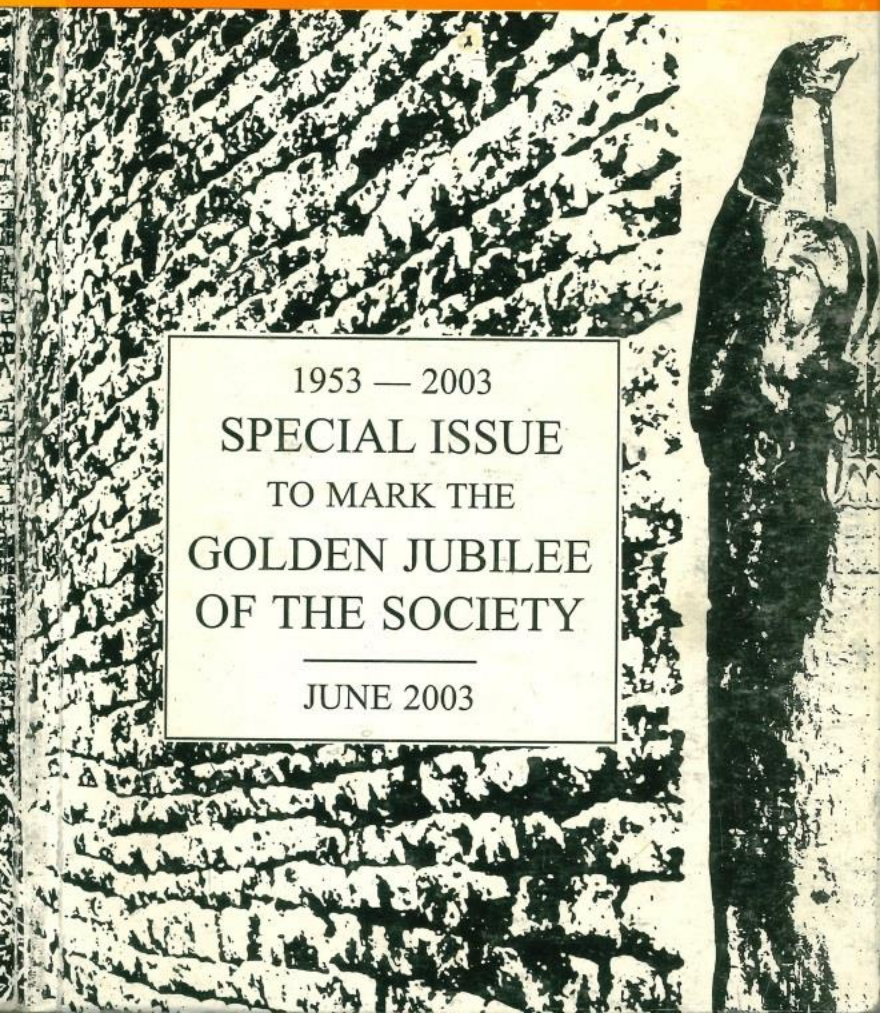
HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

PUBLICATION No. 22 2003



1953 — 2003

SPECIAL ISSUE

TO MARK THE

GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE SOCIETY

JUNE 2003

HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 22 — 2003

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe
June 2003

MEMBERSHIP OF THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

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

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

The National Honorary Secretary,
The History Society of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box CY 35,
Causeway,
Zimbabwe.

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

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

For further information particulars of membership please write to the National Honorary Secretary at P.O. Box CY 35, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

Address: **The History Society of Zimbabwe**
P.O. Box CY 35, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

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

Edited by

MICHAEL 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 HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

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

AVAILABLE PUBLICATIONS

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(40 issues published from 1956–1980)

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

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

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

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

C. The journal **HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE**

(Published annually since 1981.) Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are out of print but the following issues are available though some issues are in short supply —

No. 1, 1981	No. 2, 1982	No. 4, 1984	No. 9, 1990	No. 10, 1991
No. 11, 1992	No. 12, 1993	No. 13, 1994	No. 14, 1995	No. 15, 1996
No. 16, 1997	No. 17, 1998	No. 18, 1999	No. 19, 2000	No. 20, 2001
No. 21, 2002	No. 22, 2003			

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CONTENTS

Foreword

On 12th June 2003 the History Society of Zimbabwe celebrates its Golden Jubilee and this volume of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* commemorates that milestone in the life of the Society.

The content of this volume is made up of two parts. The first part contains four articles relevant to the history of the Society. There is a fairly comprehensive history of the Society up to the attainment of its majority in 1974 written in that year by the late Tony Tanser who was a founder member of the Society. Then there is an abridged history of the Society by your Honorary Editor covering the entire 50 years. The lectures, films, events and expeditions of the Society over 50 years constitute a major achievement and Tim Tanser provides a full list of outings held under the auspices of the Mashonaland Branch of the Society from 1969 to 2002 as well as outings organised by the Society before the Branch was established. Finally, Robin Taylor has written a most interesting article which gives an idea of what happened in Harare and in Zimbabwe in June 1953 in the month that our Society was formed.

The major content of this volume consists of a miscellany of articles published in the first forty volumes of our journal. Some are biographical, there are two relating to the journey of the Pioneer Column in 1890 from Tuli to Fort Victoria and from Fort Victoria to Salisbury, and we have repeated an address given at the unveiling of the memorial at the Mangwe Pass. Most of the volumes in which these articles previously appeared are out of print so many of our current members and the majority of our newer members will not have had access to them before.

As all members are aware the Society had organized a full week of events to commemorate our Golden Jubilee including five public lectures, a 50th Anniversary Banquet, a gathering at a game park with the Vintage Car Club, and finally a variety of stalls at which Kindred Societies would display their wares and recruit members for their organizations just as was done for the Society's Silver Jubilee in 1978. Sadly, however, the present fuel crisis caused us to cancel the lectures and the game park gathering – if and when the present situation improves, we will give thought to arranging the week of public lectures. The Golden Jubilee banquet will take place as planned and, of course, the Society was honoured by a special issue of four postage stamps in January this year commemorating our Golden Jubilee.

On a particularly historical note it should be mentioned that this is our 62nd volume of the journal – the first 40 issues appeared between 1956 and 1979 and were entitled *Rhodesiana* and the new series entitled *Heritage of Zimbabwe* has appeared annually for 22 years from 1981 until now.

In conclusion we express our grateful thanks to our Benefactors and Sponsors who have generously committed themselves to financially supporting this journal. The galloping inflation which currently prevails in Zimbabwe has caused the material and labour costs of printing to double and almost redouble and without the assistance of those Benefactors and Sponsors you would not be reading this journal. Finally, a special word of thanks to my wife Rosemary Kimberley, for helping me with the editing.

Michael J. Kimberley, Honorary Editor, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*

The History of The Rhodesiana Society from June 2nd 1953 to June 2nd 1974

by G. H. Tanser

During the years 1949 to 1952 two men, Mr. Harry Archie Cripwell and Mr. Brendon Lloyd, living in Fort Victoria, found they shared a common interest in books on Rhodesian and South African history. The following year they were transferred to Salisbury where discussions on their interests were renewed. The possibility of founding a society on the lines of the Van Riebeeck Society was mooted and it was decided to obtain a copy of that Society's constitution for study.

In May 1953, Mr Cripwell and Mr Lloyd decided to take action. They sent out notes to those who they knew were interested in Rhodesian books, inviting them to a meeting in the Presbyterian Church Hall. The notice indicated that the meeting was being held to discuss the collection and preservation of Rhodesiana, and ended "Please come and bring a friend if you should know of anyone else interested."

As the invitations were delivered by a Native Department messenger (Mr. Cripwell was the Provincial Native Commissioner of Mashonaland) they were not spread over a very wide area. However, one was delivered to Mrs. Rhoda Ellis of the Education Department who took along with her to the meeting a friend, Mr. G. H. Tanser, also of the Education Department. Both were interested in books on Rhodesian history.

So Mr. Cripwell, Mrs. Ellis, Mr and Mrs. Lloyd, and Mr. Tanser together with Father Hannan and Mr. Jan van Heerden were present at the meeting which decided to hold a meeting to establish a society at a venue to be found.

The venue was provided by Mr. Tanser who gave permission for the meeting to be held in the small Audio-Visual Theatre of the Ministry of Education, on June 2nd 1953. A small advertisement was placed in the *Rhodesia Herald*.

At the meeting Father Hannan took the chair. Mr. Cripwell came in late. Those present were Father Hannan, Mrs. Rhoda Ellis, Mrs. Mary Lloyd, Messrs. Aitken-Cade, Cawood, Cripwell, Lloyd, Packham, Tanser and Van Heerden. Of these, four, Father Hannan, Messrs. Cawood, Lloyd and Tanser have had continuous membership for twenty-one years, while Mr. Cripwell was a member until his death in 1970.

A resolution to form a Society was passed by those present. The resolution read, "The Rhodesian-Africana Society has been founded to further the interests of collectors of Rhodesiana, and to assist in the preservation of books and documents relating to the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in particular." An executive committee of H. A. Cripwell (Chairman), B. W. Lloyd (Honorary Secretary and Treasurer), Father Hannan, SJ, J. Van Heerden and G. H. Tanser was elected.

The Secretary was quick off the mark. On June 13th, he issued the first notice of the Society. The constitution, consisting of ten short paragraphs, was to the point. The subscription was to be one guinea a year. This gave entitlement to a vote at the Annual General Meeting and the right to nominate any other member for election to the Committee.

During the remainder of the year the Society grew, having nineteen paid-up members. The collectors' interest of members was pre-eminent in the circular issued in November, 1953. Members, who wanted to dispose of duplicate or unwanted copies of books, were asked to advise the Secretary, giving prices and condition of the books.

It was early recognised that, if the Society were to grow, members would expect some service from their membership. So, the first indication of a publication appeared. Members were invited "to supply information regarding mss. which might be of interest when published at a later date."

The first Society activity was also recorded. Father Hannan had invited members and their friends to visit the Africana library at Chishawasha Seminary.

The next circular, issued on June 12th 1954, strangely headed "Africana Society," gave the names of booksellers who had become members and who would be only too willing to deal with the needs of any other member as a collector.

The circular, however, stressed that the Society had not been formed merely for the interests of collectors but with a view to publishing, when funds permitted, some suitable manuscript, and that, in order to achieve this purpose, savings must be invested.

The first Annual General Meeting was held on November 3rd 1954, in the Presbyterian Church Hall. Mr. W. V. Brelsford, Federal Information Officer, spoke on "Northern Rhodesiana".

The Executive Committee continued to strive for visits, and for speakers to maintain interest. This was singularly lacking. Attendance was poor, usually not reaching a dozen. Mrs. Goodall gave an illustrated lecture on "Rhodesian Rock Paintings" and a visit to the National Archives was made.

Despite these efforts the Committee found it very difficult to stimulate and to maintain interest. At the second Annual General Meeting in November 1955, there were only four members and one guest!

A new feature was adopted in Circular Letter No. 4 when "Two members, selected for their intimate knowledge of Rhodesia and Rhodesian history reviewed three books." It was affirmed that "The Society does not accept any responsibility for the views expressed." Perhaps this was just as well, for two of the reviews are most damning of books, now accepted as being of very good standard.

At the second attempt to hold the Annual General Meeting there were sufficient members to appoint the Executive Committee. There was much discussion on ways and means of getting new members. It was accepted that a Rhodesiana publication would be the most satisfactory way of doing so.

A publication Committee of the Chairman and Mr. Tanser was given the task of finding authors and proceeding with a publication. Sir Robert Tredgold, K.C.M.G., Q.C., a descendant of Robert Moffat and an early member of the Society, as Acting Governor of Southern Rhodesia had unveiled the Mangwe Pass Memorial on July 18th 1954. There he had given an outstanding peroration. The Chairman approached him to ask whether his talk might be used, and Mr. Brelsford was asked if he would permit his talk on "Northern Rhodesiana" to be published. They both agreed. So, it was decided to proceed.

Unfortunately, at this stage in the life of the Society, Mr. Lloyd who had worked so hard as Honorary Secretary was transferred from Salisbury. Mr. Van Heerden

volunteered to act and the burden of arranging for the publication, in England, of the slim little volume of 22 pages, was undertaken by him.

Once again the Society was without a Secretary. Mr van Heerden found the duties too time consuming and had to resign. Mr. Cripwell took over the work until a replacement could be found. The two members of the Publications Committee struggled on. During 1955, the draft manuscripts had been sent to London. It was six months before the galley-proofs were received. They were checked by Mr. Cripwell. Another long period passed and the booklets No. 1, arrived from London in February 1957.

There were 75 copies, specially bound in board and numbered. Because "It is recognised that members of the Society have, so far, not received any substantial service from the Society", these bound copies were sold at the same price as the unbound copies, seven shillings and sixpence.

An examination of the books revealed that the publishers had omitted two pages. A local printer was able to match the printing used and produced the necessary pages. Then they had to be put into the journal. It was not possible to put them into the bound copies except by tipping them in. In the paper-backed copies the staples were lifted in the middle of the book and the pages inserted. Mr. Cripwell did the job, and did it so well that there was never a single complaint, but the pages are really in the wrong place.

The Committee anxiously watched sales. £122.16.6 had been spent on printing. By the end of 1957 sales amounted to £76.4.1. It is not known who the member was who had paid the extra 4/1! In 1958 sales were only £14.2.6. The Society's creditors became pressing. Mr. Cripwell was asked whether he would reduce the price of the unsold copies. He refused and, with sublime confidence, began consideration of *Rhodesiana* No. 2.

Mr. G. B. da Graca volunteered to take over the duties of Secretary/Treasurer. Mr. Tanser became Editor. He issued Circular Letter No. 5 again asking for names of books, with prices, members wished to sell.

For the next *Rhodesiana*, Colonel A. S. Hickman, who has served the Society so well, gave permission for an article written by him to be used. This was the first of the ten articles Colonel Hickman has written for *Rhodesiana*, a most valuable contribution. Mr. Cripwell, using his pseudonym "Regulus", provided an article on Rhodesia's first winner of the Victoria Cross, Frank William Baxter. A report by Hugh Pollett on the Mazoe Patrol completed the volume.

At the fourth Annual General Meeting held on July 24th 1957, the speaker was Col. Hickman. By this time the Society had begun to establish itself and there was a good attendance. There was still a dearth of mss. This led the Editor to obtain an article on "Rhodesian Poets". This was criticised by members, who considered such matters should be left to another cultural society.

There were now 61 members, but 35 more joined before the end of the year. Now that it had nearly a hundred members, the Society could consider that it had been firmly established and was beginning to play an important part in awakening Rhodesians to take an interest in their history. The words of the Earl of Dalhousie, His Excellency the Governor General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, expressed this need in his foreword to *Rhodesiana* No. 2. "All who love their country will realise the value of presenting its story to the modern generation. This the Society seeks to do."

Mr. da Graca continued as Secretary and in his circular letter of March 1958 jubilantly declared, "The Society has now one hundred members." The Committee was hoping to publish an annual journal and appealed to members for articles to fill the pages. Circular letters were written by Mr. da Graca, Mr. Cripwell and Mr. Tanser to keep members in touch with the Society's activities.

At the A.G.M. on October 3rd, 1958 a proposal was made that the name of the Society should be the "Rhodesiana Society". There was a feeling that there was sufficient historical content in Rhodesia to interest members. the resolution was adopted. At the meeting, Mrs. Jess Honey, a strong supporter of the Society, traced her family's connection with Rhodesia's story.

The Society was at last financially sound. It had a credit of £212.3.6 in the Post Office Savings Bank. Another important matter of significance was that the National Archives had become a member.

At the A.G.M. of 1959, Mr. Cripwell was again elected Chairman. He had been Chairman ever since the inception of the Society and had worked strenuously on its behalf. Members were asked "to beat the drum". "It is certain many more people would join if they knew our objects. There is, in the Federation, a noticeably increased interest in the historical past of our country." The Society could well claim that, even at this stage, this was due in no small measure to its activities.

Rhodesiana No. 3, published in 1958, carried "Rhodesiana", the new name of the Society. Despite the critics the following newsletter announced "it seems generally to have been well received". There were now 150 members. The impact of the Society was being felt. No less than eleven libraries, including those of the School of African and Oriental Studies of the Commonwealth Relations Office, and of the Northwestern University in Illinois, had become members. The first donation, ten guineas from the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company (Lonrho), had been received.

Once again there were problems regarding the post of Secretary. Mr. da Graca resigned and Mr. H. J. Mason took over. The Society broke new ground with *Rhodesiana* No. 4, when the whole publication was devoted to the "Diaries of the Jesuit Missionaries at Bulawayo, 1879–1881". The book received most favourable newspaper comment and Father Rea, SJ was invited to speak on the radio about it. The Work of the Society was receiving recognition outside the circle of its own members. In view of the present costs of printing it is interesting to note that No. 4 cost £158.14s. As new members joined there was a steady demand for the earlier numbers of *Rhodesiana*.

Unfortunately, during this period of the Society's history records are inadequate, but progress was maintained, with an increase in the number of members and a spread of membership not only within the Federation but to the United Kingdom, the United States, the Netherlands, Sicily, Nigeria and Uganda.

The Society was undoubtedly suffering because no Secretary could be found. That stalwart, Mr. Cripwell, again carried the burden of acting Secretary/Treasurer until Mrs. Patricia Haddon volunteered to take over as Secretary, while Mr. Mills was prepared to act as Treasurer. The indefatigable Chairman continued his series of newsletters, keeping members up-to-date with notes on books likely to be of interest to members. At this stage Father Hannan, when transferred to Kutama, resigned from the Committee, but Mr. Lloyd, again in Salisbury, was co-opted in his place.

The search for a devoted Honorary Secretary/Treasurer came to an end when Mr. M. J. Kimberley, who had joined the Society in 1955, replied to an appeal made in a circular letter for someone to undertake this onerous task. Even before he was officially appointed, Mr. Kimberley re-organised the secretarial duties and brought the Treasurer's figures up-to-date. The Chairman expressed the hope that he would find the job interesting, with a prayer that he would long continue in the post.

In order to lessen the work of editing *Rhodesiana*, an Editorial Board with Mr. E. E. Burke as Editor, and Messrs. Cripwell, Hickman and Tanser as readers was set up. Manuscripts were circularised among the members of the Board. Then a meeting was called and a decision made regarding inclusion or rejection. Mr. Burke, edited *Rhodesiana* Nos. 9 to 16, setting the pattern of the publication to this day.

No. 9 *Rhodesiana*, under the influence of Mr. R. W. S. Turner, appeared with a cover picture and a bright green band. The designer of the cover was Mr. Bruce J. Brine of Salisbury. No. 10 with a royal blue band, and No. 11 with a red one, followed, both published in 1964, marking the decision to publish two journals a year.

From about this time the National Monuments of Rhodesia began assisting the Society in an increasing number of ways, for example, by providing accommodation for functions and meetings.

The increase in membership, the activity of the new Secretary and of several new members on the Committee led to fresh developments in the Society. It was considered a new constitution setting out the fresh objects of the Society, which had developed since its inception, was needed. There was much discussion before the final document was accepted.

At the same time, Mr. Turner felt that not enough was being done to enlist new members. He suggested setting up a membership sub-committee, with a target of one thousand members, and a more colourful and distinguishable format for *Rhodesiana*. Mrs. Kane, Messrs. Lloyd, Kimberley under the Chairmanship of Mr. Turner were appointed to the new Committee and immediately set to work. Mr. Turner was also put in charge of advertising, and he has sold all the advertisements from 1964 to this present day.

His Excellency, the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Gibbs and Lady Gibbs, graciously accepted the invitation to become Patrons of the Society.

Within a year from August 1963 to August 1964, the membership increased from 300 to 480.

The news that Mr. Robert Isaacson, a member of the Committee, had discovered that Viscountess "Billie" de la Panouse was still alive, but living in a penurious condition, led to the appointment of a sub-committee which undertook to make an appeal for funds for the benefit of the Viscountess. "Billie" had accompanied the Viscount to Salisbury immediately after the occupation in 1890. A substantial sum was collected and forwarded to the Viscountess through the French Consul.

The following year came the bumper volume of 120 pages, double the usual size, to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the occupation of the country in 1890, with a dedication to all Pioneers. It was fitting that the cover picture should show the Pioneers passing through the Shashi River.

The leavening brought by Mr. Kimberley and by new members into the Committee

(in 1965 only two foundation members, Mr. Cripwell who had continued as Chairman and Mr. Tanser, were still serving) engendered numerous proposals – the seeking of a Society crest, the establishment of branches in Bulawayo, Umtali and Gwelo, consideration of an increase in subscription rates, the appointment of a sub-committee to arrange a panel of speakers, the appointment of a Deputy Chairman, the payment of honoraria to the Editor and Secretary/Treasurer and a proposal to alter the name of the Society.

The protagonist for the change of name set out his opinions. "Rhodesiana, as a word, smacks too much of a Society of bibliophiles and booksellers," he declared. there was an assertion that a more broadly based "Rhodesian Historical Society" would gain wider membership and wield more influence.

It was agreed that the objects of the Society had changed during the years since its inception and that the objects of the Society should be laid down as

(a) "To promote the study of the history of Rhodesia and to encourage research,

(b) to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation of Rhodesian history."

The proposals were debated. The conservative stalwarts agreed that the name "Rhodesiana" did not, perhaps, indicate the extended scope of the Society, but the ten year struggle to establish it had been made under such a title. The name had become well-known and respected.

When taken to a vote at the Annual general Meeting, the majority voted "No change".

In due course a crest was produced, honoraria paid, a Deputy Chairman, Colonel Hickman, appointed. New ideas were that the Society should organise some social function for its members and should lay a wreath at Rhodes Statue on 26th March, and at Cecil Square on 12th September.

The idea of holding an Annual Dinner was put forward by Mr. Kimberley. The first Dinner, attended by 135 members and their guests, was held on 2nd June, 1967. In the same year the Chairman of the Society, Mr. H. A. Cripwell, laid a wreath at the hoisting of the Union Jack in Cecil Square. The Matabeleland Branch of the Society was formed. The Committee consisted of Mr. Peter Gibbs, chairman, Mr. D. T. Low, Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. C. W. D. Pagden and Dr. O. Ransford.

At the Annual General Meetings of the National Committee arrangements were made for talks by members and for the showing of films. In this connection Dr. Ronald Howland, a member of the national committee, produced several excellent historical films.

Mr. Brelsford had taken over the onerous task of Editor from *Rhodesiana* No. 17, and has served the Society in this capacity to the present time.

It was proposed that the Society should arrange excursions to places of interest in Mashonaland. A sub-committee of Dr. Howland, Messrs. Kimberley and Tanser was appointed to proceed with arrangements for a pilot excursion tour. On Sunday, 21st April, 1968, the first conducted tour, a visit to buildings of historical interest and significance in Salisbury, with talks by Dr. Howland and Mr. Tanser, was held. One hundred and eighty people took part. The tour was so successful that a second one was requested by members.

As the Matabeleland Branch was now in being, and was being enthusiastically

supported by its members, it was decided that the second annual dinner should be held in Bulawayo. It was a happy coincidence that Bulawayo's seventy-fifth anniversary should be commemorated by the dinner and by a special edition of *Rhodesiana* No. 18.

The feeling of togetherness of members led to a request for a visual sign of membership of the Society. The manufacture and sale of a tie bearing the crest was agreed upon.

Efforts were being made to establish a Manicaland Branch of the Society. On 6th November, 1968 this was accomplished. Mr. Gordon Deedes was the Acting Secretary and became the first Chairman.

The first historical tour outside Salisbury was arranged for Sunday, 17th November, 1968. It was proposed to visit Norton, Fort Martin and Old Hartley. Unfortunately the tour had to be cancelled owing to heavy rain and it was decided to postpone country excursions to the drier months.

The publicity given to the tour, the efforts made by the Membership Committee, and the setting up of the Matabeleland and Manicaland Branches increased the membership, by the end of 1968, to 962.

Mr. Turner, whose bright ideas had much to do with the rejuvenation of the Society, proposed the striking of gold medals for award to the persons who had rendered outstanding service to the Society, or to Rhodesian history; and bronze medals for sale to members of the Society every ten years, commencing in 1970.

Another historical tour of Salisbury's buildings was made in May, 1969. During the year the Society was approached by the Hartley Historical Society to support the celebrations it was arranging for the 100th Anniversary of the naming of Hartley Hill by Thomas Baines. The opportunity of learning about the history of the area was enthusiastically welcomed. Three buses, carrying 107 people, journeyed to Hartley on 28th September, 1969. The organisation at the Hill by the Hartley Historical Society was excellent. The Rhodesiana Society benefited from its experience.

During the year the Mashonaland Branch of the Society was established by the National Executive Committee. At the first meeting, Mr. Tanser was elected Chairman and Mrs. Rhoda Barker, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

It was decided that the Society's third Annual Dinner should be held in Umtali. The Manicaland Branch, under its Chairman, The Rev. E. Sells and Secretary, Miss Angela Cripps, organised tours for those members who attended the function.

At the Annual General Meeting in 1970, Mr. Cripwell requested that owing to ill health, he should not be considered for the post of Chairman, an office he had occupied since the formation of the Society. His wise counsel, his encyclopaedic knowledge of Rhodesian and South African history, his depth of reading and his precise information on books on Rhodesia had been most important factors in the development of the Society, and his withdrawal from office was accepted with great regret.

Colonel Selwyn Hickman, the Deputy Chairman, was elected National Chairman.

During 1970, the Mashonaland Branch organised a tour of Fort Martin and Matshayangombi's stronghold. The Rhodesian Breweries very generously initiated the printing of a brochure, adding greatly to the success of the venture. In accordance with the policy of holding the Society's annual dinner at a different branch each year the fourth function was held in Salisbury.

The Matabeleland Branch with its energetic Honorary Secretary, Mr. Balfour Lovemore, was very active, organising numerous visits to sites of battles and places of historic interest. The Manicaland Branch continued in its efforts to keep its members interested in the work of the Society.

It had been accepted that Rhodesiana Society gold medals should be awarded. The first recipients were Mr. Harry Archie Cripwell, Colonel Selwyn Hickman and Viscount Malvern. The awards to Mr. Cripwell and Colonel Hickman were for outstanding contributions towards the aims and objects of the Society, that to Viscount Malvern for a major contribution to Rhodesian history, the medals to Mr. Cripwell and Viscount Malvern were awarded posthumously, the presentation ceremony taking place at the National Archives.

The double burden of one person serving as Honorary Secretary and Treasurer was lightened when a firm of Chartered Accountants undertook the collection of subscriptions and the financial affairs.

At the A.G.M. of 1971 Colonel Hickman was again elected chairman. At the end of the meeting two excellent films, produced by Dr. Howland, of the members' visits to Old Hartley in 1967 and to Fort Martin in 1970, were shown.

In 1972, Mr. Kimberley, who had taken over the post of Honorary Secretary and Treasurer ten years previously, retired from the post. During his long period of office he had given unstintingly of his time on behalf of the Society. He had indeed been the king-pin of the Executive Committee with wise advice on problems of procedure, and a determination to see improvements in the organisation of *Rhodesiana*. Mr. Colin Loades took over the post of Honorary Secretary.

In 1971 there were no medal awards, but the following year gold medals were given to Mr. G. H. Tanser and Dr. O. N. Ransford for their outstanding contributions towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

The Matabeleland Branch kept up great activity during 1971 with visits to mines, missions and places of historical interest, including a successful pilgrimage to Tuli. As a result the membership of the Society in the Bulawayo area increased considerably.

To celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Mazoe Patrol, the Mashonaland Branch organised a tour of the Mazoe Valley.

Again in 1972 the branches were active. Matabeleland members visited Fonseca's Farm, a rebellion site of 1896, and the adjoining area. The Mashonaland Branch organised a "Farewell to Steam", a railway journey, with members in the costumes of the early Rhodesia period, to Glendale.

At the 1972 Annual General Meeting an amendment to the Constitution was made that, with effect from March 1972, no person should hold office as National Chairman for more than two years in succession. This ruling became effective in 1973 when Colonel Hickman gave up the post of National Chairman. Mr. Tanser, the Deputy Chairman, was elected to replace him.

During the current year the National Executive had endeavoured to establish a closer liaison among the three branches. An outing organised jointly by the Mashonaland and Manicaland Branches visited the site of the Fort Haynes and Makoni's stronghold near Rusapi. Branches have agreed to send details of their proposed activities to the other Branches in the hope that distance and cost will not always prevent participation

by members not resident in the area of activity. The Branches nominate representatives to the National Executive and the cost of travel to meetings is met from National funds.

The Society is acutely aware of the tremendous increases in the cost of printing affecting the cost of producing the two annual volumes of *Rhodesiana*. The financial difficulties can be overcome by increased membership, and a drive to enrol new members is contemplated.

As the Society reaches its twenty-first birthday on 2nd June, 1972, there are just over 1 300 members. Membership is world-wide, from Japan to the Middle East, from Europe to America. Among our members, all of whom are imbued to foster a wider appreciation of Rhodesian history, are distinguished professional men, lawyers, accountants, doctors and professors. Many institutions and libraries recognise the value of the work of the Society and have become members.

Since its inception, in 1953, the Society had done much to influence the learning of our history in a pleasurable way. Visits to places of historic interest has made its members keenly aware of the problems and the difficulties their forefathers and foremothers had to overcome. The heroism of the men and women who participated in the events has become appreciated.

The National Executive Committee has given consideration to the possibility of some method of celebration of the Society's coming-of-age, but it may well be that its size and its wide-spread character may prevent this.

However it is hoped that this article will serve to record for members the story of the infancy and adolescence of the Rhodesiana Society.

(First published in *Rhodesiana* No. 30, 1974)

A History of The History Society of Zimbabwe 1953–2003

by Michael J. Kimberley

ESTABLISHMENT

From 1949 to 1952 two civil servants, Harry Archie Cripwell of the then Native Department and Brendon William Lloyd of the then Native Education Department, based in Fort Victoria found that they shared an interest in books on Rhodesian and South African history and they met from time to time to discuss and share information on their common interest.

In 1953 they were both transferred to Salisbury.

Cripwell and Lloyd soon met in Salisbury and reviewed their discussions on matters historical and decided to pursue the possibility of establishing a Society similar to the Van Riebeeck Society of South Africa. After obtaining a copy of the Constitution of that Society they sent out notes to all those who they knew to be interested in books about Rhodesia inviting them to a meeting at the Presbyterian Church Hall "to discuss the collection and preservation of Rhodesiana".

Seven people attended the meeting on 8 May 1953 and it is appropriate to record their names: H. A. Cripwell Provincial Native Commissioner Mashonaland, B. W. Lloyd of the Native Education Department and his wife Mrs Mary Lloyd, G. H. Tanser a senior official in the Ministry of Education and Rhoda Ellis also of the Ministry of Education, Father Hannan a well-known Jesuit priest and Jan van Heerden a local architect.

Those present unanimously agreed to form a Society and a Sub-Committee was appointed to draft a Constitution to present to a subsequent meeting.

A month later on 12 June 1953 at the Ministry of Education Audio Visual Centre the Rhodesia Africana Society was formally established "to further the interests of collectors of Rhodesiana and to assist in the preservation of books and documents relating to the Rhodesias and Nyasaland". Ten people were present and they included the seven who had been present in May as well as Messrs Aitken-Cade, Cawood and Packham.

The first Committee comprised Messrs Cripwell (Chairman), Lloyd (Secretary), Van Heerden, Tanser and Father Hannan SJ The annual subscription was one guinea.

EARLY EMPHASIS

The emphasis at the beginning was on books and their acquisition through purchase or exchange and members were invited to inform the Secretary of duplicate and unwanted books (with prices and condition of book to be stated) as well as of books sought. Newsletter No. 1 dated 9 November 1953 reported on a visit to the Africana Library at the Chishawasha Seminary on 18 October 1953 to view the many rare and valuable books preserved there. It was also stated in the Newsletter that it was hoped

to organise meetings to discuss and view private collections of Africana and members willing to allow their books to be viewed were asked to notify the Secretary.

By November 1953 there were 19 paid up members who included the original ten except for Rhoda Ellis plus Dr D M. Blair, A. M. Ewing, F. R. Nobes, Mrs C. Priest, Sir Robert Tredgold, two Bishops namely Bishop Chichester and Bishop Paget, Patrick Duncan of Basutoland and two booksellers namely C. J. Sawyer of London and Miss Jeffrey of Maskew Millers in Cape Town.

The Committee decided at an early stage that talks on appropriate subjects should be given as often as suitable speakers became available and in the first two years talks were given on Early Hunters in Africa by Major W. R. Foran, on Dr Livingstone by B. W. Lloyd, on Bushman Art by Mrs E. Goodall and on Northern Rhodesiana by W. V. Brelsford.

FIRST PUBLICATION

Newsletters were issued two or three times a year but the Committee realised the importance of publishing a journal on a regular basis if the Society was to survive and as early as 12 June 1954 Newsletter No. 2 recorded "The Society, as you know, was formed not merely for the interests of collectors, but with a view to publishing when funds permitted some suitable manuscript which might otherwise remain unknown".

A Publication Committee comprising Messrs Cripwell and Tanser was appointed to seek material for publication. Eventually two manuscripts were obtained and sent to London in 1955 for printing under the supervision of Chas J. Sawyer, the well known and long established bookseller in London, who had joined the Society in 1953 not long after its establishment. The galley proofs were checked and in February 1957 Rhodesiana No. 1 arrived. There were 75 specially bound and numbered copies as well as about the same quantity with soft covers and copies were sold at 7*s* 6*d* per copy. The first issue contained the texts of two talks, namely, the Address given by Sir Robert Tredgold as Acting Governor of Southern Rhodesia on the unveiling of the memorial at Mangwe Pass and the talk given by Mr W. V. Brelsford on Northern Rhodesiana.

Sadly it was discovered that two pages had been left out. It was impractical to return all copies to London for rectification so a local printer was engaged to print the missing pages and these were inserted in the soft cover copies by manually lifting the centre staple.

The total printing cost was £122.16.6 with sales recovering some £76 by the end of 1957.

SUBSEQUENT PUBLICATIONS

The journal has continued to this day with 40 volumes of Rhodesiana being published between 1957 and 1979. Originally the journal Rhodesiana was published annually but from 1963 to 1978 biannual volumes of 50 to 90 pages were produced.

When the country's name was changed in April 1980 the name of the journal was changed to Heritage of Zimbabwe. Volume 1 appeared in 1981 and Volume 22 appears in 2003 to commemorate the Society's Golden Jubilee. The first few volumes were about 80 pages in length but recent volumes are about 200 pages in length.

The printing cost has escalated quite dramatically and nowadays the cost of printing each annual issue is virtually double the cost of the previous years' issue.

Needless to say subscriptions alone cannot finance costs of that magnitude. The substantial financing void between printing cost and subscription income is filled by the generosity of 26 of the major financial, industrial and commercial companies in Zimbabwe which have each magnanimously committed themselves for five years as Benefactors or Sponsors of annual contributions towards our publishing costs. Without this support the journal could not appear.

Despite benefaction and sponsorship bridging finance is still required and this is derived from the Society's J. A. Phair Trust Fund. The late John Anthony Phair was a member and dedicated supporter of the Society who died in 2000 and bequeathed one third of his net estate to the SPCA, to Borrowdale Trust, and to our Society. Even third was worth about $1.5 million.

Twelve different Editors have produced those 22 volumes. The late Ted Burke did a wonderful job producing eight consecutive biannual volumes and the current Editor has produced fifteen consecutive volumes. However, the doyen of our several Editors during the Society's 47 years of publishing was undoubtedly Vernon Brelsford who was responsible for no less than 24 volumes between 1967 and 1979 and we remember him for his dedication, competence and resilience.

Without a steady flow of material, Editors, of course, can achieve very little so we should also remember our authors. For our 40 issues of Rhodesiana the main authors were Colonel Hickman with eleven articles, Cran Cooke with ten, Ted Burke with eight, Father Rea, Ron Dickinson and Jack McAdam each with six articles. For Heritage of Zimbabwe Peter Locke has provided ten articles. Colin Saunders twelve, Rob Burrett fourteen and your present editor fourteen articles.

BRANCHES

Apart from its publications, the life blood of the Society is undoubtedly the Society's Branches for it is the Branches that identify closely and directly with individual members by arranging functions, outings and events in the Branch area. Branches were established in Matabeleland in 1967, in Manicaland in 1968 and in Mashonaland in 1969. The Matabeleland Branch was very active for twelve years and then collapsed in 1980 whilst the Manicaland Branch was never very active and went the way of all flesh in 1979.

The Mashonaland Branch, however, has been extremely active for a third of a century. 200 members and their guests attended the first Branch outing to Hartley Hills in September 1969 and 250 attended the visit to Fort Martin in July 1970. A major feature of the Mashonaland annual programmes has been the annual expeditions for two or three days to places quite distant from Harare beginning in September 1974 with a visit to Fort Victoria, the Zimbabwe Ruins and Morgenster Mission followed in May 1976 with a visit to Iron Mine Hill, Fort Gibbs, Nalatale Ruins and the Bonko Battle Site near Shangani.

City tours and town walks have been arranged from time to time and there have been one day steam train journeys to Glendale in October 1972 and March 1985 and to Bromley/Melfort and Marondera in May 1978 as part of the Society's Silver Jubilee

Celebrations. The latter event set an all time record as far as participants are concerned as some 550 members and their guests boarded the train.

Films have also been a regular feature of Branch activities and members have been able to see various historical films from the National Archives film library including films about Baden Powell, Thomas Baines, The 1947 Royal Tour, the construction of Kariba, Karl Mauch, the Cape to Cairo Railway, as well as several films on the Boer War and the Zulu Wars, the First World War and the History of the Royal Air Force.

Interestingly, before the Mashonaland Branch was formed, one of our national committee members, Ronnie Howland, made several historical films and between 1964 and 1967 members were able to see a number of his excellent productions including The Story of Salisbury, The Changing Face of Salisbury, Heroism at Mazoe, and The Pioneers.

Elsewhere in the journal we publish a full list of the talks and outings organised by the Society during the past 50 years.

ANNUAL DINNER

The National Annual Dinner has been held every year since 1967 with the first being held in Harare in that year, the second in Bulawayo in 1968 and the third in Mutare in 1969. Originally the venue alternated between Harare, Bulawayo and Mutare or Nyanga but with no formal presence of the Society in Bulawayo and Mutare, the dinner is always held in Harare nowadays.

CREST

Following a design competition launched in the local newspaper, which was won by Captain R. P. Gardiner of Army Headquarters, Harare, the Society adopted a crest in June 1967. The description of the crest is as follows:

> "The very name of the Society being indicative of its nature, I selected the Rhodesian Lion as the central motif of the design. However, the attitude of the Lion was to convey the following meaning:
>
> 1. Rampant – the active spirit of the Society.
> 2. Regardant – the reflection of History.
>
> The other symbols chosen represent the pursuits of the Society:
>
> 1. Book of Knowledge – the achievements of the Society.
> 2. Torch of Knowledge – the research.
>
> Instead of the usual garter, the central design was circumscribed by a Bandolier. Quite frankly, this was a gimmick – and an after thought at that, but it was rather appropriate as it served to illustrate:
>
> 1. The link with our Pioneers.
> 2. The unity amongst those who appreciate Rhodesian history."

This led to the production of the Society's first necktie which was completely sold out a few years later. A second version of the necktie, more attractive that the first, was produced in 1992 and is still available and proudly worn today by many of our members. We had hoped to have a Golden Jubilee tie this year to celebrate the Society's 50th Anniversary but thanks to galloping inflation this would have cost a ridiculous $10 000.00 per tie so the idea was abandoned.

BRONZE AND GOLD MEDALS

In 1969 Robert Turner's proposal was adopted to strike bronze decade medals for sale to members and gold medals for award to persons who had rendered outstanding service (a) to the Society or (b) to Rhodesian history. The bronze medals sold well and eight gold medals were awarded, seven in category (a) and one in category (b). The first awards were made in January 1971, posthumously to Archie Cripwell and Viscount Malvern, and also to Colonel Hickman. In August 1972 awards were made to Tony Tanser and Oliver Ransford, in October 1975 to Harry Simons and myself, and in November 1978 to Robert Turner.

THE SOCIETY SCHOLARSHIP

By resolution dated 18 July 1978 the National Executive Committee in order to commemorate 25 years of the Society's existence, established a scholarship. The purpose of the award was to encourage and assist amateur historians to carry out research into aspects of Rhodesian history with the object of making a distinct contribution to the knowledge of such history. The scholarship was tenable for one year and was in the sum of $100.00 or such greater sum as might be approved by the Committee and the rules governing its award were set out in Rhodesian No. 39. So far as I am aware no applications were ever received and no award was ever made.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership was 19 in November 1953 and 30 in early 1954.

Membership reached 100 in March 1958 and 300 in 1963. On Robert Turner's suggestion in 1964 a membership committee was appointed under his Chairmanship with Mr Lloyd, Mrs Kane and myself to assist, with a target of 1000 members. By 1968 we had 962 members and the magical 1000 was achieved in 1969. By 1972 we had a record 1300 members.

The civil war and emigration resulted in a steady decrease in membership and today we have about 800 paid up members on our books, though emigration, inflation and ever increasing subscriptions could reduce that number this year. As we do not like to lose members we have a Subscription Assistance Fund which is available to those who find it difficult to meet the full subscription cost. This was established two years ago with a very generous donation from one of the Society's benefactors, Mr John Bredenkamp.

Of the members as at March 1956 listed in Rhodesiana No. 1, I think the only ones who are still members and still alive are Roger Howman and myself. I joined in 1955 whilst a University student and Roger probably in 1954. Tony Tanser was a Committee member for 26 years (1953 to 1979) and Robert Turner served on the National Committee for 35 years. I recently completed 40 years having attended my first meeting of the National Committee in January 1963. Archie Cripwell was Chairman continuously for 17 years from 1953 to 1970 (we changed the Constitution when he retired on health grounds to restrict Chairmanship to two continuous years). Lex Ogilvie was Honorary Treasurer for 14 years from 1979 to 1993 and Ian Galletly served in that position for 10 years from 1993 to 2003. I served as Honorary Secretary from 1962 to 1972 and Vernon Brelsford as Honorary Editor for 12 years from 1967 to

1979. Rose Kimberley served as Administrator (membership records, subscription receipting and banking, journal mailing and sales) for 24 years from 1978.

A number of other members have had long service on the National Committee and these include Bert Rosettenstein and Tim Tanser (1981 to 2003), Richard Franks (1973 to 2002), Richard Wood (1984 to 2003), John Bousfield (1990 to 2003), and Raol Zeederberg (1989 to 2003).

NAME AND OBJECTS CHANGES

We changed our name from the Rhodesia Africana Society to the Rhodesiana Society in 1958 and to the History Society of Zimbabwe in 1981. Similarly, our objects changed in 1969 to the following:

(a) to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Zimbabwean history;
(b) to publish a journal to further this aim;
(c) to hold meetings and to arrange field expeditions;
(d) to promote and further the interests of collectors of books and items of historical interest;
(e) to give support to any proposals for the preservation of buildings of historical significance.

BOOK SERVICE

The Society began in 1953 with the emphasis on the acquisition of books on Rhodesia by purchase or exchange. This object was superseded by the publication of a journal and the organisation of talks, outings and expeditions. A few years ago, however, a book service where members could buy and sell Rhodesiana and Africana books was established with the Society paying for the construction of a prefabricated book room on John Ford's property in Greystone Park. Under John Ford's management the book service has flourished beyond all expectation and today it provides a very valuable service to our members. A commission of 15% is charged on sales, with 10% being utilised to finance management and operating costs and 5% accruing to the Society.

MAPS AND PLAQUES

In association with the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe and the National Trust of Zimbabwe the Society helped to finance the printing in colour of a map of Harare showing the location of some 40 or more historic buildings within the city boundaries. The map can still be purchased for a nominal price.

Subsequently, the National Trust of Zimbabwe during the Presidency of the writer of this article proposed that suitable plaques be made and erected on the historic buildings concerned and agreed to finance the cost jointly with the History Society of Zimbabwe. The position today is that 43 plaques have been made and plaques have been erected on all the privately owned buildings with plaques soon to be erected on the State owned buildings. When all plaques have been erected it is hoped to have a series of ceremonial walks with talks at each building.

JUBILEES

In 1978 the Society celebrated its Silver Jubilee with a full programme of special events and functions.

The celebrations were formally opened on Friday 12 May with a special retreat ceremony at Government house, followed the next day by a Symposium of five lectures by Messrs Latham, Dickinson, Burke, Storry and Roberts, and a glittering banquet in the evening attended by 218 members and guests. On the Sunday a nostalgic steam train journey was made from Harare to Marondera and back with no less than 550 participants making the journey. There were also a National High Schools Art Exhibition and a National High Schools Essay Competition.

Other Societies and Institutions joined in support and put on exhibitions to coincide with our Silver Jubilee and these included the National Archives, the National Gallery, the Prehistory Society, the Heraldry and Genealogy Society, the Mashonaland Photographic Society and the Vintage Car Club.

A limited issue of commemorative beer mugs and a Portfolio of Historic Botanical Prints limited to 500 sets were produced as well as a specially printed souvenir brochure for the train trip.

By September of that year the Society's worthy Editor, Vernon Brelsford, had produced a 126 page journal describing the events and functions and containing the full text of the lectures.

This year, 2003, we celebrate our Golden Jubilee and we had planned a programme of five public lectures to take place followed by a Golden Jubilee banquet. Additionally, and all at a single easily accessible venue, we had arranged for some ten kindred societies to mount displays ranging from coins to stamps and heraldry to succulent plants and for the Society's Book Service to offer for sale a large quantity of books on Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular. Sadly, however, due to the continuing fuel crisis, it was deemed prudent to cancel the lectures and displays. The banquet will take place as planned, this special commemorative issue of our journal will appear and our 50th Anniversary year has been officially and nationally commemorated by a commemorative issue of four postage stamps which appeared at the beginning of calendar year 2003.

Outings and Talks Organised by The History Society of Zimbabwe between 1953 and 2002

by T. F. M. Tanser

When the small group of men first assembled to discuss their common interest in matters historical, could they ever have anticipated the degree to which their shared vision and enthusiasm would impact on future generations?

Although originally assembled as a group with the common interest of the collection of Rhodesiana books, it is evident from the attached list that there was also the wish to expand the scope of each member's historical interest and knowledge. Whilst talks were infrequent in the early years of the Society's history, it was really from the formation of the branches of the society that outings and talks became the main focus of it.

The inaugural meeting of the Committee of the Mashonaland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society was held at 16 Fleetwood Road, Alexandra Park Harare at the home of Mr G. H. Tanser on the 4th August 1969. The composition of that first committee was as follows:

Chairman: Mr G. H. Tanser

Vice-Chairman: Mr E. Burke

Honorary Secretary and Treasurer: Mrs R. M. T. Barker

Committee Members: Mr M. J. Kimberley, Mr W. D. Gale, Mr C. W. H. Loades, Col. A. S. Hickman, Miss C. Von Memerty, Dr. R. C. Howland.

At that first meeting, it was agreed that Messrs Tanser and Loades would discuss with Mr Bowen, a tour to Hartley Hills to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the naming of Hartley Hills by Thomas Baines. This outing did take place on Sunday 28th September 1969 and was the forerunner of the numerous outings which have occurred thereafter.

The schedule which follows refers to outings and talks organised by the National Committee and then by the Mashonaland Branch Committee. Endeavours will be made in future editions of this journal to catalogue also the many and meaningful outings undertaken by the Matabeleland and Manicaland branches of the Society.

As the number of the attendees at the outings grew, following the inauguration of the Mashonaland Branch, so additional efforts were made by the committee to ensure that all those present could both hear proceedings and also receive some written information upon which they could dwell at their leisure.

To begin with, much assistance was forthcoming from Lever Brothers which made available to the branch, its public address vehicle. This vehicle, proudly displaying all manner of marketing brands sold by Lever Brothers, was for many years, the means whereby members of the Society could hear the talks. This was particularly vital for the many town talks which were undertaken in the 1970s, although these talks always occurred on a Sunday, there was always much traffic in the city and many passers-by

would also join the group to hear stories of our historic buildings and personalities. In due course, the Branch purchased its own public address system.

During the same period, an approach was made to National Breweries which, through its Public Relations Manager, Mr Roger Seaton, was most helpful and generous in offering sponsorship for the publication of brochures to accompany each major outing.

In all, eight of these brochures were prepared and the brochures, initially sold at 10cents per brochure are still much sought after in any Rhodesiana collection.

Following the termination of sponsorship by National Breweries, the Society's subsequent brochures were produced by individual members of the society for particular outings. The first of these was on Mutare, Premier Estate, Old Mutare and Penhalonga which was written and prepared by Mr John Ford who was the coordinator and tour planner of that particular memorable outing.

This was followed by the largest brochure publication, comprising sixteen pages on the visit to the Laager Site near Iron Mine Hill, the Shangani Battlefield and Fort Gibbs. The information in this brochure was made available substantially by a British Army Officer, Major Tomes who was serving with the British Military Attachment Forces in Zimbabwe in the early 1980s. He undertook extensive investigation into the 1893 columns which resulted in the annexure of Matabeleland to the British South Africa Company's domain. Major Tomes and the writer of this article were responsible for compiling this brochure.

The eleventh brochure produced was for the visit to the Mangwe/Marula area in 1995.

Here, Mr Mike Whiley funnelled his considerable enthusiasm into preparing the brochure and leading the relevant tour to the above areas. This tour included a ride in an ox wagon behind a team of sixteen oxen. Another most memorable outing.

The final brochure was that produced for the outing to Falcon College, Selous' House, Fort Umlugulu and the Great Indaba Site in the Matopos prepared by the writer of this article.

A full list of the brochures is as follows:

Mashayamombe's Kraal and Fort Martin	26 July 1970
Historic Mazoe	20 June 1971
Salisbury's Historic Buildings and Sites	26 September 1971
Salisbury-Shamva line: farewell to steam	29 October 1972
Fort Haynes and Makoni's Stronghold	23 September 1973
Chishawasha	28 July 1974
The Laager Site at Iron Mine Hill, Fort Gibbs and Nalatale Ruins	29–30 May 1976
Salisbury-Marandellas line	14 May 1978
Centenary of the Matabele War of 1893	25–26 September 1993
Bulawayo Club, Mangwe Pass, Fort Mangwe, John Lee's House, Old Cemetery and The Rosenfels at Glenmore	26–28 May 1995
Esigodini area, Falcon College, Quiet Waters, Selous' House, Indaba Site Matopos	28-29 September 1996

What must be said is that the outings undertaken by the Society on behalf of its members have provided far more than just historical facts. Over many years, the Society has sought to have a major annual outing, always to different parts of the country over a two or three day period. These outings laid the foundation for many firm friendships to be struck between members. They also gave vent to enormous cohesion, company, conviviality and a great deal of humour. This was so, particularly up to the 1990s, when outings used to be undertaken in buses. Each bus had a "conductor" who, with a mixture of humour, tact and firmness was responsible for ensuring that all the passengers on "his" bus were comfortable, well looked after and above all that no member of the bus was left behind!

Many of the outings, the accommodation for which was undertaken at hotels such as Tambuti Lodge in Chiredzi, Rhodes Inyanga, Brondesbury, The Village Inn, Chimanimani, Kariba Breezes, Great Zimbabwe, Flame Lily Motel in Gweru and Maleme Dam Lodges in Matopos, left indelible impressions upon all those who attended.

How clearly I recall the initial consternation and then the humour when, having organised an outing to the Chimanimani/Melsetter area in 1990 we all settled down to have dinner at the Chimanimani Hotel. Six months' notice had been given to the hotel of our arrival and precise numbers had been conveyed. Shortly after all ninety of us sat down for dinner, the kitchen doors opened and some rather delicious looking soup was placed in plates before eight of our members. The remainder of our number looked on enviously as the soup was drunk and obviously thoroughly enjoyed. Shortly after the last of the eight fortunates to have received the soup consumed his, the kitchen doors opened once again and the waiters reappeared to remove the eight soup plates. I went into the kitchen to enquire when the remaining eighty-two might be fortunate enough to obtain soup to be told that that was all the soup plates which were available! Having explained the position to all present, the meal inevitably spilled well over the conventional time a dinner should take but the availability of local wines and other cheer-making beverages ensured that the dinner was fun and was never forgotten.

After the meal, I addressed the manager of the hotel and indicated that whilst the dinner had been most enjoyable we had a very tight schedule to adhere to the following day, and therefore, by breakfast it was necessary that there were adequate receptacles, crockery and cutlery to enable us to get on our way by the appointed time. How the hotel did it, I shall never know, but the next morning we had an array of fine bone china mixed together with plastic, chipped enamel and all other manner of receptacles. Once again this was a cause of tremendous humour amongst all our members and is merely an example of how much more these outings have meant to members than just learning about the history of the country.

As would be seen by the attached schedule, outings have covered virtually the entire country. From time to time the committee has been constrained by the difficulties of arranging outings to certain areas of the country initially as a result of the bush war and more recently as a result of security concerns following the removal of commercial farmers and the consequential results.

The committee has always sought to organise a blend of outings so that the interest of all members should have been accommodated at one time or another. The discussions

we have heard have covered the entire gamut of history from the earliest inhabitants of this part of the world up to the settlement of Mashonaland and the subsequent development of its infrastructure. There have been talks on virtually every aspect of agriculture; on mining; on transport in all its forms of air, road and rail; on historic buildings in Harare, Mutare, Gweru and Bulawayo and the people who built them and worked in them; on the civil administration and on all the military undertakings both within the country and from the country; on the wars in which people from this country have participated over the years including the two World Wars, the Anglo Boer War, the Columns of 1890 and 1893 and the Uprisings of 1896; on books, stamps, coins, medals, plants, heraldry and genealogy; on historic schools and historic churches; tours to engineering masterpieces such as Kariba dam and Kyle dam; visits to places reflecting our ancient heritage such as Great Zimbabwe, Harlech Ruins, Diana's Vow paintings and many many more.

A word must be stated of the intense efforts made by Branch Committees to ensure the success and enjoyment of each outing. All talks and outings require some planning but the planning and preparations of the major outings is a matter of almost military precision. Hard on the heels of the initial idea, reccees would be undertaken, timings, distances and routes established, bookings made, speakers secured, brochures and circulars prepared, budgets calculated, transport and accommodation organised, coordinators appointed, responses recorded and finally, the outing undertaken.

Members of the society have been privileged to get such a sense of the incredible variety, magnificence, beauty, ruggedness, fascination and attraction of this country and to learn a little of those many folk, who contributed in major and minor ways, but all of whom helped weave the tapestry that makes up our country and region.

As we look back over the last fifty years of outings, meetings and talks arranged by the society, let us hope and pray that we all may be blessed to continue to participate in such activities during the years ahead.

In concluding, I express my grateful thanks for the considerable inputs made to the List which follows by Ian Johnstone and especially by Bert Rosettenstein and Mike Kimberley who went through about 30 years of outing circulars to ensure completeness of the List.

Date	**Subject/Outing Comments** *(Speakers In Parenthesis)*
1953 2 September	Early Hunters in Africa (Major W. R. Foran)
1953 18 October	New light on Dr. Livingstone (B. W. Lloyd)
1954 4 July	Bushman Art (Mrs E. Goodall)
1954 3 November	Northern Rhodesiana (W. V. Brelsford)
1958 14 March	Norton District in the Mashonaland Rebellion (Col. A. S. Hickman)
1959 24 July	Representatives of the Ancient Yellow Races of Africa in Southern Rhodesia (T. R. Trevor Jones)
1960	The Documentation of Mozambique and Rhodesia (500–1830) (T. W. Baxter)

1964	26 August	Film: "Harare: the story of Salisbury," (Dr. R. C. Howland). Film: "Southern Rhodesia is this your Country?" (Gaumont British).
1964	2 September	Tour of the National Archives of Rhodesia, led by the Director
1965	25 February	Britain and Rhodesia 1888–1898, (R. Brown).
1965	30 June	African History Prior to 1870, (E. C. Tabler)
1965	18 November	Film: "The Changing Face of Salisbury," (Dr. R. C. Howland).
1965	18 November	The Story of Highlands, (G. H. Tanser).
1965	2 December	Bringing Mendelssohn up to date, (D. H. Varley).
1966	17 June	Rhodesia in Books: from the Arabs to 1890, (E. E. Burke)
1966	13 October	Film: "Heroism at Mazoe", (Dr. R. C. Howland).
1967	23 November	Film: "The Pioneers", (Dr. R. C. Howland). Talk: The History of Nursing in Rhodesia, (Professor M.Gelfand).
1968	21 April	City Tour: The Kopje Club, The Market Hall, The Kopje, Ranche House, The First Jacaranda, The Residency, Government House, Old Salisbury Hospital and Jameson House (G. H. Tanser and Dr. R. C. Howland)
1969	19 March	Some films of Historical Interest (Dr. R. C. Howland and E. Burke)
1969	18 May	City Tour.
1969	28 September	Hartley Hills (J. Bowen)
1970	26 July	Fort Martin/Norton area (G. H. Tanser). 70 cars with 250 members attended. Brochures to commemorate the event were sold at 10 cents per brochure.
1971	20 June	Alice Mine and Scene of Mazoe Patrol Action (Dr. R. C. Howland). 6 buses and 327 members attended. The petrol cost of buses was 40 cents per mile or $26 per bus. The cost for members was $1 and 50 cents for children.
1971	26 September	City Tour: The Market Hall, The Transport Camp, The First Jacaranda Tree, The Drill Hall, Girls High School, Cecil House, Jameson House (G. H. Tanser)
1972	29 October	Train Trip through Mazoe Valley to Glendale, talks at Selby (G. H. Tanser), Glendale (T. W. Baxter), Jumbo (R. Franks) Concession (T. W. Kennedy–Grant). Lunchbox provided by Rhodesia Railways cost $1 and total fare including lunch was $3.50 per person
1973	23 September	Fort Haynes and Makoni's Kraal. Cost per head for bus trip $2.50.
1973	18 November	Coach trip along Manica Road.
1974	12 May	Tour of Parliament to celebrate 50th Anniversary of Parliament.
1974	25 June	Films: "No mean City", "50 years of Parliament", "Sterling Pioneers". 280 members attended.

1974	28 July	Chishawasha (Fr. Rea, Col. A. S. Hickman and Messrs G. H. Tanser, R. Turner and E. Burke).
1974	21/22 September	Zimbabwe Ruins and Morgenster Mission. Members invited to civic cocktail party by Mayor of Fort Victoria. Members travelling in each other members' cars to pay $8. Extra petrol coupons applied for.
1975	10 August	Harare Town Walk (Messrs G. H. and T. Tanser and W. D. Gale).
1975	16 September –14 October	National Historical Association Exhibition at the National Gallery.
1976	29 /30 May	Fort Gibbs, Nalatale Ruins, Bonko Battle Site and Iron Mine Hill, (Major B. Davie, Dr. T. Huffman, G. H. Tanser).
1976	19 September	Manica Road Walk (Messrs G. H. and T. Tanser and E. Burke).
1977	18 September	Salisbury Kopje. Talks on suburbs referred to on the toposcope, Mount Hampden (G. H. Tanser), Marlborough and Mabelreign (W. D. Gale), Avondale (Mrs John) and Waterfalls (Mrs Izzett).
1978	19 February	Talks on Northern Suburbs. Mt. Pleasant (G. H. Tanser), Highlands, (T. Tanser), Borrowdale, (R. C. Smith), Hillside, (Mrs R. Henshall). Registration fee $1.50.
1978	8–12 May	Silver Jubilee Symposium Talks: The Monomatapa Period followed by the rise of the Rozwe (J. K. Latham), The Explorations of the Portuguese and the spread of the Portuguese influence (Dr R. Dickenson), 19th Century Hunters and Explorers (E. Burke), The Administrators (G. Storry), The Settlers (G. H. Tanser). These talks were all published in an occasional paper following The Silver Jubilee.
1978	12–14 May	Silver Jubilee Celebrations: Retreat Ceremony at Government House.
1978	14 May	Silver Jubilee–Steam train journey Salisbury–Bromley/ Melfort–Marandellas (G. H. Tanser, M.J. Kimberley, His Worship the Mayor of Marandellas Councillor N. G. Eades, Senator N. J. Brendon) The train carried 550 members of the Society and their guests–this constituted an all time record attendance for a Society function. The cost of the hire of the train was $1 380.
1978	27 September	The Life of Major F. R. Burnhan (J. P. Lott). Entrance fee 25¢.
1979	27 February	Historic films from the National Archives, "Finders Keepers", "What a Time", "Baden Powell" and "Thomas Baines".
1979	30 September	St George's College (Fr. W. F. Rea)

1979	November	Talks on Northern Suburbs: Rhodesville (J. H. G. Robertson), Milton Park (Mrs J. Honey), Hillside (Mrs R. Henshaw).
1980	13 April	Rhodes of Africa film at Vistarama Cinema, Avondale.
1980	26 October	City Tour (Cecil House, Chaplin Building, etc).
1981	4 March	Film show: "The 1947 Royal Tour of Rhodesia", "Livingstone's River" presented by Sir David Attenborough. Cost of teas 15c per person. Cost of Llewellin lecture theatre $35.
1981	31 May	Police Camp Morris Depot, Officers Mess (Supt. Piggott, Assistant Commissioner, W. R. Buchanan, Messrs Ashwin and Spencer Cook).
1981	18 October	Lekkerwater Ruins (Tsindi), Theydon, Bernard Mzeki's Shrine and Ruzawi School (Dr. R. Dickenson, Dr. P. Grant, R. Brooker).
1982	5 July	Beatrice, Joyce Mine and Didcott Ruins (Messrs J. Fleming, N. Levine, and Mrs P. Izzett).
1982	1 August	City Tour: (Lonrho Building, Parliament, Stables, Prime Minister's Office, Administrative Court, Mother Patrick's mortuary, Roman Catholic Cathedral and Cecil House (Messrs Spencer-Cooke and T. Tanser).
1982	26 September	Goromonzi, Fort Harding (Messrs R. Wood and R. Franks).
1983	24 July	Fort Martin and Hartley Hills (Dr D. Beach and J. Bowen). Mutoko area and Mutemwa Cave (Messrs R. Wood and P. Garlake).
1983	4 September	Arcturus, Bunga Forest, Chishawasha (S. Carey, R. W. Petheram, Fr. Davies SJ)
1984	20 May	Henderson Research Station and adjacent granite hills including Mbuya Nehanda's area.
1984	7/8 July	Lowveld, Murray MacDougall's House and Museum, The Water Works, Sugar Mill, Ethanol Plant, Ginnery, Tunnel and Syphon and Game Ranch (Drs. C. Saunders and J. Wilson, R. Sparrow). Travel was by Chartered Air Zimbabwe Flight. The cost of the charter was $5 605 at $100 per person.
1984	30 September	Shamva (Mrs E. A. Logan, Messrs A. Blick, R. Morkel, A. Ewing and Mrs Pope)
1985	January	Film show on the construction of Kariba Dam (I. Shand).
1985	10 March	Train trip from Harare to Glendale via Jumbo and Concession (Messrs P. Garlake, R. Franks, R. Wood and H. L. Rosettenstein) The cost of the hire of the train was $2748.00 .
1985	19 May	Castle Kopje Wedza (Archeological diggings and San paintings)
1985	14 July	Ewanrigg (Messrs Buckland and M.J. Kimberley)
1985	8 September	Chinamora and Masembura (Messrs P. Garlake, A. M.Rosettenstein and R. Franks)

1985	4–6 October	Bulawayo and Matopos, including Laing's Battlefield, World's View, Pomongwe Cave, Research Station, Reps School and Nswatugi Cave (Messrs R. Rudd, L. Bolze, M.Whiley and R. Stephens, Mrs Waddy and Mrs Daines)
1986	19/20 September	Nyanga, Colonial history, Nyangwe Ruins Agricultural Research Station (Messrs R. W. Petheram, M.J. Kimberley, B. Payne, J. Thokosani, and Miss H. Forbes)
1986	18 May	Hunyani Poort Dam and Norton graves and Arboretum (Messrs R. Wood, I. Shand and R. W. Petheram)
1986	3 August	Mvurwi, Mutorashanga, Getrude Page's Grave, Dawsons, Palm Block (Messrs J. Ford, R. Hurlbatt, R. Light, M. Dawson, P. Haxen, G. Douglas and Mrs Bamber)
1986	16 November	Goromonzi (Messrs R. Wood and J. Ford)
1987	17 May	Mazowe area, Alice Mine, Stori's Golden Shaft Mine, Fort Alderson (Messrs R. Wood, R. Franks and T. Tanser)
1987	26 July	Mt. Hampden, St Francis Chapel, Danbury Farm, (Messrs T. Bayley, A. M. Rosettenstein and Mrs B. Bayley and Mrs M. Marcou)
1987	11–13 September	Mutare (Utopia, Kopje House, Mutare Museum, Premier Estate, Old Mutare, La Rochelle, Penhalonga, Mutare Club, Meikle House)
1988	26 June	Enterprise area (Mr. and Mrs. Mackintosh, and Mr and Mrs Carey and Messrs N. S. Wingfield, P. Lombard and Howson)
1988	30/31 July	Masvingo, Great Zimbabwe and Lake Kyle (Messrs P. Garlake and M.Lotter)
1988	2 October	Lowdale, Glenara Estate and Source of Mazowe River (Messrs D. Parkin and M.Townsend)
1989	2 February	Rhodesian Postal History (C. Russell)
1989	5 March	Siswa Kopje (Messrs C. Lloyd and R. Wood)
1989	21 May	Mukwadzi, Ayrshire Mine, Eyres Pass and Mazwikadei Dam (Messrs D. Bowen, R. Burrett, L. Perry, D. Collett and P. Lapham)
1989	30 July	Bernard Mzeki Shrine, Tsindi Ruins and Ruzawi School (Dr. J. Clatworthy, Dr. R. Dickinson and R. Brooker)
1989	23/24 September	Van Der Byl Cairn, Fort Haynes, Harlech Ruins, Diana's Vow and Makoni's Kraal (Messrs T. Tanser, J. Bousfield, D. C. Munch and P. Garlake)
1989	5 November	Town walk along Manica Road, Kingsway, Stanley Avenue, First Street, Baker Avenue, and Third Street (Messrs P. Jackson and T. Tanser)
1990	19 February	Karl Mauch Video
1990	26 March	B. S. A. Company Stamps (J. Landau)
1990		Fort Charter, Waddilove Mission and Pioneer Cemetry (Messrs D. Worthington, C. Lloyd, Rev. G. Malaba and Dr. J. Clatworthy)

1990	29 July	Mount Hampden and Rhodes (R. Wood), Selous (J. Ford) and The Pioneer Column (T. Tanser)
1990	27–30 September	Chimanimani, Melsetter, Mt. Selinda, Thomas Moodie Memorial (Messrs H. DeBruijn, R. Fennell, Webster, P. Edwards, and R. Wood)
1991		The History of the Jewish Community (V. Levey)
1991	19 May	Kadoma, Chakari, John Mack Library and Museum, Cam and Motor Mine and Cotton Research Board (Mrs Kemple, Messrs M.Tracey, Milburn, Black, A. Prentice and P. Sternberg)
1991	24 March	Town walk to Legislative Assembly/Cecil Hotel, BSA Company building, Presidents office, The Stables, the Administrative Court, Mother Patrick's Mortuary, Earl Grey Building, Old Salisbury Hospital Site, Dominican Convent, Catholic Cathedral and Cecil House (Messrs P. Jackson and T. Tanser)
1991	12–14 July	Kariba, its planning and construction, Operation Noah (Messrs G. Woods, Garrett, R. Woolacott, I. Shand, Dr. J. Condy and Prof. Magadza)
1991	4 September	Talk by Lord Blake on his experiences while researching his book "The History of Rhodesia". Attended by 250 people.
1991		National Archives and Rumbavu Park (Mrs D. Charteris, Messrs I. Johnston, K. Regan, A. M.Rosettenstein, and I. Ross).
1991	11 November	Early Engineering (Y. Craster).
1992	16 March	Video taken by Mr P. Rooney who had been the treasurer of the BSA Company covering special events between 1935 and 1950.
1992	11 May	Trees of historical interest (L. Mullin). A ZESA power cut interrupted proceedings. Mr M. Kimberley then in the employ of ZESA used his influence to enable proceedings to continue.
1992		"Spook" house (Dr. B. Williams), The Old Cleveland homestead (Mrs A. Andersen) Ballyhooley Hotel (R. Burrett, and J. Tennant), Ruwa Scout Park (K. Nortje)
1992	5/6 September	Banket, Chinhoyi Country Club (I. Flanagan), Eldorado Mine (R. Burrett) Ayrshire Club and Gwina Farm (P. Nicholle, Mrs B. Graves)
1992	28 September	Historical trees (Messrs L. Mullin and D. Hartung)
1992		Commemoration of Meikles' Hundredth Anniversary (J. Meikle). Attended by 280–300 people
1992		"Simply Social" outing to Eaglesvale School (J. Bousfield)
1993		Aviation History in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe (W. Sykes)
1993	6 June	Headlands, Ruzawi School, Lewis Store and Tara Club (Dr. J. Clatworthy, Messrs A. Locke, R. Dawson and A. Fischer)

1993	20 July	Civil Aviation (J. Madders)
1993	1 August	"Countess Billie" Avondale Ridge (Messrs R. Isaacson and T. Tanser)
1993	25–26 September	Iron Mine Hill meeting place of the two columns, Fort Gibbs, Shangani Battle Site, Gweru Military Museum, Nalatale Ruins (Messrs T. Tanser, D. Grant, M. Whiley G. T. Bain, R. Burrett and P. Mavros)
1993	2 November	Armoured Vehicles in Rhodesia (P. Locke)
1993	5 December	Chedgelow Farm with the Tree Society of Zimbabwe (T. Tanser, and A. McNaughton)
1994	27 February	Talk on aviation history (Messrs P. Cooke and R. W. J. Sykes)
1994	24 April	Mrewa, Zhombgwe Kopje, Gumbariwe Cave and Mtoko (Messrs R. Wood and C. Lloyd)
1994	17 July	Town walk along Manica Road (Messrs P. Jackson and J. McCarthy)
1994	23 August	Coins (P. Locke)
1994	18 September	Felixburg, Gutu and Driefontein Mission (Messrs K. Harvey, A. M. Rosettenstein and Fr. Plangger)
1994	8 November	Video on Cape to Cairo Railway
1994	11 December	Lilfordia School (I. Campbell)
1995	7 March	The History of Rhodesian African Rifles, (W. Ferris, Col. K. Busby)
1995	26–28 May	Bulawayo Club, Marula, The Rosenfels Family, Fort Mangwe, John Lee's house, ride on ox wagon on Glenmore, (Messrs R. Rudd, M. Rosenfels, M. Whiley, R. Wood, T. Tanser and J. McCarthy, Mrs L. Campbell granddaughter of John Lee, and Mrs Coulson)
1995	1 July	Rhodesian Anti Tank Battery (W. Krog)
1995	29–30 July	Centenary area, fortification on Mr de la Farge's Farm, Mavuradonha Wilderness area, Mutoto Site and Portguese Fort (Mrs V. Price, Messrs A. Masterson, de la Farge and C. Lloyd)
1995	31 October	Boer War Video
1995	19 December	Anglo Amercian Archives (Messrs R. Lander and J. McCarthy)
1996	20 February	Broadcasting vignettes (M. Hamilton)
1996	19 May	Gatzi Kraal, Tsindi Ruins and Bernard Mizeki's shrine (Messrs R. Wood and J. McCarthy)
1996	26 May	St George's College (J. McCarthy)
1996	30 July	Zulu War video
1996	1 September	Mashayamombe's Kraal and Fort Martin (Dr. D. Beach)
1996	28–29 September	Falcon College, Esigodini, Fort Umlugulu, Selous House, The Great Indaba Site, Southern Matopos (Messrs D. Grant, E. Marais, T. Tanser and C. Aust)

1995	8 December	Resthaven (Mrs T. Duguid)
1997	4 March	First World War video (Part 1)
1997	23 June	First World War video (Part 2)
1997	27 July	Pioneer Cemetery, Harare (Mr K. Martin)
1997	22–24 August	Nyanga, Nyahokwe, Ziwa, Dutch Settlement Road, Elim Mission, Muozi Mountain (Messrs P. Stidolph and T. Tanser,)
1997	11 November	Nyanga Pre-History talk (Dr. Soper)
1997	8 February	Chishawasha Mission and Lion Stevens Grave, (together with Church Music Society) (Messrs P. Joyce, A. M. Rosettenstein, P. Jackson J. McCarthy, K. Martin and Fr. G. Hipler S. J.
1998	29 March	Mazowe Valley, Mazowe Citrus Estate, Manzau Game Park and Mazowe Dam (Messrs N. Fawcett and J. McCarthy)
1998	1–2 May	Gweru, Shurugwi and Peak Mine (Dr. C. Saunders, Messrs G. A. MacDonald, R. Burrett, the Honourable I. D. Smith and T. Dollar)
1998		Video "Behind An African Mask"
1998	21 July	Hindu Mosque outing (Messrs F. Edkins, J. Patel, V. Patel and D. Bhana)
1998	1 September	Book Collecting (K. Kirkman)
1998	20 September	Ngomakurira (R. Wood)
1998	24 October	Avondale Church and Church yard and Avondale Suburb (together with Church Music Association) (Messrs T. Tanser, K. Martin, J. McCarthy and P. Joyce). 450–500 people attended.
1999	28 March	Reps Theatre (Mrs D. Leslie and K. Martin)
1999	18 May	Rhodesiana Book Collecting (K. Kirkman)
1999	30 May	Blackfordby (Messrs L. Southey and D. Baxter)
1999	25–27 June	Chiredzi, The Lowveld, Tom Macdougal's Syphon (Drs. C. Saunders and Dr. J. Wilson, Messrs A. Bosch, C. Wenman, R. Booth, C. Style, A. Ahearn, M. Whiley and C. Stockil)
1999	12 September	Mutemwa Leper Settlement (Mrs D. Mitchell, A. Whaley and Fr. Dove)
1999	3 August	Video BBC Documentary; "Rebellion"–History of UDI
1999	30 October	Rhodesville Church (together with Church Music Society) (Dr. Bob Williams, Mrs M. Paul and P. Joyce)
1999	5 December	Prince Edward School, The Centenary (Messrs A. Seimers, D. Morgan, G. Osterberg, S. Whaley and K. Atkinson)
2000	29 February	Video Anglo/Boer War Centenary
2000	23 September	History of the Show Society and Garden Expo (Messrs R. Taylor and C. G. Tracey)
2000	3 October	Boer War Medals (P. Munday)
2000	17 October	Talk on Boer War Battlefields (J. Anderson)

2000	7 November	SABC video on the Anglo/Boer War
2000	21 November	Kenneth Griffith's video on the Anglo Boer War
2000	3 December	Harare Botanical Gardens and Alexandra Park (Dr. T. Muller)
2001	6 May	History of Meikles Hotel (Dr. N. Atkinson and Miss J. Fleming)
2001	21 July	Visit to the City Presbyterian Church (Miss L. Perold, Rev M. Chigwida and Rev Chikoma with Mr W. C. Auchterlome as Organist). Visit to the Dutch Reformed Church (Miss M. de Bruijn with Fr. D. McConkey as organist).
2001	9 September	Talk on Ridgebacks, (Ms L. Da Costa), Ballantyne Park, Weapons (D. Heath) Early Hunters (A Friend)
2001	22/23 September	Chivero National Park (Messrs G. W. Longley (dam), M. Whiley (wagons), D. Tredgold (history), L. Mullin (trees), M. Hyde (plants), A. Masterson (birds), Dr. B. Child (mammals), R. Wood (Norton Murders), A. M. Cowan (butterflies), Mrs B. Whaley (H. South), (Mrs A. Sinclair) (Norton)
2001	13 November	Video: History of the Royal Air Force
2001	9 December	Cricket (Messrs D. Houghton and A. Pichanick)
2002	5 May	Jewish Synagogue and History of the Jewish Community (Messrs R. Wood, I. Davis and A. Pollack). $13 500 collected.
2002	25 June	Video: History of the Royal Air Force (Part 2)
2002	11/12 October	Mutare/Penhalonga, La Rochelle (Messrs C. Kavanagh, P. Greeve, K. Went, B. Chadder, K. Martin, J. Meikle, J. Cinnamon, Dr. C. Saunders, Mrs T. Rogers) and the National Trust of Zimbabwe Film "The Last Shangrila" about Sir Stephen and Lady Virginia Courtauld
2002	8 December	Arundel School (Mrs D. Twiss and Mrs G. Alcock)

Fifty Years Ago

by R. D. Taylor

The first formal meeting of the founders of the History Society was held on Friday 12th June 1953 against a background nationally of great optimism, exciting changes and memorable events. These foresighted men and women felt the need to form a body to assist in the preservation of books and documents relating to the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Subsequently the objectives were widened to include the promotion and encouragement of historical research and the unity of all who wished to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of local history.

This paper attempts to capture some of the atmosphere prevailing at the time the Society was established so that we can better understand and appreciate the motivation of its founding members.

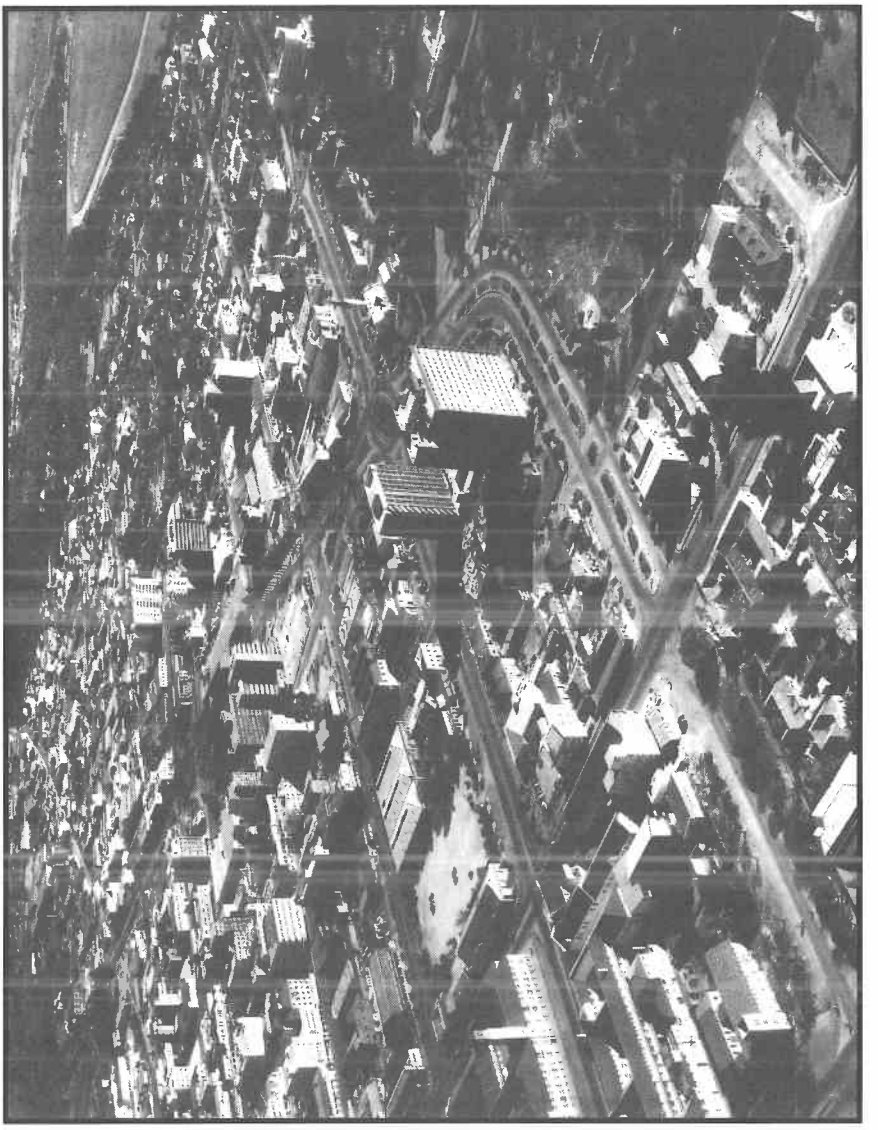
On the wider world stage Queen Elizabeth II had been crowned with traditional ceremony in Westminster Abbey on 2nd June 1953. New Zealander, Edmund P. Hillary and Sherpa Tensing climbed for the first time, the world's highest mountain, Mount Everest on 29th May. The news of the feat came through on the eve of the Coronation. Winston Churchill was the Prime Minister of Britain, General Dwight Eisenhower President of the United States, and the war in Korea after a lull while the opposing parties tried to negotiate a truce had flared up again.

In Africa the Mau Mau emergency in Kenya had started with attacks on security patrols taking place in the outskirts of Nairobi. In South Africa the National Party under Dr Malan was re-elected in a general election with an increased majority and this was seen by some as an endorsement of the policy of apartheid which his government was in the process of introducing.

In Southern Rhodesia a referendum had been held on 10th April 1953 to allow the electorate to express its view on the desirability of a federation between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Sixty three percent of those who voted were in favour of federation. Earlier in March 1953 members of the British House of Commons had voted 304 to 206 in favour of a Bill to give effect to a federation between the three territories. The Federation, which was formally inaugurated on 3rd September 1953, was to have profound economic and political consequences in later years. At the time its supporters forecast great benefits and this added to the feel good factor of the period.

Another exciting event taking place in Southern Rhodesia was the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition staged in Bulawayo from Saturday 30th May 1953 to 31st August 1953. The exhibition celebrated the centenary of the birth of Cecil John Rhodes, and was officially opened by her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother on 3rd July 1953. The Queen Mother accompanied by Princess Margaret toured Southern Rhodesia from 1st July to 16th July 1953.

The Governor General of Southern Rhodesia was Major General Sir John Kennedy who with his wife was possibly one of the most popular governors in the country's history. In terms of population the country was much smaller than it is now. Total European population was 158 500, African 2 090 000 and other races 11 400. According



Salisbury 1953
(John Rau & Co. (Pvt.) Ltd.)

to the 1951 population census the capital Salisbury had a European population of 40 433 with 75 500 Africans classified as being in employment, and Bulawayo had 32 163 Europeans and 56 000 Africans. Gwelo's population was 5 096 Europeans and 9 800 Africans with Umtali 5 734 Europeans and 10 900 Africans.

At that time the Queen's official birthday was celebrated as a public holiday. A military parade was therefore held on Thursday 11th June at the Drill Hall. The parade was commanded by Lt. Col. G. H. Hartley of the Royal Rhodesia Regiment. Col. Hartley was later to become Speaker of Parliament. Sir Robert Tredgold, the Chief Justice was inspecting officer and a 21-gun salute was fired by guns of the Southern Rhodesia Artillery. As part of the activities that day the Mashonaland Turf Club held a Farmers' Day race meeting at Belvedere Race Course. Judging by the names it appears that farmers not only owned the horses but also rode them.

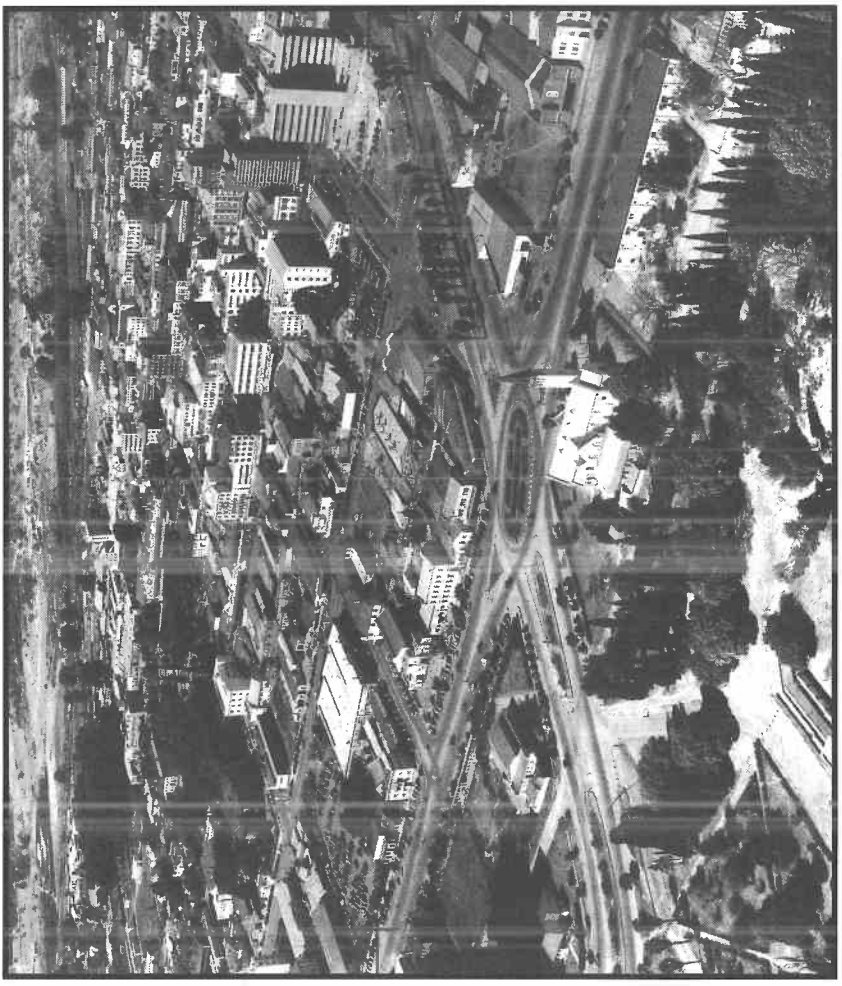
The Southern Rhodesia Air Force had a memorable and exciting weekend, for on 13th and 14th June the first air rally was held at the new Salisbury Airport. The Commander of the Air Force was Colonel E. W. S. Jacklin and the display was under the control of Captain A. O. G. Wilson later to become Air Marshal Wilson. Participating aircraft from the SRAF included Tiger Moths and Spitfires. The Royal Air Force sent 266 (Rhodesia) Squadron from Germany with its Venom fighters. These were accompanied by a Canberra bomber, Meteor night fighter and Lincoln piston engine bomber. The South African Air Force sent 3 Vampire fighters, 4 Harvard trainers and Ventura bomber.

The Royal Air Force Rhodesia Air Training Group was winding down its activities, but sent nine Harvard trainers from Thornhill Gwelo to join in the display. The display was however, marred by a tragic mid-air collision between two RAF Harvard's, which resulted in the death of three RAF aircrew. The writer recalls as a small boy the horror as the wreckage fell to the ground and burst into flame fortunately away from the crowd in the vicinity of the present civil air terminal. The terminal hadn't been built at the time.

For the British South Africa Police in Salisbury under its Commissioner Brigadier J. Appelby the weekend of 13/14 June 1953 was a busy one due to the move from the old police station in Baker Avenue to the new police station in Railway Avenue. The new station was a vast improvement on the old one and is still in use today.

The establishment of a university had been the topic of debate for some time. The Report on the Commission on Higher Education for Africans in Central Africa was published on 20th May 1953. It recommended an inter-racial university college at either Salisbury or Lusaka. The inaugural board of the Rhodesian University project in Salisbury announced on 6th June 1953 that the university would be completely inter-racial. The board favoured the Mount Pleasant site and no time was lost as the Queen Mother laid the foundation stone on 13th July 1953.

The local airline Central African Airways was having a difficult period as its fleet of eight Viking aircraft had been grounded following the discovery of cracks in one of its Vikings involved in a fatal accident on 29th March 1953 in Tanganyika. Eight passengers and five crew members were killed. The airline operated hired aircraft but still managed to carry 8 147 passengers in June 1953. Rhodesia Railways were fully occupied carrying 242 694 passengers and 668 125 tons of goods during the month.



Salisbury 1953
(John Rau & Co. (Pvt.) Ltd.)

The pages of the *Rhodesia Herald* for 12th June make interesting reading and provide an insight into social and other activities taking place. The front page was full of overseas news with headlines recording that Czech rioters had raised American flags and destroyed pictures of Stalin. The war in Korea was given substantial coverage. The only news of local interest was a report from London stating that the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins and Mr P. B. Fletcher Minister of Native Affairs were among a group of 20 Rhodesians received by Queen Elizabeth and Princess Margaret in Clarence House the previous night. In the only advertisement on the page Saunders were offering tailored all day frocks in Maygaishel Linen for sizes 12 to 40 for 63 shillings. The ladies page contained an interview by Jill with Mrs Ruby Fairbridge, widow of Kingsley Fairbridge who was paying her first visit to Rhodesia. On the same page Haddon and Sly advertised Worsted Flannel Suiting and Gaberdine ladies suits from £13.

Puzey and Payne invited people to come in and inspect the famous Raleigh bicycles. No mention of motor cars! Friday's Herald always contained a farming page, which on this day recorded egg prices had firmed from 5 shillings to 5 shillings and 6 pence a dozen. Kimptons advertised Field Marshall 3 series 40 horsepower tractors. Tobacco seed of the White Stem Orinoco variety could be purchased from Harland Brothers of Rusape at 12*s* 6*d* an ounce. A 300ft × 54in roll of tobacco paper cost 42*s* 6*d* a roll. Another report said that the outbreak of foot and mouth was under control and permits for wild game products would now be issued except for Melsetter, Chibi, Nuanetsi, Victoria, Ndanga, Charter, Bikita and Gutu districts.

The letters page contained a complaint about the condition of the Hatfield Road. Several letters were also published about the chaos in the queues for cinema tickets in particular the one for tickets for the Coronation film a Queen is Crowned. It was said that European police constables were taking advantage of their uniform to buy tickets without entering a queue. At the cinemas one could choose between the Palace showing *The Cruel Sea*, Victory showing *Flame of Araby* with Maureen O'Hara and Jeff Chandler, Princes an action packed western *Red Mountain* starring Alan Ladd and Elizabeth Scott and finally The Little Palace had Bill Williams in the *Rookie Fireman*.

Saturday night was popular for dances and on the 13th June townsfolk could put on their evening dress and go to the Grand Hotel and dance to Jimmy Wild and his orchestra from 9.00 p.m. until 1.00 a.m. for the cost of £1 double. Highlands Park Hotel also required evening dress to dance to Gordon Yates and the Ambassadors.

The editorial in the Herald on 12th June commented on several issues including Soviet Foreign Policy, Rhodes Centenary Exhibition which was fulfilling the highest hopes of the organisers and a welcome for the open rugby promised by the visiting Wallabies. The sports page has a familiar ring to the reader of fifty years later. Don Black hit the headlines by winning the third round mens doubles at the West of England Lawn Tennis Championships in Bristol. He had reached the quarter final of the singles the previous day. Rhodesia had also made a name for itself in motorcycle racing. Ray Amm would be riding in the 500cc Isle of Man Tourist Trophy Race that day. For the record he won and this win followed his win in the junior Isle of Man TT race shortly before. The page also had a report that the Wallabies had arrived in South Africa for the first time in 20 years after a 3-day flight. They promised to play open rugby. There was also a photograph of Sir Gordon Richards winning his first Derby the previous

Saturday on Pinza. For gentleman readers H. M. Barbour were advertising Hector Powe of Regents Street London suits for men at £23.17.6.

The smalls advertisements make interesting reading in particular the values of property and motor cars. Some examples are: -

2 acre corner plot in Arcturus Road, Greendale	£1600
Avenues Modern Double Storey House	£6750
Alex Park Double Storey House	£9500
Milton Park House	£8500
Athlone House	£5500

Foreign exchange wasn't a problem and for your retirement cottage you could buy a vacant stand close to the beach at Hermanus Cape for £350. A 2250 acre farm at Umvukwes with six barns and river running through was on offer at £8000, and a 1000 acre undeveloped red soil farm on the Umfuli River was going at £7 acre.

A wide choice of second hand cars was available including: -

1948 Chevrolet sedan	£600
1951 Vauxhall Velox sedan	£425
1950 Ford Mercury sedan	£950
1949 Vanguard sedan	£375
1949 Morris Minor Tourer	£285
1942 Studebaker Champion sedan	£245

Interestingly the only new cars being advertised were by Saker Bartle Motors who were selling DKW cars at £597.

A name that was to become very prominent in the poultry industry was Mr W. M. Irvine of Waterfalls who advertised Black Leghorn cross Rhode Island Red, White Leghorn cross Rhode Island Red and pure Light Sussex and Rhode Island Red day old chicks. N. A. L. Parsons on the Hatfield Road were also selling day old chicks at £9 per 100. In the pets column Cocker Spaniel pups were offered at £2.2.0 and male Ridgeback pups were offered at 25 shillings each.

Flying objects created a lot of interest at the time and a Borrowdale resident reported an aluminium-coloured saucer moving in the direction of Salisbury at 4.30 p.m. on 11th June. Nobody else appeared to have seen it.

Finally the weather was typical for the time of year. Partly cloudy in the east but generally fine. Cold at night and cool to mild during the day with scattered frost. Maximum forecast temperature was 70° F (21°C).

The decade of the nineteen fifties was a period of great development and change in this country. This spirit was captured by the founding members who had the wisdom to realise that the changes taking place about them were profound and it was necessary to record the past before it faded into memory and subsequent oblivion. Present and future members of the Society owe them a deep gratitude in that so much of our heritage has been recorded and hopefully preserved for future generations.

Address on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the Memorial at the Mangwe Pass on the 18th July, 1954

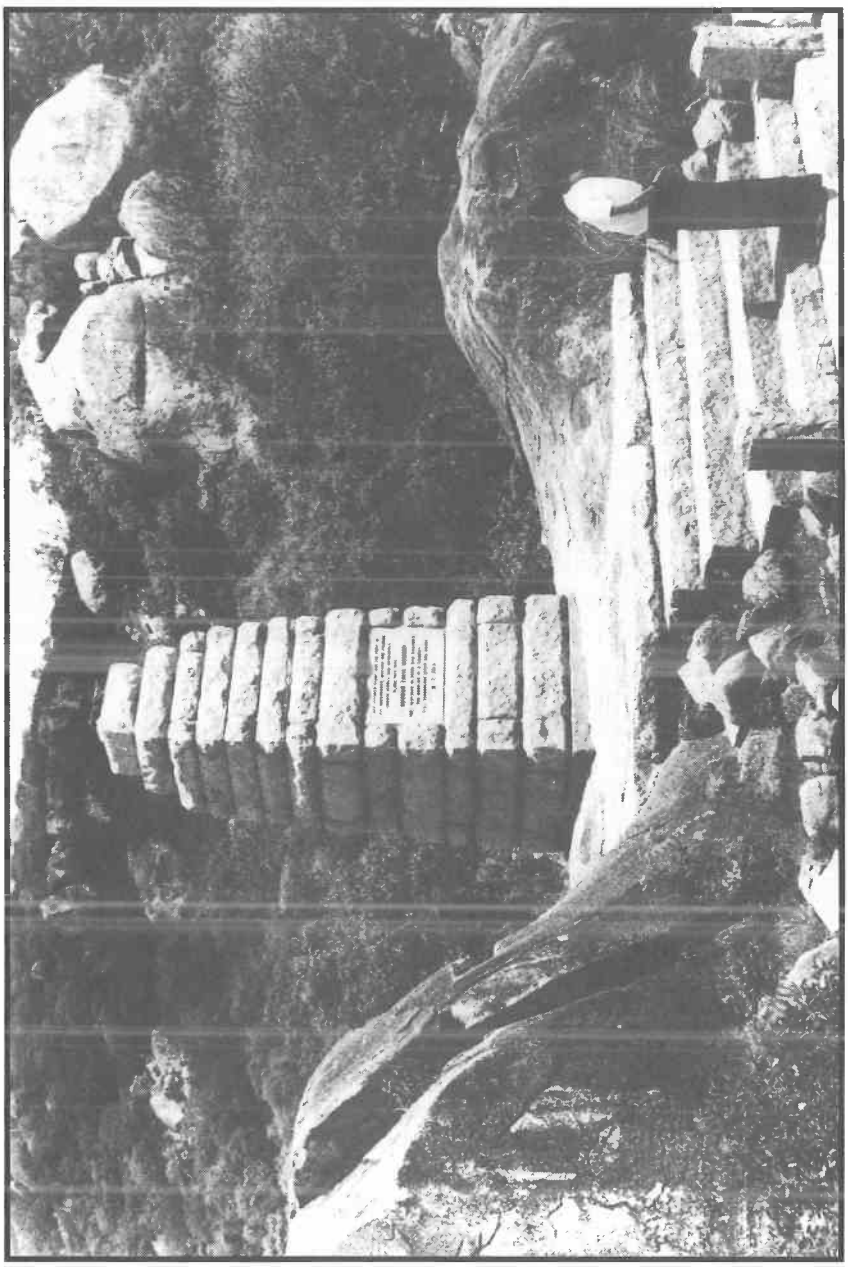
by The Honourable Sir Robert Tredgold, K.C.M.G., Q.C.

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



The Mangwe Pass Memorial
(National Archives)

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 civilisation and gracious living, and there they received fresh provisions and wise and experienced guidance. There they returned 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 their 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 civilisation 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 consequences. 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 Afrikaner 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 Father, 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 Westbeach 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-marshal 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!

(First published in *Rhodesiana* No. 1, 1956)

The Pioneer Road: Tuli to Fort Victoria in the Chibi District: 1890–1966

by D. K. Parkinson

When the Pioneer Column crossed the Lundi River heading north on 1st August 1890 it entered what is nowadays the Chibi Administrative District. It laagered, as soon as the crossing was complete, on the north-eastern bank of the river, in a reasonably flat area of land between the river and a small hill known as Chomuruwati.

Later, after the Pioneers had moved on along the road, a Post Station was established below the hill on the side facing the river, and within about 150 yards of the Pioneer road.

At the present time one can only see a levelled piece of ground on the rise to the hill with a good view of the river and surrounding country. A few bricks lie around and below the site. Between this Post Station site and the road there is a grave which is unmarked.

The Pioneer crossing point is $^{6}/_{10}$ of a mile from the Chomuruwati business centre. There is a poorly defined track said to be the Pioneer road which runs from the river crossing point to the northern end of the business centre where it joins the present road. The road between the river and the business centre is barely distinguishable nowadays as numerous cattle trails criss-cross it as it makes its way through reasonably wooded undulating country and make it difficult to identify. At the crossing point an indentation in the bank indicates where the Column emerged from the river. The Lundi itself has not changed as there is a heavily bushed bank in the river now obstructing the original clear crossing as seen in the Pioneer photograph.[1]

The Column marched on the morning of the 6th August 1890 following the road cut by the 'B' troop of the Pioneers. The road headed north then north-westerly towards a pass in the Munaka hills. Point 6 of a mile along the road it passed the Chomuruwati business centre and joined the present district road.

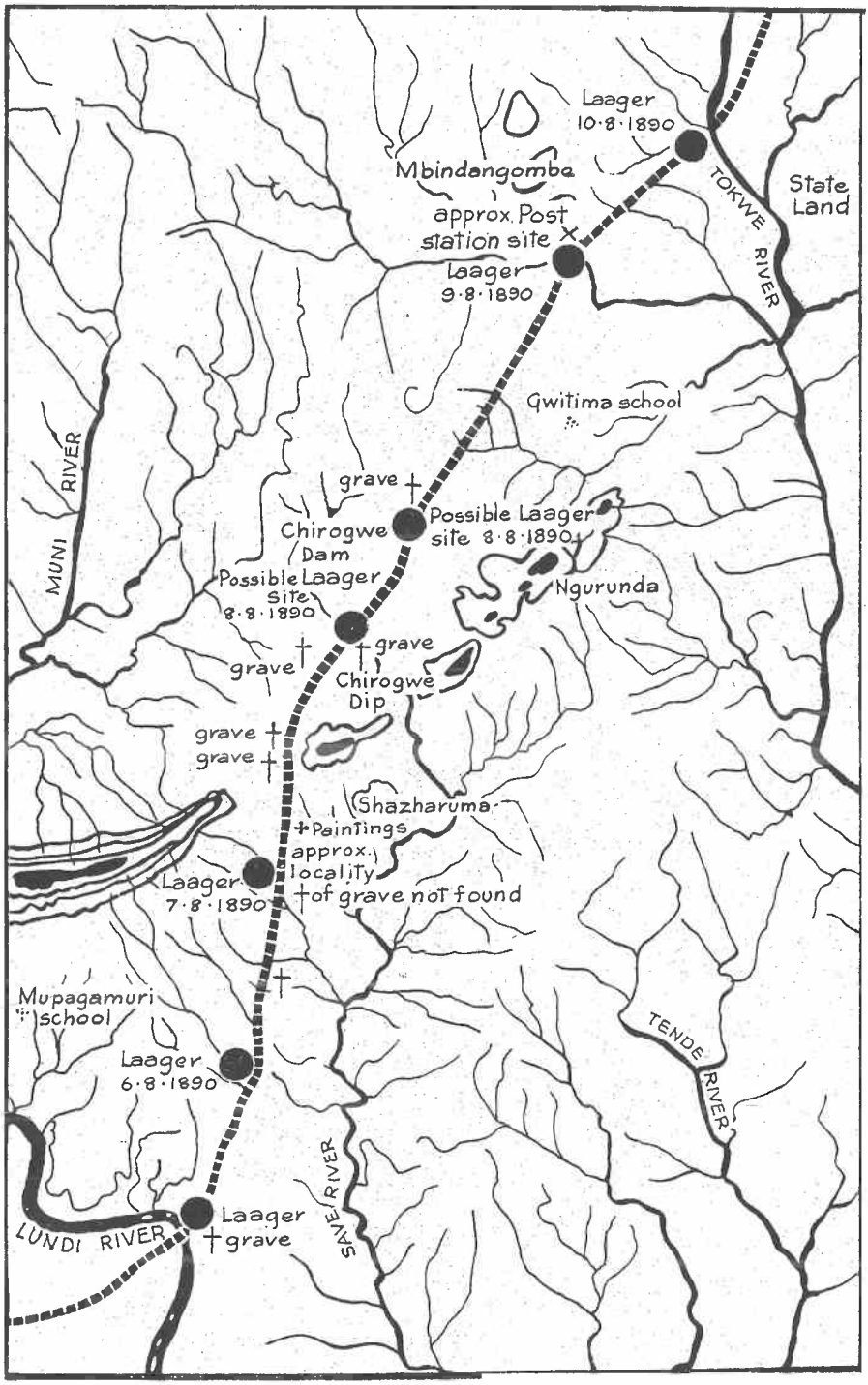
After Chomuruwati the present distinct road keeps criss-crossing the Pioneer road which here, as in most places, can be seen by an old eroded track.

The country here gives the impression of being flat; it was gently rolling scrub and forest being mainly mopani with patches of other varieties where varied levels of the land indicate different soils.

The mopani-covered areas, being poor drainage soils and normally level, are cut with sharp gulleys several times along this stretch of road; the gulleys, as deep as ten feet, are come upon suddenly. Rarely very wide, it would have been quite easy to make drifts quickly although no positive sign of such remains today.

On the 1 : 50000 map Rungai 2030 D1 in use in 1966 a laager site is shown north along the approximate track of the Pioneer road, the distance on the map being $3^{3}/_{4}$ miles from the Lundi river.

Following the rough line of the Pioneer road $3^{3}/_{4}$ miles one comes to a small stream, rather a gully cut through this level mopani type country, known as the Mashizha. On



PIONEER ROAD THROUGH CHIBI DISTRICT

the present map it would have been on the tributary of this river known as the Muzaranaweta.

There is no evidence that there was a clearing there although detailed investigation might prove some trees to be fairly recent. The river contains a number of pools which hold their water well into September/October and if the distance for the 6th August is approximately correct this can be the only camping site as in August 1890 there would have been water here.

No tribesmen can give any indication of this laager spot, as being flat country it was uninhabited in 1890 due to regular Matabele raids which kept the locals in hilly country for their protection. Travelling through this area one can well imagine the feeling of menace in 1890 of the ever present danger of Matabele attack in this flat featureless country.

Following the road, which is approximately on the present district road, north again from the Mashizha stream there is another laager site shown on the map near a river named the Obey. The column recorded that on 7th August they laagered at the Obey river. From the Mashizha to the Obey laager sites is a road distance of less than four miles, still initially cut by the odd gulley on the edge of the mopani area. Soon the mopani falls behind but for odd patches in the folds of the land. *Combretum* and other species predominate now.

Before the Obey is reached the road passes to the east of Chomukomwe hill, a small hill well wooded which rises quite sharply to two peaks the southern of which reaches a height of almost 300 feet above the surrounding country which by now is more undulating. Once beyond this hill it is often hidden from view in the small shallow valleys on the indents. The Obey river is in fact the Gwizi Gwehove or Fish river and at the crossing on the Pioneer road it has two branches. The land between the fork is fairly extensive and slightly higher than the surrounding country. It would have been adequate and ideal for a laager site. No evidence can be found that in fact it was such. Again the area was uninhabited in 1890 and the bush there nowadays has largely been cut out and only scrub remains. The crossings of both arms of this river would have required little or no work as in this area the river is a very shallow Vee in gravelly soil.

From the site on Gwizi Gwehove the road ran past the present Chikofa school and made directly for the Minda Mukova pass in the Munaka hills. Before entering the pass it runs directly through a block of cultivated lands. The present road through the pass is on the Pioneer road. To the west of the road from the Gwehove or Obey is the extensive outcrop of Shazarume, a prominent hill which is dwarfed by the well-wooded dark bulk of the Munaka hills rising some 800 feet from the plain and seeming to stretch across the horizon, appearing only to be broken by the cleft of the Minda Mukova pass for which the road makes. To reach the higher ground beyond the pass the road rises some 100 feet in a short distance giving a steep but manageable gradient. On emerging from the hills at a slightly higher altitude a series of tracks, including the present district road, fan out. The Pioneer road goes north, but following the most westerly of these tracks of various vintage issuing from the pass. The present administrative road is further to the east and on slightly higher ground.

The Pioneer road still exists as a track, from the pass to the road from Chikofa Business centre just beyond the point 2726 on the map Rungai 2030 D1 of 1966.

The Column's Order Book for the 8th August indicated that the Column laagered at Chibi's kraal. This was inaccurate, the kraal in fact being that of a relative of Chibi's to whom the Column presented a rifle which was later taken away.[2]

The exact laager site of 8th August 1890 is again not known. There are three possibilities. Working on the distance covered on each of the days of the 6th and 7th, the distance covered on the 8th would perhaps be about the same, which would in fact laager them just beyond the top of the Minda Mukova pass, an open area clear of the pass, somewhere between the pass and the present Chirogwe business centre.

Another site was said to be at Chirogwe Store. It is possible that this was confused by the locals as it became the site of an early post-rebellion Police camp. Yet it is only some 6 miles from the Gwehove and a very likely site, the building of a Police post here a few years later could be confirmation of the site.

From the Munaka hills to the Tokwe river the country is varied. From Minda Mukova to Chirogwe the country is largely open agricultural land and I was given to understand by Headman Chipindu, formerly Headman Jaka who had seen the Pioneers come along the road in 1890, that he and his family had lived on the Chirogwe hill with the 'brother' of Chibi believed by the Pioneers to be Chibi himself.

These early Chirogwe residents had their gardens south of the hill in the lands now in use. For the uncultivated part it would have been, as now, open woodland and it was through this open woodland, bordering on small gardens that the Column would have gone.

From Chirogwe Store (Wilson Store) south-east of the Chirogwe hill from which it took its name, the road goes north-east through a pass skirting a low hill on the north-west then another on the south-east to bring it to more open country over which the road made in a north-easterly direction to pass to the east of the great bulk of Zamamba hill.

Following the road criss-crossing the existing road from .2726 through the Chirogwe business centre in a north-easterly direction now heading towards the Tokwe river the road comes to a high point in the broken country nearly two miles from Chirogwe Store.

Among ruins of old huts in a fairly cleared area there is alleged to have been a laager site which was later built on by one Tawanda.

The site at Tawanda could well be the correct laager site as the map indicates a laager site in this area. The distance from the laager site on the 7th at the Gwehove to this Tawanda site on the 8th is a distance of some eight miles.

The laager of the 9th of August was recorded as on the Tukwana river. Again there is no evidence to show a laager site here, yet the Pioneer road crosses the river, again, along the line of one of the present administrative roads. Taking measurements on our existing road, $^1/_{10}$ mile from the site of Tawanda brings one to the small Muviri river. From Muviri past the existing Gwitima dip tank which is $3^1/_{10}$ miles from the Muviri the Tokwana river is reached a further $1^1/_2$ miles beyond Gwitima dip or a total of $4^7/_{10}$ miles from the Tawanda site.

The march of 9th August took the Column past Zamamba mountain from the top of which on 3rd August 1890 Selous, scouting ahead of the Column, surveyed the line of march and made out the re-entrant which on inspection became Providential Pass.

From Providential Pass on the present main Fort Victoria road one can clearly see

Zamamba mountain, which itself must be the best vantage point to view the hills which Providential pass climbs.

Progress appeared normal on the 9th being some five to seven miles in the day depending on which site, Tawanda or Chirogwe, the Column had laagered at the night before.

The Tukwana river springs from either side of Bindamombe hill. Locals say that after the Pioneers passed, a Post station was built at the Tukwana river. Locals call the area of the Post station Bindamombe rather than Tukwana and there was suggestion that the Post station was built on the laager site.

Unfortunately this site was not investigated but if the siting of the Post station followed the pattern of the Lundi station it would have been built upon the rising ground towards Bindamombe and a couple of hundred yards from the laager site which would have been on an easier gradient.

From the Tukwana to the Tokwe is a distance of some four miles. It is difficult country and no administrative road followed the Pioneer track. As can be seen from the map, numerous gulleys to both the Tukwana and Tokwe bisect the area which has poor soils and is covered largely with scrub type mopani and thorn trees of small to medium height.

As the Pioneers were following a cleared track, they would not have been impeded by bush and the slow rate of travel would therefore have been caused by the numerous minor crossings to be negotiated.

On the 10th August 1890 the Column records laagering south of the Tukwau or Tokwe river. On the 11th August 1890 the orders were written at the Tokwe river which the Column must have crossed that morning and from which it marched at 3 p.m. on the same day.

The crossing on the Tokwe is some 15–20 minutes' walk from the present Chibi clinic and near the Nyimai stream. The road itself crossed the Nyimai north of the main road to Chibi and climbed the bank of the stream to level ground which covered several hundred yards.

The crossing of the Tokwe is still quite marked by the cut in both banks of the river and rocks across the river which still show some pattern of a crossing, although they are often built up by the locals to form a ford of stepping stones due to this route still being in use by tribesmen.

The area immediately south of the Tokwe river, between it and the Nyimai, is now covered by thorn scrub, yet it is level ground and locals say that it was the laager site. One account by a local who was alive in those days gave a picture of tents in rows upon this site. This site is specifically referred to as Gururiro from the verb Kururira to outspan. It is in the area of both Gwenyanya and Pfumo kraals, in their grazing area.

Peter Forrestall, the first N.C. at Chibi, was a member of 'D' troop of the Pioneer Column and passed along the Pioneer road in 1890. In 1897, only seven years later, in fact the year that saw the abandonment of the Pioneer road as a main entry route into Rhodesia, Peter Forrestall was appointed N.C. at Chibi and although the road was no longer a national route he used this road as one of his district roads for the length of his stay there, some 21 years.

It was ultimately incorporated into and formed a basis for the existing road system.

According to the native messengers who had been stationed there for a long time it was only in the 1950s, during the time of Land Husbandry, that the original road used by Forrestall was changed, and the present district road taking the track of the original road but on a slightly more direct line and better drained was put in.

EARLY PIONEER GRAVES

No account of the Pioneer road within the Chibi District can be complete without some notes on the early Pioneer graves to be found along the side of the old road.

Returning to Chomuruwati mention has been made of a grave below the site of the old Post station and between the Post station and the old Pioneer road.

In 1965 a cattle spoor ran through the centre of this grave giving the impression of two graves one above the other. There was a story among the older tribesmen in 1965 that twins were buried there. Allegedly they were children of a couple who occupied the Post station before the turn of the century and they had died together while very young. However investigation showed that stones in the centre of the standard sized grave had been pressed into the ground by countless cattle crossing over, giving the impression of two graves with a path between. This grave was rebuilt, cleared and fenced in 1965.

In his diaries published in *Rhodesiana* No. 13 of December 1965 Victor Morier states, writing on 9th October 1890 from the Lundi Post station: "I have had to break off this letter for a very melancholy duty. A waggon came in with one of the Post-Riders from the last station, Setoutsie. The poor fellow was very bad with fever when I passed there three days ago. I gave him all the quinine I had left. He was put by his companions into a passing waggon, hoping to get him to Victoria, but he died just as he got here. We have just buried him. We made as deep a grave as we could by the roadside and buried him. I read the funeral service. There were only three of us and five niggers. The poor fellow's name was Biggs;[3] he belonged to 'C' Troop. I have carved a cross on a tree over the grave, and put a little fence. It looks quite decent and the spot is very pretty."

Another account of a death on the northern bank of the Lundi by the Post station was one of a Police Post rider by the name of Clark or Clarke who died in 1890 as the result of an attack by a crocodile in crossing the Lundi river with the post. The crocodile attacking him bit off one leg and he struggled to the northern bank – or was helped to the northern bank and died shortly after. He was buried on the Lundi, in all probability close to the Post station which in fact was within 500 yards of the river.

This lonely grave, unmarked below the Post station could therefore either of these two men or indeed neither, but some other unfortunate.

Travelling north along the Pioneer road from the crossing and the Post station a distance of 6.1 miles, there is a grave under a marula tree on the east of the road and some 25 yds. Away from the road which is at that point on the Pioneer road. It is in the area of Gava kraal H/M Chipindu under Chief Chibi.

A Pioneer and Early Settlers' Society cross above the grave states that it is the grave of S. H. Clarke who died in 1891. The grave was kept tidy by Police patrols. Could this S. H. Clark perhaps be the Post rider who died after losing his leg to a crocodile on the Lundi. The grave could well be incorrectly marked.

There is an account of a grave of one P. S. Howard. Percy Samuel Howard of Kimberley is recorded as having died "at the Lundi" on 29th December 1890 as the result of having been gored by an ox. He was buried the following day.

In the diary of Roland Taylor dated early in 1891, who mentioned the Pioneer Fort at Naka Pass, he says "about 8 miles from the Lundi we came across the grave of Howard who had been gored to death by an ox a month or so before."

Taking these two accounts, one died on the Lundi and one about 8 miles from the Lundi, and with the possible wanderings that the road in those days had as against the largely straight line of the present 8 miles would be somewhat less at the present time. At the same time "on the Lundi" is not 8 miles away and 6 miles is betwixt and between.

During 1965 I had a thorough search made of the area of Chikofa school (which is 8 miles from the Lundi) along the line of the Pioneer route which at that point was several hundred yards away from the existing road. There was no evidence along that stretch a mile on either side of the school, i.e. 7–9 miles from the Lundi, that there was a grave there.

Could it be perhaps that the grave marked S. H. Clarke some 6 miles from the Lundi, is in fact that of P. S. Howard?

Following the road north through the Naka, or Minda Mukowa pass in the hills, east of Chikofa business centre, but on the west of the old Pioneer road and the present district road, there are two graves beneath a Mufuti (Prince of Wales Feather tree). One grave is marked S. Donovan or Donelly and the other is marked Bigg – James.

Continuing north towards the Chirogwe business centre and Chirogwe school and next to the present district road and the old Pioneer road, which is a short distance away at this point, is a grave with a metal marker stating James Ingleby or C. Wilson 1890.

A short distance on and south of the business centre, in fact some 200 yards south of what was called Wilson store and next to the Pioneer road is a grave of H. E. Davis.

Continuing on to the site of the old Tawanda kraal, at the spot to the north-east of the old Pioneer road is an unmarked grave stated by the locals to be that of one of the early Pioneers. Could not this grave also be marked James Ingelby or C. Wilson? It is undoubtedly a Pioneer grave as it is built up of rock as with those mentioned above.

In 1965 patrolling native messengers physically checked the road and questioned tribesmen along the length of the road in Chibi. These graves recorded above, including the two which are unmarked, are the only graves believed to exist.

Ten years have elapsed since these notes on the old road were made. Some of the tribesmen questioned were old and will have "passed on".

Among the District Assistants at Chibi are still the native messengers who patrolled and checked the road ten years ago.

The broad shallow gully that marks the road, where it does not form part of the district road system will remain little changed. This shallow erosion took seventy-five years, three quarters of a century, to reach its present stage.

The graves, originally kept tidy on the instructions of Peter Forrestall, now cleaned by passing Police patrols, will remain unchanged. There are other graves along this stretch of road but without rocks to mark them they will probably never be found.

With the passage of time eye-witnesses to events such as these disappear, yet perhaps aerial survey could accurately pin point the road and laager spots.

If this is done would it perhaps be possible to erect a line of beacons along the road and cairns on laager spots of this route which opened present-day Rhodesia?

NOTES

1. This photograph was printed on page 231 of NADA 1975.
2. See D. K. Parkinson, "Chief Chibi: 1890", in *Rhodesiana,* No. 15, Dec. 1966, p. 63–67.
3. Identified as Trooper J. W. Bigg.

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Fort Victoria to Fort Salisbury The Latter Part of the Journey of the Pioneer Column in 1890

by E. E. Burke

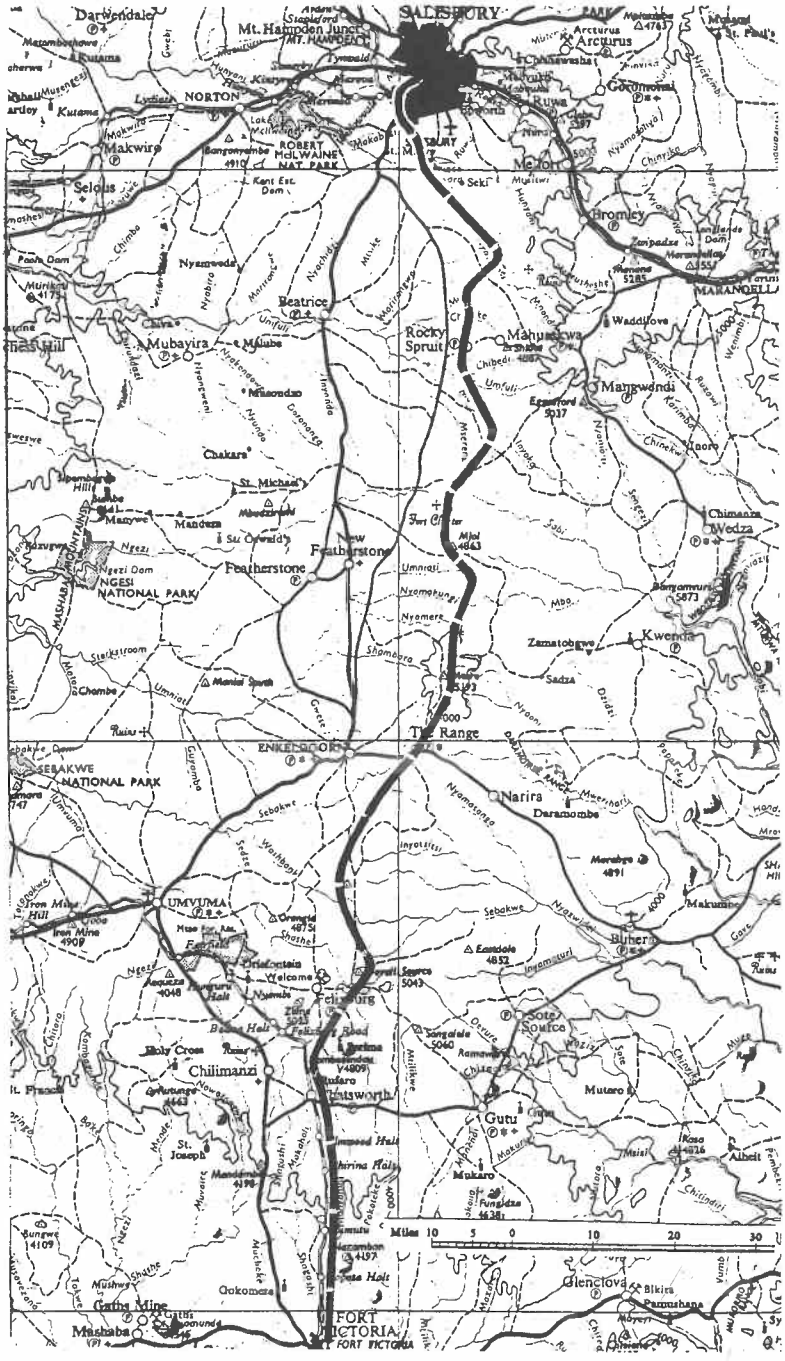
INTRODUCTION

The Pioneer Column which occupied Mashonaland in 1890 consisted of two units, the Pioneer Corps and the British South Africa Company's Police. The Pioneer Corps was 200 strong, especially recruited, mostly in South Africa, from a diversity of trades and professions with the idea that on its arrival in Mashonaland the unit would be disbanded to form the structure of a complete community. However, the Imperial Government, nervous of a disaster on the scale of that at Isandhlwana in Zululand eleven years before, required an additional and permanent force to protect the lines of communication of the Pioneer Corps and the community itself after its members had dispersed. Thus was created the British South Africa Company's Police commanded by Lieut. Col. E. G. Pennefather, a regular soldier of the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons, who was also in overall command of the expedition. The Pioneer Corps was recruited, equipped and lead by Frank Johnson who had previous experience in Matabeleland and Mashonaland.

The usual route to Mashonaland was by way of Lobengula's capital at Bulawayo but in order to avoid offence F. C. Selous, guide and principal intelligence officer to the expedition, pioneered a different route around the southern and eastern edges of Matabeleland. A forward base was established at Fort Tuli and from here the advance commenced on 11th July, 1890. Selous with a party of Pioneers went ahead to mark out the line of road; he had with him a small party of picked African scouts and guides. The column was in a hurry for there was alarm that it might be forestalled by a Boer trek reported to be collecting on the south bank of the Limpopo and so all was haste. The incidents of the journey through the lowveld, of the discovery of Providential Pass and the successful emergence on the highveld – the first 180 miles – have been the subject of many descriptions in detail. On the other hand the progress of the second part of the journey, the 170 miles from Fort Victoria to Salisbury, has generally been summarised as not containing much that deserved particular description. It is the purpose of this present paper to examine this second section of the journey and to indicate its course.

The main body of the expedition debouched on to the open highveld on 14th August, 1890 and Column Orders of that day "notified for general information that the Column will probably halt for at least three days".[1] Here was built Fort Victoria.[2]

The next strategic target was to put a fort at the junction between the road planned to Mount Hampden and a proposed route to the eastern highlands, a route which would give access to Umtasa's country, the Portuguese and access to the sea at Beira.[3] It was the original intention to put this fort, called Fort Charter, at or near Mount Wedza, 70 miles north-east of Fort Victoria but as the Column travelled north the idea was



Route of the Pioneer Column, Fort Victoria to Salisbury (superimposed on the 1:1 000 000 map of Rhodesia published by the Surveyor-General. Reproduced from State copyright mapping with the permission of the Surveyor-General. Copyright reserved.

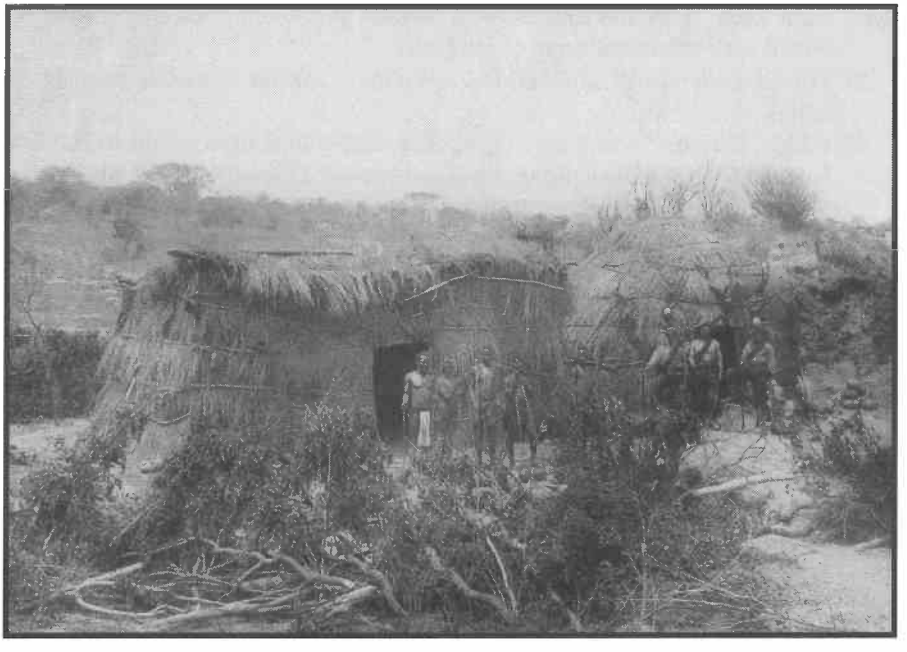
abandoned. There were several reasons, but particularly the poor condition of the oxen.[4] Instead Selous being, as he says, then "in a country with which I had a most intimate knowledge, gained during many hunting expeditions" took the expedition along the watershed to the head of the Ngezi.[5]

FORTS VICTORIA AND CHARTER

The Column stayed at Fort Victoria longer than was first expected, and did not leave until 19th August. This gave opportunity for a supply train under Capt. Sir John Willoughby which left Tuli eighteen days behind the main body, to catch up and for its loads to be distributed and absorbed.

As it moved out of Fort Victoria the Column consisted of the Pioneer Corps and two troops of the B.S.A. Company's Police. One troop of Police was guarding the base at Macloutsie, another was at Tuli and another was left to garrison Fort Victoria. The total force on the move was now about 400 men, partly mounted, with about 90 to 100 wagons each with three Africans, a driver, a leader and a general servant to attend to the brake when on the move and fetch wood and water in camp. Each wagon had a team of 16 oxen.

'B' Troop of the Pioneers (Capt. H. F. Hoste) went ahead to make, or mark, the road. There was little bush cutting to be done and two parallel tracks 50 yards apart were made by towing two young trees. According to Hoste it went like clockwork and each day the main body arrived at dawn at the place where 'B' Troop had laagered the night before.[6]



The posting station on the Salisbury bank of the Hunyani, 1890
(National Archives from Ellerton Fry's Album)

There was no contact with any Matabele though soon after leaving Fort Victoria they encountered a strongly fortified Shona village where, only three days earlier, some 60 Matabele had been collecting tribute in sheep and cattle. The Column did a lively trade with the Shona, bartering meat and grain for red or white beads, calico and salt. Some exchanged soup tins, cartridge cases – valuable as snuff boxes – and bits of old clothing. Vegetables were obtainable – pumpkins, beans and sweet potatoes. Monkey nuts roasted and eaten with honey were a luxury, reported to taste like almond toffee. African beer was useful as a bread raiser.

As the Column progressed there was thought to be scant danger of surprise by the Matabele and the precaution of sending out early morning patrols before the laager was broken was discontinued, but nevertheless no move was made without advance guards, rear guards and flanking patrols, and picquets were put out each night. The general plan was for the main body to march from 3 a.m. to 6 a.m. when they would arrive at the place where the advance guard, who marked the road, and did what clearing work was necessary, had spent the night. There they would rest until 5.30 p.m. and then trek again until 9 p.m. In this way, at a rate of progress of about 1½ miles an hour, they covered about 10 miles a day, and conserved the oxen.

Some detail is given in a diary kept by W. L. Armstrong, of 'C' Troop of the B.S.A. Company's Police.[7]

"August 19. Tuesday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Left Fort Victoria in charge of 'C' Troop at 2 p.m. Outspanned at 6 o'clock.

20. Wednesday. *Reveille* 4.30. Trek at 6; order countermanded. 8 000 Matabilis come to eat us up, and 2 miles away. Trekked at 2. Grand open breezy country, dotted with clumps of scrub at intervals.[8]
21. Thursday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Trekked at 4 p.m. . . . Water cart ox dropped and 2 others . . .
22. Friday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Lots of Blacks around, bought tobacco, meal, monkey nuts and fresh milk for cartridge cases and buttons. Trekked 4 to 8.30. Moonlight.
23. Saturday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. . . . Just about opposite Sofala. Heat gets greater daily. Great grass fires burning all around these flats, often stop the procession. Bird life very scarce. Fine breeze up here nearly like the Yorkshire moors. Could buy enough knick-nacks here to stock a house for a few buttons, etc.[9]
24. Sunday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Rest all day and trekked at 4.30 until 10 p.m. by moonlight. Rig our blankets up on sticks, etc., daily now, to rest in shade. Buck, etc., often seen and hunted.
25. Monday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Trekked at 5.30 to 9 p.m., then again 2 a.m. to 5.30 – 50 miles of burnt plain to cross.[10]
26. Tuesday. *Reveille* 7 a.m. Trekked 2 to 5. Mr. Colquhoun and escort went to Portuguese settlement and Colonel and escort to Mt. Wetsa; trekked at 5 p.m. to 8.30. Still in middle of plain, horizon bounds it on all sides. No wood."

This last entry needs some enlargement. A. R. Colquhoun was travelling with the Column as the Chief Magistrate designate of Mashonaland but he also had instructions that as soon as practicable he would visit the chief of the Manica country to negotiate

a treaty and would also endeavour to secure rights of communications through Portuguese territory, to the coast. Umtasa, the chief in question, was outside Lobengula's sphere of influence and hence an independent treaty with him was deemed to be necessary. Colquhoun left the Column together with L. S. Jameson who was travelling as Rhodes's representative, C. Harrison who was Colquhoun's secretary, Selous as guide, and an escort of Police. There is a brief note in the Regimental Orders of the Pioneer Corps dated 26th August, 1890 that "Capt. F. C. Selous having resigned his commission this day is struck off strength of the Regiment accordingly."[11] So Selous handed over the duties of chief guide to the Column to his assistant, Lieut. R. G. Nicholson, to whom he gave a sketch map and notes to help him to the Column's destination. Selous had compiled a compass sketch of the route from Macloutsie and the continuation of this was taken over by Lieut. W. E. Fry, formerly a member of the staff of the Royal Observatory at Cape Town, who joined the Pioneer Corps as Selous's assistant and the official photographer. But only the next day the Column was reported to be in difficulties and Selous's services were needed to resolve them. Colquhoun was not able to make a second start until 3rd September.[12]

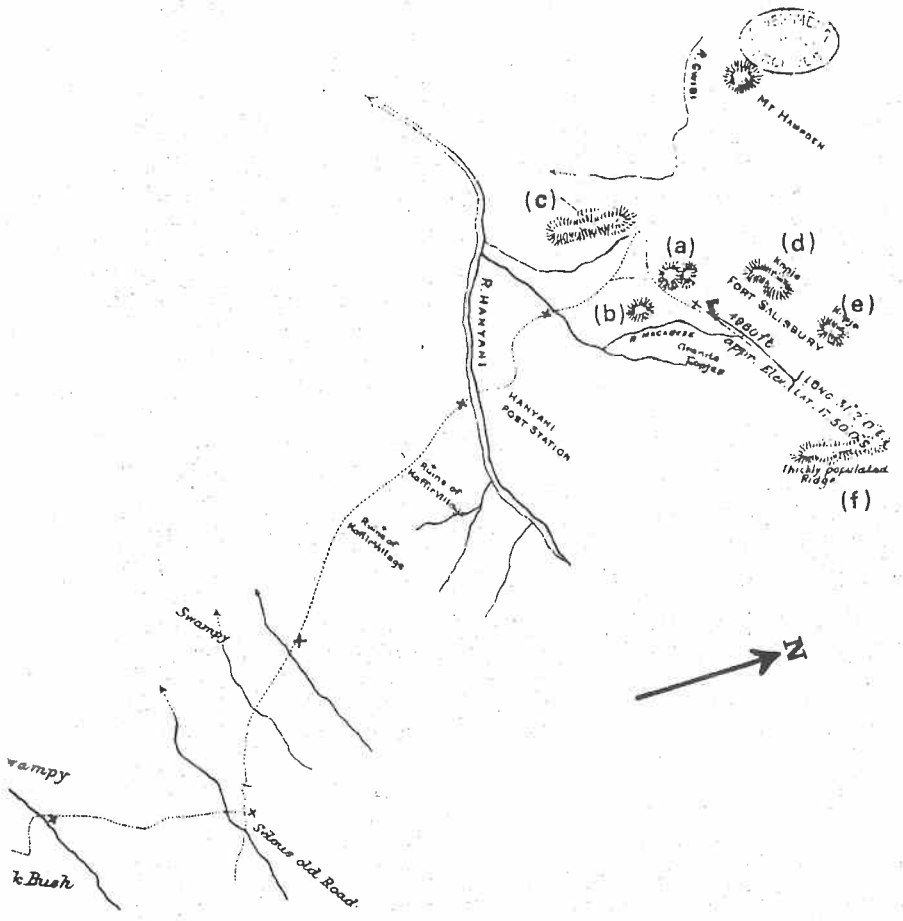
Armstrong's diary continues:-

27. Wednesday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. 2 miles to go for a particle of wood. Bully beef and biscuits. Veldt burning far ahead of us. No food for oxen or horses. Trekked at 5 p.m. to 9. Slept until 2, then on again until 6 a.m.
28. Thursday. *Reveille* 2 a.m. Marched at 3 until 6 a.m. All burnt and black far as we can see. 5 oxen dropped pulling . . . Trekked 5.30 to 8 p.m.
29. Friday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Blacks look with awe upon our horsemen. One ran up a tree and the other knelt down and clasped hands, etc. . . . Left Mt. Wetsa on right. Swampy ground . . . Trekked at 5.30 until 9.30.
30. Saturday. *Reveille* 2 a.m. Started at 3 until 6.30 a.m. Trekked at 5.30 to 10 p.m. Seem to have crossed burnt patch, taken us 7 treks or about 50 miles. Dew heavy some nights, and cold quite stiffens our hands in early morning, on this highveldt, though we had it warm in bush before pass . . .[13] Left another lot of men yesterday as post riders.[14] Pitiable to see oxen, heads down, tongues out and pulling until they drop in shafts.
31. Sunday. *Reveille* 2 a.m. Trekked at 3 by moonlight until 7 a.m. Fine camp on hilltop . . . 68 niggers, men women and children, Indian file, came in. Trekked 5.30 to 8.30.

September 1. Monday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. . . . trek by moon at 8.15 p.m. Ant hills all over great plateau . . . Trekked to 11.45 . . .

2. Tuesday. *Reveille* 1.30 to 7 a.m. Bitterly cold. Same great flat. 1/2 mile to go for little wood . . .
3. Wednesday. *Reveille* 2 a.m. Off at 3 a.m. Cold intense. Made my teeth chatter. Outspanned at 8 a.m. Fine sand, cleaning rod goes right up to head.[15]
4. Thursday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Stand to waggons, general clean up. 'A' Troop left us and are to remain here . . . Fort Charter."

And so they came to Fort Charter on the top of the watershed, but not to remain



The final part of the journey, enlarged from "Map of the route . . . copied from a compass sketch by F. C. Selous as far as Fort Charter, the remainder from a sketch by W. E. Fry". War Office, December, 1870.
Tentative identification of features are:

a) **The Salisbury Kopje**
b) **Harari Hospital Kopje**
c) **Warren Hills**
d) **Hartmann Hill**
e) **Highlands**
f) **Epworth**

there for long. The route from Fort Victoria had been very nearly due north and close to the line of the present railway as far as Felixburg, thence curving slightly around the various headwaters of Nyazwidzi and then close to north again to Fort Charter.

The site for the fort was chosen 3½ miles away from the place where the Column laagered on 4th September and a start was made on the earth banks at once. 'A' Troop of the Police were detailed to complete it and occupy it.[16]

FORT CHARTER TO THE HUNYANI

There was little time to be lost and on the next day, Friday, 5th September, at 3.30 p.m. the main body moved on again, travelling until 8 p.m. After the detaching of 'A' Troop it now mustered about 300 men. The mileage was coming down – Charter to Salisbury was 64 miles but it took seven-and-a-half days, another indication of the poverished condition of the oxen.

Saturday was good travelling across open country though with a marked range of temperature. Armstrong mentions night frost and his surprise at a piece of ice thicker than a 2-shilling piece, while the mid-day heat was extreme.

That day the Column did ten miles, from 3.30 a.m. until about 7.30 a.m. and from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m., one of its longest marches in this, the latter part of the journey and it brought them to within four miles of the Umfuli, the last but one of the major streams to be crossed. On Sunday, 7th September, early in the morning they came to the south bank where they joined up with 'A' Troop of the Pioneers who were advance guard and working on the crossing. Here too they were joined by Burnett, Nicholson and Langerman who walked in carrying their saddles.[17] These had been out ahead on a long reconnaissance. Two days before, near the Hunyani, they were camped for the night when a lion killed two of their horses and stampeded another two, so as they had a rendezvous with the Column at the Umfuli on the morning of the 7th to show it the road to travel they had to walk back, taking their saddles with them. The oxen were now so weak that they had to be helped across the river bed by hand, the men putting the yokes over their shoulders; the site of the crossing place is obscure, in the Chiota Tribal Trust Land about 20 miles upstream from Beatrice. After crossing they waited until 4 p.m. before moving on; being Sunday the usual morning services were held and there was also opportunity for a boating excursion. Johnson had brought with him a 'Berthon'[18] boat which he proposed to use on the Pungwe in an expedition to open a route to Beira after the Column had reached its destination. It was now tried out successfully on some long pools in the Umfuli. There was an incident here too which apparently lingered long in Pioneer memories. Mail arrived from down country but proved to be their own bag, sent off the week before, which had become reversed at Fort Victoria and returned to them, while what should have been theirs was travelling south again from Fort Victoria. Another small detachment of Police was left here to man a post station. That night, the 7th, the Column, laagered well into what is now the Chiota Tribal Trust Land: at that time it was almost totally denuded of any population.

On Monday the 8th they crossed the Nyatsime and turned north-west to parallel it up to the Hunyani, travelling through the length of the present Seki TTL. They found the country between the two rivers to be beautiful and, as one comparison had it, rather like English park scenery, but there was doubt as to its suitability for farming owing to the number of marshes. This was of particular interest because there had been some talk of this being a possible area from which the agricultural needs of the new community could be met and there was a general feeling amongst the Pioneers that they would rather choose their own sites than have areas allocated.

On the night of the 9th, the Column laagered eight miles from the Hunyani, from 7.30 p.m. to 5.30 a.m., for it was too dark for the usual night travel. Again the absence of population between the Umfuli and the Hunyani draws comment in the diaries:

Biscoe mentions the old cultivations and Hoste that the Matabele "had swept the country clean, and with the exception of an isolated village here and there perched on top of an almost inaccessible kopje there were no signs of any inhabitants"[19]

The main body came riding down to the Hunyani on the afternoon of Wednesday, 10th September, and laagered on the south bank, in what is now St. Mary's Mission Township. The river was low and the crossing sandy, and 'A' Troop was at work on a passage through the sand. That night the sky was lit with some large ship's rockets, sent up to guide some stragglers.

THE HUNYANI TO SALISBURY

Reveille on Thursday, 11th September, was at 5 a.m. and the wagons were on the move by 5.45, Pioneer Corps first, and Police second. As they crossed they went into laager on the north bank, and rested there until 3 p.m. when they started again; 'A' Troop of the Pioneers was away earlier, still acting as the advance guard and, although the expectation of Matabele hostility was now minimal, there were the usual flanking patrols and rear guard.

It is not clear how many wagons there were at this stage as no doubt some had been left at Fort Victoria and Charter, perhaps 90 in all, with the enormous special wagons for the donkey engine, generator and searchlight, together with the pieces and limbers of the artillery troop. The whole advancing across the veld in a double column 50 yards apart must have been a notable sight, a column about 1½ miles long.

The crossing place was described as sandy, the river was low and it was necessary to reinforce it with reeds and grass and cut some access slopes. Ellerton Fry, the photographer, had not been overly active since leaving Victoria but he did take two plates of the crossing – one shows a wagon in difficulty with two full spans of oxen.

I am indebted to Miss B. Tredgold, of Chizororo, for guidance to the site of the crossing. There is an old drift which is the remains of the later main road, and a little upstream from it a stretch of bank very similar to that shown in Fry's photographs. The nature of the river here however has changed since the 1890s as deep pools have been created by the digging of sand for use in Salisbury.

Another postal relay station was established on the Salisbury side of the crossing, working back to the one on the Umfuli which in turn worked to Fort Charter.

It must be remembered that the route taken by the Column became automatically the main route to the south until gradually corners came to be cut as more negotiable variations were adopted. But certainly for the first few years in the 1890s the main road from Salisbury to Charter and thence eventually to Kimberley, to Cape Town and to the Company's Head Office in London, was the road the Column was now marking out. From the Hunyani it had some curious curves, to the north-east and then back to west and then north again avoiding rocky country and seeking easy crossings over the streams and vleis. The little stream Nyrongo comes from the higher ground of Retreat and wanders past the Derbyshire quarries; it lay across the Column's path and had to be followed upstream for a while before there was a suitable transit in open country clear of rocky outcrops. The target was still Mount Hampden, 20 miles away, and the next minor obstacle was the Makabusi. The chosen crossing place was at what was later known as the Six Mile Spruit, where there is a firm shelf across the stream close

to the present Seven Mile Hotel on the Salisbury–Beatrice road.[20] The Column went into laager on the south of the Makabusi close to the crossing point. There was some excitement that evening (the 11th). Hoste relates that just after the laager had been formed a veld fire came roaring down on it, fanned by a fresh breeze – "all hands turned out and put in an hour fighting it, it nearly reached the laager; we managed to stop it, but only just".[21]

It was in this area that the Column came into contact again with the African population for several of the diarists mention villages perched on the kopjes in the neighbourhood. Fry took some photographs of one amongst some rocks which are easily recognisable today, near the old Glen Norah farmhouse. Nearby too was the men's first sight of a bushman painting.[22]

Meanwhile Pennefather was engaged on a particular duty. He was in command of the Column and in the absence of Colquhoun it was he who had to be satisfied that Johnson completed the contract. Early on that morning of the 11th, while the Column was getting itself across the Hunyani, Pennefather with his staff officer, Sir John Willoughby, and Captain Burnett, of the Pioneers, had left it to choose a suitable site for a fort near Mount Hampden, and not only for a fort but for the settlement and eventual capital city that would grow up around it.

At the Makabusi they got a guide from Matefi's kraal amongst the rocks and rode on following the stream, then they crossed to the head of the Gwebi which they reached at 10 that morning. They rode down the Gwebi towards Mount Hampden for about five miles before turning north-east to follow the edge of the escarpment overlooking the Mazoe Valley. "Finding that the water supply in the Gwibi valley and at the edge of the plateau was not sufficient for what might eventually be the seat of government, with a considerable population, I returned to the valley of the Makobisi and selected the site where the camp now is", said Pennefather in a later report.[23]

So that day, the 11th September, the site of Salisbury was selected and Pennefather and his two companions camped for the night somewhere nearby, while the column was in laager at the Six Mile Spruit.

Frank Johnson has a supplementary account in his *Great Days* (1940). According to this he rode forward from Six Mile Spruit on the 11th to a "good-sized kopje" about five miles ahead and from the top of this he saw Mount Hampden in the distance and also a splendid "open plain with rich red soil . . . which stretched away from the kopje I was on to the east to more broken country and was bounded to the south by a stream which would be ideal for a good-sized town".[24] He hurried back to the Column and collected Jameson whom he induced to return to the kopje when Jameson, acting for Rhodes, decided to accept the spot instead of Mount Hampden. Finally Johnson sent off messengers to the advance guard to turn back to the kopje. This account and also the account of the following day, the last day of the trek, differs in some regards from the accounts of Pennefather and others. As Pennefather's was written within a few days of the events and Johnson's many years later one must prefer the former.

Reveille was at 5 a.m. on the 12th and at 5.45 the wagons began to splash across the rocky underwater ledge at the Six Mile Spruit and then its route lay through the present Highfield and Lochinvar. Somewhere near here the main body was met by Burnett sent by Pennefather to re-direct it to the chosen site and so it turned towards

the kopje, parallel to the present railway line.[25] Meanwhile the advance guard, 'B' Troop of the Pioneers, was apparently well up in the Belvedere area before it too was turned to join up with the main body at or near the kopje.[26]

Pennefather had chosen the site for the final laager on the rising ground to the east of the kopje as it had some defensive virtues, a stream on one side and a marsh on another. To get there the Column had to edge round the marsh that the Kingsway area then was. So it went, along the line of Pioneer Street, up to the Park and then down the line of First Street. According to Armstrong the final laager was reached at 10 a.m., Friday 12th September, 1890. It had been five months since the first parties set out from the railhead at Kimberley.

The laager was stated in one source to be half a mile from "the hill" to its west.[27] Hoste in later recollection said it was near the intersection of Gordon Avenue and First Street. A close examination of Fry's photographs would indicate from the lie of the land that it was possibly a little further South, in the area where First Street meets Manica Road, but the point is not important. The laager was dispersed on 30th October, 1890.

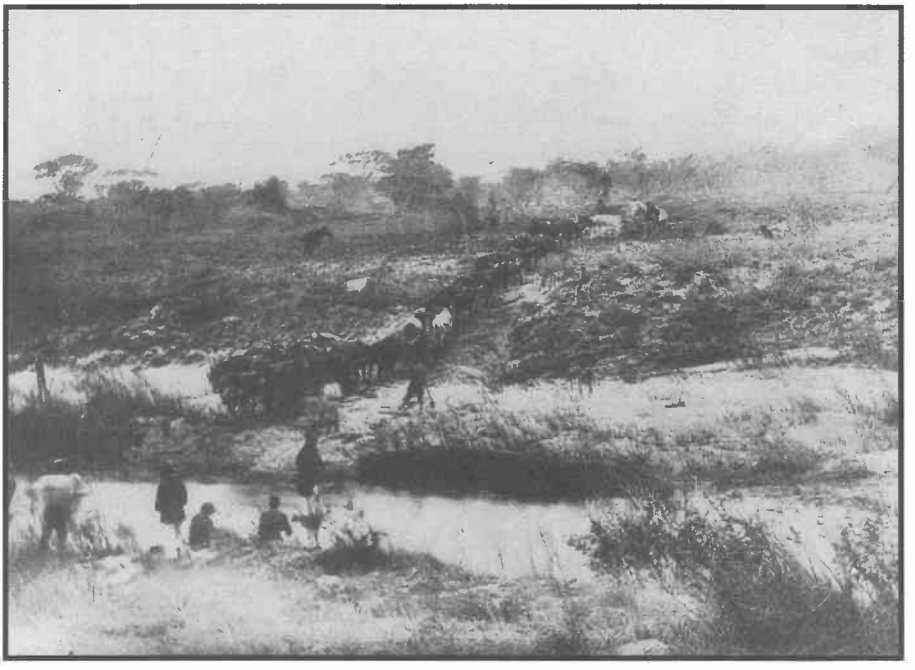
It seems there was no large African population in the neighbourhood, there is no mention of any after leaving the Makabusi, there were signs of previous settlement on the kopje but no present settlement. Pennefather comments in his first report that there were several small tribes under chiefs independent of each other strung along the north bank of the Hunyani – Inyamwenda, Umsweske, Nichesa and others – all of whom welcomed the expedition, and with whom a considerable trade in grain and other produce quickly developed. Fry's map indicates a "Thickly populated ridge" to the east; identification is not certain but it would seem to be the ridge running from Epworth Mission to Mabvuku.

Column Orders for the day of arrival are worth quoting in full:-

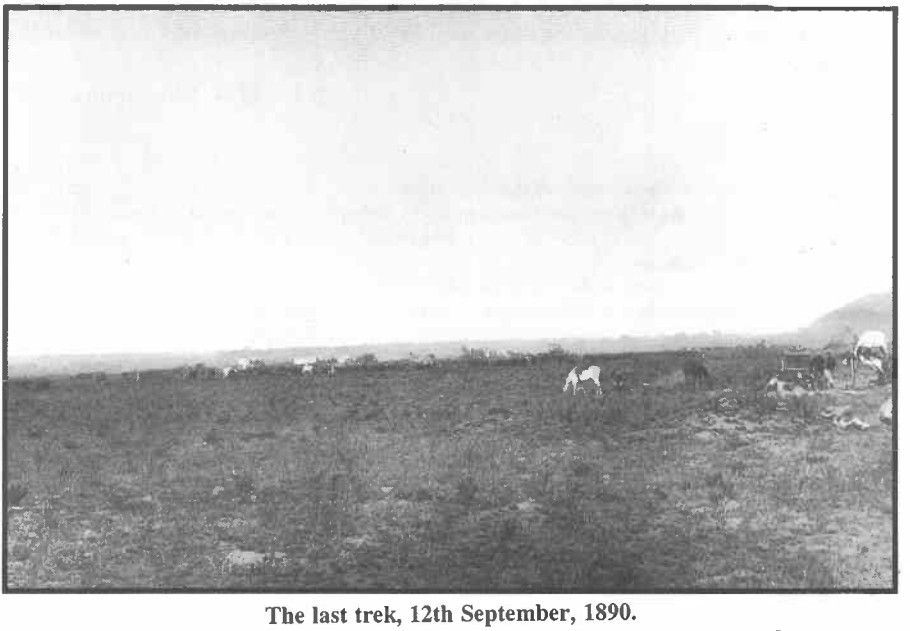
"*Morning Col. Orders by Col. Pennyfather (sic)*

1. It is notified for general information that the Column having arrived at its destination will halt.
2. The name of the place will be Fort Salisbury.[28]
3. Reveille in future will be 5 a.m. Sunset Retreat.
4. A Cossack post will mount daily at daybreak on the hill about half a mile west of laager and will be withdrawn at Retreat.[29]
5. A mounted Water Patrol in three reliefs will be detailed daily from 6 a.m. until Retreat.
6. The Pioneer Force will furnish two Scouts daily until further orders. They will report themselves to Staff Officer at daybreak.
7. All latrines to be dug at West side of laager. No trenches of any sort for kitchens or otherwise to be dug on the South and East.
8. All cattle to be kraaled on the South side of the river.
9. No shooting will be allowed within a radius of three miles from camp.
10. Boundaries. Cossack post on the West, Skyline on the North, the wooded ridge nearest the laager on the east and the granite kopjes on the south side of the laager.[30]

B/O Sd. J. Willoughby S.O.



Waggon crossing the Hunyani, 11th September, 1890.
Two spans of oxen are being used through the sand
(National Archives from Ellerton Fry's Album)



The last trek, 12th September, 1890.
Wagons still coming into the final laager, oxen being outspanned
(National Archives from Ellerton Fry's Album)

Evening Co. Orders
Detail

1. Countersign "Kisber"[31]
   Capt. of day Capt. Heaney
   Inlying Picquet Pioneers
2. The Column will parade in full dress, dismounted, at 10 a.m. The 7-pounders will fire a Royal Salute, with blank ammn., to celebrate the hoisting of the British Flag.
3. The O.C. 'B' Trp. B.S.A.P. will be good enough to detail a working party to cut poles for the huts at an hour to be fixed upon by the O.C. 'B' Troop.[32]
4. The O.C. Pioneers will be good enough to detail a working party for the Fort at 2.30 p.m.[33]
5. Lt. Col. Pennefather (*sic*) congratulates the Officers, N.C.O.s and Men of the Column on the successful attainment of the object of the Expedition, viz the occupation of Mashonaland. He wishes to express his thanks to all ranks of the Pioneers and the Police for the hearty goodwill which they have brought to bear in overcoming the obstacles of a difficult march. Col. Pennefather desires especially to thank Mr. Selous and the Officers, N.C.O.s and Troopers employed on the intelligence service for the excellent work performed by them, and would especially mention the admirable manner in which the scouting has been carried out by Lt. Nicholson, Col. Montague, Troopers Cowie, Griffiths, Newmayer and others. The hard work of road cutting and drift making has been excellently done by 'A' and 'B' Troops under Capts. Heaney and Hoste. Col. Pennefather trusts that the good fortune and services which has attended the expedition collectively may follow the individual Members of it when the Column breaks up.

B.O. Sd. J. Willoughby S.O."

NOTES

1. The Column Orders are in National Archives Hist. MSS PI 2/6/1.
2. The fort was established on what is now Clipsham Farm: in 1891, because the water supply proved scanty, the fort was abandoned and the settlement moved to the site of the present township on the Mucheke River. The earth banks of the earlier fort are a National Monument.
3. The use of the word "road" in this context may be deceptive. It was part of Johnson's contract that he should construct "a good wagon road from Palapye to Mount Hampden". By this was to be understood "a plainly defined track whose general character shall not be inferior to that of the present trade route south of Palapye and over which a loaded ox wagon can readily travel without unusual danger from trees, boulders and stumps, but the said Contractor shall not be obliged to gravel, macadamise or otherwise artificially make any portion of the said road, but he shall be bound to construct safe and passable drifts or fords where necessary across all rivers, sluits and spruits, but shall not be obliged to build any bridges or culverts". (F. Johnson. *Great days.* 1940; p. 326).
4. In a letter of 21 August 1890 Jameson wrote to Rhodes from "20 miles north of Fort Victoria": "All going well though slowly. Police cattle getting done up", and again on 23 August from "50 miles South of Mt Wedza": "slow because of poverty of Police oxen. Scarcely reach Mt Hampden before mid-September." In Nat. Arch. CT1/120/2.
5. F. C. Selous, *Travel and adventure in south-east Africa.* 1893; p. 312. In 1887 Selous made a hunting expedition into Mashonaland and established his main camp on the upper Hunyani. Later he crossed the river and trekked to Mount Hampden, and from here cut a wagon road direct to the source of the Ngezi and trekked "right over the ground where Salisbury now stands" (p. 196). In 1890 the spoor made by his six wagons three years earlier was still plainly visible in the sandy soil near Fort Charter.
6. Hoste's own account was published as "Rhodesia in 1890" in *Rhodesiana,* No. 12, September, 1965.
7. National Archives Hist. MSS AR 4.

8. This false alarm was possibly based on the presence of a tax-collecting party of about 60 Matabele who were in the neighbourhood.
9. On this day another diarist, E. C. Tyndale-Biscoe, commanding the artillery troop of the Pioneer Corps, noted that the road was rather heavy and several oxen were knocked up. Some wagons were left behind to trek by themselves and catch up as best they could. The main body laagered this night on Chatsworth near the present railway line. Nat. Arch. Hist. MSS BI 3/1/1.
10. On the night of the 25th the Column was a few miles north of Felixburg. Biscoe comments of the march in the early hours of the 26th that it was very hard to see the road as the two carts with the advance guard (a scotch cart and a water cart) left very little spoor. "Some natives who came into our camp were rather surprised at our horses and wanted to know if they were born with shoes on."
11. Nat. Arch. Hist. MSS PI 2/6/1.
12. See J. A. Edwards. "Colquhoun in Mashonaland", in *Rhodesiana* No. 9, December, 1963.
13. i.e. Providential Pass.
14. The Column dropped parties of six men at regular intervals to establish "post stations" and act as relay riders between them in order to provide a system of communications. The post station mentioned here was near The Range.
15. According to Hoste this was the coldest day of the whole journey, blowing a hard easterly gale with showers of icy cold rain.
16. Charter was abandoned as a Police post in August, 1891, but continued as a post station.
17. Capt. A. E. Burnett, the Transport Officer, was acting as Chief Guide in the absence of Selous, Lieut. R. G. Nicholson was Intelligence Officer and F. Langerman was a scout.
18. A special type of "folding" boat, with sails.
19. The Mashona formerly in the area had been attacked in 1887 by the Matabele who sent an impi as a punishment for some alleged offence. W. H. Brown. *On the South African frontier*. 1899.
20. The difference in mileages is represented by calculating from the Kopje and Cecil Square respectively. The identification of this place rests on a statement by Hoste (*Rhodesiana*, op. cit.) and the identification nearby of the site of one of Fry's photographs, a village amongst the rocks, see below.
21. In *Rhodesiana*, op. cit.
22. Now National Monument No. 130, known as the Bridge Paintings as it shows people crossing a river (the Makabusi?) by way of a bridge. It is on that part of Glen Norah, close to Highfield, formerly known as the Picnic Reserve. It first appears as an illustration in Lord Randolph Churchill's *Men, mines and minerals in South Africa* (1892); p. 205, and is described as at Matefi's kraal.
23. Pennefather to the Administrator, 11 October, 1890, Fort Salisbury (National Archives A 1/2/4). Printed in National Archives *Occasional papers* No. 1, 1965, as "Twenty-eight days in 1890". In modern terms the party rode that day from the Hunyani to the Seven Miles Hotel, up the Makabusi, across the centre of Salisbury and perhaps through Alexandra Park and Mount Pleasant to the area of the Marlborough Race Track; then across to Glenara and back along the edge of the escarpment overlooking the Mazoe valley and then to the Causeway area, perhaps by Pomona, and Alexandra Park again. This is a distance of about 40 miles.
24. *Great Days*: p. 148–9.
25. "The Pioneers sauntered on, some in shirts, some in football jerseys. and in the most nondescript articles of apparel . . . Occasionally a stray buck ran across the line of march and away would go the camp dogs." E. P. Mathers, *Zambesia*. 1891; p. 362.
26. These various movements are indicated on Fry's map.
27. Column Orders, 12 September, 1890.
28. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, Marquess of Salisbury, Viscount Cranborne and Baron Cecil (1830–1903) was Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1885 to 1892 and from 1895 to 1902. The family seat is Hatfield, in Hertfordshire.
29. A Cossack post was a party of three or four mounted men, the members taking a duty in turn to provide a single sentry. The distance of about "half a mile west" might indicate the top of the 'Little Kopje' between Rotten Row and Pioneer Street, rather than the top of the kopje itself.
30. The men were free to roam between the Kopje to the west, North Avenue to the north, Greenwood Park to the east and Graniteside to the south.
31. There was a great variety in the choice of the countersign. Kisber was a noted racehorse, winner of the Derby in 1876.
32. The huts were for the quarters of the Police inside the fort.
33. The fort, built in the centre of what is now Cecil Square, was a simple square earthwork with a ditch outside and a firestep inside, about 50 yards by 30 yards.

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Three Rhodesian Poets

by N. H. Brettell

THRENODY IN SPRING
In memoriam: A. S. Cripps
August 1st, 1952

"That time of year thou may'st in me behold –"
Shakespeare: Sonnet 73

I

You chose the time well to die:
Our air still tingles with the latest frost;
Now, where the dead leaf falls the new blade shoots
With furtive fingering to the hidden springs
To bring life bravely up.

The kaffirboom bursts open with a cry
And spreads its ancient fingers tipped with gems;
Among the gaunt stones of your lonely home
See, the first frail umsasa shakes its fronds
In shreds of tender hope.

Our southern Spring is stirring cautiously
Feeling its way through calyx, tendril, tuft;
The daring flowers that come before the leaves,
The shy sand-apple flowers open their pink mouths,
The cassia's golden cup
Lifts its shrill monstrance to the brooding sky.

II

Now in that Kentish boyhood you forsook
(Carrying its seed through half a continent)
The boughs hang heavy with the luscious pippin,
The wasps are drunken in the hearts of plums,
And children's happy choirs.

Salvage the drifting windfalls from the brook
Where orchard canopies droop over glutted pools;
The scent of hops upholsters the rich air,
Along the idle banks, loosestrife and meadowsweet
Lift up their drowsy spires.

Hear all the lazy tunes from summer's book,
From the far field the slur of hone on scythe,
The sated bees fumbling the snapdragons,
The distant clack and whirr of tedder and rake,
The munching in the byres.

Work waits on growing: idle hangs the hook;
Only the whirling potato lifter's iron fingers
Toss the fat tubers like a juggler's balls,
The pented ferrets snuffle in their straw
September's dark desires.

The cuckoo's voice is cracked. On rick and stook
The long beam wavers, and returns to us.
Across the latitudes the Spring goes ranging.
Now, in the pause before his opulent ripening
The green year of the shires
Leans for a moment on the spade to look.

III

Spring and high Summer going hand in hand
Meet in us now. The young leaf and the sere,
Blossom and fruit hung on the selfsame spray,
Learn, as our dark m'hashas scorn the drought,
To garner up the past

And fill the future of our patient land.
O gentle season of Saint Francis, bless
Your bitter compassion for all poverty,
Cover the jutting ribs with drift of leaves,
The acorn and the mast

Muffle your footfall in the aching sand.
The husk is split, the kernels scattered wide,
The lonely germens of your scrupulous songs
Perfect as seed, as quick with secret life,
On the scarred furrows cast.

The shrill lament dies down. The silent band,
The white, the black, with fallow footsteps now
Rustles the silence of the wayside grass;
Through broken doorway to the broken apse
Carries you silently.

Ashes to grass; dust to the flowering tree;
Full-fed for harvest is the season planned.
When, certain of grain, the lofty clouds are massed,
Watch us, and understand.
Spring, surging in us, quicken the seed at last.

To ask, as some people do at intervals, "where are the Rhodesian poets?" is perhaps as irrational a question as "Where are the avocado pears?" The answer, if any, might quite well be the same: wait another seven years. But it can be approached in two other ways – first, to say that the intellectual and social weather of the first half-century of our articulate life has not been favourable to the making of poetry, and second, that in spite of this, we have produced a small body of poetry of quite exceptional quality.

Poetry – at least written and contemplative poetry rather than oral and popular ballad-making – does seem to require a more ancient and stable soil than that provided by a society of pioneers. Cecil Day Lewis, in a salutary essay to show that a poet is first and originally a man, has reminded us that "the amazing capacity of the poet for ordering speech is only a part of a more amazing capacity for ordering his existence". To organise and arrange his experience is much more difficult for a poet to do in a society that has to be hacked, ploughed and built out of a wilderness than in a society settled and ordained by the centuries of tradition. There has been so much more for a poet to do than to invent a landscape. This most finished and sophisticated of all the arts does demand the contemplation of an ancient and cultivated scene even when its terms might be revolutionary and disruptive. Wordsworth could only be Wordsworth in the Lake District, Shelley in Italy – not, as Aldous Huxley suggested a long time ago, in the Tropics. Prof. Guy Butler said in his B.B.C. lecture last year on the English Poet in South Africa that "civilised man can only commune with a nature that has been partially tamed". Moreover, as he adds very cogently, we have yet to invent a vocabulary for the things we love, that from their accumulated tradition, words like oak and olive and myrtle carry with them an aura and a savour that kaffirboom and isipingo have not yet got. The mere bodily facts of existence have not helped our poets, the thrilling air of the high veld, the early reveille and the early bed, the inevitable lure of the sunlight, the warm drowsiness of the evenings, the amateur joy of doing this and that. "All things can tempt me from this craft of verse". So might have said Kingsley Fairbridge building his pondoekies, Lewis Hastings curing tobacco, Arthur Shearly Cripps planning his strange churches.

It is of these three in particular that I want to write. That they are all three authentic poets is all the more extraordinary when we consider the pre-occupied fullness of their personal lives. Fairbridge's Autobiography is surely one of the most astonishing records of an active and brooding adolescence. To have walked to the Zambesi, to have hunted and explored and dug his garden, worked in an office and won a Rhodes scholarship and a boxing Blue, and finally to have consumed his life with his work for his Farm Schools – in what odd interstices did he find time for his poetry? Those of us who knew Cripps knew also his incredible evangelical wanderings, and Hastings in his extremely diverting autobiography has given us a good trench-full of big-game hunter, farmer, soldier, broadcaster, even M.P. The first fifty years of Rhodesia have demanded a lot of its poets.

Mr. John Snelling has done a great service to our young literature with his two Anthologies – collections of which such a fledgeless colony might well flatter itself. The Salisbury Poetry Society has brought out three interesting little Annuals: enough to show that our insignificant population has its share of quite accomplished versifiers. You do not usually get a poet without a host of poetasters, and it is perhaps significant

that Mr. Snelling in both his prefaces never uses the words "poet" or "poetry". Fairbridge, Hastings and Cripps remain our only three genuine poets; but they are considerable enough to go on with.

The genuine poet must be an original. Without being necessarily a prophet or a freak, he must have something to say that has not been said before: and the new experiences of a new country do not in themselves mean that. The idiosyncrasy, the eccentricity even, of the man himself, must take the facts, even the crude exciting facts of a new land, and translate them with his own peculiar imagination. We have had plenty of writers ready enough not only to use "thee" instead of "you", find rhymes for umsasa and Vumba and fill up the fissures with veld and kopje and jacaranda. We have had a few isolated lyrics of real and compelling beauty; but these are the only three who convince us that they saw, and saw habitually, something new and strange.

I do not pretend that Fairbridge's verse is big poetry. He had neither the time nor the training to become a real craftsman. It is, though, the unmistakable poetry of the pioneer, which is not a common phenomenon: what is more, and almost unique, the poetry of a boy pioneer, looking at new things with a young eye and so preserving for us the freshness of the frontier days – still just within the memory of some of us, to some of us a nostalgia and a regret, to most of us now as remote a legend as Lobengula himself.

"Veld verse" gives us the early days of Rhodesia seen through the sharp eyes of a very unusual boy: dusty travels on foot (how odd to such a car-borne folk as we have become)

> "The wind athwart us and the dust that rises,
> Sun in our eyes and all the veld before us,
> And in our hearts strange singing;
> And for chorus
> Tramp of our faring feet and in the grasses
> The ceaseless whisper of the wind that passes."

The first cultivators –

> ". . . The brown dust where the farmer tills,
> The dust that sinks to westward from the plough.
> The heat waves shake and break and disappear.
> On Odzi peak the high-winds roar and sough
> Through riven cliffs the thunder-songs of air."

The bridge masons and the railway builders, his father the surveyor, "Chikwina Makoma", the Climber of Hills –

> "great joyous heart,
> Lone lover of the unkempt hills,
> Frail singing harp through whom the swinging winds
> Of the burnt veld sweep –
> Sculptor whose hands have wrought
> Wind into wings and thunder into thought . . ."

Above all, there is the veld, all but trackless and untouched, astir with strange beast and bird and bug: and perhaps in the long view most valuable of all, the Africans themselves, while they were still recognisably tribesmen, tillers and hunters and only

Kingsley Ogilvie Fairbridge
(National Archives)

Kingsley Fairbridge (right) and Evan Tullock (left)
at Mrs Fairbridge's grandmother's house, East Grimstead, London
(National Archives)

incidentally the white man's labourers, the home-sick Nyasas, the greedy Shangaans, the singing Sennas. Fairbridge had an unforced boyish sympathy with the African, a touching comradeship, as between boy varlet and fox terrier that has been caught so beautifully in the bronze memorial on Christmas Pass. Indeed, his most successful poems, both technically and imaginatively, are his versions, in extraordinarily competent blank verse, of various native legends and folk tales. In his Autobiography, he tells of "a tall youth from across the river (who) settled down with his hands towards the fire and recited a piece of verse to us." It was about an encounter with a crocodile, and "it was the best example of extemporaneous verse I have ever heard. The man never faltered. He never gave false weight to a gesture, but paused and spoke, halted and continued, as if he had been learning the piece for weeks. Yet the whole occurrence had only taken place that morning." This native facility for poetic narrative, of which I cannot speak but which is attested by a good many men who can, is an unregarded field still waiting for some poet of ours to explore more fully and bring into the tradition; although, as the memories and the legends fade, it may even now be too late.

In a recent review, the critic made the point that the Nature with which Coleridge and Wordsworth held communion no longer exists, that men's hearts no longer leap up when they behold a rainbow in the sky, that, in fact, "great Pan is dead". That may be true of the older wearier countries, though I rather doubt that; but until suburbia crawls much further cross our huge landscape, it is not true yet for all of us. Immature though he was, Fairbridge understood the "genius loci" of the veld. I fancy, especially as the century grows older and more exasperated, that there can be something deeper than just a picnic in our affection for the open veld. When plagued by sleeplessness, Fairbridge tells us, he would "take (his) blankets and wander away into the veld to lie down among the long grasses. There is no kinder ceiling than the sky; no finer philosopher than the darkling night". Trite perhaps; but that such understanding may be now evaporating makes this tenuous poetry the more valuable.

Major Lewis Hastings has been an enterprising and picturesque adventurer. That, of course, is true of a good many South Africans, and is not particularly important (except to readers of his autobiographical "Dragons are Extra"). What is important is that some quarter of a century ago, he poured the overflow into a handful of poems, "The Painted Snipe", piquant, disturbing a bit frothy and flashy, and entirely individual. The tone and the manner, that of the inter-war disillusion and deflation, off-hand and cavalier, the loose and rattling idiom of Auden and MacNeice, has already become curiously "dated". But the magnificence of their prime occasion helps to keep Hastings' verse alive. He has most of the tricks of the tribe: the blowing up of balloons for the wry pleasure of pricking them, the irreverent juxtapositions and inconsequencies –

"And the golden bowl is broken, broken,
And the bedford cords are loose" –

The almost contemptuous lapses of taste and technique, even the same occasional preoccupation with classical myth, seen through the diminishing end of the glass –

". . . The divine Helen,
. . . Not so young as she was."

Throughout, there is the distrust of the O altitudo, the sardonic contemplation of the comic stature of man that twisted the ecstacies of the thirties; but all this, in the

verse of Hastings, is thrown against the towering backcloth of Africa – he also has heard the Pan-pipes, he has as he himself puts it, followed the Unicorn. So we get

"Tourists in the Game Park squalling
— all jammed together in the model Sports,
Fat white thighs in khaki shorts" –

Set against the "Dark Sanyati river", and the lions –

"Great fierce heads and buttocks receding".

We get the exquisitely grotesque contrast between

"Jones
Getting fattish, and his unlovely limbs
Sheathed in twin tubes",

And the steinbok,

"ah, the little steinbok,
When he leaps I think of waterfalls
And curved things out of the Bible;
I think of Pavlova when she was young and lovely,
On New Year's Eve at the Savoy,
And four gorgeous flunkeys
Pouring her out of a basket" –

And finest of all, the saturnine nocturne "On Waterloo Bridge", when "dark London pierced with stars" and "the low sad hum of the million prisoners" is startled by wild duck flying seaward and bringing back the sudden lovely vision –

"Dawn on the river, the dark river, the dark shining river of Africa,
When in a live silence
Flamingoes swing in rosy circles,
And in reedy pools
The crocodile, the everlasting,
Dreams marshy voluptuous dreams –
Of long-dead cities
That fell flaming amid the assegais –"

And – though this time with nothing of Africa in it – there is his most compelling lyric: "Sub Specie Aeternitatis". Love lyrics have not come easily from the last few decades, and there is very little good love poetry in all South African verse – its main currents have been too Kiplingesque for that; but this poem is an achievement, with its delicately negligent rhythms and its surprised sophistications like a man of the world suddenly arrested by a glimpse over his shoulder.

Although we should not ask too much of Fairbridge or deny that to readers in another country his verses could mean very little, and although Hastings himself would probably accept cheerfully the labels of dilettante and amateur, with Arthur Shearly Cripps we are on different ground. He is known and acknowledged beyond our boundaries, and paradoxically, in spite of his unique share in Rhodesian life, he never became a Rhodesian, preserving even in his sublime disregard for European amenities something of the prim dryness of the European Classicist. There was, of course, so much more in his life than got into his rather tongue-tied verses. He does challenge comparison with the other great African missionaries, with Moffat and Livingstone,

with the White Fathers and Albert Schweitzer. There is, in fact, quite a kinship between Cripps and the great Alsatian, not only in their abnegation, but also in a somewhat awkward anachronism, the outworn idiom of the last century carried forward intransigently into this. No other missionary has more unflinchingly carried his evangelism to its logical conclusion. With the generous background of the close of last century that now seems so patrician and remote, Cripps, scholar, athlete, priest, could not, inevitably, identify himself completely with the African: what is especially interesting in his poetry is that in his effort to do so, he went a long way towards solving, at least for himself, Prof. Butler's dilemma.

Strange though his life was, in the poetry with which he interpreted it there is no deliberate strangeness. In his foreword to *Africa: verses*, Lord Tweedsmuir says, in felicitous phrase, "He has a great tradition behind him, but he has cunningly adapted it to the needs of a new land, and for me the unique charm of his work is that he can sing the Songs of Zion and at the same time give them the charm and mystery of the waters of Babylon". To us Rhodesians, who have also taken the waters, however timidly, Cripps' world is not so exotic, although the mystery is still there; but it is the universal mystery of poetry and the inscrutable problem of a self-dedicated martyrdom, not the difficulty of a bizarre phrase or image. You will find a scrap of Latin here and there, perhaps a trifle pedantically, but no vernacular. There are none of the interpolations, the assegais and impis, the 'nkoos, with which too many South African poetasters have sprinkled their verses. To Cripps a hut is, throughout, a hut; he has no occasion to call a spade a spade, but he calls a hoe a hoe – not a badza. Always he interprets the alien world, to which he sought with so much agony to translate himself, in phrase and imagery uncompromisingly English. To picture the gaunt liens of stony hills over which so many of his wayfarings went, he uses the word "wold", Anglo-Saxon enough, yet at once convincing and mysterious. He uses the terms of a harvest field to describe the bundles of long grass for the thatch of a mission church –

"So, when the sun is almost down,
Bright in the slanting light we come,
Bearing our rustling grass-sheaves high
Against the splendour of the sky
To thatch for Christ a home."

He is obsessed with the crying of cocks, the homely barn-yard sound becoming for him challenging and heraldic –

"Cock in yon thatched hut, do you hear
My joyful tidings as I come,
That 'Hail! Hail! Hail!' you cry so clear?
. . . He comes – for whom the dead moon smiled,
Whom the cock cried for through the thatch,
Dawn trading soft as tip-toe child."

Notice how the one exotic grain, the humble African term "veldsore", gives such a deepening of significance in each lifted hand.

"Now go, a veldsore in each lifted hand,
Go with two blistered feet your altar's way;
With pity's wound at heart, go praise and pray!

Arthur Shearly Cripps (The hut on the left side is the rectory, that on the right side, the Church.)
(National Archives)

Go, wounds to Wounds: why you are glad today.
He, whose Five Wounds you wear, will understand."

With no extravagance of word or metaphor, he takes us completely into the warm dusty air, at once blessed and tormented, of his own peculiar landscape. To pretend that to a man like Cripps great Pan is dead, is patent blasphemy.

He is a very imperfect poet. Time and upbringing gave him an outworn style to write in. Very often his thoughts strive and jostle through an old-fashioned awkwardness of diction and rhythm, and often the violence of his emotions, his anger, his self-reproach, his almost savage charity split and warp his over-laden lines. But although his life itself could have been a solecism, his Franciscan-Theocritan pastoral a mistaken incongruity, his lonely poetry does stand out as our one unmistakeable utterance.

It is proposed to build a Memorial Mission at Maronda Mashanu, his Church of the Five Wounds where he is buried in the ruined sanctuary; and it is to be hoped that this will be done, to remember with adequate honour, this first of our authentic voices.

NOTES ON POETS

Kingsley Fairbridge was born in Grahamstown in 1885. His father was a surveyor and came to Rhodesia where Kingsley joined him at Umtali in 1896. He passed his youth in pioneer life in Manicaland, and was one of the first Rhodesians to win a Rhodes Scholarship. He devoted his life to the establishing of Farm Schools for under-privileged children from Great Britain. In 1927 he published his Autobiography. His book of verse is called *Veld Verse*.

Lewis Hastings has been a diamond digger, prospector and big-game hunter. During the 1914 war he fought in the German South-West campaign and then in France, where he gained the Military Cross. After the war he became a tobacco farmer and was elected Member of Parliament in the Southern Rhodesia Parliament for the constituency of Lomagundi. He resigned his seat to join the Forces in 1939 but started to give radio talks and became a Military Commentator. He has published a book of prose *Dragons are Extra* and a book of poems *The Painted Snipe*.

Arthur Shearly Cripps was born in 1869. He went to Oxford where he obtained his degree, rowed in the College eight and boxed for the University. He came out to Mashonaland in 1901 and for twenty-five years worked as a missionary in the Enkeldoorn district. During the 1914 war he served as a naval and military chaplain. He returned to England in 1926 but after four years came back to his farm Maronda Mashanu (The Five Wounds) where he built a school and a church. From 1930 he devoted his life to work among the Africans. For the last eleven years of his life, he died in 1952, he was blind. He wrote his first book of poetry in 1890 and from that date until 1939 when his last book of verse *Africa: Verses* was published he produced many books of prose and several collections of verse.

(First Published in *Rhodesiana* No. 3, 1958)

Henry Hartley 1815–1876

A tribute to the great hunter on the centenary (in 1965) of his discovery of gold in Mashonaland

by R. W. S. Turner

Henry Hartley was some five years old when he landed in Port Elizabeth with his parents who were Yorkshire folk. The Hartleys came to African under the 1820 Settlers' scheme and made their home near Bathurst in the Albany district. Thus Henry grew up during one of the most exciting and tough periods of South African history. He suffered from some deformity or injury to his feet which made it impossible for him to walk long distances, but in spite of this serious handicap, he adapted himself to the strenuous frontier life, becoming probably the best-known ivory hunter of all time.

There is ample evidence in the writings of his contemporaries that Henry Hartley was liked and respected by the Bantu, the Boers and the British. He was a friend and adviser of Mzilikazi and Lobengula, both of whom invariably called him 'Oud Baas' – Old Master; he was given full burgher rights besides being appointed a justice of the peace by the President of the Transvaal. Thomas Baines, one of the most meticulous and accurate observers to set foot in Africa, repeatedly pays tribute to Hartley's helpfulness and hospitality. Karl Mauch also throws light on this aspect of Hartley's character for he wrote: ". . . the excellent and well-educated H. Hartley, with his three brave sons. Nearly sixty years old, he has spent more than half of his years hunting, and is known as 'Old Baas' by all Kaffir tribes between the Cape Colony and the Zambezi, the east coast and Ngami; in his company you are quite sure of Mosilikatse's friendship; he names Hartley his old friend".[1]

Due to the absence of correspondence, some people conclude that Hartley was illiterate, but this is not the case: he wrote at length to the *Transvaal Argus Field, the Farm, the Garden and the Country Gentleman Newspaper*, London, and one or two of his original letters are in existence. Unfortunately the farm house in which the family correspondence and at least one oil painting by Baines was kept caught fire and the papers were destroyed but the painting, although badly charred, was rescued.[2] This means that details of Hartley's life and character can only be pieced together from the writings of others. Fortunately he lived in an age of diarists: Baines, Leask, the Moffats, Mauch and others all repeatedly mention Hartley. Of these Baines's evidence is the most important as the artist-explorer almost always recorded what he observed; he usually refrained from commenting and interpreting and in this respect his paintings and drawings are remarkably similar to his written descriptions.

Photographs and the paintings in which he features give a good idea of what Hartley looked like. The best description of his appearance is given by the German traveller Edward Mohr: "Hartley is an old man of about seventy, with a long silver beard, who has been an elephant hunter since his twenty-sixth year, and is well-known from Potchefstroom to the Zambesi. He told me that he had shot altogether over one thousand elephants, and he is at present the oldest and greatest hunter of Africa south of the Zambesi. He is of middle height, very muscular and strongly built, and still mounts his

Henry Hartley, 1815–1876
(National Archives)

horse with great agility. His face, arms and hands are bronzed by constant exposure to the tropical sun. The most remarkable thing about him is that he has a lame foot and can only walk very slowly, so that all his hunting has to be done on horseback".[3] Mohr met Hartley towards the end of 1896, he thus overestimates the hunter's age by about fourteen years: the "long silver beard" must have been misleading, but at that time Hartley may have been looking rather older than he was as he had recently had several ribs broken by a wounded rhinoceros.

A psychologist would have undoubtedly dubbed Hartley an extrovert. He enjoyed giving information to anyone and everyone in need, and when night fell he delighted in a merry yarn around the camp fire. He had the habit, excusable in a man with a full white beard, of capping or at least matching any veld story however tall. Baines records many of his rather far-fetched anecdotes without comment: the existence of a pride of 150 lions; the peculiar sexual habits of elephants; how cow-elephants transport their young and so on. But whenever the bounds of possibility were on the point of being violated, Hartley almost always introduced some third party, whose reports he said he was merely reiterating.

Most observers took Henry Hartley's camp fire yarns for what they were obviously meant to be: good entertainment rather than necessarily sound natural history. But Thomas Leask, a somewhat dour and, at the time of his writing, financially broken Orkneyman took exception to some of Hartley's stories. Leask did not do this openly, he took the usual Victorian's refuge of unburdening himself privately in his daily diary. The habit of getting morbid thoughts out of one's mind and into a book was, and for that matter is, a perfectly normal and healthy pastime. Reading Leask's criticisms of Hartley a hundred years after they were written one must come to the conclusion that the laugh is on Leask for being hasty and lacking in humour. For example, Leask took exception when the talk turned to the length of time that the accumulated dung in a cattle kraal could burn; William Finaughty, who was present in the camp, reckoned that the record was seven years but Hartley, with the authority of much greater experience said that he knew of a kraal in the Cape which had been burning for twenty-one years. Leask's criticism is summed up in this extract from his diary: "Hartley says he intends 'collecting all his manuscripts and getting them published'. It may do for the people at home, who generally give more credence to lies than truth, but it won't go down with old travellers".[4] But later on Leask changed his attitude towards Hartley and there is genuine appreciation for the help he received from the old hunter.

Finaughty, in his reminiscences, recorded by a Bulawayo newspaper man some fifty years after the events took place,[5] criticises Hartley's hunting methods. Finaughty was of course a remarkable hunter but one detects a trace of professional jealousy in his statements. The simple fact is that Hartley had been able to put elephant hunting on a sound economic footing.

Henry Hartley enjoyed the limitless freedom of southern Africa's open frontier. An expert horseman he ruthlessly exploited the fact that a horse can outrun an eland, a giraffe or an elephant. In 1841 he moved into the Transvaal and by about the middle of the century he owned his own farm, Thorndale, on the southern slopes of the Magaliesburg, about forty-five miles from Johannesburg on the Rustenburg Road. Thorndale became his permanent home and firm base for operations into the Far Interior.

During the dry winter months, when there was little work to be done on the farm, he, accompanied by his three sons Tom,[6] Fred and Willie[7] and his son-in-law Thomas Maloney, would leave Thorndale for an annual hunting expedition. The ivory they obtained supplemented their incomes from farming; the Hartleys were thus relatively prosperous and they became respected members of the community. On their yearly hunting trips they ranged over a wide area: as far as the Victoria Falls in the north and eastwards into Mashonaland, probably up to the headwaters of the Sabi.

But Henry Hartley's main claim to fame does not rest on his prowess as a hunter. His name will rather always be remembered as the discoverer of gold in what is today Rhodesia. Hartley himself seems to have had but little interest in mining but his discovery together with the great practical assistance he gave to Karl Mauch and Thomas Baines set off a chain reaction that changed the course of history. In 1865 Mzilikazi gave Hartley permission to hunt in Mashonaland; this was the first year that the hunter had been east of Matabeleland. While shooting elephants not far from the banks of the Umfuli River Hartley came across an outcrop of gold-bearing quartz; nearby were old diggings indicating that the gold had been worked several years before.

To be exact Hartley's find really amounted to the re-discovery of gold. The Chronicles of Kilwa, a document dated about 600 A.D., mentions the fact that gold was obtained from the interior; the Arabs, who had been south of the Zambezi for centuries, also refer to this gold trade as do the Portuguese who ousted the Arabs from Sofala in 1505. Soon after the Portuguese occupation of the east coast, however, inter-tribal violence in the interior began to disrupt the orderly traffic in gold and the output from the hinterland dwindled to a trickle and then dried up completely; the predatory Zulu hordes that swarmed northwards in the early part of the last century were probably responsible for sealing up the interior to all trade with the outside world.

Before returning to the importance of Hartley's discovery it is relevant to consider how primitive men recovered considerable quantities of gold whereas today, in spite of modern machinery, it is not easy for a small-worker to make a living. The first point to bear in mind is that gold is one of the easiest substances to collect and it was therefore probably the first metal to be worked by man; gold is usually found in the metallic form as its simpler compounds are formed with difficulty and readily revert to the pure state. Thus primitive men merely had to pick up the shining particles which had been leached out of or exposed in auriferous strata during countless centuries of erosion and weathering. The second point to remember is that the overall land mass of Rhodesia has, since its original formation, been reduced in height by between 200 and 2,000 feet. This considerable reduction in height was wrought by natural weathering combined with the mechanical action of wind and water. Gold is an extremely heavy substance so it tended to stay where it was exposed or else it was deposited nearby in the beds of streams. The ancient workers did little more than skim off, as it were, the surface cream which had taken millions of years to accumulate. One can visualise a simple analogy with regard to the granite boulders that form such a characteristic feature of the Rhodesian landscape: if for some reason these boulders were valuable enough to warrant their removal then the recovery of weathered granite in time to come would be difficult or, indeed, impossible. A somewhat similar state of affairs applies to Rhodesian gold.

Until the time of publication of Hartley's discovery, the only white men to penetrate into the Far Interior were hunters, traders and a few missionaries. Immediately after his discovery prospectors and concession-seekers began to arrive; they were more aggressive in their demands and more persuasive in their promises. After 1865 the whole tempo of events changed, culminating in Rhodes despatching the Pioneer Column which was in essence simply a well organised and carefully controlled gold rush. And it is through the eyes of a generation that saw the greatest gold rushes in the history of the world that Hartley's discovery must be evaluated.

In 1848 James Marshall discovered glittering particles of gold in a stream in California; a year later the famous "forty-niners" swarmed into the country and the great rush was on. In 1851 Edward Hargraves found gold in New South Wales and soon afterwards the Victoria goldfield was discovered which yielded rich rewards including two incredible nuggets each weighing more than 150 pounds. Thereafter there was a series of minor rushes in America and Australia which kept the temperature of the general public's gold-fever well above normal. Great movements of population took place; in the four years up to 1855 over 1,250,000 immigrants poured into Australia from England alone. People in those days were probably no more adventurous than they are today but, apart from being attracted by golden riches, they were prodded by Victorian poverty. When considering the background to the period, it should be remembered that the first diamond was found in South Africa in 1867, two years after Hartley had found gold in Mashonaland; but it was not until 1869 that a party of Australian diggers started a major diamond rush by finding a rich deposit of stones in a kopje some distance away from the banks of the Vaal River; these men had been attracted to Africa by reports of Hartley's discovery and had landed in Durban with two shiploads of their countrymen in February and April of that year. The following year Cecil John Rhodes also landed in Durban, in an expectant and highly optimistic atmosphere.

Hartley's discovery thus had the effect of adding considerable fuel to fires which were already ablaze. Reports of his discovery had worldwide repercussions, featuring in the press of most countries, notably in South Africa, Britain, America, Australia and Germany. But Hartley did much more than merely report the existence of gold: he encouraged and gave invaluable practical help and advice to two men, Karl Mauch and Thomas Baines, who more than any others, gave the neglected Far Interior a blast of publicity that was directly responsible for bringing Rhodesia into the British orbit. Consider, for example, the impact of this news item which appeared in the Natal *Mercury* dated 17 December 1867: "So the question of ancient Ophir is at last settled . . . Of course we are all in a high state of excitement".

The sterling service that Hartley rendered in publicising the Mashonaland gold field is in keeping with the extroversion that ruled his personality. Mauch,[8] the poetic and unstable German schoolmaster who had turned amateur geologist, would have got nowhere without Hartley's help and guidance. The honest and factual Baines repeatedly acknowledges his own indebtedness in this respect. It is extremely doubtful whether Baines would have obtained the first ever concession[9] to mine in Mashonaland from Lobengula if it had not been for Hartley. Hartley's helpfulness is all the more extraordinary when one realises that, as far as he was concerned, it was virtually a one-sided affair. The story is repeated over and over again in the writings of his

contemporaries: Hartley lends a horse; Hartley acts as a guide to Tati; Hartley supplies oxen; Hartley, a skilled blacksmith, fixes a wagon wheel; Hartley intercedes and smooths the way with Mzilikazi and again with Lobengula; Hartley indicates the routes free from tsetse fly; Hartley sets Lobengula's broken arm; Hartley extends hospitality at Thorndale; Hartley shows where gold is to be found. An so on in small matters and in big, but there are no references to anyone helping Hartley.

The destruction of the farm house along with the Hartley archives has already been mentioned: this obliteration of the direct evidence of him being the first southern African frontiersman to discover gold in what is today Rhodesia has unfortunately led to his claim to this honour being disputed in certain quarters. There is a school of thought that believes it is Mauch who is entitled to the credit for the discovery. Before examining the facts it is necessary to bear in mind how History bestows her honours: Columbus is honoured for discovering the New World, not the Vikings who sailed across the Atlantic centuries before him: such is Hartley's relationship to the ancient gold workers; Fleming was the first to stumble on the unique therapeutic qualities of penicillin but it was Florey and Chain who gave the wonder drug to the world, nevertheless only Fleming's name is a household word today: such is Hartley's relationship to Mauch and Baines.

There is of course nothing new in the Hartley-Mauch controversy for it was started by the German himself. Hartley was a popular figure in South Africa and it was not only right but also quite natural that he was given the credit for discovering the northern goldfields: but Mauch complained to Baines in 1871 that :Mr. Hartley wished to take credit for discoveries that belonged to Mr. Mauch alone and that statements disparaging to him (Mauch) were made in various newspapers . . ."[10]

The sequence of events is as follows: Hartley discovered gold during the first year he hunted in Mashonaland which was 1865. On returning to the Transvaal he met Mauch on February 15th, 1866, and he told the German about his find. Mauch left Thorndale with Hartley for the northern goldfields in May 1866 and the two went together on a second trip the following year. In a letter, to the *Transvaal Argus* dated December 3rd, 1867, Mauch wrote: "Mr. Hartley, the well-known elephant hunter, may count among the results of his last hunt the discovery of two goldfields of enormous extent". This letter is reprinted on page 496 of the *New Monthly Magazine* of 1868 with the following comment: "Carl Mauch himself, as we have seen in his letter to the *Transvaal Argus* of December 3, 1867, attributed the discovery of the goldfields to the well-known elephant hunter, Mr. H. Hartley. Carl Mauch confirmed and extended the discovery and gave to it the weight and authority of a competent scientific observer." Sir Roderick Murchison in his presidential address to the Royal Geographical Society on May 25th, 1868, has this to say: ". . . having been in frequent communication with our medallist Dr. Petermann I gather this data from a forthcoming number of 'Mittheilungen' to which I have had access . . . He (Mauch) became acquainted with Mr. Hartley, the elephant hunter who, in quest of ivory, had visited all the highest lands of the region which forms the broad-backed elevated watershed between the river Zambezi on the north and Limpopo on the south. Being informed by Hartley of the existence in these high and rocky lands of the remains of ancient metalliferous excavations Mr. Mauch explored them, hammer in hand . . .".[11]

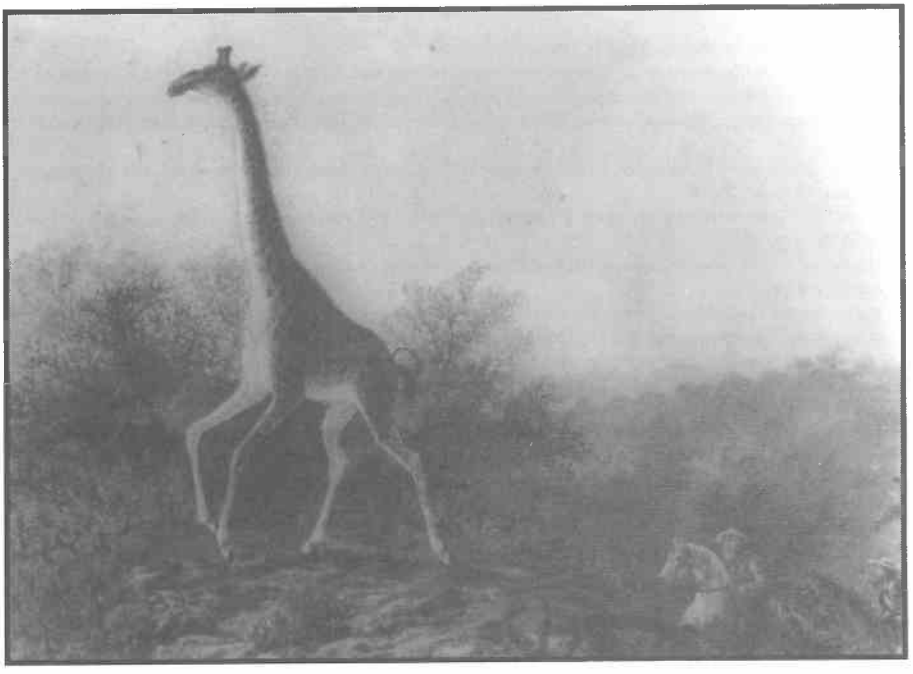
After the dispute arose Mauch is careful to omit any reference to Hartley mentioning gold before they set out together for the north. The following is a translation of a work published in 1874: "*Making acquaintance with Hartley and two journeys in his company*. On returning from a lesser hunting trip to the Limpopo I chanced to meet the elephant hunter, Hartley on February 15, 1866. We had only talked for a few minutes with each other, during which time I explained my plans and desires to him, when he invited me to accompany him on his next trip to Matabeleland. There, he thought, I would find a field for my activities. I asked him for time to think it over, but came to the anticipated decision, to accept the proposition made voluntarily by the famous hunter."[12]

Baines records the following statement in a diary entry dated May 15th, 1896, which gives Hartley's side of the story and at the same time seems to indicate that a dispute was already brewing up: "Hartley . . . says that he not only never hindered Mauch in his discoveries nor left him unprovided to walk long distances, but that he himself employed natives who knew where gold used to be worked in former times to point out the localities to Mr. Mauch."[13]

The evidence, especially that which appeared soon after the discovery of gold was announced, thus indicates that Hartley was the pioneer, while Mauch confirmed and reported on the hunter's find. There is no room for dispute in this matter.

Henry Hartley gave up hunting elephants after the 1870 season. He had a run of bad luck that began when he was seriously injured by a wounded rhinoceros near the Ramaquabane River in November 1869; the worst blow he had to suffer was the death of Willie, his favourite son, on May 29th, 1870; to make matters worse in the same year his splendid grey charger Camelbuck[14] was struck by tsetse fly and died in September. The high veld was no longer to re-echo to the roar of Hartley's great four-bore muzzle-loader as the gallant old man with his flowing silver beard charged through the msasas after elephants heavy with ivory. Mashonaland would from now on be associated with tragic memories for the grand old frontiersman. But in any case Hartley had to quit hunting for other reasons: most of the elephants had retreated to the low lying 'fly' country where hunters could not give chase on horseback; elephant hunting on foot with slow firing muzzle-loaders was not really a proposition in the relatively open country that prevails in Rhodesia and was, of course, quite out of the question for a man who had difficulty in walking. The further large scale slaughter of the great beasts had to wait for a new generation of Nimrods armed with high velocity breech-loading weapons. So ended an era. In 1867 Henry Hartley died on his farm Thorndale, where he was buried.

In gratitude for the help he had received, Baines called Hartley Hill after the hunter, thus Henry Hartley has the honour of having his name on the first geographical feature in Mashonaland to be named after a European. Today a town and a district also bear his name. He is seen in some historic paintings by Baines, two of which are reproduced with this article. Henry Hartley is mentioned in every book on the early history of Rhodesia. As a living memorial, a growing number of his descendants are to be found on both sides of the Limpopo. The name of Henry Hartley is thus indelibly written across southern Africa. This is as it should be.



"The Giraffe wearied" A painting by Thomas Baines[15]
(Photo: Mrs J. M. H. Theron)

Hartley discovers gold, 1865; a portion of a painting by Baines[16]
(Photo: National Archives)

NOTES

1. *Geographischen Mittellungen*, 1867, p. 219.
2. This painting was presented to the National Archives in 1955 by Mrs. E. Lester of Johannesburg, a descendant of Henry Hartley; unfortunately the vibrations on the journey dislodged much of the already badly damaged paintwork which rendered the picture useless for exhibition purposes. The painting showed Hartley shooting an elephant at close range.
3. Mohr, E., translated by D'Anvers, N., *To the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi*. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1876, pp. 201-2.
4. Leask, T., *The southern African diaries of Thomas Leask*, 1865-1870, edited by J. P. R. Wallis in the Oppenheimer series No. 8, p. 73.
5. Finaughty, W., *The recollections of William Finaughty, elephant hunter*, 1864-1875. J. B. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia, c. 1916.
6. In a letter to the *Field, the farm, the garden, the country gentleman's newspaper*, London, 19 March 1910, P. McGillewie mentions that Tom Hartley was killed fighting for the Transvaal at Colenso during the Anglo-Boer War. The question of divided loyalty must have caused much heart-searching in the family at the time. Tom's loyalty to his adopted country, while quite understandable, may have been encouraged by his brother-in-law Thomas Maloney as many Irish fought on the Boer side.
7. Willie Hartley was one of the first white men to die in Mashonaland. For particulars of the circumstances of his death and where he was buried see E. E. Burke's article *William Hartley's grave* in *Rhodesiana* No. 8.
8. A fine example of Carl Mauch's poetic approach is: "There the extent and beauty of the gold fields are such that I stood as it were transfixed, and for a few minutes was unable to use the hammer". Mauch died in 1875 as a result of a fall from an upper storey window.
9. The Baines concession was eventually bought by the British South Africa Company for the equivalent of £5,000 in the company's shares.
10. Baines, T. *The northern goldfields diaries of Thomas Baines*, 1869-1872, edited by J. P. R. Wallis in the Oppenheimer series No. 3, p. 616.
11. Royal Geographical Society, *Proceedings* 1868 v. 22, no. 2, pp. 219-284.
12. Mauch, K., *Reisen im inneren von Sud-Afrika* 1865-1872. Gotha-fustus, Perthes, 1874.
13. Baines, T. *ibid* p. 26. Enlisting the aid of local tribesmen in seeking the location of old workings was also a common practice after the Pioneers arrived in 1890; it gave rise to the term "blanket prospecting" as a blanket was the usual gift for rendering this service. All the major gold mines in Rhodesia ware situated on old workings.
14. Camelbuck or Kameelbok was probably so named because it recalled some association with a giraffe. Camelopard was a common term for a giraffe in South Africa and this was often abbreviated to camel. For example: "suddenly Selous shouted 'Camels by Jove!'" at p. 29 in W. M. Kerr's *The Far Interior*, London, 1887.
15. "The Giraffe Wearied" has the following inscription on the back of the canvas: "Presented to H. Hartley Esq. In acknowledgement of his kind assistance to the South African Goldfields Expedition by the artist, T. Baines, Ganyana River, Lat. 17.44.41. Sept. 14 1869". From left to right: Hartley's coloured servant Christiaan, Henry Hartley on Camelbuck and Baines. The picture is in the possession of Mrs. Joyce Hartley Theron of Johannesburg: it has been bequeathed to the National Archives by the late Mrs. Gladys Hartley but it will remain in the custody of her three children during their lifetime.
16. Henry Hartley discovers gold. The illustration shows part of the well-known canvas painted by Baines when he was publicising the northern goldfields and trying to raise money for a third expedition to the interior. The back of the canvas bears the following inscription: "What led to the discovery of the South African Gold Fields. Mr. Hartley and his Matabeli servant elephant hunting among quartz rock and old diggings in the Northern Goldfields 1865 and 1866. T. Baines, Durban, Natal, Septr. 28 1874". This was one of the last paintings by Baines who died seven months later on May 8th, 1875.

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The Burial of Cecil Rhodes

by J. Charles Shee

Cecil John Rhodes died at his seaside cottage at Muizenberg on Wednesday, 26th March, 1902, and was buried at World's View in the Matopos Hills of Rhodesia on Thursday, 10th April.

Shortly after midnight on the evening of his death, a post-mortem examination was carried out at the cottage by Dr. S. B. Syfret in the presence of Doctors Leander Starr Jameson, Thomas Williams Smartt and Edmund Sinclair Stevenson.[2] Meanwhile a simple teak coffin had arrived by special train from Cape Town and the body was then taken to Rondebosch station and thence by hearse to Groote Schuur, where it arrived at about 4.30 a.m. on the 27th.

On the same day, all shops in Cape Town closed and the announcement of a State Funeral was followed by a statement from Rhodes' executors that he had left written instructions for his burial to be in the Matopos Hills near Bulawayo. This meant that the remains would have to be conveyed 1,200 miles through country not yet fully pacified in the aftermath of the South African War.

It was at once clear that the arrangements would call for considerable organisational ability. All responsibility was put in the hands of Rhodes' friend, Dr. T. W. Smartt, Commissioner of Public Works,[3] and was later carried through with superb forethought and timing.

There was a public lying-in-state of the body in Groote Schuur on Saturday, 29th March (Easter Saturday) and again on Monday 31st. The long avenue of pines was thronged with mourners who were admitted through the front door in small parties, passed into the hall where the coffin lay and so to the garden entrance opposite. On the two days, a total of more than 30,000 mourners paid their respects.

On Tuesday 1st April, the mail ship *Walmer Castle* arrived bringing Frank and Arthur Rhodes, who had been cabled three weeks before, when their brother's illness had taken a serious turn. On the evening of 2nd April, a short religious ceremony attended by relatives and close friends, was conducted at the bier by the Rector of Rondebosch.

The coffin was now placed in three outer shells which on Smartt's instructions had been hastily constructed during the past few days. The two inner of these were of an unspecified metal but must have been very light, as the series of four coffins containing the body was designed to be carried by eight men. The massive outer coffin was constructed from spare planks of "Matabele Teak" left over from the recent rebuilding of Groote Schuur after the fire of 1896. Attached to the sides were eight handles of beaten brass mounted on plates each with the monogram C.J.R. These were forged and delivered within four days of the order being given. They are well seen in one of the magnificent photographs in Francis Masey's book.

On the night of 2nd April, the remains were taken by road to the Cape Houses of Parliament for a second lying-in-state. The portico, entrance hall and great hall with its surrounding gallery were heavily draped in black and purple; with piles of wreaths

laid down the centre of the hall and hung on the wall draperies. There were only three wreaths on the bier itself: one from Queen Alexandra, one from Jameson and one from Rhodes' brothers and sisters.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of 3rd April, the coffin was carried from the Houses of Parliament, placed on a gun-carriage and followed by a procession in which practically every distinguished man in Cape Colony was present or represented. There was a party of Rhodesian pioneers commanded by Capt. F. K. Lyons-Montgomery who, being partially paralysed as a result of a head wound received in Matabeleland, was unable to march[4] and Capt. Feltham took his palace. The cortege passed by way of Strand Street, Burg Street, Wale Street and Adderley Street to St. George's Cathedral for a memorial service and afterwards to Cape Town station where the coffin was loaded onto a funeral coach attached to a special train which also carried the chief mourners.

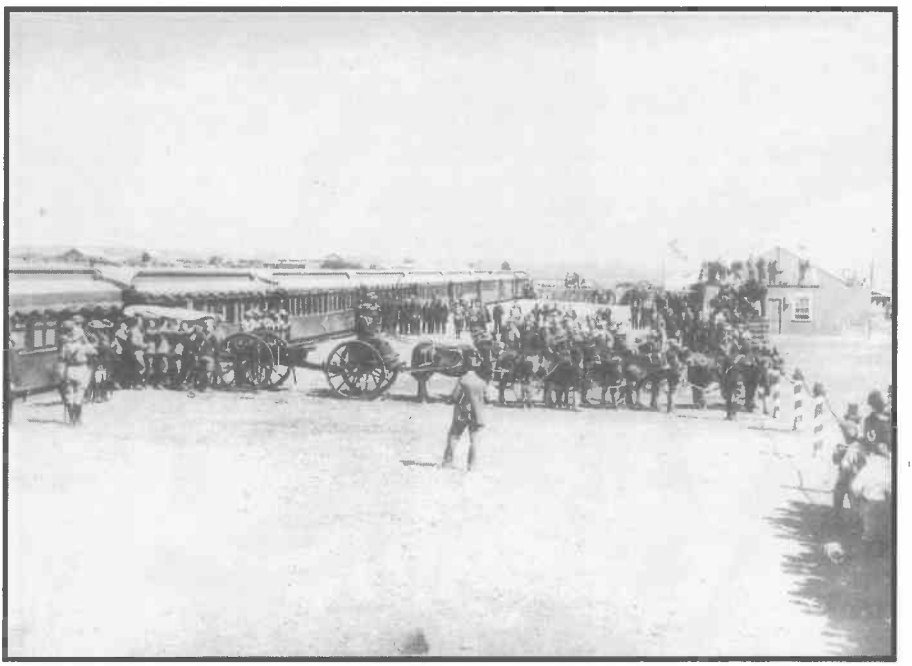
There were touching demonstrations of grief and respect all along the line of rail. At Beaufort West, General French and his staff came aboard to pay tribute. A pilot engine ran before the train to Mafeking and from the Modder River on, an armoured train followed close behind, because the country here was still subject to hit-and-run attacks by De la Rey's commandos, and military block-houses became regular features along the line. A problem was now posed by the ever-increasing accumulation of flower wreaths, some of them already decaying and the train stopped at midnight on 4th April by a spruit with steep banks and here on the dry river bed the wreaths were piled, paraffin poured over them and set alight. The screened position of the fire protected the train from Boer observation; the cards and memorial notices from the wreaths were collected and kept in the funeral car.

At Kimberley on 5th April, the train halted for over six hours and more than 15,000 people filed along the platform past the coffin. Among the mourners was Njuba, a son of Lobengula, employed by the De Beers Company. The next halt was at Vryburg, a town in deep depression, garrisoned by the remnants of Methuen's division which had been cut to pieces by De la Rey a month earlier near Klerksdorp. A cordon of soldiers surrounded the station and only those with special passes were allowed through.

At dawn on 6th April, the train started for Mafeking where the whole population turned out to meet it. The most dangerous part of the journey was now past, but the train was readily recognisable by the black velvet and purple silk hangings of the funeral coach riding immediately behind the two engines and as it passed isolated detachments of troops, the latter stood gravely to attention with arms reversed and heads bowed.

The train now rumbled northwards through Bechuanaland and its armoured escort turned back near Palapye on Monday, 7th April. In the late afternoon they pulled into Francistown where they were met by a group of chiefs, including the youthful Segkoma Khama representing his father. Here the Cape Police, which had formed the escort, handed over their duty to the B.S.A. Police. As the train neared the Rhodesian border post of Plumtree, it was stopped and the wreaths which had accumulated since Kimberley were burnt and the cards and mementos collected and preserved as before. At 9 a.m. on Tuesday 8th, the train steamed into Bulawayo station.

What followed in Bulawayo was very fully covered and reported by the great



The coffin arrives at Bulawayo Station at 9 a.m. Tuesday, 8th April, 1902
(National Archives)

newspapers of the world, but it is singularly appropriate to quote here the hitherto unpublished description of the proceedings written by the local organiser, H. Marshall Hole, Civil Commissioner of Bulawayo, in a letter to his father in England.[5]

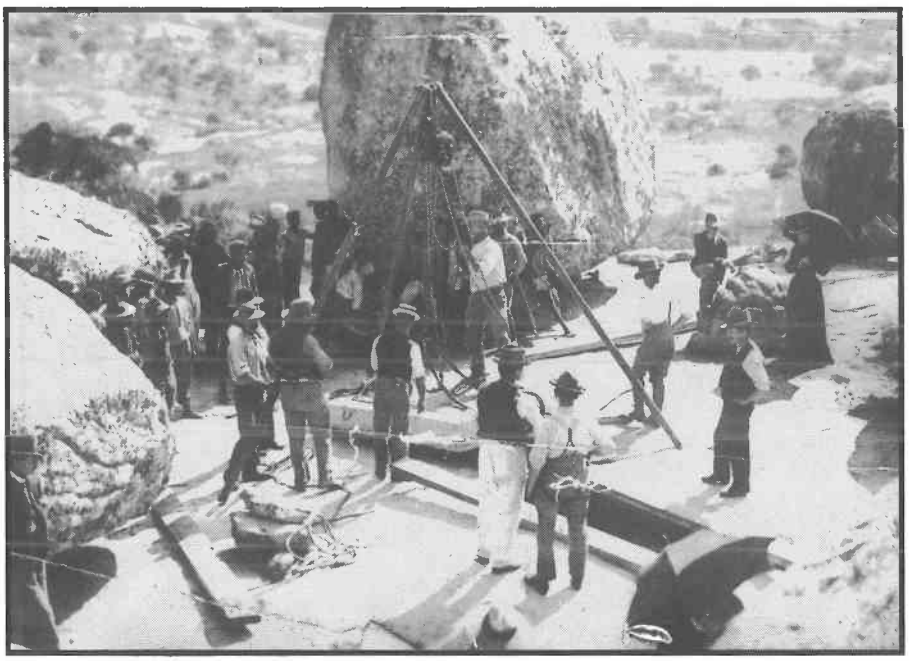
Bulawayo – Sunday, 13:4:02

My Dear Father,

At last I have a quiet morning which I must dedicate to my private correspondence.

I am sending you newspapers, etc., giving you information as to the great funeral of Mr. Rhodes which has engrossed my whole time for the last fortnight. The newspaper report is very jejune and unsatisfactory, but as there were correspondents for the Times, Standard and other London Dailies, I expect you will have good accounts at home.

As I think I told you in a previous letter, the entire organisation of the funeral was in my hands and I never had such a difficult task in my life. That I brought it off successfully is due largely to the splendid way in which I was assisted by the different people to whom I relegated the details of the proceedings, viz. Col. Chester-Master,[6] Major Straker[7] and Mr. Souslin.[8] The main difficulties were the shortness of time allowed for preparation, the remoteness of the spot where Mr. Rhodes had elected to be buried, the terrible nature of the only road leading to that spot; the fact that the actual site of the grave was on the summit of a lofty granite hill and the grave had to be dug in solid rock, the difficulty of providing with our limited means for the large number of official and other visitors, both at Bulawayo and more especially in the



The prepared grave shortly before the burial
(National Archives)

desolate Matopos where they had to spend a day and a night. However, all these difficulties were successfully surmounted and everything passed off smoothly. From the time of the arrival of the body at 9 a.m. on Tuesday until the act of interment at noon on Thursday, all went off without a hitch and I was personally thanked by Col. Rhodes[9] and Dr Jameson while the administrator sent me the letter of which I enclose a copy, as it will interest you.

The papers will give you an outline of the ceremonies which extended over three days, but they can but faintly depict the fascinating almost horrible grandeur of the spot where poor Rhodes' body reposes. The "World's View" was discovered by Rhodes himself on one of his lonely rides some years ago and is about eight miles from the farm where he spent so much of his time when he visited Matabeleland. The grave is 26 miles south of Bulawayo and when I first went out a fortnight ago, the road we followed was in a ghastly state. I sent our men to explore three other roads but ultimately decided to adopt the one I saw myself, and secured 400 natives at once to put it into repair.[10] The sinking of the grave occupied five stone cutters and a large number of boys for 10 days and nights, working incessantly, and a large granite slab was hewn out of the granite to cover the remains.[11] The grave was situated at the summit of a bare solid hill of granite [*indecipherable sentence*]. It is so peculiarly situated that although not a very large hill itself, it commands a view of many miles in all directions. And what a view! As far as the eye can reach, a sea of rugged fantastic boulders piled up in indescribable confusion crowned with grim stones which look like sentinels.

One resembles a sphinx, another a negro and it is impossible to realise that they are natural. Nature must have been in a very wild mood when she designed the place. But the chief peculiarity of the World's View rock, is that on its summit is a circle of huge isolated granite boulders 20 to 40 feet high, arranged in a ring like a Druidical Temple, and it is within this ring that the grave has been sculptured – the feet of the body pointing north towards one of the openings between these great monoliths. A more extraordinary and fantastic place it is impossible to conceive. Of course, the difficulty of getting a heavy coffin up to the top was one of the first things to be considered. To guard against any possibility of accident, I had blocks and hauling tackle arranged at two points. I also had a special carriage constructed on low wheels and I arranged that the body should be taken from Rhodes' hut in the very early morning before anyone was astir, so that if there was any contretemps none should witness it but the escort. You will understand that on Wednesday we had a formal funeral procession from the Mortuary Chapel[12] to the outskirts of the town – then the body was conducted privately under military escort to the Westacre farm (Mr. Rhodes' farm) where it rested for the night in the large open hut which he used as a dining room.[13] Only the chief mourners accompanied it, the official visitors remained at a large camp which we built about two miles back and at the hotel where we made special arrangements enabling them to accommodate 60 people (usually it holds 6!).[14]

I, myself, occupied a small hut belonging to an engineer who has been working at a gigantic dam which Mr. Rhodes had built.[15] It had three rooms and was suitable for me as it was halfway between the farm and the Hotel where the official guests were and was on a hill commanding a view of both. The hut had three rooms and besides myself, I had arranged for Col. Chester-Master, Mrs. Chester-Master, Miss Ethel[16] and Lord Brooke[17] to sleep there. The two ladies went out by themselves early in the day. On Thursday morning long before sunrise, we began to move the coffin on its gun carriage on to the World's View.[18] No one accompanied it except the military escort of 50 men. A curious thing happened as it got to the first drift below the farm: a little buck, called here a "Klipspringer", jumped out of the grass at the side of the road and ran between the coffin and the escort! So close that one of the men kicked it. The coffin was got without difficulty to the grave about 9.30 in the morning or about an hour before the enormous crowd of mourners had arrived. Another curious thing which I have not seen mentioned in the papers, is this: we had arranged for the natives who wished to see the interment, to be stationed on the side of the mountain in a body, and they came to the number of 100 chiefs and about 3,000 of their men. These all arrived in the early morning and so witnessed what the general public did not, viz. The ascent of the body up the rock. We were able to dispense with the hauling apparatus and got the coffin up easily on the gun carriage with 12 bullocks and men holding drag ropes.[19] As the coffin went slowly up, the principal chief – Mjaan – who was Lobengula's Commander-in-Chief, stood up and gave the Royal Salute "Bayete" which was immediately taken up by the whole of the assembled multitude of natives. This salute has never been given since the death of Moselikatze, the father of Lobengula, and the founder of the Matabele race which he brought here from Zululand. And now I will tell you one more curious thing before I stop. Six years ago during the rebellion, some young Troops found in the Matopo Hills about four miles from where Rhodes lies, the

skeleton of a native in a sitting position in a huge cleft or gash in the granite on the top of a hill. The gash had been closed up with masonry to a point level with his throat so that in his sitting posture, the skeleton appeared to be gazing out over the country. On enquiring from the natives, it turned out that this skeleton was Moselikatze (or Umseligazi) which means "The Path of Blood". The King of the Matabele who had been buried thus, that he might look after death at the country he had founded. Rhodes told me about this himself a year or two ago and said, "It is a fine idea. There is something grand about that old man sitting there and keeping guard over his country!" There sits Moselikatze and there rests Rhodes too, looking out over the country he won for us – if ever a man had a suitable resting place it is this, and there may he and the old native chief rest in peace side by side!

You, of course, cannot realise what Rhodes' death means to us. I personally have worked for him for 12 years and esteem it the highest privilege that has been accorded to me to have laboured for such a man. You can imagine, therefore, that it has been a great honour and privilege to me to have had a principal part in laying him to rest.

Sometimes one feels a sort of despair that he has been taken from us. No one can succeed him. He stood alone – gigantic in his aspirations, towering above others in his strength, his patriotism and his achievements.

Still, he has left behind him a great example and in his passing he has left legacies of advice and standards of patriotic principle which are almost as valuable as his life was.

The motto which I had put over my office on the day of the funeral was – "*Si monumentum quaeris circumspice*". A feeble piece of plagiarism, of course, but far more significant in his case than it was for old Christopher Wren.[20]

I have had no time to think about personal matters, but I may tell you that I have arranged it with Milton[21] to come home at the end of July or beginning of August and I will write more fully on this next week.

I hope you will endeavour to arrange that Monica sees something of the Coronation.[22] It was a great regret to us that she did not see the burial of Rhodes. Ethel was able to see the last ceremony which neither she nor I will ever forget to our dying day.

Your loving,

(*signed*) H.M.H.

The chief mourners around the grave were Colonel Frank Rhodes, Arthur Rhodes, Leander Starr Jameson, Thomas Smartt, L. L. Michell[23] and Sir Charles Metcalfe. The service was conducted by the Bishop of Mashonaland, the redoubtable "Bill" Gaul. The coffin was suspended on "sheer-legs" over the tomb. The Chartered Company's flag and the three faded wreaths, from "The Queen", the "Brothers and sisters" and "Dr. Jameson" remained on the coffin and as the Bishop read the Anglican Burial Service, it was lowered with a rattle of chains to the depths.

After the Bishop had delivered the funeral oration, he read Kipling's moving poem to "C.J.R.", which had been specially written for the occasion. When during the service the Bishop came to "Earth to Earth", none could be found on that arid dome and a few chips of granite were collected and thrown into the tomb.

As the covering slab was moved with difficulty into place on wooden rollers, a

final hymn was sung and the funeral ended climactically with another unexpected and enormous roar of "Bayete" from the assembled tribesmen.[24]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Seldom does it fall to the lot of the chronicler of an important historical occasion, as long as 66 years after the event, to be able to refer to such an important primary source as Mr. T. H. Cooke, who when a young clerk in the Gold Fields Company, rode out to the funeral on his bicycle and stood at the graveside during the ceremony.

Now with memory and other faculties quite unimpaired, he has been of the greatest help in the compilation of this article and accompanying notes. Mrs. Cooke, then unmarried, well remembers seeing the cortege pass down Adderley Street on its way to Cape Town station.

NOTES

1. Much of the information in the first part of this article was found in *A Chronicle of the Funeral Ceremonies from Muizenberg to the Matopos, March-April, 1902*. This was printed for private circulation by the Cape Times Ltd., in 1905, and compiled by Francis Masey who rode in the funeral train.
2. The original report of the autopsy was known to have been in the Rhodes-Livingstone (later Livingstone) Museum in 1963. For an analysis of the findings, the reader is referred to *The Ill Health and Mortal Sickness of Cecil John Rhodes*, by the present writer in the *C.A.J. Med.* (1965), 11, 4, pp. 89–93.
3. Later the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Smartt, Bt., P.C.
4. Colonel A. S. Hickman has promised a full report on Lyons-Montgomery in a future number of *Rhodesiana*, ref. *Rhodesiana* No. 16, July 1967, p. 84.
5. *Fragments on Rhodes*. Livingstone Museum Historical Collection Ref. No. G.9/1/a/5. This has been temporarily mislaid at the museum but it is a large school exercise book filled with manuscripts in differing handwritings, some in ink and some in pencil and consists of personal reminiscences of various people who had known Rhodes. The internal evidence suggests that the collection was made and written down shortly after his death. Included is a copy of the letter signed H.M.H. (H. Marshall Hole) and reproduced here. When the booklet was examined seven years ago, it was noted that some of the handwriting, particularly that in pencil, was becoming indecipherable. This was brought to the notice of the Museum authorities and they had typewritten copies prepared; one of these was made available to the writer. The hitherto unpublished material in *Fragments on Rhodes* has already proved valuable in eliciting the course of Rhodes' fatal illness (see Note 2).
6. In Francis Masey's book, Chester-Master is referred to as representing "His Excellency the Governor of the Cape Colony" at the Railway Station in Bulawayo when the body arrived there. Later the book describes him as being in charge of the 50-man party of B.S.A.P. who were on duty at the grave for the interment.
   Chester-Master is not mentioned in Col. A. S. Hickman's *Men who made Rhodesia*. Lt.-Col. Bodle was in command of the party of 50 men of the B.S.A.P. who accompanied the remains from the Drill Hall to the grave. It is not clear whether this detachment was the same as that which presented arms at the grave.
   Mr. T. H. Cooke informs the writer that in Col. Harding's book *Frontier Patrol*, Col. Chester-Master is described as Commandant-General of the B.S.A.P. In the same book Lt.-Col. Bodle is described as Commandant and likewise in the same book, again Bodle is mentioned as being in command of the police (B.S.A.P.) from 1903–08.
7. Major M. Straker of the B.S.A.P.
8. H. B. Doulin, Director of Public Works. Responsible for having the road made from "The Huts" (Westacre) to World's View. Assisted by Capt. Jesser Coope.
9. Col. Frank Rhodes, C.B., D.S.O., Cecil's favourite brother.
10. The route indicated by Hole corresponds to the present road from the "Summer House" near to Rhodes Elementary Preparatory School (Reps.) to the right-hand fork at the start of the Circular Drive and thence on to the Lower Outspan.
11. Masey reports that fortunately a large piece of exfoliated granite of approximately the correct size was found near the tomb and chiselled into shape. Rhodes had directed in his Will that his tomb was to be covered with a solid brass plate on which should be the incised inscription "Here lie the remains of Cecil John Rhodes". Such a plate was found in Cape Town, hastily inscribed and brought up in the funeral train. Taken out to the Matopos it was bolted onto the covering slab, which now lay ready beside the tomb to be rolled over when the ceremony was finished.
12. When the coffin arrived at Bulawayo Station at 9 a.m. on Tuesday, 8th April, 1902, it was transferred by mule-drawn gun-carriage to the uncompleted Drill Hall. What Marshall Hole refers to as the Mortuary Chapel, was a square heavily-curtained black canopy beneath which the coffin rested on a dais in the centre of the hall. The term "Mortuary Chapel"

had a contemporary popularity through Sir Flinders Petrie's well-publicised adventure in Egyptology, in which science the expression is a usual one.

13. Usually known as "The Summer House".
14. Now the Matopos Hotel, then called "Fuller's Hotel".
15. G. H. Laidman. The sharp downward incline on the road from beside the top of the Matopos Dam wall to the bottom of the river valley below, is still called "Laidman's Hill".
16. The writer is unable to elucidate the identity of "Miss Ethel".
17. Lord Brooke was A.D.C. to Sir Alfred Milner and represented him at the funeral.
18. The gun-carriage was drawn by mules from Bulawayo Railway Station to the Drill Hall on Tuesday, 8th April, and thence on Wednesday, 9th April, to the Summer House and on the morning of 10th April, to the Lower Outspan. Here the mules were outspanned and 12 oxen yoked to the carriage.
19. Many years after, Mr. T. H. Cooke wrote to England to E. C. Weaver who had been Curator of the Matopos park at the time of the funeral, enquiring as to the role of the oxen. The following reply came from Weaver.
    "As soon as it was known that the burial was to be at World's View, I was instructed to train oxen to pull the gun-carriage up to the summit. A gun-carriage was sent out to me carrying the approximate weight of the coffin. I got special notes from Major Straker to pick out black oxen from the B.S.A.P. wagon spans. These I took up twice a day on arrival of the coffin at the foot of the slopes on Thursday, 10th March, the mules were taken out and I put on the oxen. Col. Bodle, in charge of the escort was dubious of the oxen doing the job so he attached ropes to the gun-carriage. They were never needed, the oxen easily did the steep haul. On reaching the top, I sent the oxen down to the Outspan and they were never seen again – slaughtered by the chiefs as is their custom."
    The oxen doubtless made a splendid feast for the tribesmen that night.
20. The quotation should read "*Si Monumentum Requiris, Circumspice*". The inscription composed by Wren's son is engraved over the interior of the North Door in St. Paul's Cathedral.
21. W. H. Milton, later Sir William, Administrator of Mashonaland from 1896 and of Southern Rhodesia from 1902 to 1914. He was founder of the Rhodesian Civil service. Formerly private secretary to Rhodes when the latter was Prime Minister of Cape Colony. W. D. Gale in *Heritage of Rhodes* (1950), O.U.P., states that Milton introduced the game of rugby to the Cape.
22. The coronation of Edward VII was eventually postponed to the following year on account of his attack of acute appendicitis.
23. Later Sir Lewis Michell. Rhodes first met him as a bank manager. He became a close friend and was a trustee and executor of Rhodes' Will. He wrote the official biography of Rhodes which was published in 1910.
24. It had been intended that a volley should be fired over the grave at the funeral. This, however, was not done due to the fact that the Chiefs had requested Mr. H. J. Taylor, the Chief Native Commissioner, to see that there should be no shooting on that occasion, as the hill known as Malindidzimu (the legendary dwelling place of benevolent spirits) was held sacred by the Matabele. In consequence, the firing party was ordered to "present arms" only instead of the usual volley.
    In Tredgold's book *The Matopos*, under the heading *Malindidzimu* it is stated –
    "This is the native name given to the View of the World hill and means, curiously enough, "the dens in which the spirits dwell" or "dwelling places of the spirits", since it is not a malign phantom but a benevolent shade which is meant. This hill was venerated by the natives as a "holy" place long before it was selected by Mr. Rhodes as a burial place for national heroes."

(First published in *Rhodesiana* No. 18, 1968)

Colonel John Anthony Spreckley, C.M.G. A Short Biography

by A. S. Hickman

"Jack" Spreckley was born in 1865 at Fulbeck, near Lincoln, a son of George Spreckley of Derby and his wife Emma Georgina, but I can not trace the actual date of his birth. His father was a well-known auctioneer and estate agent, a partner in the firm of Messrs. Ault & Spreckley of Bridge Street, Derby. Jack attended Derby School at the age of 13, was cox of the school boat, and a member of the football XI in 1880. He left in 1881 for South Africa to work for four years on an ostrich farm at Fish River, 28 miles from Grahamstown in Cape Colony, at the same age and in the same sort of employment as Henry Borrow, his close friend of later years. Then he went to the Transvaal and was on the Witwatersrand at the time of the famous discovery of "banket" gold.

In 1885 he joined the Bechuanaland Border Police but took his discharge the following year, when with four companions, Frank Johnson, Maurice Heany, Henry Borrow and Ted Burnett, he set out for Bulawayo to try for a concession from Lobengula, chief of the Matabele, to prospect for gold. On the way through Khama's country a concession was obtained for the same purpose and was eventually floated as the Bechuanaland Exploration Company.

It was in 1886 that the group began negotiations with Lobengula, who at first refused permission to go to Mashonaland because in Spreckley's own words ". . . we should all die. He, (Lobengula), added that when we were all dead he should receive a long letter from the white Queen (Victoria), asking where he had put the white men, and he should get into serious trouble which he wishes to avoid". When he was told that the party would carry effective medicines he was persuaded to let them go, and give them two guides, one of whom unfortunately died of malaria in spite of treatment and the other returned to Lobengula to report the incident.

There were conflicting views as to whether the party should go on to the Mazoe, as they believed had been agreed, and they consulted the famous hunter, Van Rooyen, who happened to be camped near them. He advised them to go on if they were assured that Lobengula had agreed. They had considerable trouble with the thirty Africans they had with them, who refused to carry on, and the white men were left to drive their wagons and livestock. When they had travelled about six miles, six of the servants came to join them and continued with them to the Hunyani River. Here they left the wagon and some Africans and marched on foot for the Mazoe River with pack-donkeys. They worked in that area for about three weeks, and found some alluvial gold but not in quantity.

On their return to Bulawayo there was a great upset, and instead of being allowed to see Lobengula he delegated a council of twelve in effect to interrogate and try them for supposed misdemeanours. After much haggling and false accusations they got off by payment of £100 in gold sovereigns (which they had intended for a concession), and were allowed to keep their wagon and equipment, though at first it was said they could go only with their boots in order to walk out of the country!

Col. John Anthony Spreckley, C.M.G.
(National Archives)

Spreckley kept a diary in 1888 and told a reporter of the *Derbyshire Advertiser* who interviewed him in 1897 that he had it still.

When he came back from Bulawayo he was in Kimberley for about seven months and then went to Johannesburg where he stayed for two years. He was full of irrepressible high spirits, and one of his exploits is related in the *Birmingham Daily Argus* as follows: "So found his drunken Cape boy cabman in that budding city when he awoke from his slumbers on the box to find the devil driving him – whither? But it was only Jack Spreckley returning home from a fancy-dress ball as Mephistopheles. However the cabby yelled, and bolted terror-struck . . ."

Spreckley got a bad attack of fever on the goldfields and had to leave for a sea trip. He went to Durban partly by coach and partly by rail and then by sea to Cape Town. Here he met his companions who had been with him to Mashonaland and heard about the proposed expedition which was then being organised, which he joined and in which he served as paymaster-sergeant. He was one of the most popular, able and colourful members of the Pioneer Corps, commanded by Major Frank Johnson, and in which his friends all served as commissioned officers.

He was taken on the strength on 30th May, 1890, with no regimental number, but according to subsequent pay sheets served as No. 150. His number on the nominal roll is sandwiched between that of John Upington, an Irish Justice of the Peace who joined on 24th June, 1890, as a trooper, and was given the number 149, and William Fleming-King, who was promoted to Regimental-Sergeant-Major on the same day as he attested as No. 151.

So Spreckley was one of the later arrivals at a time when the Pioneer Corps was in training at Camp Cecil on the banks of the Limpopo in Bechuanaland under command of Capt. Maurice Heany. Frank Johnson took over towards the end of May and on the 27th of that month Heany assumed command of "A" Troop in which Spreckley was detailed to serve.

The Pioneer Corps marched north to the banks of the Macloutsie River to complete its training and to be passed as efficient for service by Major-General the Hon. Paul Methuen in June. Thereafter they linked up at Fort Tuli with troops of the British South Africa Company's Police, who were to be their military escort, and who had been stationed at the main base camp at Fort Matlaputla, 20 miles to the east.

The bulk of the expedition crossed the Shashi River on 11th July, 1890, and so began a march of over 400 miles, which brought them to their destination on 12th September, and the establishment of Fort Salisbury.

The information I have gleaned about Spreckley during this period is that on 18th July he was temporarily transferred to "B" Troop (Capt. H. F. Hoste) for rations; there is no record that he ever returned to "A" Troop. In any case "B" Troop carried most of the headquarters personnel, and would have been more appropriate for the paymaster.

On 28th July the following entries appeared in Regimental Orders:

"I. Q.M.Sgt. Spreckley is appointed Market Master to the Column,

II In future no purchases are to be made from Natives without referring to the Market Master. A place will be fixed daily as a market, and all Natives bringing supplies etc. into camp will be directed to such place, and purchases made at rates determined by the Market Master."

The expedition was still in the low country, and it can be seen from photographs that the local Banyai, when they had got over their initial fear, used to bring pumpkins, eggs and poultry to barter with the troops.

The Pioneer Corps was disbanded at Fort Salisbury on 30th September and it is apparent that Spreckley, like most of his comrades, went prospecting for gold. In the diary of J. P. Walker he describes how on 7th November he pegged claims at dawn near Sinoia, and remarks that "Eyre, Spreckley and Beal came mooching along with pick etc. and were fearfully put out". Eyre and Beal were also ex-members of the Pioneer Corps.

In 1892 it is likely that Spreckley was back in Fort Salisbury, at least temporarily, because at that time it is recorded in the Anglican Church Notebook that he made a donation of £1. But it is definite that he was the Mining Commissioner for the Lomagundi District in June of the same year and stationed where Sinoia now stands. In fact he may have coined the name because he reported "as some misunderstanding seems to exist as to where the mining office is situated, do you not think it would be advisable to alter the name of the district to Sinoia District? A man left camp (Fort Salisbury) to come here the other day and asked to be taken to Lomaghonda's Kraal, thinking he was coming to the office when really he was 25 miles away." There is no reason to think that the Mining Commissioner deliberately hid himself, but, as J. A. Edwards remarks in "The Lomagundi District: An Historical Sketch" (*Rhodesiana* No. 7), "even if one managed to reach the office, one could not be sure of finding the Mining Commissioner in it. Spreckley was often out settling disputes here and there – in fact when he suggested changing the name of the district he had just come back from the Angwa after looking into a charge that one prospector was poaching on another's ground."

He says himself in an interview with the *Derbyshire Advertiser and North Staffordshire Journal* in September 1897 that he gave up the post at the end of 1892, and travelled back to Britain with Henry Borrow. No doubt it was during this holiday that he met Borrow's sister, Beatrice. He returned to Salisbury about June 1893, only four months before the Matabele War developed and was given command of "C" Troop of the Salisbury Horse for the march into Matabeleland. Capt. Maurice Heany commanded "A" Troop and Spreckley's great friend Capt. H. J. Borrow "B" Troop.

The march began on 2nd October and the Salisbury Column linked up with the Victoria Column under Major Allan Wilson at Iron Mine Hill, Major P. W. Forbes being in command of the combined forces. On the afternoon of 24th October they crossed the Shangani River and laagered, following which patrols brought in 1,000 head of cattle and 900 sheep and goats, whilst Capt. Fitzgerald's men found a group of 30 Mashona women and children who had been captured by Matabele the previous year.

Spreckley's troop was not one of those then sent out, but next morning, after the Matabele had attacked the laager, in which were the friendlies and the refugee women, before dawn, "C" Troop, which was the inlying picquet to the main laager, saddled up their horses at the first alarm and Forbes sent out 20 of them under Spreckley, and he brought in a few friendlies who had scattered and had some shots fired at his patrol without harm.

Later, in broad daylight, Heany and Spreckley with 20 men each were sent out again to see if the enemy had retired. Spreckley covered the area east of Forbes's position, and found Matabele in the bush within half a mile: a sharp skirmish with both patrols resulted in the loss of four horses. Later still Spreckley and his men continued patrolling after the Matabele had been driven back a third time and found they had all retired, but Heany ran into some trouble. This battle of Shangani was the first time when most of the Rhodesians had been under fire, and Forbes reported they had been very steady with little wild shooting.

The Columns marched on 27th October at 6 a.m. Spreckley with his troop was on the right flank, when he was attacked by Matabele and drove them off near Zinyangene; one of his men was wounded and he lost a horse.

The march towards Bulawayo continued, and on 29th October Spreckley and one of the Victoria troops was sent out to try to draw the enemy, but they remained in the bush.

On 1st November laager was made near a deserted kraal, and the horses driven out to graze. When the Matabele made a most determined attack at about 1 p.m., the horses were driven in by brave action on the part of Sir John Willoughby, Capt. Borrow and a few others. The brunt of the attack was made against the Salisbury section of the laager, and there was a number of casualties, but the Matabele suffered most severe losses in their determined advance against machine-gun fire. An obelisk now marks the site, bearing in English and Sindebele tributes to the men of both sides.

In the vicinity of Ntabas Induna on 3rd November, Spreckley and his troop were sent out again to try to entice the Matabele to leave the bush. They had no success, but were subject to heavy rifle fire, and heard indunas urging their men to advance.

Bulawayo was occupied on 4th November; it had been set on fire and Lobengula had fled northwards. It was not until some days later that a pursuit column was organised to include 90 men from the Salisbury contingent with Captains Heany and Spreckley, and a mule-drawn maxim gun under Lieutenant Tyndale-Biscoe. The rest of the column was made up of men from the Victoria contingent and the Southern Column (which had by now arrived at Bulawayo), to a total of 300 men, 4 maxims and a 7-pounder gun. This was quite a strong body of men and they carried three days' rations, but the horses, not having been specially selected, were not in good shape. North of Umhlangeni (Inyati) the rations had run out and there was discontent in the ranks; Captain Forbes had the troops paraded separately and asked who would go on regardless. Of the Salisbury men only 17 volunteered, and of these only 9 from "A" (Heany's) and "C" (Spreckley's) troops. Later their officers came to see Forbes and wanted to know why they had not been told the purpose of the parades, and were informed that the men were not to be influenced in any way. This resulted in great resentment against Forbes because these officers thought he feared they would counsel their men to turn back, whereas he had intended to convey the opposite. He returned to Umhlangeni with his troops and here received instructions in writing from Dr. Jameson. Next morning Capt. Borrow and 16 of his "B" Troop men rode in from Bulawayo.

The original expedition was now reinforced by 10 wagons carrying 12 days' rations and having 300 more men, but Forbes felt it was cumbersome, and for his return march trimmed down the numbers to 182 mounted men and 10 dismounted, sending back the

remainder to Bulawayo in charge of Heany. It is noted that he took on only 22 men of the Salisbury Horse under Borrow, probably a penalty for the others refusing to go on in the first place. Forbes asked Dr. Jameson to send Heany and Spreckley on the "main Mashonaland road" to the Shangani and then to work down that river to bring rations and to create a diversion. In the event this was not done, but Spreckley was sent to the Gwaai River, which flows to the west of Bulawayo, and without knowing the exact locality, seems to me to be away off the track in pursuit of Lobengula. This was the end of the campaign so far as Spreckley was concerned, but Forbes once again reduced his column to dispense with his wagons and dismounted men and to use those mounted only on the freshest horses to the number of 158.

On 4th December Capt. H. J. Borrow and his men of the Salisbury Horse were amongst the 34 who fell in action against the Matabele at Shangani River, Borrow having been sent to reinforce Allan Wilson, serving as his second-in-command and being probably the last to die.

This must have been a sad blow to Spreckley, who later joined with Frank Johnson in subscribing to a memorial, a very fine pulpit in the Victorian style at the Anglican Cathedral of St. Mary's and All Saints at Salisbury. I first took note of the inscription, recorded on a strip of brass around the base of this pulpit, in 1964, as follows, "To the Glory of God and in memory of Henry John Borrow. Killed at Shangani December 4th, 1893. *Tu quoque litoribus nostris aeternam moriens famam dedisti.*" This was translated by a university friend, a Latin scholar, to read, "You also by your death have given to our shores eternal fame" and is a quotation from the Aeneid of Virgil. But I was quite unable in spite of numerous enquires, to find out the donor. Then, when alterations took place at the cathedral the pulpit was moved and I was able to read the last panel, "Erected by his friends F.J. and J.S." – Borrow's Pioneer companions Johnson and Spreckley, had not forgotten him, and Spreckley must have realised that, but for the change of circumstances, he might well have been the battle casualty.

Of the Salisbury Horse who took part in the campaign no more than 67 returned to Salisbury with Spreckley, who led them from Bulawayo in January 1894. There had been the casualties at Shangani and elsewhere, some had joined the newly-formed Matabeleland Mounted Police, and some had remained to seek their fortunes in the new territory, looked upon as a "promised land" by many pioneers.

As the men returned they were met at Six-Mile-Spruit and beyond by Salisbury people in carts and on horseback, and as a final demonstration a celebration dinner was held, attended by the locals and the returning troops, over which A. H. F. Duncan, the Acting Administrator, presided.

Spreckley was then appointed as Magistrate at Fort Victoria where he remained for ten months. He then joined Sir John Willoughby at Bulawayo, and later became general manager of his gold mining company, Willoughby's Consolidated. This concern also owned the Bulawayo Waterworks and the Electric Light Installation, whilst an off-shoot was the Mashonaland Central Estate Company.

On 31st August, 1895, John Anthony Spreckley married at St. John the Baptist Church, Bulawayo, Beatrice Mary (born 1868), younger daughter of Rev. H. J. Borrow, of Lanivet, Cornwall, and Bekesborne, Kent. A photograph of that period shows that they lived in a large bungalow surrounded by wide verandahs – probably in the suburbs.

The proposed raid on the Transvaal was being planned at this time. Sir John Willoughby, who commanded the Rhodesia Horse, took a major part and was undoubtedly in close touch with some of the plotters at Cape Town. Before he left for Pitsani Pothlugo, the jumping off place in Bechuanaland, he left a number of sealed letters to be opened only by Spreckley and others if certain events should take place. Spreckley had been left in command of the Rhodesia Horse. On 29th December, he received a telegram from Dr. Jameson from Mafeking to hold himself in readiness to come to his assistance. This was followed on 1st January, 1896, by a message from Dr. Rutherfoord Harris at Cape Town, "Mr. Rhodes desires me to inform you that you are on no account to move the Rhodesia Horse." At that time Bulawayo was agog with rumours, and there was a strong feeling that her citizens should march to the assistance of Jameson and his men. The disaster which overtook them is well-known and for the subsequent enquiry Spreckley was called on to produce all documentary evidence he had. He did not appear at Cape Town in person, but the import of the telegrams was disclosed by J. A. Stevens, Acting Secretary of the British South Africa Company. This evidence can be read in the proceedings of the "Select Committee on the Jameson Raid" which sat at Cape Town in June and July 1896. Spreckley was fortunate not to have been more deeply involved.

The first moves of the Matabele Rising took place towards the end of March 1896 and F. C. Selous in *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* relates how on the 25th, in view of unrest in the area around his homestead at Essexvale he rode to Bulawayo with his wife to take her to safety and handed her over "to the kind care of her good friend Mrs. Spreckley" and himself returned at once to Essexvale. Spreckley had at this time been appointed as a Colonel in the Bulawayo Field Force (which had absorbed the Rhodesia Horse) and was second in command to Col. William Napier. He took out a patrol to the south of Bulawayo on the main road to Filabusi about 26th March but had no encounter with the Matabele, reaching a police station from which the men had fled to join the rebels. On 25th March whilst both Spreckley and Selous were out on patrol a panic developed in Bulawayo, said to have been due to a drunken man creating the alarm by crying out that "The Matabele are here."

Selous goes on to relate how his wife was resting in Mrs. Spreckley's house at the time, "Being much fatigued by her long ride in the hot sun from Essexvale. However, she and her kind hostess, as well as all the other ladies living on the suburban stands, were hurried over to the new Club house nearly a mile distant in the centre of town. Here the large number of women and children in Bulawayo, many of them hastily summoned from their beds, and most of them terribly frightened, passed a miserable night all huddled up together, but getting neither rest nor sleep, as they were constantly kept on the 'qui vive' by fresh rumours, all equally groundless as happily at that time there was no force of hostile natives within 20 miles of Bulawayo."

All the hasty improvisation was soon to be altered when next day a laager was established around the Market Hall by Spreckley and Scott (the town Mayor) who put in a tremendous effort to establish order out of chaos.

Selous continues: "These two gentlemen deserve the utmost credit not only for getting the laager in good order, but also for keeping it in that condition for the next two months. Mayor Scott was indefatigable in looking after the sanitary arrangements,

A Bulawayo group in 189-? There is some doubt as to the identities of many of the people. Col. Spreckley is seated on the ground at the extreme right (front of the photo). Next to him, to the left, holding a dog is Mrs Spreckley. On her right is Miss Borrow and above Miss Borrow to the right is the bearded F. C. Selous. On Selous' left, standing, with hands in pockets and leaning on the wagon wheel, is Earl Grey. Immediately behind Selous, standing with open jacket is George Grey and on George Grey's right, standing in white shirt and tipped up hat is Alex Boggie. *(National Archives)*

whilst Col. Spreckley, by his genial good nature, backed by great common sense and strength of character, kept all the various human elements shut up in that confined space not only in good order but in good humour. Nobody in Bulawayo, I think, could have performed the very difficult duties required from the chief officer in charge of the laager so ably as Col. Spreckley during the first 2 months of the insurrection, and his conduct was all the more admirable because he was carrying out a very arduous and harassing duty against his inclination, or rather burning desire, to be out of town at the head of a patrol doing active work against the insurgents."

This was a tribute indeed from one brave and competent officer to another of the same calibre. In the meantime Col. Napier, Capt. Grey, Capt. Van Niekerk and others led the patrols around the Bulawayo and adjacent districts until on 11th May a larger body commanded by Napier, with Spreckley as his second in command – 42 officers and 613 men – set out via Thabas Induna for Shangani, to meet the relief force from Salisbury commanded by Col. R. Beal, and accompanied by Cecil Rhodes. After their junction Spreckley with 400 men branched off to their south to inflict punishment on

a district where many murders had been committed, devastating the country and capturing 700 head of cattle; there were no engagements.

The Columns reunited on the Belingwe road on 27th May and shortly afterwards Beal led his men back to Salisbury due to the outbreak of the Mashona Rising.

On 6th June Spreckley was detailed to lead a patrol to Shiloh and Inyati to erect forts there, but, before he could go he was involved in the famous fight on the Umgusa River the next day, when about 1,000 Matabele let the Europeans advance unopposed across the river in the belief, asserted by a witchdoctor, that they would become blind after they had crossed. The result was a massacre of the Matabele and a heavy defeat. Spreckley then marched on to Shiloh area, rebels taking flight to their stronghold at Thabas-i-Mambo.

Spreckley's subsequent service until October, when peace was made with the Matabele, is not so well-known, but it is known that he was on terms of friendship with the new Chief of Staff, Lt.-Col. R. S. S. Baden-Powell, who in *The Matabele Campaign*, 1896 records in his diary under 26th June a cheery little dinner party at his hotel at which both Col. and Mrs Spreckley, Capt. and Mrs. Selous and Capt. and Mrs. Colenbrander were present – all heroes and heroines of the rebellion. "How Spreckley made us laugh, fooling around the piano as if he were just about to sing!"

In the *London Gazette* dated 9th March, 1897, Spreckley is mentioned in the following terms under citations concerning the local forces and immediately after the name of Col. Napier: "Col. Spreckley, B.F.F. late B.B.P. (Mining Company Manager) commanded early patrols. Did good service in the conduct of the successful engagement on the Umgusa, 6th June. Commanded successfully an important patrol to Shiloh and Inyati."

No mention is made of his outstanding work in the organisation of the defences of Bulawayo, but on 5th May, 1897, Her Majesty Queen Victoria gave directions for three appointments as Companions of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, namely Colonels William Napier, John Anthony Spreckley and Lt.-Col. Robert Beal, Spreckley being cited as "John Anthony Spreckley, Esq. Colonel of the Matabeleland Field Force."

At about this time Spreckley had gone to Britain on six months' leave from Willoughby's Consolidated and received his decoration at St. James' Palace at the hands of the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII). There is no record that his wife accompanied him but in his interview with the reporter of the *Derby Advertiser* on 25th September, 1897, it was stated that he was staying at a local hotel at Derby with his mother.

He told the Press about his company's mining interests and mentioned Dunraven (Selukwe), that he had met a number of Derby men in South Africa, and that he wanted to be in Bulawayo in time for the opening of the railway from the Cape in November; therefore he was sailing back in the *Norman* on 29th October.

He also mentioned that he had been given a public dinner in Bulawayo and that the citizens had presented him with a cheque to buy a piece of presentation plate, which he had ordered in London. This his school magazine *The Derbeian* describes in May 1898 as having been ordered from the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths' Company and being a bowl for fruit or flowers, "having on one side a panel containing in finely executed relief work a faithful representation of the Bulawayo Laager as it appeared

during the Rising. On the reverse side are trophies of Matabele arms and shields, one shield bearing the inscription UMGAZA (Umgusa), June, 1896, drawing attention to the two localities specially connected with Col. Spreckley's name and to his unselfish and valuable assistance to the community generally. Between these panels are ornamental shields surrounded by laurel and surmounted by an enraged African lion wounded by an assegai. Upon the pedestal are finely modelled statuettes of a trooper of the Bulawayo field Force and a Matabele armed with assegais, shield and knobkerrie."

A trophy to be proud of indeed and I trust it still remains in the family.

The Spreckleys had two daughters, one of whom, Mrs. Nancy Harris, of Sussex, I am proud to claim as a pen friend of some years standing; she was born in Bulawayo and would like to make another visit.

Spreckley served with distinction during the earlier stages of the Boer War, being second in command to Col. H. C. O. Plumer on his march from Tuli to the relief of Mafeking on 17th May, 1900. He was commanding the Rhodesian Regiment when he was killed in action at Pienaar's River, north of Pretoria, on 20th August, 1900, and is buried at Hamman's Kraal. His Boer War exploits are another story which I shall be proud to relate when I have the opportunity. He was a Rhodesian of outstanding merit, both as a citizen and a soldier.

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Harold Basil Christian

An Early Rhodesian Botanist

by Michael J. Kimberley

Harold Basil Christian was born in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, in 1871. He was the youngest son of Henry Bailey Christian, a prominent farmer, merchant and race-horse owner of that town. Basil's grandfather, Ewan Christian, first came to the Cape as a midshipman on the flagship of his uncle, Admiral Sir Hugh Christian.

Henry Bailey Christian served in the Kaffir War of 1846, attained the rank of Captain and subsequently settled on the farm Kragga Kama, 12 miles from Port Elizabeth. He was an energetic, versatile and enterprising man, "splendid looking, tall and straight, and handsome in face as he is comely in figure". He was President of the Port Elizabeth Agricultural Society, the first President of the South African Agricultural Union, President of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce and President of the Jockey Club of South Africa and the Port Elizabeth Turf Club for a number of years. He was a Harbour Commissioner and, for a short while, a member of the Legislative Assembly. When he died in 1903 it was said of him "by his death a link with the past is severed and South Africa is the poorer by the loss of a good man who was the type of what an English colonial gentleman should be".

He had four sons, Owen Smith, Ewan, Henry Courtney and Harold Basil, and four daughters Ada, Maud, Hilda and Mary.

The members of the Christian family who settled in South Africa and Rhodesia were of the Cumberland branch of an old Manx family whose members had been deemsters or judges in the Isle of Man for many years.

A famous ancestor was Fletcher Christian, who was first officer on HMS Bounty, an English vessel which sailed from Spithead in 1787 en route to Tahiti under Captain William Bligh to collect plants of the bread-fruit tree for the West Indian colonies. On the return trip the crew, led by Christian, mutinied under Bligh's harsh treatment, and turned Bligh and his supporters adrift. The mutineers settled on Pitcairn Island in 1790 and destroyed the Bounty so as to sever all links with the outside world; they remained undisturbed until 1808 when an American vessel called at Pitcairn Island and stumbled on the solution of the mystery of the mutineers of the Bounty.

Harold Basil Christian was educated at Eton College where he distinguished himself as a sportsman. Issues of The Eton College Chronicle of 1887 and 1888 record his prowess at football, sculling and rowing. He rowed at No. 6 in the eights and was a proficient sculler. At football it was said "he is very energetic, showing great keenness in the game" and "is a good selection for the place he occupies, has strength and a fair amount of skill".

Like his brother Ewan, who served in Rimington's Guides and died from wounds received at Paardeberg on the 28th February 1900 while saving a comrade, Basil also saw action in the Boer War, serving in the Imperial Light horse, and distinguished himself by gallantry in the field. He was present at the siege of Ladysmith and rescued a fellow trooper at Hlangwane by carrying him a mile and a half through heavy fire.

Until about 1910 he was apparently employed by De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited in Kimberley and by a mining company on the Witwatersrand as an engineer, but the record is almost silent on this period in his life. He told Ronald James of Salisbury that on instruction from Cecil John Rhodes following a meeting in Kimberley he was the first person to write the word "Rhodesia" on a map. This is reasonably possible because the name "Rhodesia" had unofficially been used by the British South Africa Company from 1895 and in a proclamation in May, 1895, Leander Starr Jameson formally named the territory "Rhodesia".

While engaged in mining Christian undoubtedly heard much of the country to the north of the Limpopo River and perhaps this, coupled with the fact that his first cousin Harold Henry Dunell Christian settled in Rhodesia in 1896 and lived near Salisbury, caused him to emigrate to Rhodesia in 1911.

A few years after his arrival he purchased the 662 morgen farm Mount Shannon, being Subdivision A of The Meadows, from Gerald Ernest George Fitzgibbon for £5 000.

Christian immediately set about developing a garden. It was perhaps natural that through contacts during his youth with gardeners brought out from England to work on his father's farm Kragga Kama, near Port Elizabeth, he should concentrate on imported European alpines. Needless to say these plants, which are at their best when growing at high altitudes in cool conditions and require considerable water, did not adapt to the Salisbury of 1914.

Harold Basil Christian
(National Archives)

Spacious lawns were laid out in front of the homestead to provide a suitable setting for alpines, and when one large rock interfered with the continuity of the lawn and could not be removed a surveyor engaged in surveying the farm removed a clump of *Aloe cameronii* from a nearby hill and planted it close "to hide the stark appearance of this unsightly rock".

When this Aloe flowered the following year, without having been watered, Christian was so delighted with it that he decided there and then to abandon alpines and their problems and devote his attention to Aloes.

From that humble beginning in about 1916, rockeries and more rockeries were constructed and Aloes and more Aloes were collected or otherwise acquired and in the words of Gilbert Westacott Reynolds, written in 1939, "today I think this is the finest and most complete collection of Aloes in existence".

On the 18th December 1920, Christian married Annabella Roberta Kemp Saint. The marriage took place at the Cathedral in Salisbury and was solemnized by the Anglican Bishop of Southern Rhodesia. By 1923 certain irreconcilable differences had arisen between Christian and his wife and in September of that year the couple entered into an agreement of separation. She returned to Scotland where she died in 1955.

Like his father before him, Christian played a significant part in organized agriculture. From 1929 to 1931 he was president of the Rhodesia Agricultural Union which became the Rhodesia National Farmers Union.

While still an active farmer he was instrumental in starting in Mashonaland a maize competition for the best maize yield off one acre of land. He also played some part in encouraging the use of fertilizer and contour ridging and subsequently judged maize competitions.

In 1930 Gilbert Reynolds' acquaintance with the genus Aloe began in the Transvaal when, during the pursuit of his profession of optician in the country towns and villages of South Africa, he dug up an Aloe in the veld near Pretoria and planted it in his garden where it soon died after it had been repeatedly swamped with water.

In the words of Reynolds: "I realised I had something to learn about the cultivation of Aloes; I then sought but in vain, for helpful literature on the South African Aloes . . ." Fortunately for the world he then "had no alternative but to try and master the subject, with its many diverse and complex aspects" and subsequently resolved "to accumulate sufficient data to publish and thus make available to others the information I had so eagerly sought for myself."

At about this time Christian was enthusiastically and industriously collecting, identifying, cultivating, studying and photographing the Aloes of Africa and publishing the results of his researches in the Rhodesian Agricultural Journal and elsewhere.

It was inevitable that Reynolds and Christian, the two foremost enthusiasts and students of the genus Aloe, should meet. Their first meeting was arranged by Fred Long of Port Elizabeth and occurred in about 1933. In the words of Long "They met at breakfast in the King Edward Hotel, Port Elizabeth. By 10.30 a.m. one had ordered porridge but had not tasted it and the other had just added the sugar and milk . . .". The result of that uneaten meal was that Reynolds confined his attention to Aloe species occurring south of the Limpopo River and Christian to the north.

For the next 15 years Christian devoted much of his attention to the preparation of

a book on the Aloe species of tropical Africa. The fine large leather bound notebooks as well as his rough notebooks and plant registers are evidence of his meticulous attention to detail and of progress made towards an unfulfilled ambition.

In about 1935 Christian injured his right hand on a rusty nail. The wound did not heal and became septic and two years later it became necessary for the arm to be amputated above the elbow.

Gilbert Reynolds and his wife Kathleen visited Ewanrigg for the first time in mid-1939. In a detailed description in the notable South African Gardens series published in the South African Horticultural Journal Reynolds writes:

> "Glowing reports of 'Ewanrigg' have often reached me and it has long been my keen desire to go up and see for myself just exactly what this famous garden really did look like . . . I shall endeavour to record my impressions but justice cannot be done in a mere pen picture. It is one of those gardens that must be seen to be appreciated, and one should linger for days to take it all in. We had only a day at our disposal – much too short a time . . . the memory of that unique garden, of the rockeries and pools and especially the blaze of colour put up by the masses of Aloe cameronii will linger for many a year to come. We left 'Ewanrigg' reluctantly but with the earnest hope that we would be able to visit it again one day."

The growth of Christian's reputation as an acknowledged expert on the genus Aloe, coupled with requests from Kew and Pretoria to botanists to send new specimens of Aloe to him for cultivation, identification and study, led to the arrival at Ewanrigg of innumerable parcels, cartons and crates of Aloe specimens of all shapes and sizes. Plants were recorded, cultivated and, when they flowered, described and the descriptions published.

By 1943 the Aloe garden had been considerably extended to some seven acres and had gained a reputation throughout the world. Christian had come to be recognised by botanists, both professional and amateur, as a leading authority on Aloes generally and tropical African Aloes in particular.

Consequently it was not surprising that in 1943 the Minister of Internal Affairs proclaimed as a national monument: "A beaconed area of approximately 14.5 acres situated immediately east of the homestead on Ewanrigg farm, Salisbury District, comprising the Aloe garden, the slopes of the kopje covered with indigenous timber adjoining the garden, and an area of land at the base of the said kopje."

During the latter part of his life Christian devoted much of his attention to the collection, cultivation and propagation of Cycads. He created a very comprehensive and representative collection of the African species of these ancient and fascinating plants, and today large and healthy specimens of all but a few of the known African species of *Encephalartos* may be found at Ewanrigg.

The results of his intensive study of the genus Aloe were recorded in articles and papers published in various learned journals during the period 1933 to 1952, several being published posthumously.

His first venture into print was his Notes on African Aloes published in the Rhodesia Agricultural Journal in 1933. These notes begin: "From a gardening point of view the growing of Aloes has several advantages which are not possessed by the ordinary

plants grown for decorative purposes. Aloes are perennials, and once they are planted they continue growing and flowering for many years. Once established, they can persist throughout the driest seasons without watering, although certain species from the winter rainfall areas or mist belts thrive much better with an occasional watering in our winter."

During the 1930s Christian undertook several journeys. Gladys Clarkson recalls a trip she made with Christian to Chipinga, in the eastern districts of Rhodesia, in 1937. In 1938 Christian, with Fred Holland, journeyed to Nyasaland to study the Aloes of that country. Reynolds records "to Mr. Christian chiefly is due the credit for stimulating interest in the Aloes of Nyasaland". In 1947, with Dr. I. C. Verdoorn and others, he undertook an extensive field trip in South Africa where he examined all the known localities of *Encephalartos*.

It was inevitable that at some stage a new Aloe would be named after Christian. The description of Aloe christianii was written by Gilbert Reynolds in 1936 – "the species having been originally collected by Christian at 'Ewanrigg'."

His attention was not confined to Aloes and Cycads alone but ranged over many genera and species. Euphorbia was a genus which interested him and in the *Succulent Euphorbieae of Southern Africa*, published in 1941, Christian is one of fifteen listed collaborators acknowledged and thanked by the authors "for very useful information about the species native in the Rhodesias, and for gifts of plants and photographs". Several photographs taken by Christian are used in the book.

On the 5th June, 1948, in the presence of W. D. Gale and J. B. Richards as witnesses, Christian executed a codicil to his last will and testament which included the following terms:

> "I give and bequeath to the Chairman for the time being of the Natural Resources Board, and the Chairman for the time being of the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, a portion of my farm Ewanrigg situate in the Arcturus District of Southern Rhodesia, in extent seven hundred and seven acres on which is situate the aloe and cycad collection which has been built up by me over a period of years."

The *Rhodesia Herald* of the 8th June, 1948, published an enthusiastic report on the bequest:

> "If the offer of the owner Mr. Basil Christian is accepted by the Rhodesian Government, the finest and most complete collection of aloes and cycads in the world will become the property of the Colony for all time."

In an interview at the time Christian said that his work could never have been achieved nor the collection brought to its present state if it had not been for the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew in England and the Division of Botany in Pretoria, South Africa, both of which had asked botanists to send new specimens to him for cultivation, identification and study. He indicated that this work had been in the nature of a hobby and that during his many years of research he had corresponded with botanists throughout the world. The complete records which he had kept of all species would be presented with the collection. He added that although other gardens had a larger number of specimens than existed at Ewanrigg, the contribution made to science by the Ewanrigg garden had been considerable. He mentioned that as the collection and the garden had gained a reputation throughout the world, the work should be continued.

Basil Christian signing the codicil to his will whereby he bequeathed Ewanrigg aloe garden to the nation. Mr W. B. Gale is to his right and Mr J. B. Richards to his left.
(National Archives)

In June 1949 and pursuant to that part of the bequest of 1948 which referred to the maintenance and development of the garden, H. F. W. Davies took up residence at Ewanrigg. Davies, who had met Christian at a meeting of the Succulent Society of which Christian was the founder and president, was a horticulturist who had trained at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, England, and worked at the National Botanic Gardens at Kirstenbosch, Cape Province. He remained curator for 23 years until his retirement from the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management in 1970.

On Friday the 12th May, 1950, Harold Basil Christian died at St. Anne's Hospital, Salisbury, at the age of 79 years. He was buried in the Salisbury Cemetery on the afternoon of Saturday the 13th May, 1950, after a service in the Anglican Cathedral.

One of several tributes published in May 1950 was by C. L. Robertson, O.B.E., then Chairman of the Natural Resources Board:

> "His passing has robbed us of friend, adviser and benefactor. Basil Christian devoted a long and energetic career to the development of a great and unique garden. From almost every part of the world came experts to examine this wonderful garden of aloes and cycads. Let us make sure that Basil Christian's garden is maintained in the state in which he would have kept it."

In an unpublished article written in 1950 shortly after his death, Dr. Inez Verdoorn recalls:

> "The rock-work is still there to be admired and the Aloes and Cycads to be studied, but the maker and builder of that garden has now gone from it. After a long battle with a trying malady on a night in May, 1950, H. Basil Christian

of Ewanrigg died. The next day a mutual friend in Salisbury, hearing the news, wrote in part of the 'laird of Ewanrigg' as he called him, 'a very gallant gentleman doing grand work in his own line under the heaviest of handicaps, and holding his head high and scorning the facile pity of weaklings . . . Ave atque vale most faithful of Old Etonians. I like a man who has the courage of his loyalties . . . Eton sustained him against all odds and that is more than can be said of most men'. Ewanrigg must needs be desolate and wan for a while but in time it will recover. Long may it be a monument to the memory of Basil Christian and an asset to the country that he loved."

His last will and testament, apparently executed in 1921 could not be found, nor could a codicil to the original will executed in 1923. However, a codicil executed in 1927, confirming the provision of the original will of 1921 was found, together with the codicil executed in 1948, in terms of which his farm Ewanrigg was given and bequeathed to the Natural Resources Board and the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics.

Certain doubts were raised as to whether he had intended to bequeath the entire farm of 707 acres to the nation or only the 14.5 acre portion which had been declared a national monument in 1943 and the codicil of 1948 did not put the matter beyond all possible doubt.

Fortunately, however, the matter was amicably resolved in 1954, when his executor, his wife's attorney and the Minister of Internal Affairs representing the Trustees, agreed that the true intention of the deceased was that the whole of the 707 acre farm should be transferred to Trustees in perpetuity for the purpose of the national monument proclaimed in 1943. It was also agreed that the whole of the income of the Estate should go to his wife.

The writer asked Ronald James to state in a few words what sort of man Christian was. His reply: "A complete autocrat: a real character who belonged to the old school; a great talker who knew most of the botanists of his time and enjoyed reminiscing about botanists and plants; he enjoyed talking about rowing and was a keen horseman."

Gladys Clarkson remembers Basil Christian as a very staunch and proud Old Etonian: a man who enjoyed talking, "lunch could be at 1 p.m. or 2 p.m. or even 3 p.m. depending on what was being discussed:; sometimes argumentative, somewhat stern and unfriendly towards children; an enthusiastic worker for causes which interested him such as the Rhodesia Agricultural Union, the Botanical Society and the Botanic Gardens.

Anthony Warton of Gardiner Farm, near Salisbury, twin son of Mrs. Alice Warton, who often acted as a hostess for Basil, spent frequent school holidays at Ewanrigg and had vivid recollections of 'Uncle Basil'.

He recalls his enthusiasm for Rhodesia Agricultural Union matters and the maize competition; visits to Ewanrigg by successive Governors of Southern Rhodesia; his prowess as a horse rider, especially on Zulu, a beautiful horse of 16½ hands – "he could ride at full tilt and pick up a handkerchief"; fierce arguments between Old Etonian Basil and Uncle Harold Christian, a Charterhouse man; and his enthusiastic membership of The Salisbury Club.

Anthony Warton also remembers Basil telling him that he was the second man to

Basil Christian in the grounds of his home, Ewanrigg Aloe Gardens, 1948
(National Archives)

ride into Ladysmith at the time of the siege and added that the first man in, the commanding officer, Sir Redvers Henry Buller, was also an Old Etonian.

Anthony summed up 'Uncle Basil' in these words:

> "He was autocratic and one of the old school – one survived in his book if one did what one was told. He was a disciplinarian especially where children and farm employees were concerned – the large garden had to be weeded and watered almost from dawn to dusk. He was generally a serious person though sometimes drily humorous."

Mr. E. C. Bertram of Salisbury has the following recollections of Basil Christian and of times spent at Ewanrigg:

> "Mr Christian was a man for whom I always had the greatest admiration and I feel it was a privilege to have known 'Basil' as we all called him behind his back. I met him first when I joined the Succulent society (afterwards the

Botanical Society of Southern Rhodesia) in the mid 1930s and later, as Secretary to the Society, I saw him frequently and remained in contact until his death. His courage in overcoming the disability of the loss of his right hand by training himself to pen meticulous botanical descriptions with his left hand was fantastic. To be invited to Ewanrigg for the day or to stay for a weekend was usually a highly entertaining though sometimes a somewhat exhausting experience. On the wide mosquito gauzed verandah overlooking his favourite view of rich farm lands and distant hills, he would entertain his guests, in between excursions round the garden, with anecdotes of rich and varied experiences. Time meant nothing to him and it was quite usual for one to sit down to lunch at 3 o'clock. How his cook was able to produce such excellent meals was a miracle. He entertained in style and the table was always beautifully set with family silver. For years, until age and failing health bothered him, he would wear a dinner jacket whether he had guests or not. If you were really interested he would give you aloe suckers from time to time but woe betide you if you forgot the names or allowed one to die, he would not replace it."

During 1952 a ceremony took place at Ewanrigg and was reported as follows in the press:

"A simple plaque to the memory of Basil Christian who, in his Aloe garden at Ewanrigg has left to the nation a source of pleasure and inspiration for future generations, is a fitting tribute. Sir Ernest Guest, when he unveiled the plaque, quoted the Latin inscription to Sir Christopher Wren in St. Paul's Cathedral: 'If you want a memorial, look around you'. His garden is his memorial, and any elaborate edifice would have been out of place. A rock bears a brass plate with this inscription:

HAROLD BASIL CHRISTIAN
1871 to 1950
Here a garden was born
FONS et ORIGO
ERECTED BY THE BOTANICAL
SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN
RHODESIA, 1952

'Fons et Origo' – the fountain and source. It was at this spot that Christian planted his first Aloes, which are still growing. From that small beginning came the inspiration to build what is reputed to be the finest garden of aloes, cycads and succulents in the world. It was declared a national monument several years ago, and before his death in May, 1950 he gave it to the nation.

Farmer, lover of nature, and a world authority on Aloes, Basil Christian has left for posterity a thing of beauty."

Although Ewanrigg had been administered as a national park under the curatorship of H. F. W. Davies from about 1950 and had been open to the public since that year, it was not until 1960 that His Excellency the Governor of Southern Rhodesia formally proclaimed Ewanrigg as a national park.

Despite the belated formal proclamation as a national park, considerable development took place under the curatorship of H. F. W. Davies,: the cultivated area

developed from 7 acres in 1950 to about 60 acres in 1970, and in many ways the work of Harold Basil Christian during the period 1916 to 1950 has continued.

Progress and development at Ewanrigg since 1950 is recorded in the various annual reports of the National Parks Board, the National Parks Advisory Board, and of the Director of National Parks and Wild Life Management.

Davies retired in 1970 after 21 years service to Ewanrigg and was succeeded by A. G. Buckland, a keen student of stapeliads, aloes and other succulents, who has already brought about several significant improvements at Ewanrigg and has a number of ideas for development and expansion in the future.

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Rhodesian Pioneer

by Rev. Father W. F. Rea, SJ

For many reasons Rhodesia is in the news. It is a rapidly developing country with great possibilities. Like the Union of South Africa, it is both a white man's country and a black man's, and contemporary events with those of the next few years will decide whether the two can live happily together. It is trite to say that it is one of the greatest challenges ever given to humanity. Finally, in 1960 the British Government will be faced with the decision of granting or refusing to the Federation independence within the Commonwealth.

We have the authority of Edmund Burke for saying that if we want to get out of a difficult situation, we should first examine how we got into it. In other words we should look to our history. This is a counsel which those interested in Rhodesia show good signs of following. The last few months alone have seen the appearance of *The Birth of a Dilemma* by Philip Mason, of *Zambesi Sunrise* by W. D. Gale, and of *His Own Oppressor* by B. G. Paver. Catholics too are looking to the part they have taken in Rhodesia's past. Twelve years ago the Dominican Sisters told the magnificent story of their hardships and achievements in *In God's White Robed Army*. Interest has also been shown outside Rhodesia. Last year, a novel by C. M. Lakotta was published in Germany entitled *Herzder Wildnis*, which centres round the work of these Sisters and that of the Jesuits among the Pioneers of 1890 and 1891. Arrangements are being made at the moment in the U.S.A. to translate and edit the letters of two of the first Rhodesian Jesuit missionaries, originally published in Brussels in 1882 under the title of *Trois Ans dans l'Afrique Australe. Lettres des Pères H. Depelchin et Ch. Croonenberghs, SJ*

But it is perhaps surprising that the (Roman Catholic) Church's history in Rhodesia has not attracted more general attention during the last fifty years. For much of it, especially in the early days, has the character of Chesterton's "epic on epic and Iliad on Iliad." It begins years before the country was called Rhodesia, and before the Pioneers rode northwards in 1890; for there were Catholics among those who were "pioneers before the Pioneers." If we leave out the sixteenth-century Jesuit missionary, Gonçalo da Silveira, it begins with the departure from Grahamstown in what was then Cape Colony, on 16th April, 1879, of the Jesuit mission to the Zambezi under Père Henri Depelchin.

As far as material results were concerned, the mission was an almost complete failure. There had been hopes of establishing a mission among the Bamangwatos of Bechuanaland, but their chief, Khama, had already been won over by the London Missionary Society, and so, though he was friendly, he would not allow the Jesuits to settle among his people. So they went further north into what is now Rhodesia, and petitioned the famous Lobengula, chief of the Matabeles, for leave to teach. After a long delay it was refused. Fr. Depelchin then divided the expedition. He sent the two Englishmen whom he had with him, Fr. Augustus Law, the former naval officer, and Brother Hedley, together with the German, Fr. Wehl, and the unbelievably hardy

Belgian, Brother de Sadeleer, eastwards, while he himself with most of the others continued northwards towards the Zambesi. Both expeditions ended tragically, the eastern one costing the lives of Fr. Law and Fr. Wehl, and the northern one those of two others priests and four Brothers. Fr. Law kept a diary of the expedition, which tells a story of heroic perseverance and charity. It formed the basis of his biography written in 1893 by Ellis Schreiber. This is now long out of print and almost unobtainable, but a modern biography, based on Fr. Law's journal would more than repay publication.

But the mission, even from a human point of view, was not just a story of lost lives and wasted efforts. Lobengula allowed some of the Jesuits to remain at his capital, Bulawayo. This was not because he wanted them to make converts, but because he thought they could usefully teach the Matabeles agriculture and handicrafts. So the mission of 1879 ultimately led to the establishment of Catholicism in Rhodesia.

To this Jesuit mission station in Bulawayo there was sent in 1882 the man who forms the subject of this article, Fr. Peter Prestage, SJ Fr. Prestage was to show himself a most holy, resourceful and indefatigable missionary: one who persevered in his work for years with unflagging energy with no visible results, and when, except to his own unquenchable enthusiasm, no results seemed possible. He was a cheerful and entertaining companion, but blunt and frank; a man who could not be dishonest himself, and who found it hard to believe it of others. In spite of the hardships he had to endure, there was an evenness and placidity about his development, spiritual, intellectual and even physical. "A tight little fellow, holding himself very straight, and possessed of a very good voice," was the description that a contemporary gave of him when he was at school at Stonyhurst in the early fifties. During his years in Africa his voice was impaired by his lavish taking of snuff, because native etiquette demanded that the guest should either take snuff or smoke, but in other respects the same words could have been used of the sun-tanned veteran who on 11th April, 1907, set off to walk briskly over the veld on the affairs of the mission, and dropped dead in front of the African who accompanied him.

All that has come down to us about Fr. Prestage shows him to have been heroic, devout and most lovable, if at times slightly exasperating. But what perhaps gives him particular interest is his close association with the beginnings of Rhodesia, and the part he took in two of the great crises of its early history. He was actually one of its founders, for, with the better known Fr. Andrew Hartmann, he was appointed Chaplain to the Pioneers of 1890, being given the honorary rank of Captain. The very enterprising Superior of the Zambesi Mission, Fr. A. M. Daignault, SJ, when offering these two Fathers as Chaplains, suggested to Rhodes that some Dominican nuns from the Convent at King William's Town, Cape Colony, should also go with the expedition as nurses. This was probably Rhodes's first contact with the Society of Jesus which later he came to admire so much. He gladly accepted both suggestions, and it was originally intended that five Sisters, under their twenty-six-year-old Superior, Mother Patrick, should accompany the Pioneer Column. But the danger of attack from Lobengula's *impis* led to their being held back for ten months at Macloutsie on the southern border of Rhodesia. Fr. Prestage was made their Chaplain and so went with them. Consequently he did not enter Mashonaland till 1891, and received less publicity than did Fr. Hartmann, who advanced with the Pioneer Column itself in 1890, and whose name is

accordingly perpetuated in Salisbury and its neighbourhood in Hartmann Hill, Hartmann Farm and the recently established Hartmann House of St. George's College. Nevertheless Fr. Prestage, like the Dominican sisters, who incidentally were the first white women in Mashonaland, was part of the expedition to which present-day Rhodesia owes its existence, and so was among its founders.

When he accompanied the Dominican sisters to Rhodesia, Fr. Prestage was not coming into strange country, for he had already been there seven years, partly at Tati, on the borders of Rhodesia and Bechuanaland, and partly at Bulawayo. He had had several meetings with Lobengula and had impressed him favourably, so that at last he was able to obtain what had been refused to earlier Catholic missionaries, leave to open a school in which Christianity might be taught; a site was granted as well. This led to the foundation of the Empandeni mission, about sixty-five miles south-west of Bulawayo, which still flourishes. Nineteen years later Fr. Prestage thus described the critical interview with Lobengula at which he won from him the vital concession.

> I told Lobengula that our party was not satisfied with its position in the country; that we had left our home across the sea, and made a long and difficult journey into his country, not in search of gold or money-making, but solely out of a desire to work for his own and his people's good; and that if our position was not altered, I was determined to take every man of our party out of the country; that I would not condescend to keep men in a country where we were not free to work; that we would go to another country where no restriction would be put on our labour.[1]

Fr Prestage then went on to demand a site for a mission, and permission to teach Christianity. He spoke strongly, and to do so to Lobengula in his own capital needed courage. We might be tempted to think that he made the words more forthright in retrospect than they really were; but throughout his life Fr. Prestage was literal-minded to an embarrassing extent. "Honest Peter," he was called by the boys when he was a young man teaching at Stonyhurst, and he kept the characteristic through life. No one was less likely to exaggerate.

So when the Pioneers began to settle down on their lands, Prestage had already several years experience of the country; he spoke the language, understood the Africans, and was well acquainted with Lobengula himself. He was therefore the kind of man to whom the agents of the British South Africa Company might turn for advice. They did so in 1893, in the person of Dr. Jameson himself, and over a decision which is still a matter of dispute in Rhodesian history.

Lobengula had kept a promise he had made of not harming the white men in Mashonaland, but he was unable to prevent his Matabele warriors raiding the country, demanding payments from the Mashonas, burning their kraals, killing their men and carrying off their women and children. The Company's protests were not accepted. The Mashonas, it was said, were the Matabeles' dogs; how they treated them was entirely their affair. Life was impossible for European and Mashona alike. The former must either leave or destroy the Matabele *impis*. The crisis came on 9th July, 1893, when the neighbourhood of Fort Victoria, about 150 miles south of Salisbury, was raided, thirty-five men and women were killed, and thirty women and children carried away; kraals were burnt and cattle seized. Prestage was at Fort Victoria at the time.

Jameson had to make the decision. Sir H. B. Lock, the High Commissioner for South Africa, had assured him of his support for an expedition against the Matabeles, provided it had met with the approval of the clergy. Jameson asked Prestage's opinion, who gave it with his usual clarity and directness. A few days later he thus described the interview in a letter to Fr. Schomberg Kerr, the Superior of the Mission.

> Last Friday at 9.30 Dr. Jameson came to me and said the Administrator[2] would support the Company by his help if the clergy approved of the punishment of the Matabeles. He had already spoken to me on the subject, when I told him I considered there was just cause for the Company taking up arms against the Amandabeles, in defence of the Makalakas, who had been unjustly and grievously wronged. He asked me if I would telegraph my view to Rhodes. The telegram to Rhodes read as follows:
>
> > I consider there is most just cause for punishing the Amandabeles at once. Without prompt punishment there is every possibility of the same atrocities recurring.[3]

Prestage's conviction of the ineradicable cruelty and injustice of the Matabele regime, one of "iniquity and devilry," as he described it to Fr. Schomberg Kerr on 20th July, 1893, was of long standing. As early as May, 1883, he had written, "Unless the Matabeles are put down by brute force, I fear that they will never improve." When he looked back after the revolt had been put down, his ideas were unchanged. "If ever there was a just war, the Matabele war was just," he wrote. This verdict is of considerable interest because the justification for this expedition against Lobengula has been called in question ever since. It has been said that the Company, having been disappointed by finding Mashonaland less rich than it had expected, decided to recompense itself by taking Matabeleland, and therefore deliberately provoked a quarrel with Lobengula.[4] But against this censure on the Company must be placed the verdict of Prestage, who had no axe to grind, who knew the people and the circumstances, and who gave his life to the service of the Africans.

But though he was certain that the military régime of the Matabeles had to be destroyed as a condition of humane existence for the Mashonas and even for the Matabeles themselves, Prestage was fully aware of their good qualities, and spoke up for them when they were in the right. He was thus able to win their confidence, and how thoroughly he had done so was shown three years later.

The defeat and death of Lobengula did not end trouble with his people. In 1895 the *rinderpest* came to Rhodesia for the first time, and began to destroy the cattle. The Government destroyed many more in infected areas in a cruel but necessary attempt to stamp out the disease. The afflicted Matabeles mistakenly but understandably thought that this slaughter of what seemed to them healthy animals was an attempt to exterminate their race. They had also, as Prestage told a Bulawayo paper, been very badly treated by the native police "who abused their authority to an enormous degree."[5] Hence they rose in rebellion.

Prestage had by now returned to Empandeni. It only seemed a question of time before the tribes round the mission would join the rebels. He therefore took the only course which seemed to give any prospect of maintaining the peace. In spite of the rising excitement and spreading revolt, he went alone and unarmed into the Motoppo

Hills to persuade the chiefs to remain at peace. Little is known about what happened, for Prestage spoke little of it. But certainly he returned with eighteen representatives of the chiefs, who handed themselves over to the British as a pledge of their peoples' loyalty. So peace was kept round Empandeni. Prestage's bravery was mentioned in Parliament by the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, and so was reported in *The Times*.

But what he did had perhaps wider effects. It was on 14th April, 1896, that he had gone into the hills to speak to the chiefs. By August the Matabeles, after continual defeats had been driven into the Motoppo Hills, whence it was difficult to dislodge them. It was said that larger forces would be needed and that war would have to be carried on into the next year. Then Rhodes made one of the famous decisions of his life. He would go unarmed into the Motoppo Hills and meet the rebels, gain their confidence, and so persuade them to make peace. As everyone knows, he succeeded.

"It was," says a study of Rhodes,[6] "a decision at once too simple and too dangerous to have been arrived at by anyone else." But, as the reader knows, Prestage had four months before in that same part of Rhodesia, come to just the same decision, had shown equal bravery and had had equal success. It is at least possible that Rhodes's decision was inspired by knowledge of what had so recently been done by Prestage, who therefore was the direct means of keeping some of the Matabeles out of the war, and perhaps the indirect means of bringing it to an end.

With the suppression of the Matabele rebellion and the subsequent Mashona one, the pioneer period in Rhodesia may perhaps be said to have ended, and with it the pioneer days of Fr. Prestage. Henceforth he was able to devote himself in more placid conditions to tough but fruitful and rewarding missionary work. Though cultured and refined, "the charming and very cultured representative of the Jesuits," as he was called by Colonel Frank Johnson, the commander of the Pioneer Column,[7] he was a missionary of the old style, travelling on foot, and sleeping upon the ground, with a log for a pillow, and a *skerm* of branches round him, and a fire to keep away wild animals. Yet in some ways he was unexpectedly modern. Though the science of missiology was still in the future, and he could hardly have penetrated into anthropology and ethnology, yet, besides trying to get a scientific as well as a practical knowledge of their language, he tried to master the history and traditions of the Matabeles; most of this he had to find out from verbal enquiry. In the third number of the *Zambesi Mission Record* (February, 1899) he wrote an account of how Lobengula came to be king, whose main outlines are confirmed by an article by Chief Simon Segola in the 1959 issue of *N.A.D.A.* (Southern Rhodesian Native Affairs Annual).

He died as perhaps he would have wished, tramping over the veld he loved with a solitary companion, one from the peoples of Africa to whose spiritual and temporal happiness he had given his life.

NOTES

1. MS. account by Fr. Prestage given to the late Fr. F. Johanny, SJ, and published in the *Zambesi Mission Record*, July 1908.
2. A mistake for High Commissioner. Jameson himself was Administrator.
3. *Zambesi Mission Record*, April 1910, p. 72.
4. See the opinions given in *Rhodes*, by Sarah Gertrude Millin. London 1933, Chapter XX.

5. *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 18th April, 1896.
6. *Cecil Rhodes*, by William Plomer. London, 1933, p. 107.
7. *Great Days*, by Frank Johnson. London, 1940, p. 76.

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David Livingstone Tourist to Rhodesia

by G. L. Guy

Rhodesians today, both black and white, accept David Livingstone as a part of their history: they have named buildings, schools, mission, roads and streets after him, but in fact he set foot in what is now Rhodesia once and once only and then as a tourist, the second or third or fourth of many to gape at the majesty of the Victoria falls from the Rain Forest.

True, he was the first white man to see the Falls and he gave them their present name, but when he did this in November 1855 he spent only two days there, seeing them from the central island of Kazeruka (which he named Garden Island after the seeds he planted there), and the Eastern Cataract, and the visit was made because the Falls were on his line of march.

There is a legend that Livingstone crossed the Zambezi at Kazungula, first carving his name on the sausage tree (*Kigelia pinnata*) there, but this is nowhere substantiated in his writings and he says that once only did he ever cut his initials on a tree, and that was on Garden Island itself.

His epic journey across Africa to Loanda and back down the Zambezi to Tete and to Quelimane really began at Linyanti on 11th November, 1853. He had left Cape Town, seeing his wife, Mary Moffat, and their four children, off to Britain and travelling via Kuruman and the desert country, he reached Linyanti for the second time in May that year. He explored some of the upper reaches of the Zambezi as far as the Kabompo, returning to Linyanti and then, with the blessing and active aid of Chief Sekeletu, set out to open a trade route to the west coast.

But let's see what Livingstone himself had to say:

"After leaving Linyanti the party embarked in canoes at Maunku's village and spent 42½ hours on the Chobe"

and he says in the "Journal"

"one branch of the Chobe passes to the north, forming a large island, then another large branch comes out from the Leeambye (Zambezi) to meet the Chobe. Numerous branches pass out and in, forming large islands, I was not sure we had reached the junction till I found our canoes going against the stream westwards."

Of this stage of the journey he says in "Travels":

"After spending one night at the Makololo village on Mparira (the large island called Mparira stands at the confluence of the Chobe and the Leeambye) we left the Chobe and returning round began to ascend the Leeambye."

It is evident from the above that the party spent no time on the right bank of the Chobe where that sausage tree still stands.

Almost exactly two years later, on the return from Loanda on 9th November, 1855, Livingstone and his party left Linyanti again and set off down the Zambezi on their way to the east coast, still exploring trade routes.

Travelling via Sesheke they spent the night of 13th November on Mparira Island and down to Nampiri, Chondo and Kalai keeping to the left bank all the way as the right bank was depopulated because of fear of Matabele raids.

They stayed at the falls for only two days, just long enough for the visit to Garden Island, to make a sketch from the Eastern Cataract (see frontispiece of *Missionary Travels*) and to take astronomical observations to fix their position and then went on eastwards on the plateau towards Tete, meeting the Zambezi again below the Kafue junction.

From 1855 to 1860 when Livingstone paid his second visit to the Falls in the company of his brother Charles and John Kirk, only one white man had seen the Falls, and W. C. Baldwin had only just got there in August when the party arrived and he went to meet them.

Of the meeting Baldwin says (8th August):

> "Dr. Livingstone is expected today and I am waiting to see him. (9th). I had the honour yesterday of cutting my initials on a tree on the island above the Falls, just below Dr Livingstone's, as being the second European who has reached the Falls, and the first from the east Coast. Charles Livingstone says they far exceed Niagara in every respect and the Doctor tells me it is the only place, from the West coast to the East when he had the vanity to cut his initials."

Approaching the falls, Livingstone says in the "Narrative":

> "then on the 9th (August) marched eight miles to the Great Falls and spent the rest of the day in the fatiguing exercise of sightseeing."

And in a letter to Lord John Russell (8th September, 1860) he wrote:

> "when we came to a point about twenty miles north of the Victoria Falls we could see the 'smoke' distinctly with the naked eye, and I could not resist the pleasure of shewing the wonderful scene to my companions, though by going down to it we added some forty miles to our tramp. The river was now very low and there was no danger in passing down to the island in the middle of the river and lip of the fizzure into which it falls. After a second visit I think the scene the most remarkable in the world and none but an artist in oils could convey a true idea."

(Was he thinking of Thomas Baines whom he had dismissed so unfairly a year previously? Fortunately for posterity "an artist in oils" did visit the Falls in 1863 and we have the beautiful Baines portfolio to illustrate the wonders of the Falls before the white man built there.)

The "Narrative" goes on to say:

> "But as, at Niagara, one has to go over to the Canadian shore – so here we have to cross to Moselekatsi's side to the promontory of evergreens (the Rain Forest) for the best view of the principal Falls of Mosi-oa-Tunya. Beginning therefore at the base of this promontory and facing the Cataract at the west end of the chasm there is first a fall of thirty six yards in breadth, and, of course as they all are, upwards of 310 feet in depth. Then Boaruka, a small island, intervenes and next comes a great fall with a breadth of 573 yards: a projecting rock separates this from a second grand fall of 325 yards broad in all, upwards of 900 yards of perennial falls. Further east stands Garden Island, then as the river was at its lowest came a good deal of the bare rock of its bed, with a score of narrow falls which, at the time of flood, constitute one enormous cascade of

nearly another half mile. Near the east end of the chasm are two larger falls but they are nothing at low water compared to those between the islands."

It is obvious that Livingstone crossed the river, because it would have been impossible to make the above accurate measurements from anywhere but the right bank and the frontispiece in the "Narrative" could only have been sketched from "Moselekatsi's side".

Charles Livingstone was certainly the first person to be able to compare Niagara and Victoria Falls, but that unpleasant fellow does not seem to have left a record of his impressions other than the few remarks recorded by brother and Baldwin.

Again on the journey downstream the party kept to the left bank and did not cross to Moselekatsi's side, so it is evident that David Livingstone visited Rhodesia only as a tourist "in the fatiguing exercise of sightseeing" to gape and peer and record his impressions and measurements of Rhodesia's greatest tourist attraction, the Victoria Falls, to which he gave their name "as a tribute of respect to the Royal Lady".

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Bernard Mizeki

The Devil's Advocate puts his Case

by W. F. Rea, SJ

The origins of this contribution to *Rhodesiana* go back some eight years to the time when I first heard of Bernard Mizeki, the Anglican martyr of the 1896 Rebellion, but when I was also told that the truth about his death was neither so straightforward nor so edifying as the accepted account would lead us to believe. Since then I have as many as four variations on that account:

(i) That he was killed because his goats kept on straying on to his neighbours' property;

(ii) That he was killed because goats strayed on to his property. They did so much damage that he killed them. In revenge his neighbours killed him;

(iii) This is similar to the second version except that the story was related of cattle and not of goats;

(iv) That he was a cattle thief.

I did not feel much sympathy with these stories, thinking that those who told them would be better employed trying to sift their truth, thereby perhaps depriving Bernard Mizeki of his claim to martyrdom, or alternatively vindicating the claim. Such were my rather unformulated ideas when Jean Farrant's *Mashonaland Martyr: Bernard Mizeki and the Pioneer Church* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press) appeared in October, 1966, written with a charm worthy of that which Bernard Mizeki exercised on so many. Anticipating that I would be asked to review the book I thought that I should try to test the truth of the alternative versions that I had heard. In a review I could not ignore them completely: on the other hand, unless they were reasonably well supported there would be no cause to upset accepted belief. Admitted it would be acting as a Devil's Advocate, but if that is not an attractive role, it is an honourable and a necessary one.

Fortunately, before long I was put in touch with Father Isidore Chikore of All Souls' Mission, Mtoko, the grandson of the Mangwende who had been Bernard's friend but under who he had been killed. Father Chikore's grandmother had actually been the half-sister of those responsible for the murder, and so he was well acquainted with the full story. What he said made clear that three out of the four variations from the accepted version which are mentioned above, the first, the third and the fourth, are completely wrong, and should never be mentioned again. The second is wrong in part.

The questions which I put to Father Chikore were the following:

(i) I have been told that Bernard Mizeki was killed because cattle came into his field, and he warned the people that if it happened again he would kill the cattle. It did happen again, and he fulfilled his threat. In their anger the people killed him. How far is this version of Bernard Mizeki's death true?

(ii) How widespread was this version?

(iii) How many people have given this account?

(iv) Is this account still prevalent today?

Father Chikore's reply is best given in his own words:

"I would like to make some necessary changes in your first question and inform you of the facts as they were presented to me many a time by different people and especially by VaNyaya, my grandmother on the maternal side. VaNyaya, my mother's mother, was one of the many wives of the then chief Mangwende, Gukwe. She died at Gomba Kraal in 1958.

"It was the goats and not the cattle that went into the garden and ate some of the things that were growing there. The garden was something like what we would call a vegetable garden today, and would not necessarily exclude other crops, such as mealies and the like. My grandmother thought these goats were a great nuisance to the *mufundisi*, Mr. Bernard Muzeki, now St. Bernard Muzeki. The people round knew all about it and a complaint about the goats was naturally made to them by Bernard Muzeki.

"Mufundisi Bernard did not tell the people that he would kill the goats if they went into his garden again. He only lodged a complaint, as far as I can still remember my grandmother's narrative.

"Mufundisi Bernard had some people, probably males, who were working in his garden. Whether they were workers in the strict sense of the word or whether they were big boys in the school it never came into my mind to ask her. These people got hold of the goats and killed them when they had broken into the garden.

"After the news had spread that the goats were killed, some men of Chief Mangwende's clan went to the Mufundisi Bernard Muzeki and complained bitterly. The Mufundisi replied that he had not given any orders that the goats should be killed if they broke into the garden again. The men replied that he must have given orders to the workers to kill the goats. The workers would not have done such a thing on their own.

"And one night, so the story went, some of Mangwende's sons and one or two (*vakuwasha*) sons-in-law of the chief went to the school, got hold of Bernard Muzeki, dragged him somewhere and beat him to the ground with something, until they thought he was dead.

"The men went away probably back to their villages. Bernard Muzeki revived and crawled somewhere, and there he died. He was a very good man, the man of God, so kind and straightforward. These people were wrong, my grandmother said, to molest such a person.

"This is as far as my memory can carry me about the tragic story of St. Bernard Muzeki, as he is now called, as told to me by my grandmother, VaNyaya, one of the wives of chief Mangwende, Gukwe. I, as a little boy, remember him very well especially when he used to feed me on roasted pieces of meat. He died in the hut of VaNyaya perhaps between 1925 and 1928. He had lived for well over a hundred years.

"Many years ago one of the Native Commissioners at Mrewa sent for VaNyaya, VaChinhema and another wife of Mangwende to enquire about the murder of Bernard Muzeki. They did not tell the Native Commissioner the names of the people who had murdered Bernard Muzeki in case the people concerned got into trouble. My grandmother told me the names of the people who murdered Bernard Mizeki. Unfortunately I cannot recall them at the present moment. I might recall them in the

future. Now to answer your questions:

"*How widespread was this version?* All the elders of the Mangwende clan and others who lived at the time of the incident were well versed in the story. The story has been handed on since.

"*In what part of the country was it known?* In Nhowe proper, which means the area mostly dominated by the VaNhowe, the ruling clan then and even now. It stretched almost from Marandellas to Hanwa, Mukarakate, Rota, Nyakambiri, near Dambodzvuku and Zeware raMangwende up to Marandellas again, encircling St. Bernard's Mission area, as it were.

"*How many people have given this account?* Many of the prominent ones and very many of the others.

"*Is it still prevalent today?* Yes: especially if one knows where to enquire and who to enquire from, one could still get a lot of information. But with all these modern mistrusts and suspicions unless one were a well trusted African I am afraid most people would be very reserved."

Now how does this account of Nyaya modify the generally accepted one, the one that has been formally presented in Jean Farrant's *Mashonaland Martyr*? Two particular points demand examination, the killing of the goats and the circumstances of Bernard Mizeki's death. I do not think that Mrs. Farrant gives due weight to the first of these. She admits the existence of the story, but says that "where written testimony is concerned" it goes back to an unsigned typewritten account in the Diocesan offices in Salisbury. This, however, ignores the very important and considerable oral evidence of the story. However, Mrs. Farrant does refer to oral evidence twice and that at some length.

The first reference is the long account of the incident given by John Kapuya, who was one of Bernard's first converts and one of his most trusted companions. His story was that the tribal goats had certainly destroyed Bernard's garden, but that Bernard did not kill them. He merely took one of them to Mangwende and asked for it as compensation. "It was not in Bernard's heart," he said, "to do a thing like killing all the goats." The man who did kill goats which destroyed his garden was a European, a Mr. Bennett. Owing to the similarity in Shona pronunciation of "Bernard" and "Bennett" the names became confused, and the slaughtering of the goats by one was attributed to the other.[1]

Mrs Farrant's other reference is based on the story of Chinhema, Mangwende's fourth wife, who, incidentally is also mentioned in Nyaya's account. Substantially it agreed with John Kapuya's, though it adds that many years later Mr. Lindsay Oliver, the Native Commissioner at Mrewa, made an investigation into the death of Bernard Mizeki, and after examining Chinhema and other old people, from Mangwendi's country, he was satisfied that Bernard did not kill the goats.[2] The investigation by the Native Commissioner corroborates Nyaya.

All three versions, that of Nyaya, of Kapuya and of Chinhema deny that Bernard killed the goats, though Nyaya says that not everyone believed Bernard's word. However, in view of Bernard's high reputation – even Nyaya says, "He was so kind and straightforward" – his denial must be accepted.

There remains the minor point: who did kill the goats? Nyaya says it was the boys

or men who were working in Bernard's garden, and there is no reason to disbelieve her story. Kapuya and Chinhema say it was Bennett, who may well on some occasion have made a slaughter of trespassing goats. The act would seem to have been in keeping with his character. So this offence may have been laid to his charge as well. This would shift the blame from the workers in Bernard's garden, who may well have included John Kapuya. In later years, while anxious to clear the memory of their much loved *mufundisi*, they would not feel any obligation to inculpate themselves, and would have been glad enough to let the blame lie on the departed James Bennett of unhappy memory. However, the actual killer of the goats is of less account than the fact that all agree it was not Bernard.

Finally we come to Bernard's death and its motive. Mrs. Farrant says that her account has been composed "by joining together every fragment of African testimony contributed over a space of two years."[3] So, unfortunately, there is no one witness who gives as full and coherent account as John Kapuya and Chinemha gave of the earlier period. The clearest description of a motive is provided by the harangues given by Mangwende's evil son, Mchemwa, and the local witchdoctor to a secret meeting of headmen, which had been summoned to plan the massacre of Bernard, and of all Europeans, and of Africans who associated with them. The witchdoctor told the meeting that the ancestral spirits were angry because the people had accepted Christian teaching and had consorted with Europeans. In a private talk to Mchemwa and some of his relatives he guaranteed them victory over the Europeans if only Mchemwa would have Bernard killed. A few days later the Mashona rebellion broke out and Mchemwa gave his uncle and brothers their instructions. They were, he said, to kill every European, everyone who associated with Europeans, every half-caste child, and every missionary and they were to kill the teacher, Bernard.[4]

So according to this account Bernard was killed because he associated with Europeans, and because he was a missionary. This need not exclude other motives, such as the loss of the tribal goats. Nyaya says that not everyone believed Bernard's denial. However blameworthy their incredulity, it is a fact that has to be taken into consideration. Mchemwa considered that in practice he was chief since he thought his father incapable of acting effectively; so the loss of the tribal goats would have affected him personally. There is, therefore, no need to deny Nyaya's version that the murder was caused by a dispute over goats. It is the truth, but it is not the whole of the truth.

But Bernard would not have been the first Christian martyr who was put to death for mixed motives. There is a parallel in the death of Gonçalo da Silveira who has killed in Southern Africa about 330 years earlier. He was killed in part because he was a Christian missionary, but also in part because the Mohammedan traders thought that he would introduce the Portuguese and so be a threat to their livelihood.

So when all the evidence that the Devil's Advocate can provide has been examined, what must the verdict be? Six years ago when writing a sketch of Gonçalo da Silveira for the Rhodesiana Society I felt obliged to say that I used the term "martyr" in a general sense without meaning to anticipate any decision of the Congregation of Rites. A similar proviso being now made, what are we to think?

First, if Bernard was killed not so much because he was a Christian but because he associated with Europeans, he can none the less be considered a martyr in the wide

sense. He could have got away but he thought it his duty to stay and risk his life for his converts and his catechumens. Thus he was a martyr of charity as so many missionaries in the Congo have been in the last six years. They were killed primarily because they were Europeans, but they nevertheless died because they remained faithful to their duty when they might have saved their lives by leaving. If only for this reason his shrine is to be welcomed as an unintended but real memorial to others, who though divided from him by race were yet united to him by their fidelity to the end to those committed to their charge.

But from Mchemwa's instructions to his relatives when he was sending them out to murder, that they were to kill all missionaries, it seems that Bernard is a martyr in a stricter sense. He was killed because he was a missionary and so by his actions and his works he had borne witness to Christian teaching.

NOTES

1. Jean Farrant, op. cit., pp. 140–41.
2. op. cit., pp. 168–9.
3. op. cit., p. 218.
4. op. cit., pp. 204–5.

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. . . of Women Who Left their Mark

by Philippa Berlyn

September 12th will come again and with it the nostalgic, sometimes sentimental, memories of the people who played a part in building the foundations of our country. The pioneers were for the most part men. The women came afterwards, Mother Patrick and her nurses, the wives and fiancées of the men, and those others who had the brashness and initiative to come up on their own.

Whatever the reasons for their coming, it was these women, many of them unobtrusive, their names often unrecorded, who provided the climate in which their men could build and develop Rhodesia, from wild bush into civilisation. A woman has many functions in a pioneering country. The maintaining of standards is one of these.

Apart from attending to the more practical side of life, there were women in the early days of Rhodesia who supplied a stimulus to the beginnings of a culture which would be specifically Rhodesian. While they did not necessarily produce great literature or great contributions to the other arts, they did nevertheless produce some contributions. What they wrote about or painted was often published outside Africa. Their efforts helped to put another, gentler side of Rhodesia before the world.

In the front rank of these women is Gertrude Page, Mrs. Alec Dobbin in private life, who made an established name for herself as the writer of best selling novels in the early part of the century. Miss Page, who was the daughter of a British M.P., married Captain Dobbin, and early in their married life they came to live in Rhodesia, on the Home farm, which is better known today as Borrowdale Brook. From there they moved to the Umvukwes, to Omeath ranch. It was in the beautiful surroundings of the Umvukwes that Miss Page produced some of her best work.

She was a prolific writer. Her books were usually set in Rhodesia, her heroes of the sun-burned English public school type, her heroines maidenly though sometimes flirtatious, and the whole added up to a remarkably clear picture of her adopted country and the people who lived in Rhodesia at that time. Occasionally a glimpse of Gertrude Page herself was seen in the presentation of an aspect of philosophy, or in the description of the countryside as it was seen through her eyes.

> "I think .. . . of the toll they have exacted from the white man ere they yielded to him – of the bitter price of Empire, written in a land like this, not upon fair white pages in neat black type telling of prowess and splendid endurance, but in white, bleached bones lying out on the hill-tops and in the valleys, where the forerunners fell unnoticed and unsung, making the pathways for those who should follow."

A fore-runner herself, Gertrude Page often gave her readers something to think about. Her writing career, which began with the *Girl's Own Paper*, soon graduated to best selling novels and several of these were dramatised and even filmed.

Best known of her works is the book turned play, *Paddy the next Best Thing*, which had a good run on the London stage.

While she was probably better known than the other women who wrote or painted in Rhodesia, not only for her novels and plays, but for her leader page and feature articles, Miss Page had plenty of competition.

The woman who, to my mind, produced work of the highest standard but who is comparatively little known, is Miss Alice Balfour. Published in December 1895, her book *Twelve Hundred Miles in a Waggon*, is a factual history of her own journey to Rhodesia. However, *Twelve Hundred Miles* was almost more significant for the magnificent sketches which were also drawn by the author. These sketches provide an accurate picture of the country through Alice Balfour's eyes, and incidentally provide also a record of some of the African customs, material culture and musical instruments before the turn of the century. There is a sketch book of Miss Balfour's in the Rhodesian Archives, which shows that this lady was not only a good author, but a competent artist. She painted with delicacy and cleanness of line, capturing the individual colouring of the Rhodesian countryside. It is a matter for conjecture as to why her beautiful water colours have not been ranked among the best produced in Rhodesia. Her work compares favourably with that of Thomas Baines.

Another novelist, of a lighter vein than Gertrude Page, was Cynthia Stockley, a relation of Captain Greenfield who was killed with Wilson at Shangani. Stockley was her married name, but after the death of her first husband she married again, in 1916, E. Pelham Browne, better known as 'Bunco' Browne. Cynthia Stockley was born in Bloemfontein, and her own life was colourful. She travelled over to England and to the United States and she not only acted on the stage, but was a journalist as well, not a usual career for a woman of her era. She wrote a number of novels, the film rights of one being sold for £500, and earned some dubious comment over her 'racy' style. The titles of her books lend some clue as to their type, and also of course to their setting . . . *Blue Aloes* . . . *Virginia of the Rhodesians* . . . *Ponjola* (this incidentally being one of the books criticised for its uninhibited writing) . . . *Wild Honey* . . . *Kraal Baby* . . . *Tagati* . . . However she used her subjects it is obvious that Miss Stockley was as much dedicated to Rhodesia as was Gertrude Page.

She was an extremely good-looking woman, but her life was not a particularly happy one. Her son Pat died in 1923; she came in for some heavy criticism from Lord Buxton who said that women novelists had besmirched Southern Rhodesia. She eventually committed suicide while living in Bayswater, London.

There was also Mrs. Sheila MacDonald, a writer in a different category altogether, who left behind in a series of books – *Sally in Rhodesia* – the simple and charming catalogue of her own life in her Rhodesian home in Avondale.

These women were essentially writers, people with the need to express their thoughts and ideas and what they saw on paper, to be recorded for a later generation. However, there were others, who though they were not necessarily writers in this sense, also felt the need to record their lives and experiences in the exciting new country of Rhodesia.

There was, for instance, the splendid Sister Blennerhassett, who was employed by Bishop Knight Bruce to start a hospital at Umtali, and who walked from Beira to Umtali to fulfil her contract. She recorded her experiences in a book entitled *Adventures in Mashonaland*. With us today, and a living legend is Mrs. Jeannie Boggie, who

wrote *Experiences of Rhodesia's Pioneer Women*, and who is one of the great characters of Rhodesia.

There was Melina Rorke, who gained the Royal Red Cross for her work in the Boer War, and who wrote colourfully of her adventures; the quiet Mrs. Nancy Rouillard, daughter of Matabele Thompson, who edited her father's autobiography and who visited Salisbury as recently as 1962 to see if her father's promises to the Africans were being carried out. She said then:

> "From what I can see the policy of this Government here does offer Africans a fair place in this country."

She lives in Natal at the present time.

The women who never receive mention are those who operated unobtrusively in the background, helping their husbands. One of these was the wife of J. T. Bent, who worked and wrote about the archaeology of Rhodesia. Still quoted today as one of the authorities on Zimbabwe is Miss Caton-Thomson, who conducted research and wrote of her findings.

The debt Rhodesia owes to these women is considerable. It was Gertrude Page who saw . . .

> "her beloved country dictating to The Transvaal and heading the Nations of South Africa."

There is one common factor shared by these authors – their beloved country.

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On Ethel Colquhoun Tawse Jollie

by Philippa Berlyn

". . . because the conclusion of the war will see a reorganisation of the British Empire and in that new Commonwealth of five free nations, I want Rhodesia to take her place and play her part."

Although it would not have been incongruous if these words had appeared in print recently, they were, in fact, written from Melsetter, in January, 1917, by one of the most arresting characters in the early history of Rhodesia, Ethel Tawse Jollie.

Before her arrival in Rhodesia in 1915, this remarkable woman had already received some recognition as a student of Empire and foreign affairs through her connections with the Royal Empire Society. She met and married Archibald Colquhoun, the author and explorer, best known to us in Rhodesia as the first administrator of Mashonaland. She had already visited Rhodesia with her husband and on his death in 1914, she chose this country as her permanent home. Here, too, she met and married her second husband, policeman Tawse Jollie of Chipinga.

She had not been long in Rhodesia before Ethel Tawse Jollie began to make her presence felt. She had an excellent command of language, and she put this to good use, writing for important quarterly magazines overseas as well as being a regular contributor to the Rhodesian Press. The most remarkable single factor about Ethel Tawse Jollie is her clearly developed political instinct, which demonstrated itself throughout her written and spoken work.

In 1917, a slim dark green volume was printed in Bulawayo. It was called *The Future of Rhodesia*, and sold for the princely sum of 3d. Written in emphatic terms by Mrs. T.J. (as she was called affectionately by those of us who knew her towards the latter end of her life), the following words are inscribed on the fly-leaf of this booklet: "Published by a few of those who earnestly desire a higher form of government for Southern Rhodesia and who are convinced that the immediate amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia desired by the directors of the British South Africa Company will prevent or postpone indefinitely the granting of responsible government to the people of this country."

Signing herself Ethel Colquhoun Jollie, she sets out systematically the case for responsible government in Rhodesia. Her first paragraph is headed "Responsible Government the Goal", and she goes on to detail the existing financial position of Southern Rhodesia, the necessity for land settlement and how to attract the type of person who will put down roots in a new country. It is interesting that at one point she urges the opening of a Rhodesia office similar to those which already existed at the time in London, even going so far as to mention the Strand as a possible strategic site for such an office. She also cites precedents for the granting of responsible government, quoting Natal and other parts of the then Empire: "A Canadian friend tells me that the people of the territory administered by the Hudson Bay Company asked for and got a form of responsible government when their numbers were considerably lower than ours and their financial position less sound."

Mrs Ethel Tawse Jollie
(National Archives)

It is clear that she does not favour the case for amalgamation which was at that time being pushed by the Chartered Company. "I am inclined to think that we should be thought less impressive if by amalgamation we increased so enormously the disproportion of our numbers to the territory we occupy." She also says, in regard to the British South Africa Company: "The interests of a trading company may broadly speaking coincide with the interests of the country in which they trade but they do not constitute the whole interests of that country."

She joined the Responsible Government Association and was soon made organising secretary. It was apt, then, that when Rhodesia was given what at that time was thought to be responsible government, Ethel Tawse Jollie should have been among those who took their places in the first Rhodesian Parliament. Here, she acquitted herself well, and earned for herself the reputation of a fluent and impressive speaker.

But she had achieved an even greater distinction when she was elected to parliament, by being the first woman to hold a seat in any parliament in the then British Empire. After her retirement from politics she continued to lead an active public life in the Eastern districts, and later in Salisbury, and during the last war she worked for a time as Women's Employment Officer.

Her written work was perhaps the most significant part of Mrs. Tawse Jollie's life. Part author of two books, *Two on their Travels*, and *The Whirlpool of Europe*, she contributed a number of lucid and learned papers and articles to various newspapers and magazines, and eventually, in 1924, published her own, factual book, *The Real Rhodesia*. In the foreword to this, she says that her book has two main objects: "One is to defend Rhodesia from the libel that has smirched her reputation and still stands between her and a successful future . . ."; the other: ". . . to try and give a true picture of a British Community which is unique in many conditions of its life – both politically and socially."

Today, 16 years after her death – she died on September 21st, 1950 – it is thought-provoking to read these words and to know that they are as true of today as they were when Ethel Colquhoun Jollie wrote them in 1924.

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Pat Judson
First Rhodesian-born Airman

by J. McAdam

In Rhodesia the name Judson first came into prominence at the commencement of the Mashona Rebellion in mid-1896. On Wednesday, June 17th, Mr Dan Judson, Chief Inspector of the Chartered Company's telegraphs (and a recently-gazetted officer of the Rhodesia Horse) organised and – on the 18th – led the first party to go from Salisbury to the aid of a number of persons besieged at the Alice Mine in the Mazoe Valley, 27 miles north of the town.[1]

Next day, June 19th, reinforcements were sent from Salisbury under Captain R. C. Nesbitt and,[2] after joining forces, the combined party, with those rescued from the Alice Mine area, fought their way back to Salisbury, reaching the town on Saturday the 20th. Nesbitt received most of the credit – and the Victoria Cross – for that historic expedition; Dan Judson was afforded no official acknowledgement of the heroic part which he played, but he earned for himself something of far greater worth – the very highest respect of the community.

Not long afterwards Dan Judson and his wife moved to Bulawayo, where their son Daniel Sievewright was born on March 16th, 1898. This being the eve of St Patrick's Day, his godmother aunt promptly suggested that he be nicknamed 'Pat' – so Pat he became, and thereafter, except in official documents, was seldom referred to by his Christian names.

Apart from a very short period at St. Andrew's Preparatory School, Grahamstown, Pat was educated in Bulawayo, initially at St. George's School and later at Milton School.[3] The school magazine *Miltonian*, of March, 1913, proudly recorded that "The Beit Scholarship [for 1912 has been awarded to] D. S. Judson, who passed tenth in Rhodesia and came top in arithmetic, in which subject nearly one-third of the candidates failed."

Soon after the outbreak of war in August, 1914, the 1st Rhodesia Regiment was drafted to South Africa to assist in quelling the Rebellion in the Orange Free State; and then to German South-West Africa. Dan Judson was appointed second-in-command and Pat, though only 16½, persuaded his father to allow him to join up as a bugler: he was, not surprisingly, the youngest member of the battalion. His father, it so happened, was the oldest. Pat graduated from bugler to motor-cycle despatch rider, first to General Edwards and later to General Botha.

Upon the termination of the South-West Africa campaign Pat returned to Milton School for a short time until, early in 1916, the Judson family left for England, where his mother and sister, Mazoe, joined the nursing services, while he and his father became involved in the war in Europe.

It was not long, however, before Pat became interested in flying and he transferred from his regiment, the Queen's Westminster Rifles, to the Royal Flying Corps; thus in April, 1916, he found himself on active service on the Western Front as an observer

The Judson family during the First World War. L. to R.: Pat Judson, Mrs Judson, Col. Dan Judson and Mazoe Judson
(National Archives)

with No. 2 Squadron. His pilot was a fellow-Rhodesian, Captain W. Wray Forshaw, of Salisbury.

Pat did not much enjoy the occupation of observer, and managed to obtain a transfer to the Home Establishment in order to train as a pilot. After graduating he returned to France, where he flew on active service until, in March, 1918, he was severely wounded while bombing enemy concentrations; after recovering, he was drafted to the Central Despatch Pool, and ferried aircraft from England to France until his demobilisation in April, 1919.

Soon after this the Judson family returned to their farm 'Kirton' at Heany Junction, some 15 miles east of Bulawayo. Pat enrolled at the Potchefstroom Agricultural College under the Returned Soldiers' Scheme and then, having gained a diploma in forestry, returned home to manage the family farm.

Pat, however, had been 'bitten by the flying bug' (as has happened to so many others, before and since); he was unable to shake it out of his system, so decided, in the late 1920s, to make civil aviation his future career. His interest in aeronautics would undoubtedly have been stimulated by for the formation of the Rhodesian Aviation Syndicate by Captain J. Douglas Mail and Mr. Aston Redrup at Bulawayo in August, 1927, followed a year later (July, 1928) by the transfer of the Aircraft Operating Company's main base from Northern Rhodesia to Bulawayo, and considerable local activity by that company.

Early in August, 1929, Pat joined the Johannesburg Light 'Plane Club at Baragwanath Aerodrome to undergo the flying and technical training necessary for the "B" (commercial) pilot's licence which he would require for his new career and, on August 31st, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* reported that "a Rhodesian farmer, Mr. D.S. Judson, is now learning to fly with the J.L.P.C. – he went solo on the 27th".

One requirement for the "B" flying licence was that a candidate should have to his credit at least 200 hours of solo flying experience. Pat's wartime flying activities now stood him in good stead, for he was able to produce a letter from his erstwhile comrade-at-arms, Captain Wray Forshaw, certifying that while on active service he had amassed considerably more than the required minimum of flying time. With his flair for mathematics and his mechanical ability, Pat made short work of the theoretical and technical examinations and, on September 23rd, he became proud possessor of South African "B" Pilot's Licence No. 116.[4]

Pat remained in Johannesburg for several weeks after qualifying because, Baragwanath being the 'hub' of civil aviation in southern Africa at that time, he probably believed that the chances of securing, or hearing of, suitable employment were more favourable there than elsewhere. There can be little doubt, too, that he applied to Major Miller for a post in his newly-formed company, Union Airways, Ltd.,[5] and possibly also to the Port Elizabeth Light 'Plane Club (in order to be on Major Miller's 'doorstep').

Towards the end of October, however, Captain Benjamin Roxburgh Smith, pilot and manager of the Rhodesian Aviation Company, which had commenced operations in Bulawayo in April, 1929, had occasion to visit Johannesburg in one of the company's Avro Avian aircraft, and, on November 1st, Pat returned with him to Rhodesia. It is uncertain whether Pat was offered a permanent position with the company at that time, or whether he accepted temporary employment pending news from Major Miller. At

any rate, a telegraphed offer of employment as pilot/instructor to the Port Elizabeth Light 'Plane Club, with an assurance that he would be released as soon as Major Miller required his services, was not accepted. This telegram reached Pat on December 14th, 1929, thus it may safely be assumed that he had by this time thrown in his lot with the Rhodesian Aviation Company as assistant pilot to Captain Roxburgh Smith.

At this time the company owned two Avro Avian and one de Havilland Moth aircraft; then, in February, 1930, a Blackburn Bluebird was brought into operation. The company's pilots were responsible for a variety of duties including air taxi work, sight-seeing flights over the Victoria Falls, joy flights (generally referred to as 'flips') over any towns which possessed suitable landing fields, and the instruction of trainee pilots.

In 1929 the Government of Southern Rhodesia introduced a pilot-training scheme under which it undertook to "grant £750 per annum to each flying club on condition that five *ab initio* pilots be trained to 'A' licence. A further £50 will be paid for each pilot so trained and a flying grant of £30 to each pilot who obtained an 'A' licence the previous year. The balance will be given to the club as a grant-in-aid."

Since no flying club existed at Bulawayo, and that at Salisbury had no instructor,[6] it was agreed that the Rhodesian Aviation Company would enjoy the benefits of the Government grant provided that the conditions were fulfilled. The first four pilots to qualify under this scheme were Messrs. S. Harrison and J. Forrest Thomson, of Bulawayo (trained mainly by Captain Roxburgh Smith) and Mr. B. Tubb and Mr. (now Dr.) C. E. R. Payne of Salisbury (under Pat Judson's instruction).

There were no qualified flying personnel on the staff of the Director of Civil Aviation,[7] so Captain Garth Trace, of the Aircraft Operating Company was appointed official examiner of trainee pilots at Bulawayo, while Salisbury candidates were tested by Major Gilchrist, an ex-R.F.C. pilot.

An early example of 'bamba zonke'[8] now appears to have been perpetrated . . . although the Bulawayo trainees passed their tests on March 23rd (five days before those at Salisbury), Mr. Tubb was issued with Southern Rhodesian 'A' Pilot's Licence No. 1, Mr. Payne with No. 2, while Messrs. Harrison and Forrest Thomson were allocated Nos. 3 and 4 respectively.

Some months later Pat trained Mr. Freeland Fiander, who had lost his left arm, and who was able to manipulate the throttle control lever – normally operated with the left hand – by means of a special attachment controlled by his left shoulder.[9] Not long after this his wife, Mrs. Audrey Fiander (likewise trained by Pat) qualified for her licence, to become Rhodesia's first woman pilot.

Pat Judson, although official instructor to the Salisbury Flying Club, was in fact based at Bulawayo, and would fly up to Salisbury at fortnightly intervals, spend a few days on instruction work, then return to headquarters at Bulawayo. Later this became a weekly exercise – Bulawayo to Salisbury on Fridays, returning on Mondays – and at the Company's First Annual General Meeting on June 30th, 1930, the Chairman, Mr. F. Issels, referred to the 'regular service' which the Company operated between Bulawayo and the capital. While not advertised or officially classified as such, they may nevertheless be regarded as Rhodesia's first regular flights on which passenger bookings were accepted. One of the first VIP's to travel on this service was the Colonial

Secretary,[10] the Hon. W. M. Leggate, C.M.G.; after a pleasant flight from Bulawayo to Salisbury he remarked "I am going thoroughly to recommend the Premier to save time by adopting this form of locomotion."

The Rhodesian Aviation Company's aircraft were available for air taxi work, and the most interesting facet of Pat Judson's flying activities would doubtless have been in this field. The aeroplane was slowly coming to be regarded as a serious method of transport – no longer a 'gimmick' – and enterprising business men (among others) discovered that they could reduce journeys to the more inaccessible areas from days – or even weeks – to hours; such as those to Nyasaland or Barotseland, which entailed many days of time-consuming travel via devious surface routes.

One of the first 'converts' was Mr. R. N. Wolton, representative of a prominent manufacturer of agricultural fertilisers, who flew from Salisbury to Lusaka on June 3rd, 1930, in (as the *Bulawayo Chronicle* put it) "a large aeroplane, piloted by Mr. Pat Judson, which landed on the rugby football ground. Mr. Wolton is the first representative of a commercial firm to reach Lusaka by air." (This was probably true enough, for, as far as is known, it was the first aircraft ever to land at Lusaka.)

The Government of Northern Rhodesia evidently became interested in air travel as one method of overcoming its by no means inconsiderable transport problems; senior official on tours of inspection, etc., must have wasted days and weeks in non-productive travel time and one of the first recorded examples of the official use of the aeroplane in that territory was a flight to Mongu, in the Barotse Province, by Pat Judson conveying the Government Auditor, Mr. J. B. Hewlett, on his annual official visit. Later the *Bulawayo Chronicle* reported: "The flight from Livingstone took under four hours[11] as against four weeks' travel by land and water which that official had to undertake on his visit last year."

The Northern Rhodesian authorities must have been satisfied with this performance for, a few weeks later, Pat and his aircraft were chartered to take Mr. C. C. Reade, Director of Planning and Development, on a 1,400-mile aerial tour embracing Ndola, Mpika, Fort Jameson, Lusaka and Livingstone. This journey, completed in a few days by air, would have consumed an equivalent number of weeks by surface transport.

The value of the aeroplane in cases of medical emergency came to be appreciated; on August 2nd, 1930, Pat flew Dr. N. G. C. Gane from Salisbury to Gatooma to perform an emergency operation.[12] A week later Miss Hope-Carson, a guest of Col. and Mrs. Judson at Kirton Farm, sustained a painful arm injury when thrown from a horse. Pat landed on the airstrip which had been prepared near the homestead and flew the young lady to Bulawayo for medical attention at the Memorial Hospital.

The aviation industry next collaborated with the entertainment world and subscribers to the *Bulawayo Chronicle* read, on September 30th: "Moving with the times. Pictures by Plane. Watch today for the Rhodesian Aviation Co.'s Plane piloted by Pat Judson carrying the film 'What a Man'. Prince's Salisbury last night – Prince's Bulawayo tonight."

Three weeks later – on October 21st – Pat was called to play a part in a drama which was unfolding near Beira. A Shell Company employee named Clarkson had lost himself in the bush while on a hunting expedition and, as serious misgivings were felt for his safety, the Company's Salisbury branch was requested to engage an aircraft

to assist in the search which had been organised. Pat took off from Salisbury at 1 p.m., and landed at Umtali to re-fuel; here he was delayed by a slight mechanical defect and did not leave until 4 p.m. His progress being further retarded by strong head-winds, he did not reach Beira until after dark, and he circled above the town until a number of residents drove their cars to the landing ground, whereupon he was able to make a successful landing by the lights of their headlamps – the first recorded night landing at Beira. (Clarkson was later rescued by a ground party, exhausted but otherwise unharmed.)

A few days after this episode Pat – on Sunday, October 26th – flew Mr. C. J. Christowitz,[13] a Blantyre transport contractor, from Salisbury to Nyasaland, landing on a prepared ground at Limbe, a town five miles from Blantyre.[14] This was the first aircraft to land in the "commercial/administrative" area of Nyasaland (Blantyre/Limbe/Zomba) and the first civil land plane ever to visit the Protectorate.[15] The *Bulawayo Chronicle* of October 28th, quoting a report from Blantyre, stated "The pilot made a good landing at the air ground at Limbe amidst an excited crowd of natives, Indians and Europeans." The following morning Pat was the proud recipient of a telegram from the Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Shenton Thomas, which read "Heartiest congratulations on your successful enterprise as first civil aviator to land in Nyasaland and trust you will be the forerunner of regular services."

Some weeks later Pat went on another interesting tour when Mr. S. Forsyth of Salisbury chartered the Moth for a business journey to Beira and thence up the north coast of Mozambique Province to Quelimane, the port of Mozambique, and Porto Amelia. No prepared airfields existed in this area and all landings had to be made on beaches and 'luangwas', which Pat described as 'sort of salt pans'. Fuel supplies presented no great problem as the moth's engine consumed normal motor spirit, available in four-gallon cans, of which he carried one or two spares in the luggage locker.

On the flight between Quelimane and Mozambique, Pat landed at both Pebane and Angoche in order to re-fuel the aircraft. Later he wrote "While circling around prior to landing at Angoche thousands of natives had gathered and no sooner had the 'plane touched ground than we were surrounded by this yelling mob of smells."

It is understandable that Pat's aeroplane occasioned considerable interest, for it was the first ever seen by the inhabitants of most of the areas which he visited on this tour. After his return to Rhodesia he remarked that ". . . we met with nothing but co-operation and assistance – we were treated everywhere with overwhelming kindness and courtesy, and our visit was made perfectly delightful." Pat went on to sound a word of warning to others who might contemplate such a trip: "It does not do to travel in short sleeves; the heat of the sun was at times so terrific, even flying at 3,000 feet, that I found it necessary to drape bits of rag over my arms to keep them from blistering."[16]

Young Judson's aeronautical prowess was by now becoming recognised beyond the borders of Rhodesia, for on April 8th, 1931, he received an urgent telegram from the Johannesburg Light 'Plane Club, Baragwanath, offering him a post as pilot/instructor to that establishment. Pat did not accept the offer; perhaps he was aware of the imminent resignation from the Rhodesian Aviation Company of Captain Roxburgh Smith, which

took effect at the end of May. On June 1st, therefore, Pat found himself manager and chief pilot of the Company, and the position of second pilot was taken by young Mr. Miles Bowker, himself later to become one of Rhodesia's outstanding civil aviators.[17]

About a month after this Pat learned with pride that he had been accepted as an Associate Member of the Guild of Air Pilot and Navigators of the British Empire (G.A.P.A.N.).

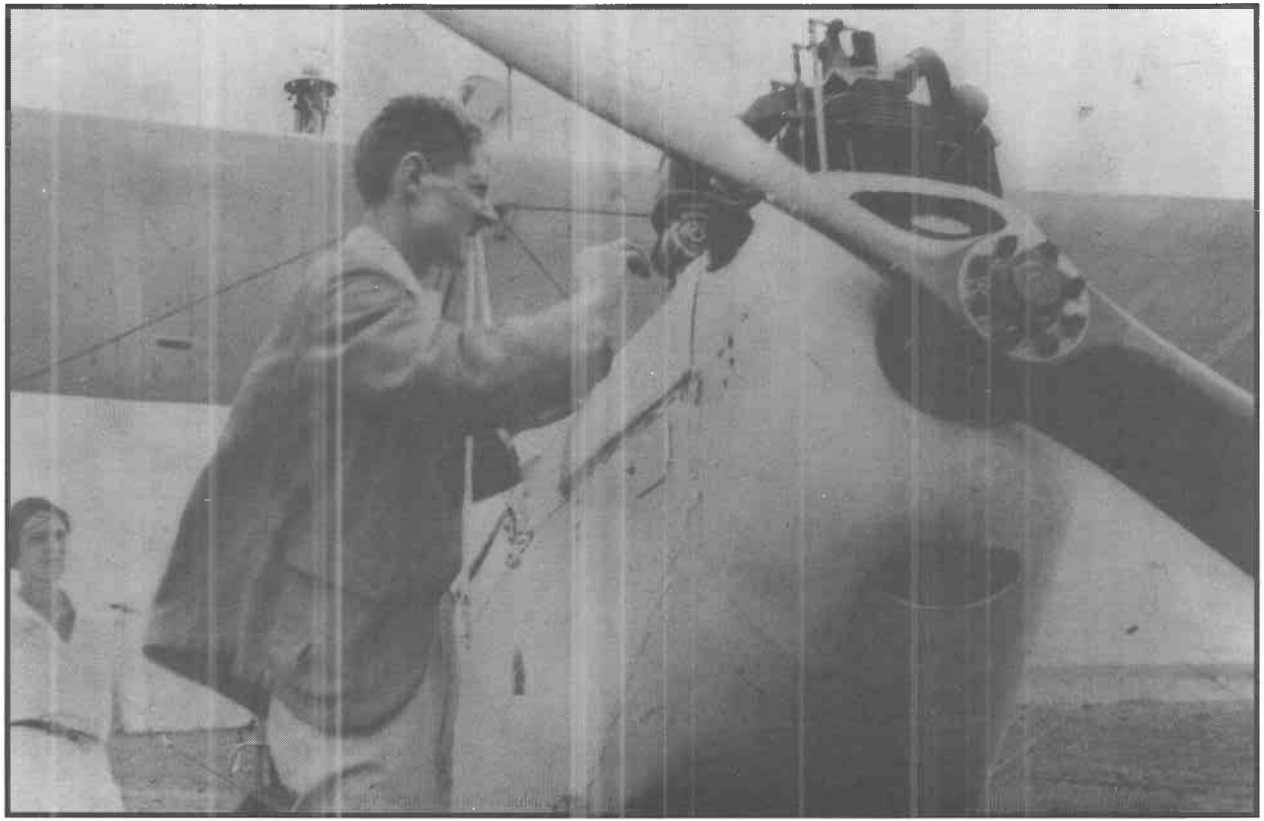
Early in August, Pat visited Johannesburg, where he took delivery of the first of two D.H. Puss Moth aircraft which had been ordered by the Company. This was the first cabin-type aeroplane to operate commercially in Rhodesia, and it afforded a considerable advance in comfort to air travellers. Hitherto all passengers sat in open cockpits and, of necessity, wore flying helmets and goggles, a factor which must undoubtedly have discouraged many potential 'customers'. The Puss Moth, cruising at 100 m.p.h., was 20 per cent faster than the Moth which had previously been used for most air taxi work; and it could accommodate two passengers in addition to the pilot. (The Moth carried only one passenger.)

One of Pat's first assignments in the new machine was an urgent charter flight to Maun in Ngamiland, some 330 air miles west of Bulawayo. Following the destruction by fire of a trading store operated by a Mr. Deaconos, and a subsequent claim, an insurance official, Mr. E. H. Plasket, wished to survey the damage with the least possible delay. The condition of the road from Bulawayo to Maun via Francistown was, to say the least, indifferent, and the return journey involved several days of dusty, comfortless jolting – a problem to which the aeroplane provided the perfect answer. After an incident-free flight Pat landed successfully on the recently-constructed airstrip; the Main correspondent of the *Bulawayo Chronicle* wrote: "The aerodrome had never been used before – all the natives turned out to see the first flying machine to reach Maun. The visit of the aeroplane marked a red-letter day for Maun; we hope the visit is the fore-runner of many more."

In mid-October, Pat and the new Puss Moth were commissioned to convey two commercial men, Mr. Herbert Moss of Bulawayo and Mr. E. Mocke of Ndola, to Dar-es-Salaam on a business visit. The availability of the new machine would almost certainly have been responsible for this charter – it seems unlikely that a journey of such magnitude would have been undertaken in the old Moth. The route which was followed included landings at Ndola, Mpika, Mbeya and Dodoma. At that time, as indeed for many years to follow, the sole navigational aids available to air pilots consisted of magnetic compass and small-scale maps, devoid of all but the most prominent landmarks (some maps indicted non-existent features) and, in poor visibility, the pilot's own sense of direction. Radio aids were many years in the future, and an airman's personal knowledge of the terrain was an invaluable attribute.

It is evident that Pat Judson's aesthetic senses were not lacking; he enjoyed the freshness of Mbeya, in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika. "The scenery there is beautiful" he said later. "All the grass is green, there is plenty of water and air is delightfully cold – a welcome relief after the heat at Ndola." And of Dar-es-Salaam: "The first glimpse was an inspiring one; everywhere was green grass and green trees – pretty houses and gardens, while the sheltered harbour scintillated in the afternoon sun."

Such interesting excursions must have provided a pleasant variation from the



Pat Judson working on a 'Moth', 1930
(National Archives)

comparatively humdrum duties of pilot-training which, of course, formed an essential part of the Company's activities, and had to be pursued. Thus, in mid-November Pat was back in Salisbury in his role of official instructor to the Salisbury Flying Club.

Friday, November 20th, 1931, proved to be a tragic day in the annals of Rhodesian aviation. Shortly before 8 a.m. Pat and Mr. A. G. E. Speight,[18] a member of the Salisbury Flying Club and only son of Mr. A. E. Speight, K.C., Solicitor-General of Southern Rhodesia, climbed into Moth VP-YAB and strapped themselves in. Mr. Cyril Payne, who had just made a short flight in the Moth, swung the propellor for them, and they taxied out and took off. 'Jock' Speight had been taught to fly by Pat, and he held an 'A' Flying Licence, but as some time had elapsed since his last flight, it was necessary for him to undergo a short 'refresher'; and the purpose of this exercise was to perform a few manoeuvres, particularly landings (generally referred to in flying parlance as 'circuits and bumps') under Pat's supervision before again flying solo.

After completing several practice take-offs and landings something went wrong while flying at a height estimated as about 100 feet and, according to an eye-witness "the machine dropped horizontally, wobbled and rocked, then perpendicularly dived – she seemed to spin as she went down."

VP-YAB crashed on the edge of the aerodrome (later known as Belvedere) and was completely destroyed; Pat Judson was killed instantly and young Speight so grievously injured that he died that afternoon.

Southern Rhodesia was all but thrown into national mourning – all social activities and sporting fixtures for the following week-end were cancelled. Both victims were accorded military funerals, at which the highest in the land were either present or represented.

Tributes to the two young men – Pat's age was 33, that of 'Jock' Speight 26 – came from all quarters: in an editorial next morning the *Rhodesia Herald* wrote: " . . the first tragedy in the history of ten years of civil aviation . . . it was one of the inscrutable decrees of Providence that through it Rhodesia should have lost two of her younger citizens whom she could least afford to spare." The *Bulawayo Chronicle*: ". . . it is distressing in the extreme to realise that the first (fatal air) accident in this country in which Rhodesians have been involved has terminated the careers of two able and promising young men who, had they been spared, might have served their land, though in different spheres, in the same sound way as their fathers have done." The *Sunday News* of Bulawayo on November 22nd commented: "Many would have picked out these two as the 'born and bred' Rhodesians whose character and career seemed to show most promise for the future." Mr. Justice McIlwaine said in the High Court, Bulawayo on the 25th: "If one had been asked to select two of the finest examples of Rhodesian youth I cannot think of anyone with higher claims than Mr. Speight and his companion in disaster, Mr. Pat Judson."

Those concerned with aeronautical matters soon began to speculate on the probable cause of the accident. Members of the Salisbury Flying Club held an informal meeting on the following day to discuss the tragedy, and the consensus was that "when something went wrong Judson left it to Speight to correct while Speight left it to Judson, and in the few seconds that elapsed the machine lost flying speed irretrievably and crashed before anything could be done."

The verdict at the official inquiry held at the High Court, Salisbury, before the

Chief Magistrate, Mr. N. H. Chataway, on Friday, December 4th was "Death by misadventure due to an air crash from an unknown cause: the accident was not due to any mechanical defect." Mr. Chataway added: "I have come to the conclusion that the accident must have been caused by a stall in turning into the aerodrome."

While the true cause will never be established beyond doubt, it seems probable that the members of the Salisbury Flying Club had not been far wrong in their assessment.

There are two points which are perhaps worthy of note. Firstly, VP-YAB was an early Moth, not equipped with Handley-Page automatic 'slots', as were later machines of this type. These slots were strips of metal which normally rested flush with the leading edge of the upper mainplane (wing), and as the aircraft slowed down to the point of 'stalling' (losing forward speed to the extent that it was no longer supported in the air by virtue of such forward speed) the slots would automatically move out and disturb the flow of air over the top of the wing to provide additional buoyancy and stability at low speeds. They also afforded a visible indication of an impending aerodynamic stall, and aircraft not so equipped could slip out of control at low speeds with considerably less warning than might those which featured these devices.

The second point is that intercommunication between the two cockpits of Moth aircraft was by means of the 'Gosport Tube' system – a non-electric tube of approximately 3/4-inch diameter leading directly from a mouth-piece in front of one pilot to earphones in the helmet of the other. Thousands have been taught to fly by this means, but misunderstandings were certainly not impossible.[19] The first fatal air accident in Kenya occurred on March 12th, 1928, in a Moth aircraft similar to VP-YAB; in this Lady Maia Carberry and a trainee pilot to whom she was imparting flying instruction lost their lives in circumstances which would appear to have been almost identical. That accident was attributed to a probable misunderstanding between instructor and trainee.

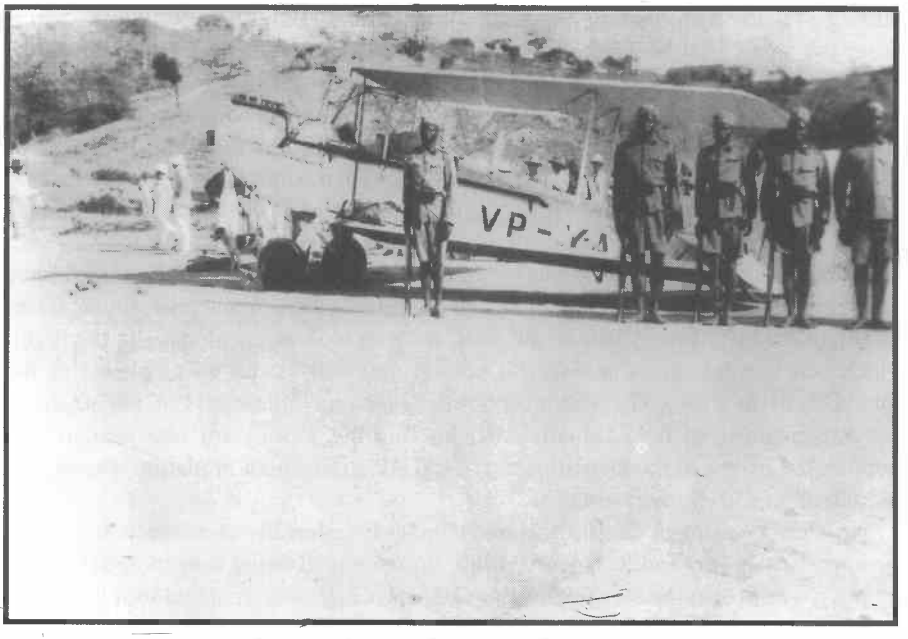
During the months that followed a subscription list was opened and considerable thought was given to a suitable memorial to Pat Judson. Then, on August 1st, 1932, a letter appeared in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* above Col. Dan Judson's signature: "I have been advised by the Secretary of the Rhodesian Aviation Company that a sum of £171 has been subscribed by my late son's friends and admirers towards a memorial to his memory as a pioneer pilot of Rhodesia; in addition, a valuable cup,[20] suitable as a trophy, has been given by Mr. Gordon Cooper.[21]

I have the names of the subscribers in front of me as I write, and I see that they cover a wide field and that the sums vary from £5 to 5 shillings, which is gratifying as a token of the esteem in which my son was held.

My wife and I were asked by the Aviation Company to say the form we should like the memorial to take, but we both feel that we should like suggestions to come from others, and I therefore invite those interested to communicate either with me or the Aviation Company or to express their views through the courtesy of the Press."

A few days later the *Chronicle* reported that "Friends of Pat Judson in the Rhodesian Aviation Company have erected a memorial in the hangar at Bulawayo Aerodrome,[22] in the form of a bench in solid red Rhodesian teak. it has a brass plate inscribed 'In Memory of Pat Judson' and on it stands a framed set of three photographs of the young

Mr and Mrs H. H. C. Perrem with the Pat Judson Trophy, 1938
(National Archives)



Moth VP-YAB at Porto Amelia, 1930
(National Archives)

pilot. The first shows him in France in 1917, the second on the beach at St. (Porto) Amelia in 1931 and the last a portrait taken very shortly before his death."[23]

An interesting suggestion came from Mr. Nigel Norman, Chairman of Airwork, Ltd., of England, who, having been appointed Technical Adviser on Aviation to the Beit Trustees,[24] visited Bulawayo in February, 1933, during the course of an aerial tour of the Rhodesias. Upon his return to England he submitted a most comprehensive report, one of the recommendations of which was that "the route beacon light to be installed at Bulawayo be of the course-indicating type, with a flash aligned on Sengazani (en route from Pietersburg) and on Que Que (en route from Salisbury).[25] It is suggested that the supporting tower be constructed of stone to an architect's design and dedicated as a memorial to the late Mr. Patrick Judson." Any relevant suggestions from local sources must have been directed to Col. Judson or to the Aviation Company, for nothing further appears to have been published in the Press.

The cup referred to by Col. Judson in his letter to the *Bulawayo Chronicle* was manufactured in England and was delivered to Rhodesia in 1936[26] by which time it had been decided to name it the "Pat Judson Memorial Floating Trophy", and that it would be awarded annually for "the most meritorious flight of the year" by a pilot, male or female, private or commercial, who was domiciled in Southern Rhodesia. The funds subscribed would be used for the provision of miniatures,[27] and for administrative costs.

The Trophy was administered by the Department of Civil Aviation, and nominees for awards were submitted either by flying clubs or by individuals. First recipient of the award, in 1936, was Mr. B. Danby Gray,[28] pilot for Lonrho (London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company, Ltd.) for a flight from England to Rhodesia in that Company's new D.H. 90 Dragonfly aircraft, registration VP-YBB. In 1937 Mr. Miles Bowker received the award for a night flight from Salisbury to Johannesburg in Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways' Dragonfly, VP-YAX, carrying urgently-required films of the Coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth in May of that year.

The last pre-war recipient was Mr. H. H. C. Perrem of Umtali, to whom the Trophy was awarded for an adventurous flight from Umtali to Europe and back by him and his wife in an open-cockpit two-seater Heinkel HE64D monoplane, registration VP-YBI. Mr. Perrem writes ". . . Application (for award of the Trophy) was made in our absence whilst my wife and I were on the flight, and submitted by the then Umtali Flying Club. Although the award was made to the pilot, we both took an equal share in the flight, which was carried out as an exercise holiday and with no prior knowledge of the possibility of the award. The presentation was made by the Municipal Council of Umtali at a full meeting of the Council. After holding the Trophy for one year, it was surrendered by me to the Department of Civil Aviation, and a miniature was sent to me, which is still in my possession."

No award was made in 1939: nominations were generally considered soon after the end of each year and in January, 1940, World War II being four months old, the attention of all concerned was claimed by matters of a more urgent and serious nature. The Department of Civil Aviation had been absorbed by the Rhodesian Air Training Group and custody of the trophy was taken over by the Rhodesian Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society, of which Col. Dan Judson was then Secretary. Its subsequent war-

time history is somewhat obscure, but after Col. Judson's death in November, 1942,[29] it may have been loaned to the Rhodesian Air Training Group for, on April 9th, 1943, *Fledgling*, an Air Force magazine issued by the Initial Training Wing of the Royal Air Force Station at Hillside, Bulawayo, made the following jubilant announcement: "I.T.W. Wins Pat Judson Memorial Trophy! This Trophy was originally offered for the most meritorious flight of the year, but due to the changed conditions of war-time it has been decided that it should be awarded to the cock station of this area for sport. The results of the 1942/43 sports season are as follows: I.T.W. 19 points, Kumalo 15, Heany 10, Induna 9."[30]

After the war the trophy's existence was all but forgotten by most of the aviation community in Rhodesia – newcomers had never heard of it – but it seems that it remained in the custody of the Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society for some years. In March, 1951, the President of the Society wrote to the Director of Civil Aviation, Salisbury, suggesting that administration of the Trophy be resumed on a similar basis to that of pre-war days, but nothing came of this. Then, in 1952, Mrs. Dan Judson decided to present the Trophy, the remaining miniatures and the Trust Fund to Pat's old school, Milton, with the suggestion that annual awards be made for the best model aircraft constructed and flown by youngsters, and there is evidence that this was done for a while before petering out due, presumably, to lack of interest.

In September, 1963, the author mentioned the existence, whereabouts and early history of the Trophy to the Secretary of the Rhodesia Division of the Royal Aeronautical Society, Mr. S. H. Guy, who suggested to the Committee of that Society that, if possible, it be re-instated in its original purpose, under the Society's auspices. Protracted correspondence then ensued between the Society, the Headmaster of Milton School and Mrs. Mazoe Bovell — now Mrs. Robbs[31] – the sister of the late Pat Judson, and only surviving member of the Judson family.[32] Eventually it was agreed that the Society would assume administration of the Trophy, which would thenceforth be awarded for meritorious flying work – not necessarily a particular flight – as the nature of flying has altered considerably during the intervening years. The Trophy, now being the property of Milton School, would have to remain there, but would be loaned to the Society at the time of the award, in October each year. As before, the recipient of the award would be presented with a miniature, which, however, would be of rather less elaborate design than the originals (due to the extremely high present-day cost of the latter).

The first post-war award of the Pat Judson Trophy was made in 1963, the recipient being Mr. C. H. Prince, whose aeronautical career in Rhodesia dates back to 1937; the majority of his flying has been in the field of instruction, and the award was made in recognition of his devoted and prolonged services in that branch of aviation.

A break with tradition was made in 1965, until which time all awards had been made for flights by male pilots in powered aircraft. That year the recipient was Miss Caroline Rowe, whose award was in recognition of her achievements in the field of gliding – in particular, for a record flight at Colorado Springs, U.S.A., on February 22nd, 1965, in which she reached an altitude of no less than 33,000 feet above sea level. Not only is Miss Rowe the first woman recipient of the Trophy, but she is able to claim the additional distinction of being the youngest ever.

In 1966 the award was, for the first time, made collectively, and went to "The Beaver Pilots of Central African Airways" for many years' safe operation of these small single-engined aircraft over remote 'bush' areas of Malawi and Zambia. The miniature was received on behalf of all the Beaver pilots by First Officer R. L. van Rooyen, C.A.A.'s most experienced pilot in this type of aircraft.

The death of Pat Judson was a tragedy which those who had the privilege of knowing him will never forget. Let it be hoped that the Pat Judson Memorial Flying Trophy will ensure that his name is remembered by those who did not have that privilege.

NOTES

1. The First Mazoe Patrol.
2. The Second Mazoe Patrol.
3. St. George's School was later transferred to Salisbury, and became St. George's College. Milton School was originally established in Borrow St., Bulawayo.
4. All South African pilots' licences, private and commercial, were enumerated consecutively on a common register. Pat's was therefore the 116th flying licence issued since the introduction of the Aviation Act in 1927. In Rhodesia the Aviation Act was promulgated on April 1st, 1930, whereupon Pat was issued with Southern Rhodesian 'B' Pilot's Licence No. 1.
5. Union Airways, based at Fairview Aerodrome, Port Elizabeth, was established on July 24th, 1929.
6. The first flying instructor at Salisbury was Major S. C. 'Sandy' Wynne-Eyton, who was also the first Rhodesian private owner of an aircraft, a Moth – hence his soubriquet 'Moth-Eyton'. He left to join Wilson airways, of Nairobi, soon after its inception in mid-1929.
7. The Government Department styled 'Civil Aviation', established in 1930, was administered by the Department of Defence until 1936. The duties of Director of Civil Aviation were undertaken by the Commandant of Territorial Forces, Colonel G. Parson, D.S.O.
8. 'Bamba zonke' – a term meaning 'grab the lot' or, more loosely 'skim the cream'. Applied in jest in later years to Salisbury which, being the capital, was sometimes suspected of feathering its nest at the expense of others.
9. Manufactured to approved aircraft standards by the Rhodesian Aviation Company's Ground Engineer, Mr. R. T. 'Steve' Launder.
10. Then a Rhodesian Government rank, not to be confused with a similar title in the British Government; later known as the Minister for Internal Affairs.
11. Livingstone was then the capital of Northern Rhodesia.
12. Not long afterwards Dr. Gane himself qualified for his 'A' Flying Licence.
13. Early in 1931 he formed Christowitz Air Services, Nyasaland's first flying enterprise, which operated successfully until taken over by Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways on February 1st, 1934.
14. The twin towers later amalgamated under the control of a single municipality.
15. Previous aircraft known to have visited Nyasaland were:
    1. A BE 20 of the R.F.C., which operated from Fort Johnston for a short period in late-1917.
    2. A Dornier 'Mercury' float plane, flown by the Swiss airman Walter Mittelholzer, alighted at Karonga on Lake Nyasa on February 3rd, 1927 – and at Fort Johnston on February 4th – en route for Cape Town via Beira and the east coast.
    3. A Short 'Singapore' flying boat, in charge of Sir Alan Cobham, arrived at Fort Johnston on March 3rd, 1928, and departed for Beira and the Cape on March 4th.
16. The Moth was an open-cockpit aircraft.
17. Miles Brunette Bowker lost his life on active service in the Mediterranean theatre during World War II.
18. 'Jock' Speight was captain of the Rhodesian cricket team which played against the first official M.C.C. team to visit Rhodesia, in 1929.
19. Terms commonly used in flying instruction were "You've got her!" or "I've got her!" The author once found himself sitting with folded arms in a Puss Moth – a much more docile aeroplane than the Moth and in which, being a cabin type, no Gosport Tube was necessary – while his instructor was doing likewise, each for a while believing that the other "had her".
20. The intrinsic value of the cup was, at the time, put at over £300.
21. A prominent farmer in the Essexvale district, by whom Pat Judson was held in very high esteem.
22. Later known as Kumalo (when the R.A.F. established an air station there in 1940).
23. The bench and photographs are, like the Trophy, now the property of Milton School.
24. In February, 1932, the Beit Trustees announced a grant of £50,000 to be devoted to the provision of aeronautical

facilities in the Rhodesias. Mr. Norman was provided with a Moth aircraft, in which he toured the areas concerned prior to reporting back to the Trustees as to the most advantageous use of these monies.

25. Such a beacon was visible only if the aircraft was on course. If the pilot allowed the machine to drift, the light would fade from his view and would not be seen until he had regained the required track.
26. The reason for the time-lapse does not appear to have been explained.
27. Six miniatures, facsimiles of the Trophy (in design) were manufactured at the same time.
28. Bertram Danby Gray lost his life in an air accident, involving the same aircraft, near Selukwe, Rhodesia, on October 30th, 1938.
29. Lt. Col. Dan Judson, O.B.E., V.D., J.P., died on November 22nd, 1942.
30. The air stations mentioned were all in the Bulawayo area.
31. The author is indebted to Mrs. Robbs for much of the information in this article.
32. Mrs. Judson died on September 15th, 1963.

(First published in *Rhodesiana* No. 16, 1967)

Sir Joseph Vintcent
Rhodesia's First Judge

by Michael J. Kimberley

Joseph Vintcent was born at Mossel Bay, Cape Province, South Africa on the 12th November, 1861. He was the eldest son of Lewis Anthony Vintcent and Maria Vintcent.

FAMILY

Lewis (usually known as Louis) Anthony Vintcent came to South Africa with his parents in the 1850s. His father, Joseph (Senior) came to the country from Holland for health reasons, and settled in Mossel Bay where he established the firm of Prince, Vintcent and Company. Joseph was a leading citizen of the town and served for several years as a member of the Cape Legislative Council.

Louis was returned to the Cape Legislative Assembly as the member for George in 1874. He was an excellent speaker and his attendance in Parliament always carried considerable weight. He was particularly interested in mercantile and financial questions and was a man of strong views and deep convictions.

His brother, Louis Anthony Vintcent, attested into A Troop of the British South Africa Company's Pioneer Corps on 20th April, 1890 and journeyed to Mashonaland with the pioneer column. After disbandment of the corps on 30th September 1890, he did a certain amount of prospecting near Hartley Hills and elsewhere and early in 1891 was appointed Acting Mining Commissioner and Registrar of Claims for the Lo Magondi District. In April 1891 he contracted fever and while being taken by wagon to Salisbury for treatment, he died at Burnett's Camp on 7th May, 1891.

Of his other brothers, Alwyn ran the family firm of Attorneys, Prince, Vintcent and Company, which was established in Mossel Bay in about 1863, and Sidney died at an early age.

EDUCATION

Joseph was educated at the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, Cape Province, at Charterhouse, and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he was awarded the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws in the Law Tripos.

While reading law at the University of Cambridge he achieved considerable renown as an association footballer, attaining his University Blue in 1881 and representing from 1880 to 1895 the Old Carthusians, winners of the English Cup in 1880–1881, and the South of England against the North. It is said that he was one of the finest half-backs of his day and, but for an unfortunate injury sustained in the historic match between London and Birmingham in the 1881–1882 season, would in all probability have won his international cap. He was also a cricketer of no mean ability as was his brother, Charles H. Vintcent, who represented South Africa in test matches in 1888/1889 at Port Elizabeth and Cape Town against Major Warton's touring team and in 1891/1892 in Cape Town against W. W. Read's touring team.

Judge Vintcent (1902)
(National Archives)

He was called to the English Bar by the Middle Temple on the 26th January, 1885 and was admitted as an advocate in the Cape on the 28th February of the same year.

PRACTICE AS AN ADVOCATE

While practising at the Cape Bar in 1885 the law reports reveal his appearance in *The Divisional Council of Middelburg vs. Chase* (3 S.C. 411), a surety case involving the insolvency of the principal debtor; he appeared before Chief Justice de Villiers as junior to Attorney General Upington, with Leonard Q.C. and Searle on the other side, and in *Ruperti's Trustees vs. Ruperti* (4 S.C. 22), also an insolvency case, he appeared before Chief Justice de Villiers as junior to Leonard Q.C., with Schreiner and Joubert on the other side.

After practising at the bar in Cape Town for almost a year he accepted an appointment as Crown Prosecutor in British Bechuanaland in March 1886 where he served for eight years. In 1893 he served as a member of the Bechuanaland Concession Commission.

MARRIAGE

In 1891 at Wynberg Joseph Vintcent was married out of community of property to Hester Elizabeth Myburgh, the daughter of Mr. Myburgh of Wynberg, Cape Province.

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENT

On the 10th September, 1894, Joseph Vintcent, B.A., LL.B., was appointed a judge of the newly established High Court of the British South Africa Company's Territories as defined in the Matabeleland Order in Council of 18th July, 1894.

This appointment coincided with and followed the reorganisation of the judicial system which was introduced by the Matabeleland Order in Council of 1894, and it is appropriate here to examine briefly the background to and the nature of the Court to which Joseph Vincent was appointed.

From 1890 to 1894 there was no High Court as such in Rhodesia. The Administrator, in his capacity as Chief Magistrate, however, possessed the jurisdiction of a superior court of record with full jurisdiction in all cases, both civil and criminal, and was also empowered to hear appeals from Magistrate's Courts and to review their proceedings.

Under the Order in Council of 1894 the High Court of Matabeleland was set up, with full jurisdiction in all matters, both civil and criminal, including appeal and review jurisdiction over inferior courts. The area of the court's jurisdiction, notwithstanding its title which implied that jurisdiction was confined to Matabeleland, encompassed the whole of what is now known as Rhodesia. The provisions for the appointment of judges were very simple. They were to be appointed by the British South Africa Company with the approval of the Secretary of State and would hold office during his pleasure, but could only be removed by the Secretary of State. Salaries could not be increased or diminished without the approval of the Secretary of State. No qualification for judicial office was prescribed. There was no trial by jury but in criminal cases a judge was empowered to call in and appoint two or four assessors to aid him in the decision of any criminal case in his court. The assessors were advisory only and the judgment of the judge prevailed, but the judge was obliged to consult the assessors and to record any dissent from his judgment on their part.

The new Court was opened with due ceremony on 5th November, 1894, with Vintcent taking the oath of office before J. H. Kennedy, J.P. He was welcomed by the Public Prosecutor, C. Wilson Fox, and addresses of welcome were made by the Sanitary Board and the Chamber of Commerce. The first matter on the Roll was an application for the admission of Sir Thomas Scanlen as an Attorney, Notary and Conveyancer, which was granted.

On the 20th October, 1898, the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council was enacted. Sections 49 to 78, inclusive, provided for the judicial framework of Southern Rhodesia. This Order in Council abolished the High Court of Matabeleland and established in its place a Court of Record, styled the High Court of Southern Rhodesia, with full jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over all persons and over all matters within Southern Rhodesia, subject to special provisions regarding native law and custom.

It was provided that the law to be administered by the High Court "shall, so far as not inapplicable, be the same as the law in force in the Colony (*i.e.* the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope) on the 10th day of June, 1891, except so far as that law has been modified by any Order in Council, Proclamation, Regulation or Ordinance in force at the date of commencement of this Order."

Section 52 provided "There shall be as many Judges of the High Court, to be paid by the Company, as from time to time may be necessary." Judges were to be appointed by the Secretary of State on the nomination of the Company and were to hold office during good behaviour and could only be removed by the Secretary of State.

Section 54 enabled the jurisdiction of the High Court to be exercised by any judge thereof sitting alone.

Sections 58 and 60 provided for appeals from the High Court to the Supreme Court of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope in all civil matters when the amount of value in dispute exceeded one hundred pounds sterling, and in criminal matters if a special entry of the record alleging irregularity or illegality in the proceedings had been made, or a question of law had been reserved and entered on the record by the High Court. Section 74 provided for appeals from Magistrates' Courts to the High Court and for review by the High Court of certain judgments of Magistrates' Courts.

In terms of the High Commissioner's Notice No. 24 of the 29th December, 1898, Mr. Justice Joseph Vintcent was appointed Senior Judge and Mr. Justice John Philip Watermeyer was appointed a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia.

By High Commissioner's Notice No. 20 of the 29th December, 1898, the High Court of Southern Rhodesia was declared "open from and after the 1st day of January, 1899 "

APPEALS AGAINST DECISIONS OF MR. JUSTICE VINTCENT

With the establishment by the South Africa Act of 1909 of a Supreme Court of South Africa, appeals could be made in certain circumstances from the High Court of Southern Rhodesia to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa.

The first of seven reported cases of decisions of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa involving appeals from judgments of Mr. Justice Vintcent was that of *I. Pieters and Company vs. Salomon* (1911 A.D. 121). The appeal was heard by Chief Justice Lord de Villiers and Judges of Appeal Innes and Solomon.

The matter in issue in the case was the indebtedness, if any, of Pieters and Company to Salomon, and the decision of the High Court of Rhodesia (per Vintcent J.) in favour of Salomon was upheld by the Appellate Division.

The case of *Sandilands vs. Tompkins* (1912 A.D. 171) was an important one as it involved the question of the liability of a gaoler who, by his negligence, allows a person who has been imprisoned for debt to escape from gaol. The High Court of Southern Rhodesia per Vintcent J. decided that the defendant Sandilands who was the gaoler of the Bulawayo gaol was liable in law to pay the judgment creditor, Tompkins, a broker of Bulawayo, the full amount of the debt and costs of obtaining the judgment and the writ of civil imprisonment, without proof of actual loss sustained by Tompkins.

On appeal, Appellate Division (Lord de Villiers C.J., Innes, J., and Solomon J.) reversed the judgment of the High Court and held that the defendant was not liable for the full amount of the judgement and costs, and that, in the absence of any evidence that there existed a reasonable probability founded upon the debtor's position in life and surrounding circumstances that the debt or a portion of it would have been discharged if he had remained in custody, the plaintiff was not entitled to recover any damages.

The case of *Rex vs. McChlery* (1912 A.D. 199) was one of considerable constitutional significance as it involved important questions as to the extent of the powers of legislation conferred on the Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia by the Order in Council of 1898.

Briefly, the facts of the matter were as follows. McChlery, an employer of coloured labour, was charged before the Resident Magistrate of Salisbury with contravening section 3 of the Labour Tax Ordinance No. 13 of 1911 for failing to render a return in the prescribed form of the daily average of all coloured labourers employed by him during the month of January 1912.

After evidence had been called for the Crown, Counsel for McChlery contended that when the Labour Tax Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council there was no properly constituted quorum, as required by the 5th rule of procedure of the Legislative Council which provided that six members exclusive of the Resident Commissioner should form a quorum. It was contended that as only two members of those who voted for the Ordinance had no pecuniary interest in the matter, the Ordinance had been wrongly passed and was *ultra vires* and, therefore, McChlery should be acquitted.

The magistrate ruled that he had no jurisdiction to decide on the validity or otherwise of the Ordinance, whereupon the defence called evidence to show that no reference to the tax under the Ordinance was made in the Estimates of the Appropriation Ordinance passed in 1911 nor was it included in the Estimates of Revenue.

The accused was ultimately found guilty by the Resident Magistrate and sentenced to a fine of 2s.6d or in default of payment to 14 days' imprisonment with hard labour.

Needless to say the accused appealed to the High Court of Southern Rhodesia. In a careful and painstaking judgment Vintcent J. in dismissing the appeal and confirming the conviction held that the Labour Tax Ordinance of 1911 was not illegal; that the Legislative Council had power to pass a tax and to allocate it; and that non-compliance with the provisions of sections 41 to 46 inclusive of the Order in Council of 1898 with

respect to estimates and a specific Appropriate Ordinance did not invalidate the labour Tax Ordinance of 1911 as such provisions were directory and not imperative.

McChlery then appealed to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa. In separate judgments Lord de Villiers, Innes J. and Solomon J. dismissed the appeal.

An important legal principle which derives from this case was enunciated as follows in the judgment of Lord de Villiers C.J. –

> "Our Courts have every right to inquire whether any statute has transgressed the limits of the subject in regard to which the Legislature is empowered to legislate, but they have no right to inquire whether, in dealing with subjects within its competence, the Legislature has acted wisely or unwisely for the benefit of the public or for the benefit of private individuals. If the right of imposing taxes exists, the Courts have no right, in the absence of a special direction as to the purposes to which the sums raised are to be applied, to declare a particular tax to be illegal because its proceeds are to be applied to a purpose which, in the opinion of the Court, is not a public purpose."

And, in the words of Salomon J., —

> ". . . it is the Legislature and not the Courts of Law in Rhodesia as in the Union of South Africa, who are the judges of whether any law is required for the peace, order or good government of the territory under their jurisdiction. No Court of Law in Rhodesia is entitled to examine the policy of an Ordinance passed by the Legislature with the view of determining whether in fact the law makes for peace, order and good government. That is a matter entirely within the discretion of the Legislature, and no matter how strongly any judge may feel that a particular law is antagonistic to good government, he has no authority on that ground to declare the law to be invalid. All that the Courts of Law can do is to inquire whether the Legislature has exceeded the powers conferred upon it by the Order in Council which created it, and in that event to declare the law invalid to the extent to which the powers have been exceeded."

The next case in which the decision of the High Court of Rhodesia per Vintcent J. was taken on appeal to the Appellate Division was *The British South Africa Company vs. The Bechuanaland Exploration Company Limited* (1913 A.D. 37). The dispute had its beginnings on the 21st December, 1893, when the British South Africa Company issued certain Letters of Registration to one Edward Burnett in the following terms:

> "These are to certify that Edward Burnett, 'Staff', Salisbury Horse, having completed his special term of service under the British South Africa Company, is entitled under the conditions of his enrolment to a grant of 3 000 (three thousand) morgen of land and the right to peg off 20 (twenty) gold claims, further, that his right to avail himself thereof has been duly registered in the books of the said company."

These Letters of Registration were ultimately sold on the 15th March, 1910, for £400 to the Bechuanaland Exploration Company with an endorsement made in 1894 to the effect that the right was "perpetual for purposes of pegging in the Gold Belt or elsewhere in the territory of the B.S.A. Co.".

In 1910 the Bechuanaland Exploration Company pegged off an area of 3 000 morgen

adjoining the Lonely Mine in the Bubi District without obtaining the approval of the Administrator in terms of the Survey Regulations.

In reversing the decision of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia, the Appellate Division held that the area in question, having been reserved for public purposes, was not open and available for pegging in 1910 and that the pegging therefore conferred no rights upon the Bechuanaland Exploration Company and that the approval of the Administrator being necessary and not having been obtained, the pegging could confer no rights upon the Company.

Appeals against Vintcent's judgments in *Willougby's Consolidated Co. Ltd. vs. Copthall Stores Ltd.* (1913 A.D. 267) and *British South Africa Co. vs. Mikellatos and Co.* (1913 A.D. 412) were allowed and the appeal against his judgment in the matter of *English s. British South Africa Co.* (1913 A.D. 403) was dismissed.

ADMINISTRATION AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS

Apart from being Senior Judge, Vintcent from time to time became involved in a wide range of other functions.

In terms of the Matabeleland Order in Council of 1894, the Government of the country was carried on by the Administrator and a nominated council of four members. The first Government under Dr. L. S. Jameson included Mr. Justice Vintcent as one of the nominated members.

Part IV of the Order in Council of 1894 established a Land Commission consisting of a Judicial Commissioner and two others charged with the duty of dealing with all questions relating to the settlement of natives. Vintcent was appointed first President of the Commission and served in that capacity for several years.

In November 1895, in the absence of Dr. Jameson, Vintcent was appointed acting Administrator, an office which he held until November 1896. With the outbreak of the Mashona Rebellion in June 1896 this office proved to be an extremely exacting duty which he carried out with distinction although at times he was subjected to criticism. On the 20th June, 1896, he proclaimed martial law in Salisbury and assisted by his Defence Committee he organised a laager based on the Salisbury gaol in which all women and children were accommodated and where a hospital was established by Dr. A. M. Fleming.

The exigencies of the Rebellion situation made it necessary for Vintcent to assume the position of head of the military organisation. H. M. Hole in *Old Rhodesian Days* writes "We styled him Commandant General and even manufactured a uniform for him, the principal feature of which was a tunic bedizened with crowns and stars and any amount of blue braid. We called it Joseph's coat of many colours."

In August 1896 Lieutenant Colonel Alderson relieved Vintcent of his military duties. Alderson in his *With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force* writes of Vintcent's contribution during the Rebellion in the following terms:

> "On the 12th a large convoy left Salisbury for Umtali, and among those who went down were, much to my regret, Judge and Mrs. Vintcent. he had indeed earned a rest. ever since the rising commenced the whole responsibility of the administration in Mashonaland had been on his shoulders, and, prior to my arrival in Salisbury, he had had the direction of military matters also. To be

suddenly pitchforked from the position of senior judge into a double-barrelled one of Administrator and Commander-in-Chief would be trying to a Napoleon. "It must have been specially so in a community like that at Salisbury, which was so small that every man almost could make his voice heard, and where it appeared that all were determined to do so. The worst part being that all had different ideas, and each one grumbled if his own plan was not adopted!

"Through the troublesome early days of the rising, when questions of whether this or that patrol could be sent out – questions of life and death for some, in fact – had to be decided; through the times when food was short, and people said the Government (i.e. the Company) ought to feed them; settling this big, or that little, question in a kindly, gentlemanly manner – while he saw every one no matter who, and listened to their story; authorising this or that expenditure – through all this the Judge steered the ship. Personally, I naturally saw a great deal of him; and I know I can safely say that the British South Africa Company may think themselves lucky if all their servants are half as keen about their interests, as conscientious, and as hard working, as Mr. Justice Vintcent."

He was a member of the First Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia constituted under the Order in Council of 1899. He served as Chairman of Committees during the second session of that Council and also served with the Administrator, Mr. W. H. Milton, Captain the Hon. A. Lawley, Colonel Grey and Dr. Sauer, on a Select Committee appointed by the Council to consider the system of native administration in southern Rhodesia. There are two references to Vintcent in the reports of the debates in the Council. On Friday June 9, 1899, in the debate on the Appropriation Ordinance, he rose to a point of order but "The President had already given a ruling on the subject and the honourable member was not in order in arguing from a legal point of view on the subject of the Bill." On Thursday March 22, 1900, in the debate on the Branding of Stock Ordinance he called the attention of the house to the fact that no provision had been made for the recognition of existing brands and it was perfectly clear that such provision was necessary.

From January 8th to 19th, 1903, he attended, with Sir Lewis Michell, a conference on Company Law in Johannesburg. Other delegates included E. P. Solomon, A. E. Balfour and W. E. Hudson from the Transvaal, D. Horwell and W. H. S. Bell from the Orange River Colony, W. T. Buissine, H. Gibson and A. I. McGregor of the Cape Colony and G. A. de R. Labistour and K. H. Hathorn from Natal. On the proposal of E. P. Solomon, Vintcent took the chair at the conference. The conference prepared a draft Company Law and Vintcent used this draft as the basis of an Ordinance for the Incorporation, Regulation and winding up of Companies and other Associations which he drafted and submitted to the administrator in May 1903.

He prepared legal drafts of the Trial by Jury Regulations which became the Juries Ordinance of 1899, the Sanitary Board Regulations of 1895 and the Tariff of Allowances of Witnesses.

In 1906 he was appointed a judge of the High Court of North West Rhodesia and in 1910 was appointed a Knight Bachelor.

As a matter of some interest Vintcent lived for a while in Salisbury's first brick double storey house which became known as The Residency. The house was completed

in June 1895 on Stand 1747, No. 92 Baines Avenue just off Second Street, by E. A. Maund, the well-known geographer and prospector who leased it to the British South Africa Company as a residence for senior officials. Vintcent occupied it as Senior Judge and for a short time as Acting Administrator until about November 1896 under the terms of his appointment which provided for a salary of £1 200 per annum and a suitable residence. Shortly after Vintcent vacated the house prior to going to England on leave, Rhodes lived there for a short while. The house was occupied by Resident Commissioners between 1898 and 1923 and from then until the present time has been a residence for Cabinet Ministers.

He was created a Knight Bachelor in 1910 and attended the investiture with the Duke of Connaught officiating at Government House, Bulawayo, in November 1910.

Vincent Building which was completed in 1932 and houses the General Division of the High Court of Rhodesia, the offices of the Attorney General of Rhodesia and the Master of the High Court, was named after Mr. Justice Vintcent. A plaque on the south-eastern corner of the building bears the following inscription: "On 12th September, 1930, 97 surviving members of the Column which occupied Mashonaland in 1890 assembled at this spot to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of that occupation."

THE END OF A CAREER

Only six days after the death of his colleague Mr. Justice J. P. F. Watermeyer, Sir Joseph Vintcent died at his home in the Suburbs, Bulawayo on Friday the 14th August, 1914, a few days after sustaining a paralytic seizure, at the age of 52 years and 9 months. He was survived by his wife, and his two children Lewis Henry Kavin Vintcent then employed by the firm of Prince, Vintcent of Mossel Bay, and his minor daughter Agnes Fay Vintcent. Lewis was awarded the military Cross in the field during the First World War. He died in Mossel Bay in May 1967 at the age of 74.

In terms of his will his wife was appointed sole heiress of the whole of his estate and effects and executrix of his will.

The funeral took place on Saturday the 15th August, 1914, and the *Bulawayo Chronicle* reported as follows:

> "Rarely has there been such general manifestations of regret and respect on the part of all classes of the community as were shown on the occasion of the funeral of Sir Joseph Vintcent on Saturday morning. The cortege left the residence in the suburbs at about 10.30, and proceeded to St. John's Church. All along the route to the Church and cemetery there were signs betokening the sense of public bereavement. All the Government offices and many private establishments were closed, business in the town being almost entirely suspended; while the flags on the principal buildings were half-masted. The scene at the Church was a memorable one. Outside the big building were congregated hundreds of residents of all nationalities. The service was conducted by the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Mashonaland both at the Church, where the organist, Mr. H. D. Keigwin, played the Dead March in Saul, and the graveside. By the time the cemetery was reached the procession had increased considerably and scarcely fewer than a hundred vehicles followed the flower laden hearse. The pallbearers

were: Colonel Baxendale; Mr. C. F. Granger; Sir Charles Coghlan, M.L.C.; Major Gordon, D.S.O.; Mr. A. H. Ackermann; the Mayor of Bulawayo, Captain W. B. Bucknall, M.L.C.; Mr. P. B. S. Wrey and Mr. E. C. Baxter. The bereaved family were represented as chief mourners by Colonel Heyman, M.L.C. and Mr. J. G. McDonald."

PERSONALITY OF THE MAN

For an insight into Joseph Vintcent's character and personality one can do no better than refer to the numerous tributes to him in August 1914, a number of which are reprinted below.

* In the course of his sermon at St. John's Church on Sunday 16th August 1914, the Rev. Mr. Maynard paid a high tribute to the many admirable qualities which had gone to make Sir Joseph Vintcent respected and admired by all with whom he came in contact. The preacher said that the late Judge was one who was more than respected; he was one who was loved. They admired him for his sympathy and his general kindness and as a true English gentleman. As for himself (the speaker) he would never forget the kindly way Sir Joseph had treated him as a newcomer. It was at times such as these that little kindnesses – a kindly smile, a welcome smile – were appreciated and not soon forgotten. The speaker felt it a great privilege to testify to Sir Joseph's great kindness, and concluded: "May God give him light and peace in Paradise." Proceeding with his address, the preacher said that it behoved them all to remember that, whether great or small, one required the other; all were necessary. And how encouraging it was to remember that there was not a single child of God who had not got his or her proper work to do in the great family to which they all belonged.

* The *Bulawayo Chronicle* of the 20th August had much to say about Mr. Justice Vintcent:

> "There have, we suppose, been few more pathetic incidents in the history of the British judiciary than those which have occurred in Southern Rhodesia in the past week. It was only on Saturday last that we had to record the death of Mr. Justice Watermeyer, which had taken place the previous day in Salisbury. The junior judge had scarcely been buried when Sir Joseph Vintcent was stricken with sudden illness, and now, within a week, he has followed his colleague to the grave. Rhodesia – and this part of the country especially – will mourn the loss of Sir Joseph Vintcent with no uncommon regret. There are probably few people here who remember his father, Mr. L. A. Vintcent, who was for many years a member of the Cape Parliament, but those who do will recognise the old-world courtesy of the son as a heritage from the father. Without any undue pessimism as to the future of the race, it is fair to say that one hopes that the courteous feelings which dominate the type of men represented by Sir Joseph Vintcent will not be allowed to lapse. He represented the best class of English gentleman. This is written in no spirit of undue adulation. It would be totally out of place to write in that sense in reference to anyone, and, indeed, one feels the need of a sense of restraint in writing at all of those who have gone to join the great majority. For twenty years Sir Joseph occupied one of the most distinguished posts in this territory – he was one of the earliest arrivals – and

the people of Rhodesia, and particularly of Matabeleland, would be rather less than human if they did not feel acutely his passing to the Great Beyond. He will live in memory, not only as a sound Judge but, as he was described years ago, as 'the beau ideal of a British gentleman'. And to have realised that ideal is something, which, without any undue pride of race, may be said to be no unworthy epitaph.

"Of Sir Joseph Vintcent's legal work it is not for us to speak, except to say that from the point of view both of litigants and lawyers he was a much respected judge. As in private life, so on the bench courtesy was always his dominating characteristic. Many a junior counsel must have had an unexpressed feeling of gratitude to the kindly Judge who did his best to help him out of a difficulty. But after all it is the man and not the Judge that Rhodesians will miss – and miss sadly. Sir Joseph and Lady Vintcent have occupied a great place in the social life of Bulawayo, and in the passing of Sir Joseph, Rhodesia sustains a great personal loss. The dead Judge was ever a keen Rhodesian, and displayed a persistent faith in the future of the country which many of us would do well to emulate. He was a keen sportsman, and if he had a motto it was 'play the game'. No better motto could be had by any man. One can say no more than that. Rhodesia in general, and Bulawayo in particular, sadly mourn his loss. The sympathies of all will go out to Lady Vintcent and the country at large will join in heartfelt regrets at the passing of one of its earliest and most respected citizens.

"During his long career on the Bench, the late Sir Joseph Vintcent gained a high reputation for the soundness of his judicial knowledge, and for the scrupulous care taken in the preparation of his judgments. But probably he impressed practitioners and others who came into contact with him in his judicial capacity his fine sense of equity; and hardly less by his keen knowledge of human character and his quick appreciation of the issues. No one who frequented the Court with anything like regularity could fail to be struck by the concise way in which he condensed a verbose piece of pleading into plain and simple statement of issues. In respect of criminal trials, Sir Joseph might almost be said without exaggeration to be a friend of the accused. At all events he was one of the type of judge who deems a man innocent until he is proved guilty. Where an accused person lacked the means of obtaining professional assistance, and was prejudiced by ignorance of the rules of procedure, Judge Vintcent was always ready to lend assistance – an attribute, it may be said, which characterised his relations towards those whom he met elsewhere than in the courts of law. On the other hand, Sir Joseph had stern sense of justice, and the habitual evildoer met with his desserts.

"In his social capacity, Sir Joseph was more than liked – he was beloved. He was unchangingly courteous to great and small in the world in which he lived. In the social life of the town he and the lady who is left to mourn a terrible bereavement took a distinguished part, while they were ever to the fore when any charitable cause needed a helping hand. Naturally, as one who was no mean exponent of manly recreations in his youth Sir Joseph took a particular interest

in local sporting organisations, and was rarely absent when there was promise of 'a good game'."

* At the fortnightly meeting of the Bulawayo Town Council towards the end of August, the Mayor, Captain Bucknall M.L.C. made the following remarks:

> "He had no time for little things; he always looked on the big things. He as a man whom no one could help but respect and love. Apart from his work on the bench they all knew the amount of time and trouble he had spent in the public and social life of the town. The speaker felt they had lost a very useful citizen; he might say the best citizen they ever had. Sir Joseph Vintcent was a man who had his heart in Rhodesia; he had given the very best years of his life to the country, and though he had many opportunities to go elsewhere he had elected to remain in Rhodesia."

* The following appreciation written by a member of the side bar and published in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* reveals the esteem in which the Judge was held by members of the legal profession:

> "It is always difficult in giving public expression to an appreciation of one who held a high position, to avoid an appearance of merely formal eulogy. Moreover, in the case of Sir Joseph Vintcent one is conscious that the man was averse to public praise or circumstantial approbation. He was careful that in his Court there should be a minimum of ceremony, while there was no lack of dignity in its procedure. It was his maxim that the majesty of the law required no conventional trappings to lend it support, but that courtesy and patience were the true ornaments befitting the judicial station. Unless one is in the legal profession it is difficult to realise how valuable in the interests of justice are these judicial virtues. Sir Joseph was unfailing in his consideration of both lawyers and laymen who appeared before him. He reposed a confidence in the former, as officers of the Court, which undoubtedly engendered a deep sense of professional responsibility; and the public, whether as witnesses or as jurymen will long remember his regard for their daily concerns, so important to themselves, but so often of no account to judges and magistrates. Jurymen in particular will recall his unfailing rule to arrange the calendar expressly, so far as possible, to relieve them of their labours at the earliest moment. To the condemned man he meted out his reward with no hesitating hand, but he was never deaf to an appeal for mercy, exercising that prerogative of all judges with true discrimination, and, with a grace which fittingly became the act.
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> "During the course of the drawn-out tedium of civil work of a technical and involved nature, his patience was remarkable, a quality according to the present Lord Chief Justice of England profoundly valuable in the high judicial officer.
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> "In private life Sir Joseph was no less courteous than on the Bench; but in private life he was able to add to that courtesy a remarkable charm of manner, and to express the true human kindliness of his disposition in a way which will have endeared his memory to all who knew him. As a younger man he had taken an active interest, and indeed had excelled in all manly sport. He had a catholic taste in literature, and in temperament he was essentially refined. It is easy to understand then how well he stood with his fellow men, and how great

a respect and admiration he earned from them. Indeed in himself he seemed to represent the broad mind of the South African, moulded and polished by the culture of the best of English education; and he stood an example, in this way, before the too narrow Home-born man and too self-satisfied colonial embodying the best of the social qualities of each, with none of their shortcomings."

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Henry Borrow: Pioneer and Hero

by D. Hartridge

Henry John Borrow was born on 17th March, 1865, probably in Lanivet, Cornwall. His family were well off and he attended a good public school, Sherborne, his background shaping him into a decided, though not fanatical, snob.

Early in 1882 he emigrated to South Africa, accompanied by the Rev. Borrow who left him working for a Mr. Hilton Barber on an ostrich farm near Cradock. He came under the influence of a confident young man, Charley Wallis, and they started running their own farm, but this did not satisfy him for long, for he had left home to find adventure and make a fortune. Besides, his partner was not pulling his weight and, as was often to happen, he was left with the work. By October 1884 he was tired of being imposed upon. "How galling to be corrected etc. by a fellow ones own age . . . I'm heartily sick of him and as there is a new police force to be raised I've sent my name in."[1] He joined the Second Mounted Rifles (Carrington's Horse) before the end of 1884 and next year took part in the expedition into Bechuanaland under Major-General Sir Charles Warren.*

Little is known of Borrow at this time except that he became adept at riding and shooting. "He was a splendid horseman . . . and one of the very best shots in a country where good shots abound . . ." (Wills and Collingridge).[2]

He left the Mounted Rifles after a year with the rank of Sergeant and joined the Bechuanaland Border Police as a Lance-Corporal. For Wallis, his old mentor, he now felt only contempt and he pursued him by letter through South Africa, demanding the return of money and goods left on the farm. Borrow's new heroes were the Q.M.S., Frank Johnson, and an American, Maurice Heany. When he heard them speak of the fortunes to be made in the goldfields he became restless again: ". . . not that I have the fever or anything of that sort but it appears to me a shame to throw away golden opportunities for the sake of £7 per month".[3] It was a turning-point in his life. The B.B.P. would grant him a farm at the end of his service contract but, on the other hand, his was an unrewarding job and a farm would not bring him riches. He wrote: ". . . the worst of being a sober man is you have to do duty for about three. I am meditating getting out of the whole thing by getting a week's leave and clearing off in to the Transvaal . . ."[4]

It was the boldest plan of all which finally won him over. Obtaining their discharges from the Police, Johnson, Heany and Borrow, with Ted Burnett and Jack Spreckley, formed the Pioneer Party of the Northern Gold Fields Exploration Syndicate, "rather a majestic title is it not?".[5] and set off to try their luck as concession hunters. They were certain of success: ". . . that there's gold there is a well *authenticated fact*".[6]

With Khama in Bechuanaland they were indeed successful. Borrow wrote home proudly on 15th April, 1887: "We have just had a most satisfactory interview with

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* The National Archives does not possess Borrow's letters for this period, and the information comes from an article in the *Rhodesia Herald*, Jack Spreckley being acknowledged as the source. Wills and Collingridge have obviously used the same source.

Capt. Henry J. Borrow

Khama who has given us all that our hearts desired . . . i.e. the prospecting rights to the whole of his country and the right to pick out 1 or more blocks of 100 miles square to dig for gold, minerals and precious stones."[7] The agreement as signed was indeed as generous. However, this effort was almost incidental. The real prize was a concession from Lobengula and they pushed on immediately to Bulawayo, arriving there on 19th May, 1887, before Wood, Francis and Chapman or Rudd's party or Maund.

Borrow's Bulawayo letters are full of other people's opinions and stories. He writes at length on the customs of the Matabele and the habits of the King, but his comments on the white community are the most valuable: ". . . the natives grow excellent rice in Mashonaland, sent down in neatly woven bags, any amount of local corn and mealies, tobacco, potatoes, sweet potatoes, ground nuts etc. etc. – All the white people on the station eschew altogether bread & coffee, & simply live on the things aforementioned, meat being very cheap, they have two meals a day one at 10 a.m. & another just before dusk, the interim being filled up with local beer, of which they drink enormous quantities . . ."[8] Borrow met and was impressed by Selous, who was not only a great hunter but also a public school man — Rugby, and van Rooyen who, though not public school, was "rather better" than the former as a hunter.[9]

They sat in the sun with Lobengula and his indunas and were duly exasperated by Matabele delaying tactics. Why wouldn't the old blighter sign away his wealth? Suddenly Lobengula's attitude changed and he gave them, as they thought, permission to prospect in the Mazoe basin. Borrow and Heany remained in "Bug Villa",[10] rather bored by now, while the others departed for Mashonaland.

Lobengula repudiated the "concession". One gains the impression that neither Borrows' letters nor Johnson's book reveal the full story of the Mazoe expedition. Burnett was perhaps at fault in his handling of the guides and the adventurers seem to have exceeded the terms of the King's permission: at any rate, they faced mutiny and were lucky to escape with their lives. The mutiny was quelled by "starving (the guides) into submission".[11] Back in Bulawayo, Johnson had to pay Lobengula £100 to secure the party's safe departure.

Meanwhile, Heany and Borrow had made a trip back to Mangwato to make sure of their concession. Khama was thinking of revoking it but they managed to smooth things over with a few cosy chats and the gift of a barrel-organ. Borrow was inclined to blame the Rev. James Hepburn: ". . . it appears to me that it [the agreement] has been purposely misrepresented by the missionary there . . ."[12] It may be remarked that Borrow was never a good judge of character or motive. His first impulse, in itself a laudable one, was usually to like and admire an acquaintance. He would praise someone and claim them as allies, but as soon as their interests diverged from his he would be very hurt and would denigrate them bitterly. This happened with Wood, with Gifford and with Colquhoun and, to some extent, with Rhodes. With the Hepburns, the pattern was merely reversed. Eventually he grew fond of them and found them very useful in his dealings with Khama. To show his gratitude he asked his parents to send them a parcel of books from England. Mrs. Hepburn became his confidant and introduced him to the small number of girls who ventured into the area: ". . . whole batch of the fair sex has been up here . . . you must excuse anything in this letter, as I am naturally susceptible & this kind of thing affects me".[13]

The concession secured, Johnson made the first of several trips overseas to look for backers. Heany and Borrow were left behind again but presently the good news filtered back to them. The Bechuanaland Exploration Company had been floated. Lord Gifford, V.C., and George Cawston were providing the finance, Johnson was managing director and Heany and Borrow were local superintendents.

Borrow was tickled pink, and from this time on he never ceased from counting up his paper wealth – so many shares at such and such and stock and equipment worth so much, plus a salary – not gloatingly but rather with an incredulous "Can it really be me?" Gifford was an important asset: it was good to have a Lord on the Board. Borrow wrote to ask his father to get in touch with Gifford: he had an optimistic idea of the old man's credit, for 18 months before he had been requiring him to "bring influence to bear on Col. Carrington"[14] and later he was to urge him to visit Rhodes.[15] From Gifford came a condescending testimonial: "I think yr son is a most valuable true man."[16]

Borrow got down to work again, acting as local blacksmith, carpenter and barber, and as odd-job-man for Khama, as well as applying himself to learning the local language. When the Company's prospectors arrived he placed them throughout the country and then made a tour of inspection. He tried to learn from the experts, especially from the Company's geologist, Harman.

Other projects were in the offing: a hunter named Erickson was organising a hunting expedition to the hinterland of Mossamedes, Angola, and in return for shares in the Company was prepared to bring in Johnson, Heany and Borrow on any finds; and Johnson had obtained permission from the Compagnia de Mocambique for Selous to prospect in the Mazoe basin. The future was rosy.

There was, however, one small cloud on the horizon. In November 1887 Wood, Francis and Chapman had received a concession from Lobengula for the area between the Shashi and Macloutsie rivers, an area that Johnson and his friends considered to be Khama's, and thus theirs. The miserable stretch of ground now assumed a key importance and the "Disputed Territory", as it came to be called, was deemed to contain fabulous wealth. Neither Lobengula nor Khama were inclined to make an issue of the affair and Borrow felt quite safe in his conviction that right would prevail and that the matter would be settled in their favour, even when Lieutenant Frank Lochner, instructed by the Administrator of Bechuanaland, warned them off prospecting in the area. The claim of Wood, Francis and Chapman was preposterous, as indeed were various other claims to have succeeded with Lobengula where his Syndicate had failed – Maund and even Rudd were chancers. And Rhodes's formation of the British South Africa Company would surely advance the interests of Johnson, Heany and Borrow.

Then the blow came. Gifford and Cawston blithely agreed to become directors of the B.S.A. Company and no longer saw why they should press for the "Disputed Territory". John made a bid to salvage something for himself and the men on the spot, presenting to Rhodes an optimistic plan for the amalgamation of the two companies, but Gifford and Cawston were not interested. Cried Borrow: ". . . my own private opinion is that Gifford and Cawston should be prosecuted for fraudulent breach of trust"[17] and he called their action "the most barefaced piece of swindling I ever heard of"[18] and he swore that "if they were a little younger I for one should have the greatest

Pioneer Corps Officers
The four men seated in chairs are (left to right) Ted Burnett, Heany, Johnson and Selous. Borrow is in the back row, fourth from the right.
(National Archives)

pleasure in obliging them for a few minutes".[19] Heany was less apoplectic: "I cannot understand this Company 'not being in it' coming as a surprise to J. Even at this distance I expected it."[20]

Borrow wrote a long letter to his father, asking his advice, but events ran faster than the mails. Selous wrote to say he had gathered concessions galore from chiefs in Manicaland. Erickson was to be given a wagonload of equipment. Lochner was to make a journey to the Zambezi to win concessions from Lewanika and other chiefs, and Borrow was to go with him. At the last moment, a mysterious telegram came from the B.S.A. Company: "Do not think of going with Lochner much better business on hand."[21] Johnson had made an agreement with Rhodes to equip and lead a Pioneer Corps into Mashonaland and Borrow must come along too. But first, he made a hurried journey to Bulawayo as a guide to the Queen's Messengers, Captain Ferguson and Surgeon-Major Melladew of the Royal Horse Guards, with a message for Lobengula. All this in December 1889 and January 1890. His father's reply when it came was irrelevant.

Harry Borrow became Adjutant of the Corps, with the rank of Lieutenant. Naturally, the job involved a great deal of work. He was only 25 years of age: how did he fare as an officer? "He took an interest in all of us and joined in our sport", says Adrian

Darter, a trooper in 'A' Troop.[22] But Johnson gives a story to illustrate his youth and inexperience: ". . . I told Borrow to send a couple of despatch riders with a note to Selous telling him to come to Camp Cecil and report. Borrow, using one of the printed memorandum forms 'From Adjutant', wrote in the regular official way to Captain Selous:

> Intelligence Officer. – on receipt of this you will come in at once to Camp Cecil, and report to me. By order.
>
> Henry J. Borrow, Lieutenant and Adjutant."[23]

The great Selous, unused to military conventions, was incensed and refused to budge. Johnson had to use all his tact to persuade him that the young Lieutenant was not being insolent.

Borrow's own comment on the life was: "I find the discipline very irksome . . ."[24] He preferred to work up in front of the column, supervising the road-gang and interpreting. But he was proud of his position and of the venture. "This Company will yet be the biggest thing the world has ever seen."[25] A large claim. "We are certainly one of the greatest & finest expeditions that has ever been raised."[26] He was also aware, however, that the whole business was a little irregular and on their being gazetted as soldiers he crowed: ". . . we shall be highly respectable filibusters at any rate".[27] Borrow's fond mother seized upon his commission and he had to explain: ". . . let me beg of you *not* to address me as Captain a title to which I have no right whatsoever & even supposing I had the best in the world should be very sorry to make use of. I aspire to neither the title nor sword. I am not a soldier . . ."[28]

There is no doubt that his letters often disgorged, half digested, the opinions of the camp. In one letter he was saying: ". . . there will very probably be a row with the Matabeles . . . of course this is very confidential as there is sure to be a certain amount of false sympathy in England about any locals".[29] A few weeks later a row was "very improbable I think"[30] – this after several days in an atmosphere of euphoria with Rhodes and Johnson. However, it is good to see that, referring to the obscure origins of Zimbabwe, he found "most of the theories are absurd".[31] He, at least, did not believe it to have been built by the Phoenicians.

As the column neared its destination and the possibility of a Matabele attack faded, Borrow indulged in his usual luxury of adding up his paper wealth – shares, oxen, wagons, provisions and soon-to-be-pegged claims. He boasted of the monopoly that the firm of Johnson, Heany and Borrow would have in Mashonaland. The profit from the journey alone would be £18,000.[32] But Mashonaland was an attractive country in its own right, if only in contrast to Bechuanaland. Wrote Borrow from the Umfuli River: "We are all very much pleased with the country the climate is simply superb . . . there are splendid long open valleys here that one could plough to any extent . . . every little hollow has a small stream running down it."[33] So attractive was the place that: "This will really be a fine & glorious place to settle down and make one's home. Heany & myself fully intend to have a nice place & to make ourselves comfortable."[34]

Within a day of the raising of the flag at Fort Salisbury, Johnson, Burnett and Borrow had sped away to a choice little spot on the Umfuli River, near Hartley Hills, to peg their first claims on the new Rand. Such haste was illegal as the country had not yet been opened for civilian occupation. "Here we are," exulted Borrow, "on the great

Mashonaland Gold fields & the fields on which Mauch stood as one stupefied at their immensity & beauty, this is the place that has been talked about written about & thought about by all S. Africa, we have pegged off ground enough for ½ doz. companies".[35] Johnson has a little anecdote.[36] As Burnett and Borrow were about to drive in the first peg, he cried, "Stop!" and produced a bottle of champagne which he had saved to launch their new claims. But as he swung back the bottle it was their turn to cry, "Stop!" and after discussion they drank the contents before breaking it. A deviation which doubtless explains why the fields did not live up to expectations.

Borrow made many other journeys to examine ancient workings and to peg further hopeful claims. The American, "Curio" Brown, later a Mayor of Salisbury, gives us a glimpse of him on the Mondetonga River, near Hartley Hills, in about October: "One evening Messrs Borrow and Stevenson came along with a party of natives who were taking them out to show them some old workings. They were much astonished as finding me there with no white partner, having flattered themselves that they were further afield than any prospector had yet been. They assumed a mysterious air concerning their destination, as gold-seekers usually do when they think they have a rich find: hence I asked them no leading questions. They camped just across the river from me, and the next morning took their course toward the Umsweswi River."[37]

Johnson and company established their headquarters at "The Ranche", where Ranche House College, Salisbury, stands today. In October 1890 it consisted of "an enormous store made entirely of wagon sails & a few marquee tents for an office, mess tents & tents to sleep in".[38] The firm expanded rapidly – much too rapidly – grabbing as many barely viable claims as it could lay its hands on and buying up vast tracts of land at 8d. an acre. In the process it fell foul of the B.S.A. Company's senior official, Archibald Ross Colquhoun. Colquhoun was eventually edged out, but as early as December 1890 Borrow was giving a rather egocentric forecast of his eclipse: ". . . we have found out lately that Colquhoun was not to be trusted he pretended to be most friendly to us & at the same time was writing to Rhodes requesting him to authorize him (Colquhoun) to enact special legislation with regard to our firm saying that we were becoming altogether too powerful in the country! This was the signal for his downfall as Rhodes said he shewed what a miserably weak man he must be."[39]

Johnson was soon off again, with Jameson, to find a practicable East Coast route and then Heany began work on a road to the Pungwe River, while Borrow went as far south as the Sebakwe and Bembesi rivers to search for a rumoured goldfield. The farm Borrowdale was planted with potatoes and other vegetables and crops, and though the produce was badly damaged by insects, the "experts", whoever they were, expressed the opinion that this was a phenomenon confined to the first season only.[40] In the meantime, Erickson was said to be doing well on the Okovango River in Angola. Yet there were no concrete results and the firm of Johnson, Heany and Borrow, spending recklessly, was in trouble. The projects were taking too long to mature and heavy rains held up equipment, as well as food supplies and mails. Borrow did not realise the danger: apparently he was running his projects with reasonable efficiency: at any rate, Johnson does not blame him, saying only that "Heany was drawing fast on our small capital."[41]

Borrow, out of Salisbury, heard of the proposed reconstruction of the firm through

The Ranch, July 1892. The artist, Percy Nunn, died with Borrow.
(National Archives)

Heany, and Heany agreed for him to the proposals. The reconstructed firm was known as Frank Johnson and Company, and Rhodes, providing new capital, as chairman and could now keep tabs on the development of Mashonaland. Johnson was managing director. Rudd was on the Board and Heany and Borrow were local managers, represented on the Board in Cape Town by Rhodes men. Johnson, Heany and Borrow had to pay out of their own pockets for Erickson and were free to have other interests in Mashonaland, provided that these did not clash with those of Rhodes.

Borrow was not particularly depressed. The country still had great potential. By June 1891 the rivers had fallen and, as he puts it, "the wagons come rolling in like mad".[42] He was too busy to worry: ". . . we are again pushing on with development work & all this means no end of writing & talking for me the former I do by night the latter by day .. . ."[43] Every newcomer to Salisbury went to see him. Anyway, before the full effect of the squeeze could be felt there was news of fighting in Manicaland and a chance for adventure. Borrow tore down to Umtali in the hope that he might "have a fling-in".[44] "like a good fellow".[45] as Selous puts it: he arrived too late (Selous was also making his way towards the trouble when his leisurely party was overtaken by Borrow, riding alone.)

On his return to Salisbury, Borrow had to face a series of experts. McWiliams, then Perkins, then Rolker, all coming up to pass judgement on the country. McWilliams, the first, who came up in May 1891, was not too disheartening: the man who struck fear into the hearts of the settlers and seems to have effectively killed interest in the country was Perkins, who journeyed up with Lord Randolph Churchill in August. Borrow gave them the full treatment. He found that Perkins was a pleasant chap, but a forthright one: ". . . the experts have been rather rough on the country after having

. . . only seen a very small portion of it . . ."[46] A familiar plaint! There was something to be made from the visitors: "We have kept Lord Randy quiet by putting him into a Syndicate up here of which he has given me full charge."[47] But the fact remained that Perkins's best advice to Borrow was to get out.[48] By now Borrow was drawing on his capital for living expenses, but he was not going to give in. As ever, he was working exceedingly hard: "Today is Sunday but it makes very little difference – we cannot afford to stop the mill."[49] He also put more effort into developing Borrowdale and had a dam constructed. He served on the Salisbury Sanitary Board as a nominee of the B.S.A. Company. He became an officer in the local volunteer force. And from time to time his outrageous optimism would return and he would vaunt Alice Mine, in which he had an interest, or one of Heany's mines in Manicaland, or the mines round Fort Victoria.

He was never, of course, really hard up. His interest in the turf having been aroused by a win at Salisbury's pioneer race meeting on Boxing Day, 1891, he was able to justify importing race-horses from South Africa at a cost of £523. They won £499 for him on their first appearance. But any expectations of making a quick fortune had been dashed. He composed a philosophical letter to his father: "We are all gamblers here . . . We [three] have played not for competency but for a big fortune. Well! The ace turned up at the wrong time & beat us . . . I suppose I ought to feel sorry for myself but really I can't, the game was quite worth the candle."[50] He asked for advice on whether to carry on hopefully or to return to Britain to study mining engineering. Although later called "a deep student of mining and all that went with it"[51] he himself realised that his knowledge, particularly his theoretical knowledge, was deficient. Several times he wrote to advise his brother Frank to obtain a qualification of some sort. For the present he quizzed McWilliams and Perkins, as he had Harman in Bechuanaland, and commenced a study of trigonometry.

Borrow believed that he owed Rhodes a moral obligation to stay in the country for at least a couple of years. He could not be spared by the company. Heany was in Manicaland and, besides, was a notorious tippler. As Darter says: ". . . we were wont to say of the firm of Johnson, Heaney [*sic*] & Borrow, that Heaney did the thinking, Johnson the taking and Borrow the work".[52] It was only after an accident in the latter part of 1892 that Borrow was released by his firm and by his conscience to make a trip home.

By 1892 Borrow had matured. He no longer hero-worshipped Heany or Johnson, although perhaps the glamorous Jameson had partially taken their place. He even had his doubts about Rhodes: "(Rudd) takes more interest in the Company than Rhodes does I think. Rhodes is such a peculiar man one never knows what he really thinks."[53] Now that he had learnt self-sufficiency he was on the way to becoming our idea of a clean-limbed young Victorian pioneer. Certainly he aspired to a lofty imperialist ideal: "one has one's business out here," he wrote, "ones interests, the very essence of one's life & one feels that one is not quite wasting ones existence, that one is after all trying to open up new countries, to prepare the way for ones countrymen, to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before . . . and . . . we in these out of the way parts . . . have a certain honour amongst us with the majority our word is our bond . . ."[54] Some types of idealist he did not appreciate: ". . . why don't people stay in England

if they want to do good, there must be plenty of savages in the east end. I shld never give a sixpence to any missionary society. I might give the Salvation Army a shew if I made a pile."[55] But this was the cant of the day.

In spite of his growing assurance, Borrow was still ill at ease with women. He had always had a schoolboy's attitude towards the fairer sex: witness his coyness at Mangwato when Mrs. Hepburn tried a bit of matchmaking. From "The Ranche" he remarked: ". . . we have none of the refining influence of women none of the good influence given by the associations of home"[56] and made this resolution: "Two things to be done in England. Lessons in elocution and dancing!"[57] The lessons in elocution were necessary to give him more authority when speaking in public: ". . . I was going to make a telling speech thought of it all last night in bed; got on my hind legs today . . . began the 'Gentlemen' part of the business splendidly . . . suddenly it occured to me that I was making an awful ass of myself, the rest of my speech as suddenly vanished . . ."[58] Socially he tended to be inhibited and he found it difficult to relax and enter into the spirit of an exuberant occasion: ". . . they are going to have idiotic tug-of-war business in which I have to perform deeds of strength greatly to my disgust for I hate these kinds of amusement".[59] Yet his tendency to shyness, coupled with obvious attributes, could be endearing: "He stood over 6 feet and was finely built and very handsome, modest, unconscious of his gifts . . ." (Wills and Collingridge).[60] "He had a fine appearance and carried with it a charming manner. He gained the hearts of all of us."[61] (Darter).

By 1892 Borrow had been away from home for ten years and he became increasingly homesick. His letters, once ended with a perfunctory "Yr. affectionate son, Harry" would now close "With heaps of love, I am. Yr. loving son, Harry."[62] (Such sentimentality is not rare amongst hardy adventurers writing home after a long absence.) He had no wish to quit Rhodesia permanently, despite Perkins' advice, but a trip home was due. There is evidence that misunderstandings with his family were arising ". . . two letters I received from Constance . . . [here a line has been cut out] . . . cannot think how grieved I was to receive for that we who are thousands of miles apart & have been separated for over ten years is too sad [?] . . . never . . . did I intend my letter to convey the impression that I consider my sisters devoid of intellect or that they led aimless or useless lives . . ."[63] His accident, of which no details are known,[64] precipitated his departure, and in January 1893 he sailed to England on the *Scot*. His original plan of visiting Erickson in Damaraland had to be abandoned.

That Borrow succeeded in his aim of impressing his family with his sincerity and enthusiasm is evidenced by the fact that both of his sisters later came out to Rhodesia and one, Beatrice, married his friend Jack Spreckley. But he had another purpose in going overseas, and in this he was also successful. For some time he had felt that his fortunes were too closely tied to Johnson and his sometimes unreliable business manoeuvres. In August 1892 he wrote home with sarcastic comments on one of his boss's projects, concluding: "Johnson is a wonderful man. I wired him that I expected . . . to spend my wet season in prison at Salisbury for fraudulent insolvency."[65] He now hoped to spread his interests. Whilst overseas, he made arrangements with a London firm, Hirsch and Company, bringing out "young Hirsch" with him to Rhodesia, along with another disciple, Harold Money, who was to die with him at Shangani. He also

visited general Owen Williams, whose son had come out with Lord Randolph, and made various other contacts.

Before he left Britain he was involved in a coaching accident, for which he was partly responsible, and his mother was seriously hurt. He himself sustained injuries and was still not fully recovered when he returned to Salisbury, via Cape Town, in mid-1893. Mashonaland seemed happier than it had been: "I find everything here pretty promising & people for the most part very hopeful . . ."[66] But the change may have been within himself. He told his parents about a certain girl whom he had met in Mashonaland, Lucy Drake, and they decided that he must be in love. They made enquiries about her, obtaining the opinion of an unprejudiced observer. Wrote Borrow to his mother: "I asked [Money] if he had an injunction from you and B. to describe faithfully the young lady, he told me he had . . . He thinks she is quiet. I fancy she must have had toothache or something of the sort perhaps been a little sadly for I should hardly describe her as quiet . . . [we are] not very serious . . . I am not likely either to get married or to die broken hearted."[67] Shortly afterwards he became engaged to her. He had a brick homestead built overlooking the dam at Borrowdale.[68] Lucy had come to Salisbury in 1892 with her sister, Ella Caldecott, the wife of Alfred Caldecott, the Public Prosecutor.

It soon became apparent that there would be a war with the Matabele. Though willing to fight, Borrow was not so enthusiastic as before, and now it would be hard to imagine him penning the quotation which opened this article. He pondered: "Tomorrow we leave for what I look upon as a somewhat risky enterprise viz the subjection of the Matabele. I think as we probably all do that we shall be entirely successful still I cannot help thinking that a great number of us will in all probability never return. I have not made a will but I have left a note leaving, with a few exceptions, all my personal effects to father. I estimate my estate as being worth about £17,000 . . ."[69] The note was recognised as a valid testament. In fact, he left only £6,420. He did not mention it in his letter, but £3,000, in the form of Geldenhuys shares, went to Lucy Drake: his father received £2,260. Incidentally, when the Rev. Borrow died in 1905, he was worth £34,000.

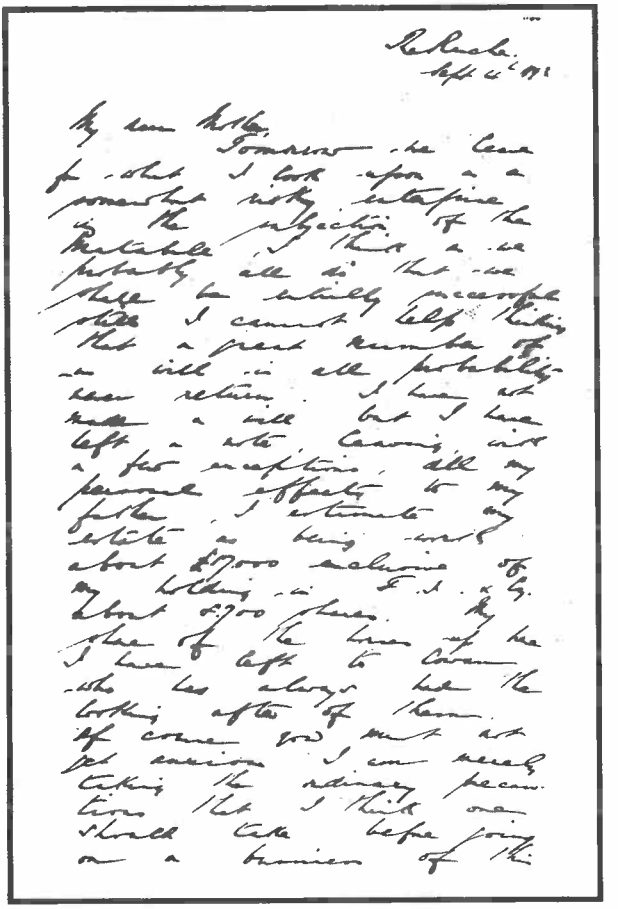
Harry Borrow was chosen to lead "B" Troop, Heany and Spreckley taking charge of the other Salisbury troops with Forbes, of course, in overall command. Forbes had originally chosen Heany, "Skipper" Hoste and Arthur Eyre but the latter two dropped out and their younger replacements were more popular with the men. Of Borrow, Trooper Gooding, one of the last to return from the Allan Wilson patrol, writes: "[He] always took his share of any work that had to be done, no matter how hard. He knew every man in his troop and we all knew and loved him."[70] Borrow gathered round him a crack band of "about 20 of his picked men . . . the finest and fittest in the Colony".[71] These were the men who were to die with him.

In September he set to work with typical conscientiousness, training his men rigorously and writing minute descriptions of everything that happened for the *Times* (they published not a word of it). He was delighted to find a good proportion of public school chaps in his mess.

Throughout the campaign he is mentioned frequently: combing the hills around the Shangani River before the Column's crossing; reconnoitring after the first battle;

hunting vainly for his friend Williams who had become separated from a scouting party; and entering Bulawayo at the head of the advance guard a day before the others. But his main exploit was at the Battle of Bembesi. Before the start of the engagement the horses had been grazing some distance away from the laager and they were driven up to the wagons when the battle was at its height. The grooms, running forward to turn them in, caused them to stampede. "Rushing to the centre of the laager [Borrow] sprang upon one of the few horses which happened to be within the lines, and galloped off to rescue the others, thus exposed himself to a heavy fire at close quarters."[72] Sir John Willoughby and Trooper Neale rushed forward with him and the horses were turned within a hundred yards of the enemy. The Matabele, firing high, did not manage to kill anyone.

Borrow remained in Bulawayo when Forbes and 300 men made a first attempt to follow Lobengula. He did not expect to be involved in any further fighting: ". . . we shall very soon be able to return to Salisbury . . . I shall probably he here for at least



A letter written by Borrow to his mother three months before his death. It is tempting to read a premonition into this letter.

(National Archives)

two weeks after the disbandment of the corps as I want to arrange for the purchase of farms, claims & on behalf of Hirsch & Co. I expect to make some money out of them."[73] But Forbes, his men short of food and demoralised, was forced to turn back from the Bubi River. Borrow was amongst those sent to reinforce him at Shiloh and, with his crack horsemen, he was amongst the 180 men who pushed on towards the Shangani on the spoor of the King's wagon.

On the night of 3–4th December, Allan Wilson was trying to locate Lobengula. Three men returned across the Shangani from the patrol to ask for reinforcements. Borrow and his men, with Forbes and a "galloping Maxim", were to have made an attack on Wilson's return, but instead they were despatched to "make him safe" – without Maxim.[74] The contemporary historian Marshall Hole makes this comment: "To convert [Wilson's] patrol into a striking force far larger reinforcements were demanded. To increase his strength by a small party was to risk additional men without serving any good purpose and to tempt Wilson . . . to brave the overwhelming odds against him and make a splendid but hopeless dash to seize the person of the chief."[75]

It is doubtful if Borrow fully realised the danger of the situation. Forbes says: "Just before Captain Barrow started he asked me if it was necessary for his men to take their full 100 rounds of ammunition, as it was heavy for the horses, and I told him to . . ."[76] At any rate, Borrow did not apparently envisage a stand against the Matabele. He left at 12.30 a.m.

He joined Wilson well before dawn. Burnham, one of the three survivors, reconstructs a conversation between the officers. Wilson asked them what they thought would be the best move. "Kirton, with a bitter smile, said, 'There is no best move.'

"Fitzgerald said, 'We are in a hell of a fix. There is only one thing to do – cut our way out.'

"Judd said, 'This is the end.'

"Borrow said, 'We came in through a big regiment. Let's do as Fitzgerald says, though none of us will ever get through.'"[77] But Wilson, brave and stupid, overruled them and committed his men to an attack on Lobengula's scherm and to their deaths. Two horses were killed in the fight and it was unthinkable that the mounted men should desert their unmounted comrades. They must face the end together.

Three men, however, did escape. Burnham, Ingram and Gooding were sent back for reinforcements,* and the latter gives us this last sight of Borrow: "When he asked if I would [return] . . . he spoke as though sorry to have to ask a fellow to go . . ."[78]

The battle dragged on for several hours so that, according to one witness, "the people who had died in the morning had already blown up in the hot sun by the time the battle was over".[79] Borrow's last hours on earth were a ghastly nightmare. Reports vary, but it is generally agreed that the horses were tied in a ring and as they fell were pulled together to afford protection for the men. There are descriptions of the wounded loading guns for the able-bodied, and of the able-bodied tearing up bandages for the wounded. Some say that they cheered and sang and some that they called out piteously for mercy. We do not know, of course, how Borrow died. Perhaps it was with a prayer on his lips. "They stood up and covered their eyes with their hands."[80] Perhaps he took

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* I say "sent back" although it has been suggested that the three men were deserters.

his own life: "Some of the white men shot themselves with their revolvers."[81] Or perhaps he was the tall man who, as legend has it, fought alone at the end; Frank Johnson liked to think so: ". . . only one man was left standing, a man taller than the rest, who with an empty rifle, took off his hat and sang a song – obviously 'God Save the Queen' – until he also fell. That was my friend, Harry Borrow."[82*] A more sensitive person might have wished for him to have died early, one of the eight who were found with bullet holes through their skulls. But all we can be sure of is that on 4th December, 1893, Henry John Borrow, in his twenty-ninth year, died a pointless death.

He had found adventure, made a moderate fortune and now he was a hero. Rhodesia felt the loss: ". . . no man in the country had brighter prospects than he . . ."[83] runs the official obituary, and it is difficult not to agree. Johnson writes pompously: ". . . of one thing I am sure: in claiming the life of Harry Borrow, [this fight on the Shangani] deprived the country of one who would undoubtedly have played a great and leading part in its development".[84] Jack Spreckley cries from the heart: "I never knew a man better, and never thought I could feel a loss as I do his."[85] And finally, there is Gooding's tribute: "Could I hear that Borrow had managed to get away, I would be better pleased than at any other conceivable news."[86]

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BO 11 (National Archives Hst. MSS.). Henry John Borrow.
MISC/CA 6 (National Archives Hst. MSS.). Mrs. Ella Wood Caldecott.
JO 3 (National Archives Hst. MSS.). Sir Frank William Frederick Johnson.
JO 4 (National Archives Hst. MSS.) Frank Johnson and Company.
WI 8 (National Archives Hst. MSS.). R. Foster Windram.

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* At various times the last man to die has been tentatively named as Jack, Tom Watson, Harry Greenfield or Borrow. There is no conclusive evidence favouring any one of them.

NOTES

The folio numbers refer to the number of the page in BO 11/1/1. W & C stands for Wills and Collingridge.

1. f. 182–3
2. W & C, p. 244
3. f. 238
4. f. 248–9
5. f. 276
6. f. 284
7. f. 296–7
8. f. 307–8
9. f. 309
10. f. 372
11. f. 376
12. f. 326
13. f. 345
14. f. 265
15. f. 921
16. f. 546
17. f. 596
18. f.597
19. f. 600
20. f. 630
21. f. 650
22. Darter, p. 33–4
23. Johnson, p. 131
24. f. 745
25. f. 643
26. f. 732
27. f. 699
28. f. 823
29. f. 658
30. f. 675
31. f. 762
32. f. 768
33. f. 774–5
34. f. 776
35. f. 784–5
36. Johnson, p. 154–5
37. Brown, p. 146
38. f. 794
39. f. 845
40. f. 865
41. Johnson, p. 196
42. f. 935
43. f. 936
44. f. 927
45. Selous, p. 407
46. f. 970
47. f. 971
48. f. 979
49. f. 1110
50. f. 1009–10
51. W & C, p. 244
52. Darter, p. 33
53. f. 1095
54. f. 118–19
55. f. 1097
56. f. 1119
57. f. 923
58. f. 923
59. f. 1179
60. W & C, p. 244
61. Darter, p. 33
62. f. 1100
63. f. 1106
64. *Times*, 15th Jan., 1894, p. 6, col. 6
65. f. 1106
66. f. 1155
67. f. 1157–8
68. Tanser, p. 239
69. f. 1166
70. *Times*, 8th Feb. 1894, p. 3, col. 6
71. *Times*, 15th Jan., 1894, p. 6, col. 6
72. W & C, p. 244
73. f. 1194
74. W & C, p. 158–63
75. Hole, p. 321
76. W & C, p. 162
77. Burnham, P. 181
78. *Times*, 8th Feb. 1894, p. 3, col. 6
79. WI 8/1/3, Ginyalitsha, p. 20
80. WI 8/1/3. Siatcha, p. 20
81. WI 8/1/3, Ginyalitsha, p. 20
82. Johnson, p. 18
83. W & C, p. 244–5
84. Johnson, p. 18
85. *Herald*, 9th Feb., 1894, p. 3, col. 3
86. *Times*, 8th Feb., 1894, p. 3, col. 6

(First published in *Rhodesiana* No. 18, 1968)

John Jacobs: A Peculating Treasure Seeker

by J. G. Storry

The little known to us of the early life of the Hottentot, John Jacobs, comes from a statement he made to an Immigration Officer in August 1917.[1] In it he said that he was born in the Eastern Province of Cape Colony in 1842 and educated at Loveday College. At the age of twenty he entered the service of the London Missionary Society as a teacher and taught for twenty-one months at Hankey, near Port Elizabeth, before being transferred to Redesdale. During the Zulu War he served as a sergeant in a mixed Colonial troop commanded by a Captain Christian, and claimed to have fought at Isandhlwana. In 1881 he was sent with a detachment, under Lieutenant Bates, to fight the Dutch near Pretoria where he stayed for a year, after which his troop was disbanded. For some time thereafter he was employed as a coachdriver on a route between Pretoria and Potchefstroom. Switching sides, he joined a mounted corps of Kruger's forces with the rank of sergeant-major, but this appointment lasted only nine months and he left after a dispute over pay and equipment. He then returned to teaching and opened his own school. In 1886 he joined the staff of Bishop Barsfield, of the Church of England, as a native missioner. He was first of all sent to Lichtenberg and then, during 1887, to Kanye in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, but his sojourn there did not last any longer than his other various appointments and in the following year he moved to another teaching post at Palapye.

Jacobs himself stated that he taught at Palapye for two years and moved on to the Tati Concession, that there he obtained a letter of recommendation from Sam Edwards and arrived in Bulawayo in 1890, where he entered the service of Lobengula as a clerk. As against this account, an African detective Mahoko, in the service of the British South Africa Company's Police, said in 1905,[2] that he had first met Jacobs whilst at school in Palapye in 1888. He recalled that he once saw Jacobs tied up with rope and was given to understand that he was concerned in the disappearance of some of the personal effects of a white man who had died at Palapye. After being tied up for several days Jacobs was released and left for Matabeleland. Although at a later date Sir Herbert Taylor wrote that he knew Jacobs used to pose as Lobengula's secretary, he was in some doubt whether he ever acted as such,[3] it seems that this view is open to correction. Certainly *Posselt*[4] never doubted that this was the position and Mahoko, who met Jacobs again in the Bulawayo district in 1893, stated that he was then working for Lobengula but, keen as ever to change sides to his own advantage, he was "tired of being with Loben and wanted to get back to the white people". The fact that he was imprisoned as a political offender directly after the Matabele War would seem to confirm this. For further corroboration of his employment, or at least his familiarity, with Lobengula and Bulawayo Kraal, see below.

Whether or not Jacobs was ordained, as his photograph suggests, is not known. Having served with the London Missionary Society and the Church of England he

was, in 1917, consorting with a bishop of the Ethiopian Church, so that somewhere along the way he may well have promoted himself from native missioner to priest.

Be that as it may, Jacobs had come down to us as one of the most colourful, if equally incorrigible, rogues to flit across the Rhodesian scene. Receiving thirty-six lashes for cattle theft in August 1895 he went, the same month, to the Breakwater, to serve a total sentence of just over six years, for offences ranging from theft to robbery. Probably caught less often than he should have been, his ingenuity is reflected in this brief summary of one of his convictions for theft in 1895. The official entry shows –

> ". . . he gave out and pretended to a native Makondwani that he was authorised by Doctor Jameson to collect unbranded cattle by means of which he obtained from the said Makondwani 10 head of cattle, 1 goat and 1 sheep."

A clever ploy that had perhaps worked well on other occasions!

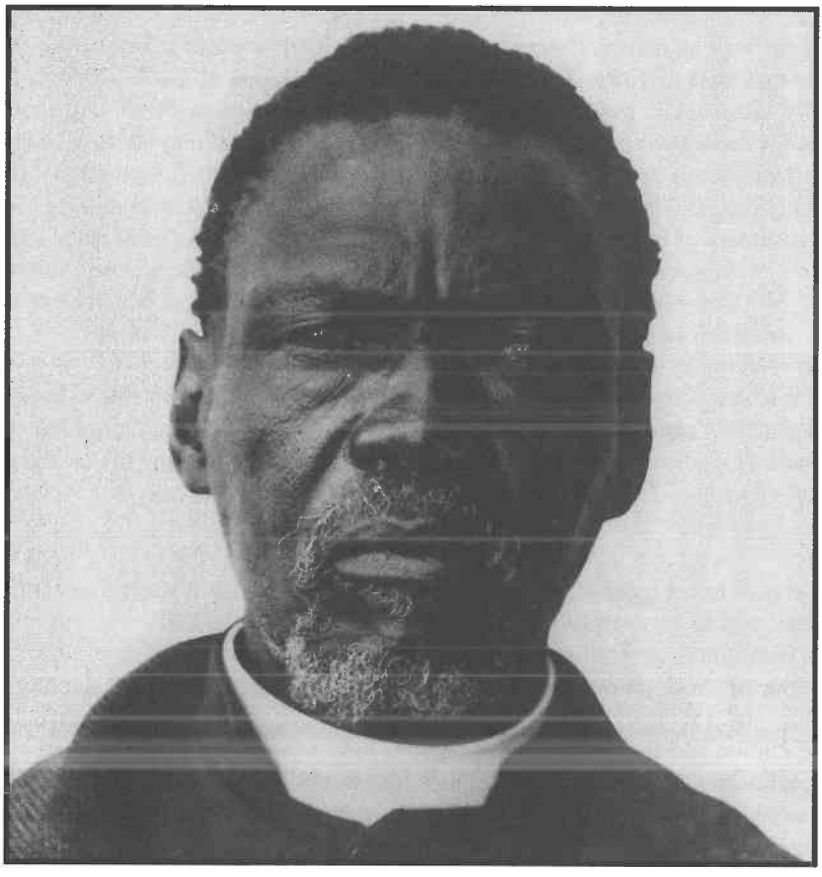
It is his very ingenuity that the interest in Jacobs lies. For he was able to keep alive the legend of Lobengula's treasure right to the end of his days and, more important, he appears to indicate that Lobengula may have sent a peace offering to the advancing Victoria/Salisbury Column, just before the King fled from Bulawayo.

II

With regard to the legendary treasure: Jacobs maintained that it was taken across the Zambezi and he successively tried to persuade various individuals to go on treasure hunts with him – as far afield as Angola.

Some of these jaunts backfired. In 1908 he persuaded Susman, a trader near Livingstone, that the treasure was to be found in Portuguese territory. Susman outfitted an expedition and the pair set off hopefully. Jacobs became hazier and hazier about the locality and distance of their destination as weeks went by and after three months of blundering about the bush Susman refused to go any further. On their return to Livingstone he found that the expedition had cost him a handsome £500 and promptly worked off some of his irritation by soundly flogging Jacobs. This resulted in a £10 fine for Susman and Jacobs was swiftly deported.

It was after this that Jacobs joined the Ethiopian Church and set about finding less violent victims to finance his treasure hunts. He teamed up with a self-styled Bishop, named Brander, whom, towards the end of 1916, he persuaded to apply for permission to visit Barotseland – ostensibly for a holiday. Permission was granted but it was not until the middle of the following year that Jacobs was able to convince a Pretoria butcher, Solomon Glass, that the treasure really existed. This time Jacobs maintained that the treasure consisted of paraffin tins full of diamonds and thousands of sovereigns and that it lay hidden under a rock, by a hill, that could be reached by car from Livingstone in a few hours. Leaving his butcher's shop in other hands, Glass collected three cronies and left for Rhodesia, accompanied by Jacobs, Brander and John Makue, a man Jacobs had used in his first approach to Glass. Apart from Jacobs making a false statement to the immigration officials, to facilitate his entry into Southern Rhodesia, the journey sounds a joyous one as a cramped carload rattled its way to Livingstone. They arrived there on Saturday the 24th of August and the party spirit faded quickly when Glass bumped into Susman and learned that he was being hoodwinked. A stormy interview with Jacobs and his companions followed. Glass returned to Pretoria with



John Jacobs
(National Archives)

his friends next day, leaving Jacobs and company to their fate. The fate of Brander was simply to receive a real rocket from the Secretary for Native Affairs for stating falsely why he wished to visit Barotseland. He was then allowed to leave by train for South Africa, with Makue. Jacobs did not get off so lightly. He received an effective sentence of five months imprisonment for contravening the Immigration Ordinance and was deported once again. To do him credit, however, he stoutly maintained to the Secretary for Native Affairs that the treasure really was in Portuguese territory, west of Lealui.

Neither was Jacobs in the slightest bit deterred. Soon after his deportation he found another backer. Petrus Coetzee of Pretoria was quite taken in. On the 5th of April, 1918, he wrote to the Administrator, asking permission to look for the treasure, which he believed to consist of 3 500 000 pounds of gold, 8 000 gold bars and sundry packets of diamonds. This information had been given to him by "a certain native Chief, John

Jacobs, also known as King Jacobs". It would seem that as Jacobs grew older so did his imagination become more vivid. Permission was refused – Jacobs was a prohibited immigrant.

Nothing loath, in March 1921, Jacobs persuaded a Mr. J. Willand to apply to take him through Rhodesia on a "prospecting tour". But the authorities were "not asleep up there" (as Jacobs had himself said earlier) and this expedition too died a quick death.

What Jacobs was doing back in Southern Rhodesia in 1922 is uncertain, but on the 4th of August of that year he was sentenced to three months imprisonment for giving a false statement to an Immigration Officer. In October Mr. F. A. Grobbler of Mafeking wrote plaintively to say that he was sure he could find Lobengula's treasure, if only he could interview Jacobs then in Bulawayo Prison. Mr Grobbler does not appear to have pursued the matter after Jacobs was released and deported in November.

This is the last time that Jacobs was seen in Rhodesia. Not that this prevented him from keeping the issue of the treasure a live one. Six years later he convinced some other persons, unnamed, of its existence and the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* of the 29th June, 1930,[5] carried the story of their unsuccessful expedition. Jacobs did not accompany it, he had died, but the story he told was a lurid one, designed to impress. He related how he had been a member of the party which had accompanied Lobengula to the hiding place where the treasure was buried in two safes which the King had bought in Kimberley. In order to safeguard the secret Lobengula had the carriers killed and only Jacobs and one old induna were alive to tell the tale. By the time the members of the expedition found the remaining induna he was too senile to assist them!

That was the end of Jacobs' hand in treasure hunts. The question remains: Did he in fact know where a hoard of treasure was secreted by Lobengula, or alternatively, did he know of some place where a portion of the King's wealth lay hidden?

If Jacobs himself is to be believed then the short answer to the main question is – no, he didn't. In his statement to the Immigration Officer he is recorded as saying:

> "8 months previous to December, 1892, Loben had commenced to move his cattle, ivory and gold to outside kraals; . . . I saw Loben's valuables being moved but as I had no orders to accompany it, I did not do so. I came across these valuables already packed up at Loben's chief kraals – at Umvutchwa, Ingonyama and Bulawayo. I heard it was going to be sent on the other side of the Zambezi.[6]

III

The alternative question is more difficult to answer.

The first intimation Jacobs gave that he knew of the whereabouts of some of Lobengula's wealth was to Jim Ngamzana, an African who was later to become a Messenger on the staff of the Chief Native Commissioner.[7] Ngamzana met Jacobs in the custody of a member of the Company's Police, at a kraal near the Manzinyama River in 1894.[8] Jacobs told him that he had fought for Lobengula and been wounded at Ntabas Induna. He claimed that the King had asked him to take some money to the advancing Column, as a gesture of goodwill in order to try and prevent the seemingly inevitable occupation of Bulawayo. Jacobs said that he sent two other men with the money, but because they were a long time returning he followed them and, finding

them, learned that they had met with two scouts who had taken the money from them. He too met up with some white men (number and in what force unspecified) and showed a white flag. He claimed that he was fired upon, wounded and scampered back to Bulawayo. He also said that the peace offering was £1 000.

On the face of it this story is patently absurd. That Lobengula, worried stiff and on the verge of panic as he was, should entrust an alien native with such an important mission appears, at the very least, highly unlikely. The case record of *Regina versus William & Daniels*[9] shows just how important such a mission was regarded by the defeated Matabele.[10] Not unnaturally Ngamzana was suspicious and his questioning of Jacobs elicited the rather lame answer that Lobengula thought that because he, Jacobs, was the King's clerk and interpreter he was the best person to speak to the white men. When one considers that in Bulawayo at the time there were several of the King's closest counsellors, including Magwegwe, and others, such as the trader Dawson, whom Lobengula had trusted on personal messages in the past,[11] this explanation is far from convincing.

The matter could rest there if it were not for other rather curious circumstances. Ngamzana saw quite a lot of Jacobs after the latter's release. Jacobs did not work but always seemed to have plenty of ready money which he spent freely. He also told Ngamzana that he knew where Lobengula's money was buried so that even the King's sons could not find it, but that he could go and take as much as he wanted at any time. He refused to name the amount of money concerned. In 1895 Nyamanda, Lobengula's eldest surviving son, bought a horse for £60. Jacobs was with him at the time and Ngamzana indicates that it was he who provided the purchase price. Ngamzana became convinced that Jacobs knew where some of Lobengula's money was hidden. He noticed that Jacobs would disappear from Bulawayo from time to time and reappear a few days later with large sums of cash.

The periodic acquisition of money by Jacobs at this time could fairly easily be put down to the sale of the proceeds of his numerous thefts (there were quite a number of unscrupulous persons available as "fences" in Matabeleland at the time). But this may be putting too naïve an interpretation on the matter. A further clue to the, possibly, correct answer is contained in the first treasure hunt Jacobs tried to lead.

In February 1905 the Administrator in Salisbury was advised that Jacobs, accompanied by Hendrik van Rooyen and a coloured man named Abrahams, were due at Tuli "on their way to a place near Bembesi where Lobengula buried bullion". This expedition got only as far as Tuli, where Jacobs was promptly arrested and put back over the border. He never tried to lead another expedition to the Bembesi or anywhere else so close to Bulawayo.

One may dismiss part of Jacobs' story, that the money he claimed he was handed by Lobengula he gave to two other messengers, because if it were so then undoubtedly this peace offering would have come to light in the same way as the later one. However, is it really too fanciful to say that perhaps Lobengula did entrust Jacobs with a sum of money, precisely as the latter described? If he did Jacobs may well have travelled as far as Ntabas Induna or thereabouts before appropriating it for himself and hiding it for recovery later and, in the course of his journey, have come upon the American scouts Burnham and Vaversol, who were working ahead of the Column at this time

and actually reached Ntabas Induna before reporting back.[12] This would not have been common knowledge in Bulawayo immediately before the King's flight. Any white men seen near Bulawayo were much more likely to have been taken as being the advance guard of the Column rather than scouts, by the panic-stricken Matabele. It is in this context that Jacobs would have seen them also – if he was still in Bulawayo Kraal at the time, or had the story of the advance been related to him by some of the Matabele later.

Considering all the circumstances it is odd that he should refer specifically to "two scouts", if in fact he was lying.

NOTES

N.B. Most of the material for this article is taken from a police docket on the investigation into Lobengula's treasure, now in the National Archives of Rhodesia, to the director of which department I am indebted for permission to publish the material referred to and the photograph of Jacobs, under reference S.903.

1. Although this statement is certainly not wholly true, details of personal history supplied by Jacobs probably are, simply because he appears to have been meticulous about dates (probably at the prompting of the official recording the statement) and he would be aware that most of the information he gave could be checked upon fairly easily.
2. Statement of Mahoko, native detective, C.I.D. Bulawayo, 1905.
3. Letter of the Secretary, Department of the Administrator, dated 27th February, 1923, refers to a letter of 3rd April, 1901.
4. F. W. T. Posselt, *Upengula — The Scatterer* (R.P. & P., Bulawayo, 1945).
5. Cutting included in S.903.
6. That this portion of the statement may be false is irrelevant for the purposes of this article, which is concerned only with Jacobs' activities as they affected the question of the treasure.
7. Statement of Jim Ngamzana, recorded 2nd November, 1905.
8. Jacobs was probably on his way into custody as a political offender.
9. *R. vs. Williams & Daniels*, Case No. 63, D 3/6/1.
10. ibid. Evidence of Mtshana, Sihnuluhulu, and Betchane.
11. *For example*: To prospect for gold and peg claims in the King's name; see Dawson's papers, DA 1/2/1.
12. R. R. Burnham, *Scouting on Two Continents* (Wm. Heinemann Ltd., London, 1927), page 140 *et seq.*

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R. S. Fairbridge – Father of Kingsley

by L. M. McBean

In 1923 I left my work as an assistant land surveyor in the Northern Transvaal in reply to an advertisement by Mr. R. S. Fairbridge of Umtali, who required an assistant for his work as a land surveyor. My letter of appointment with him, for the job at Umtali, was written on a brochure of Umtali dated 1923. The appointment, without any salary or details of the work required was written round the edge of this brochure, which is now in the National Archives.

Fairbridge lived on a farm called "Kingsley", named after his son and near Old Umtali. No public transport was available, so I set off on foot with my two suitcases, making my way over Christmas Pass to the farm which lay beyond Old Umtali.

My first impression of Fairbridge was one of surprise that such an apparently old man could run a practice as a land surveyor. Suffering from T.B. in South Africa, for health reasons he had made his way to Beira and had walked from there to Umtali. In appearance he was a short, spare man with a long, very bushy beard. On his head was a tam-o'-shanter.

The farm-house consisted of a peculiar square building, the four walls of which were made of enormous rocks, without mortar or plastic. The interior was windowless and roofless except for the fact that various poles supported several large tarpaulins strung tightly across the room; beneath the tarpaulins were strings, ropes and wires on which various garments were hung up to dry, interspersed with onions, biltong and even dried fish on occasion!

We used to get much amusement from watching enormous rats start off from one side of the building to investigate some titbit hanging on those wires. As a rat drew nearer the middle of the room, the string on the wire would start wobbling from side to side – the rat would then hesitate, finally deciding to turn round, but in that moment of indecision old Fairbridge would pick up a boot or anything else that was handy, and hurl it at the rat. If he was successful, that was supper for that night – he maintained that stewed rat was very tasty, but actually I never tried it.

There was no fireplace in the building, but we had enormous fires outside as the farm was very well wooded. Just beside the door of the building there was a sand-pit which I thought must have been provided for children in the earlier days. I discovered its use next morning at dawn when I saw old Fairbridge strip and sit in the sand-pit, splashing the sand up over his body as a fowl would! He assured me that sand was more efficacious for cleansing the body than water which, in his opinion, was more useful for drinking and cooking. I soon found that he made extraordinary statements like that on the spur of the moment. Nevertheless, that was his daily bath, and one which he enjoyed when we arrived back, rather hot, from a survey.

He had only one chair in the place and a tiny table, 18 in. square, off which we ate our meals. I sat on an upturned petrol-box opposite to Fairbridge, and at that close distance I could not fail to notice several small inmates in his bushy beard!

R. S. Fairbridge
(National Archives)

One of Fairbridge's favourite meals when out surveying in the veld was an "ant-cookie". He made these with mealie-meal and water: when only partially cooked he would flatten out the cookie and smear on it, from an old bully-beef tin, the fat rendered from some animal that had been killed (or had died). He would cut the cookie in half with a knife carried in his belt, and place the oiled half on a nearby ant-heap for half an hour or so. By that time, the cookie would be covered with fat, juicy ants. Taking the other half of the cookie, he would slap it on top, to make an "ant sandwich". This he ate with great relish, the ant-legs sticking out and wriggling as he ate. I took his word for it that the sandwich was delicious and full of protein!

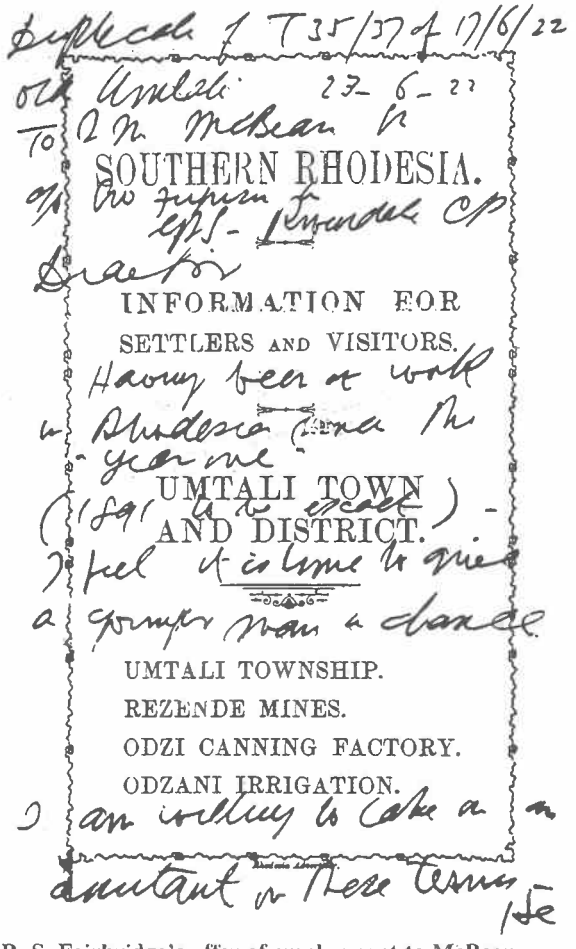
In 1923 and for some years after that we walked on our survey treks. Eight to ten carriers were loaded with our possessions, including a bucksail to be used as a tent, and provisions for the whole party. We used to cut down wood in the veld, have two forked upright sticks and one horizontal to fit into the forks, and then sling the bucksail over it for shelter for the night's lodging. The carriers always carried their 50-lb. loads on their heads, often requiring the assistance of their brothers to get them up there.

Fairbridge and I did several small surveys together. I soon found out that he was not a good surveyor and that it was fortunate for me (as I was not yet a qualified surveyor) that I had had a very good training from two meticulous surveyors in South Africa. Not that Mr. Fairbridge was dishonest. He would, however, often skimp the work and probably do the survey very cheaply for his clients, because he firmly believed that the checks demanded by the survey regulations were unnecessary at that stage of development of the country. Consequently, the tariff of fees was, in his opinion, far too high. On this account he earned a very bad name with the Surveyor-General, who seldom issued him with instructions to carry out a survey.

One day amongst the mail, brought by hand from Umtali, was a large O.H.M.S. letter from the Surveyor-General in Salisbury. Fairbridge opened it, read it, and roared with laughter as he handed it over to me. The contents, couched in official language ran, roughly, as follows: "Sir, as you are aware, you have had no survey instructions from this Department for a long time. You know the reason why. There is, however, an urgent small job to be done on the Vumba – the survey of a five-acre plot, and I am issuing these instructions on one condition, and that is – the field work is to be done by your unqualified assistant, Mr. L. M. McBean." Well! Anyone else would have shot himself or Mr. L. M. McBean, but Fairbridge merely thought it a very amusing joke and laughed heartily.

In this connection I remember on one occasion Fairbridge again gave me a shock, and himself much amusement. We were to fix a beacon in a river-bed – one of those wide vlei rivers with a small amount of water meandering down from side to side of the river-bed. We had already had one good sight to the point that had to be fixed. Fairbridge wished to get his intersection from a kopje some two miles away – so he told the boys to build a large bonfire over the point and to light it at 5 p.m. I was to go to this other point and orient my instrument, observing the smoke from the fire at the appointed time. Unknown to either of us, a gentle breeze had come up and was drifting down the river-bed, taking the smoke from the fire with it. The smoke emerged several hundreds of yards downstream and I observed a nice column of smoke rising vertically. As there was no check on this point, the result was some hundreds of yards out, as I discovered when I insisted on having a third shot from a distant station. Fairbridge thought the episode was a great joke!

After some months, I told Fairbridge that I wanted to go to Umtali, chiefly to buy some cigarettes. In order to do this, I asked if he could pay me some of the money he owed me in accordance with our original arrangement. He laughed loud and long and told me that when I had been in this country a little longer, I would realise that we did not deal with money, but worked on the barter system. I had already noticed that he had a large number of squatters on the farm, who paid their rent in kind. In a huge ledger he would enter, for instance, that a certain Mrs. Martha had paid "one bushel of peas". Nevertheless he said if I must have money, he would give me a paper to take to the bank manager in Umtali. So, armed with his I.O.U., I set off for Umtali and called on Mr. Rutherford, the bank manager. When he saw the I.O.U. he laughed and assured me that it was not worth the paper it was written on! Mr. Rutherford had heard about my going to assist Fairbridge and fully expected me eventually to call on him in his official capacity. He and a few friends gave me some simple jobs – running lines



R. S. Fairbridge's offer of employment to McBean

on farms, etc., so that eventually I collected enough money to go to Salisbury where, as I shall recall later on, I was employed by Messrs. Maasdorp and Piers.

Mrs. Fairbridge and her daughter lived in Umtali in a house named "Utopia". It was quite a pleasant property situated at the high end of the town. On the occasion when I tried to obtain some money, I paid them a visit. They kindly directed me to the bank, and invited me to call again on my return. I stayed the night and joined the family party the next morning on the lawn. We admired the garden and then played with a tennis-ball until about 10.30, when the daughter's fiancé arrived from Umtali. I remember taking him on one side and enquiring at what time the family breakfasted. He replied that probably there was no food in the house, but that as he himself worked at Meikle's Store in Umtali and had the store key, we might go down and get some food. We returned about an hour later with bacon and eggs, etc., which we cooked and enjoyed with Mrs. Fairbridge and her daughter.

All the same, these two women appeared to live quite comfortably. They were

both on the stout side – just the opposite of the old man himself. A little dog-cart, drawn by two mules, was their conveyance, though when Mrs. Fairbridge was in it, there was hardly room for anyone else.

Life in the bush, close to Umtali, was not hard, but later, when I left Fairbridge and was employed by Maasdorp and Piers, I saw rough country in the Mtoko district and did many surveys there. I was out for six months by myself with a small gang of "boys". One or two of them were more intelligent than the others and knew how to hold the measuring tape or chain on a peg in the ground, when measuring a base on other comparatively short distances. The others were used for cutting the bush and trees in order to sight on to distant points. They were also sent, from time to time, to the very scattered stores where one could purchase meat and groceries. I remember on one occasion, when passing one of these stores, that I called in to see the lonely European who sold the goods to surrounding farmers, prospectors and occasional surveyors. I had been using his store for some time, but this was the first time that I was able to have a chat with him. I am reminded on this occasion he pulled my leg for my continual messages, in the past, for mealie-meal, beans, etc., for the boys and "a pound or two of underdone steak" for me!

During this time I found excessive loneliness a great strain. On one occasion, I was returning, in the late evening as usual, from observing at distant points when, on coming over a rise, I could see my camp about half-a-mile away. Through my field-glasses I saw movement. There was my cook-boy and a stranger whom I took to be a European. I hadn't seen a European, nor spoken English for six months or so. I was so scared of meeting another European that I hung around until, as it was getting dark, I saw him go away. He turned out to be a prospector from a camp some miles away. I had a bottle of whisky so I could have given him a drink, but an encounter following months of being alone was psychologically too frightening.

Fairbridge's claim to fame lies in the fact that he was the father of Kingsley, the founder of the scheme for training British boys to be farmers in Australia. Fairbridge spoke very little of Kingsley although I gathered from him that Kingsley had tried to work his scheme with the Southern Rhodesian Government; but in the nineteen-twenties there was no money for such schemes. This was the reason why the scheme was eventually carried out in Australia. At the time I was with Fairbridge, Kingsley was at Oxford University. There, the idea of the scheme gradually took shape. He would go down to the West End of London where he made friends with wealthy dowagers. To them he unfolded his plan and with their help amassed the funds he required. Then, changing his clothes, he visited the East End of London in search of suitable boys who might benefit from his scheme. He must have been a very good judge of character because Fairbridge said he used to walk around in the slums of East London, watching the little urchins playing football with a tennis-ball and kicking tins about in the street. After studying them, he would pick on one to accompany him to his home to speak to his parents. As these children often came from large families there was no unwillingness to trust Kingsley, and so he was allowed to put his scheme into practice on a likely member of the family. As is well known, these chosen youngsters were trained to be successful farmers in Australia.

This operation continued as the West End dowagers supplied the necessary finance.

From left to right: Hilda Seymour Fairbridge, Rhys Seymour Fairbridge, Mrs Rosalie Helen Fairbridge and Helen Ogilvie Trail Fairbridge

A scheme was started in Bulawayo during the Second World War, and the school was named the Kingsley Fairbridge School to commemorate Kingsley's pioneer achievement, and to honour a Rhodesian Rhodes Scholar.

Later, when I was in the Surveyor-General's office, Fairbridge published a sort of scrap-book, consisting of newspaper-cuttings and notes of his survey experiences. I managed to acquire one of these for a pound, but unfortunately my copy was destroyed when my house in Montagu Avenue was burnt down in 1947. This particular copy had a small piece of leopard-skin attached to the top right-hand corner and was known as the "Leopard Skin Edition". I understand there is a similar copy in the Surveyor-General's Museum. To peruse it would be an opportunity to enlarge on this brief sketch of the inimitable Fairbridge.

(First published in *Rhodesiana* No. 27, 1972)

Chairman's Annual Report – 2002/2003

Your Committee has held four meetings since the last AGM. In an effort to safeguard our funds and, I think, by way of a change, we have taken to holding the meetings at the home of Keith Martin and we are very grateful to him for making us feel so at home there. (What other reason can there be for the fact that our last meeting but one went on for nearly three hours?) The meetings have been well attended, and at times quite lively, and once again I should like to offer my appreciation to all of my committee colleagues for their input and their continued enthusiasm, despite the increasingly difficult times that we are going through.

Sadly, we have already lost the services of John Bousfield, who went off in January to join other members of his extended family in America, and, as from today, we will also be losing Ian Galletly and Roel Zeederberg. I would like to take a moment to try and thank each of them for their services to the Society. Frankly I am not sure how long each of them has been a member of the National Executive, and in the case of John and Roel, also of the Mashonaland Committee, but were appointed long before I joined, and I have been around for 10 years or so! John Bousfield was at one time or another Chairman of both committees. He was a meticulous organiser, and he was also a salesman par excellence, especially when it came to disposing of club ties, cuff links, and Historic Buildings Town Walk Maps. He also had a great, if at times a rather biting, sense of humour. More recently he was very instrumental in getting the Anniversary Stamps project off the ground and we are already missing his services.

Ian Galletly informed us of his intention to step down from the National Committee at our last meeting at the beginning of the month, and I must admit that it came as something of a bomb shell. As our Honorary Treasurer he has been meticulous, yet resourceful, in the way he has both protected, but also grown our funds, particularly through money market investments. Ian will naturally be reporting shortly on the state of the Society's finances, but I would like to take this opportunity to thank him, both personally and on your behalf for his great service to this Society. His will be a very hard act to follow.

Roel Zeederberg did indicate this time last year that he would be happy to step down, especially if there was a potential replacement and if, numerically, we might need to create space on the Committee. At that time I quietly declined Roel's offer, but I know that he has not been well in recent months, so perhaps now is the time to accede to his wish. Again, on your behalf, I should like to thank him for his service to the Society over such an extended period and I wish him improved health also.

This rash of resignations leads on naturally to a problem that has been becoming increasingly obvious to us on the National Committee for some time, and that is that we need an injection of new, and with respect to my colleagues on the Committee, younger blood. This is not to decry in any way the past and continuing contributions of the existing members, and they would be the first to support me in this call for new people. Apart from anything else, unless we can bring in new people for the executive posts, the existing members find themselves by default ending up in the same executive posts that perhaps they occupied 10 years ago. The problem is made worse, however,

by the fact that our membership is shrinking, not necessarily only because I have made rather a mess of things during my tenure, but because that section of Zimbabwean society that has traditionally supported our activities is decreasing quite rapidly. At our last Committee meeting we did talk around the problem of dwindling numbers, without really coming up with any solid solutions, but it is something that we are going to have to address. We need to attract interest from a younger and wider cross section of Zimbabwean society, or we will not be celebrating a 100th Anniversary in the year 2053.

Which leads me on to the subject of our plans for the 50th Anniversary which, as most of you will know by now, we are celebrating this year. Already, we have in place the Anniversary Stamp issue that I like to think has been quite successful, even if, nowadays, many people have moved away from postal methods of communication, to email and text messaging. As an aside, those of our members who missed out on getting hold of the Anniversary First Day Covers might like to talk to us, since we bought 200 for our own future use and disposal. Then, and continuing with our plans to commemorate the Anniversary, there will be a week of events starting with an outing to the Mazoe Dam area on Sunday 8 June, in association with the Vintage Car Club. During the course of the following week, at the Arrupe Centre near Groombridge, there will be a series of evening lectures on various historical subjects, together with exhibitions by what we have termed 'kindred' societies – these include the Medals Society, the Philatelic Society, the Pre-History Society, the Numismatic Society, the Genealogical Society, and we hope the Mashonaland Photographic Society. In addition, at Arrupe we will have John Ford running a succession of sales of historic and other books, and then at the end of the week, on Saturday 14 June, we will round off the celebrations with a Golden Jubilee Dinner.

Also, and most importantly, to coincide with these events a special Jubilee edition of Heritage will be published, comprised largely of a selection of some of the best articles published in the journal down through the years. Our Honorary Editor, and Society dynamo, Mike Kimberley, has already forwarded the bulk of the material for typing and collating. As if that were not enough, he has also collected together a substantial portion of copy ready for the 2004 journal. Judging by the likely publication costs of the Jubilee edition of Heritage, let's just hope that we can continue to work the kinds of financial miracles that will be needed to fund that edition!

Working to make these Anniversary events a success has been a Sub-Committee of the main National Committee and I would like to thank Mike Kimberley, Robin Taylor, Keith Martin, Tim Tanser and Fraser Edkins for all the hard work that they have and are putting in.

The other principal activity undertaken at National Committee level during the past year was of course the Annual Dinner. We had a good turnout and were honoured to have Colin Neilsen and his wife Marianne as our main guests.

No report on the National Committee's affairs would be complete, however, without mention of two other on-going (or in the case of the second, mostly on-going) initiatives. The first is of course the sales of Africana and other books by John Ford. I've already alluded to this above, with reference to the Anniversary, but the fact is that John does this all year around from his home – that is when he is not tidying up the mess after

the latest of a seemingly unending cycle of burglaries! In the period August to December 2002, John disposed of 1 259 items, the total income from which amounted to nearly $853 000. And all of that handled on the basis of an abacus, a handwritten cataloguing system, and an old manual typewriter. Can you imagine the kind of rare books emporium John could run, if only we would let him join the 20th Century and let him use a computer. Amazon Books dot.com would be left trailing in his wake!

And then secondly, Keith Martin has tried valiantly to represent our interests in preserving the architectural history of this country by representing us on the Historic Buildings Advisory Committee, which meets under the auspices of the National Monuments and Museums. Unfortunately, that committee's meetings have been very infrequent this last year, despite there being one or two really committed people on it. Undaunted, Keith with tremendous support from Mike Kimberley and a substantial allocation of funds from both the Society and the National Trust, has had some 43 large blue Historic Buildings plaques manufactured for those historically listed buildings that occur in and around Harare. The bulk of these plaques have now been mounted, the notable exceptions being such Government buildings as Monomotapa Building and State House (formerly Government House of course). A measure of Keith's dedication to the plaque mounting exercise is his idea that if there really is to be a peaceful pro-democracy march on either of those two buildings he would tag along in the rear, complete with ladder, hammer and nails, ready to mount his plaques. You will gather that, so far, he has been refused access to these sites.

Before I get on to a final round of 'thank yous' I would like to touch briefly on the subject of membership, dwindling numbers, and subscription levels. At this time we have some 450 paid up members – these include joint subscriptions, so, with spouses included, this pushes the local membership numbers up above 500. As I have already said, the sad fact is that our numbers are dwindling, largely because of land confiscations and the resulting exodus of people from the country, but also no doubt because of increased subscription levels. This year, as we did last year, we agonised long and hard over the increases, but at the end of the day had no option but to increase them in order to protect the financial resources of the Society and, in particular, to ensure continued publication of Heritage as a quality historical journal. In doing this we know once again that we are risking the loss of some of our members, particularly pensioners, and this is a very real worry to us. Once again, can I remind those members who might be having difficulty in paying their subscriptions to make a confidential approach to the Chairman since we have in place a very substantial Membership Subscription Assistance Fund, set up a year ago expressly for this purpose and, so far, hardly used.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as I did last year, I would like to thank the Mashonaland Branch of the Society for having organised some really good outings in the intervening period, despite the nonsense going on around us. I especially enjoyed the Mutare and Penhalonga trip. In many respects, that Branch is the visible face of the History Society and its continuing success rides on that of the Branch, as well of course as the ongoing quality of our journal, Heritage.

Finally, my two years tenure as Chairman expires today and I will be handing over to the incoming Chairman, Tim Tanser – that is unless there has been a Palace Coup in the meanwhile and a surprise candidate is about to be put forward! I began this

report by thanking my colleagues on the Committee for their guidance and support, and I would like to repeat that. I would also like especially to thank our Secretary, Carol Cochrane for all that she does. She must still be wondering how on earth she could have let herself be talked into taking on such a garrulous and argumentative bunch. I wish Tim and the Committee every success in the coming year.

John McCarthy
National Chairman

National Office Bearers in the History Society of Zimbabwe 1953 to 2003

NATIONAL CHAIRMEN

1953–1970	H. A. Cripwell	1985–1987	T. F. M. Tanser
1970–1973	A. S. Hickman	1987–1989	R. H. Wood
1973–1975	G. H. Tanser	1989–1991	R. D. Franks
1975–1977	R. W. S. Turner	1991–1993	A. M. Rosettenstein
1977–1979	M. J. Kimberley	1993–1995	T. F. M. Tanser
1979	G. H. Tanser	1995–1997	R. H. Wood
1979–1981	M. J. Kimberley	1997–1999	J. W. Bousfield
1981–1983	R. C. Smith	1999–2001	M. J. Kimberley
1983	M. Spencer Cook	2001-2003	J. D. McCarthy
1983–1985	A. M. Rosettenstein	2003–	T. F. M. Tanser

NATIONAL DEPUTY CHAIRMEN

1969–1970	A. S. Hickman	1987–1988	R. H. Zeederberg
1970–1973	G. H. Tanser	1988–1989	R. D. Franks
1973–1975	R. W. S. Turner	1989–1991	A. M. Rosettenstein
1975–1977	M. J. Kimberley	1991–1993	T. F. M. Tanser
1977–1979	A. M. Rosettenstein	1993–1995	R. H. Wood
1979	M. J. Kimberley	1995–1997	J. W. Bousfield
1980–1981	M. Spencer Cook	1997–1999	M. J. Kimberley
1981–1983	A.M. Rosettenstein	1999–2001	J. D. McCarthy
1983	T. F. M. Tanser	2001–2003	T. F. M. Tanser
1985–1987	R. H. Wood		

NATIONAL HONORARY SECRETARIES

1953–1955	B. W. Lloyd	1979–1981	Miss P. I. Burton
1955–1956	J. M. van Heerden	1982–1985	D. H. Whaley
1957–1958	G. B. da Graca	1986–1988	C. J. Ford
1959–1960	H. J. Mason	1988–1989	T. F. M. Tanser
1960	J. L. P. Garrett	1989–1995	R. W. Wood
1961–1962	Mrs P. Haddon	1995–1997	C. McNaughtan
1962–1972	M. J. Kimberley	1997–2001	R. C. Kimberley
1972–1976	C. W. H. Loades	2001–	C. Cochrane
1976–1979	J. G. Storry		

NATIONAL HONORARY TREASURERS

1953–1955	B. W. Lloyd	1968–1969	F. A. Staunton
1955–1956	J. M. van Heerden		Miss C. von Memerty
1957–1958	G. B. da Graca		M. J. Kimberley
1959–1960	H. J. Mason	1970–1978	S. A. Rowe & Partners
1960–1961	J. L. P. Garrett		Dove Cowper & Lefevre
1961–1962	W. Mills		Moss. Dove & Co.
1962–1972	M. J. Kimberley	1979–1993	J. A. Ogilvie
		1993–2003	I. A. B. Galletly

EDITORS OF RHODESIANA (1956–1979)

No. 1	J. M. van Heerden	No. 21	W. V. Brelsford
No. 2	G. H. Tanser	No .22	W. V. Brelsford
No. 3	G. H. Tanser	No. 23	W. V. Brelsford
No. 4	B. W. Lloyd	No. 24	W. V. Brelsford
No. 5	H. A. Cripwell	No. 25	W. V. Brelsford
No. 6	W. F. Rea	No. 26	W. V. Brelsford
No. 7	H. A. Cripwell	No. 27	W. V. Brelsford
No. 8	J. Drew	No. 28	W. V. Brelsford
No. 9	E. E. Burke	No. 29	W. V. Brelsford
No. 10	E. E. Burke	No. 30	W. V. Brelsford
No. 11	E. E. Burke	No. 31	W. V. Brelsford
No. 12	E. E. Burke	No. 32	W. V. Brelsford
No. 13	E. E. Burke	No. 33	W. V. Brelsford
No. 14	E. E. Burke	No. 34	W. V. Brelsford
No. 15	E. E. Burke	No. 35	W. V. Brelsford
No. 16	E. E. Burke	No. 36	W. V. Brelsford
No. 17	W. V. Brelsford	No. 37	W. V. Brelsford
No. 18	W. V. Brelsford	No. 38	W. V. Brelsford
No. 19	W. V. Brelsford	No. 39	W. V. Brelsford
No. 20	W. V. Brelsford	No. 40	W. V. Brelsford

EDITORS OF HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE (1981 TO 2003)

No. 1, 1981	W. E. Arnold	No. 12, 1993	M. J. Kimberley
No. 2, 1982	W. E. Arnold	No. 13, 1994	M. J. Kimberley
No. 3, 1983	W. E. Arnold	No. 14, 1995	M. J. Kimberley
No. 4, 1984	R. C. Smith	No. 15, 1996	M. J. Kimberley
No. 5, 1985	R. C. Smith	No. 16, 1997	M. J. Kimberley
No. 6, 1986	R. W. S. Turner	No. 17, 1998	M. J. Kimberley
No. 7, 1988	R. W. S. Turner	No. 18, 1999	M. J. Kimberley
No. 8, 1989	M. J. Kimberley	No. 19, 2000	M. J. Kimberley
No. 9, 1990	M. J. Kimberley	No. 20, 2001	M. J. Kimberley
No. 10, 1991	M. J. Kimberley	No. 21, 2002	M. J. Kimberley
No. 11, 1992	M. J. Kimberley	No. 22, 2003	M. J. Kimberley

Book Reviews

1. ***Hidden Conflict* by G.C. Passmore**

Published by Praeger Publishers, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881, USA
This fascinating book deals with administrative policy in colonial Rhodesia during the period 1950–1980. The word "fascinating" is used for many reasons, not least, because the author, Ms G. C. Passmore has chosen an unusual perspective from which to write, that of the civil servant. The latter being more usually overlooked next to the more obvious and conspicuous politician.

Part of Passmore's achievement stems from her very easy writing style; the book is at once eminently readable yet erudite and scholarly. The sincerity of the tone emanates largely from the fact that every claim or statement is supported by the weight of documentary evidence referred to in the text itself and appended in the "Documents" section.

Without being overly judgemental, Passmore highlights the differences in principle among the various elements of the civil service of the day, some working with a vision towards a multi-racial, democratic Rhodesia and others undermining this vision with a narrow-minded, backward looking policy of segregation along the lines of the South African "apartheid" model.

Indeed, the book may be viewed in part as a tribute to the life's efforts of H. R. G. (Roger) Howman. The vision and integrity of this man shines through the pages and to any liberal-minded leader who lived through, or takes an interest in the UDI days, it is some sort of solace to realise that there were in fact men of high moral standing at work within the administration even during the darkest times of the RF regime.

There is an underlying poignancy in the text which arises largely from the knowledge of the civil war which arose almost directly from the pursual of policies orchestrated by the Hostes Nicolle faction of administration. Despite clear warnings from men such as Roger Howman and Ken Flower, the RF government seems to have been intent on this descent into conflict that gave rise to further extremes, the throes of which still take their toll in the present day.

The author is to be applauded for a fine piece of writing; as both an historical and human document, *Hidden Conflict* is a book of enormous value and thoroughly recommended for anyone with an interest in the history and current affairs of Zimbabwe.

Nikki Passaportis

2. ***Legacy On The Rocks The Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers of the Matopos Hills, Zimbabwe* by Elspeth Parry**. Published by Oxbow Books.

Elspeth Parry has spent 18 absorbing years locating and recording painted sites in the Matopos. Her lively and most readable book displays an understanding of the long-vanished painters' way of life, beliefs, and the structure of a society that could produce such enigmatic, masterful paintings.

Thousands of sites have been discovered or recorded, but localities of most are not revealed for fear of deliberate or unthinking vandalism.

The paintings are never touched, but slides and prints are taken using the IFRAO

Scale, and sketches made on site; the finished copy is always carefully checked against the original.

The artist is Janet Ruff, who was trained as a Scientific Illustrator and has worked in the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo. She has provided 144 meticulous line drawings (one or more for every page). There are 16 colour plates, some of which include the IFRAO Scale.

The artists were hunter-gatherers, totally dependant on uncultivated, untended plants and wandering wild animals. As with the Kalahari Bushmen, all experience would be memorised. The adults' collective memory-pool would contribute to the survival of their group in at most, 20–30 adults in a band. Memory in social relationships would have been vital. Only their paintings and artefacts now remain.

The Matopos has abundant plant and animal life, a multitude of shelters, and water would have flowed even in years of drought.

In this ruggedly beautiful area, the traveller experiences a sense of spiritual uplift – but always as one examines the vestiges of an ancient civilization, one senses the presence of unseen watchers.

This most readable and worthwhile book is available from the author at P.O. Box FM 414 Famona, Bulawayo. Enquiries to the author – eparry@gartorzw.com

Rosemary Kimberley