots accent. Not only were there no telephones in 1896, but Marandellas was not even connected to the telegraph, the nearest telegraph office being at Headlands.

The nearest Shona Chief to Ruzawi in 1896 was Marondera, who lived on the kopje Nyameni,

near the present township of that name. Chief Sadza lived in the rocks called Magondo and Chief Mangwendi on his hill-top at Mahopo. Interspersed among this African population was a tiny handful of Europeans, some farming (although I am not sure what that really entailed in 1896), others trading.

In March 1896 the Second Matabele War broke out and convoys of troops, ammunition and provisions trundled along the slow route from Beira to Marandellas, thence on to Charter and the south. In early June one such convoy arrived at Marandellas but went no further as the dreaded rinderpest killed off the trek oxen. These wagons were still standing in the hotel yard at the time we are interested in.

DIARY

Wednesday, 17 June

Salisbury

The Norton family were murdered at their farm, Porta, near the present Morton Jaffray Waterworks on Manyame River. This event is usually taken as signifying the start of the Mashona Rebellion.

Marandellas

12 noon: Captain (Lieutenant?) Bremner arrived at Marandellas on CNC Taberer's horse, with letter requesting NC Edwards to go to Headlands. This was because trouble had been experienced with Chief Makoni, and Taberer wished Edwards to accompany him and NC Ross on a visit to the recalcitrant Chief.

2 p.m.: Captain Bremner left Marandellas on Edwards' horse for Charter. Edwards left Marandellas for Headlands on Taberer's horse and arrived there that night.

Night: Bernard Mizeki murdered at Mangwendi's.

Thursday, 18 June

Headlands

Ross left Headlands for Rusape to make arrangements for visit to Chief Makoni.

Marandellas

Nothing untoward happened and life continued as usual.

Friday, 19 June

Headlands

Ross returned to Headlands in the morning. Soon afterwards a telegraph message was received at Headlands telling of trouble in the Hartley district. The visit to Makoni was postponed.

Edwards sent a messenger to Marandellas with a letter to Tpr Fitzgerald (the policeman based there) asking him to warn all Europeans of what had happened at Hartley and advising them to come in to Marandellas.

Marandellas

Six mule wagons under the charge of Conductor Grey with all the leaders and drivers Colonial natives, arrived at Marandellas from Matabeleland to take away some of the stores and ammunition, but were unable to get away again.

p.m.: Just before Edwards' messenger reached Marandellas, a message arrived at the NC's Camp

for Head Messenger Sabanu, apparently warning him of trouble. He and his brother Jacob claimed that their father Kahiya, a headman in the Salisbury district, was very ill and they had to go at once and they went, taking their wives and their rifles with them. Messenger Shidagwa remonstrated with them, but Sabanu threatened him and they were allowed to go.

After receiving Edward's message, Tpr Fitzgerald sent out all his messengers except Shidagwa to warn the European residents to come in to Marandellas. Messenger Mabiza went out to Springvale to warn Mr Herbert Morris.

Night: Nothing untoward happened, but fires were seen on the tops of hills in various parts of the district.

Saturday, 20 June

Headlands

More news was received via the telegraph at Headlands, of such a serious nature that the visit to Makoni was cancelled. Residents of Rusape district were all warned to come in to Headlands. All seemed quiet at Headlands and the farmers who came in after receiving the warning reported nothing unusual among the natives.

The telegraph was still in order and Taberer sent a message to Judge Vintcent informing him of what was being done as regards Marandellas. A reply was received requesting Edwards to do his best to get the people from Marandellas to Headlands and to save or destroy the ammunition if it could not be brought away. Edwards got these instructions in writing from Taberer.

Just before sundown Edwards and a young transport rider named Kenneth Jakins (Jankins/Jenkins?), who was at Headlands with his wagons, left Headlands for Marandellas, travelling light with no overcoats and only revolvers. Jakins was on Taberer's horse. Shortly after 7 p.m. they reached Lewis' Store on Macheke River and advised him to bury all the goods he could and make for Headlands at once. He refused as natives from nearby villages were trading grain as usual. Edwards and Jakins left Lewis' Store about 7.30 p.m..

Marandellas

a.m.: A herder took Edwards' cattle from their kraal down to the Ruzawi river near the camp to graze. He saw armed natives in the kopje behind the camp and ran to warn Shidagwa. Just then Messenger Jim, who had spent the night at Marondera's, arrived and reported that early that morning he had seen all the men leave the village armed with assegais and guns. Shidagwa and Jim tried to save Edwards' clothes and papers but shots were fired into the camp from the nearby kopje. Shidagwa got a horse from the stable and he and Jim made for the store, but Jim was killed on the way.

Messenger Mabiza was then sent to Headlands to contact Edwards. The store was by then surrounded by rebels, but Mabiza got out by creeping through the bush and scrub which came close up to the back of the store.

The small party at the store made the best arrangements they could for defence. Windows were blocked with bags of flour and sugar, all the ammunition was brought into the store and pickets were set outside. Defence was greatly hampered by the large size of the area which had to be guarded, and this was made more difficult by the large number of wagons parked near the buildings. If attacked in force the defenders could never have held the area covered by the wagons, but would have been forced to retire to the store, when the loaded wagons would have made good cover for the attackers.

Most of the Europeans had by then come in to the store, but Mr James White and Mr Green were still missing. Fitzgerald's Messenger got to White (Mendamu farm, thirteen miles from Ruzawi on the Charter road) on Friday evening and gave him Fitzgerald's letter. White told the

Messenger to sleep on the farm and he would give him a letter in the morning. Next morning early, White gave the Messenger a letter (was the letter written on Friday night [as Edwards says] or Saturday morning [as Graaff says in *Modumedi Moleli*]?), with which he arrived safely at Marandellas about midday. The Messenger reported that as he left the farm he saw a large number of armed natives hiding behind the cattle kraal. He was captured by them and they were going to kill him, but he came from that district and some of his relatives were with the party, so he was allowed to go. The murder of Bremner and the wounding and subsequent killing of James White then followed, although Graaff claims that the attack took place only on Sunday morning.

After leaving Lewis' Store Edwards and Jakins rode hard for twelve miles and when they reached 'Black Rock' they dismounted and led their horses for some distance. They met Messenger Mabiza (armed with rifle and ammunition) near the Wenimbi River and learnt of the situation at Marandellas from him. Edwards decided that they would try to get in to the store by the same route as Mabiza had used to escape. He gave Mabiza's rifle to Jakins and Mabiza clung to Edwards' stirrup leather. After crossing the Wenimbi river they left the road and reached the back of the store without encountering any natives, although they could see fires and hear them talking and shouting on the kopjes to the west of the store. They reached the store about 10.30 p.m..

On arrival at the store Edwards disarmed the Messengers and armed the Colonial wagon drivers with the rifles and they took their turn on picket.

During the night they off-loaded the parked wagons and ran the empty wagons by hand as far from the store as they could. Three of the mule wagons were pulled up close to the back of the store, the six spans of mules being in the stables close by.

Edwards told the others that his instructions were to try and bring the party to Headlands and to save or destroy the ammunition.

The natives did not attack during the night, although there were several false alarms, but they kept shouting from the kopjes saying what they would do when daylight came.

Sunday, 21 June

Marandellas

It was decided to load three of the mule wagons with the ammunition and a certain quantity of provisions and just before dawn this was completed.

When Edwards found that Green had not come in (he was on a farm about 2,5 miles from the store and had been there only a few weeks) he sent Messenger Jan to see what had happened. All the Messengers had been disarmed on Edwards' arrival at the store but there was nothing for it but to trust Jan, so he was re-issued with his rifle and ammunition. Jan arrived at Green's hut just before dawn. At the same time a party of rebels under Mchemwa, Mangwendi's son, was approaching from the opposite direction (north?). Green was lying asleep and on being called by Jan had only time to pull on a pair of trousers and grab his rifle when the rebels were upon him. Nothing for it but to run, pursued by the rebels and, if it had not been for the bravery of Jan, Green would never have reached the store. Jan kept behind and kept firing back at the rebels, thus allowing Green to escape. Edwards heard the firing and went to the back of the store and in a few minutes saw Green and Jan pursued by a swarm of natives. He opened fire on the pursuers and Green and Jan reached the store in safety.

The escape party consisted of Mrs van der Spuy, her infant child and nine European males. The men were: Edwards, Fitzgerald, Jakins, Sam Dalton (the hotel manager), Grey, Herbert Morris, Green and two others. Who the other two were is unknown: possibly Platt (from the farm between Ruzawi and Mendamu), Mr van der Spuy, or Ernest Morkel and a companion, who were staying at the hotel with a companion on the 19th.

When Green came in, the others were just beginning to inspan the mules in the three wagons. It was grey dawn and the natives could see what was going on from their position on the kopjes. The Mangwendi rebels who had chased Green had retired towards the river between Ruzawi and present Marondera. Edwards heard the rebels on the kopjes shouting instructions to them and at the same time saw that those on the kopjes were all moving down towards the river, evidently with the intention of taking up position on some rough kopjes near which the road to Salisbury passed. Edwards saw that the rebels expected the group to make for Salisbury, and had moved to cut them off. This was fortunate for the group as otherwise they would probably not have got through the narrow neck on the Umtali side of the store without serious loss.

They had three horses — the two which Edwards and Jakins had ridden and one belonging to Herbert Morris — and Edwards mounted three of the Colonial drivers on them and put them in charge of the three spare spans of mules with instructions to keep the spare mules between the wagons. On the second wagon, protection was made for Mrs van der Spuy and her baby with ammunition cases and bags of flour. Three Europeans and a few natives went on the first wagon; four on the second with Mrs van der Spuy; Morris and Edwards with some of the Messengers on the last.

The sun was rising when everything was ready and as the wagons drove out of the yard and down the Umtali road the rebel pickets on the kopjes commenced to shout to the main party, who were by this time some distance away towards the river on the Salisbury side. Just after the last wagon left the store a few shots were fired at it from the thick scrub. The fire was returned but the wagon was going at a gallop and, though they could see the natives running through the scrub, probably none was hit.

A short distance from the store was the neck through the kopjes (near present Picadilly Store?). Once through that they were into open country. The second wagon was about forty yards ahead of Edwards at the neck; the drivers did not slow down, although the road was bad and on an incline. Suddenly the second wagon struck a large stone with the offside wheels. It all but went over and ran for at least ten yards on the nearside wheels only, but the curve of the road saved it and it came back to the level again. If it had gone over nothing could have saved them as the natives were then close behind.

A few miles further on there was a large vlei, through which there were two roads, one straight through the vlei and one to the left round the high ground. The one on the right was much shorter but, as Edwards was afraid of one of the wagons sticking in the mud, he had told the drivers to take the left hand road. As the wagons came up to the vlei the rebels were about four or five hundred yards behind. When they came into the open and saw that the wagons had taken the left hand road, the rebels at once cut across the valley and Edwards could see that their intention was to cut off the wagons at the kopjes ahead. As the wagons reached the highest point on the side of the valley, the rebels were level with them on the lower road, and Edwards could see they would reach the neck before the wagons. He halted the wagons and opened fire on the natives at a distance of four or five hundred yards. Owing to the long grass in the bottom of the valley, they could not observe the result of their fire, but had the satisfaction of seeing the main body break back for shelter in the kopjes on the far side of the valley. A few remained in the grass and fired at the party, but they did no damage. Edwards heard afterwards that several rebels were killed or wounded at that place.

The wagons then proceeded on their way and, once through the kopjes and over the Wenimbi River, they were in open country for some distance. When they reached the old coach stables about sixteen miles from Ruzawi, seeing no rebels behind them, they decided to stop and change the mules. They outspanned the mules and sent them down to the spruit about a hundred yards away to water, under the charge of the three mounted natives.

At that point they were joined by Mr Kelly, a prospector. While they were sitting by the

wagons, having coffee and biscuits, several shots were fired at the mules from some kopjes beyond the spruit. The guards at once came in with the mules and they inspanned. The kopjes were now thronged with natives who fired on the party, wounding two mules and hitting the wagons once or twice. No serious damage was done, though, and inspanning was completed and the wagons went on their way once more. The rebels followed closely and the wagons had to be halted several times to check them.

Just before the group got to Lewis' Store they passed a gang of Shangaan natives carrying loads. The rebels were then close behind and they fired on the Shangaans, who dropped their loads and scattered.

When they got to Lewis' Store the two leading wagons did not stop, but carried on through the river. Lewis was standing in the doorway of his store and Edwards stopped his wagon to take him on board. Lewis at first refused to come as he had seen no natives near the store, and he did not think it was necessary to leave. Just then the rebels came out of the bush, chasing a few unfortunate Shangaans. This was enough for Lewis, who dived into the store and came out with his rifle, a blanket, a box of Three Castles cigarettes and a bottle of brandy. With Lewis on the wagon, they went on to the drift. The mules were by now tired and the wagon stuck in the heavy sand. The other two wagons had gone ahead and if the rebels had followed up at once the groups would have been in a very awkward position. Luckily most of the rebels were more interested in looting the store; only a few followed the wagon and Edwards was able to keep those few at bay until the wagon got clear of the drift.

It was then about four o'clock and shortly afterwards they caught up with the other two wagons, also going slowly as the mules were dead beat. The natives, presumably by now also tired, never got near and at sundown the escapers saw them stop and light fires. Edwards was worried about the position at Headlands so he and Sam Dalton rode on ahead to spy out the land. They left the road and approached the store from the back: great was their relief to be challenged 'Halt, who goes there?' as they neared the stables. All was quiet at Headlands and Edwards and Dalton rode back and brought the wagons in. That night the rebels attacked the laager but were driven off and in the morning Headlands was also evacuated and the enlarged party set off for Umtali, which was reached without further attack.

Marandellas was left unpopulated by whites until 29 July when Major Watts and 100 men of the Matabeleland Relief Force reoccupied it. During the later stages of the Rebellion the hotel and store at Marandellas were used as a base from where sorties were mounted against Shona chiefs in the surrounding district.

The Chakari District in the 1920s and 1930s

by Monica Kemple

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe at Chakari on 19 May 1991.

I am touched and honoured that your Society has chosen *Lancefield* for this visit, and extend you a very warm welcome; though I feel I should apologize for the misplaced confidence in *me* of your Committee, and the resulting imposition on you!

I propose to tell you what I remember of the district, going back to the end of World War 1.

Shagari, as it was originally called, was named after a small spruit which runs through this farm and through the Dalny Mine Claims, and eventually runs into the Umfuli river. The name was changed by the postal authorities in the 1920s to *Chakari* owing to the confusion with *Shangani*.

Chakari consisted of a Police Camp and a typical country store. The Camp consisted of four Cata Huts made of corrugated iron, these were eventually built in brick. They were a Charge Office, a Mess, sleeping quarters and, slightly apart, two stables and a cell and, of course, the Constables' Lines.

There were two European policemen and several constables. They patrolled the whole area, either on horseback, foot or bicycles. They were always impeccably turned out, no matter how many days or nights they had spent in the bush. We had a succession of really splendid chaps, who were a great asset to the district, and they looked after everyone. I don't think there was a lot of crime and we never locked our houses when we went away. IGB (Illicit Gold Buying) was possibly one of their main concerns. The camp had a barrack square where they drilled and which, for want of any other, was used as a cricket ground, rather small, very hard, and Eunice Latilla and myself were both co-opted into the cricket team when they were short of players. The outfield seemed dangerously close, but it taught us not to gossip in the outfield!

Tuckey Amira was Member in Charge later when we were all being taught to handle guns (wives I mean). He assembled us all on the rifle range every now and then, with all the arms we possessed, so that we learnt to handle them all. A most impressive array of weapons, I can assure you. Tuckey Amira was a very brave man, and except for a few unscheduled bursts from an FN or an UZI there were no casualties.

Across the road from the police camp was Mr Plagis' Store, which is almost unchanged today, except that the main store part has been enlarged a little. Behind the store were Mr Plagis' office and living quarters. His office doubled as the post office and the store carried all the usual essentials for small-workers and Africans; ironically one could buy Crosse & Blackwell jams, Huntley & Palmer biscuits and Libby's tinned fruit from California!

The mail was delivered every day in a bag carried by an African on a bicycle from Gatooma (now Kadoma). During the rains quite often someone had to pull the postman through a flooded spruit with a rope. But the post arrived every day, except Sundays, Good Friday and Xmas Day.

The post office was a great meeting place — collecting mail, hearing the news of the district. Also, telegrams were a great form of communications, 12 words for 1/6*d*, and delivery within a radius of three miles of the post office for the payment of 6*d* or it might have been 1/–! Telegrams in Chakari were abused by some members of the community, and Mr Plagis had a fairly rough time. On one occasion my husband John, a friend named John Wingfield-Digby

and Frank Crackenthorpe decided to pull Leonard Tracey's leg. He was affectionately known as Jorrocks owing to his farm being named Handley Cross! They persuaded Mr Plagis to send a telegram to Leonard Tracey, ostensibly from Mr Huggins, asking him to stand for parliament and support his policy, signed *Huggins*. They impressed on Mr Plagis that the delivery messenger MUST be paid in cash for the delivery — all of which was done. Jorrocks was quite flattered and excited at the prospect. In the meantime the perpetrators of the crime had impressed upon the postmaster on *no account* was he to actually send the reply from Mr Tracey. Frank Crackenthorpe, bristling with curiosity, couldn't resist riding over to Handley Cross to see what Jorrocks's reaction had been. Frank, who had never kept a secret or a straight face, must have looked a little too smug, because Leonard after giving this tempting offer due consideration rode to Chakari to send his reply. But on reflection he became suspicious of Frank's demeanour, and decided that it was a trick. He compiled a long reply to Mr Huggins. Very shortly afterwards the two perpetrators of the crime had arrived at the post office only to learn that Mr Tracey had been, and sent a lengthy reply to Mr Huggins, so they were hoist with their own petard! The two Johns then proceeded to toss for who should climb on the train the next day to explain and apologise to Mr Huggins. By chance, while arguing the matter, John Kemple happened to glance at the pile of telegrams Mr Plagis was leafing through and noticed the one sent by Leonard Tracey had *no* stamps affixed to the back, which meant it had not been paid for, and so could not have been sent!

While mentioning Mr Huggins, there was a rather touching story when Frank Crackenthorpe's wife became very ill and had to have a big operation which Mr Huggins performed. Money was very short in those days and Mr Huggins' bill was sent fairly regularly with no result, until finally Frank wrote to Mr Huggins:

"Dear Mr Huggins,
Herewith please find enclosed my cheque, because I can't!
Yours etc.
Frank Crackenthorpe."

Mr Huggins sent him a *receipt*!

Chakari was essentially a mining area. From the small kopje at the police camp one could hear 27 mills running, from Dolly's, 2 stamp, 3 and 5 stamp mills, mostly operated by small-workers. The largest mines were the Turkois Mine, the Dalny Mine, the Dawn Mine and the Bay Horse on the Umfuli.

The gold bearing reefs were mostly lenticular, with values being low when the reef was wide and possibly very rich when it pinched to a few inches.

The Dalny Mine at one time belonged to a syndicate of three, namely, R. W. Albertson, John Mack, and my mother, Elizabeth MacKenzie. I had dark suspicions that my mother came by her share by winning it at a poker game, rather than it changing hands over the bridge table!

The Dalny claims were eventually taken over by Mr Albertson, and were worked between 1908 and 1921. It appears that T. J. Golding tributed them from Mr Albertson. Then they were bought by Falcon Mines Ltd in 1945. It was a low grade refractory proposition, and Falcon Mines spent several years studying and experimenting with extraction.

In the middle 1930s W. B. Blyth of Blyth & Moore Ltd, the well known cyaniding experts, tributed the sands for a while, but they too had trouble with extraction. It was Falcon Mines who developed it into the flourishing mine it became.

Still on the mining scene, the most notable mine in the area was the Golden Valley. The claims were tributed for a short while, then purchased outright, by John Mack, who had come to Southern Rhodesia with the Pioneer Column as a batman to Frank Johnson. John Mack,

usually called Jack, was a plumber by trade, who came to Hartley to work and prospect. He married a young widow from England who had a small son, Billy, who died in a Japanese POW camp in Malaya in the Second World War. They came to live at Golden Valley, where John developed the mine very judiciously; the values were high, and it was impeccably run. Regrettably, I don't remember the exact year, but he struck the Dyke with no paylode. He persevered with great determination month after month drilling through the Dyke, convinced that eventually they would strike the reef again. His resources ran out and he took Herbert Latilla and Frank Johnson in as partners. The mining of the Dyke lasted two years and when John was down to his last £200, he broke through, and found the reef richer and better than ever.

John Mack once told me that he could go down the mine after returning from a dance or a dinner-party in his dinner jacket and come up immaculate! The floors in the engine rooms were kept polished, as were all the brass plates. At one time in this period the Golden Valley was said to be the richest small-working in the world. John Mack was a very courageous man with great determination, pride and modesty. He was very generous in a quiet way, and helped many people in difficulties which he never mentioned.

At the end of World War 1, the Chakari area was surveyed and cut up into farms, but still remained Gold Belt Title, which meant that mining still had special rights, namely, any miner/ prospector could prospect or peg claims on your farm, providing he notified you *in writing* of his intention to do so. There was nothing you could do to stop him, but he in turn could not peg claims within 500 yards of your dwelling or 200 yards of cultivated land. He, the prospector, was entitled to cut a high percentage of your timber for mining purposes, housing of his labour, etc., but he had to cut it down to a specific height to allow re-growth.

There was quite a sensitive area between farmers and miners, and there were often acrimonious arguments, some heated, some light-hearted, such as one fiery miner a few miles from Lancefield had a heated argument with my husband, history doesn't relate what about, but my husband issued a challenge to Mr Mickey, saying: 'Yours was the insult, so mine is the choice of weapons, i.e. fists, name your seconds', which, feeling somewhat confused, he did. John named Leonard Tracey and Wingfield-Digby. The meeting was arranged for dawn the following day at the crossroads on Handley Cross, Chakari! John and his seconds arrived at the appointed spot, appropriately dressed, but waited in vain, Mickey didn't turn up! Mickey and his mining neighbour also had a fierce argument and took up positions on their respective mine dumps and shot at each other. They were both bad shots, and the neighbourhood spent an interesting few days obtaining bulletins from the workers such as: Knott had hit Mickey's mill post three times, and Mickey had registered several hits in Knott's fowl run, and Knott had retaliated by registering a hit on Mickey's PK but he wasn't inside!

When my husband moved on to Lancefield it was *all* second-growth bush. All virgin timber had been cut out by the mines including the Cam & Motor. He lived in two large tanks, turned upside down, with a thatched roof over them. And boasted 'his was the only house in the district with ceilings' (if you could call a rusty, battered tank bottom a ceiling).

Most houses on the mines were Cata huts joined with what was known as a birdcage. They were mostly corrugated iron or kimberley brick (i.e. unburnt brick), though of course there were some of burnt brick.

In 1929 John had built a squash court near the site he'd chosen for his permanent house, laid the foundations, burnt the bricks when a very wet, old-fashioned wet February set in. So he went off on a shooting trip up to the Zambezi, as there was nothing he could do on the farm. The squash court blew down! When he returned three weeks later, he found a telegram from his parents, who had arrived at the Cape from England and announced their intention of arriving to stay with him in two weeks time. So the house was built in fifteen days with fifteen builders, and they all moved in a month later! The second squash court was built two years later.

When we were hit by the slump the Turkois Mine closed down, which was really our main means of livelihood, as we sold most of what we produced to them as rations, made charcoal for their suction gas engines, and also cut timbers for their mining operations. We also delivered meal to a small-worker at Battlefields, some 24 miles beyond Gatooma along the Gatooma–Que Que road, by ox wagon, for the princely sum of 12/6*d* cash, or 15/– credit. (This was before the Maize Control Board.)

John in 1933 was offered a job by Blyth & Moore Ltd to run their farm at Eiffel Blue, very close to the Cam & Motor Mine, and in return they would also teach him cyaniding. This was a generous offer as we did not have to give up the farm and were able to return to it most weekends. During the week, I would come out to give John's instructions to the foreman.

We spent a very happy few years at Eiffel Blue, living in a tiny cottage in the midst of a large paw paw plantation, so we called it No. 1 Paw Paw Row!

My youngest brother, Jim MacKenzie, who had been doing cyaniding for some years and was also working on a plant of Blyth & Moore's, and John decided to tribute a few dumps and go on their own. I was *at last* made to be useful, and before I knew what had happened to me, I had learnt to test solutions and do agitation tests for assay, etc.

In the late 1930s Kemple & MacKenzie, as we were called, opened up an old working on the boundary of Lancefield adjacent to the Dalny, and put up a three stamp mill. I found myself having to take a fairly active part as Jim and John had a great deal of travelling to do, covering the other plants. Going down the mine with one foot in a bucket and being let down on a windlass was only one of my major terrors. On one occasion, when John was ill with a bout of malaria, I actually had to do the smelt, which was a terrifying experience.

Everything in the way of smelting equipment was more or less home-made. The large crucible was made of something which didn't melt or break at the high temperature required to melt gold. I was clad in a thick apron, long gloves and leggings made of sacking which was wet. The crucible was lowered into the red-hot furnace and cooked till it was molten. One of the staff stood by with a watering can to extinguish the flames if you caught fire! One then poured the molten gold into a mould — being set on fire was nothing to the felony of spilling the gold!

When the Warthog was ready to produce, it was connected to the electricity supply, I imagine because of its proximity to the Dalny Mine and Chakari village. My husband then applied to have the power line extended to our house, and this was done in early 1939, and we set about finding out how to wire a house. This knowledge was obtained from Max Buchanan of Johnson & Fletcher in Gatooma. It was wired on the looping system and one used an awful lot of wire! Cotton-covered wire was used, attached to porcelain cleats screwed on to the timbers of the roof, and fittings were of brass, such as switches, lampholders, etc.

John and I spent a long weekend at this task, John in the roof and me below, pulling down the wires and attaching them to the fittings, with a flow of instructions from above. When all was completed, John switched on at the mains and *nothing happened.* We had no idea where to start looking for the mistake, but John had the inspiration of changing round two wires and with a silent prayer he switched on and it worked! It was the first house in the farming area to have electricity.

There was an active social life, and as several of the mines and farms had ant-heap tennis courts we played a lot of tennis. So, with tennis, polo, gymkhanas, paper chases, shoots and fishing, life was never dull. On moonlight nights we often rode to a neighbour for dinner and bridge and as there were not many fences, one could ride across country.

Clay pigeon shoots were fun — on Lancefield we did not own a 'clay' trap, but had good sport, positioning a good thrower at the back of the house with the guns arrayed in the front garden, and used a supply of old, scratched and cracked 78 gramophone records which with a good thrower flew exceedingly well.

There was a dance on average every fortnight, got up by the Small Workers Association, the Farmers Association, the Cam & Motor Club, the Kadoma Club, the hotels, of which there were two in Gatooma and one in Hartley, and various charitable organizations.

The first polo ground was cleared on Newbiggin, the farm of Frank Crackenthorpe, now owned by Mr and Mrs E. E. Thomas. When the Crackenthorpes left in 1938, the ground was moved to the Glasgow, and finally to Lancefield in 1939.

My brother Jim bought a plane in 1935/6 which he and John used for flying to the various dumps. Jim used to fly to Lancefield every week during the season. Our landing ground, cleared near the house, was only just adequate in length, so we chopped down some of the bush over the main road at the top of the strip but, unfortunately, Digby Burnett had a private telephone line to the Lonrho sections on Dewaras and Rhodesian Plantations, so every Saturday we laid the poles and the wire on the ground to give a better approach. Unfortunately we often forgot to replace it until we got an irate message from Mr Burnett to replace his line.

There is one incident I might tell you before I close and that was of a leopard on the next door farm called Chadshunt, owned by a Warwickshire hunting man who owned a rich mine on his farm. He was very generous and kind to other people but would not spend a penny more than he considered necessary on himself. He had 37 calves killed within a few months, and all his efforts to eliminate the leopard had failed, so he asked John if he would try. John, to tease him, said "What is it worth if I shoot it?' After serious consideration, he reluctantly replied: 'Oh, I suppose a fiver'. Whereupon the deal was finalized, but with many conditions, such as: Mr Wheeldon would be allowed to put a man-trap in the kraal, and it must be killed within so many yards of the kraal, to be sure it was the right leopard!

John set out with his gun-bearer, dogs and an extra bearer at first light the next morning, only to find that the leopard had killed again and been caught in the man-trap, had freed himself, badly hurt, and got away. John followed the blood spoor all morning and again in the afternoon, but this time with a friend, Captain Chick, manager of the Turkois Mine, with his pack of dogs. The dogs were hot on the spoor, but very nervous and kept coming back to the guns. They were confronted with some very thick thorn bush, when suddenly the leopard hurled itself out of the thorn straight at Captain Chick and John shot it just as it knocked Chick over, but did no damage. John returned to the homestead to inform Mr Wheeldon of the good news, but he was out so John left the following note:

Dear Sir,

Your leopard was despatched at 5.00 p.m. Your cheque will oblige.

Yours etc.,

John Kemple.

The Development of an Industry in Harare

by T. Y. Craster

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe in Harare on 11 November 1991.

The Salisbury of the 1890s and early 1900s was split in two with a 6ft (2m) gully, which in those early years had sticky clay sides and for most of the year had water running down it from inside the city park, parallel to present day Julius Nyerere Way, previously known as the Causeway, and then Kingsway named after King George VI and Queen Elizabeth and the two Princesses when they came out here in 1947. The name Causeway was later given to the Post Office between Second and Third Streets in Central Avenue. In effect the Causeway divided the town into two separate sections, that on the East was the area where the government offices and civil servants lived and worked. That on the West, the 'Kopje' section, represented the business areas, and during the rainy season, until a bridge was built to cross the Causeway, it was not easy to go from one side to the other.

My father, Walter Spencer Craster (WSC), was a Premium Apprentice in Engineering at a cost to his father of £500 in 1890 (a lot of money in those days) on Tyneside. After his apprenticeship and the outbreak of the Boer War he joined the Ellerman Shipping Line and was posted to *SS Johannesburg* as a Junior Ship's Engineer carrying troops out to South Africa, and also in the reverse direction.

In 1902 at the end of the Boer War he took his discharge and arrived back at Cape Town. Having heard stories of the opportunities that were offering in the then newly occupied Rhodesia, he took one of the early trains from Cape Town to Bulawayo where he joined Johnson & Fletcher and was sent to assist in the erection of a new mine ore crushing plant being installed at the Wanderer Mine near Selukwe. This lasted until 1904 when he moved up to Salisbury where, with a Mr Walpole in Bulawayo and he in Salisbury, they formed The Rhodesia Ricksha Company.

In the early years Bulawayo was larger in population than Salisbury and remained so until the 1941 to 1942 period, when the Royal Air Force opened the Rhodesian Air Training Group with their headquarters based in Salisbury, during which time several companies moved their headquarters up to Salisbury from Bulawayo.

On arrival in Salisbury in 1904, W. S. Craster joined the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers as a Trooper and as such was able to join the Rifle Club, and these two organizations enabled him to practise target shooting, during which time he discovered this was an ability he had, with the result he was presumably selected to go over to Bisley with a team from the SRV in 1905 and 1906, and he also shot each year from 1907 to 1910.

In 1906 he did exceptionally well and a newspaper report of 23 July stated: 'The crowd was now dense behind Capt. Davies', then someone informed him that Trooper Craster of Rhodesia alone challenged his position. The crowd swerved across towards the Colonials' Score Board where it showed that if he scored two bulls-eyes with his last two shots he would tie. He scored an inner and a Bull and so one point behind the winner of that year's King's Prize and both made record scores of 324 and 323, the earlier record being 321. WSC used to go over in the following summers to shoot at Bisley each year, but did not do as well again as he did in 1906.

Turning back to early industrial activities — as a result of weekend rowdiness, considerable

damage was done to the rickshas, especially the wire spoked wheels; these wheels were about three times the diameter of a normal bicycle wheel, but of the same design, except that solid rubber tyres were used in place of the pneumatic tyres and tubes used on bicycles.

This created a need to repair these wheels to keep the rickshas on the road and earning their keep, and made my father purchase a 6" Drummond treadle-operated lathe on his 1905 trip to Britain. At the same time he decided to make the lathe more satisfactory by purchasing the castings from Stuarts for a small steam engine to drive the lathe. These castings he then machined on the lathe. The next requirement was to build a small boiler to provide steam to drive the assembled steam engine; this was not too difficult due to the then method of using mercury spread on the top of copper plates to trap the gold released from the crushed ore (at this stage only 'free' gold, but not oxides or sulphide ores were collected). He then made a small boiler out of copper sheets held in stock by the mining supply merchants.

In addition, residents of Salisbury came to realize quite quickly that my father was interested in and efficiently carrying out repairs to all sorts of damaged equipment they had, and many of these repairs required small lathe work. These orders came as extra work to keep the lathe busy and economically productive, so enabling further expenditure on importing additional secondhand machine tools. There was little or no tax on profits then and no import licences, hence the purchase of additional equipment was relatively easy if you had money.

WSC had originally started the Rhodesia Ricksha Company in Victoria Street, which site became too small as the number of rickshas increased and he bought a stand in Salisbury Street between Manica and Albion Roads, where he built a small house to bring a future wife to.

The house and the workshop were close together on the same stand as also were the beginnings of a garden. Just behind the house stand was a sanitary lane with behind that a stand occupied by the *Rhodesia Herald* newspaper and printers owned by the Argus Company. Quite frequently there were calls to WSC to come over during the night to repair printing machines to enable the next morning's paper to be printed and sent out for sale on time.

In August 1909, I was born in the bedroom of the house, so from infancy I was in close contact with the growing workshop.

In 1910, WSC, my mother and I went over to England, with the object of purchasing a secondhand drilling machine or a shaper. WSC engaged a Mr Davis to manage the workshop while he was in England. Mr Davis was acquainted with electricity and foundry work and realized the need to make castings to help in the repair of various small mining, agricultural and general household equipment which were being brought in for attention.

When WSC returned, he found a small cupola operating in a growing foundry and producing castings in a small way. It must be realized that at this time there was no electricity-generating plant in the town and the small number of organizations needing power had to obtain it themselves, using steam or suction gas-powered units.

In 1911, in order to provide power to drive the slowly increasing number of machine tools whose power needs were growing too much for the steam engine, a 12 HP Tangye suction gas engine was purchased and additional buildings put up, including a small blacksmith forge.

In 1911 and 1916, sisters were born into the family. The elder one at the Salisbury Street home and the younger one at a new three-bedroomed house in Greenwood Park on the corner of Baines Avenue and Ninth Street, Salisbury, which the family occupied in 1913.

WSC was well known for the delight he took in new problems and he was always prepared to undertake repairs and innovations to all kinds of machinery.

In 1912 area visits into the country outside Salisbury were not easily or lightly undertaken, and unless the customer was near to one of the railway lines Salisbury–Sinoia, Salisbury–Shamva, Salisbury–Umtali, Salisbury–Gatooma–Bulawayo, travel was mostly by ox-drawn wagon, or bicycle. The roads were gravel or just veldt tracks and, in the rains, virtually impassable

if of red clay unless one had chains on the tyres, until after the first motor cars started to make their appearance.

One such country visit in 1913 undertaken by WSC, my mother, my sister Joyce and myself to a farm in the old Eldorado Mine area north of Banket was by train to Banket then by Cape cart to a farm called Riversdale, at that time almost the furthermost point of civilization in the north of the Lomagundi area. WSC was to instal some machinery on this farm. The convoy leaving Banket consisted of a procession of wagons, dropping different families at their homes on the way. There were no hotels in that area and at the end of the day one camped in the open or on one of the few farms: embryo towns placed along the main roads at around 40 miles apart were developing, this distance being chosen as this was a suitable daily distance for animal-drawn vehicles.

The 1914 visit to England was not finished when the outbreak of the war with Germany took place on 4 August. WSC waited a while in Britain after having offered his services to the Army if required, but with the German occupation of Tanganyika and South West Africa it was felt his services would be more useful in Rhodesia. WSC, whilst waiting for a decision, took a course at the British Oxygen Company in the then new oxy-acetylene welding repair methods and this was to prove very useful later in 1917 during the Spanish flu epidemic which swept through a lot of the world, as will be described later.

Before returning to Rhodesia WSC bought a low pressure carbide acetylene unit, with a series of high pressure oxygen cylinders and suitable torches for welding and cutting, and he had these consigned out to Rhodesia. Carbide recharge was available here, but the oxygen cylinders had to go to Durban for refilling. Slightly to ease his transport problems WSC bought a belt-driven Wolf two-stroke motorcycle and a secondhand White Steam car and had them despatched to Rhodesia.

1914 also found the Municipality of Salisbury purchasing and installing, in the municipal park at the site of the Les Brown Swimming Pool, a heavy oil engine-driven electricity generating plant with the object of starting the supply of electricity to the town. Unfortunately, before long this plant had to stop production because the considerable effects of the German submarine operation caused oil supplies to become scarce, thereby making the production of electricity an expensive stop-start-stop process. In the 1920s the Municipality purchased two secondhand large (for those days) suction gas driven electric generators and installed them in Wynne Street.

From this time until the end of 1929, although after 1919 oil had become plentiful, the major problem was the uneconomic (for the user) tariffs charged for electricity used and this kept users away until 1929 when the first steam turbine power station in Salisbury came into continuous operation and a revised and more user-based rate structure was introduced and proved successful in rapidly increasing the demand for electricity; this also happened in Bulawayo. Here it would be useful to record that WSC in 1927 built the steel smoke stack for the first turbine boilers which was brick-lined to reduce erosion and corrosion. During its construction there was an accident and an apprentice, Gersom C. Jooste, was nearly killed, but thanks to a decision to insure against accidents, the long rehabilitation was successfully accomplished. Mr Jooste later became our machine shop foreman and still later opened up Modern Engineers.

1914–1917 saw most able-bodied men volunteering for active service, and many were those who went up through the Police Camp to the then Rifle Range at the head of which was a small kopje called Gun Kopje, now the site of a superior suburb of Harare. WSC went up there each early morning as an instructor before going to work, but because bifocal spectacles were not generally available WSC was never a successful shottist again, being unable to see the target, foresight and backsight at the same time to line them up correctly for successful results.

Oxy-acetylene welding repair of broken machinery parts became a common method of returning damaged equipment into re-use. Casting and machining enabled certain agricultural

and mining machinery to be kept in service and production at a time when owing to the submarine menace, new parts and equipment were becoming very scare.

1917–1918 found this country and a large part of the world suffering the ravages of what was called Spanish Influenza. Here as elsewhere large numbers of people were affected and the Drill Hall in Salisbury's Moffat Street was turned into an emergency hospital and was continually full of patients. Mr Godfrey Huggins (later Lord Malvern), already at that time a prominent medical personage, found that the unfortunate patients in their last hours could be saved considerable pain and discomfort if they were given a few whiffs of oxygen, so my father's supply of oxygen was requisitioned for that purpose.

Also at this time visits to carry out the installation and repair of machinery on farms and mines were made using trains or bicycles as the now ubiquitous lorries and trucks were not available in the country.

1919 saw more peaceful conditions arriving, but two interesting events occurred. Crasters were entrusted with carrying out some engineering work on the newly built Mazoe Dam now only half an hour's drive from town. At that time a train was taken to Jumbo Siding, followed by a four mile bicycle ride down the steep Jumbo Hill and of course on the way back with a steep climb up the hill, with whatever tools and equipment were needed being taken with you.

On another business trip to near Inyazura two employees were cycling through the veldt on a track when they were startled by a mighty roar — they were riding into a lion basking in the grass close to the road.

Petrol and paraffin continued to be purchased in wooden crates containing two four-gallon tins, as there were no pumps and very few service stations. These wooden crates were then frequently used to make furniture. During this 1914–18 war period the shortage of petrol and paraffin restricted travel by the few cars which were here then and my dad's Steam Car was not able to be used often.

However, on one of the few occasions it was used we went out to a farmer and his family called Cheales, who were farming between present day Eskbank and Lowdale farms on, or very close to, the farm Calgary, now owned by Mr Hugh Wheeler, off the Mazoe Road. The Cheales' house was on top of a small kopje and we had to leave the car at the bottom. An essential requirement of the White Steam Car and other steam cars was the need to use petrol to heat up the boiler for ten minutes or so before you wished to travel, and so provide the pressure and volume of steam needed to push the pistons up and down to move the car; after this start up period you switched over to paraffin as the fuel. This was during the dry season with the veldt grass brown and dry and there must have been a leak of fuel taking place after being lit as while we were saying our farewells before getting into the car, it was suddenly noticed that the grass under the car was starting to burn. This resulted in much running to and fro and emptying any available water containers, throwing of sand and soil, pushing the car, before the fire was extinguished, but the result was the paintwork of much of the car was badly blistered. Car paint at that time was not the quick drying highly polished paint of today and each coat needed two to three weeks or more to dry before the second coat could be applied. A great deal of preparation was needed, and the paintshop had to be very well protected against all the pervading dust in order to provide a good finish, and then much emery paper to provide a polished finish, easily disfigured as the surface was soft and easily marked.

1914–1918 also saw the beginning of Rhodesia's entry into the production of quality tobacco and my dad was much engaged with Mr E. Hamilton South, of Warwickshire Farm close to the then called Hunyani River beside the Bulawayo–Salisbury railway line. This was long before the building of the dam wall forming Lake MacIlwaine when the main road to Gatooma passed through the same gap in the Hunyani Hills as the river goes over the spillway of Lake MacIlwaine today.

Mr South and my father tried various methods of curing tobacco, and humidifying it whilst grading it to prevent the leaf breaking into little fragments, as, after curing, the leaves were very brittle. This resulted in the development of a steam and cold water humidifying valve which was sold in considerable numbers until the 1930s, when the more satisfactory electrically-driven humidifier was imported.

The interest and constantly expanding involvement in the production of equipment for curing Virginia flue cured tobacco has continued until the present day. Now, combined units have been produced which are more economically useful as they not only are used to cure the tobacco crop but dry the grain harvest to the percentage of moisture required by the Grain Marketing Board. This enables maize and wheat crops to be successfully grown in succession on the same area of ground, to give two grain crops a year.

Going back to the 1916 period and October of that year when the mulberries were fruiting, I was coming back from the Boys High School around lunch time in one of my father's rickshas with newly fitted white seat coverings. This school was then where the Queen Elizabeth School and boarding house is now. We went through the municipal park towards Second Street on the way to Greenwood Park and the corner of Ninth Street and Baines Avenue, where my dad had had a new three-bedroomed house built in 1913 at a bargain price by Mr Cleveland for £900. I requested the puller to stop under some of the mulberry trees growing then in quite large numbers along the side of this path through the park. I then stood up on the seat and proceeded to pick and eat a considerable number of mulberries, until my hands and face were well stained with their purple coloured juice. Quite an amount of this juice stained the one time smart white seat covers; as can be imagined this event was not one that was appreciated by my father and I duly paid the penalty, not so acceptable these days, being considered not 'a right' that fathers and school teachers of male students should have!

The period 1919–1931 were years when I was in Britain at school. For seven months of 1927–8 I came back to Rhodesia before starting a sandwich course of engineering training on Tyneside at C. A. Parsons and the Rutherford Technical College, which enabled me to obtain graduate memberships of the Institutions of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering.

1931 saw two events which had a considerable impact on my future life, firstly the impact of the worldwide depression on business and, secondly, the sudden death of my father as a result of a cancer operation.

As a result, I left C. A. Parsons since there was little work going on in their factory as I would be wasting valuable learning time by doing nothing. Since I had finished my electrical and mechanical technical courses at Rutherford, I decided to move in to the aeronautical field which I felt had a good future, because it was not so badly affected by the depression and it would give me experience in light engineering. I therefore moved to De Haviland's at Stag Lane north of London, where they agreed to employ me. After only three weeks there a cable from Rhodesia announced my father's death, so I decided to return to Rhodesia as soon as possible.

During 1919–1931 Rhodesia experienced a slow build up of mining activity, but some of the existing mines closed down, including the Eldorado Mine north of Banket in 1928, the Falcon Copper Mine at Umvuma also closed, but the Athens Mine opened up there. The original Shamva Mine closed around 1932, although it is now operating again.

There was a steady slow down in mining development in the 1930s until Britain and later Southern Rhodesia came off the Gold Standard. Until this event the costs of mining had been rising so much that they were becoming close to the price the mines received for the recovered gold, but after coming off the Gold Standard gold mining prospered. During the 1934–39 period a tremendous increase in the activity of small-workers developed with quite a large number of business men of all sectors putting up money for small-workers to start developing small mines.

This development was greatly upset and hindered after the 1939 war was declared, since most of the youngish men engaged in the small-working field went on active service.

In 1924 a good example of the use of oxy-acetylene welding repair took place when a cracked gas engine cylinder head at the Sabiwa Mine near Gwanda was carried out by WSC and his assistant Alfred Platen. The casting had first to be heated up to a light red heat after having ground tapered sides to both sides of the crack. The welders, of whom my dad was one, were encased in fire resisting suits then and because of the heat were having to take turns over the casting whilst using the torch and the filler rod until the gap had been filled, a non stop task lasting 23 hours.

1927–28 saw great growth in the tobacco industry, mainly in flue cured Virginia tobacco, and there was a big demand for curing equipment for the many new growers who arrived in the country or left school to join existing growers.

In the 1932–4 period the growth slowed down and went into reverse when the price the grower received for his cured tobacco dropped to 4d a lb.

Rhodesian and later Zimbabwean tobacco, like many other industrial and farming activities, has been very subject to the vagaries of worldwide prices and so many industries have had a saw-tooth type of existence, with a slow growth followed by a quick collapse or slow-down.

1933 saw a request to me from Lonrho to go down to Portuguese East Africa, as it was then called, to quote for the dismantling, transport and re-erection of a floating gold dredger and mineral extraction plant from the head-waters of one of the tributaries of the Revue River. It had steadily worked its way up the river, making its own pool in which to keep floating by constantly discharging the removed rock, soil and residue from the crushing treatment plant behind itself to form a series of dam walls blocking to a great extent the escape of the river flow down river, and forming at the same time a dam of water in which the dredger would continue to float and operate. Four of us left Salisbury at midnight in an Austin 12 Tourer to arrive in Umtali for early breakfast and then over the border down to Macequece where a surprise awaited us. Due to the worldwide slump the authorities had posted a notice forbidding people to go into PEA looking for work and the Immigration Officer there, who had evidently had a thick night and was somewhat the worse for wear, took our passports away, and shut us up so that we could not leave. He did, however, connect us by phone to the Secretary of the mine dredge whose reply was evidently satisfactory and we received back our passports and were released to carry out our inspection. This we carried out and returned to Umtali and Salisbury where we arrived just after midnight. We were not successful in our quote, as the work went to a boat repairing firm in Beira for whom this work was more normal.

One of the more interesting jobs carried out included the following. A road had been built for crossing the Zambezi at Tete before the present bridge had been erected and put into service. The requirement was to design and manufacture and put into service a 38ft × 16ft deck space pontoon, to carry the then heavy lorries and their loads in the centre, with one row on each side of the pontoon for private cars. The total load to be transported was 20 tons and the whole loaded pontoon had to draw not more than 10–11 inches of water to avoid it becoming grounded on sand banks in the Zambezi during its crossings in the dry season.

Because of the vehicular transport problems the pontoon had to be made in Harare in three sections, and these were separately transported by road down to Tete and reassembled into the complete unit with water proofed joints and bulkheads high enough to prevent any accidental damage at one end or the other causing a hole and so sinking the whole pontoon. The timber decking was tongued and grooved and of different thickness and its supports dependant upon the section of the load it was to carry. This went into service before September 1939, when the Second World War started.

After Italy entered the war an urgent Leopard Moth flight in June took me to Lusaka and

resulted in an order to design, construct and put into service a considerably heavier loaded pontoon to cross the Kafue River to enable some of the South African motorized troops to go up to Kenya by road. They were to attack the Italians in Abyssinia as early as possible, as there was insufficient sea transport available to take more than a section of those needing to be transported to Kenya and Somaliland. The pontoon was to meet the British Standard Heavy Loading for Bridges then in vogue. This pontoon went into operation in late August.

Other interesting items which had to be carried out over the years were:

a) The Bronze Memorial Plaque at the Matopos for Sir Charles Coghlan in 1928.
b) In conjunction with various other engineering firms in the country, the manufacture of the various individual parts of all the Belman hangers required for the urgent manufacture, completion and putting into service at the twelve or so Air Stations required for the Empire Air Training Scheme, RATG Section, in 1941. With the agents in South Africa supplying the steel, the first of these Air Stations and Camps here in Rhodesia were placed in service eight hours ahead of the first similar station in Canada.
c) The manufacture with the aid of nineteen women of the castings and machining section of 2500 Air Force practice smoke bombs per week for three years, from 1942 to 1945.
d) The supply from 1952 for the mining industry of new ball mills, dryers and converters, as well as the undertaking of breakdown repairs to machinery and supplying grinding media, liners and other spares and wearing parts for these and other machines.
e) In 1956 the granting of a licence to use patents applicable to Meehanite Controlled Metals, to ensure consistency in quality of metal utilized for general engineering, heat, corrosion, wear resisting and ductile iron purposes.
f) The manufacture from 1949 of underfeed stokers to utilize local coal as a fuel for all heating purposes in place of the destruction of timber and the importation of oil, etc.
g) Water purification, including swimming pool and drinking water filters, from 1960.
h) The manufacture of clay working machinery, for bricks and tiles, from 1936.

A Report on the History Society Outing to Mangwe Pass: 26–28 May 1995

by Ray Grant

Many roads seemed to converge on the Bulawayo Club at 12.45 pm on Friday 26th May 1995. It was the occasion of the History Society outing to the Mangwe Pass area, and the whole exercise was to start from the Club.

After registration there were pre-lunch drinks and the opportunity to chat to old friends. The atmosphere was wonderfully friendly and it made one realize what a valuable asset we have in the History Society. At lunch we were given the command structure, with the 'trek' on this occasion being headed by Commandant Mike Whiley. With some 170 members present it was very necessary to have a strong central figure in control and Mike was of course an admirable choice for the task, especially given the added advantage that he is so easily found if there are problems — even if he is sitting down, which wasn't often. During lunch we were addressed by Robin Rudd on 'The Bulawayo Club'. He took us through the history of the Club, with a particular emphasis on those characters from the past whose portraits are displayed on the walls of the large dining room. Our table unfortunately had a problem during Robin's speech, due to a combination of circumstances which led to his being inaudible for long stretches. One wonders whether this might be grounds for thinking that we should perhaps have copies of speeches available for people who find themselves in such a predicament? That said, however, the Bulawayo Club deserves our sincere thanks for the way they coped with such an influx of society members, including some latecomers for lunch. It all passed off very smoothly, and the Club was able to maintain its traditional high standard.

After lunch we travelled down to the Marula Farmers' Hall where the ladies of the Rosenfels clan had organized a superb afternoon tea for us. During tea we finalized our accommodation details and then dispersed to our various overnight destinations to check in, prepare our bedding rolls, or do whatever else was appropriate to ensure a good night. Some stayed at Malalangwe Lodge in the Matobo Hills, others at Omadu Motel near Plumtree, twelve stayed at John Rosenfels' Lebonka chalets and a few camped at the Farmers' Hall. The tour party then regrouped at the Hall at 6.00 pm for drinks and a supper which proved to be quite outstanding. Our Zimbabwe farmers and their wives are renowned for their generosity, hospitality and general organizational ability and this evening, which was in the highest tradition of our farmers, proved to be no exception. It showed that there is something very special in Matabeleland, and in the Marula area in particular.

During supper a talk entitled 'A Brief History of the Ndebele People' was given by Mr Kunyalala Gumpo who is a history master at Plumtree School. Once again, we were unlucky in that we hardly heard a word that was said and I can only hope that his talk appears elsewhere, because I understand it was very good. After supper, the talk and a few final drinks, it was back to our respective accommodation and bed.

The following morning after breakfast, we forgathered at the Farmers' Hall at 8.30 am before proceeding to Mangwe Pass. This site was a great experience, and the sense of history there was very strong. It was a beautiful morning, the monument was very well kept, and sitting on top of a rock on a kopje behind the monument was a lone black eagle. One could almost hear the creaking of the old wagons, the crack of the whips and the shouting of the drivers. It was all very memorable. While there we were treated to a talk on 'The Mangwe Road and Pass' by Richard Wood. This was particularly well done by Richard who told the story by inter-twining

the lives of three famous people always associated with the Pass — Mzilikatsi, Robert Moffat and Hendrick Potgieter. They were born and bred in very different places and circumstances, yet all were destined to converge on Mangwe at approximately the same time. Each of them in their own way contributed towards what is a quite incredible historical tale.

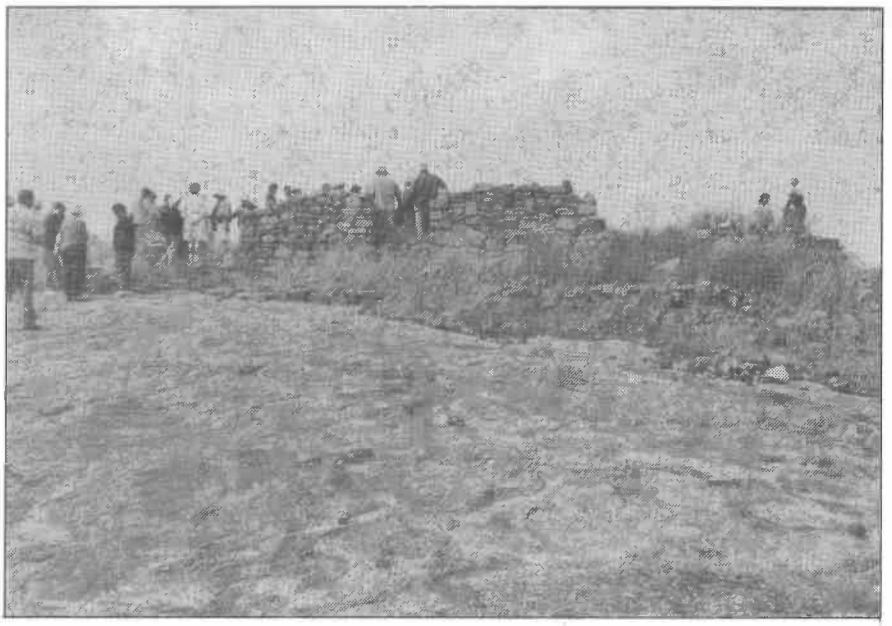
Members of the Society whose forebears entered the country as Pioneers through the Mangwe Pass. Those in the picture include: Derek Viljoen, Tim Tanser, Bunny Groom, Joan Howard, Lily Campbell, Louise Brough, Barbara Viljoen, Keith Martin, Dave Sinclair and Russell Sansom.

After the Pass we moved on to Mangwe Fort and were addressed there by Mike Whiley. This was very fitting, as during his tenure as Headmaster of Plumtree School he had taken gangs of schoolboys and cleared the site. It is interesting how the opportunity to get out of school for a day, plus the stern eye of an enthusiastic Head peering down from a height of some 6'5", can create a passion for academic exploration in the heart of even the humblest and most blasé schoolboy. Long may that be the ethos of that school.

Fort Mangwe was built in 1893/94, and some 150 people were laagered there during the Matabele Rebellion of 1896. They were never attacked, but it is easy to imagine how difficult life was for them under their overcrowded circumstances. Some of the original timbers are still laid out very close to where they must have been when the Fort was constructed. Tim Tanser then talked to us on the Lee Family, followed by John McCarthy who spoke about the Mangwe Cemetery.

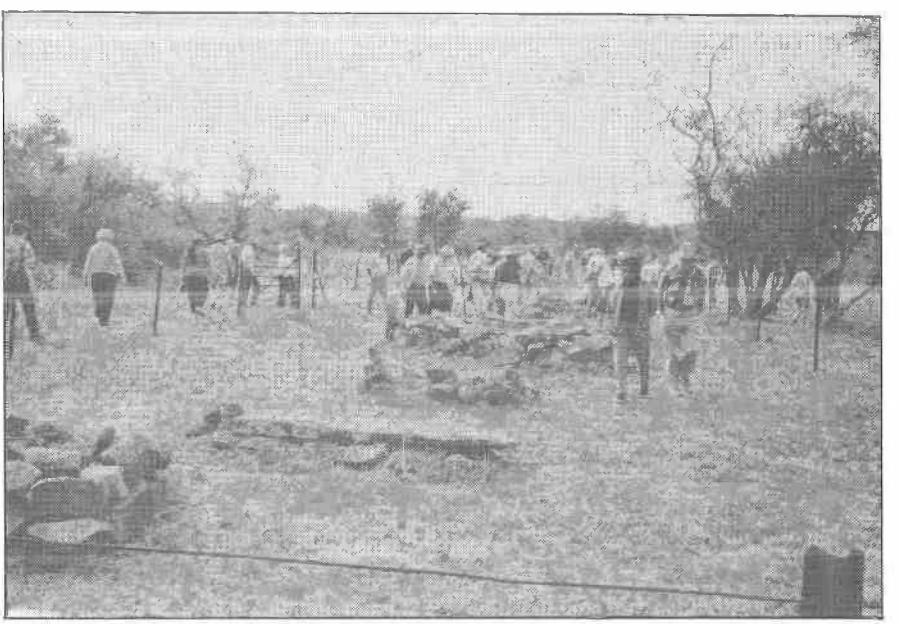
Thereafter we moved on to the ruins of John Lee's second house, and this turned out to be another place full of atmosphere. Although lonely and isolated in setting now, there must have been occasions over a hundred years ago when it was full of life and movement; wagons outspanned, camps set up, and cattle resting and recuperating. As the sole agent for the Ndebele people in that area north of the Limpopo, everybody had to call at John Lee's. Such people as Selous, Henry Hartley and Thomas Baines come to mind and somehow they seemed very close there. Many of the walls are still shoulder height, and the foundation of the verandah can be

Display of photographs at Mangwe Fort.



Members examine the remains of John Lee's house.

Mrs Lily Campbell (John Lee's grand-daughter) holds court at the ruins of John Lee's house.



Members at the Mangwe cemetery.

seen clearly. From the house we then moved back across the dry river bed for a relaxing picnic lunch, before going on a short distance in the early afternoon to the Mangwe graveyard. This is a lonely place surrounded by waving grass and rustling trees, though an interesting feature is that the graves are in a line, running roughly south to north. One grave is that of Lee's first wife, who died soon after giving birth to their ninth child.

A relatively short drive from here brought us to Ernest Rosenfels' farm, Glenmore. This farm looked like a chocolate box photograph, with a large cleared area in front of the house giving way to lovely views, and a garden that would do justice to a glossy magazine. It had all been primed by some 30 mm of rain a few days before our visit. At Glenmore we were privileged to see a beautifully restored ox wagon, and then a team of oxen being inspanned. This clearly is an absolute art, and we were impressed at the skill with which the whole exercise was handled. Once inspanned rides were offered, and it was a pleasure to see youngsters from 7 to 70 years old revelling in the opportunity to go back to their roots. It put computers and the Information Highway firmly into perspective! While all this was going on, the Rosenfels ladies once again spoiled us with an excellent tea.

That night saw a repeat performance with a magnificent supper back at the Hall, provided once again by the ladies and with the Rosenfels men doing sterling work behind the bar. During supper Max Rosenfels talked to us about the Rosenfels family who have been in the area over 100 years. What emerged very strongly was the character and ability of the original Mrs Jesse Rosenfels. There is a story to be written here, and it should be done before time blurs memories even further and those who have the anecdotes move on.

After supper presentations were made by the Society to various members of the Rosenfels family, and then it was time to say our farewells and return to our accommodation. People started their journeys home on Sunday morning after what had been a thoroughly enjoyable and stimulating weekend. All who attended will carry fond memories of Marula and the Rosenfels family; their friendship, their generosity and their unfailing attention to all aspects that go towards making such a weekend a success. In the words of that famous song, we say 'Thanks for the memory —'.

In conclusion, I must pay special tribute to Mike Whiley and all who assisted him in the planning of the outing. Such visits by some 170 people will only work if a great deal of detailed preparation and thought goes into the spadework. This was done, and the results were there for all to see. Thank you, one and all.

Address on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the Memorial at the Mangwe Pass 18 July, 1954

by Sir Robert Tredgold, KCMG, QC

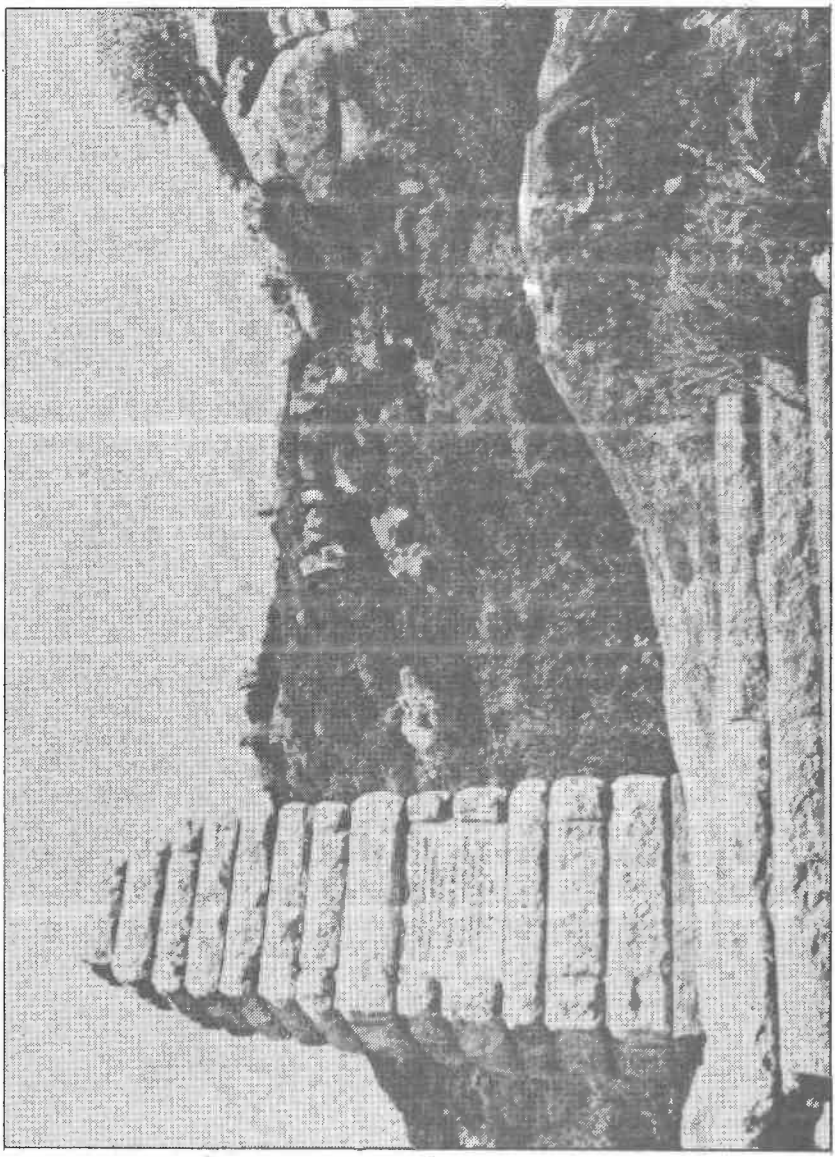
First of all I should like to say a word of appreciation of the Bulalima–Mangwe Road Council and all those who have associated themselves with the erection of this very beautiful and fitting memorial. They have shown imagination and a sense of history, and we, the descendants of those honoured, and the public of the Colony as a whole, are deeply in their debt. It is always invidious upon such an occasion to mention names, but I cannot refrain from making special reference to the part that has been played by Mr Tapson and Mr Rosenfels. They have been the moving spirits in the whole undertaking and Mr Rosenfels has virtually erected the memorial with his own hands. It seems to me that the whole undertaking, from its conception to the wording of the inscription on the monument, bears the mark of inspiration.

There is another point I should like to make at the outset. In the course of what I have to say I shall mention certain names. I have chosen these because they represent a type or because they were associated with some incident of particular interest. There will be many present who feel that other names are equally worthy of mention. This I most fully concede. It is obviously impossible to mention all. One of the things I like most about the memorial is that there has been no attempt to set out names. As in the case of the Grave of the Unknown Warrior, it commemorates the known and the unknown, the famous and those who missed the accident of fame. Each can name in his own heart the name that seems to him most worthy.

There are some who hold that in this country was the very cradle of the human race. Be this as it may, these old hills have looked down upon many strange and momentous events during the aeons they have kept their watch and ward over our land. This we do know, that ever since the great wave of Bantu migration ceased to flow southwards and began to ebb to the north, the passes of the hills have stood as the portals of the interior. The fear of the thirst-lands to the east and to the west has diverted men and compelled them to travel this way. Makalanga and Mrozwe, Amaswazi and Amandebele have surged about their foothills. Perhaps now and then amongst them may have been seen the solitary, valiant figure of a Portuguese Father only to be swept away in the great movement about him.

Then, just over a hundred years ago, for the first time the shuffle of naked feet and the thud of hooves gave place to the rumble of wagons. The white man had arrived and a new era had begun. The wagons passed round the rock to my right for the passage on the left was not then open. No doubt they scored on the rock itself the first of the marks which have, in the course of time, become permanent. There were two white men with the wagons, Robert Moffat, the veteran missionary, and Sam Edwards, the son of his old colleague, cheerful and plucky, the prototype of the trader of whom I shall subsequently speak. They had left Kuruman seven weeks before which was good travelling for those days.

And here I must pause to say a word about Kuruman. Kuruman is now a sleepy backwater of the Cape Province, but for the better part of the last century, it stood to the hinterland in the same relation that a single seaport stands to a sea-bound land. Most of the great African travellers passed that way. There they felt the last touch of civilization and gracious living, and there they received fresh provisions and wise and experienced guidance. There they returned



The Mangwe Pass Memorial *(From a photograph by Ronald D. K. Haddon.)*

very often sick in body and battered in mind to be nursed back to health and sanity. This country owes a debt to Kuruman which it has been tardy in acknowledging.

But to return to the travellers. They had had an arduous journey. They had suffered great hardship from thirst and had been harried by wild animals. The greater part of the journey had lain through trackless wilderness. For ten days before reaching the Pass, they had seen no human being nor any sign of habitation. One feature of the journals illustrates vividly the difficulties with which they were faced, the constant preoccupation with the loss of the oxen. The carelessness of a herdboy, ordinarily a matter of minor inconvenience, was to them a matter of life and death. More than once there had been an anxious search for the oxen, which had it failed, might have meant that the whole expedition perished miserably. There was one sad little casualty and near this spot is the grave of Rhodesia's pioneer kitten. The measure that they felt this slight loss was the measure of their loneliness.

So that they passed on to renew that strange friendship between the uncompromising missionary and the fierce old king, Umzilikazi, which had such far-reaching consequences in opening up this country.

Three years later Robert Moffat came again. This time he was alone except for his faithful Bechuana servants. He was over sixty and feeling the effects of the strenuous life he had led. His heart was troubling him and he was ill in other ways, but he felt it was necessary to come to prepare the way for the mission he hoped to establish, and so he came.

In 1859 he came for the third and last time. With him he brought the men who were to establish the first white settlement in Matabeleland. They were his son, John Smith Moffat, Thomas Morgan Thomas and William Sykes. Each was to play a major part in the history of the succeeding years. There were two women with them, Mrs J. S. Moffat and Mrs Thomas. Our modern misses are apt to scoff at their Victorian grandmothers. When they do so, I wonder if they think of these and such as they, for they were by no means unique. A few months before, they had seen nothing more expansive than the South Downs or more dangerous than the new fangled steam engine. But here they were in the heart of Africa making light of hardship and danger. The one with a queer mixture of courage and nostalgia called her wagon 'The Pavilion' after the edifice which adorned, or some might say, disfigured, her native Brighton. The other seems to have been of a singularly sweet and gentle nature, oddly unfitted for the stern task she had been set. But she had not long to endure. Within three years she had died. Before she was twenty-three she had passed on and taken her baby with her — the first martyrs to civilization in Matabeleland. And now they were to witness one of the strangest scenes that even the hills had seen in their long vigil. Lung sickness had broken out amongst the cattle and they were sent back lest they infect the Matabele herds. Partly for practical reasons and partly in compliment to the missionary, Umzilikazi sent an impi to drag the wagons from here to near where Bulawayo now stands. They were pulled by a yelling crowd of savages. It is easy to imagine the feelings of the women surrounded all day by these fierce warriors and by night watching the fires glisten on their almost naked bodies as they ate the oxen provided for their food. Thus began the mission at Inyati.

The first of the hunters had already preceded them and Henry Hartley was following the elephant trail in the district that now bears his name. It was he who was to spread the whisper of gold that had such fateful consequence. He came here frequently and for long periods, but he never settled in the country.

The first hunter to settle was John Lee, the founder of this district. He was a colourful personality. He was the son of a Captain in the Royal navy who had married an Afrikaaner woman, a niece of President Kruger. Although he was not much over thirty when he came to this country, he was already a veteran of four of the old Border wars of the Cape Colony. He soon established himself in the confidence of Umzilikazi. He was appointed his agent, the first

Customs and Immigration official of this land. He was given a tract of land just below the Pass, as much as could be covered by a horse ridden for an hour and a half in each direction. Unfortunately, the old king had not specified the speed at which the horse was to travel and the survey which was carried out by Carel Lee resolved itself into a tussle between him and the attendant indunas. Nevertheless, Carel managed to acquire something over 200 square miles. There John Lee built a permanent house which became the centre for hunters in the rainy season. Many well-known travellers stayed in the vicinity including the artist explorer, Baines. Here he painted a number of pictures including, oddly enough, the one which some of you may know, showing the departure of his expedition from Pietermaritzburg. Lee's land was finally confiscated after the Occupation because he refused to co-operate against the people whom he regarded as his friends and benefactors, an incident which reflects more honour upon him than upon the Administration.

Robert Moffat and Sam Edwards had been single-minded men engrossed in their own purposes, but they had opened the door to a trickle of humanity which was to become a flood and change the whole face of Central Africa. Other representatives of the London Missionary Society came — Thomson and Elliott, Helm and Carnegie. There came too the Catholic Fathers, including that appealing figure, Father Kroot, who was so soon to die, and Father Prestage, who left so deep a mark upon this district.

Besides the missionaries there were the hunters such as Viljoen, Jacobs and Greeff, Finaughty and Woods; the greatest of them all Frederick Courteney Selous, the typical Englishman reserved, steadfast, self-sufficient, and his staunch and loyal friend, van Rooyen, typifying all that was best in the Afrikaner. I often think that if van Rooyen had had the pen of a ready writer he would have attained to a fame equal to that of Selous, for he was not only a mighty hunter, but a fine naturalist and an outstanding character.

Then there were the traders such as Westbeech and that grand old man, 'Matabele' Wilson who is still alive and as clear-headed as the day he came here.

There were some who came for the sheer love of adventure. The most remarkable of these was the artist–naturalist Frank Oates. He was one of those bright spirits that seem only to be sojourners here, bound for a bourne beyond our knowing. One wonders if there beat in his veins the same blood as that of the 'very gallant gentleman' who went out into the snow to give his comrades a chance of life. He was to die on the return journey and he lies buried away to the west, near the headwaters of the Shashi. There is a moving story of his faithful pointer who had accompanied him on all his travels. When the wagons reached the Tati, Rail was missing and was eventually traced back to where he was keeping his lonely watch by his master's grave.

We may pass over the undignified scramble of the concession hunters during the ensuing years. It is sufficient to say that many of them were actuated by patriotic rather than by selfish motives. But, during this period, a subtle change had taken place in the character of those that used the Pass. Amongst them were young people who referred to the northward journey as 'going home'. A generation had arisen that claimed their place in this country by birthright.

The great events of 1890 moved away to the east and left the Pass undisturbed. But in 1893, the Matabele War brought the tramp of armed men to the Pass and that strange thunder of horse drawn guns, which those who heard it will never forget. Gould–Adams' Column played a part of great strategic importance although it saw little fighting. It contained a number of impis which might otherwise have opposed the march of the Salisbury and Victoria Column. There was, however, one desperate little battle below the hills, in which Selous was wounded and had a very narrow escape. The Column approached the Pass with great misgiving, but away at Bulawayo, events had moved rapidly and the impis had withdrawn to join their king in his flight to the north. With this Column came another Moffat who, in the passage of time, was to become the Prime Minister of this Colony.

Three years later the Pass was again the scene of warlike operations. The Rebellion had broken out and the Pass was a link in the only direct line of communication with the outside world. Forts were built to protect it. The old names recur; van Rooyen in command, Hans Lee and Greeff with him. Van Rooyen was highly respected by the natives and it was mainly due to his influence and that of Father Prestage, that those in the locality did not join in the Rebellion. Nevertheless, the Pass would have been difficult to hold had it not been for the strange command of the Mlimo that it should be left open as a way of withdrawal for the fleeing white people. Instead it became a way of reinforcement. The Matabele Relief Force advanced through the Pass under the command of that great-hearted soldier who afterwards became Field-Marshall Lord Plumer. His Chief of Staff lifted up his eyes to the hills and received an inspiration that, years later, was to burgeon forth into the worldwide Boy Scout Movement.

But, away to the west, the railway was creeping northwards. Independent of surface water, it outflanked the hills. The old order had changed yielding place to new. The machine age had arrived in Matabeleland. The pass was left to quietude and to its memories.

And now we are gathered to give honour where honour is due. I think it may be claimed with all modesty that Rhodesia has reason to be proud of her pre-Pioneers.

We, who live in the age of amenities, may well pause to wonder what it was that drove them forth into the wilderness to accept privation, suffering and the shadow of death as their daily lot. What was the faith that was in them? Was it articulate or inarticulate, understood or only dimly comprehended?

In a way, the missionaries are the most easy to understand. They were supported and sustained by an unfaltering faith in Him upon Whose work they laboured. They were content to seek no other reward save that of knowing that they did His will.

But the traders and hunters were no ordinary fortune seekers. The reward to be won, or even to be imagined, was in no way proportionate to the risk and hardship they had to face. Even the prospectors for gold, who played for higher stakes and consequently had a more reckless streak in their make-up, were purged in the same fires of trial and endurance. Beyond a doubt, all were inspired by something deeper than the mere desire for gain. Let us call it the spirit of adventure and leave it at that. At least it was something that lifted them above the ruck and placed them a little nearer to the angels. No doubt there were inglorious exceptions, but in the main, they were men of exceptional character. Their courage was manifest. They were straightforward and upright in their dealing. Their standard of conduct was high. There is evidence of this in their relations with the missionaries, for they were welcomed into the mission homes and were regarded as friends and allies.

Some of us remember the survivors with their patriarchal beards, grave faces and quiet eyes. There are some indeed present today who travelled this road with them. We know that, though they may not have found fortune or fame, they had found something greater. We can bear witness that these were men, take them for all in all, we shall not look upon their like again.

Yes, we have travelled a long way since those days. We have seen advancement beyond their imagining. We have seen beyond the sound barrier and inside the atom. We have seen through space to what may well be the limits of our own universe, but I wonder if we have seen deeper into the heart of things than those old adventurers.

> Excellent courage our fathers bore —
> Excellent heart had our fathers of old
> None too learned, but nobly bold
> Into the fight went our fathers of old.

If it be certain, as Galen says —
And sage Hippocrates holds as much —
'That those afflicted by doubts and dismays
Are mightily helped by a dead man's touch',
Then, be good to us, stars above!
Then, be good to us, herbs below!
We are afflicted by what we can prove,
We are distracted by what we know —
So — ah, so!
Down from your heaven or up from your mould,
Send us the hearts of our fathers of old!

Mangwe Cemetery

by John McCarthy

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe at Mangwe on 27th May 1995.

Although one of the recognized and better known of the cemeteries in the Matabeleland area in the early days of white occupation, nothing in fact is known about the majority of the twenty or so people buried there. A survey of grave sites around the country, carried out by, or at the behest of, the Rhodesian Branch of the Loyal Women's Guild in the period 1909 to about 1912, reckoned that there were nineteen actual graves in the cemetery of which five were positively identifiable. In 1969 the Marula Branch of the Women's Institute, in a publication entitled *Mangwe — Gateway to Matabeleland*, claimed that there were twenty graves, for which the names of seven of the occupants were known. So far I have been able to ascertain the names of seven of the people who were buried there and I shall give a little more detail about them later. Before doing that, however, I should like to speculate a little as to the siting of the cemetery and on the reasons why the names of most of the occupants sadly have been forgotten.

The first person known to be buried there in recent times was the wife of the hunter and trader John Lee, about whom much has been written elsewhere in this edition of *Heritage*. She died in childbirth in 1870 while her husband was away and we can only presume that it was the decision of the family retainers or acquaintances that she be buried there. Quite why the site was chosen is a puzzle because, although it is only a few hundred metres away from where Lee's second house was located, she died a few years before it was constructed and the grave is quite a long way from the site of the first dwelling. Whatever the reason it was to be at least another 24 years before the BSA Company began to administer the area formally and we can only assume that this site came to be used in the interim as the recognized burial ground for any other members of the family (and remember that the Lee family was an extended one), and also for the odd passing hunter or trader who may have died in the area.

Mrs Lee's is the third grave in a line moving from south to north and the only one in the first nine that is positively identified. I make this point because when members of the History Society visited the cemetery on Saturday 27 May, it was the sixth grave that had a Women's Guild Cross in her name standing over it and I am convinced that this siting was incorrect. Presumably at some stage the cross had been knocked over and was then put back over the wrong grave. Whatever the cause it was moved there and then to the fourth grave because that was the one identified by her great grand-daughter, who was on the trip, as being the correct grave, but, at the risk of upsetting the family, I still believe this to be the wrong location and for two reasons. The first is that a diagram drawn of the cemetery when the Women's Guild Graves Register was prepared in about 1909 shows the third grave as being that of 'Hans Lee's mother'. (See copy of page 94 of Loyal Women's Guild Graves Register — National Archives of Zimbabwe Reference GU 1/4/1). Also a description of the graves indicates that it has a rough granite slab on a small mound on top of it and the third grave at Mangwe Cemetery matches this description. I think it safe to go on to speculate that other family members, friends, hunting or trading colleagues would have been buried near to her on either side. Several of these graves have granite and brick mounds or surrounds and clearly were lovingly prepared and tended at one time. The 1969 Marula publication claimed that amongst the unknown graves was one said by the late S. J. Rosenfels to belong to a famous Afrikaans hunter named Herbst and his wife, exactly the sort of people one would expect the Lees to bury near their mother. Incidentally, the

GU 1/4/1

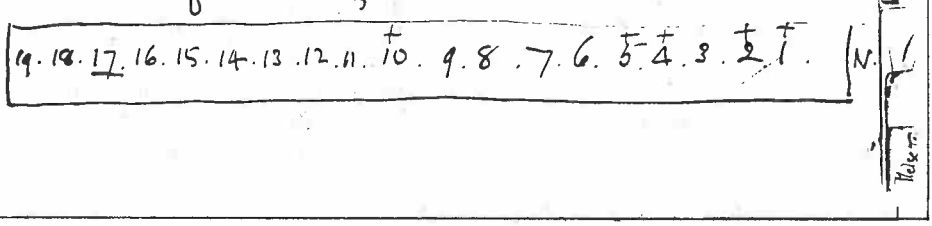
Mangwe Cemetery.

The wood & iron standards are in perfect condition
Inside the grave is level & there are no water
shoots

The graves are from N. to S.

No 1. Reginald Owen Gethin. Red sandstone cross Corner of sandstone border inscribed "R".
No 2. H.C. Elgar. Tpr. B.S.A.P. wooden + mound washed away.
No 3 Unknown mound covered with granite stones
No 4. Frank Pocock. Tpr S.P.O. wooden + mound washed away.
No 5. No name, white +, mound covered + granite & stones
No 6. Unknown, " " " " " & bricks
No 7. " few granite stones at head, mound washed away
" 8 " " " " " " " "
" 9 " " " " " " " "
" 10 W Rennie Taylor white sandstone cross, mound sunk in
" 11 Unknown, mound sunk in few stones at head
" 12 " " covered + granite stones
" 13 " " " " " "
" A Unknown, large oval flat granite mound
" 15 Unknown, large high granite mound
" 16 Unknown, granite mound sunk in
" 17 Mrs Hans Lees mother, rough granite slab in mound, no name
" 18 Unknown, square mound, built of brick & granite
" 19. Unknown, square mound built of bricks

Plan of Cemetery



List of graves in Mangwe Cemetery.

grave that was initially marked with her cross when the History Society Group arrived at the cemetery is wide enough perhaps to contain the bodies of two people, such as the Herbst family.

The next identified grave, the tenth in the line moving north, belongs rather surprisingly to the famous or (depending on your viewpoint) the infamous concession hunter, E. R. Renny-Tailyour. Again more will be written about him later, but suffice it to say for the moment that he died at Mangwe in June 1894 and was probably the first to be buried there in Chartered Company times. Moving on from his grave there are then a string of unidentified graves, possibly some of them containing the remains of people killed in the surrounding areas in the early days of the 1896 rising.

The fifth, third and second last of the graves belong respectively to F. Poecke, H. C. Elgar and R. O. Gethin, all of whom died in the period 1898 to 1899 of typhoid fever at Mangwe Fort. The last grave there (and which is not shown on the diagram) is that of R. J. Rix who died in 1908 of blackwater fever. The other person known to be buried there is R. Sanders who died in 1900 of malaria, but his grave site is unmarked. As far as can be ascertained to date no other burials occurred there after 1908, probably because Mangwe had ceased to be a gateway into the country by the turn of the century and the wars that had kept the garrison in the area were over. The few officials that operated in that part of the country after that time were generally just passing through.

The tragedy, in terms of being able to identify individual graves, is that, though most were probably quite well marked initially with simple crosses, these had all perished by the time that a formal administration arrived. Clearly the Police and the old Native Commissioner's Department, prodded by the Loyal Women's Guild, did make valiant attempts after 1909 to identify graves and then to keep them maintained, but for most of the occupants of Mangwe this all came too late. The Guild imported wrought-iron crosses with beaten-brass tablets from Cape Town at a cost of 25 shillings each in 1909, the express intention being to place these over the graves of some 300 pioneers and early settlers who had been identified around the country. By this time, of course, Mangwe Cemetery had to all intents and purposes been closed and its occupants largely forgotten about.

What then of the people who are buried there? The first as has already been said was the first wife of John Lee. T. V. Bulpin in his book *To the Banks of the Zambezi*, says that she was a niece of Paul Kruger and that her name was Louisa (née van Wyk). The Marula Woman's Institute publication agreed that she was Kruger's niece, but names her as Martha Du Plessis. Whatever the truth, there seems no dispute that she died in childbirth when her ninth child, Abraham, was born. At the time Bulpin says that her husband was away, apparently off with a concubine who had already produced three of his illegitimate offspring. One can only try to guess at his wife's suffering and anguish at the time, as well as the fears that she must have had as to the fate of her younger children.

Edward Ramsay Renny-Tailyour was born on 8 March, 1851, in Borrowfield, County Forfar, Scotland and came to this country as a speculator representing the interests of E. A. Lippert, a German financier based in the Transvaal. It was Renny-Tailyour who obtained from Lobengula in April 1891 the concession that came to be known as the Lippert Concession, granting the right for one hundred years to deal in all land in Mashonaland and Matabeleland. Lobengula's aim of course was to play off Lippert against Rhodes, and the latter tried to prevent this initially by having his forces at the border try to head off Lippert when he attempted to enter the country to ratify his agreement. In the end Cecil Rhodes simply bought off this concession for £30 000. All of this activity meant probably that Renny-Tailyour was deemed to be no friend of the Administration, which might explain why there is no record of his death amongst the deceased estate files of that period, despite the fact that he died near Mangwe on 14 June, 1894, while on a coach journey from Bulawayo. He is said in a *Herald* obituary notice of the

time to have died of apoplexy, a condition defined in an old Oxford Dictionary as 'a malady sudden in its attack which arrests the powers of sense and motion; usually caused by an effusion of blood or serum in the brain, and preceded by a giddiness, partial loss of muscular power, etc.'. In modern terminology this almost certainly means that he suffered a fatal stroke.

In fairness to Renny-Tailyour, however, it must be said that, although he acted for Lippert, who is described by Bulpin as 'the evil genius of the Transvaal', he is said to have disliked him and also to have seen him as a kind of Doctor Lippert and Mr Hyde 'wherein no chemistry is needed to make the demoniac change, only the jingle of gold in somebody else's pocket'. Bulpin goes on to say that Renny-Tailyour 'generally insulated himself from the surrounding world by a defensive glow of alcohol'.

Frank Poecke was described in his deceased estate file as a miner by profession, but a trooper in the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers at the time of his death on 17 December, 1898. According to his actual death notice he died from typhoid fever in Mangwe Fort at the age of 45 and left personal effects to the value of £7/2/0*d*.

Reginald Owen Gethin, a trooper in the BSA Police, died the following day in Mangwe Fort, also of typhoid fever. He was 22 years old, having been born in Sligo, Ireland, on 7 October, 1877. His father was a Captain Gethin and it is clear that his family went to some lengths to try to commemorate their son because his grave is marked by a substantial red sandstone cross and plinth, complemented by sandstone curbstones demarcating the area of the grave. At the time of his death his pay and effects amounted to £25.

Herbert Charles Elgar, who had been a clerk in the BSA Police, died a year later on 9 December, also in Mangwe Fort and, according to his death notice, from 'exhaustion due to typhoid fever'. He came from Kent and left pay and effects to the value of £43/10/0*d*.

Robert Sanders, whose grave in fact is unmarked, but by a process of association and elimination is likely to be one or other of the unmarked graves either side of Frank Poecke's, died of malaria at his store in Mangwe on Saturday 27 July, 1900. According to his death notice, completed by the BSA Police Sergeant in command of Mangwe Fort at the time, he was thought to be married, 'supposedly to a barmaid in Johannesburg'. Clearly Sanders was somewhat of a character because there is correspondence in his file concerning a claim that he made the previous year to the Chartered Company for the rent he said the Administration owed him for the use of some of his land in 1897 to build a Native Commissioner's HQ and a Police Fort. The response from the Administration was that there had been no binding agreement and that in any case these buildings had later been re-sited. Nevertheless, he was paid out £10, but at the time of his death his effects were valued at only £1/10/6*d*. These effects included three obsolete and broken rifles which in itself is interesting because this tends to destroy a story given about Sanders in the Marula publication. This story maintained that a certain W. R. Taylor, who was said to be buried at Mangwe, had died of gunshot wounds while examining a new shotgun belonging to Sanders. The story claimed that Taylor died in 1899 and Sanders shortly thereafter. However, it would appear from his list of effects that Sanders probably didn't own such a weapon and in any case the only W. R. Taylor listed amongst the deceased estate records at around that time had in fact died two years earlier in Pietermaritzburg. It seems likely, then, that over the years local legend had become somewhat distorted and not a little embellished, and that W. R. Taylor was in fact E. R. Renny-Tailyour.

The last person we know to be buried at Mangwe was Reginald Jennings Rix, also a trooper in the BSA Police, who died on 9 May, 1908, of blackwater fever while on patrol in the Mangwe area. Born on 18 November, 1878, in Sheerness, England, there is extensive correspondence in his deceased estate file with regard to his effects, because technically he died intestate. His father eventually received the sum of £43/15/3*d*, but only after having to produce certified copies of his own marriage certificate, as well as his son's birth certificate, to prove his identity.

Mangwe Pass Memorial

by Brian C. Brown

This is the text of an article first published in February 1955 in The Prunitian *and written by Brian Brown when he was a pupil in Form 3A at Plumtree School.*

The scene was picturesque Mangwe Pass, a road twisting between the granite kopjes of this isolated outpost of the Matopos Hills. Despite the fact that it was still early morning, all was a-bustle as the busy people completed their final preparations for the great day. Huge clouds of dust, rising from the road, heralded the approach of a seemingly endless stream of cars, converging on this historic pass which had seen the dust clouds raised by so many wagons in the past.

The Memorial itself, which was naturally the focus of interest that morning, was surrounded by a throng of curious visitors. It is a tapering structure of granite blocks some 15 feet high. On it is a plaque bearing the following words in dedication to the pre-Pioneers, the first Europeans to use the Pass:

One hundred years ago the first of
The missionaries, hunters and traders
Passed slowly and resolutely
Along this way.
— Honour their memory —
They revealed to those who followed
The bounties of a country
They themselves might not enjoy.

In front of the monument is a concrete slab in which are imprinted the hoof-marks of some oxen and the wheel-tracks of a wagon. Alongside these prints lie those of two men and a horse. One could almost imagine, standing there, the early hunters, traders and missionaries plodding along under the fiery sun. Yet another little thing to remind one of the Pioneers is a long scratch on a rock beside the memorial, said to have been formed by wagon wheels continually rubbing against it.

Some time before the service commenced the large crowd began assembling behind the roped-off seating enclosure fronting the Memorial. The privileged ones were able to seat themselves, some using their own chairs, but the majority of the crowd had to stand or sit on the ground. Round the Memorial itself all was a hive of industry as final preparations were made before the service began. The band of the Rhodesian African Rifles prepared their music, while behind them the schoolboys fidgetted impatiently. On a large rock overlooking the scene stood the buglers of the Plumtree School Cadet Corps, ready to play their part in the service. Meanwhile photographers scurried round, climbing trees and rocks in their eager attempts to find the right spot from which to take a photograph of the scene. Shortly before the arrival of the Acting Governor, the School Cadet detachment marched smartly up to a halt in the roadway, forming the Guard of Honour.

At last the car bearing the Acting Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Robert Tredgold, drew up and His Excellency inspected the Guard of Honour before taking his seat. It was now time for the service to begin.

The service was conducted by a minister of the London Missionary Society, as men of that Society were the first missionaries to penetrate into what is now Rhodesia, through this Pass.

Hymns were sung to the rousing accompaniment of the brass band, the words echoing among the silent, brooding kopjes which, if they were able, could tell such interesting tales. After impressive speeches and prayers had been heard and offered, came the great moment.

Sir Robert, himself a descendant of Robert Moffat, one of the very first men to enter the country, mounted the steps and delivered an address far more absorbing and informative than any book. He told how the first hunters and missionaries had entered the country — unknown to them and fraught with hidden dangers. These men had the courage and determination to press on and to prepare the country for those who followed later. For a long time the Pass had remained an important means of communication, until the railway finally ousted it. At the conclusion of a truly great address came the greatest and most important moment of all. As the Guard of Honour presented arms, Sir Robert pulled the cord which unveiled the plaque, slowly pronouncing the words engraved upon it. At this moment the buglers sounded the 'Last Post' and the standing congregation listened in respectful silence as the last notes died away, echoing, among the granite hills of the Pass.

After the service, which had lasted for well over an hour, the crowd adjourned for lunch, and not until early afternoon did cars begin to set out on the 'pilgrimage' to the old Fort and Cemetery, where some of the early Pioneers are buried. The road led to Mangwe Police Camp and from there continued over the veld, crossing two rivers, to the old Fort.

This fortification is situated on a rise some distance from the river. What had been a deep ditch surrounded the structure, which had been built under a large tree. The wall, made of granite rocks, still exhibits loopholes along its length, and poles, which had probably been used as rafters, radiated from a central pile of rocks to rest on the outer wall. It is not difficult to imagine the privations which the defenders must have suffered, cooped up in this small place, while sentries watched carefully from the laager.

After examining the Fort, everyone drove slowly on to the ruins of John Lee's old house. This house had been built on a piece of rising ground and had consequently formed an 'island' of safety and protection where all were hospitably received. Here many rested and prepared for trips into the interior. Visitors were not accommodated in the house, but in the huts and rondavels which clustered around it.

Lee was a great friend of Lobengula; and all his land was confiscated when he refused to take up arms against his friend. The story is told how Lobengula granted Lee all the land around which he could ride in one day. One was assured that the horse was ridden as fast as possible!

On the opposite bank of the nearby river stands the old Cemetery where lie buried John Lee's wife and other Pioneers, both men and women, who lived and died in this region. Both the Fort and the Cemetery are National Monuments and are well cared for.

Later the procession returned to the Pass to continue the celebration with a braaivleis. 18 July was indeed a memorable day in the history of Southern Rhodesia, and will not easily be forgotten by those who were present.

The Ndebele

by Kunyalala Gumpo

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe at Marula on 26 May 1995.

INTRODUCTION

Anyone with a nodding acquaintance of the African past would have heard of the name Chaka, the Zulu leader who most embodied the social and political changes which took place in the eastern portion of South Africa. One biographer had this to say of Chaka:

> Napoleon, Julius Caesar, Hannibal, Charlemagne . . . such men as these have arisen periodically throughout the history of the world to blaze a trail of glory that has raised them high above the common level. Such a man was Chaka, perhaps the greatest of them all.

The writer being impressed was European and European evidence (in my opinion) is the best evidence, in that it can scarcely be said to have been pro-Africa propaganda.

Chaka grew up at a time when the questions of unity and effective armies were posed seriously for the first time among the Nguni people. Previously the clans displayed a tendency to segment or break into smaller and smaller units. That pattern of segmentation was possible so long as population density was low and land was plentiful for farming and grazing.

By the early nineteenth century the situation in present day Zululand had changed completely. A greater population meant less and less room for junior members to 'live off' on their own. It meant less grazing land for cattle and more disputes over cattle and land. As the Zulu began to fight more frequently, so they began to feel the necessity to fight more effectively.

Chaka addressed himself to both the military and political problems of Zululand, which he must have seen as two sides of the same coin. He thought that the centralizing political nucleus should achieve military superiority and demonstrate it to the others. He innovated the fighting tactics and introduced the heavy short assegai which was used purely for stabbing rather than throwing. In addition he discarded the loose sandals so as to achieve more speed in clashing with the enemy. He also kept his impis on constant exercise and 'fatigues' so that the individual soldier was fit and proficient, while the army as a whole synchronized in accordance with the wishes of its commanders.

A GREAT INNOVATOR: NATIONAL BUILDER — SLAVERY

The efforts of the aggressive Zulu policies rippled outward in waves of violence and upheaval — the Mefacane. The people facing the Zulu onslaught usually responded in one of the following three ways:

i they allowed themselves to be absorbed into the Zulu state;
ii they resisted and were usually crushed and virtually annihilated;
iii they emigrated.

Mzilikazi who was to be the founder of the Ndebele nation chose the third option of emigrating to this part of Africa. One of the most important factors about the Ndebele state is that it emerges as a result of a crisis and the total domination of one leader — Chaka. Mzilikazi was one of the greatest fighters thrown out by the Mefacane, perhaps the greatest. The greatest in the sense that he led his people for fifty years while Chaka ruled for only ten years.

Born in 1795, the son of Matshobana, the chief of the Khumalo clan, Mzilikazi fell out with Chaka after he failed to surrender cattle he had captured after a successful expedition against the Basuto. Chaka expected that, according to the rules laid down, Mzilikazi would deliver the captured cattle to him. However, Mzilikazi changed the normal course of events.

Chaka attacked Mzilikazi to punish him for this and almost destroyed the Khumalo. Mzilikazi, beaten but determined, fled northwards in search of a place where he could set up his own state. The year was 1822. The journey took him twenty years, to cover a distance of more than 1 500 miles.

The first place of settlement was Ekuphumuleni (Place of Rest). Here Mzilikazi attacked the Sotho and Pedi to strengthen his forces and herds. In 1825, war broke out between the Khumalo and Nxaba, another run-away Nguni leader. Nxaba was defeated and fled northwards to Malawi. Drought, and continual danger of Zulu attacks made the group move westward to Mhlohlandlela. Here Mzilikazi's group dominated the highveld between the Limpopo and Vaal rivers. It was during those years that the Sotho called these people the *Matabele*, a name given to all Nguni strangers from the coast. Eventually Mzilikazi's people came to refer to themselves as Ama Ndebele.

The Ndebele settlement in the Transvaal was not without problems. They fought with the Griqua in 1928 and the Zulus continued to attack them even at that considerable distance. Dingaan had, in 1832, sent an army to destroy the Ndebele. It was also during this time that Mzilikazi had white visitors. Notable among them was Robert Moffat who became his close friend.

With these continuous attacks on his people Mzilikazi decided to move on, settling at Mosega and Egabheni. Here the security situation worsened. The Ndebele were attacked by Voortrekkers led by Gerit Potgieter. Continued Boer threats and the loss of men, women and children convinced the Ndebele to move northward again. Many of the Sotho people went with them.

This long period of travelling and fighting would have developed the Ndebele's sense of group loyalty and increased their desire to find a permanent home. Mzilikazi and his followers crossed the Limpopo in 1838 in search of that permanent home.

After the decisive settlement of the Ntabanyizinduna crisis, Mzilikazi directed his attention to the organization of his people and the conquest of the Shona. The settlement pattern of the new homeland was agglomerated, and concentrated chiefly on the headwaters of the Nguza, Bembesi, Mzingwane and Gwaai rivers. The limited extent of the Ndebele kingdom perhaps reflected its highly centralized nature. European observers often noted that every event, however minute, was reported to the king, who kept abreast of conditions of his people by paying regular visits to all important towns and villages. In addition he had his most efficient channel of news, the hierarchical structure of appointed officials, as well as numerous wives, who were distributed amongst the chief towns.

Mzilikazi was able to achieve this striking degree of centralization by so identifying his military organization with the whole civil administrative machinery that the two were almost indistinguishable. This manifested itself in the fact that the army and the civilian population could not be distinguished from one another.

The country had roughly four provinces coinciding with the four army divisions; the Amhlophe in the centre, the Amakhanda in the east, the Amnyama in the south and Igabha in the west. Each province further consisted of several *amabutho* (regiments). At the head of each province or division was an *induna enkulu*, while each *ibatho* was administered by an *induna*. Most of these officials were originally appointed by Mzilikazi himself for their military distinction. The political life of these people revolved around the person of the king.

The central government consisted of the king himself, assisted by the two advisory councils,

the *Mshakathi*, a smaller body of the *irindeana ezihkulu*, consisting of some members of the royal family and the elders chosen for their great knowledge of traditional customs and the *Izikulu*, a larger assembly of all *izinduna zamabutha*.

This tightly organized, militaristic state confronted the less organized Shona who were easily overrun mainly because their resistance had been weakened by the predecessors of the Ndebele, e.g.

1 Totshangana, who established his state in the south east of the Shona
2 Zwangandaba who crossed the Zambezi after defeating the Rozvi
3 Ngamazana the Swazi Queen
4 Mzilikazi who gave the final blow to the Rozvi.

Ndebele in fighting kit. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

GAMES AMONG NDEBELE: CHASING SHONAS, NATURE OF THE RAIDS

Much more interesting than the conquests and extent of Ndebele power were the relationships that arose between the two peoples. The Ndebele chiefly preferred to leave Shona institutions intact. But there were occasions when they intervened in the internal affairs of their Shona subjects, either at the invitation of the tributary peoples themselves or to protect their own vital interests.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the Shona–Ndebele relations which encouraged cultural fusion, however, was the practice of incorporating Shona youths into the Ndebele system. Shona youths were t. ken to Mhlohlandlela where they with the Kalanga youths from Bulilina were formed into the Mabuthwayi and Impfoande regiments. In addition to these mass immigrants, Shona youths came into the kingdom as captives, recruits from tributary chiefdoms and volunteers to be trained as soldiers and in the end outnumbered the pure Ndebeles. Some Shona even translated their totems into Ndebele, e.g. Gumbo was rendered Msipha, Shiri as Nyoni, Dzibu as Siziba and so on.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Ndebele Economy

Mzilikazi died in 1868. At the time of his death there was no single nationally recognized successor. The country was administered by a triumvirate consisting of Mncumbatha Khumalo, Budaza and Gwabalanda Nathe. The tension was so strong that when Lobengula was called to take up the throne he hesitated, until searches conducted in South Africa failed to find Nkulumane,

The Matabele on the warpath. From a sketch by Major R. Baden Powell.
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

the rightful heir. Mbiko Madlenya, leader of the Zwangandaba regiment, opposed Lobengula's succession. The result was a civil war in which Mbiko's Zwangandaba was defeated and fled back to the Transvaal.

Lobengula's reign was to be dominated by his dealings with the concession seekers. His father dealt with white people, too, but in a different context. Mzilikazi had signed treaties with Europeans, for example:

- The 1836 Anglo–Ndebele Treaty (between Mzilikazi and D'urban — Governor of the Cape)
- The 1853 Boer–Ndebele Treaty (between Mzilikazi and Johannes Potgieter)

Mzilikazi was here referred to as the 'Kaffir' king.

Moffat with Mzilikazi — Sir Andrew Smith, leader of the 1835 scientific expedition to the interior, being introduced by Rev. R. Moffat. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

i Lobengula began by signing the Grobler Treaty of 1887 — a treaty which guaranteed peace between Transvaal and Matabeleland and the third clause of the treaty was; 'the above named Lobengula commits himself to provide assistance whenever he is summoned by the Government or an officer either with soldiers or otherwise and his people shall then have to stand under the commanding officer or lesser officer under him, without he or one of his men showing the least disobedience'

ii He signed:
(a) the Moffat Treaty in February 1888 — aimed at forestalling Boer northward expansion.
(b) the Rudd Concession October 1888 — the most dangerous.

The above treaties were fraudulent. It is inconceivable that Mzilikazi, an astute and able military commander and politician, could deny his army guns as implied in the 1853 treaty with Boers when he knew they were a source of superior military might, nor would Lobengula have agreed to put his army under the command of Boer officials.

iii Among the Ndebele there were old survivors of Mzilikazi's rule who were opposed to changes of the Ndebele way of life. They felt that the gold in the country was for the Africans to sell and not for Europeans.

iv Traditional diviners were opposed to peace with whites since their very existence depended on the traditional way of life.

Lobengula *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

v Young men who had never been to Johannesburg and Kimberley had no idea of European power. They despised whites and saw the King's peaceful politics as based on cowardice.

Lobengula therefore found himself caught between a powerful anti-white lobby and aggressive white settler community. He thus found himself faced with the agonizing and tricky task of postponing his downfall. Problems with the Shona finally brought about the Anglo–Ndebele war of 1893.

RESULT: DEFEAT AND DEATH

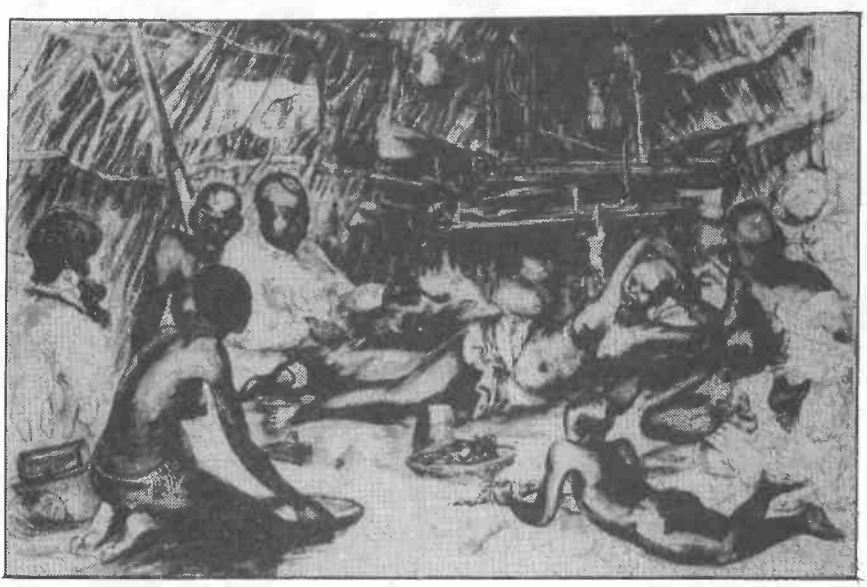
His death marked the completion of the extension European rule. It also gave a chance to the whites to loot his people's cattle and dispossess his nation of their fertile grazing lands. The Ndebele defeat was formalized by the creation of the Matabeleland Order-in-Council of 1894, with Dr Leander Starr Jameson as the Administrator. The same year a land commission was set up to allocate land for the resettlement of the Ndebele. The Gwaai and Shangani reserves were created and the Ndebele were settled there. Some Ndebele died since those were the tsetse-fly and malaria zones.

Injustice followed

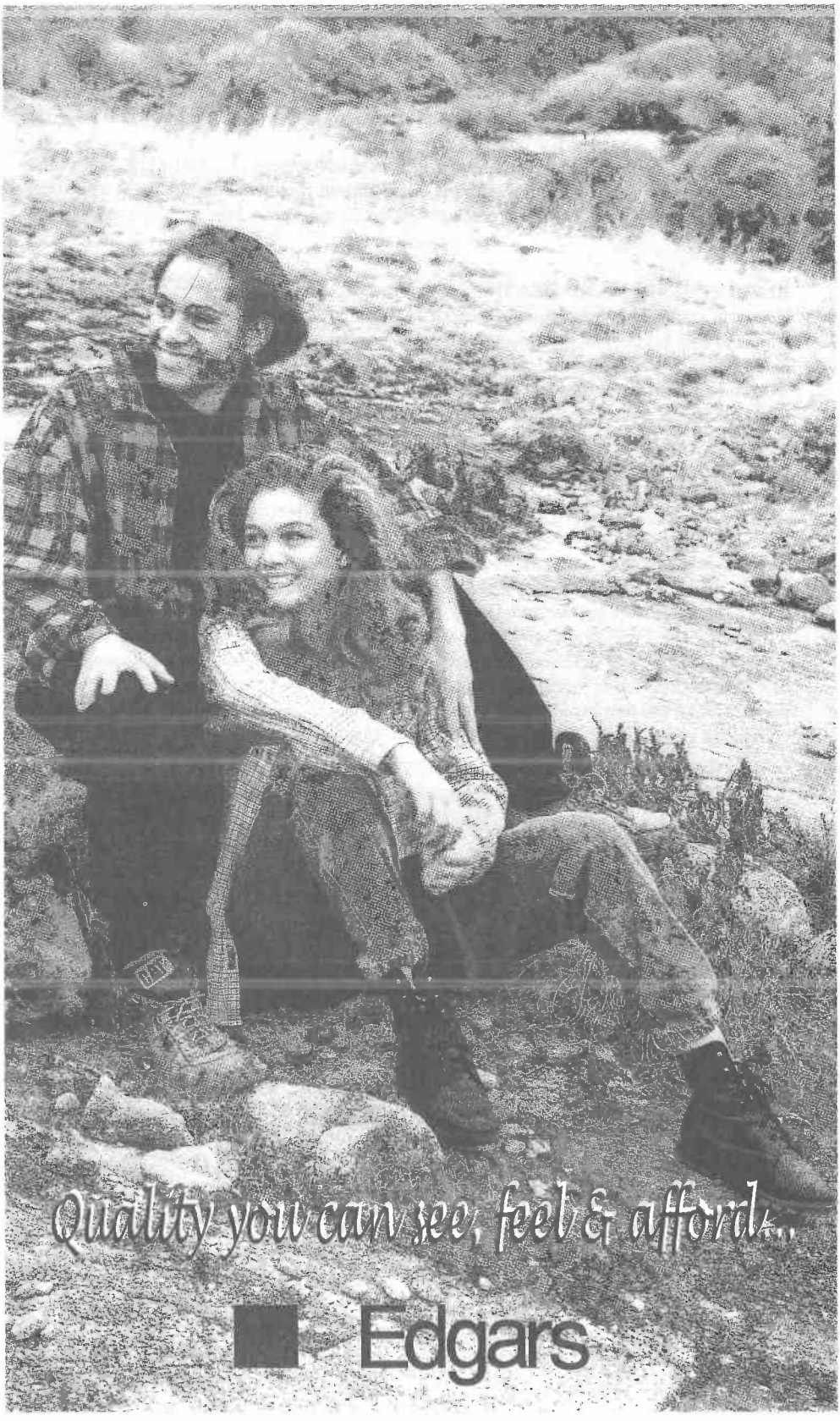
- taxation (hut tax) in anything commercial, e.g. livestock, money
- low wages, semi-enslavement
- sjamboking
- loss of independence — this affected the traditional ruling class

The Ndebele were only defeated but not crushed in 1894. All this led to the Anglo–Ndebele war of 1896. Our politicians refer to this war as the first Umvukela/Chimurenga.

The Ndebele were defeated again but this time around Rhodes did the unthinkable — he met the Ndebele 'rebels' and sought a compromise. They met at the Matopo Hills and over a period of time and four *indabas* they hammered out suitable decisions to overcome the justified complaints of the Ndebele, and peace returned to Matabeleland.



Lobengula and family. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*


Quality you can see, feel & afford...
Edgars

The Lee Family of Mangwe

by T. F. M. Tanser

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe at Mangwe on 27 May 1995.

John Lee first came to Mangwe in 1862 to hunt elephants. After hunting for four successive seasons he decided to settle in the area in 1866.

Who was John Lee and how and why did he settle here?

John's father, Charles Twiggins Lee, was a Captain in the Royal navy and was married to a niece of Paul Kruger. The union was blessed with two sons, John and Frank. John, whose full names were Johannes Lodewickus, was born at Somerset East in the Cape on 10 July 1827.

Prior to his first hunting expedition to Matabeleland, John served in the frontier wars of 1846 and 1851 and in the Basuto war of 1858. Mrs Boggie in her book *First Steps in Civilizing Rhodesia* (p. 157) speaks of many instances of exceptional bravery exhibited by John Lee in his military escapades.

There is speculation as to how or why Lee came to settle here — this being only the second settlement in the country; the first being Inyati, the mission station started by Robert Moffat in 1859. One belief was that he was a deserter from the British regiment, but his imperfect knowledge of the English language argues against that. It does appear likely, however, that he left the Cape Colony to escape the consequences of a breach of some laws there.

When we consider that the country was colonized only in 1890, how was it that Lee was able to settle and build here without hindrance?

Lee, whose home language was Afrikaans, spoke Xhosa, Zulu and Sindebele fluently. He had had to obtain permission from Mzilikazi to hunt in Matabeleland when he first entered there in 1862. The King had clearly taken a liking to the rotund, red faced roustabout and granted him the right to settle and utilize the land around here. In legal parlance the right granted was one of usufruct as opposed to ownership.

How this area of land was demarcated is of interest. From a set point Lee was told that riding for one and a quarter hours in the direction of each point of the compass would denote the four corners of his farm.

Apparently Lee brought in a magnificent charger from the South African Republic and under the watchful eye of one of Mzilikazi's indunas, set out to make his boundaries. Naturally the induna could not keep up with the charger, and although he tried to contain Lee to a walk, Lee encompassed an area of some 200 square miles. Lee's enterprise was summed up by one of his descendants as 'out of sight, out of walk!'

Now, as we know from the later history, whilst concessions for prospecting could be obtained sometimes, concessions for land were most unusual. Why was it then that Mzilikazi was so generously disposed towards Lee?

It is clear that first Mzilikazi and then Lobengula had implicit trust and faith in John Lee whom they appointed as their agent to protect their country and to vet all those traders, prospectors and hunters who sought concessions from the Matabele King. Lee's authority was akin to an immigration official today.

How effective Lee was in this role can best be gauged by examination of the diaries of Thomas Baines, whose diaries comprise Volumes 3, 4 and 5 of the Oppenheimer series and are called *The Northern Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines 1869–1872* which form the basis of Baines' book *The Gold Regions of South East Africa* published in 1877.

As much of what is known of Lee and Mangwe in the 1860s and 1970s is taken from Baines' writings, it is beneficial to give a brief thumbnail sketch of Thomas Baines.

Born at Kings Lynn in England, he first made a name for himself as an artist with the British forces in the Eastern Cape during the Frontier Wars. He was a member of Livingstone's Zambezi expedition and in 1862 visited the Victoria falls. Having come into prominence, especially for his famed paintings of the Victoria Falls, and as an explorer and naturalist, he was engaged by the Northern Goldfields Company to investigate the Tati and Matabele goldfields. It was on this quest that he writes so much about Lee, whom presumably he had met during the Frontier Wars in the Cape.

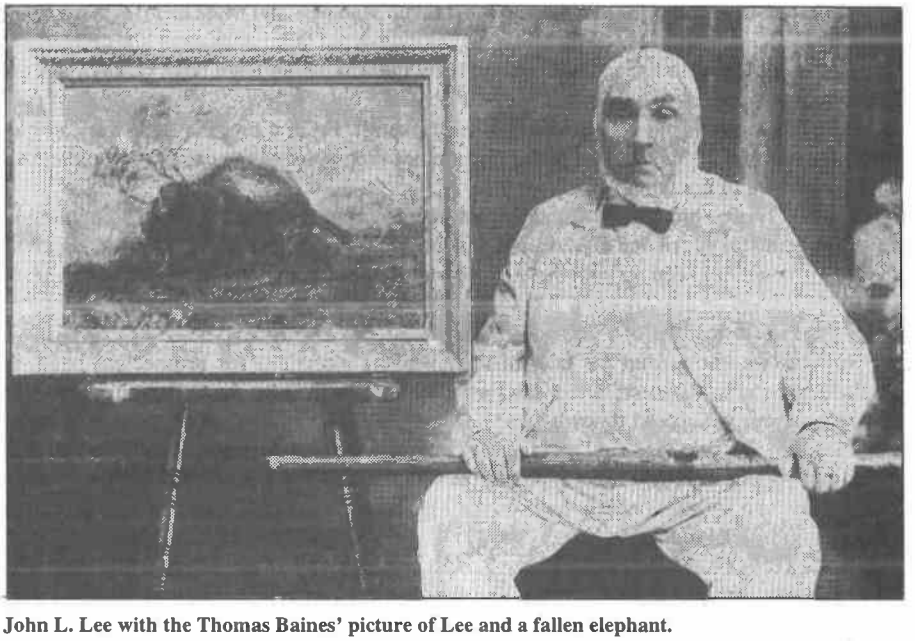
Through Baines' writings we are able to build a picture of John Lee which shows him to be a man of many capacities and talents.

Baines speaks unequivocally of him as the 'agent' of the Matabele and that his 'assistance and friendship' was desirable to procure before coming to the Matabele Country.

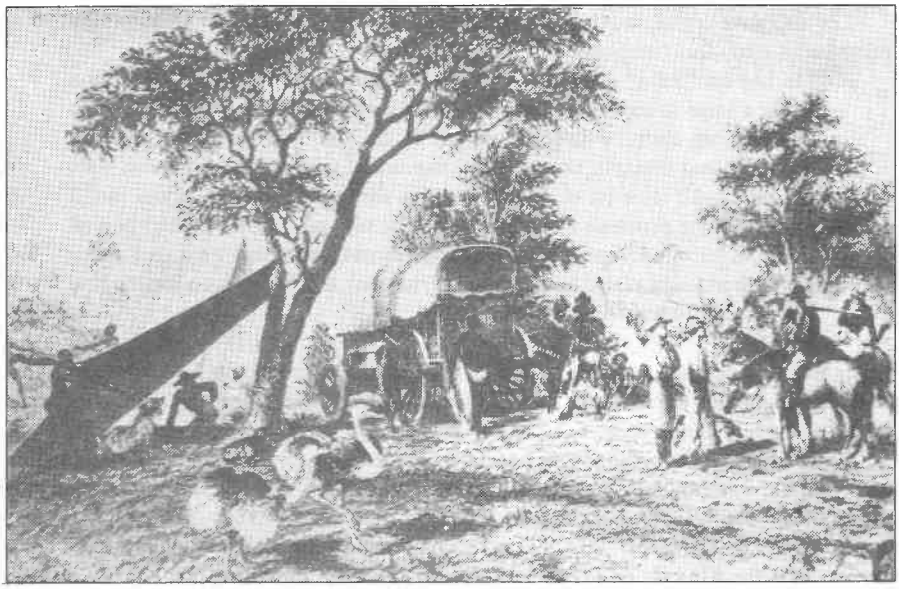
Baines' first approach to the Mangwe area is described as follows:

> We crossed the rivulet near Mr. Lee's, which seemed much better supplied with water than the Mangwe, of which it is a tributary, and overtook the wagons in a pass winding between hills of granite crowned by weather-worn blocks looking like Titanic masonry and thickly clad upon the sides with thorn and timberwood with bright red aloes and chandelier-like euphorbias. Some of the scenes presented at various turnings of the road were indeed most beautiful, and I would fain have sketched them, but the rate at which we are travelling forbids any attempt of that kind.

He also writes of the other wagons already here, and one gets an impression of the cheery meeting place of semi nomadics and the simple pleasure that their congregating brought:



John L. Lee with the Thomas Baines' picture of Lee and a fallen elephant.
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



'Sawpit Spruit' by Baines. Sawing up the first log. Lee's farm, Mangwe River, the Castle in the distance, 8 February, 1870.

> We found the wagons of McMaster and Wood already out-spanned in a lovely valley between bold and picturesque hills, and as our own came up and our several camp-fires were formed, busy life and interest were added to the picture.

We also have the first taste of Mr. Lee's influence when Baines is addressed as 'Waitu', a term of familiarity roughly equivalent to 'Matey', by one of the Matabele.

Lee sets out to impress upon the Matabele the high status of Baines and the importance of his mission. The effect of Mr. Lee's arrival on the scene is depicted thus:

> About 9 a.m. Mr. Lee arrived and, calling Manyami aside, impressed upon the importance of the business on which I had come, until the old man stared at me with eyes as wide open as his habit of keeping [them] nearly closed would allow, while his companion, and apparently next-in-office, held his hands before his lips and said "OW!" in evident amazement. A couple of runners were called at once, and they were told repeatedly, Indaba inkulu, the news is great. The whole parliament must assemble to hear it and there must not be a man absent to say, 'When this message was delivered I was not there to hear it'.

Baines also praises Lee as 'a man of cool, clear judgement and determination. He takes a personal interest in our course and we all think it is best to listen to his advice. He is well known as a daring elephant hunter, and I am painting a picture of one of his adventures, which I think of presenting to him, as I am sure his assistance will be quite deserving of such an acknowledgement'.

Lee instructed Baines as to the value of gifts to bestow upon members of the Matabele so that they would not appear improperly large or too mean.

Lee also gave copious advice on the matter of how to negotiate and what to offer for the purchase of land. This is expressed by Baines as follows:

> Mr. Lee thinks they would ask as much for a bit of land the size of the wagon as for a large district, as it is much better to buy as much as we can, for no purchase can again be made so cheaply as the first. When we have begun to make the land valuable, the price will rise, and if we have more than we want we can re-sell it or let it, but there is no need to be in haste about this. I mentioned the privilege of hunting. Mr. Lee says of course we shall buy all rights with the land, and it will be an after-consideration that we do not set up any authority against the king; in fact we must ask him to protect us on the land and would pay him tribute for this.

In fact, so impressed is Baines by Lee's divers skills that he appoints Lee as agent for South African Gold Fields Exploration Company Limited, which Lee accepts by written agreement on 1 February 1870 at a salary of £200,00 per annum.

The point about Lee accepting the position as Baines' company's agent raised the possibility of conflict of interest, but subsequent investigations confirm that Lee did not jeopardize his position with the Matabele and continued to remain extremely vigilant on their behalf.

In 1870, Lee was called to Gubulawayo (then called Gibbeklaik) to witness Lobengula's accession as the King of the Matabele following the death of Mzilikazi in 1868. Lobengula confirmed the appointment of Lee as his agent by formal appointment on 11 April 1870 and also had written a formal proclamation confirming this. The two relevant proclamations are reproduced on opposite.

All the while that Baines was at Mangwe, he continued his painting and often used these paintings to barter with the travellers for required goods. These pictures were sometimes shown to Lobengula, who was greatly interested in them. Of particular interest is the well known picture depicting Lee's expedition leaving Pietermaritzburg in 1869. The picture was finished only at 'Mangwe River' in 1870 and is endorsed to that effect.

Baines writes that Lobengula 'admired my view of the expedition on Market Square, Maritzburg, very much on account of the number of figures and especially of the herd of young qwaggas and wildebeests'.

Mrs Lily Campbell, John Lee's granddaughter, also related that she was told that Baines eventually ran out of paper on which to paint and so painted murals around the walls of Mr. Lee's house.

Lee built three houses during his twenty years of residence in the Mangwe area.

His first house of pole and dagga and built in 1866 was south of the Mangwe River and is now immersed under the Mangwe dam. The second, also of pole and dagga, was built in 1870 not far from the site of his third house, the ruins of which are still evident. This later house is described by Baines thus: 'His home is 50 feet long, 16 wide inside measure; contains a reception room and dining room and two bedrooms at each end, and a verandah before and behind; roofed over and plastered with lime, thus diminishing the danger from fire. The walls are stout Mopani poles packed side by side and plastered; roof thatch'.

Frank Oates wrote of his impressions of Mr. Lee and his home in 1873:

'Lee came to meet me and asked me in. He is a red-faced man; his wife is very young (the second Mrs Lee).

His house has an air of comfort and some luxury about it, owing to some handsome leopard karosses on couch and chairs.'

This is the home also with the stone animal pen outside the back door where young Hans shot his lion at the age of 12 as detailed hereafter.

Lobengula to John L. Lee

On 'The Royal Service'

To my Trusted friend, John Lee, of Mangwe River, Matabililand.

I, No Bengulu, Hereditary and elected King of the Matabili nation, knowing the esteem and friendship with which you were regarded by my late father, Umselegasi, do hereby confirm you in the offices and privileges you held during his life time, and do also appoint you to serve under myself in the manner herein to be explained and specified.

I hereby appoint you to be my lawful officer and agent on the southern boundary of my kingdom, to receive all applications from travellers, hunters, traders or other persons desirous of entering my country, and to grant or withhold permission according to my instructions now given or hereafter to be given to you from time to time; and also to give written authority to my messengers to surrounding nations and tribes, requesting them to give safe conduct to all my subjects thus authorised; and to sign with my name all passes or documents you consider necessary for them.

Also to receive and forward to me all messages, letters or documents intended for me either from persons who apply to you or arriving from neighbouring or distant countries. And I also appoint you to act generally as my agent according to your discretion and best ability for the benefit of myself and of the Matabili nation pending the receipt of definite instructions from me.

And in confirmation hereof I affix to this document my name and sign manual.

Given at my town of Gibbeklaik this eleventh day of April, A.D. 1870 under my name and my sign manual.

No Bengulu
his mark
King of the Matabili Nation.

Lobengula's Proclamation to Hunters and Traders

ON THE ROYAL SERVICE, MATABILILAND NOTICE

All travellers, hunters or traders wishing to enter Matabililand are required to come by the main road leading from Ba Mangwato to Manyami's outpost where they are to report themselves as usual and receive permission to come onward to the King's residence and obtain their respective licences.

The hunter's fee for the districts South and West of the Shahshani river will be one gun of the value of £15 British Sterling, one bag of powder and one box of caps. No occupation of the country is allowed nor are any houses to be built except by the King's special permission.

This notice does not in any way affect the Tati gold diggings.

In special cases reference can be made to Mr. John Lee of Mangwe River who has full power to act as the officer and agent of the King for the Southern and Western districts of this country.

All persons bound for the Northern interior are to report themselves at Manyami's and obtain permission to come to the King's residence and obtain their licences as usual.

Given at my town of
Gibbeklaik
11th April 1870.
Lo Bengulu[1]
his mark
King of the Matabili.

[1]It is noteworthy that in documents written on the same day Baines uses different spellings of the king's name.

The house was constructed on the dome of the kopje to avoid the ravages of the white ant. However this meant that the floor was convex in shape and tradition has it that if one put one's false teeth on the floor when one went to bed, during the night they would gently slide away. The windows were glazed — which glass was still in place when Mr. Boggie visited the remains of the house in 1939.

Lee must have been a most hospitable man, and whilst a firm businessman, also a most generous one.

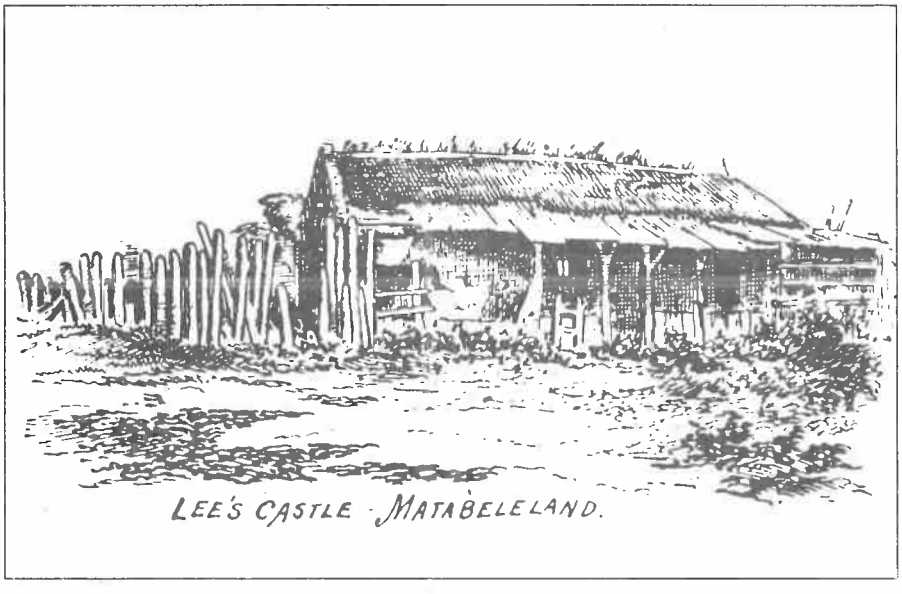
Between the years that Lee was in the Mangwe area, 1866–1885, almost all traders, missionaries, hunters and prospectors lingered there whilst authority was obtained for their admittance to Matabeleland. Men such as Selous, Moffat, Thomas Morgan Thomas, Henry Hartley, Thomas Baines and many other famous personalities met together here.

Sundays were days of prayer, Bible reading and singing generally led by Lee, and no business was allowed on that day.

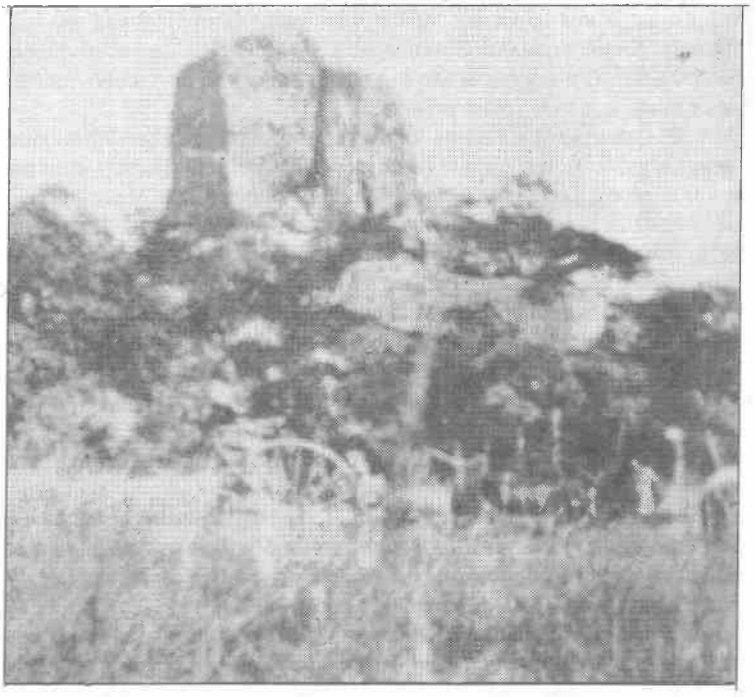
Reference is made to Lee playing the accordion which he must have done with panache and dexterity as he put 'an Irishman, a sailor and a darkie' through their respective dances.

Lee and some of his visitors developed vegetable gardens and Lee experimented in growing citrus fruit, quince, almonds and other fruit.

In 1871, Baines writes: 'Shortly after this I saw rocks called Lee's Tower and Lee's Castle and his white fronted house which forms a conspicuous object below them'. Lee's house was often wrongly referred to as 'Lee's Castle' as reflected by the photograph hereunder from *Zambezia, England's El Dorado* by E. P. Mathers. The appellations of Lee's Tower and Lee's Castle referred to the craggy rock features of the Southern Matopos some miles behind Lee's house.



A mis-captioned picture from *Zambesia, England's Eldorado in Africa*. "Lee's Castle" was the name given to the rock formation behind Lee's house. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*



Lee's castle rock. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

Fr. Berghegge, a Jesuit priest whose wagon had overturned in the Kwezi river, sent messengers to Mr. Lee to explain his difficulties. Lee immediately lent them a fully yoked wagon. When the good Father arrived, he described Lee's property as 'a magnificent property in the midst of wonderful landscape, framed by hills, rocks, forests and valleys'.

Lee was, above all, a cattle man. He developed his herd of cattle and traded them with the many passers-by. His cattle were sought after particularly as trek oxen.

One may sense, in the vicinity of Lee's house, the movement and lowing of cattle, the creak of wagons, the hustle of hunters and traders, the lingering smell of coffee and pipe smoke, and the underlying eagerness and excitement, that this was the gateway to the land of the great, powerful and much feared King of the Matabele.

From the fact that Lee spent four seasons hunting elephant before settling at Mangwe and as great hunters such as Selous, Jan Viljoen, Henry Hartley and Cornelius Van Rooyen used to enjoy Lee's hospitality, it is clear that he had considerable experience as a hunter.

In an article in the *Sunday Mail* of March 2nd 1978 Wendy Hedderick states that Lee held the world record of 13 elephants killed on a single day.

However, Lee's hunting prowess was not held in awe by everyone as is evident from the following recollection from William Finaughty:

> 'Lee told hunting yarns that featured his own bravery and skill, and at the same time his son was busily whispering to their guest that his father was a colossal liar who had never seen a wild elephant and who would be frightened to death if one turned up. This kept everyone except John Lee in spasms of mirth.'

Lee was also appointed 'Governor' of the Tati Goldfields in 1869 and was offered the position of Consul for the Transvaal Government at the Matabele Court which he declined.

Unfortunately, Mr. Lee's personal life and relationships with his family seemed often to take second or third place to his other pursuits.

His first wife, Catharine Maria Aletta Van Wyk, whom he married on 9th August 1846 at Mangwe, after having borne him eight children died, all alone, giving birth to their ninth child whilst Lee was attending Lobengula's coronation. She is buried in the Mangwe cemetery.

Lee had three children by another liaison and obtained the services of Jacoba Van Rooyen to look after his offspring. She was the sister of the famous hunter Cornelius Van Rooyen and she eventually married Lee. She must have been a wonderful lady for she showed no favouritism for any of the children, but did her best, with only the Bible from which to teach, to educate them and even to teach them to play musical instruments.

In 1884, suddenly John Lee departed and lived in Lady Grey for the next five years. He was now quite wealthy and donated funds to build a church. He left the farm to be looked after by Frikkie Greef.

He then returned in 1889, by which time his second wife had run away with a hunter, been badly treated by him and returned to Mangwe.

Lee was approached to help guide the Pioneer Column but declined as he admired and liked the Matabele. Lobengula asked him if he would fight the Matabele or not and said Lee could leave as he could not control his men once the soldiers arrived. 'No', said John Lee, 'you have protected me all these years and I will not fight against you'.

He remained at Mangwe until 1891, but upon his refusal to take up arms against the Matabele, he left for the last time for South Africa, where sadly he became impoverished and finished up his days at Zeerust in the Cape, living off charity. John Lee's rights to his land were cancelled by the BSA Company and he eventually died in poverty in 1915 in Potchefstroom.

But, 'The child is father of the man' as Wordsworth says, so we now move along a generation to Hans Lee, the eighth child from John Lee's first marriage.

Hans, after the difficult upbringing of which we have spoken, first came into prominence at the tender age of 12 in 1880. With his father away, young Hans brought in the sheep to the small enclosure at the back of the house and closed the entrance. Shortly thereafter there was a mighty eruption and a black-maned lion with mutton on his mind sought entrance. Hans ran out of the back door into the enclosure and, at point blank range, killed the lion.

So thrilled was his father by this feat, that he took young Hans to Lobengula as a treat. Lobengula was very impressed, and he authorized Hans to hunt throughout Matabeleland without requiring further permission.

Hans first Married Martha Greef, Frikkie's daughter, by whom he had three children. After her death, he married Letitia Prescott (whose mother had been a legendary nurse and provider in the area) by whom he had five children, the baby of whom is Mrs Lily Campbell — now a sprightly 82 who is with us here and who has provided much information for this talk.

In 1891, Rhodes had appointed Hans Lee as the guide and hunter for Lord Randolph Churchill on his tour of the country, recorded in Churchill's book *Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa*.

Churchill, who was rude about most people, has only good to speak of Hans. He speaks of his incredible ability in scouting and tracking game, his keen eyesight, his knowledge of guns and ammunition, his horsemanship, his indefatigability and his knowledge of Shona.

He also wrote — 'Lee, I find an excellent companion in the veldt, for, besides his great

shooting skill and experience, he possesses a large amount of bush lore in respect of animals, of trees, and of plants, which he imparts freely and agreeably.'

Lord Randolph describes Lee as 'A short but well-made man, with regular features, and black beard and moustache, a soft droning kind of voice which lends to his conversation and his narratives a particular charm.'

Mrs Campbell tells of a story which Hans told of his trek with Churchill.

Churchill was a firm believer that all game meat should be hung for several days before cooking in order to ripen. On one occasion, after several guinea fowl had been shot, their carcasses were hung from beneath the wagon and the trek continued. Several days later, whilst inspanning at the end of the day's journey, it was discovered that only the heads of the guinea fowl remained, the bodies having dropped off during the day.

Determined not to be done out of his long anticipated tasty meal, Lord Randolph sent back some of his retainers to collect and bring in the delicacies. This was done, by which time the birds were ripe indeed, so ripe that their pungent smell filled the nostrils of all even whilst they were being cooked — and Lord Randolph dined alone!

Hans was given two farms, Sterkfontein and Kollboy, both in the Mangwe district, for having guided Lord Randolph. He sold Kollboy for a horse which died two weeks later.

Hans' wife, Letitia, had a wonderful sense of humour. Hans was devoted to her but was always very jealous. Once she was laughing at someone else's jokes of which Hans disapproved. She told him not to be silly, but Hans, who was sitting on a wagon, turned away with a 'hurumph' and fell off — much to Mrs Lee's mirth.

Hans did not suffer fools gladly. If an evening was tending to dullness and Hans was being visited by persons whom he considered somewhat pompous, he would offer round a special 'tobacco' to chew and discuss the merits of. After several minutes of mastication and discussion, Hans would announce that the 'tobacco' was in fact elephant dung.

Mangwe Fort in 1896. L–R: Hans Lee; Grey; Van Rooyen; Native Commissioner Bonar Armstrong; pre-occupation hunters at Fort Mangwe. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

He was one of the strong, quiet, direct types. Once he thought people had stayed long enough at his house after dinner, he would say so, and open the door for them to leave.

Hans, like his father before him, refused to take up arms against the Matabele as he thought that Lobengula had been very fair and good to his father and family. He did, however, act as a scout in the 1896 rebellion.

He had an amazing capability for languages and spoke Kalanga, Ndebele, Shona, Afrikaans and English. After three months in Northern Rhodesia he could converse fluently with the people there.

Hans and his wife were intensely devoted to each other. Just a few days before he died he said to his daughter Lily: 'Look at your mother, Lily, isn't she beautiful?' Every morning, he would pick a little posy of wild flowers for his wife, just as he did the morning of the day he died of a heart attack in 1939.

John Lee was the first settler who was not a missionary. The hospitality emanating from his home was warm and generous and many of the great men of Southern Africa were indebted to him for that. His honesty and integrity in dealing with the Matabele stand proud, and his influence with them was useful to all the hunters, traders and missionaries who sought to enter Matabeleland. Situated at the first gateway to Matabeleland, Lee's house and its master played a significant role in preparing the way for those who followed.

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National Chairman's Report

Thursday, 30 March 1995

Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to present my report for the year 1994 to 1995. As I prepare to stand down after my two years in office, it has been most rewarding to look back over the *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage* Magazines produced since 1956 in order to establish the service which so many members of our committee have put in over many years.

I am sure that as I relate these lengths of service to you, you will identify with my belief that we have been particularly well served by the members of whom I will now speak.

Will you believe that Mike Kimberley is now serving his 35th year on the National Committee, having also served for many years on the Mashonaland Branch Committee? Mike was secretary of the Society for the first eleven years of his membership and he has held office as National Chairman, National Deputy Chairman, Secretary, Mashonaland Branch Chairman and now as editor of our journal.

Robert Turner first joined the National Committee in 1962 and this has been his 34th year on that committee. Like Mike, he too has filled all of the offices in the Society and in the branch and it was he who headed the membership subcommittee in the 1970s which dramatically increased our numbers.

Mike Kimberley and Robert Turner were both recipients of a gold medal of the Society for their outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society. That is an amazing record and we are grateful to you, Mike and Robert, for all that you have done for the Society. For your interest, other than to Mike and Robert, gold medals were also awarded to Mr H. A. Cripwell, Col. A. Hickman, Lord Malvern, Mr G. H. Tanser, Dr O. Ransford and Mr H. Simons.

Other current members who have served the Society well are Richard Franks who is now serving his 24th year, Bert Rosettenstein, Richard Wood and myself who are all in our 20th year, and Peter Brooks Ball, the current Chairman of the Mashonaland Branch Committee, who has served 18 years.

It has been a particularly great privilege to serve as chairman with so many members who have given so much to this Society.

As we all know, however, it is essential to have a blend of youthful vigour and experience in any worthwhile organization or team. I am grateful, therefore, to the remaining members of the committee who have all given of their time unstintingly and who have brought many fresh ideas and an urgency of debate to our meetings.

As we have been looking at some statistics, it may also interest you to have an idea of the current membership of the Society and how that relates to previous years. In 1972 membership reached its zenith at 1327. At Independence at 1980, the number of members was 1057 which had been reduced by 1983 to 480. Since that time, I am very happy to say, the membership has steadily increased to 837 members in 1994. Clearly, our aim must not be merely to boast of the number of members we have, but to provide knowledge, information, interest and quality outings for our existing members in order that new ones may be attracted to join us. In that connection I would like to pay tribute to the continuing success and enthusiasm of the Mashonaland Branch as it arranges varied and enlightening outings for us.

In addition to the outings, the area by which we can attract new members is through our annual magazine, *The Heritage of Zimbabwe*. In this connection I believe that we have been able to fulfil a role which may perhaps only be fully recognised many years hence.

The quality and extent of information which otherwise would have been lost forever since our first publication in 1956 is of inestimable value. In this regard I must again pay tribute to Mike Kimberley the present editor but also to all various editors who for so many hours put in such dedicated service to making all the previous journals so superb.

In respect of the *Heritage* Magazine, I should also like to express the gratitude of the Society to Peter Garlake who has spent many hours in preparing a very comprehensive index for the first twelve volumes of the *Heritage*. A copy of the index was sent to all members together with the last volume of *Heritage* and one only has to look through it to realise what an incredible wealth of information is contained in *Heritage*.

This also brings to mind the great debt that the Society owes to its benefactors and sponsors. It is through them that we have managed to maintain the quality of the publication, not only in terms of content, but also in terms of quality of paper used, printing and the general appearance of the magazine.

Your committee has invested in a new addressograph system. This should ensure that magazines and brochures are correctly dispatched and it will enable Rose Kimberley to maintain and update membership lists with greater facility than before. Caroline MacNaughtan spent painstaking hours transferring the names and addresses of all members onto a disk to reduce substantially the cost we had to pay for this new scheme.

I should also like to express my thanks to John McCarthy who has been drafted onto the Historic Building Advisory Committee which falls under the aegis of the National Museums and Monuments. This committee, which had been dormant for several years, has now become very active under the energetic leadership of Peter Jackson, whose great interest and knowledge in historic buildings in Harare and throughout Zimbabwe is well known. In particular this committee seeks to identify and protect historic buildings. So if members become aware of any old buildings coming under threat as a result of development or some other course, please would they communicate that knowledge to either John McCarthy or the National Chairman.

Our gratitude is also due to the Anglo American Corporation which has now opened its new and very tasteful archives at Emerald Hill. Anglo has very kindly agreed to store all the stocks we have of *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage of Zimbabwe*. This has very satisfactorily resolved a situation with which we had to deal on an ad hoc basic for many years.

I started off my report by looking at the current membership of the Society and noting its satisfactory increase over the last decade. However, generally speaking, our membership is an aging one. Ideas from current members as to not only maintaining but increasing membership would be most gratefully received. This is a matter to which the new committee will have to give considerable thought.

In conclusion I should like to thank all the members of the committee for their support, interest and assistance over the past year. In particular I should like to thank my Deputy Chairman, Richard Wood, who valiantly also served as National Honorary Secretary over the last two years, and Ian Galletly who has tended our financial affairs in a most meticulous, constructive and beneficial manner.

In terms of our constitution I now stand down as National Chairman and wish our incoming Chairman and Committee continued success as the Society proceeds into its fifth decade.

T. F. M. Tanser

Notes on Recently Published Books

The Old Transport Road by Stanley Portal Hyatt

The Bulawayo Collection. Volume One. Afrikana Book Society, Bulawayo 1994.

This is the second reprint of this book undertaken by Books of Zimbabwe Publishing Company (Pvt) Ltd, the first being volume 3 of the Gold Series of the Rhodesian Reprint series.

I consider it fortunate in that, whilst reading this book for purposes of this review, the reviewer participated in an outing to the Marula area. Highlights were witnessing the inspanning of oxen and savouring the enchantment of being drawn on wagon by a team of sixteen oxen.

Following that experience, I was so much better able to appreciate the strengths of this book and the great legacy it has left us.

If his book, *The Old Transport Road*, had dealt only with Hyatt's views on political philosophy, personal relationships and national characteristics, its appeal would be minimal. Indeed, most of his readers would end up holding highly antagonistic thoughts of the author.

Hyatt makes no effort whatsoever to diffuse or cover up his poisonous views of all human society other than the 'home born'. He hates the Afrikaners, has nothing but scorn and loathing for 'Colonials', despises the Shona and is vituperative toward all officials, high or lowly, of the British South Africa Company.

Other targets for his torrents of invective are missionaries and the Afrikaans language. The only redeeming feature of the latter he believes is the word 'SCHELM' which incorporates all predators of Hyatt's beloved oxen, but particularly the lion, many stories about which he relates.

Often one wonders why he ended up in 'Rhodesia' (a name that he hates) at all! He considered the Highveld unhealthy, boring and treacherous: 'it is the very abomination of desolation'; looks upon the coming of the railway with detestation and generally portrays himself as someone with whom most folk would not go out of their way to spend time.

The shining value of his book, however, radiates from his eulogizing of wagon transport. 'The Road' has almost spiritual qualities for him.

He has love and respect for only two persons: his brother Amyas and his driver Amous . . . 'the most efficient servant I ever employed and my most loyal friend', and simply 'the best driver in the country'.

His passion however is for his trek oxen. These creatures he loves and understands with a touching benevolence and immeasurable compassion. He analyses the strengths and weaknesses of all his cattle. Pride pours from him as he writes of his 'black span', whilst his deepest feelings are reserved for 'Biffel, the trek ox', his hind bullock, the leader of the pack.

The relationship between Biffel and Amous is analysed and appreciated; the characteristics of Biffel, Appel, Didmaker and all his cattle are discussed lovingly and approvingly. Ironically, one of his failures was a beast called 'Englishman'! Yet one cannot but be moved by the intense affection and understanding Hyatt has for his animals.

He also has an amazing goat, Peter, which he swears has a human soul, for whom he also grows an attachment and appreciation so moving, yet real and honest.

One can taste the bitter bile of heartache and failure when in 1895 the East Coast fever decimates his herds, ruins his business and destroys 'The Transport Road'.

Hyatt wrote several other books on this country. *Biffel the Trek Ox* is a moving salute to his greatest ox.

If one can sift Hyatt's homespun philosophies and antagonisms for men from his love of 'The Road' and his beloved trek oxen, this is a book which captures the toughness, the excitement,

the challenge and the heartache of the first steps in developing this country one hundred years ago.

It is to be hoped that in his new 'Bulawayo Series', Louis Bolze, who made available to all most of the essential books written in the latter part of the last century, might also include some books which were not part of the Rhodesiana Reprint Series, but which will reflect the vital part played by Bulawayo, surely the historical capital of Zimbabwe.

T. F. M. Tanser

Wangi Kolia: Coal, Capital and Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1894–1954 by Ian Phimister

Baobab Books, Harare, 1994

This is a case study covering the first sixty years of development of Wankie Colliery.

It begins in 1894, just after the first individual coal claims to be pegged were acquired by the Mashonaland Agency Limited together with a four-hundred-mile concession granted by the British South Africa Company. Then came the flotation, in 1899, of the Wankie (Rhodesia) Coal, Railway and Exploration Company Limited, followed in 1909 by the formation of the Wankie Colliery Company Limited.

It ends in 1954 just after the major strike of black mine workers at the colliery and the acquisition of a controlling interest in the colliery by the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

The expressed aim of the book is to provide a detailed case study of colonial enterprise and to contribute to the development of the region's historiography by focusing on the company and financial history of the colliery company and the world of work underground.

During the relevant period the country was governed first by the British South Africa Company through a succession of Administrations, up to 1923, and then by the Southern Rhodesia Government, led successively by Coghlan (1923–1927), Moffat and Mitchell until 1933, Huggins (1933–1952) and Garfield Todd in 1953. The study explores the relationships between the Government and the company, which were often cordial. This was not always the case, however, as there were clashes over production issues and even coal pricing, and intermittent attacks beamed on a distaste for foreign-controlled companies. In this last regard, not much has changed as one still hears this lament about some companies in Zimbabwe today.

The main thrust of the book is on labour issues at the Colliery, and the author, currently Professor of History at the University of Cape Town, traces the "transition from a particularly vicious compound system before 1920 to a comparatively sophisticated one by the 1930s".

The work is a scholarly one though the reader is unavoidably struck by the fact that there is not a jot or tittle of praise for the company or its management anywhere in the text. This causes one to wonder whether this is attributable to the fact that "repeated attempts to locate the papers of successive Wankie Colliery Companies were unsuccessful" or whether there was some other underlying reason.

In any event the book is an historical one and to that extent it should have a place on one's shelf. Hopefully, a comprehensive history from all points of view covering 100 years of coal mining at Hwange will be written this century.

This country has, until recently, been starved of imported publications. Deregulation and the economic structural adjustment programme has resulted in more becoming available, although there is increasing evidence of dumping on the gullible Zimbabwean public of remaindered works which have not sold successfully elsewhere.

The best thing about the book is that it has been published and printed locally. This is clearly a good thing and one hopes that the local publishing and printing industry will be supported in its efforts and will expand its publishing régime to encompass many books relating to all aspects of the fascinating history of this country.

M. J. Kimberley