HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 24

2005

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of
ZIMBABWE

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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe
2005

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.

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P.O. Box CY 35,
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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.

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Edited by

MICHAEL J. KIMBERLEY

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Foreword

This is the 24th annual volume of our journal *Heritage of Zimbabwe* and our 64th volume since the Society began to publish forty nine years ago with the appearance of our first volume then called *Rhodesiana*. The volume contains more than the usual number of major articles and, as always, a miscellany of articles on a wide range of topics is offered for the enjoyment of our many readers in Zimbabwe and worldwide.

The issue begins with a major learned paper by Dr Ray Roberts, formerly Professor of History in the University of Zimbabwe, entitled Traditional Paramountcy and Modern Politics in Matabeleland – The End of the Lobengula Royal Dynasty. This is followed by a major paper by Dr. Bob Challis on Victoria Cross winners associated with Central Africa up to the end of the First World War. Now is an appropriate time for an article on this subject because next year will be the 150th Anniversary of VC Awards which began in 1856. Our journal next year will deal with awards from 1919 onwards to those associated with this region.

That energetic author Colin Saunders continues with his Great Characters of the Lowveld as does Robin Taylor with yet another well researched article on Railway History. Quite a scoop for us, thanks to Jeremy Lewis, is the full text of an outstanding talk given on 6 October 2004 in London by Lord Hoffmann a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary on the trial of Leander Starr Jameson.

Doug McClymont offers a paper on early tobacco cultivation in this country and, also on the agricultural theme, Dr Roberts has written on the Cattle Industry and the Cold Storage Commission up to the early 1980s.

The Society lecture programme has been as vital a part of our operations as the publication of our journal and our policy is to include in each issue of this journal the text of some of the lectures given. Some speakers make things easy for your Editor by producing the written version of the lecture before it is given, even putting it on a disk to facilitate reproduction in our journal. Others tend to speak or sometimes ramble from rough notes. In such cases we record the talk and send a typescript to the author for editing, which is certainly not our preferred modus operandi.

This issue includes the text of four excellent lectures, three of which were given to members of the Society on Beira by Jack Bennett, on early hunters by Alec Friend, and on the 50th anniversary of Chisipite School by Anna McCarthy, and one of which was given by Anne Gibson to members of the Pioneer Society on the 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition held in Bulawayo.

In conclusion, the Society's grateful thanks are expressed to our 20 Sponsors who have so generously assisted us in meeting the enormous cost of printing this journal. This journal went to press in late 2005 at a time when inflation which had been contained at under 200% for most of the year suddenly galloped and with it the cost of printing went mad. It is a real struggle for us to maintain the quality and the size of our annual publication with the indisciplined culture in this country of having frequent huge price increases being mistakenly regarded as the economic solution to many evils.

A final thank you to my wife, Rosemary, for her assistance with the editing of this issue, without which the task would be nearly full-time for me.

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

Chairman's Report to the Annual General Meeting of the History Society on Wednesday, 16 March 2005

by T. F. M. Tanser

Members of the History Society, I welcome you to the 52nd annual General Meeting of the Society.

Following the disappointment of the restricted celebrations of the 50th year of the Society's existence where political and economic affairs combined to reduce the number of talks and outings we held, this last year has been a fruitful one indeed.

The Chairman of the Mashonaland Branch, Mr. Alistair Hatrick will be reporting in more detail on these matters, but I do thank him and his committee for the excellent fare they have served up to us over the past 12 months.

As is always the case in Zimbabwe, a great deal of the many hours spent on deliberation by the National Committee focused on the financial aspects of the Society, and in particular, the financing of our journal, Heritage of Zimbabwe.

I cannot but once again mention the heroic efforts by our Editor, Mr. Mike Kimberley. We are supremely fortunate to have someone as dedicated and competent as Mr. Kimberley in this position and as the journal is the shop window for the Society, I once again extend our profound gratitude to him.

Whilst the costs of the journal to you the members through payment of subscriptions increases each year, we have done our very best to subsidise the production costs by actively encouraging sponsorship by the many companies, the names of which appear in the opening pages of each journal.

Last year I reported that an offer had been made to the Society to make the contents of our journals accessible through a website being developed in the United Kingdom. The committee member who has shown enormous enthusiasm and understanding for this venture has been Mr. John McCarthy. Although the matter of the website is still to be finalized, significant steps have been taken towards making this a reality.

Many of you here today have been members of the Society for a great number of years. You may recall therefore a letter written by me in May 1993 in which I spoke of the initiation of the Society on 12 June 1953. The main objective of the seven worthies who attended that first meeting was to bring together Rhodesiana and Africana book collectors and to facilitate the sale and swapping of books between members and other people of a similar interest. That particular aspect of the society had fallen away but 1993 seemed an appropriate time to bring such an arrangement back into the Society's activities.

Initially I was the Society's agent for the sale and purchase of books, but most fortunately for me and for you, I then handed the activity over to Mr. John Ford. John has been dealing with these books now on behalf of the Society for over 10 years. A measure of the success of the enterprise may be seen from the fact that at the end of his first sales period on 27 May 1995, he had sold books worth $5490.00. For the

last period of sales up to 31 December 2005, John had sold books worth over $19 million. Even Zimbabwe's world-class rate of inflation cannot be held responsible for such a spectacular rise in sales values!

Those of you who may have been fortunate enough to visit the inner sanctum of John's house will have discovered that the house is more or less held up by hundreds, if not thousands of books. John's dedication is such that he unavoidably eats with books on his dining room table and sleeps with books piled up all around his bed.

In an effort to avert a crisis whereby John would be relegated to the staff quarters, the Society paid for the construction of a prefabricated bookroom which has been the centre for these book activities for the past 8 years or so.

John's dedication to his task was such that not only did he have to collect, assemble, catalogue, price and place books but for many years he would send out letters with minute detail of every single book bought or sold on behalf of a member and he would also notify any person of a book which had come into his possession which had been the subject of a "wants" list.

Although the Society benefited to the extent of a 15% commission, the effect not only on the Society but on the wider community was massively significant. The interest in books to do with this country and surrounding countries was significantly enhanced and John's knowledge of all matters to do with books became encyclopedic. John virtually gave the whole of his last 10 years to this incredibly worthwhile activity.

John has now advised the committee that he will be scaling down his activities. As from the end of May 2005, he will no longer be able to accept books on behalf of the History Society and at the end of October 2005, he shall cease selling such books. Whilst this notice from John is of course a huge challenge to the Society, what is foremost in our minds is the magnificent contribution made by John to our Society in his capacity as "Mr. Books" over the last 10 years.

John has already been honoured by being made an Honorary Member and we have no higher accolade to pay him than to say: "John, we are immensely grateful to you for your dedication, your expertise, your professionalism and your hard work on behalf of the Society".

Now folks, we are hopeful of finding amongst the membership, someone or perhaps, more than one person who may be interested in dealing with the books in John's absence. John will, I know, be fully prepared to guide and assist such person. We have purchased a computer and have software prepared specifically to deal with all aspects of the books. For those who are not technologically challenged this would be both a fascinating venture to take on and one that may well give some person who is not in full time employment a wonderful and abiding interest. Please do queue up outside the door after the meeting to take on this new task!

We shall, at the same time be looking for premises at which the books can be housed. Once again, any thoughts or ideas from members will be most appreciated.

Whilst speaking of appreciation, I would like to express the gratitude of the Society to Dennis Stevens and Carol Cochrane. Dennis has marshalled the Society's finances in masterly fashion. Carol has been an outstanding and most conscientious secretary dealing not only with the recording of minutes at Committee meetings, but also the dispensing of journals, collection of subscriptions and dealing quietly and most

efficiently with a plethora of administrative functions. Thank you also to Carol's husband, Ian, for his ready and charming support of Carol at every function.

Our Annual dinner is set for Friday 20 May 2005. This is always an occasion to savour. Our guest speaker this year will be Judge George Smith, the scope of whose duties in Government covers many years of fascinating history in which Judge Smith was placed at the very core.

A great loss to the committee was the move, during the year, of Keith Martin, who was Deputy chairman, to Cape Town for the foreseeable future. Keith's contribution to the committee and his ready rapport with all members will be sadly missed. We hope, however to have Keith back with us once he has completed his medical degree.

I extend my gratitude to all members of the National Committee. They have all shown great enthusiasm for the Society and work as a very closely integrated team.

To you, the members, I extend my thanks for your whole-hearted and constant participation in all functions organized by the Society.

The Society does, I believe, play an important role in highlighting aspects of the past. That is the aim of the Society and as long as there is the membership to sustain it, we shall continue to offer our energy and efforts to the end.

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The Society also publishes the EXCELSA TAXONOMIC SERIES. Each issue contains revisionary work by L. C. Leach on the Stapelieae and the Euphobieae. Volume 1 is out of print but copies of volumes 2-4 are available.

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Traditional Paramountcy and Modern Politics in Matabeleland The End of the Lobengula Royal Family – and of Ndebele Particularism?

by R. S. Roberts

> 'Now, if you come up with me [to Matabeleland], I must have no nonsense about your being king. You will have to wash plates and clean my boots. You understand?' – C. J. Rhodes to a 'royal' son of Lobengula (probably Njube) in Cape Town, late 1890s.

> '[Nguboyenja] even then appeared to be suffering from hallucinations consequent upon loss or deprivation of the Lobengula Dynasty' – a South African Native Affairs official recalling a meeting some fourteen years earlier, 23 August 1923.

> 'You are not and never will be entitled to represent yourself as the official head of the Matabele nation' – Superintendant of Natives Bulawayo, advice for Nyamende, [early April 1920].

> '[Sidojiwe Khumalo, the last surviving son of Lobengula] was a solitary link with a glory that is past. The future needs such princes, though not of royal blood, to fight for the glory to come.' – Cephas Hlabangana, funeral oration at Entumbane, July 1960.

> 'I will crush Joshua Nkomo, self-appointed Ndebele King.' – Senator Enos M. Nkala, still smarting from his party's electoral defeat in Matabeleland in the February elections, in a speech at a ZANU(PF) rally in Bulawayo, 6 July 1980.[1]

After the conquest of Matabeleland in 1893 and the disappearance of Lobengula the British South Africa Company made it clear to the indunas that there was not going to be a new king; and the indunas themselves were left with traditional, but no new official or legal, authority which they were expected to exercise in conformity with the elimination of their military system, the alienation of their lands, the confiscation

[1]Quotations from S. G. Millin, *Rhodes* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1933), 96; Nat[iona]l Arch[ives and Record Service of] S[outh] Afr[ica, Repository], Pretoria, SAB {=Arch. of the S. Afr. Gov[ernment]}, NTS, 9830, 1/407 [Departement van Naturelle Sake: Albert Lobengula, Lobengula's Sons], I, I. B. M.[?], Pretoria, to Secr. Native Affs, Pretoria, 23 Aug. 1923; quoted in T. O. Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898–1930* (London, Heinemann, 1970), 79; *The Afr. Daily News*, 16 July 1960; *The Chronicle* [Bulawayo], 7 July 1980.

Different versions of this article have been presented as talks at many meetings over the years, most recently at the History Society of Zimbabwe in Harare in November 2003. A printed but unpublished earlier version, 'The End of the Ndebele Royal Family', was presented as a seminar paper to the Department of History at the University of Zimbabwe, Harare in 1988.

I am grateful to many individuals and institutions for interviews and for help with various queries. Their names are obvious from the footnotes, but especial thanks are due to Mr J. D. White when at the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, Harare, for facilitating access to records still in the Ministry, which are so indicated in the footnotes. The other file-codes cited in the footnotes are all, unless otherwise indicated, to files in the National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare, and their full description is given at the end of the article.

of cattle and the impressment of labour, helped – if that is the word – therein only by a new Native Department and Native Police. But in any case according to Ndebele custom a successor would not have been appointed for a year or two, and the Administration in 1894 had quickly taken to Rhodes in Cape Town the three sons of Lobengula whom it regarded as the most likely claimants to the kingship, so that they could be educated and weaned away from traditionalist and royalist ambitions. These were Njube, Mpezeni and Nguboyenja; ranging in age from about fifteen to eight years, they were the oldest three of the 'royal' sons (that is those born after Lobengula had become king), and this left only Sidojiwa aged about six, too young to leave home. There were non-'royal' brothers (born before Lobengula ascended), notably Nyamende, who were too old to be so moulded and consequently were largely ignored by the Administration which insisted, and perhaps genuinely believed, that by tradition they had no claim to the succession.

Then came the Rising of 1896 with the object of restoring the Ndebele state – whether under a returned Lobengula or under a newly appointed king in the person of his oldest son, Nyamende, still a matter for further research. After the failure of the Rising the Administration recognized that more account had to be taken of traditional structures. Leading indunas were made salaried Chiefs, including some of the royal family, notably Nyamende in 1897. An obligation to members of Lobengula's wider family was also acknowledged. His brothers, his widows and their sons and at least one daughter were given pensions for life; and the area on the Bembesi where Lozikeyi, the most influential of Lobengula's wives, and several other Queens and their followers had settled in 1894 was set aside for them for life and formally demarcated in 1898 as the Queens' (Native) Location, popularly known as the Queens Kraal, of some 10 000 acres. This became something a focal point of traditionalist loyalties, and Nyamende who had always worked closely with Lozikeyi might have made it into a real power-base for the Khumalos. But he was a difficult man, a loner not liked even by many Khumalos. He could not adapt to his new circumscribed role as a salaried Chief and was soon deposed by the Administration, and within a few years had also quarrelled irrevocably with Lozikeyi.

Thus as early as 1898 the focus of loyalist attention, mainly by traditionalists but also by some newly educated, was switching to Njube, still at school in the Cape; but the Administration made it clear that he would not be appointed to any sort of paramountcy or, indeed, to any position of leadership. It was not even inclined to allow him to come back to Matabeleland on a visit, but relented in 1900 only because its failure to notify the Ndebele of Mpezeni's death in 1899 had created suspicions about the well-being of Njube and Nguboyenja. But the visit confirmed the Administration's fears of political agitation for the restoration of the kingship or at least a paramountcy, and so later that year Njube was sent back to South Africa where he died an embittered exile in 1910. He left a widow (his second wife) and her son Ndabecala [Ndabayecela] together with two older sons from his first marriage, Albert and Rhodes. These latter two were recognized as 'royal' by the British South Africa Company which paid for their upkeep by a guardian. They remained in South Africa to be educated and their tender age meant that they would be of no active importance for another fifteen years or so, although their cause was kept alive by Lozikeyi at the

Queens' Location until her death in 1919 when she left her estate to them. Meanwhile Njube's younger brother, Nguboyenja had suffered a mental breakdown in 1908 that became progressively worse; he had no desire to return to Matabeleland where, he believed, his people had turned against him. So he was cared for by the Company in Cape Town where he lived quietly, sometimes erratic but ultimately completely reclusive and silent.

This effectively left only the oldest son of Lobengula, Nyamende to play any political-dynastic role (his other brothers, the non-'royal' Tshakalisha, and the youngest of the 'royals', Sidojiwe, were, for reasons not entirely clear, never of any account). Thus Nyamende between 1915 and 1921 schemed and agitated for land, cattle and position for himself; this campaign has been described by Ranger as the National Home Movement – something of an exaggeration in its use of the upper case as if an organization; but it is true that Nyamende envisaged Matabeleland and himself enjoying the somewhat separate and special position that Barotseland and its royal family did in Northern Rhodesia. Nevertheless it was basically a family affair to re-establish himself and close Khumalo relatives who were not Chiefs. Because of his lack of education (he never learned to speak English) he was to some extent being used in this by local Mfengu (Fingo) agitators for their own purposes, and he soon relapsed into the lonely life that he seems to have preferred until his death in 1929. And it is against that background that there was formed in 1920 the little known Ilihlo Lomuzi to represent wider and genuine Ndebele interests.

Then in 1926 Njube's two oldest sons, Albert and Rhodes, came back to Matabeleland; they were given an allowance and permitted to settle at the Queens' Location, on the strict understanding that they were not to assert royalist claims, either politically or in respect of 'royal' cattle. They never really settled down and their extravagant tastes, for American motor cars and even faster women, for example, meant that they always had money problems. They also dabbled in politics and became involved in the Rhodesian Bantu Voters' Association and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union. This was frowned upon by the government, and also, it seems, by many Ndebele, both traditionalist and urban, for these political movements too were led in the main by Mfengu and others from outside Southern Rhodesia. Thus in 1928 some members of the Khumalo family had Nguboyenja, the boys' uncle, brought from Cape Town to Bulawayo where he continued in reclusive silence, under the watchful and devoted eye of Manja Khumalo who acted as a sort of court chamberlain to those who came to pay their respects; this perhaps is the turning point for the Khumalos when they switched from overtly (and unsuccessfully) making political demands of the government for a paramount to a policy of quietly consolidating traditional respect for the family from the people and binding them together by forms of cultural symbolism. Furthermore a year later Ilihlo Lomuzi was reconstituted as the Matabele(land) Home Society with similar aims but more urban and politically active for the paramountcy.[2] And both of these developments were to some extent for the purpose of providing a counterweight to Albert and Rhodes whose antics were increasingly of concern to all.

[2]The title varies in the Society's own correspondence but Matabele (without the 'land') seems to have been the original usage, and this I have employed consistently.

Thus by the early 1930s the effect of the royal leaders can be likened to that of several stones thrown at once into a pool, slowing sinking but creating around them widening but irregular and overlapping ripples across the surface of Matabeleland. At the centre was an heir, or heirs, not formally designated, with fading claims to a paramountcy, surrounded, and used, by Lobengula descendants whose ambitions were even more particularist, if not indeed selfish. Around them was a tight circle partly of Chiefs, mainly *zansi*, who supported the idea of a paramountcy but within the colonial confines of the new, official chiefly order of which they were loyal servants, and partly of noble families, like the Hlabanganas, who supported royalist tradition in principle but were not over-zealous in the cause of the descendants of Lobengula (who had killed their illustrious forbear, Lotshe, in 1889). Then in a wider, and ever widening, circle was the Matabele Home Society with a growing urban support that included non-Nguni peoples of the old Ndebele state in its widest sense for whom the idea of a paramountcy was still attractive as an expression of identity; and its aim was to use that, the royal family and tradition to further the social, economic and cultural interests of the original peoples of Matabeleland in general and the Ndebele-speakers of Bulawayo in particular in the face of Shona immigration. Lastly the widest, and weakest, circle, was that of political activists of the Rhodesian Bantu Voters' Association and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union who lived in, but in the main were not rooted in the soil of, Matabeleland for whom the royal family was but a prestigious and perhaps influential ornament for a more national African vision.[3]

THE ROYAL FAMILY IN CRISIS 1932–1933

In March 1932 the High Court in Bulawayo found Rhodes Lobengula guilty on various counts of extortion and attempted extortion of cattle, and so sentenced him to a total of fifteen months imprisonment, suspended for three years on condition that he did not repeat his attempts to claim 'royal' cattle from peasants in Matabeleland.[4] Rhodes's elder brother, Albert, was not prosecuted in this case but soon found himself in trouble, also over cattle, when in July 1933 he was imprisoned for stock theft.[5]

Thus ended in public humiliation a campaign by the Khumalo family which for over thirty years had been trying intermittently to regain some of its status and wealth – a campaign which had culminated in actual seizures of cattle soon after the arrival in Southern Rhodesia of Albert and Rhodes. Their failure in 1932–3 marked the beginning of the end for the very concept of a royal family – seen most strikingly in

[3] Much of this introductory material is explicated and referenced below. More detail and full references to this background history of the family will appear in my forthcoming articles on Njube, on the upbringing of his sons, on Nyamende, and on Nguboyenja (on whom an unpublished version is available: R. S. Roberts, 'Nguboyenja' (Harare, Univ[ersity of] Zimbabwe, Dep[artment of] History Seminar Paper [60], 1985)). Meanwhile there are brief references for the 1890s in J. R. D. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820–1896' (Lancaster, Univ. of Lancaster, Ph.D. thesis, 1976), 284–7, 442–5; and J. G. Storry, *The Shattered Nation* (Cape Town, Howard Timmins, 1974), 152–5. More general but not entirely accurate details can be found in Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898–1930*, *passim*; and E. P. Makambe, *African Protest Movements in Southern Rhodesia before 1930* (Pasadena CA, California Inst[itute] of Technology, *Munger Africana Library Notes* 65/66, 1982), 25–7.

[4] The trial was given prominent coverage in *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 30 and 31 Mar. 1932. The official record was in S404, Case 3648, Rex versus Rhodes Lobengula and Baby Usher, but it can no longer be found; the summing up and judgment, however, are in S1542/L13.

[5] See below, fn. 79, for the detail. A forthcoming paper on the Ndebele cattle question will cover the various aspects and episodes of this campaign.

the response of ordinary cattle-owners who at last followed Gampu's earlier example and stopped putting the royal earmark on the progeny of the once 'royal' cattle given to them by the British South Africa Company in 1895.

Nevertheless royalty did not collapse immediately and it did not follow inevitably that all was irretrievably lost for the Khumalos; for 'native policy' in British Africa was turning back to some extent to indirect rule through traditional authorities, which if neglected always had the potential to harness themselves to new and even more dangerous movements such as Ethiopianism. This is what Lewanika had essayed at the beginning of the century and as late as 1923 there was sufficient public apprehension about such developments for a London publisher to issue Heaton Nicholls's novel, written ten years earlier, concerning a fictional successor to Lobengula, Balumbata Nelson, who propagated a heady mixture of millenarian and Marxist ideas.[6]

A situation similar to that of Matabeleland existed in Zululand, both in fiction (John Buchan's adventure *Prester John* of 1910 concerned a Zulu leader, the Revd John Laputa,[7] which may have influenced Heaton Nicholls's more political novel) and, more importantly, in actual fact. Dinuzulu had been deposed and his son, Solomon, not recognized; but organizations dedicated to the restoration of the royal family as paramount, notably Inkatha ya ka Zulu (1922–3) and the Zulu Society (1935–7), were tolerated by the South African government which in a series of hesitant steps between 1939 and 1951 came to restore the paramountcy. The prominence for the last thirty years of Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi – nephew of Solomon ka Dinuzulu, adviser to the King, leader of the new Inkatha (1975, later the Inkatha Freedom Party), Chief Minister of Kwazulu, and later Cabinet minister – shows that political influence can survive apparent loss of status and power.[8]

Nor were the Khumalos without similar organized support in their day, for the Matabele Home Society did its best until the late 1950s (and lingeringly until the early1970s) to protect Ndebele interests and the idea of a royal paramountcy. Nor was it just traditional support, for by being based in Bulawayo the Home Society had an advantage not often enjoyed by early African organizations in their struggle against their colonial rulers. This was that the radicalizing effects of urbanization and industrialization were easily transferred to rural issues, which in Matabeleland, unlike Mashonaland, affected the people as a whole, as a nation. Bulawayo was at the centre of the Ndebele heartland where the alienation of land to Whites was almost total, and conveniently near to the Matopos where particular problems in the late 1940s brought together the main strands of historic Ndebele identity and contemporary dissatisfaction – Mzilikazi's grave, the Mwari shrines, and land shortages at a time of urban unrest.[9]

[6]For Lewanika, see T. O. Ranger, 'The "Ethiopian" episode in Barotseland', *Rhodes-Livingstone J[our]n[a]l* (1965), XXXVII, 26–41; G. Heaton Nicholls, *Bayete! 'Hail to the King'!* (London, George Allen & Unwin, [1923]).

[7]J. Buchan, *Prester John* (London, T. Nelson, 1910). Both novels appear to have been influenced by the events in Barotseland and by the Bambatha Rebellion in Zululand in 1906.

[8]For a discussion of the earlier of these developments, see S. Marks, 'Natal, the Zulu royal family and the ideology of segregation', *Jnl of Southern Afr[ican] Studies* (1978), IV, 172–94; *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal* (Braamfontein, Ravan Press, 1986), 36–7, 41, 69, 71; and 'Patriotism, Patriarchy and Purity: Natal and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism' (Cape Town, Univ. of Cape Town, Centre for Afr. Studies Seminar Paper, 1986). The restoration in 1951 is somewhat surprising in view of South Africa's concern over the problems the British government had with Seretse and Tshkedi Khama in Bechuanaland.

[9]For a wider discussion of this, see T. O. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative*

For all that, the focus of loyalty to the Khumalos gradually blurred. Rhodes although younger than Albert had tended to attract more attention but in 1933 he departed for South Africa where he died in 1937, leaving only young children. Then Albert went south in 1938 where he remained for some years. Nguboyenja lived on in his mimic court in Bulawayo until his death in 1944. Attention then switched back to Albert, who now returned to Matabeleland but lived very quietly on his farm, demeaned by some because of the non-chiefly status of his mother. After his death in 1952 there was even more doubt about the succession; some regarded Albert's eldest son, Nduna, as heir; some preferred Patrick, Rhodes's eldest son; but most tended to look to the virtually unknown half-brother of Albert and Rhodes, Ndabecala. However, none of the three really fitted the bill. Both Nduna and Patrick were born of mothers who were neither chiefly nor even Ndebele; and although Ndabecala was born of a chiefly mother, she was a Gqunukhqwebe who after the death of her husband, Njube, had brought her son up in an entirely Xhosa environment. The 'royal link' was still there but it had become so attenuated that, as will be seen, the support for these 'heirs' was increasingly popular, urban and *holi* rather than traditional from the Khumalos, *zansi* families or Chiefs; and by then – the later 1950s – such a popular movement in any case faced opposition from the government and the Chiefs on the one hand, and competition from growing nationalist movements on the other.

The British South Africa Company's policy of keeping Njube in exile till his death in 1910 and his sons, Albert and Rhodes, in a Xhosa environment until adulthood had succeeded in its purposes of alienation. What follows is a detailed reconstruction of the final stages, after the crisis of 1932–3, of that process of alienation and decline of the concept of a royal family which, surprisingly, has received virtually no attention from historians.[10]

RHODES MPANGO LOBENGULA AND HIS FAMILY

Within a week of his suspended sentence for extortion of cattle Rhodes was reported to be publicly defying the government and the decision of the court. He had boasted outside the courthouse that he would collect his cattle[11] and his great-uncle, Makwelambila, was even talking of collecting cattle to pay for the legal costs![12] This defiance was quite open for Rhodes explained his intentions and reasons in great detail to the Assistant Native Commissioner at Fort Usher on 7 April 1932. In brief he regarded the matter of his father, Njube's ownership of cattle (as distinct from 'royal' cattle in general) as not settled by the court and so open to him to pursue.[13]

Study (London, James Currey, 1985), 99–136, and *Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture & History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe* (Oxford, James Currey, 1999), *passim*.

[10]There are brief references to the royal family in the late 1920s and early 1930s in M. C. Steele, 'The Foundations of a "Native" Policy: Southern Rhodesia, 1923–1933' (Vancouver, Simon Fraser Univ., Ph.D. thesis, 1972), 183–7; R. H. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia* (London, Heinemann, 1977), 226–7; and Makambe, *African Protest Movements in Southern Rhodesia before 1930*, 26–7.

[11]S1542/L13, Sup[erintendan]t [of] Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm[issioner], 9 Apr. 1932.

[12]Ibid., idem, encl[osing]: Native Comm. Fort Usher to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 7 Apr. 1932. For Makwelambila, see R. S. Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula and close associates of the Khumalo family after the Occupation', *Heritage* (1986), VI, 29–30.

[13]S1542/L13, Assist[ant] Native Comm. Fort Usher to Native Comm. Fort Usher, 7 Apr. 1932.

The government began to consider his deportation but decided that it might present tricky legal problems.[14] Rhodes for his part offered to leave provided the government gave him a fully stocked farm and £5 000 and continued to pay his pension of £12.10*s.* a month.[15] This offer was regarded as impudent and the Native Affairs Department raised the question of stopping Rhodes's pension.[16]

The position, however, appears to have rapidly changed when Rhodes became sick and by September he was making more modest requests to the government to buy him land in Natal; he said he would sell all his livestock (some 60 cattle and 50 small stock) and emigrate never to return.[17] The Chief Native Commissioner quickly wrote to the South African Department of Native Affairs asking if this would be possible: there was nothing serious against Rhodes, he said, but the Southern Rhodesian government would be glad to see the back of him and 'his political pretentions [sic]'.[18] The Native Affairs Department in Natal strongly objected to receiving a potential troublemaker but the South African government agreed that Rhodes could settle in the Cape where there was no restriction on Africans acquiring land.[19] Meanwhile it was becoming clear that Rhodes was under pressure because of debts to Bulawayo traders, mainly Indians, who were threatening legal action and civil imprisonment.[20]

The Premier, Moffat, therefore, agreed with the Chief Native Commissioner that the government should help Rhodes pay his debts and buy a farm and he informed his cabinet colleagues that it was 'good policy for us to get this young man out of the country at [such] a moderate cost';[21] and Moffat himself put the purchase of a farm in train through an acquaintance in the Cape while civil servants started to attend to the details. The total cost for the 500-acre farm in view, half a dozen head of cattle and settling debts would come to nearly £2 000, but it was felt to be worth it as Rhodes's impecuniousness could only lead to more demands on the Ndebele – as indeed soon happened when he paid off one debt by getting 19 cattle subscribed to him.[22] There was also fear that he might return unheralded if he got into debt in South Africa – as

[14]S138/92, III, Chief Native Comm. to Secr[etary to the] Premier, 10 May 1932; Secr. Law Dep. to Secr. Premier, 31 May 1932.

[15]Ibid., Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 6 May 1932, encl. Rhodes to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 5 May 1932. This was not entirely a new idea as Rhodes had raised the question in January before the charges, ibid., Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 16 Jan. 1932.

[16]Ibid., Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 8 June 1932.

[17]S1542/L13, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 8 Sept. 1932. Steele, 'The Foundations of a "Native" Policy', 187, gives the wrong impression in saying that Rhodes was 'induced to leave'.

[18]S1542/L13, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Native Aff[air]s, Pretoria, 10 Oct. 1932.

[19]Ibid., Secr. Native Affs, Pretoria, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 5 Nov. 1932; Natl Arch. S. Afr[ica, Pretoria, SAB, NTS, 9830, 1/407, I, Chief Native Comm. Natal to Secr. Native Affs, Pretoria, 26 Oct. 1932. South African officials had to admit, in later interdepartmental correspondence, at least, that Rhodes could claim citizenship, ibid., Secr. Native Affs to Secr. Interior, 19 Dec. 1933, and reply, 9 Jan. 1934

[20]S1542/L13, Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 7 Oct. 1932; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier (Native Affs), 8 Oct. 1932; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 11 Oct. 1932. The extent of these debts kept growing over the next year and it appeared that some were loans to help with his legal expenses; see ibid., Act[in]g Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 30 June 1933; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Prime Minist[er] (Native Affs), 26 Sept. 1933.

[21]Ibid., Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier (Native Affs), 8 Oct. 1932; Memorandum by Premier, 14 Oct. 1932.

[22]S1542/L13, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier (Native Affs), 19 Apr. 1933; Actg Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 30 June 1933; S482/803-39, 'Lobengula's Grandsons . . . Claim to Cattle and Other Activities', Moffat to C. P. S. Alport [Magistrate, Peddie], 3 and 22 Dec. 1932.

was expected – and so his legal residential status had to be clarified and the government was assured that it could declare him a prohibited immigrant if necessary; it was also established that, as South African by birth, Rhodes could freely settle in the Cape.[23]

The Cabinet agreed to buy the 300-morgen farm near Peddie that Moffat had found and to pay half Rhodes's debts if he left for good.[24] Rhodes readily agreed, being, as he put it, between the devil and the deep sea; his only request was that he might come back once a year for a month and take a companion, Dhliso Gumbo with him; both requests appear to have been ignored by the government which feared that these were devices to keep in touch politically with the Ndebele.[25]

Thus during the rainy season of 1933–4 Rhodes Lobengula signed an agreement not to return and so left his father's people, and accompanied by his wife, Rosamond, a Mfengu from King William's Town, settled on his farm, 'Lloyd's', near Peddie.[26] Immediately on arrival he denounced as unsuitable the farm that had been bought for him; and after some hesitation and enquiries, the Southern Rhodesian government reluctantly decided to buy another farm.[27] This was done[28] with the help of the South African government despite the fact that some local official advice was against Rhodes's occupying the farm, 'Gosforth', which was in a European area.[29] By early 1935 Rhodes was happily settled on the new farm together with some cattle loaned to him by the Southern Rhodesian government; he wished he had never gone to Southern Rhodesia,

[23]S1542/L13, Legal Assist., Opinion 150, 26 Apr. 1933 (prohibition would be under section 2(6) of Ordinance 7 of 1914, and he would in any case lose his right of domicile by emigrating to take up residence elsewhere); S1542/L13, Secr. Interior, Pretoria, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 16 Jan. 1934.

[24]S2223/9, Cabinet Resolution 3046, 26 May 1933; S1542/L13, Secr. Premier to Chief Native Comm., 6 June 1933; Chief Native Comm. to Actg Supt Natives Bulawayo, 26 June 1933.

[25]S1542/L13, Rhodes Lobengula, Bulawayo, to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 30 June 1933; Actg Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 4 July 1933, and reply, 8 July 1933; Rhodes Lobengula, Bulawayo, to Chief Native Comm., 4 July 1933. His Khumalo relatives, Joyi, Nyanda and Makwelambila, were informed that the government would not pay those debts of Rhodes for which they had been guarantors, for the government felt that it was they who were largely responsible for his predicament, ibid., Chief Native Comm. to Actg Supt Natives Bulawayo, 20 July 1933; S482/803-39, 'Lobengula's Grandsons . . . Claim to Cattle and Other Activities', Secr. Dep. Prime Minist. to Prime Minist., 26 Sept. 1933.

[26]S482/803-39, 'Lobengula's Grandsons . . . Claim to Cattle and Other Activities', Secr. Dep. Prime Minist. to Secr. Gov., 27 Oct. 1933; S1542/L13, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Native Affs, Pretoria, 25 Nov. 1933. Natl Arch. S. Afr., Pretoria, SAB, NTS, 9830, 1/407, I, Native Comm. Peddie to Chief Native Comm., King William's Town, 29 Jan. 1934; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop[ment, Harare], S1/87 [Lobengula: Settlement of Rhodes Lobengula in the Union: Lloyd's Farm; Gosforth, Peddie], Chief Native Comm. to Under Secr. Dep. Lands, 16 June 1934. Rosamond and others sometimes spelt her name 'Rosamund', but I have consistently used the former.

[27]S1542/L13, Rhodes Mpango Lobengula, Peddie, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 29 Jan. 1934 and n.d. [early Feb. 1934]; Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, to R. R. Tapson [Assist. Native Comm. Charter, on holiday in] East London, 10 Feb. and 16 Mar. 1934; Tapson, East London, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 18 Feb. 1934; S2223/10, Cabinet Resolution 3578, 23 Mar. 1934; S482/803-39, 'Lobengula's Grandsons . . . Claim to Cattle and Other Activities', Actg Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, to Chief Native Comm. Southern Rhodesia, Cape Town, 17 Aug. 1934; Prime Minist. Minute for Gov., 8 Mar. 1935; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, Under Secr. Dep. Lands to Secr. Land Board, Dep. Lands, Cape Town, 20 Feb. 1935. The Southern Rhodesian government had been deceived over the farm which, in the end, the South African government bought for less than half what had been paid, to add to an African area, Natl Arch. S. Afr., Pretoria, SAB, NTS, 9830, 1/407, I, Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, to Secr. Native Affs, Pretoria, 28 Apr. 1934 (telegr.); Secr. Native Affs, Pretoria, to Chief Native Comm., King William's Town, 13 Sept. 1934; II, Native Comm. Peddie to Chief Native Comm., King William's Town, 2 May 1944.

[28]Zwelitsha, Deeds Office, Farm Gosforth, Portion I, Deed of Transfer 2568, 4 Apr. 1935; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 4 Apr. 1935, and to Under Secr. Dep. Lands, Salisbury, 9 May 1935.

[29]Natl Arch. S. Afr., Pretoria, SAB, NTS, 9830, 1/407, I, Chief Native Comm., King William's Town, to Secr. Native Affs, Pretoria, 1 May 1934 (telegr.).

he said, and his only complaint was that the Xhosa and Mfengu were dishonest and made poor servants and labourers and that he was lonely for Dhliso's company and news from Albert.[30]

Life still was not easy for Rhodes, however. A Coloured girl who had borne Rhodes two children in Bulawayo was threatening legal proceedings as the only way to obtain the financial support that the government felt unable to deduct from the monthly pension of £12.10*s.* still being paid to Rhodes.[31] Rhodes promised to send her money but at the same time asked the government for further financial assistance to buy more cattle, which the government refused.[32] A few months later Rhodes was in similar sexual-financial trouble when legal proceedings to attach the cattle on Rhodes's farm were begun in a case for damages for seduction.[33] On this unhappy but not uncharacteristic note, the story of Rhodes comes to an end, for he died by drowning on 16 January 1937. According to the inquest he had been trying to take a short cut by crossing the Fish River to part of his farm where he was going to thin mealies.[34] A local oral tradition, however, is that he was hunting duck (hence the gun he had with him according to the inquest) and that his ancestral spirits under the water called him to them.[35] He was buried next to his father, Njube, in Grahamstown and the Southern Rhodesian government decided that it was politic, to avoid any suspicions, that it should pay for three Queens accompanied by Ntando, to go to Grahamstown for the funeral.[36] A tombstone was erected later, paid for by a subscription among the Ndebele with a contribution by the government to enable two representatives to go down for the dedication on 18 August 1938.[37]

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[30]S1542/L13, Rhodes M. Lobengula, Gosforth, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 16 Feb. and 9 Apr. 1935. The Chief Native Commissioner replied in a non-committal but fatherly manner, ibid., 26 Feb. 1935. It appears that Albert did not get on with Rhodes, ibid., Chief Native Comm. to Minist. Native Affs, 21 Dec. 1933. Dhliso Gumbo did go to Rhodes's farm to help, ibid., Supt Natives Bulawayo to Immigration Officer Mafeking, 7 Sept. 1935, but had returned to Southern Rhodesia some time in 1936, Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2 [Lobengula and Widow Rosamund], Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, to Magistrate Peddie, 16 Oct. 1937 and Rosamond Lobengula to idem, 31 Oct. 1937. For more on the cattle, see below, fn. 42.

[31]S1542/L13, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 10 Dec. 1934; Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 13 Dec. 1934. Mr Nsele Hlabangana, Bulawayo, interview, 7 Apr. 1990, had met Rhodes and said that he was 'a terrible womanizer'.

[32]S1542/L13, Rhodes Lobengula to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 4 July 1935; Rhodes Mpango Lobengula to Chief Native Comm., 27 July 1933, and reply by Actg Chief Native Comm., 6 Aug. 1935.

[33]Ibid., A. M. Alport, Attorney, Peddie, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 23 Jan. 1936; Bennett and Mears, Peddie, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 18 Feb. 1936; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop. HIS/1/6 [Lobengula's Descendants], A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 18 Jan. (telegr.) and 9 Mar. 1936.

[34]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Native Comm. Peddie to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 8 Feb. 1937, encl. J. Addleson, District Surgeon Peddie, 'Report of Post-Mortem Examination', 18 Jan. 1937; J. T. Boast, Magistrate Peddie, 'Inquest-Lykskoving', 21 Jan. 1937.

[35]Interview by Mr N. J. de Beer on my behalf with Mrs Boqwana, Mpeko Location, Dabi Tribal Authority, Nov. 1982.

[36]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 22 Jan. 1937; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Treasury, 26 Jan. 1937; Actg Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 11 Feb. 1937 (telegr.); Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 1 Mar. 1937. The Queens were Mcupela, Moko and Fulo. For Ntando's position, see Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula', 30–1.

[37]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 6 Feb. 1937; Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 9 Feb. 1937; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Treasury, 10 Dec. 1937; Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 18 Dec. 1937; *East Afr. and Rhodesia* (1937–8), XIV, 1461. See also the inscription in English and Ndebele on the stone, Grahamstown, Fingo Village, Old Native Location Cemetery.

The government meanwhile had decided to give Rosamond £10 a month towards the expense of bringing up the five young children.[38] She appears to have been fairly comfortably off and to have managed the farm well,[39] but she was temporarily embarrassed when the settlement of Rhodes's estate finally showed net liabilities of £265 even after the sale of the 27 head of cattle and 19 goats that he had left near the Queens Kraal in Inyati.[40] The government, however, refused to give her a loan despite its evident relief that there was no repetition of the claim to royal cattle as there had been in Njube's will. The traditional basis of the royal family and its power had gone. An era had ended.

After this there was little contact between Rosamond and the Southern Rhodesian government, except for some routine correspondence about the despatch and receipt of her monthly allowance of £10. There appears to have been no contact between the Ndebele and the children; the first two girls and Patrick, the third child, had been born in Matabeleland, but they appear to have shown no interest in their Ndebele descent and they and Rosamond had no intention of breaking the understanding made by Rhodes that the farm and allowances were in return for never returning to Southern Rhodesia.[41] To ensure that this never happened, in fact, the Southern Rhodesian government retained the title deeds in its name but this backfired a few years later when in 1942 the local veterinary authorities in the Cape insisted that the owner of the farm and the cattle, that is the Southern Rhodesian government, build a cattle-dip on the farm. The Treasury resisted the further expenditure involved and proposed to sell the farm and compensate Rosamond by raising her allowance.[42] The Native Affairs Department strongly objected

[38]S2223/13, Resolution 5316, 2 Apr. 1937. The sources give very contradictory information about the children but what appears to most reliable (Natl Arch. S. Afr., Pretoria, SAB, NTS, 9830, 1/407, II, Findlay & Tait, Cape Town, to Secr. Native Affs Pretoria, 8 Oct. 1943) is as follows (with additional facts followed by their source in brackets): the eldest child, Ruth Nikiwe, was born in Southern Rhodesia (Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Supt Natives Matableland to Chief Native Comm., 17 Feb. 1937; Under Secr. Adm[inistration]. Native Affs, Memorandum, 26 Nov. 1959) on 22 June 1927, illegitimately to another woman eighteen months before Rhodes married Rosamond; when she was baptized on 14 Nov. 1938 (St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Register of Baptisms, 414, No. 2661), however, her birth date was given as 27 June. Then came Rosamond's offspring: Christina Nomatasanqa, born in Southern Rhodesia (Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Supt Natives Matabeleland to Chief Native Comm., 17 Feb. 1937) on 14 Aug. 1930 (baptized 28 Dec. 1930, St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Register of Baptisms, 326 No. 2284); Patrick Boyd Fana, born on 31 Aug. 1932 in Bulawayo (Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Under Secr. Adm. Native Affs Dep. to Minist. Native Affs, Memorandum, 26 Nov. 1959); Gladys Zila Nodoli, born 23 Mar. 1934 (baptized on 12 Aug. 1934, St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Register of Baptisms, 355, No. 2409); and Faith Zola, born 4 Oct. 1936.

[39]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Rosamond Lobengula to Magistrate Peddie, 31 Oct. 1937; A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Native Comm. Bulawayo, 21 Nov. 1938.

[40]Ibid., Actg Native Comm. Salisbury to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 23 June 1937; Native Comm. Inyati to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 9 Apr. 1938; A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Native Comm. Bulawayo, 21 Nov. 1938.

[41]Ibid., Under Secr. Adm. Native Affs Memorandum, 26 Nov. 1959; Secr. Native Affs to H. G. Levy, Grahamstown, 15 Dec. 1959. One point of contact, of interest in view of later developments, came in 1941–2 when Ndabecala, half-brother to Albert and Rhodes by Njube's second wife, Mary Nongokwakhe Kama, wrote to a surprised Rosamond expressing his need for financial assistance and his desire to be reunited with the family of Lobengula, ibid., Ndaba, Iqibecca [sic], to sister [Rosamond Lobengula], [Nov.] 1941; R. N. Lobengula to Native Comm. Peddie, 23 Nov. 1941; Actg Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 6 Dec. 1941. The Southern Rhodesia government let it be known that he had never been recognized officially and the matter ended with Rosamond taking him on as a labourer, ibid., Secr. Native Affs Salisbury, to Native Comm. Peddie, 10 Dec. 1941; Native Comm. Peddie to Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, 16 Feb. 1942. No more is heard of him until 1946 and then again some eighteen months before the death of Albert in December 1952, and for a similar period thereafter the Kings of Matabeleland Fund Committee of the Matabele Home Society took an interest in him; see below, fns 116–23.

[42]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, Minist. Native Affs, minute for Cabinet, 4 Jan. 1943.

on the ground that it would be a breach of faith which might lead to new complications; and so it proposed that the Southern Rhodesian government should pay for the dip-tank but then transfer the farm and cattle to Rosamond Lobengula in trust for her children in order to avoid any future liabilities; in return the family should accept that: firstly, this was a final settlement of any claims on the government; secondly, the pension would be reduced as each child reached sixteen years of age and would be extinguished on the death of Rosamond; and, thirdly, none of them would ever attempt to return to Southern Rhodesia.[43]

All concerned – the Cabinet, Treasury and Rosamond – accepted this compromise;[44] and in view of the 'political significance . . . [it was] deemed . . . desirable . . . to obtain the approval of the Kumalo family', and this was achieved without any trouble; as the roots of the royal family were withering, so now branches of the family tree were being pruned away.[45] The help of the South African government was also obtained to get round the formalities of transferring land not in an area scheduled for Africans to the Lobengulas.[46] Thus in 1944 the farm was finally transferred from the name of the Southern Rhodesian government into that of the five children subject to a usufruct to their mother for life,[47] but the actual transfer documents were still retained in Salisbury, in order to be able to enforce the understanding that none of Rhodes's family would ever try to return to Southern Rhodesia.[48]

Little else is known about the family that was by now virtually South African and Mfengu. It appears that the children went to school in Grahamstown[49] and lived with Anti Ngqondela (an old retainer who had virtually brought up Albert and Rhodes single-handedly),[50] at least until sometime in the 1940s when Rosamond sublet the farm first to a European and then to two Africans so that she herself could live in Grahamstown.[51] The son, Patrick, went to St Matthews[52] and in 1947 was intending to go to Lovedale in the following year.[53] Whether he did or not is not known but in 1949 he attended

[43]Ibid.

[44]S2223/19, Resolution 7299, 13 Jan. 1943; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, Secr. Treasury to Auditor General, 9 Feb. 1943; copy of undated note of acceptance signed by Rosamond Lobengula.

[45]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, Secr. Native Affs to Secr. Treasury, 29 Jan. 1943.

[46]Natl Arch. S. Afr., Pretoria, SAB, NTS, 9830, 1/407, II, Findlay & Tait, Cape Town, to Coghlan, Welsh & Guest, Salisbury, 6 July 1943, and to Secr. Native Affs, Pretoria, 8 Oct. 1943; Actg Secr. Native Affs, Pretoria, to idem, Salisbury, 23 Oct. 1943. The farm adjoined a scheduled area, Dabi's Location, but by this time had been leased out by Rosamond to a European farmer, ibid., Native Comm. Peddie to Chief Native Comm., King William's Town, 2 May 1944.

[47]Zwelitsha, Deeds Office, Portion I, Farm Gosforth, Deed of Transfer 9485, 10 July 1944; Notarial Deed . . . of Life Usufruct 222, 13 June 1944; Minist. Local. Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., S1/87, Under Secr. Dep. Lands to Secr. Treasury, 21 July 1944.

[48]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Coghlan, Welsh & Guest, Salisbury, to Under Secr. Dep. Lands, 8 Aug. 1944; Secr. Native Affs to H. G. Levy, Grahamstown, 15 Dec. 1959. There was apparently some doubt if their return could in fact be prevented legally, ibid., S1/87, Chief Native Comm. to Minist. Native Affs, 29 July 1943.

[49]Ibid., X40/2, Supt Natives Matabeleland to Chief Native Comm., 17 Feb. 1937.

[50]Ibid., X40 [Relatives and Retainers of Lobengula], Anti Ngqondela, Grahamstown, to Magistrate Grahamstown, 10 Jan. 1939; X40/2, Secr. Native Affs to Secr. Prime Minist. (Native Affs), 16 Feb. 1939.

[51]Ibid., X40/2, Rosamond Lobengula, Grahamstown, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 23 Nov. 1947; A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, 24 Aug. 1959; Natl Arch. S. Afr., Pretoria, SAB, NTS, 9830, 1/407, II, Native Comm. Peddie to Chief Native Comm., King William's Town, 2 May 1944; *The Afr. Home News*, 31 July 1954.

[52]Interview with Mrs Boqwana; *The Afr. Home News*, 14 Aug. 1954.

[53]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Rosamond Lobengula, Grahamstown, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 23 Nov. 1947.

Langa High School in Cape Town where he passed his Cape Senior Certificate.[54] He entered the South African Native College, as it was then known, at Fort Hare in 1950 to read for a B.Sc. degree of the University of South Africa and/or Rhodes University with the hope of qualifying thereafter as a medical practitioner.[55] He was apparently not a very good student[56] and he failed in his major subjects and so never obtained a degree.[57] While repeating part of the course he taught for six months at St Matthews where his mother had become a house-mistress.[58] And so he turned to teaching and obtained a non-graduate certificate (at Fort Hare or Wentworth in 1953–4); he then taught at various schools in Natal (including three years at Amanzimtoti Zulu Training School (the former Adams College). In 1964 he moved back to the Cape to teach at the Cradock Secondary School (now the Sam Xhallie Junior Secondary School), where he remained until shortly before his death.[59] While a teacher he married Thelma Cecilia, a midwife, and their first child was named Rhodes after his grandfather.[60] Little is known of Patrick's sisters, except that Gladys attended St Matthew's and Faith went to Tiger Kloof; by 1954 Ruth and Cristina were in jobs, in Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, respectively,[61] and it was probably one of these two older sister who had attended Bensonvale Institution.[62] They all married and/or had children.[63]

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[54]Univ. of Fort Hare, Registry, P. B. F. Lobengula, 'South African Native College: Form of Application for Admission', lodged 1 Feb. 1950; personal communication from Mr K. B. Tabata, 3 Aug. 1989.

[55]Ibid., idem and 'South African Native College: Certificate of Admission to Class', 1950; idem, 1952; idem, 1954; and 'Rhodes University Attendance and Performance Certificate', 1951; idem, 1952. He was also enrolled with the University of South Africa for the B.Sc degree and passed three courses in 1950, personal communication from the Registrar (Academic), Univ. of S. Afr., 16 Apr. 1985.

[56]Interview with Mrs Boqwana. An Ndebele interviewee in Harare in 1983 who wishes to remain anonymous said that Patrick, when he was at Fort Hare, drank heavily and was 'a disgrace to the name he bore'.

[57]Univ. of Fort Hare, Registry, Acting Principal, Univ. College of Fort Hare, 'This is to certify that Mr Patrick Boyd Fana Lobengula . . .', 30 Oct. 1954; personal communication from Mr K. B. Tabata, 3 Aug. 1989. According to C. G. Ngcebetsha, Patrick obtained his B.A. at Fort Hare in 1958 (*The Afr. Home News*, 2 Aug. 1958; for Ngcebetsha and his interest, see below, fns 114, 132, 143–5), but this is probably a confusion with his U.E.D., as the registries at Fort Hare and at UNISA are unable to trace any degree, personal communications from the Chief Public Relations Officer, Univ. of Fort Hare, 16 Feb., 18 Mar. and 9 May 1985; and the Registrar (Academic), Univ. of South Africa, 16 Apr. 1985.

[58]Ibid.; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Rosamond Lobengula, Grahamstown, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 28 Jan. 1953; Univ. of Fort Hare, Registry, P. B. F. Lobengula, 'South African Native College: Form of Application for Admission', lodged 1 Feb. 1950, and Acting Principal, Univ. College of Fort Hare, 'This is to certify that Mr Patrick Boyd Fana Lobengula . . .', 30 Oct. 1954; *The Afr. Home News*, 31 July 1954; *Grocott's Daily Mail*, 20 Feb. 1961.

[59]Personal communications from Miss Dolly Mda (Patrick's niece), Port Elizabeth, 20 Feb. 1984, and Mr K. B. Tabata, 3 Aug. 1989.

[60]Personal communication from Miss Dolly Mda; St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Baptism Register, 17, No. 151, 23 Dec. 1962 (Rhodes Zila, born 6 Sept. 1962).

[61]*The Afr. Home News*, 14 Aug. 1954.

[62]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Rosamond Lobengula, Grahamstown, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 23 Nov. 1947.

[63]Personal communications from Mrs B. M. N. Tsotsobe, 5 Feb. 1990; Miss Dolly Mda (Gladys's daughter), and Mrs S. Sehloio, Mazenod, 16 Oct. 1984 (Faith Zola who has seven children); St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Baptism Register, 636, No. 3499, 4 Aug. 1952 (Ruth Lobengula's daughter, Gladys Tozana, born 1 May 1949), and 709, No. 3962 (b), 23 Dec. 1956 (Ruth Lobengula's child, Faniswa, born 6 May 1955); Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, signed statement by Rosamond's children [May 1960]: Cristina signs as Christina Nomothamsanga Mgqolombe; and St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Baptism Register, 531, No. 3072, 6 June 1946 (Cristina Lobengula's child, Padrona Nokuzola, born 10 Oct. 1954); and 636, No. 3498, 4 Aug. 1952 (Cristina Lobengula's son, Patrick Booi Tando, born 10 Oct. 1951).

Meanwhile Rosamond had to make a living to take care of her five children particularly as their allowance from the Southern Rhodesian government ceased as they reached sixteen years of age.[64] First she leased the farm[65] to be near the children in Grahamstown where she worked as a teacher and then as they dispersed she went to, St Matthew's in 1953, where Patrick joined her, as has been seen.[66] It was during this time, in 1954 and 1955, that Rosamond and her children were contacted by the Matabele Home Society which was looking for an heir, following Albert's death at the end of 1952; this led to a visit to Bulawayo by Rosamond in 1958 but nothing more came of it, as will be seen.[67] Indeed the link between her and her children and Southern Rhodesia was soon to be broken. In 1959 Rosamond became worried about the future of her children and their farm as the Group Areas Board had recommended that the area around Gosforth should become a White area. She, therefore, wondered whether she should sell up and try to buy a farm elsewhere. Her chances of doing this, however, appeared to be remote and on balance the feeling of the Southern Rhodesian government was that she should hold on to see if the Board's recommendation would be implemented, but that, if she insisted on selling, there was nothing the government could do to stop her if the children also agreed to the sale.[68] After all, the government's 'primary consideration is that none of the family should return to Southern Rhodesia';[69] and so, when Rosamond's attorneys entered into negotiations with prospective purchasers, the government agreed to give her the deeds provided that Rosamond and the children signed an undertaking never to return to Southern Rhodesia.[70] Rosamond had no objection to her own and her daughters' signing, as they all had South African domicile by birth or by marriage, but the son Patrick who had been born in Matabeleland had not, apparently, acquired domicile and so could be deported; nevertheless Patrick along with the rest of the family signed the required undertaking, whereupon the deeds were sent to them.[71]

Eight months later Rosamond was dead (9 February 1961) and she was buried ten days later in Grahamstown next to Rhodes, her husband, and his father.[72] The Matabele were represented by John Hlabangana, the only one of the four representatives proposed by the Matabele Home Society for whom the Southern Rhodesian government obtained

[64]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40, Memorandum, 'Subsidies to the Wives and Children of Lobengula', 1 May 1950; X40/2, Actg Assist. Secr. Adm. Native Affs to Secr. Treasury, 26 Sept. 1952.

[65]See above, fn. 51; see also Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, 24 Aug. 1959

[66]See above, fn. 58

[67]See below, fns 124–6.

[68]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40/2, Rosamond N. Lobengula, St Matthews, to Chief Native Comm., 23 Mar. 1959; Bantu Affs Comm. Peddie to Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, 5 May 1959; A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, 4 and 16 Sept. 1959; Under Secr. Lands to Secr. Native Affs, 21 Oct. 1959; Secr. Justice and Internal Affs to Secr. Native Affs, 27 Oct. 1959.

[69]Ibid., Under Secr. Adm. Native Affs, Memorandum, 'Rhodes Lobengula's Farm in the Union of South Africa', 26 Nov. 1959.

[70]Ibid., Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, to H. G. Levy, Grahamstown, 15 Dec. 1959.

[71]Ibid., R. N. Lobengula to Secr. Native Affs, 18 May 1960; signed statements, n.d. [May 1960] by P. Boyd Fana Lobengula, Gladys Zila Lobengula, Faith Zola Sehloho, Cristina Nomothamsanga Mgqolombe, Ruth Nikiwe Lobengula, and Rosamond Nombina Lobengula; Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, to Mrs R. N. Lobengula, 31 May 1960, encl. deeds.

[72]*Grocott's Daily Mail*, 20 Feb. 1961; Grahamstown, Fingo Village, Old Native Location Cemetery, inscription in English and Xhosa on tombstone; all three graves are in a very dilapidated state.

emergency travel documents from the South African authorities.[73] The link between Rhodes Lobengula and the Southern Rhodesia government was now completely broken. The children no longer received any pension and the government said it was of no concern to Southern Rhodesia if they wished to sell the farm Gosforth – which they did, to a European purchaser in 1965.[74] Patrick died on 18 November 1968 and his wife, known locally as Nurse Lobengula, died in Port Alfred in 1983.[75] One of their sons, Rhodes Zila, died in July 1984; the three other children were still alive in the late 1980s when I was in contact with them: namely, Humphrey Mncedisi, who was living in Port Elizabeth, and his two sisters who were in Lesotho, Nombomi Ntomboxolo, a teacher, and Amanda Zolisa, a Science undergraduate at university there. Of Patrick's four sisters, Ruth died in 1964 and Christina in 1980 but, as has been seen,[76] they both had surviving children; of the two surviving sisters, Faith was living with her husband and seven children in Lesotho, and Gladys with her husband and family in Port Elizabeth. Their knowledge of their royal ancestry appears not to go back further than Rhodes Mpango and their only interest really is the sad state of the graves in Grahamstown.[77] In that the family has ceased to exist politically, the exile of Rhodes in 1933, and of his father before him, had achieved the desired effect.

ALBERT SOLNISO LOBENGULA AND HIS FAMILY

Meanwhile, as briefly indicated earlier, Rhodes's elder brother, Albert, who had not been prosecuted in the 1932 extortion case – more by luck than innocence[78] – had found himself in a rather different sort of trouble over cattle.

In June 1933, just as Rhodes was agreeing to leave Southern Rhodesia for good, Albert was arrested for theft of seven head of cattle belonging to a European neighbour of his near the Queens Kraal where Albert ran some 150 head of his own; he was found guilty and sentenced to nine months hard labour.[79] This case seems to have put and end to hopes that the Native Affairs Department had of getting Albert to accompany

[73]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., HIS/1/6, Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, to High Comm for S. Afr., Salisbury, 13 Feb. 1961, and reply, 14 Feb. 1961; *The Sunday Mail*, 19 Feb. 1961. The exclusion of the other three was because the Native Department regarded them as Kalanga with no *locus standi* with the Khumalo family, J. M. Hlabangana, Bulawayo, interview, 4 Mar. 1990; see also below, fn. 141.

[74]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., HIS/1/6, Secr. Eastern Cape Committee of Group Areas Board, Port Elizabeth, to Chief Bantu Affs Comm., King William's Town, 4 May 1961, and reply, 10 May 1961; Chief Bantu Affs Comm., King William's Town, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, n.d., and reply by Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, 30 May 1961; Cape Town, Deeds Office, Portion I of Farm Gosforth. Eleven years later it was sold to the Development Trust at a vast profit.

[75]Personal communications from Miss Dolly Mda; Revd W. S. Mawa, St Alfred's, 1 Feb. 1984; and Mr Humphrey M. Lobengula, Port Elizabeth, 4 Sept. 1987. It seems that Patrick died of tuberculosis, like his grandfather, Njube, interview with Mrs Boqwana.

[76]See above, fn. 63.

[77]Personal communications from Miss Dolly Mda, Mrs Faith Sehloho, and Mrs B. M. N. Tssotobe, and Mr Humphrey Lobengula. My letters on their behalf to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mr Joshua Nkomo were never even acknowledged.

[78]S1542/L13, Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 2 Apr. 1932, and reply, 27 Apr. 1932; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier (Native Affs), 10 May 1932, and reply by Private Secr., 14 May 1932; Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 17 May 1932. He was demoted in rank in his job as Messenger-Interpreter with the Native Affairs Department.

[79]Ibid., Actg Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 16 June 1933; Native Comm. Inyati to Chief Native Comm., 26 June 1933, encl. the committal proceedings, 21 June 1933; and 28 July 1933, encl. record of the trial, 25 July 1933; Comm. B.S.A.P. to Chief Native Comm., 18 July 1933.

Rhodes.[80] After he had been in prison about two months, six of Lobengula's Queens petitioned for his release[81] which was granted by the government, 'as a gesture of good will towards the Matabele people, so that they could join in the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the occupation of Matabeleland, without that sense of distress which they may have felt, at the incarceration of the eldest grandson of their late King'.[82]

Albert, however, had other problems and debts, and no job, and it appears that he and the government both agreed that it would be better if he left Matabeleland; and so it was arranged that he should yield his rights to the Queens Kraal (where he had been living but which no Queen had occupied for many years) in return for a Purchase Area farm in the Fort Victoria district.[83] But this took time to arrange and the Native Affairs Department officials in Fort Victoria were obstructive, objecting strongly to having 'a mob of Matabele with their anti European ideas' in their District where many respectable Shona farmers had long been waiting for farms to be surveyed for them; as a compromise it was finally decided that Albert might go to Devure where the Basuto farmers had settled.[84] Albert inspected land in the area but had apparently changed his mind by then and wanted to stay on the Queens' Kraal (which had now become part of the new Native (Purchase) Area (No. 3) in the Bubi District; this the Chief Native Commissioner refused because 'we lack confidence in him'.[85]

There were then rumours that Albert had changed his mind about going to join Rhodes, but the government insisted that it had no plans to buy a farm for him in the Cape.[86] He then finally persuaded the Native Affairs Department to re-employ him as a Messenger-Interpreter but, at his own request, in Salisbury: he was, he said, anxious to get away from Matabeleland and the government agreed that this was best for all concerned.[87] He said that he wanted to look for land in Mashonaland but just before Rhodes died Albert visited Peddie to inspect the farm adjoining Gosforth with the idea of taking Nguboyenja there to live;[88] and after the funeral Albert considered going to live with Rhodes's family on Gosforth or the neighbouring farm if the government would buy it for him.[89] This the government declined to do and Albert decided to

[80]Ibid., Actg Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 30 June 1933.

[81]Ibid., Funisą, Mcupela, Mangosi, Ngunguse, Marho and Manxubu to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 3 Oct. 1933.

[82]S1020, Circular Minute No. 25, 15 Nov. 1933. Seven Queens (the six petitioners and Fungo) thanked the Native Affairs Department and a deputation of four Queens later went to Salisbury to thank the government for this early release, S1542/L13, Queens to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 7 Nov. 1933; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 9 May 1934.

[83]S1542/L13, Chief Native Comm. to J. E. Nicholls, Solicitor, Salisbury, 29 Nov. 1933; Assist. Director of Native Lands to Chief Native Comm., 28 Nov. 1933; Chief Native Comm. to Minist. Native Affs, 21 Dec. 1933.

[84]Ibid., Native Comm. Fort Victoria to Chief Native Comm., 18 June 1934; Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Victoria, 30 June 1934.

[85]Ibid., Native Comm. Fort Victoria to Chief Native Comm., 8 Nov. 1934; Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 28 Nov. 1934; Native Comm. Inyati to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 11 Dec. 1934; Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 14 Dec. 1934. For the incorporation of the Queen's Native Location into a Purchase Area, see the Land Apportionment Act (No. 30 of 1930), Schedule 1, Native Area, Bubi (3).

[86]Ibid., E. Leach, Peddie, to Chief Native Comm., 8 July 1935, and reply, 22 July 1935.

[87]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., HIS/1/6, Native Comm. Inyati to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 17 Jan. 1936; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., n.d. [Jan. 1936], 29 Jan. 1936; Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, to Town Clerk, Grahamstown, 24 Apr. 1939.

[88]Ibid., Native Comm. Inyati to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 17 Jan. 1936; A. M. Alport, Peddie, to Native Comm. Salisbury, 27 Jan. 1937.

[89]Ibid., X40/2, Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 20 Feb. 1937; Chief Native Comm. to Native Comm. Salisbury, 25 May 1938; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 17 Feb. 1937.

continue working in the Native Commissioner's office in Salisbury.[90] Nevertheless in July 1938 he resigned and, probably to avoid numerous debts in Southern Rhodesia, went to live in Grahamstown, where he obtained a job with the Town Council.[91]

Sometime later he returned to Southern Rhodesia and by 1945 he had purchased a farm in the Gwatemba Native Purchase Area where he lived, still drawing his pension of £12.10*s*. a month,[92] but unable to afford his children a good education.[93] His status was recognized by his appointment as Honorary President of the Matabele Home Society,[94] but he does not appear to have played an active role,[95] perhaps because he was not in the best of health.[96] He died on his farm on 4 December 1952 where he was buried two days later; he was survived by two sons of his first marriage, both of whom were in South Africa, and his second wife and her nine children.[97] His oldest son, Nduna, asked the government if he could continue to receive the allowance paid to his father, but this was refused in line with a policy decision some five years earlier that pensions to the royal family should not be perpetuated into the next generation.[98] Nine years later he asked again on the ground that he was still supporting his father's children who were minors. This was again refused as a matter of policy but Albert's widow was granted £3 a month, not as a pension or subsidy but as a Destitute's Allowance[99] – thus was royalty humbled. Nduna did make fleeting appearances, as will be seen,

[90]Ibid., HIS/1/6, Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, to A. M. Alport, Peddie, 6 Feb. 1937; X40/2, Supt Natives Bulawayo, minute, 23 Feb. 1937, on Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 20 Feb. 1937.

[91]Ibid., HIS/1/6, Town Clerk, Grahamstown, to Secr. Native Affs, Salisbury, 30 Mar. 1939, and reply, 24 Apr. 1939; Chief Native Comm. to Native Comm. Salisbury, 5 Mar. 1937 and 26 July 1939.

[92]*The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 12 July 1945; Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40, Secr. Native Affs to Controller and Auditor General, 17 Nov. 1952.

[93]Natl Arch. Zimbabwe, Bulawayo, Papers of Revd W. A. Carnegie, Box 5443, Reports and Pamphlets A–Z, S. H. Mayedya, Chairman Matabele Home Society to Revd [A. J.] Haile, Hope Fountain, 28 Mar. 1946. For the children, see below, fn. 97.

[94]S2584/4251, Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland to Chief Native Comm., 8 Aug. 1945.

[95]Ibid., reports of meetings from 1945 to his death in 1952 show him as always absent.

[96]*The Afr. Weekly*, 6 Oct. 1948.

[97]*The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 12 Dec. 1952; *The Bantu Mirror*, 13 Dec. 1952. I have not succeeded in verifying the details of these children. A son by the name of Nduna was regarded as heir, as will be seen; born in 1925 (Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., HIS/1/6, Nduna A. Lobengula to [Native Comm. Filabusi, May 1962]), he appears to be, but is not certainly so, the son of Angelina Kusina Mquda, probably from the Eastern Cape, who married Albert on 9 July 1925 (Full Marriage Certificate from Department of Home Affairs, Pretoria) and appears to be the relict of 1952. Nduna's younger siblings appear to be: Tembe (b. 1932), Vuyo (b. 1934), Manani (b. 1936) and David (b. 1938) according to his note cited earlier in this footnote; but the same note and an earlier report (ibid., Native Comm. Filabusi to Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland, 29 Mar. 1962) also name Didiya (b. 1946), Albertino (b. 1948), Tokozile (b. 1949), Komu (b. 1952), Wewe (b. 1953), Ntjiye (b. 1953) and Hlaluse (b. 1956) of whom the last three were probably not children but grandchildren of Albert, but not Nduna's children (they were Tandiwe (b. 1947), Charles (b. 1952), Vuyisile (b. 1954), Sitembiso (b. 1955) and Nomsa (b. 1960)).

[98]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., X40, Assist. Native Comm. Fort Rixon to Prov[incial] Native Comm. Matabeleland, 22 Mar. 1953; Assist. Secr. Adm. to Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland, 2 Apr. 1953. The decision not to perpetuate the status of royalty by granting pensions had come suddenly in 1948 when the local officials of the Native Affairs Department in Matabeleland had recommended that a pension be granted to Matala, the senior son of Nyanda, son of Mzilikazi, who died in 1946; the Chief Native Commissioner, however, disagreed and decreed that these royal pensions should lapse in time; see ibid., Assist. Native Comm. Essexvale to Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland, 29 May 1948; Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland to Chief Native Comm., 19 June 1948; Chief Native Comm. to Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland, 16 July 1948. For the lapse in time, see Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula', 32.

[99]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., HIS/1/6, Nduna A. Lobengula to [Native Comm. Filabusi, Dec. 1961]; Native Comm. Filabusi to Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland South, 2 Jan. 1962, and reply, 6 Jan. 1962, and reply, 29 Mar. 1962; Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland South to Under Secr. Adm. Native Affs, 3 Apr. 1962, and reply by Secr. Native Affs, 25 May 1962; Native Comm. Filabusi to Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland South, 30 May 1962; Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland South to Under Secr. Adm. Native Affs, 4 June 1962, and reply by Secr. Native Affs, 14 June 1962.

but he made no political impression and his death in January 1990 appears to have marked the end of Albert's line as an effective branch of the royal family.[100]

THE ROYAL FAMILY AFTER RHODES'S DEATH AND ALBERT'S DEPARTURE

Since first Rhodes and then Albert had left Matabeleland, between 1933 and 1936 consequent upon their problems described above, the royal family had been inactive. The titular head was the reclusive mute, Nguboyenja, the senior of the 'royal' brothers and uncle to Rhodes and Albert; but his cottage in Bulawayo was still something of a focal point for loyalist Khumalo sentiment.[101] Thus the government was still concerned to deny the Khumalos any recognition and in 1936 rejected a move (by local Whites) to erect a memorial to Mzilikazi – that 'barbarian' as Huggins bluntly put it.[102] But with Rhodes's death in 1937 and Albert's departure for South Africa a year later official attitudes began to soften, just when there was a growing interest in history and the countryside in which it was embedded, as I have described elsewhere.[103] Thus in 1941 the Mzilikazi Memorial was erected at Mhlahlandlela near Fort Usher; and it and the grave of Mzilikazi at Entumbane, and the grave of Lobengula at Mlindi, were declared National Monuments, in 1942 and 1943, respectively. And when Nguboyenja died in 1944 the government paid for an impressive funeral, attended by Native Department officials, and he was laid to rest with considerable pomp at the foot of Entumbane; and as a further gesture of respect to the Khumalo family Manja Khumalo was given a pension and allowed to live on at the cottage in Bulawayo where he had cared for Nguboyenja for some sixteen years. Njube had been a potential threat; Rhodes and Albert a persistent nuisance; Nguboyenja a pathetic encumbrance; now the Khumalos, because increasingly weak and almost figures of legend, could without danger be incorporated into a general White version of history.

This weakening position of the royal family was not lost on the Ndebele and the Matabele Home Society; and both at Nguboyenja's funeral and at the Society's pilgrimage to Entumbabe in December 1946 (itself an invented 'tradition' to regain ground) speeches sought to magnify royalty and dignify it by identifying it with the Matopos, Cecil Rhodes and Worlds View:[104] now Whites, because strong, had to be incorporated to bolster a particularist Ndebele version of history This was a development of that cultural traditionalism, begun by the Khumalos, I suggested, with the return of Nguboyenja in 1928, gradually replacing overt demands for a paramount; and this was now even more necessary to help fill the void created by Nguboyenja's death, which Albert's return to Matabeleland seemingly did little to remedy.

Thus as early as 1946 the Matabele Home Society said that it was searching for Ndabecala, the virtually unknown third son of Njube by his second marriage,[105] for there was a growing fear that the royal family was disintegrating because of the

[100]See below, fns 115, 120–1; Mr Mhlangdura Khumalo, Bulawayo, 15 Mar. 1990. interview.

[101]Full details of the cottage are in S138/92, II, and are summarised in Roberts, 'Nguboyenja',

[102]Natl Arch. Zimbabwe, Bulawayo, Papers of Revd W. A. Carnegie, Box 5442/55 (Mzilikazi Memorial), Huggins to Chairman of National Welfare Committee of Bulawayo Rotary Club, 3 June 1936.

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

[104]Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks*, 123–4, 145–6, has more detail on this but set into a somewhat different context.

[105]S2584/4251, Secr. Matabele Home Society, Bulawayo, to Prov. Native Comm., 11 Nov. 1946.

unsuitability of Albert and his eldest son, Nduna, and of Sidojiwe, the only surviving 'royal' son of Lobengula. But Ndabecala was elusive and increasingly the search turned to symbols of royalty in the absence of the real thing. In 1945 the Home Society sought the designation of an official burial site for the Khumalos near Nguboyenja's grave, and a meeting place near the Mziilikazi Memorial.[106] This led to lengthy correspondence among Native Department officials who were not necessarily hostile but found that Chiefs and Khumalos had considerable suspicion about the Home Society and its proposals.[107] Then there were plans to make Manja's cottage in Bulawayo a 'royal house' for occupation by the next in line[108] but it was no longer clear who that should be. With no specific heir to focus on, the continued calls for a Khumalo as paramount were blurring reality, particularly when in 1951 the Vice Chairman of the Matabele Home Society proposed that all Africans throughout Southern Rhodesia should come under it.[109] Equally blurring was the innovation of having Shona Chiefs at its conferences while pursuing particularist and parochial popularity: for example, in 1951 the Society managed to get the newly built township in Bulawayo named after Nguboyenja, and five years later to get the name of another new township changed from the Shona Rufaro to Njube. A success, but particularist and merely symbolic.

Meanwhile Albert, as has been seen, died in 1952 and two years later the Home Society proposed that his remains should be reinterred at Entumbane[110] alongside Nguboyenja, to provide a focal point for royalist loyalties: dead Khumalo leaders were now more significant than any elusive living one! Thus a meeting was arranged between the Kings of Matabeleland Memorial Fund Committee of the Matabele Home Society and the Chiefs to discuss this proposal; but Sidojiwa Khumalo who represented the family retracted his earlier support for the idea which, he said, had been due to his ignorance of traditional custom and the family's wishes.[111] It was, therefore, decided to leave Albert's remains where they lay in Gwatemba[112] – much to the annoyance of some Ndebele opinion which regarded the Khumalos as taking a narrow family view of their national responsibilities.[113] It was probably such suspicions that prompted *The African Home News*, founded and edited by C. G. Ngcebetsha, a relative of Rosamond (Rhodes's widow), to ask why no *ukubuyiso* ceremony had been held for Albert, what was the position of Nduna, his heir, and of the other legitimate children, and what had happened to his savings.[114]

It was part of the same concern for the future of the royal family that Amos Mazibisa, the President at the Matabele Home Society, at the meeting with the Chiefs to discuss Albert's re-burial announced that representatives of the Society would go to visit the family of Rhodes in South Africa.[115] This was done in June–July 1954 and the delegation

[106]Ibid., Secr. Matabele Home Society, Bulawayo, to Secr. National Monuments Comm., 8 Apr. 1945.

[107]Ibid., Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland to Chief Native Comm., 16 July 1946.

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

[109]*The Bantu Mirror*, 2 June 1951, unsigned reply to the proposal.

[110]*The Afr. Home News*, 8 and 23 Jan., 13 Feb., 13 Mar. and 22 May 1954.

[111]For Sidojiwa, see Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula', 25–9. One of the members of the Committee was J. M. Nkomo.

[112]*The Afr. Home News*, 29 May 1954; *The Chronicle*, 5 June 1954.

[113]*The Afr. Home News*, 2 Aug. 1958.

[114]Ibid., 12 and 19 June 1954.

[115]Ibid., 29 May 1954; 14 Apr. 1962.

reported on the family's situation, more or less as it has already been described above; in brief, that Rosamond was teaching at St Matthews but that the family kept a rented house in Grahamstown sustained by the rent from the farm which was let to two Africans. Patrick, the only son, was teaching for six months in order to save enough money to resume his studies for the B.Sc. at Fort Hare, which was held to be a great step forward for the Khumalos. Nevertheless it was pointed out by some that the real head of the family was Ndabecala, the half-brother of Rhodes and Albert, son of Njube's second wife who unlike the mother of Albert and Rhodes was of the requisite chiefly descent.[116] Ndabecala had little or no contact with the Ndebele, as far as is known, although, as has been seen, he had worked for Rosamond (his sister-in-law) on her farm in 1941–2.[117] The Southern Rhodesian government had never recognized his existence but in 1946 and again in 1951–2 (that is even before the death of Albert) there had been somewhat obscure references to him by the Matabele Home Society.[118] The delegation had decided that after seeing Rhodes's widow and children it should make contact with Ndabecala who, it had been discovered, was working on the railways at Modderbee near Johannesburg. This was achieved and Ndabecala, delighted with the surprise visit and the exciting prospects, expressed his entire willingness to settle with his wife and two children in Matabeleland.[119] A few months later, after this had been reported to the Matabele Home Society, Nduna was called to Bulawayo to discuss the *ukubuyiso* ceremony and Ndabecela's coming to live in Matabeleland, with the idea of assuring the succession to the paramountcy that was still sought after.[120] Nothing, however, appears to have been done until Mazibisa made another visit to Rhodes's family in 1955. He reported to the Chiefs that their help was needed to build Rosamond a house in Grahamstown and in further discussion of the need to settle the succession it was suggested that Ndabecela should take over Albert's farm and so release Nduna to come and live in Bulawayo.[121] Again, nothing seems to have happened; there are hints of difference of opinion as to Ndabecela's suitability,[122] and no more was heard of him in Matabeleland.[123]

[116]Ibid., 31 July, 14 Aug. 1954. His mother, Mary Nongokwakhe Kama, was of the ruling family of the Gqunukhwebe, the main group of the Ciskei; the present Chief Siseko Kama is her nephew, interview by Mr de Beer on my behalf with Chief Siseko Kama, Quibira, 20 July 1983. Steele, 'The Foundations of a "Native" Policy', 223, fn. 73, is thus doubly in error in saying that Ndabecala was of pure Ndebele descent but ignored by the Ndebele.

[117]See above, fn. 41.

[118]*The Bantu Mirror*, 7 Apr. 1951; 9 Aug. 1952.

[119]*The Afr. Home News*, 31 July 1954. The children were Elizabeth Vuyelwa (born *c*.1935–6) and Victor Mtutuzeli (born *c*.1942), ibid., 14 Aug. 1954. Their mother was described as unknown and unmarried when Elizabeth was baptized, St Philip's Church, Grahamstown, Register of Baptisms, 548, No. 3138, 6 Apr. 1947; her name, in fact, was Nothousand and she died some time before 1968, interview with Chief Siseko Kama, who also added that Elizabeth married a man in the Idutywa district and that Victor went to work on the Rand and lost touch with the Kama family.

[120]*The Afr. Home News*, 23 Oct. 1954; 14 Apr. 1962.

[121]Ibid., 7 and 14 May 1955.

[122]Interview by Mr M. Ncube on my behalf with Mr W. Sivako, Mpopoma, 1 Oct. 1985.

[123]He continued at his job until he received a pension in 1968 when he returned to the Kama family and made another marriage, with Nothandile, a Qhibira woman of the Mgoqi family. A son, Siyabulela Nobengula, was born on 30 Nov. 1972 and he was still at school in Qhibira in 1983. Ndabecela died on 10 Feb. 1979 but is survived by his wife who was working as a cleaner at Chief Siseko's Great Place in 1983; she remembers her husband's going to the funeral of a Lobengula relative—presumably Patrick's in 1968, interview with Chief Siseko Kama, and by Mr de Beer on my behalf with Nothandile, Qhibira, 20 July 1983; personal communication from Mrs D. S. Yekela, Univ. of Fort Hare, 22 June 1987. I have not been able to establish whether there was an older (half) brother from Ndabecala first marriage who would take precedence over Siyabulela as heir/head of the royal family.

Also at this time there is evidence that the Matabele Home Society, which had never had a mass membership, was declining, caught up in growing divisions between all concerned – the Khumalos, the noble families, the Chiefs, wider Ndebele opinion (itself split to some extent by the *holi*) and nationalists. In 1956, for example, there was an obscure complaint by Chief Mtozima Gwebu of Mzinyatini about an intended visit by 'grandchildren' of Lobengula.[124] This may refer to a private visit to Matabeleland by Rosamond Lobengula which the Home Society had long planned and finally took place in 1958; the Society took great pains in preparing a grand welcome at Bulawayo railway station, with the municipal brass band in attendance and a European policeman on a motor-cycle to clear the way. There then followed a reception at the African Methodist Church Hall, and visits to a school, to Albert's grave and to Entumbane which was cleaned up specially for the occasion.[125] The visit went off very well as far as Rosamond and the Matabele Home Society were concerned but it had repercussions. The immediate one was that some Chiefs, the Khumalo family and Ginyilitshe Hlabangana, their *umbongi*, boycotted the later parts of the visit, ostensibly because of traditional objections to a woman visiting the royal graves[126] but more because of jealousy and a feeling that the Matabele Home Society represented the Kalanga *holi* rather than the Ndebele noble families;[127] as Mr Sivako of the Home Society recalled: 'there was a split. It was those who were intelligent who became very active in the Matabele Home Society, some of whom were not even of Nguni blood. This made some of them [the aristocracy] drift away, seeing that ordinary men were now prominent.'[128]

THE END OF LOBENGULA ROYALTY

So strong were these feelings, indeed, that the second repercussion from Rosamond's visit came in 1959 when members of the leading families broke with the Matabele Home Society and established a new, more select (i.e. not open to Kalanga) organization, the Mzilikazi Family Association,[129] which was to have a somewhat chequered and obscure history. For example, from the very beginning there appears to have been a Khumalo pressure group in the Association that often stole its limelight by its natural

[124]Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., PER5/Mtozima, Actg Native Comm. Umzingwane to Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland, 23 July 1956.

[125]*The Afr. Home News*, 14 and 28 June, 12 and 19 July 1958; 15 Aug. 1959; 14 May 1960; 14 Apr. 1962; *The Afr. Daily News*, 4 and 15 July 1958.

[126]*The Afr. Home News*, 12, 19 and 26 July 1958.

[127]Ibid., 2, 16, 23 and 30 Aug. 1958; 2 May 1959; 14 Apr. 1962; *The Afr. Daily News*, 12 July 1958. Interview, J. M. Hlabangana, Bulawayo.

[128]Mr W. Sivako, Bulawayo, interview, and J. M. Hlabangana, Bulawayo, interview (by Mr M. Ncube on my behalf), 2 Oct. 1985. Mr Grey Bango, Bulawayo, interview, 8 Apr. 1990, put most emphasis on the Chiefs' becoming tired of the Society's demands for a paramount. It is probably this episode of Rosamond's visit in 1958 that is the basis of N. M. Shamuyarira's confused account of an alleged unnamed daughter of Lobengula coming from Cape Town in 1956 for the funeral of her brother (in fact Nguboyenja and Sidojiwe, the last surviving sons of Lobengula, died in 1944 and 1960, respectively); see *Crisis in Rhodesia* (London, Andre Deutsch, 1965), 29. The Khumalos' disapproval is not mentioned but that of the government is, and on this aspect Shamuyarira recalls, perhaps more accurately, that African journalists were called in to see the Chief Native Commissioner who asked them to play down the visit, Harare, interview, 1986.

[129]*The Afr. Home News*, 16 May and 1 and 15 Aug. 1959; Mr W. Sivako, Bulawayo, and Mr J. M. Hlabangana, Mpopoma, interviews, 2 Oct. 1985; Mr K. Ndiweni, Bulawayo, interview, 5 Mar. 1990. Mr J. D. Bhebhe, Bulawayo, interviews, 20 Jan. and 5 Mar. 1990, said that the founding families of the Mzilikazi Family Association were fed up with the noise made by the 'lower persons' of the Society, such as W. Sivako, G. Bango, B. Luza and A. Mazibisa.

prominence in events such as the burial at Entumbane of Sidojiwe Khumalo in 1960. Whether this was simply a Khumalo Burial Society or whether there was another, separate organization called the Sons of Mzilikazi, as cited by Ranger, is not clear: members of leading families of the Mzilikazi Family Association say that there was such a breakaway body, Khumalos say that it was simply a journalistic invention by the misuse of the upper case – rather like Ranger's elevation of Nyamende's agitation.[130] Whatever the truth of the matter, there were several reasons for this new emphasis on Mzilikazi rather than on Lobengula.

Firstly there was the simple and stark fact that as the years passed fewer and fewer of Lobengula's immediate family remained. The last surviving brother, Nyanda, had died in 1946 whereupon the government had decided that royal pensions should not be perpetuated into the next generation; this meant that even this tenuous official recognition of royalty was doomed to expire as age took its toll. And so it soon was: as just mentioned, Sidojiwe, the last surviving son, died in 1960; some four to five years later came the death of Tshovu, the last of Lobengula's queens, who were remembered only in the name of Inkosikazi given in 1941 to the Purchase Area into which the Queen' Location had been absorbed eleven years earlier. Finally in 1970–1 came the death of Sixupezela the last of Lobengula's daughters and sister of Nguboyenja. Of these deaths that of Sidojiwe in the year following the Association's establishment was, of course, the most significant. Old Ginyilitshe Hlabangana, who had been at the Shangani battle, was lavish with his praise as *umbongi* (overly so for one so obscure in life) but in calling on the ancestors to receive Sidojiwe he ominously referred to him as 'the last fire in your great line',[131] – threnodic with no hint of royalism's necessary rhapsodic of 'The king is dead, long live the king' – but not as ominous as the speech of his young, educated relative, Cephas, quoted at the beginning of this article.

Secondly there was the growing feeling that Njube's descendants, Ndabecela and the children of Albert and Rhodes, were more Mfengu or Xhosa than true Ndebele; this might not matter to the *holi* and urbanites of the Matabele Home Society but it did matter to the self-conscious *zansi* families and indeed the Khumalos[132] who, it must not be forgotten, had not objected to the virtual banishment of Rhodes and then Albert in the 1930s and of Rhodes's children a decade later.

Thirdly there was a growing feeling of identity, hard to document, among the *zansi* Chiefs as a group and noble families generally; for they still remembered pre-colonial

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[130] Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks*, 188, 212; Mr J. M. Hlabangana, Mpopoma, interview, 4 Mar. 1990; Mr J. M. Hlabangana, and Mr K. Ndiweni, interviews, Bulawayo, 5 Mar. 1990; *contra*, Mr G. Nsumpe Khumalo (son of Nyamende), Bulawayo, interview, 5 Mar. 1990; Mr L. Khumalo, Bulawayo, interview, 9 Apr. 1990. The Burial Society certainly existed from the early 1950s according to its constitution which Nsumpe Khumalo showed me.

[131] Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula', 29, 32; and see above, fn. 98. For the name Inkosikazi, see the Land Apportionment Act (No. 11 of 1941), First Schedule, Native Area, Bubi. Most of the Purchase Area was later absorbed into the Tribal Trust Land (now Communal Land) of the same name;, see the land Tenure Act (No. 55 of 1969), Second Schedule, African Area, Bubi, Parts III and IV.

[132] *The Afr. Home News*, 15 Aug. 1959. Thus most of the public criticism of the Khumalos, the defence of the Matabele Home Society, and the news of the Lobengula family came from editorials, already cited, of *The African Home News* whose owner and editor, as already mentioned, was C. G. Ngcebetsha, a Mfengu and 'brother' of Rosamond Lobengula. A leading part in the Mzilikazi Family Association was taken by old families like the Gumedes, Ndiwenis and Hlabanganas; see ibid., 18 May and 8 June 1963.

divisions[133] and the hardly inspiring end of Lobengula's reign (whether he died a fugitive or hid secretly, never to share his people's sufferings, the very ambiguity was insidious, Nyathi's and Lindgren's recent glosses notwithstanding[134]). Thus Mzilikazi was a much more attractive, more inclusive symbol.

Fourthly popular support for a narrow Khumalo loyalty was ebbing away. The Matabele Home Society had tried to maintain the idea of paramountcy; but not only was it becoming suspect, as discussed above, to 'true' Ndebele, but also by being too political was being sidelined (and absorbed through dualism of membership) by the African National Congress, then the National Democratic Party, and finally the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union. Thus in spite of the publicity value of Rosamond's visit, the Society was in a decline[135] that could be slowed down, but not arrested, only by the contradictory, and increasingly difficult, acrobatic act of exploiting popular Ndebele envy and suspicion of the Shona in Bulawayo and, at the same time, of adding its voice to the wider political demands of the nationalist movement for unity.[136] Thus Amos Mazibisa, the long-serving President of the Matabele Home Society, who had long had an obsession with the Khumalo paramountcy,[137] was detained along with other A.N.C. members in February 1959,[138] while his 'intimate friend', the President of the A.N.C., J. M. Nkomo, who had helped him in Home Society affairs, was abroad.[139] Younger men were now coming to the fore and they had little interest in Lobengula's descendants.[140] When Rosamond, Rhodes's widow, died two years later, in early 1961, the Matabele Home Society, two of whose leaders, Mazibisa and Brown Luza, had planned to spend Christmas 1960 with her, appointed four representatives to go to the funeral, as has already been mentioned;[141] but *The African Home News* took little notice,[142] and its editor, Ngcebetsha, Rosamond's cousin and great protagonist of the

[133]A leading part in the Mzilikazi Family Association was taken by old families like the Gumedes, Ndiwenis and Hlabanganas; see ibid., 18 May and 8 June 1963. See also the tendency of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to consult the *zansi* chiefs on matters of disputed succession; for a good example, see the meeting of *zansi* chiefs on 23 Mar. 1974 to discuss the Mtshane chieftainship: Minist. Local Gov., Rural and Urban Develop., PER5/Mlshane, *passim*. J. M. Hlabangana, Bulawayo, interview, 5 Mar. 1990, decried Lobengula's ancestry and said that he had been over-reliant on Kalanga support. Historians have generally tended to exaggerate the unity of the Ndebele state and the power of the king.

[134]P. Nyathi, *Uchuku Olungelandiswe: Imbali YamaNdebele: 1893–1895* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1996), 116–18, has argued to the contrary; namely that Lobengula by disappearing prevented the settlers from claiming that they had defeated the Ndebele—a tenuous consolation for a people who in fact suffered from all the inevitable sequelae of conquest for the next eighty years, and an argument that no interviewee has ever volunteered. B. Lindgren, *The Politics of Ndebele Ethnicity: Origins, Nationality, and Gender in Southern Zimbabwe* (Uppsala, Uppsala Univ., Ph.D., 2002), 141–5 (repeated almost verbatim in his 'Power, education, and identity in post-colonial Zimbabwe: Representations of the fate of King Lobengula of Matabeleland', *Afr. Sociological Review* (2002), VI, i, 51ff.), based on an earlier unpublished talk by Nyathi, gives his argument the full academic treatment, but equally unconvincingly.

[135]*The Afr. Home News*, 18 July and 22 Aug. 1959.

[136]Ibid., 26 Sept. 1959; after the near explosion at Christmas 1955 over the naming of a new township 'Rufaro' in preference to 'Njube', the bad feeling between the Shona and Ndebele in Bulawayo seems to have reached a new highpoint in the period October 1959 – February 1960—a time for which the history books talk only of the recently banned A.N.C. and its successor, the N.D.P.

[137]Ibid., 22 Jan. 1955; 7 and 14 Apr. 1962.

[138]Ibid., 7 Mar. 1959.

[139]For Nkomo's participation in the Home Society, see above fn. 111, and *The Afr. Home News*, 14 May and 16 July 1958; 7 Apr. 1962; his younger brother, Steven, succeeded Mazibisa as President, ibid., 14 May 1960.

[140]Ibid., 14 May 1960.

[141]Ibid., 11 Feb. 1961; *Sunday Mail*, 19 Feb. 1961; see also above fn. 73.

[142]Ibid., 3 Dec. 1960.

Matabele Home Society in its heyday, became lukewarm in his support[143] once he had joined ZAPU and suffered detention;[144] re-detained, he became editor of *The Gonakudzingwa News*[145] – a new era had truly begun.

But from what little we know of the Mzilikazi Family Association, these obvious facts of political life were not clear to its members – to them the N.D.P. and ZAPU were just new Kalanga organizations, successors to the Home Society, rather than to the A.N.C.! So the leaders of the Family Association continued to press for a paramount,[146] as the Home Society long had but the Khumalos themselves had not for the previous thirty years; this may seem odd but it has to be remembered that, since Lobengula had as a matter of policy made marriage alliances with all the leading families, almost every noble family had Khumalo connections which had been reinforced by endogamy since the collapse of their power in 1893. For the rest the Family Association became increasingly strident about the use of Ndebele and the staffing of Matabeleland schools, demanding, for example, that Zulu, Swazi or even Xhosa should be preferred, if necessary, to Shona teachers.[147] In 1963 the Association was denounced by nationalists as a front for the Rhodesia National Party (the new name of the old United Federal Party);[148] certainly advantage was taken of the constitutional and political problems of the 1960s to reach out for a wider audience. In 1964 a letter was sent to the sovereign in London – a tactic that had availed Nyamende little forty-five years earlier – but this, according to convention, was simply sent back to the Rhodesian government.[149] When Arthur Bottomley and Lord Gardiner, representing the British government, came to Rhodesia in early 1965 the Association told them that the Ndebele did not agree with the 'suicidal' policy of One Man, One Vote and that the first step to normalize the situation should be to re-divide the country back into its two basic, historic 'provinces' of Matabeleland and Mashonaland.[150] Then, as U.D.I. loomed, an appeal for the restoration of the Ndebele monarchy was sent to the British government which replied that convention still required that such matters be dealt with by the Rhodesian government.[151]

Once U.D.I. had become fact the Mzilikazi Family Association began to work within the new dispensation which, with ideas of 'provincialization' in the air, might have favoured paramountcy in the way that the Bantustan policy in South Africa helped Inkatha. That jovial but ultra conservative, Noel Hunt of Internal Affairs, gleefully

[143] Ibid., 4 May 1963.

[144] Ibid., 2 and 30 Mar. 1963.

[145] Ibid., 30 Jan. 1965.

[146] Mr L. Khumalo, Bulawayo, Papers, Mzilikazi Family Association File, Secr. Mzilikazi Family Association to Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland, [4 Aug. 1966]; Agenda for Meeting, [1968]; Chairman, Mzilikazi Family Association to Prime Minist., 13 Jan. 1971; and J. M. Hlabangana, Bulawayo, Papers, Commonwealth Relations Office, London, to J. M. Hlabangana, 23 June 1965.

[147] L. Khumalo, Papers, Mzilikazi Family Association File, Secr. Prime Minist. to Chairman, Mzilikazi Family Association, 7 Feb. 1966; Agenda for Meeting, [1968]; Chairman's Report, 1968; Chairman, Mzilikazi Family Association to Prime Minist., 13 Jan. 1971; Mzilikazi People's Association to Secr. Headmasters' Assoc., 23 May 1973. J. M. Hlabangana, Papers, Chairman, Mzilikazi Family Association to Chairman Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation, 5 Jan. 1967; Hlabangana to Prime Minist., [9 Nov. 1969].

[148] *The Afr. Home News*, 15 June 1963.

[149] J. M. Hlabangana, Papers, Secr. Gov., Salisbury, to Hlabangana, Bulawayo, 16 June 1964.

[150] Ibid., Memo 13 Feb. and Supplement, 24 Feb 1965.

[151] Ibid., Commonwealth Relations Office, London, to Hlabangana, 23 June 1965.

recalled a Khumalo in Nkai who upon hearing of the Declaration of Independence personally flogged all the nationalists he could find in his district – the moral of the story being that the Khumalos together with their traditional aristocracy deserved more authority as the only people who knew how to rule Africans (and not just Ndebele ones; indeed one suspects that many of the old-time Native Commissioners had never been as averse to a paramountcy as official policy dictated, and not just romantically so now that they were faced with the alternative of nationalism!).[152] So it is not surprising that official attitudes towards Ndebele ambitions were softening.

The centenary of Mzilikazi's death in 1968 led the Bulawayo Council to plan a library and Homecraft Centre to be named the Mzilikazi Memorial Centre, and the Association tried to capitalize on this by asking for a commemorative postage stamp and to make 5 September a public holiday.[153] Although that was not granted it is noticeable that in the patriotic piety of naming public service facilities Mzilikazi became much more popular than Lobengula – as is obvious today from a quick glance through the telephone directory for Bulawayo under the headings of the Municipality, the Police and the Government (and there was even a Miss Mzilikazi Beauty Contest which many thought to be neither patriotic nor pious[154] while today the Police advertise a Mzilikazi Hot Line the purpose of which is not self-evident but sounds Orwellian!). The Association also gave evidence to the Constitutional Commission in 1967 in favour of some sort of federal arrangement, and in 1969 asked the government that only Ndebele-speakers be allowed to represent Matabeleland constituencies in the new republican Parliament; also beginning in 1967 the Chairman of the Association was invited by the government to the annual Independence Day celebrations.[155]

By the late 1960s, however, an obscure rift was developing within the Association, probably between the noble families who may have been trying to widen appeal and the Khumalos who resisted.[156] In all the affairs of the Association J. M. Hlabangana had been most prominent and perhaps too much so; and the occasion for the rift may have been the flurry of letters from him to the Queen (bemoaning Rhodesia's expulsion from the Commonwealth) that, for Khumalo sensitivities, dwelt too strongly on Lotshe Hlabangana and his visit to Queen Victoria.[157] On the other hand Hlabangana and other leaders wanted the Khumalos to come out with a clear statement as to who was the heir to the paramountcy – without which there could be no way forward – but the Khumalos just squabbled between themselves and never made the choice.[158] This exasperated the leading families who began to think in terms of federal union with

[152]Oral/240, N. A. Hunt, interview, 60. Hunt, of course, was later prominent in Len Idensohn's Rhodesia National Party (not to be confused with the short-lived successor of the U.F.P. after the collapse of Federation), which regarded Ian Smith and the Rhodesian Front as dangerously liberal.

[153]L. Khumalo, Papers, Mzilikazi Family Association File, Town Clerk Bulawayo to Chairman Mzilikazi Family Association, 24 Apr. 1967; Chairman Mzilikazi Family Association to Prov. Comm. Matabeleland, 1 July 1967.

[154]*The Bantu Mirror*, 11 Oct. 1952.

[155]Ibid., Secr. Constitutional Comm., to Hlabangana, 19 July 1967; J. M. Hlabangana, Papers, Hlabangana to Prime Minist., [9 Nov. 1969]; Invitations, 1967–75.

[156]L. Khumalo, Papers, Mzilikazi Family Association File, see the (new?) Constitution, n.d. [1968?] which said 'This Association is for all people who were under Mzilikazi'; Minutes, n.d. [1970?].

[157]J. M. Hlabangana, Papers, Commonwealth Relations Office, London, to Chairman Mzilikazi Family Association, 23 June 1969; Chairman Mzilikazi Family Association to Queen, 13 Aug. 1969; Foreign and Commonwealth Office to Chairman Mzilikazi Family Association, 26 Aug. and 24 Nov. 1969.

[158]Interview, 7 Feb. 1990.

Bechuanaland as it approached independence in 1968:[159] an idea as hopeless politically as it was shocking to think of joining the people of Khama, Lobengula's sworn enemy! The end result according to Hlabangana was that Leo Khumalo then caused the break-up of the Association and certainly the name of the Association in the file, in Leo's possession, then changes in 1973 to Mzilikazi's People's Association – a belated attempt, perhaps, to appeal to a wider constituency than the Family Association, but to no avail for it soon petered out.[160] Hlabangana nevertheless continued to be invited to Independence Day celebrations and drew comfort from the fact that the bearer of a noble name, Gumede (albeit a Zulu by birth), had been made President of Zimbabwe Rhodesia in 1979.[161]

Whatever the detailed truth of these confused titles, accusations and manoeuvrings, they are the death throes of Khumalo paramountcy, which was simultaneously suffering from another, on-going betrayal at the hands of Joshua Nkomo. He always had a strong sense of the power of historical imagination and identity, and by the early 1960s, if not before, he was making a dynamic linkage between nationalism and the Khumalos, their burials at Entumbane, and the Njelele shrine, now preferred over the more Kalanga Dula, for its historic Khumalo connections, maintained by Nyamende and now reinforced by Sitwanyana Ncube, its guardian.[162] What direct part Khumalos were induced to play in this process is not clear, but both during the war of the 1970s and the disturbances of the 1980s, Khumalos today imply, Nkomo led them on – in ways they find too painful or embarrassing to explain. Certainly when Nkomo held his great home-coming PF ZAPU rally in early 1980 he chose Njelele as the venue, not Entumbane which was no longer regarded as a national symbol. Echoes of both these disappointments for the Khumalos and their earlier disputes in the Family Association could still be heard in 1998 over the appointment of an official keeper at Njelele which split the Khumalos themselves into a 'Lobengula' faction and a broader grouping.[163]

Yet the idea of a restored kingship may not be completely dead. In 2001 Peter Zwide Khumalo, a great-grandson of Lobengula, castigated politicians of the ruling party for trying to associate him with the land reform programme – a manoeuvre, he said, to destroy Khumalo 'efforts to revive the Ndebele monarchy and put in place cultural activities which define . . . our Ndebele nation'.[164] But talk in the late 1990s of reviving the Family Association seems to have come to nothing, and the initiative in Ndebele particularism has passed into the hands of exiles like MAGGEMM (Mthwakazi Action Group on Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in Matabeleland and Midlands) which in the face of what they see as 'current internal Shona colonial power' would prefer a completely independent Ndebele republic.[165]

[159] Interview, 1 Feb. 1990.

[160] J. M. Hlabangana, Bulawayo, interview, 5 Mar. 1990; L. Khumalo, Papers, Mzilikazi Family Association File, where the last entry is for August 1973.

[161] J. M. Hlabangana, Bulawayo, interview, 5 Mar. 1990.

[162] Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks*, 211–12, 221.

[163] Mr L. Khumalo, Bulawayo, interview, 5 Feb. 1990, made guarded reference to Khumalo intercessions at Njelele, a pilgrimage to Entumbane in 1978 and an indaba with Nkomo in 1986, in addition, that is, to Nkomo's less secretive dealings with the Matopos shrines of the 1980s and the quarrel of 1998 that have since been described in Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks*, 253ff., 290.

[164] *The Zimbabwe Mirror*, 2 Aug. 2001.

[165] For their announcements, see >http://members.aol.com/maggemm/Historical.htm<.

Thus the Khumalos – deceived and let down by Cecil Rhodes, discriminated against by successive governments, ignored by a distant Crown, led on by Kalanga and local nationalists, with nothing even to hope for from a hostile government in Harare and with the activists republican – are now but part of a band seeking refuge from history by turning to Heritage, whether in the form of the Matopos as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (where Entumbane and Njelele will surely follow World's View in becoming a tourist attraction) or in the reconstruction of Old Bulawayo at Mhlahlandlela (a retreat from reality to make-believe begun as long ago as 1936, cynics would say, when Ndaniso Khumalo and Manja Khumalo went to England, to star, respectively, in the film *Rhodes* and the Rhodesian pageant at the Empire Exhibition[166]). Thus, whereas the Matabele Home Society refused in 1950 to participate in the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition as demeaning in view of what official experts were doing to the people of the Matopos,[167] Khumalos now visit Kwazulu for technical advice on how to make Old Bulawayo (which they try to dignify as an interpretive or resource heritage centre) more accurate and realistic – advice which is demeaned by official experts at Museums and Monuments.[168] So whether it will be to the Khumalos' liking when complete remains to be seen; and whether it will be a success, like the Shakaland tourist attraction, and at last restore them to some semblance of Terrific Majesty – to borrow Hamilton's phrase[169] – also remains to be seen. One doubts it. The successful in history are confirmed without effort on their part in those modern pantheons of Disney Worlds and theme-parks; only losers seek and get heritage status (food for thought for readers of this journal, which changed its name from *Rhodesiana* to *Heritage* in 1980?).

CONCLUSION

In spite of what was said at the beginning about possible parallels with the Zulu royal family and Inkatha, it is perhaps surprising that the virtually foreign descendants of Njube retained any influence in Matabeleland at all, in view of their effective alienation from the Ndebele. Even more surprising is the total eclipse of the other sons of Lobengula, who never left Matabeleland, Nyamande, Tshakilisha and Sidojiwa, and their descendants, who appear to have played no political role at all – a fact that must throw added doubt on Cobbing's arguments that Nyamande and not Njube was regarded as the true heir.[170] Whatever Nyamande's status, however, his brief activity in 1915-21 was narrowly based on an appeal for more land essentially for himself and other close members of the family, like Madhloli Khumalo, who had lost out by not being Chiefs. Thus the so-called National Home Movement did not really exist as a political, let alone a mass movement; it was a tiny, select faction within a failing family pressure group looking for perks without power.

[166]*The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 7 Feb. 1936; J. W. Possell and M. Perham, 'The story of Ndansi Kumalo of the Matabele tribe, Southern Rhodesia', in M. Perham (ed.), *Ten Africans* (London, Faber and Faber, 1936), 63–79. *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 11 Nov. 1936

[167]Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks*, 211.

[168]*The Herald*, 10 Nov. 1993; *The Daily News*, 24 May 2002.

[169]C, Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cambridge MA, Harvard Univ. Press, 1998).

[170]Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820–1896', 284–7.

Rhodes and Albert, on the other hand, by the very foreigness of their upbringing and education did represent a wider and a modernizing influence among the Ndebele – touring the Reserves as they did in their American cars.[171] The long-term significance of this modernizing influence, however, was not that they dabbled in new political movements like the Rhodesian Bantu Voters' Association – which is what Ranger has drawn attention to[172] – and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union.[173] Rather it was that they, and particularly Rhodes, were able by their education to articulate Ndebele ethnic pride at a time of rapid socio-economic change when the Ndebele were becoming conscious of being left behind, as Mfengu were arrogating to themselves positions of political leadership in Matabeleland,[174] and Shona were taking jobs in Bulawayo.

Thus Rhodes denounced the fact that Ndebele workers in Bulawayo had to share churches with Shona migrants instead of having their own, and he was reported to want to drive the Shona out of Bulawayo.[175] Football which Rhodes introduced to Bulawayo, and boxing which he encouraged,[176] were soon organized on ethnic lines[177] and so became the focal point of rivalries over jobs and women that erupted into the riots of Christmas 1929[178] (indeed some Shona protagonists in the fighting wore their football and boxing colours, shirts and shorts as a uniform in the melee[179]). It was also no coincidence that the Matabele Home Society had taken on its new name at this time to emphasize its function of protecting Ndebele interests, with Rhodes and most Ndebele thus abandoning the Mfengu-dominated Rhodesian Bantu Voters' Association.[180] To what extent the attacks on the Shona had been planned by the Matabele Home Society and Rhodes is not certain, but circumstantial evidence pointed that way particularly when they tried to organize a repetition of the riot for Christmas 1930 in such a way that by involving Gampu's people it would both heal the Ndebele divisions of 1896 and restore their leadership over the other peoples of western Southern Rhodesia.[181]

[171] S138/92, I, Actg Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 10 May 1926; *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 19 and 22 Mar. 1932.

[172] Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898–1930*, 98.

[173] For Rhodes and the R.B.V.A., see S138/22, 1930–1, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier, 25 Mar. 1931; for Albert and the I.C.U., see ibid., 1929–30, Detective W. L. Caryer, C.I.D. Bulawayo, to Chief Supt C.I.D. Salisbury, 10 June 1929.

[174] This is dealt with more fully in my forthcoming article on the Hlazos.

[175] S138/22, 1930–1, II, Native Comm. The Range to Actg Chief Native Comm., 25 Nov. and 12 Dec. 1930.

[176] Ibid., idem to idem, 25 Nov. 1930; *The Afr. Home News*, 10 Dec. 1955; 31 Mar. 1962.

[177] This long remained so; see J. M. N. Nkomo, *Nkomo: The Story of My Life* (London, Methuen, 1984), 68–9.

[178] S138/22, 1927-8, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 2 Jan. 1930; ibid., 1930–1, Native Comm. The Range to Actg Chief Native Comm., 25 Nov. 1930; S482/805-39, J. C. Brundell, Chief Supt C.I.D. Bulawayo to Comm. B.S.A.P., Salisbury, 4 Jan. 1930, and encl: sworn statements by Kaula, Mdutshwa, Chikawa, 30 Dec. 1929; D/3/6/163 Rex v. Rusere alias James alias Mompara, evidence of Herbert Collier, Actg Location Supt Bulawayo, 23 Jan. 1930.

[179] D/3/6/163, Rex v. Rusere, evidence of Tanyanyiwa, Ntiya, Masawi and Charles Rogers, 23 Jan. 1930.

[180] S138/92, III, Native Comm. Gwanda to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 19 Feb. 1931; S138/22, 1930–1, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier, 25 Mar. 1931.

[181] S138/22, 1930–1, Native Comm. The Range to Actg Chief Native Comm., 25 Nov. 1930; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 12 and 23 Dec. 1930, and reply (telegr.), 23 Dec. 1930.; and S20, Gov., Salisbury, to Dominions Office, London, 23 Jan. 1931. This important episode and its ethnic context are not mentioned in C. Van Onselen and I. R. Phimister's over-structured account, 'The political economy of tribal animosity: A case study of the 1929 Bulawayo Location "faction fight"', *Jnl of Southern Afr. Studies* (1979–80), VI, 1–43. What happened was that Mantshontsho, a district organizer of the Matabele Home Society, threatened a raid on Mafindo, regent Chief of Gampu's people, if he did not lead his Kalanga followers out to drive the 'aliens' from Bulawayo in reparation for Gampu's collaboration with the Europeans in 1896–7. Mantshontsho was found guilty of inciting public violence and was fined £25 or 9 months hard labour. S20, Gov., Salisbury, to Dominions Office, London, 18 Apr. 1931.

Thereafter the Matabele Home Society appears to have become less prominent, acting more as the political voice of the Khumalos – at least until the late 1940s, when land problems in the Matopos area and rapid socio-economic change in Bulawayo had a radicalizing effect. Its involvement in the problems of the Matopos can be traced in Ranger's book on the subject, but in the countryside the Society had considerable opposition (from government and Chiefs) and competition (from local movements in the Matopos and more generally from the British African Voice Association for a couple of years[182]); in Bulawayo it had a freer hand, apart from the brief interlude of Voice influence, and its leaders soon became prominent in Advisory Board politics, particularly as urban tensions between the Shona and Ndebele grew again from the mid-1950s (symbolized by the Ndebele success in 1956 in having Rufaro township renamed 'Njube'). Thus the Matabele Home Society remained a more urban-orientated movement with less and less rapport with the traditional Khumalo leaders and *zansi* Chiefs in the countryside. The vestigial longing for an Lobengula paramountcy – for a descendant of Njube, however foreign – was becoming a demand for the political recognition of a paramountcy of African interests – hence the Mzilikazi movement in reaction by the Khumalos and the leading families.

This line of analysis must remain somewhat conjectural until the Khumalos become more forthcoming and until more work on the Matabele Home Society has been done (if that is possible in view of the destruction of its records by the Fifth Brigade!); but other evidence does tend to confirm the basic postulation that in the long development of modern mass nationalism, it is not a simple unilinear progression away from traditional and ethnic political associations as Ranger had envisaged – as indeed is shown by the perpetuation into post-independence Zimbabwe of Kalanga aspirations, of which Ranger, logically, is critical.[183] The neglected fact, it seems to me, is that the vigour of political activity at street level in Bulawayo in the 1950s was not in national bodies like the A.N.C. but in a reinvigorated Matabele Home Society and, even more significantly perhaps, in other, new ethnic bodies like the Sons of Mashonaland Society and the Kalanga Cultural Society which nationalists like S. V. Muzenda and J. Z. Moyo, respectively, did not hesitate to join – any more than the Nkomo brothers doubted the propriety at the time of their active participation in the Matabele Home Society, however much they implied otherwise *ex silentio* later.[184] The process by which these bodies invigorated and ultimately merged into the A.N.C.–N.D.P.–ZAPU has not so far been considered worthy of study,[185] and they tend to be dismissed as particularist and reactionary[186] or, at best, of marginal importance in the development of mass

[182]For Home Society concerns over the Voice Association, see S2584/4251, Prov. Native Comm. Matabeleland to [Chief Native Comm.], 17 May 1949.

[183]*The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe* (Gweru, Mambo Press, Occasional Papers, Socio-Economic 19, 1985), 19.

[184]Almost every issue of *The African Home News* has some reference to these societies and/or the Shona–Ndebele rivalry in Bulawayo, particularly in 1955–6 and 1959–60. For the Sons of Mashonaland Society, see *Bantu Mirror*, 24 May and 14 June 1952; and *The Afr. Home News*, 5 and 19 June 1954; 10 Mar. 1956. For the Kalanga Cultural Society, see *The Afr. Home News*, 22 and 29 Dec. 1956; 12 and 26 Jan. and 11 May 1957. There was also a Nyanga African Association, *The Afr. Home News*, 13 Sept. 1958.

[185]Ranger, *The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe*, 18–19, for example, criticizes statements of the Kalanga Culture Promotion Society without considering the events of the 1950s or the reasons why people like J. Z. Moyo should have joined.

[186]Ibid., *passim;* Steele. 'The Foundations of a "Native" Policy', 182; and Nkomo, *Nkomo*, 68–9, which, incidentally, carefully omits any reference to the Nkomos' participation in the Matabele Home Society.

nationalism. Thus, just as Lewanika and Barotseland lost their special position once Zambia had become independent, and just as the Zulu king and Inkatha lost their hitherto unchallenged local dominance once there were multi-party elections in a unitary democracy, so *a fortiori* in an independent Zimbabwe, the argument goes, there was no place for a come-back from nowhere by the Khumalos and their allies. Indeed the new government quickly came to view cultural ethnicity and any sort of particularism as extremely dangerous to the monolithic unity it desired – hence its decision not only to suppress Professor Peter Ucko's ethnically-charged report advising on the way forward for its hitherto much vaunted official plans for district culture-houses but also to bring the building of them to a halt, even in Mashonaland.

The only brief moment when the particularist ambitions of the Khumalos and the leading families had a political opportunity had been just before Independence, when in the Zimbabwe Rhodesia elections of 1979 Kayisa Ndiweni's United National Federal Party advocated a sharing of power 'between the two major communities of this country'. Denounced from one side as a stooge of the Rhodesian Front, and from the other as a surrogate of ZAPU, it nevertheless won ten per cent of the national vote and nine of the seventy-two parliamentary seats; but then came the Lancaster House settlement that precluded any federal solution and so the vote of the U.N.F.P. in the 1980 election fell to a mere fifth of one per cent.[187] It was then left to an obsessive White dentist, F. R. Bertrand to actually take (treasonable) steps for a Matabeleland free of Harare; but his hold on reality seems to have given way to Khumalo fantasies, inspired as he was by the supporter of federation and so-called 'Princess', Violet Khumalo, who had gone to live at Entumbane in 1975 to propitiate and guard Mzilikazi's spirit.[188] In the years that followed (1981–7), Super ZAPU, if it actually existed, and the dissident ex-Zipra fighters had no real political programme, but a strong interest in Inkatha was evident in Bulawayo at that time, when the hope seemed to be that when majority rule came to South Africa the Zulu nation would help the Ndebele nation win autonomy (which as it turned out the Zulu did not get even for themselves). Nkomo's PF ZAPU, on the other hand, had always expected to rule Zimbabwe as a unitary state as much as ZANU(PF) actually did, and ultimately (in December 1987) was co-opted into ZANU(PF) to share the spoils of doing so.

However, all that has been said in this Conclusion so far is little more than a minor qualification to the history of nationalism in Zimbabwe. And in order to give the Khumalos, the Home Society and the Mzilikazi Family Association their full due it will be necessary first to divert somewhat in order to dismantle the pervasive academic assumption of the centrality of nationalism in our history.

This pervasive nationalist history derives from Ranger's influential account of the

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[187]M. Sithole, The General Elections 1979–1985', in I. Mandaza (ed.), *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition 1980–1986* (Dakar, CODRESIA, 1986), 79–84; *Zimbabwe: Struggles-within-the-Struggle 1957–1980* (Harare, Rujeko Publ., 2nd ed., 1999), 155–7.

[188]*The Herald*, 16 Apr. and 19 May 1982. For references to the United Peoples' Association of Matabeleland and 'Princess' Kumalo, see ibid., 9, 17, 18 and 20 Mar. 1982 and *The Chronicle*, 9, 17, 19, 20 Mar. and 24 May 1982. The 'Princess' was the daughter of Chief Nzula Masuku, son of Hola Masuku of Gabeni who married Famona, a favourite daughter of Lobengula by Lomapungo (see LO/5/7/5, 'Report of the Native Commissioner Malema District for Quarter ending 31st December 1900'; A/3/18/7, C.N.C. Matabeleland to Principal, Lovedale, 14 Oct. 1912, encl. in C.N.C. Matabeleland to Secr. Adm., 6 Nov. 1912; A/3/18/8, High Comm., Durban, to Adm., 26 July 1915). So whether she was entitled to call herself either 'Princess' or 'Khumalo' is in doubt. See also Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks*, 146, 253–4.

Risings in 1896–7 (published in 1967) and its sequel on African protest down to 1945 (published in 1970), which have cast the political history of this country into an old-fashioned Whiggish mould of Panglossian unilinear development – from enlarging-of-scale resistance in the 1890s, to modernizing organization to the 1940s, to radicalizing agitation in the 1950s–1960s, to liberating *chimurenga* in the 1970s, and so to unifying democracy from the 1980s: from religious-inspired unity from the Matopos shrines in 1896–7 to the Unity Accord negotiated in Harare in 1987 – in short from Mkwati to Nkomo/Mugabe.[189] This was, and has remained, attractive to cosmopolitan academics and local nationalists but it was quickly undermined by young critics in Salisbury in the 1970s – in its factual foundations by Cobbing and Beach and in its interpretive usefulness by Phimister.[190] Ranger announced in 1978–9 a response to these criticisms, to be entitled 'The priests and prophets return',[191] which, twenty-seven years later, is still awaited while only more of the same has continued voluminously to appear – adding to the priests and prophets (that Cobbing and Beach had dismissed as absent) first the peasants of eastern Mashonaland (in 1985) and more recently those of the Matopos (in 1999) and of the Shangani (in 2000).[192] The first of these three additions Phimister described as 'debatable' but the latter two he dismisses out of hand as nothing but 'new old history' that does 'violence to the past'.[193] Nonetheless in the meantime more and more participants were being impressed into service on the nationalist historical bandwagon. To Ranger's (absent) priests and prophets of the Matopos and central Mashonaland in 1896–7, Lan added the northern Shona spirit mediums of the 1970s, McLaughlin enrolled the Catholics, Banana the Methodists, and Bhebe the Lutherans; Pongweni brought musicians on board, Pape domestic servants; and Nhongo-Simbanegavi and Moore brought in women and intellectuals, respectively (with reservations all round)[194] – uncertain of their reception on so crowded a conveyance only the Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe, it seems, are holding back until the conductor makes some comradely room.

Admittedly there has been some work critical of the triumphalism involved, by

[189]The semi-official celebration of this is C. S. Banana (ed.), *Turmoil and Tenacity: Zimbabwe 1890–1990* (Harare, College Press, 1989), where in the editor's introduction half the references cited are to works by Ranger.

[190]T. O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896–7* (London, Heinemann, 1967); J. R. D. Cobbing, 'The absent priesthood: Another look at the Rhodesian risings of 1896-1897', *Jnl of Afr. History* (1977), XVIII, 61–84; D. N. Beach, '"Chimurenga": The Shona rising of 1896–97', *Jnl of Afr. History* (1979), XX, 395–420, and 'Revolt in Southern Rhodesia [a review of the 1979 reissue of Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*]', *International Jnl of Afr. Historical Studies* (1980), XIII, 103–8 (both of which accounts are discussed further in his *War and Politics in Zimbabwe 1840–1900* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1986), 119–56). I. R. Phimister, 'Zimbabwe: Economic and social historiography since 1970', *Afr. Affs* (1979), LXXVII, 253–68.

[191]Preface to 1979 reprint of *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia* (London, Heinemann), xiv.

[192]*Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe*; *Voices from the Rocks*: and with J. Alexander and J. McGregor, *Violence & Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland* (Oxford, James Currey, 2000).

[193]I. R. Phimister, 'Zimbabwe: The combined and contradictory inheritance of the struggle against colonialism', *Transformation* (1987), V, 51;'Doing violence to the past: Zimbabwe's new old history [review of Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks*, and of Alexander, McGregor and Ranger, *Violence & Memory*], *Kronos* (2003), XXIX, 34–42. The strictures on the latter book are a somewhat sweeping, as a more critical approach is evident, coming perhaps from the influence of Ranger's two younger collaborators; for a summary of Alexander's views, for example, see B. Raftopoulos, 'Problematising nationalism in Zimbabwe: A historiographical review', *Zambezia* (1999), XXVI, 123.

[194]D. Lan, *Guns & Rain: Guerrillas & Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe* (Harare, Zimbabwe Publ. House, 1985); J. McLaughlin, *On the Frontline: Catholic Missions in Zimbabwe's Liberation War* (Harare, Baobab Books, 1996); C. S. Banana, 'The Methodist Church in the Struggle for Zimbabwe: An Inquiry and a Testimony (Harare, Univ. of Zimbabwe, D.Phil., 1996); N. M. B. Bhebe, *ZAPU and ZANU Guerrilla Warfare and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe*

Werbner and Kriger, for example, and some pause for thought by Ranger and others, owing to the tardy recognition of the violence of nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s, of the neglect of ZIPRA's role in the war, and of the sufferings of ZAPU and its supporters in the 1980s:[195] but this has not been due to any questioning of the centrality of nationalism *per se*, which in fact Ranger reaffirmed in his valedictory lecture at Oxford in 1997.[196] More recently there have been signs of some wriggling on his part, away from 'nationalist historiography' towards a 'history of nationalism', disconcerted at last, it seems, by the looming prospect of an official 'patriotic history'.[197] A conference on this and other issues facing Zimbabwe was organized just over a year ago by the Nordic Africa Institute to which Ranger gave the 'keynote speech' expressing his 'grave concern at the "patriotic history", which replaces consensus and unity with confrontation and exclusion'; and this speech and other presentations have been published under the unexplained title of 'Skinning the Skunk'. But how ironic is such wringing of hands by Africanists who have made a career lauding nationalism and the publication thereof by the Nordic Africa Institute which has only recently completed publishing its six-volume history celebrating the Scandinavian countries' support for Southern Africa's nationalist liberation struggles – and so the violence entailed. Writers and publishers cannot be held strictly accountable for the uses to which their work is put by politicians, but it would have shown at least some awareness of their entanglement and some civic susceptivity if the conference proceedings had been more meaningfully entitled 'Trying to Close Pandora's Box' or ' Chickens Coming Home to Roost'.[198]

This may seem harsh, but the wriggling to separate three different 'histories' out of the triune of nationalist history is but making terminological distinctions without a real difference as the basic assumptions remain the same. The appeal to 'consensus and unity' is inevitably exclusionary in practice, such are the complexities of any human society; freedom comes only from the acceptance of pluralism and difference(s) out of which people can come together with a unity of purpose for specific, limited and agreed goals. Thus the nemesis of patriotic history is no sudden or shocking surprise

(Gweru, Mambo Press, Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia LXXII, 1999); A. J. C. Pongweni, *Songs That Won the Liberation War* (Harare, College Press, 1982); J. Pape, '*Chimurenga* in the kia: Domestic workers and the Liberation Struggle', in B. Raftopoulos and T. Yoshikuni (eds), *Sites of Struggle: Essays in Zimbabwe's Urban History* (Harare, Weaver Press, 1999), 257–71; J. Nhongo-Simbanegavi, *For Better or Worse?: Women and ZANLA in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle* (Harare, Weaver Press, 2000); D. B. Moore, 'The ideological foundations of the Zimbabwean ruling class', *Jnl of Southern Afr. Studies* (1991), XVII, 472–95.

[195]R. Werbner, *Tears of the Dead: The Social Biography of an African Family* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1991); N. Kriger, *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992); T. O. Ranger, 'Afterword: War, violence and healing in Zimbabwe', *Jnl of Southern Afr. Studies* (1992), XVIII, 698–707; N. M. B. Bhebe and T. O. Ranger (eds), *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War* (Harare, Univ. of Zimbabwe Publ., 1995), 'General introduction,' 3, and 'Volume introduction', 6; T. O. Ranger, *Are We not also Men?: The Samkange Family & African Politics in Zimbabwe 1920–64* (Harare, Baobab, 1995), 200; S. Robins, 'Heroes, heretics and historians of the Zimbabwe revolution . . .', *Zambezia* (1996), XXIII, 73–91 (esp. at 80).

[196]As quoted in Raftopolous, 'Problematising nationalism in Zimbabwe', 130–1.

[197]T. O. Ranger, 'Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation: The struggle over the past in Zimbabwe', *Jnl of Southern Afr. Studies* (2004), XXX, 215–33. 'The uses and abuses of history in Zimbabwe', in M. Palmberg and R. Primorac (eds), *Skinning the Skunk—Facing Zimbabwean Futures* (Uppsala, Nordic Afr. Inst., Discussion Paper 30, 2005), 7–15.

[198]M. Palmberg, 'Foreword', in Palmberg and Primorac, *Skinning the Skunk—Facing Zimbabwean Futures*, 5; and Ranger, 'The uses and abuses of history in Zimbabwe', ibid., 7–15. See similarly L. Bull-Christiansen, *Tales of the Nation. Feminist Nationalism or Patriotic History?: Defining National History and Identity in Zimbabwe* (Uppsala, Nordic Afr. Inst., Research Report 132, 2004).

– it has always been implicit. As early as 1973, in fact, in a student history seminar Witness Mangwende (of ZANU, who later held ministerial posts from 1980 until he passed on to Heroes Acre a few months ago) bluntly spelt out in an oral presentation the nationalist historiographical syllogism: to whit, Ranger has proved that under religious leadership from the Matopos the Shona united with the Ndebele in the Risings; therefore any peoples in Mashonaland who did not rise cannot be truly Shona; therefore they must be inquired into – and dealt with.[199] The chilling effect on the audience (which, I think, must have included Beach, Cobbing and Phimister) has remained to this day, even though, as it turned out, it has been the people of Matabeleland in the 1980s who were 'dealt with', in the *Gukurahundi*, and only totemless Shona of the major cities, so far, in the *Murambatsvina* of recent weeks. But the threat has always been there, and such history soon became entrenched in government schools in the early 1980s, with the result that a generation has grown up knowing no other.[200]

Some naively thought that a change was in the air when Minister Dumiso Dabengwa, in the 1995 publication of the proceedings of a conference on the war held four years earlier, wrote that 'For too long historians have failed our people . . . [and we need] a new . . . class of scholars . . . [which] will rise above those racial, ethnic and tribal considerations which are inimical to national and regional development'. But having been at the conference I understood this to mean that an agreed 'patriotic history' had not been reached, as it should have been, at higher academic levels. He did not mean that there should be fundamental questioning of nationalist history; for when I had suggested at the conference that the Rhodesian armed forces had not lost the war – and the nationalists therefore could not be said to have won the war – Dabengwa simply insisted not only on the rightness but also the inevitability of the success of the nationalists' guerrilla warfare, and by implication their right to rule. All that he really wanted, I deduced, was that Martin and Johnson's semi-official privileging of ZANLA should end and due recognition be given to the role of ZIPRA so that the patched-up Unity of 1987 could become a real unity of equals.[201]

Thus, and not surprisingly, as the old guard of ZANU and ZAPU and this Unity have come under more political pressure, both local and international, since 2000 so have they shown interest in an official 'patriotic history' suitable for the indoctrination of all youths in their national training which has alarmed Ranger. But this is no more than his old nationalist history being brought up to date by the addition of land reform as the third *chimurenga* to the first and second. No great surprise or shock in that logical and inevitable development; and equally misplaced and exaggerated are Ranger's

[199] Quotations from the written version are given in Beach, 'Chimurenga: The central Shona rising of 1896–7', in his *War and Politics in Zimbabwe 1840-1900*, 145.

[200] See I. R. Phimister, 'Pasi ne (Down with) class struggle? The new history for schools in Zimbabwe', *History in Afr.* (1984), XI, 367–74. Also the semi-official celebration of ZANU/ZANLA (D. Martin and P. Johnson, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War* (Harare, Zimbabwe Publ. House, 1981)) was issued to all schools.

[201] D. Dabengwa, 'ZIPRA in the Zimbabwe War of National Liberation', in Bhebe and Ranger (eds), *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War*, 24; this was quoted approvingly by Bhebe and Ranger in their editorial introduction (ibid., 20), and by Robins, 'Heroes, heretics and historians of the Zimbabwe revolution . . .,', 76–7. Readers will not find my contribution to the conference there, as the editors of the published proceedings did not ask to include my paper on the Rhodesian Armed Forces and the War, although they did extensively summarize what they remembered of it, in their introduction (at 14–16) – a situation that at least one reviewer of the published proceedings also found mystifying; see P. Stigger, in *Canadian Review of Afr. Studies* (1997), XXXI, 171–2.

concomitant fears[202] – of the subversion of historical research in Zimbabwe[203] and of the parlous state of history at the University of Zimbabwe since his departure in 2001.[204]

If we accept then that this triune history, and the whole approach of Ranger and his epigone from which it derives, is already as exhausted, intellectually, as the nationalism explicitly and implicitly lauded for so long is morally and politically bankrupt – then what is to take its place to inform a less bleak future? There was a time when a totally different approach based on historical materialism might have countered nationalist historiography, as Phimister in 1979 adumbrated and Astrow later essayed,[205] but no one has successfully overcome the obstacles, factual and conceptual, represented by race and ethnicity to such an interpretation – which in any case now has little appeal to an 'end-of-history' generation. Many others have pondered over the problem but come to no constructive conclusion.[206]

Yet there is perhaps a modest way forward and one which, the long-suffering reader will be pleased to see, brings the Khumalos, the Home Society and the Family Association back into the picture. A few years before Ranger published his book on the Risings, Frantz Fanon was writing from within an actual anti-colonial rising (in Algeria), and based upon his experiences he put forward a very different historical interpretation that eschewed nationalism – an interpretation which posits a much more positive role for groups like the Khumalos and the cultural-ethnic bodies that have been discussed in this article. For to Fanon cultural resistance (to the colonialist) and withdrawal (from bourgeois nationalist politics) was the crucial element in holding the masses, particularly the peasantry, together as 'a coherent people who go on living, as it were, statically, but who keep their moral values and their devotion to the nation intact' for the day.[207] Similarly Mafeje a little later spoke of a militant conservatism which saves the people from alienation – 'the curious logic of colonial history [by which] the conservatives of yesterday . . . become the radicals of tomorrow'.[208] And

[202]Ranger, 'Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation', 215–33.

[203]This refers to the Agreement of October 2003 for the National Archives of Zimbabwe, the Department of National Museums and Monuments and the University of Zimbabwe's History Department to collect oral testimonies before it is too late, as described in *The Herald*, 16 Oct. 2003. The project under the title of 'Capturing a Fading National Memory' is but an expansion of such collecting begun thirty years ago by the National Archives and it is not to write a joint official history; and from what I know of the work that has been done in the Lowveld I am confident that the expert and professional integrity of those involved will not lend itself to politicians' 'patriotic history'.

[204]The signs are quite to the contrary. For example, I have just read an interesting doctoral thesis in Economic History which is the first in that department since the last one I supervised there in 1995 before retiring; also I expect soon to see the draft of another in History, which will be only the second in that department since the last one I supervised there in 1990. In other words history at the University is reviving at last in the hands of a younger generation freeing itself from two decades of the dead weight of the old-guard nationalist historians now mostly departed. Equally hopeful is the recent interest in relaunching the journal *Zimbabwean History* killed off by the nationalist historians soon after Independence. Also this new awareness among the younger generation has raised two related questions in their planning a history of the two departments for the University's jubilee: why did that nationalist old guard produce only two doctoral candidates in twenty-five years in contrast to the productivity of the 1970s; and why has the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies produced more published history than the two history departments.

[205]'Zimbabwe: Economic and social historiography since 1970', 267–8; A. Astrow, *Zimbabwe: A Revolution that Lost Its Way?* (London, Zed Press, 1983).

[206]e.g. Robins, 'Heroes, heretics and historians of the Zimbabwe revolution . . .', 73–91; Raftopolous, 'Problematising nationalism in Zimbabwe', 115–34.

[207]F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, Grove Press, 1968 [1961]), 127.

[208]A. Mafeje, 'Religion, class and ideology in South Africa', in M. G. Whisson and M. West (eds), *Religion and Social Change in South Africa* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1975), 178.

more recently Lonsdale has spoken of the dynamic importance of a 'moral ethnicity' that derives from popular memory and creates communities from within: 'the nearest Kenya has to a national memory and a watchful political culture. Because native, it is a more trenchant critic of the abuse of power than any Western political thought' and does much to hold the country together despite its problems and divisions.[209] In such a way, at least, the Home Society, the Mzilikazi Family Association, and indeed the Khumalos as traditional leaders outside the colonial order, played their part, holding the people of western Zimbabwe together, as a nation defined by culture rather than as nationalists defined by politics; or to use the more popular terminology of the NEPAD present, they held a pluralist civil society together, in which several, and sometimes opposing, variations of Ndebele identity – noble, traditional, urban, Christian, educated, Kalanga[210] – could quietly co-exist and strengthen in the face of monolithic colonialism soon to break apart on the one side and a would-be even more monolithic nationalism that sought to replace it on the other. And the referendum and elections of 2000 at last brought that society, neglected by historians and the government alike, into the open.

So this article which began as a simple, somewhat sad, story of the decline of a once proud and powerful family does implicitly call for a new look at our political history that will review in a more positive light traditional groups like the Khumalos and cultural-ethnic groupings like the Home Society and the Family Association on the twisting and criss-crossing up-hill paths towards truly national politics and an open civil society, rather than a history that romanticizes a descending highway, paved originally no doubt with good intentions, from the violence of the last civil wars of a dying pre-colonial era in the 1890s to the deadlocked internecine disputes of ZAPU and ZANU and the cul-de-sac of an ersatz unity – in short for a lively national history in place not only of a dying 'nationalist history', but also of any impending doppelganger 'history of nationalism' or its ghoul of 'patriotic history'. And the prospects for such a national history are better than might first appear. The referendum on the constitution and the elections of 2000 brought civil society in Zimbabwe to life, and a spokesman of the National Constitutional Assembly (founded in 1997) felt able to announce that the country was witnessing 'the death of nationalist politics'.[211]

And indeed Ndebele aspirations found their new political voice in a new national party, the M.D.C.; not a year old, this was (and is) the first truly national party in Zimbabwe, and this was also the first time that the Ndebele turned their support away

[209] J. Lonsdale, 'The moral economy of Mau Mau . . .', in B. Berman and J. Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya & Africa: Book Two: Violence & Ethnicity* (London, James Currey, 1992), 466–7; see also his 'Moral ethnicity and political tribalism', in P. Kaarsholm and J. Hultin (eds), *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Roskilde, Univ. of Roskilde, International Develop. Studies Occasional Paper 11, 1994), 131–50.

[210] Ranger appears to think not dissimilarly when talking about ethnicity rather than nationalism; see T. O. Ranger, 'The invention of tradition revisited: The case of colonial Africa', in Kaarsholm and Hultin, *Inventions and Boundaries*, 41. It is also worth noting that when the National Gallery in Bulawayo began a series of lectures on regional history, art, culture and identity, they were named not after a nationalist politician (like the Chitepo Lectures in Harare), but after Lozekeyi, Lobengula's widow, who did so much to hold the Khumalos and the people together from 1894 to her death in 1919. It will be clear to the reader that this more positive view of traditional groupings differs from the influential argument of M. Mamdani (*Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton NJ, Princeton Univ. Press, 1996)) that sees rural native authority as one of the forces overwhelming later civic society.

[211] L. Madhuku, as quoted in M. Harnack, 'We have no more need of messiahs', *Zimbabwe Independent*, 5 Aug. 2005.

from particularism (despite the federalism of the new ZAPU[212] and the separatism of MAGGEMM), in the company of trade unionists long sidelined by nationalism, Whites excluded by nationalism, and the urban Shona immiserated by nationalism.[213] Can it be that we still wait on the Shona peasantry, enthralled as they are by an 'uncivic' or 'uncivil' nationalism, because they were fragmented historically and because they had no Khumalos or Home Society to bring and hold them together as a nation with civic resilience, and because what cultural-ethnic associations they had were active in Bulawayo rather than in Mashonaland itself?[214]

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[212]See 'Zapu seeks alliances with SA opposition parties', *Zimbabwe Independent*, 23 June 2000.

[213]That moral ethnicity should be put on par with trade unions, churches and other institutional constituents of civil society, see S. Orvis, 'Civil society in Africa or African civil society?', *Jnl of Asian & Afr. Studies* (2001), XXXVI, 17–39.

[214]The phrase from a different context comes from B. J. Berman, 'Ethnicity, patronage and the African state: The politics of uncivil nationalism', *Afr. Affairs* (1998), XCVII, 305–41. Nearly fifty years ago this situation of the Shona was recognized as strange – or sinister; see editorial in *Afr. Home News*, 29 Dec. 1956: 'the headquarters of the Sons of Mashonaland Cultural Society should be in Mashonaland and its branches should radiate, on all sides . . . reminding Shona-speaking people about their culture which should be saved from extinction . . . [rather than] in a foreign area'.

Victoria Cross Winners Associated with Central Africa: Part One

by R. J. Challiss

This article consists of summaries of more detailed studies-in-progress of Central African VC connections, past and present. At present we lack a comprehensive account of VC winners who have either resided in or in other ways been significantly associated with any one or more of the Central African territories of Botswana, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This has been done to some extent by Ian Uys in his excellent studies of Southern African VC heroes. However, the relevant accounts of Holders in Uys' 1973 publication need to be supplemented and updated and additional Holders require attention. As it will become more apparent in the article following this one, attention is given here to some Holders who never actually set foot on Central African nor, indeed, African soil, but who were, and in some cases, still are, closely related to present and past inhabitants of the Central African countries just mentioned, or were closely associated with people from these countries who were on active service abroad. Some of the VC winners in these last mentioned categories, go back as far as the Indian Mutiny. Most of their relatives, however, seem to have emigrated to Central Africa after the Great War. Consequently, the chronological sequence of Holders adhered to in this article will not be so uniformly applied in the next one. Consideration of the winners of the George Cross and its equivalent, the Edward Medal, which the GC superseded, must also be postponed until next year.

It was only in December 2004 when I was encouraged by David Rockingham-Gill, MSM, and his fellow members of the Medal Society of Zimbabwe to join them and proceed with these VC studies. Much more remains to be discovered about all of the locally relevant winners. This is particularly evident with regard to the second Holder dealt with in this article. Hopefully, there will be readers somewhere who can shed more light on Edmund O'Toole's life. However, information on any VC winners with local connections will be welcomed. In addition to members of the Medal Society, I should like to thank Frank Inch for his valuable assistance with my research, and my wife Colette for her patient help in expediting the production of this article.

One of the main reasons for the publication of this article and the one that is to follow it, is the celebration in 2006 of the 150th year of VC awards. Constraints of space do not allow for a history of the award here. However, it should be noted that prior to March this year, of the 1354 awards that were made since 1856, only twelve were made after the Second World War and the last two of these were posthumous awards for bravery during the Falklands War. Private Johnson Beharry's receipt of the VC this year was the first live award for 35 years. Not surprisingly, many young and even not so young people today have never heard of the VC, but those people who do know about it usually hold it in the highest esteem. During her centenary birthday parade, that most loved and admired monarch, the late Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, showed her great respect for the award by standing when Holders marched past her. (*Vestey* 52)

EDRIC FREDERICK GIFFORD

Consideration must be given first to The Lord Edric Frederick Gifford, whose VC award was gazetted on 28th March 1878 when he was serving in West Africa with the 2nd Batallion, 24th Regiment (later The South Wales Borderers):

> During the 1873–4 Ashanti Campaign Lieutenant Lord Gifford was in charge of scouts after the army crossed the Prah, and he daily took his life in his hands, performing his dangerous duties. He ferreted out the enemy's intentions, discovered their positions and took numerous prisoners. His courage was particularly conspicuous at the taking of Becquah, into which he penetrated with his scouts before the troops carried it. (*Buzzell*, 120)

Born in Ropley, Hampshire on 5 July 1849, Lord Gifford died in Chichester Sussex, on 5 June 1911. He was the uncle of Captain J.F.P. Butler, who won a VC and DSO before he was killed in the East African Campaign in 1916. Lord Gifford fought in the Zulu war in 1879, was Colonial Secretary for Western Australia and Senior Member of the Legislative Council (1880–83) and Colonial Secretary for Gibraltar (1883–1888). Even before the Zulu war, Lord Gifford sought mining concessions from Lobengula. In 1888 Lord Gifford and George Cawston, "a shadowy London stockbroker, share-jobber, social climber and cartographer" (*Rotberg* 252) joined forces, formed "the aptly named Bechuanaland Exploring and Exploiting Company" (*Thomas* 190), and, with the help of their agent in Africa, Edward Maund, seriously complicated Rhodes' efforts to expand northwards. The story of how Lord Gifford and Cawston were eventually persuaded to join Rhodes as British South Africa Company directors is too long to relate in this short article. All that should be noted is that Lord Gifford eventually played a useful part in England which greatly facilitated the occupation of Mashonaland in 1890. Shortly after this event, one of Lord Gifford's younger brothers, The Hon. Maurice Gifford (1859–1910), a veteran of military campaigns in Egypt (1882) and Canada (1885), introduced a weekly coach service between Palapye and Fort Salisbury. Maurice Gifford served as a scout in the Salisbury Column in the Matabele War (1893) and in 1896 he commanded 'A' and 'B' Troops of 'Gifford's' Horse. Wounded in 1897, his right arm was amputated. Awarded the CMG in that year, he subsequently served in the Anglo-Boer War and took part in the relief of Mafeking. (*SA Who's Who* 1910) Lieutenant-Colonel Maurice Gifford died tragically on 2nd July 1910 as a result of injuries sustained when he lit a cigarette whilst cleaning his clothes with petrol. (*Occupation of Matabeleland* 34).

EDMUND O'TOOLE

The first Holder to venture into the Far Interior was Edmund O'Toole. Knowledge about his childhood, what he did for about a decade after winning the VC and his old age is extremely uncertain. It is authoritatively asserted on the one hand that he was born in Cradock and was the "First South African born man serving with a South African unit under British command to win the VC." (*Buzzell* 246) On the other hand, it has been suggested that he was born in Ireland, the son of Patrick O'Toole, gamekeeper on the County Wicklow estate of the Irish patriot, Charles Stewart Parnell. (*Tanser* 254) O'Toole's date of birth is unknown and the earliest reliable information about him is that he enlisted in Baker's Horse (raised by Captain F.J.B. Baker of the Ceylon Rifles) in December 1877, before transferring to the Cape Frontier Light Horse and taking part in the Zulu War. (*Uys* 75)

LORD WILLIAM LESLEY DE LA POER BERESFORD

At Ulundi on 3 July 1879 Sergeant Edmund O'Toole and Captain (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Lord William Lesley de la Poer Beresford of the 9th Lancers (the Queen's Own), in the face of rapidly advancing Zulu warriors, went to the rescue of Sergeant Fitzmaurice of the 1st Battalion of the 24th Mounted Infantry, who lay wounded after his horse had fallen and rolled on him. After dismounting as well, in order to hoist Fitzmaurice onto Beresford's horse, O'Toole remounted his own horse and the three men only just managed to reach the river in safety. At first, only Beresford was awarded the VC, but "when he was commanded to Windsor he informed Queen Victoria that he could not accept the decoration unless the man who shared the danger could share the award." (*Morris* 588) The announcement of O'Toole's VC award appeared in the next *London Gazette* on 9 October 1879.

O'Toole served briefly as a Captain in The Herschel Native Contingent, which took part in the suppression of the Basuto Rebellion before it was disbanded in 1881, but it is not known what he did until 1890, when he attested in the Northern Transvaal (*Tulloch* 156) as a trooper in the Pioneer Column and made an impression on the march to Mount Hampden as "a modest unassuming man, careless of dress" but scrupulously attentive to the care of his horse, which always had "the glossiest coat in the regiment" and never got horse-sickness or "a sore back." (*Darter* 39–40)

After the disbandment of the Pioneer Column, O'Toole tried his hand at market gardening but unexpectedly heavy rainfall ruined his main crop, potatoes, and he nearly died of malaria. Indeed, according to at least two authoritative studies, O'Toole died in 1891. (*Buzzell* 246; Darter 40) However, he had recovered by 1892, when he acquired a team of donkeys and was employed by another ex-Pioneer Corps trooper, Lionel Cripps, as a transport rider. Based at Cripps' Cloudlands Farm, O'Toole transported grain and other produce to Umtali and elsewhere. (*Cary* 95) A notable client was the famous hunter and agent of the B.S.A. Company, Frederick Courteney Selous, who was "cutting a road from the Pungwe River to Salisbury." (*Cripps*, Diaries 1892)

O'Toole was employed by Cripps from January until July 1892, during which time marauding lions killed some of their donkeys and eventually frightened off their black labourers. O'Toole had suffered again from fever earlier in the year and this may have prompted him to leave the country in August, thereby avoiding yet another mosquito-ridden rainy season. He is thought by some to have gone to the U.S.A. (*Buzzell* 246; *Uys* 80) and by others "to have emigrated to Australia and died there." (*Cary* 95)

HERBERT STEPHEN HENDERSON

Trooper Herbert Stephen Henderson of the Rhodesia Horse won the first VC awarded for a deed performed on Central African soil. Just before dawn on 30 March 1896 insurgents attacked a patrol, causing Troopers Henderson and Celliers to be cut off from the main body. Celliers was shot through the knee and his horse was killed, so Henderson gave him his own horse. (*Henderson* 45) A thirty-five mile journey to Bulawayo through hostile territory lay ahead of the two men. Unable to kill his pet dog at Celliers' request, Henderson rubbed it over with wet red soil and whenever close to kraals held its mouth shut so that it could not bark. The two men moved mainly at night and went without food for two days and a night. The hunter Selous

H. S. Henderson, V.C.
(P. A. Wilkins)

thought that Henderson's gallant care for Celliers was "as brave a deed as ha[d] yet been chronicled in the annals of Rhodesia." (*Selous* 108)

Henderson was presented with his VC by Sir Alfred Milner, when the High Commissioner opened the railway line to Bulawayo on 4 November 1897. Born at Hillhead, Glasgow, on 30 March 1870, Henderson died in Bulawayo on 10 August 1942. A qualified engineer, mine owner and rancher, Henderson was not allowed to go on active service during the Great War as gold mining was regarded as an essential occupation. Associated largely with developments in the South Western districts of Rhodesia, his public benefactions were lavish. During the Second World War Henderson made a gift to the Government of the entire output of his Prince Olaf Mine. (*Uys* 101) Nick-named "Babicycle" by Africans, Henderson once cycled from Bulawayo to Johannesburg and back. (*Shinn* 4) In 1924 he married Helen Joan Spence Davidson, a history graduate of Stellenbosch University. In 1953, the year she died, Mrs Henderson was awarded an M.B.E. as "a tribute to the family's public service." (*The Pioneer* 46)

In 1956 the Henderson sons, Alan and Ian, attended the VC Centenary Celebrations in London. As a contribution to Bulawayo's seventy-fifth Anniversary Celebrations in 1968, Alan and Ian Henderson sponsored the publication of the first *Pioneer* magazine, which was devoted to studies of early settlement in Matabeleland, and included an eighteen-page memoir by their late father of his early years in the territory.

FRANK WILLIAM BAXTER

The second man to earn a VC locally was Trooper Frank William Baxter of the Grey Scouts, Bulawayo Field Force. Baxter was born in Woolwich, London, on 29 December 1869 and emigrated to South Africa in 1887. After serving in A Troop of the Pioneer Column in 1890, Baxter was discharged on 15 August 1891. He acquired land near Umtali and "had mines in various syndicates and companies, including a gold claim called Nellie's Reef, about 50 miles (80 km) from Bulawayo." (*Uys* 104) An official account of the action in which he was involved stated that it "was remarkable for the fact that in perhaps no fight in history have there been so many deeds of gallantry performed amongst so small a body of men."

> The twenty men of Grey's Scouts were caught between two fires and began to withdraw in some confusion. Yet it was now that they showed their metal. When Corporal [George] Wise was badly wounded and his horse brought down, Trooper Baxter went back for him, mounted Wise on his own horse and then attempted to follow it back to safety on foot. Now [Captain George] Grey and [Lieutenant Godfrey Blair] Hook in their turn went back to

> Baxter's assistance and almost at once were both badly wounded while Baxter died with a bullet through the chest. Like a grisly relay race Lieutenant [Frederick Harding] Crewe then gave up his horse to Hook and covered his retreat with a revolver. All these acts amounted to a display of courage that catches the imagination. (*Ransford* 99)

Elsewhere that day on the banks of the Umguza River, Captain Frederick Courteney Selous lost his horse and was gallantly rescued by Lieutenant 'Inkwazi' [the Bull] Windley. In another action, in a manner similar to Baxter, trooper Lester also gave up his horse to rescue a wounded comrade. The Commander-in-Chief, Major General Sir Frederick Carrington, KCMG, submitted recommendations for conspicuous gallantry in action for Windley, Crewe, Lester, Baxter and Grey. (*Regulus* 20) Lester was awarded the DCM, but *The London Gazette* of 7 May 1897 stated that in the case of Baxter, he "would have been recommended to Her Majesty for the Victoria Cross had he survived." Cecil Rhodes, particularly impressed by Crewe's bravery, commissioned Frank Dadd's depiction of his action in a painting for presentation to the city of Durban, for Crewe hailed from Natal. (*Occupation of Matabeleland* 30)

Baxter's mother, Mrs Mercy Baxter, at 119 Bensham Manor Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey, was given a gratuity of 250 pounds. (*Uys* 105). Reports in *The Rhodesia Herald* and *The Bulawayo Chronicle* were vague, whereas British papers "carried much more of an account of Baxter's death then anything from where it took place." (*Regulus* 20) *The Croydon Advertizer* told of a "deed of devoted heroism of which every Englishman will read with pride'', *The Daily Telegraph* stated that "no finer deed of comradely devotion than his has ever been recorded," and *The Croydon Times* reported that the deed had "caused a thrill to run through every English heart."

The first posthumous VC, granted on behalf of the son of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts, VC, who had died shortly after trying to save the guns during the Battle of Colenso in 1899, was followed by six more posthumous awards in 1902. For a few years afterwards, His Majesty King Edward VII was apparently led to believe by mistaken advisors that any more concessions would result in too many awards. However, thanks to persistent representations made by the widow of Lieutenant Teignmouth Melvill, who had gallantly died in his efforts to save the colours at Isandhlwana in 1877, His Majesty was persuaded to change his mind in December 1906. (*Ryder* 9) In the following year *The London Gazette* announced on 15 January that medals would be delivered to the relatives of Baxter and five other posthumous winners, going back as far as the Indian Mutiny in 1857.

Mr G. Baxter, of 59 Dahomey Street, Streatham, London, received his son's VC in the post on 6 February 1907. Apparently, Messrs. Spink and Sons, sold it for 45 pounds 10*s*. on 17 March, 1909. Later it fetched 47 pounds at Christie's, and it subsequently went "into another enthusiast's collection where it [was] treasured most highly." (*Regulus* 20) Sometime after the completion in 1900 of the Matabeleland Rebellion Memorial at the corner of Main Street and Selborne Avenue, Bulawayo, the initials VC were engraved after Baxter's name, but no such addition was made to the cross at the head of his grave in the Bulawayo Cemetery, nor on the Grey's Scouts Memorial Gates at the main entrance to the Bulawayo Memorial Hospital in Fort Street. (*Uys* 106)

RANDOLPH COSBY NESBITT

The third man to earn a VC locally, Randolph Cosby Nesbitt, has probably had more written about him and those men and women associated with his award than has prompted historical enquiry and reflection upon all of the other winners of local significance put together. The main reason for this would appear to be local pride in the courage displayed by everyone in the Alice Mine rescue saga, which matches the patriotic pride inspired by the heroic last stand of Allan Wilson and his men at Shangani three years earlier.

R. C. Nesbitt, V.C.
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

The sequence of brave deeds began on Wednesday 17 June 1896, when a telegraph mechanic, John Leonard Blakiston, and a storekeeper, Harold D. Zimmerman, who was familiar with the route, volunteered to set off in the night on a wagon drawn by six mules, to collect three women whom the Acting Administrator of Rhodesia, Justice J. Vintcent, felt should be brought from their homes thirty miles away in the Mazoe district to the comparative safety of Salisbury. (*Pollett* 30) Soon after the two men had arrived at Alice Mine early the next morning, an advanced party of six men, with provisions in a donkey cart, followed by the three women and three men in the wagon, set off for Salisbury. They soon fled back to the mine after three of the advanced party and their donkey were killed by snipers. Hidden in the bush there were about 1500 warriors to contend with, many of them well armed with rifles, some of them old Portuguese ones, others quite new, recently stolen ones. {*Howland* 18}

Only an urgent telegraph to Salisbury for reinforcements could now save those beleaguered at the mine. Blakiston and his telegraphist colleague based at Mazoe, T S Routledge, "fully realizing that there was scarcely a dog's chance of coming out alive," decided to send the vital message for help from the telegraphic hut situated a small but fatally exposed distance from the mine. (*Howland* 22 quoting J. Arnold Edmunds, a survivor of the patrol) Straight after sending their message, receipt of which "undoubtedly saved the lives of the men and women in Alice Mine," the two men emerged from the hut and were instantly killed in full view of those that they had so selflessly served.

Upon receipt of the plea for help, Dan Judson, a recently gazetted officer in the Rhodesia Horse, and the Chief Inspector of the Chartered Company's telegraphs, persuaded Judge Vintcent to let him and four Rhodesia Horse troopers go to the assistance of those at the mine. Captain Stamford-Brown, Chief Paymaster of the Rhodesia Horse, joined Judson's party shortly after their late afternoon departure on Thursday 18 June. After sending a trooper back to Salisbury to request reinforcements, Judson's party were joined at 3.30 a.m. by five more troopers at Mount Hampden.

Subsequently, three men were sent back to Salisbury because their horses were 'knocked up'. (*Richards* 157) Shortly after mid-day on Friday 19 June, the horses were shot from under two troopers and one of the men was wounded in the hand.

Even after the arrival at the mine of the seven men led by Judson, it was realized that further reinforcements would be necessary before running the 27 mile gauntlet to Salisbury. A Cape Driver, Hendrik, promised a reward of 100 pounds, agreed to venture forth into the night with a letter from Judson to Judge Vintcent requesting a relief force of "at least 40 men, with a Maxim." (*Richards* 157) On the outskirts of Salisbury, Hendrik met Captain Nesbitt's thirteen-man patrol and returned with them to Alice Mine.

Soon after his arrival at Alice Mine at 5 a.m. on Saturday 20th June, Nesbitt, Judson, Stamford-Brown and the mine manager, J.W. Salthouse, decided on an immediate return to Salisbury. First, bullet-proof iron sheets were fitted to the back and two sides of the wagon. As three of the mules had been shot and one was lost they had to in-span two mules and four horses. At mid-day the party of thirty men and three women set off, with 12 of the men mounted and, save for Hendrik the driver and George as whip, the rest of the men on foot. They eventually arrived in Salisbury at 9.30 p.m., having lost 3 men and eight horses killed and five men and seven horses wounded.

On 22nd June Nesbitt ended his official report on the patrol rather cryptically: "I would specially mention the good services rendered by Messrs. Ogilvie, Pascoe and Harbord". (*Uys* 115). The missionary Pascoe certainly deserved special mention, for he sat exposed on the roof of the wagon directing operations. "Miraculously he was unharmed, although a bullet passed through his hat and one shoe lace was shot off." (*Howland* 27) How Sgt. O.H. Ogilvie and Trooper R. Harbord specially distinguished themselves is unstated. Apparently, Mrs Cass, who refused to restrict herself to filling the bandoliers of the men with ammunition," actually joined in the firing at the rebels." (*Howland* 27) Her husband, Capt. T. Cass of the Salvation Army, had been killed during the abortive bid to escape from the mine on Thursday 18 June. Today, the bravery of the civilians involved in the Alice Mine saga would have warranted the award of more than one medal for gallantry.. Why Judson, already gazetted as a lieutenant in the Rhodesia Horse, and despite strong recommendations made on his behalf by Judge Vintcent (*Richards* [231–2]), should have been overlooked for a decoration is hard to understand.

Born in Queenstown, Cape Province, on 20 September 1867, the fourth son of Major (later Colonel) R.A. Nesbitt of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police and Cape Mounted Riflemen (1861–79), Nesbitt was educated at Dale College, Kingwilliamstown and St Paul's School, London. (*Uys* 107) He served as a trooper in the Cape Mounted Rifles from August 1885 until he joined the Pioneer Column with eight other Nesbitts in 1890, two of them his brothers. Promoted to sub-Lieutenant in 1891, he resigned to serve as Chief Constable at Fort Peddie in the Cape until 1893, when he joined the Mashonaland Mounted Police as a lieutenant. Engaged to Sister Mary Sanders of Umtali Hospital, he was appointed Justice of the Peace for Mashonaland and Acting Magistrate at Umtali in 1894. (*Hickman* (60) 243) Promoted to Inspector (Captain) in the Mashonaland Mounted Police in 1895 he was stationed in Salisbury at the outbreak of the Mashona Rebellion in June 1896. After the Alice

Mine rescue, Nesbitt conducted numerous operations against insurgents around Salisbury, but found the time on 16 September 1896 to marry Mary Sanders. (*Boggie* 129) As commandant of Fort Martin, thirty-five miles north of Norton, in 1897, Nesbitt participated in operations against the particularly spirited chief Matshayangombi. (*Hickman* (60) 245–6) During the Anglo-Boer war he served in the relief of Mafeking and subsequently saw action in the Transvaal. After the war he commanded B Troop in Goromonzi until 1909, when he transferred from the BSAP to serve as Native Commissioner in the district until his retirement in 1927.

At Goromonzi, the Nesbitts were noted for their "hospitality that was lavish" (*Hickman* (60) 247), although new visitors to their home were rather startled by the pet cheetah that greeted them. (*Tuke* 145). The former Acting Governor General and Chief Justice of the Central African Federation, the late Sir Robert Tredgold, KCMG, befriended the Nesbitts as a child and described the Major as being "one of the finest-looking men I have seen with a character to match". (*Tredgold* 46). After his retirement in 1927 and the death of his first wife, Nesbitt moved to Muizenberg in the Cape, where he married Eileen O'Doherty. Illness prevented him from taking part in the VC Centenary celebrations in London in 1956, but he listened to the BBC broadcast on the radio in his home. (*Uys* 116). The oldest living Holder, he died in Muizenberg on 23 July 1956.

Five Anglo-Boer War VC awards were of special significance north of the Limpopo. During the siege of Mafeking, men recruited in the fledgling state of Rhodesia played significant roles in events closely associated with three VC awards and in two of these instances, the winners had specific service connections with Rhodesia, one shortly before his award and the other shortly afterwards. Close relatives of the fourth Anglo-Boer War winner settled permanently in Southern Rhodesia and a number of their descendants live in Zimbabwe today. The fifth winner spent the last years of his life in Southern Rhodesia and is buried in Gweru.

CHARLES FITZCLARENCE

During the siege of Mafeking members of a detachment of 90 BSAP officers and men played important roles in two of three actions that resulted in the award in April 1900 of a VC to Captain (later Major-General) Charles FitzClarence of The Royal Fusiliers. In the first action, which was one of the earliest engagements between Boers and Britons in the war, Major-General (later Lord) R.S.S. Baden-Powell, on 14 October 1899, sent out an armoured train of fifteen gunners under Captain A.P.W. Williams of the BSAP supported by a squadron of the Protectorate Regiment, under Captain FitzClarence, to confront a Boer advance on the North of Mafeking. The armoured train had been fitted out for the B.S.A.P. gunners in Bulawayo and Baden-Powell hoped that its one-pounder Hotchkiss and .303 Maxim would help to send the Boers packing. Baden-Powell describes what happened:

> I sent out in support of the train, a squadron of the Protectorate Regiment, under Captain FitzClarence. On coming up with the train he found it heavily engaged with the Boers, who had been strongly reinforced from their laager, some seven miles north: they had also brought up a seven-pounder Krupp, a one-pounder Maxim.
>
> Captain FitzClarence, dismounting his men, advanced to attack with his left protected

by the train. For a quarter of an hour he was held by the enemy under a very hot fire, and then pressing forward, well backed up by the train, he drove the enemy back and successfully beat off several attempts to encircle his flank. Meantime, I sent up an additional troop under Lord Charles Cavendish-Bentinck, and also a seven-pounder. These also became hotly engaged and did good work. The fire from the armoured train put the enemy's gun out of action before it had fired a shot, and eventually also drove the one-pounder Maxim from the field. (*Hickman* (70) 218)

In his VC citation FitzClarence was given special praise for his leadership qualities:

> On Oct. 14 1899, Capt. FitzClarence went with his Squadron of the Protectorate Regt., consisting of only partially trained men, who had never been in action ... the enemy were in greatly superior numbers, and the squadron was for a time surrounded, and it looked as if nothing could save them from being shot down. Capt. FitzClarence, however, by his personal coolness and courage, inspired the greatest confidence in his men, and, by his bold and efficient handling of them, not only succeeded in relieving the armoured train, but inflicted a heavy defeat on the Boers, who lost 50 men killed and a large number wounded, his own losses being 2 killed and 15 wounded. The moral effect of this blow had a very important bearing on subsequent encounters with the Boers. (*The London Gazette* 6 July 1900)

In the second engagement contributing towards FitzClarence's VC, he led a successful bayonet attack on Boer trenches during the night of 27 October 1899, when he was wounded in action and "accounted for four of the enemy with his sword." (*The London Gazette* 6 July 1900) On the third occasion when FitzClarence distinguished himself, the BSAP gunners were active again, but this time as part of a general engagement with the enemy. The attack on Game Tree Fort, named Platboom by the Boers, took place on Boxing Day, 1899 and was, in Hickman's words "a misjudgement when it misfired from the start, and should have been abandoned." (*Hickman* (70) 220). Intelligence reports underestimated the strength of the enemy, who were forewarned of an attack, which was heavily reliant upon the element of surprise. Consequently, 24 men were killed, 22 were wounded and three were taken prisoner. However, the BSAP gunners again acquitted themselves well, FitzClarence, as his VC citation put it, "again distinguished himself by his coolness and courage," and two men in the Protectorate Regiment also earned Victoria Crosses.

HORACE ROBERT MARTINEAU

When the order was given to retire during the Game Tree action, Sergeant Horace Robert Martineau earned a VC for rescuing a corporal who had been struck down near the Boer trenches. Martineau half-dragged and half-carried the wounded man to a bush where he attended to his injuries. Although he was shot in the side himself, Martineau carried on helping the corporal until he was wounded a second time and was forced to give up. He received three wounds, one of which necessitated the amputation of one of his arms. (*The London Gazette* 6 July 1900). Trooper Horace Edward Ramsden won his VC by picking up his brother, who had been shot through both legs and was lying some ten yards away from the Boer trenches. Horace carried his brother about 600 to 800 yards under heavy fire, putting him down from time to time to rest, until help arrived and the injured man was carried to a place of safety. (*The London Gazette* 6 July 1900).

Horace Martineau was born on 24 October 1874 at Prince's Gate, Bayswater, the

son of William Martineau, MICE, and educated at the University College School, London, and Clifton College. Aged sixteen, he joined the 11th Hussars in September 1891. Drafted to South Africa in May 1892, he was stationed at the Regimental Headquarters in Pietermaritzburg until October that year, when he accompanied the regiment to Rawalpindi, India. Uys states that Martineau had "a quiet disposition" and was "a very skilful violin player," whom, so it is believed, "originated the string band of the 11th Hussars." (*Uys* 134). On 12 March 1895 he purchased his discharge from the Hussars at Sialkot and in the following year served under Baden-Powell in Matabeleland. Martineau then spent two years in the Bechuanaland Border Police before joining the Protectorate Regiment in 1899. On 13 October 1900, he married Florence, the younger daughter of T. James Bellson of London. (*S.A. Who's Who* 1910). Their only child, a daughter married a naval commander. Martineau served in the suppression of the Zulu Rebellion in Natal in 1906 and worked for the African Boating Company Limited as Wharf Manager in Durban. During the First World War, he served with the ANZACS at Suez and Gallipoli, fell ill with fever and died in Dunedin, Australia, on 8 April 1916. (*Uys* 139).

HORACE EDWARD RAMSDEN

Born in Chester on 15 December 1878, Horace Ramsden attended St George's Grammar School in the Cape and served with Prince Alfred's Own Cape Artillery in the Bechuanaland Rebellion of 1896–7, before he and his brother Alfred joined the Protectorate Regiment. After his VC award, Ramsden was feted by the Mayor in Cape Town, promoted to Lieutenant and transferred to Pretoria to serve in Lord Robert's bodyguard and in the Johannesburg Mounted Rifles. (*Uys* 138) He joined the BSAP on 17 October 1902 and bought his discharge on 2 November 1903. (Taylor 3 December 2004). Married twice, he served in Colonel Hartigan's Horse in South West Africa during the Great War and died in Wynburg, Cape Province, on 3 August 1948. His VC was the second awarded to a soldier for saving his brother's life, the first being the one earned by General Sir Charles John Stanley Gough during the Indian Mutiny. (*Buzzell* 124) Alfred had been wounded in an attempt to save a comrade, before he was rescued by his brother. Unfortunately, all of the officers who had witnessed Alfred's bravery were killed, so he was not recommended for an award. (*Uys* 137) His leg had to be amputated , but he was married for nine and a half years and had three sons before he died after a heart attack in 1935.

A truce was declared after the Game Tree attack, when Boers helped to carry the wounded to the armoured train. Shot through both legs, FitzClarence nevertheless foiled a Boer who tried to take his sword as a souvenir. (*Uys* 136). Field Marshall Viscount French of Ypres greatly admired FitzClarence for his "many gallant deeds" but particularly for prompt action that he had taken two weeks before his death, which had "saved the day" for the British forces generally in 1914. Commanding the 1st Infantry Brigade in Belgium. (*French* 280, 254). FitzClarence was killed in action on 11 November 1914 during a charge on the enemy in the first battle of Ypres.

CHARLES HERBERT MULLINS

Major Charles Herbert Mullins VC, CMG, is of local significance because of his numerous relatives in Zimbabwe.

> "Captains C.H. Mullins and R. Johnstone, Imperial Light Horse" – so runs the official citation accompanying the award to each of them of the Victoria Cross, "on October 21st 1899, at Elandslaagte, at a most critical moment, the advance being momentarily checked by a very severe fire at point-blank range, very gallantly rushed forward under this heavy fire, and rallied the men, thus enabling the flanking movement, which decided the day, to be carried out. On this occasion Captain Mullins was wounded." (*The London Gazette* 12 February 1901).

These awards were gazetted over a year after the actions that earned them, when the Commander-in-Chief was more fully informed about what had happened at Elandslaagte. (*Uys* 122).

Born in Grahamstown on 28 June 1869, Mullins was educated at St Andrew's College Grahamstown, studied at Keble College, Oxford, and graduated in 1891 with a BA Honours degree in Law. He had two brothers, Robert George and Reginald Cuthbert Mullins. Robert George studied medicine at Oxford, was a Rugby Blue and toured South Africa with the British Lions in 1896. Two future South African VC's were in this team – Surgeon Captain (later Major) Thomas Joseph Crean, who was awarded a VC for his gallantry at Tiger Kloof Spruit on 18 December 1901, and Mullin's fellow officer at Elandslaagte, Major Johnston. (*Uys* 124) Called to the bar in Johannesburg, Mullins, served on the Reform Committee, helped to raise the Imperial Light Horse and as a Major took part in the Relief of Mafeking. He was ambushed and crippled for life on 13 May 1900 and was created a CMG in 1901. In the following year he married Norah Haslam of Brooklands, Upingham, and they had two sons and a daughter. After joining a law partnership in Johannesburg, Mullins was appointed President of the High Court of Swaziland and the Court of Bechuanaland. (*Uys* 126) Mullins died in Johannesburg on Empire Day 24 May 1916 and he was buried in Grahamstown. Aged only 47 "He gave his life for his country, for his death was indirectly due to wounds in the Boer War", (*Levick* 226) At his school the pulpit in the College chapel was put there in his memory by Old Andreans, and his portrait, alongside that of his father, is on the walls of the dining hall in Mullins House, which was named after his father Cannon Robert John Mullins.

> Robert Mullins' descendants were to prove worthy of their heritage. In the forty-five years that were to end in Tokio Bay in September 1945, his sons and grandsons – all of them Andreans – were to be awarded by their Sovereign, for services in the field or in the air, a Victoria Cross, a C.M.G., two Distinguished Service Orders, two Military Crosses, two Distinguished Flying Crosses, and an O.B.E. (*Currey* 72–3)

One of Mullins' nieces married the late Judge Harry Davies, who had four sons, three of them currently resident with their families in Zimbabwe. Another niece married A.H. Pattison, Headmaster of Plumtree School, whose son now lives in Dandaro, Harare, having been evicted from his farm some years ago. (*Davies* 25 February 2005)

FREDERICK HENRY BRADLEY

The fifth Boer War VC of special local significance was Driver (later Captain) Frederick Henry Bradley of the 69th Battery, the Royal Field Artillery, whose award was gazetted on 27 December 1901:

> During the action at Itala, Zululand, Sept. 26, Major Chapman called for volunteers to carry ammunition up the hill; to do this a space of about 150 yards swept by a heavy cross fire had to be crossed. Driver Lancaster and Gunner Bell at once came forward and started, but half way across Lancashire fell wounded. Driver Bradley and Gunner Rabb without a moments hesitation ran out and caught him up, and Rabb carried him under cover, the ground being swept by bullets the whole time. Driver Bradley then, with the aid of Gunner Boddy, succeeded in getting the ammunition up the hill.

The son of Caroline and Edmund Thomas Bradley, Frederick was born on 27 September 1876 in Kingsland, London. Married on 3 July 1907 in Malvern Natal, Florence and Frederick Bradley had two sons, Arthur John, born 19 March 1910, and Elton Bradley, born 8 September 1920. (*Gwelo Times* 12 March 1943, 5). Captain Bradley retired from the army with a Volunteer Officers' Decoration and donated his VC allowance to the Chelsea Pensioners. Strongly patriotic, he was a member of the Legion of Frontiersmen and the Sons of England Society, was a Freemason and was employed on the Union railways. He was one of the South African representatives at His Majesty King George VI's coronation ceremony and he also attended the VC Jubilee. After his retirement he lived at 77 Sixth Street, Gwelo for about four years. Until his death aged sixty-six, he felt he should still "do his bit" and worked as an all night telephone operator at the Gwelo Post Office. During the Second World War Bradley's two sons, one of them at Tobruk, were invalided on account of wounds. Survived by his wife, Captain Bradley died in the Gwelo Hospital on 9 March 1943 and was buried in the Presbyterian Section of the Gwelo Cemetery, his coffin covered by the Union Jack. The SOE retiring hymn was sung at his grave side which was attended by Freemasons from Gwelo, including a representative from Bloemfontein, officers, NCO's and men of the Gwelo Signals Company and members of the Chaplain School Cadet band, who sounded the "Last Post" and the "Reveille". Highly respected by the local community, the editor of the Gwelo Times observed in his obituary that Bradley was "unassuming to a marked degree, he was one who did not like speaking about himself."

When the Boer War had ended, the British Commander in Chief Lord Roberts,VC, honoured Southern Rhodesia with a visit and gave an address as the guest of honour at a house dinner at the Bulawayo Club in September 1904 (*Gibbs* (95) 57).

WILLIAM FREDERICK FAULDS

The first VC of local significance during the First World War was Captain William Frederick Faulds, VC, MC. The first South African to win a VC in the First World War and the first South African born man serving with South African forces to do so, 'Mannie' Faulds was born on 19 February 1895 at 34 Market Street in Craddock, Cape Province, the son of Alexander and Wilhelmina Faulds, and died in Cranborne Hostel, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia on 16 August, 1954. (*Uys* 209) As a schoolboy Faulds delivered newspapers for the Midlands News, then worked as a garage mechanic

before joining the Craddock Commando in 1914. Faulds served in the South West African campaign before enlisting in the 1st battalion of the 1st South African Infantry Brigade, which arrived in France on 16 April 1916. On 16 July, at Delville Wood, a bombing party came under very heavy rifle and machine gun fire and the majority were killed or wounded, including their leader, Lieutenant Craig, who lay unable to move midway between the two lines of trenches. In full daylight Private Faulds, accompanied by Privates Baker and Estement, climbed over their parapet, ran out, picked up the officer and carried him back. On Tuesday 18 "Mannie" Faulds went out alone, under intense artillery fire, and carried a wounded man nearly 500 yards to safety before joining his platoon. (*Uys* 210–212)

> The extent of the South African loss could be gauged when Colonel Thackeray finally marched out on 20th with 143 men. Six days earlier there had been 3,150 men and when the South African survivors finally gathered together in a place called Happy Valley, there were only 750 of them. Of the 3,150 men, 1,080 were killed or missing and 1,735 wounded. (*MacNab* 74).

Faulds was promoted to Corporal on 18 October 1916 and his VC was gazetted on 9 September 1916. He received his decoration from His Majesty King George V at York Cottage, Sandringham, on 8 January 1917. Faulds served briefly in Egypt before returning to France to win the Military Cross on 22 March 1918 when he was wounded in action and taken prisoner. Ten days before his repatriation he was promoted to temporary Lieutenant and received his full Lieutenancy in March 1919 before returning to South Africa for demobilization. (*Uys* 214)

On 26 March 1921 he married Thelma M. Waddell in Kimberley. They had two children, a son and a daughter. After working briefly for De Beers as a mechanic, Faulds re-enlisted in the Kimberley Regiment, first as a Lieutenant and later as a Captain. In 1940 he joined the Rhodesian army and served in East Africa as a Lieutenant and returned in 1945 to take up the post of Rhodesian Government Industrial Inspector. A prominent member of the BESL, he served on several of the organization's committees. He died in the Salisbury General Hospital on 16 August 1950.

Faulds' medals and citations are in the McGregor Museum in Kimberley. On the back of his VC are inscribed the 16 and 18 July 1916. Faulds is buried in the Pioneer Cemetery in Harare where his grave

> shamefully, remained unmarked for 31 years, save for its number 2992 until September 1981, when through the efforts of the South Africa Legion and Victor Stitt, convener of the war graves, Rhodesia Legion, $235.00 was raised and Gillespies' Monumental Masons [were] commissioned to erect a headstone and surround. The head stone of rose marble, depicts a South African Springbok badge. (*Brown* 19)

Mr Anthony Brown, convener of the war graves, on behalf of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission based in London, now attends to the proper maintenance of the grave.

FREDERICK CHARLES BOOTH

The second VC winner of local significance during the First World War was Captain Frederick Charles Booth, VC, DCM . Born in Upper Holloway, London, on 6 March 1890, Booth attended Cheltenham College before joining the Anglo-Austrian Bank

and he served for four years in the Hertfordshire Yeomanry before joining the British South Africa Police as a trooper in 1914. (*Rhodesian Defence Force Journal* November 1917, 5). Cheltenham produced fourteen VC's, the last of these being awarded to Commander (later Captain) Robert Edward Dudley Ryder, VC, RN, on 21 May 1942. (*Pearce* 203). Soon after joining the BSAP, Booth took part in the defeat of German forces in Karonga, on the North West shore of Lake Nyasa. Colonel (later Major General Sir) A.H.M. Edwards, CB, MV0, specially commended trooper Booth in November 1914 "for having at considerable personal risk dived into the Zambezi at Kazongula on 16th September, 1914 and saved the life of a troop horse that had broken loose and swam into some thick reeds in the steep river bank where it was unable to either get a footing or extricate itself." (*Edwards*, 13).

In 1916 Sergeant Booth was attached to the Rhodesia Native Regiment and was awarded the Victoria Cross in the following year:

> On the 12th February 1917 at Johannesbruck, near Songia, East Africa during an attack in thick bush on the enemy position and under very heavy rifle fire, Sergeant Booth went forward alone and brought in a man who was dangerously wounded. Later he rallied native troops who were badly disorganized and brought them to the firing line. On many previous occasions this NCO had set a splendid example of pluck and endurance. (*The London Gazette* 8 June 1917).

His former commanding officer Colonel Edwards elaborated on this citation as follows:

> The enemy's advanced troops who were holding a wooded defile allowed the scouts to pass through without opening fire, but succeeded in ambushing the advanced guard, on which a heavy fire was opened when it was in the middle of the defile. The result was chaos! Booth got back out of the defile and successfully rallied his men to resist the enemy's further advance. It was at this stage that it was brought to his notice that one of the Scouts – a European – was lying badly wounded in the defile; Booth at once went back and brought him in. It was for this act of bravery that he was awarded the Victoria Cross. (*Edwards* 14).

Before Booth's VC award was gazetted in June 1917, he performed further acts of gallantry most notably when his commanding officer Lieutenant Colonel A.J. Tomlinson required his special assistance on 23 March 1917. Surrounded by Germans near the St. Moritz Mission Tomlinson asked Booth to make his way through the encircling enemy forces in order to seek the assistance of Colonel R.E. Murray, DSO, DCM . Accompanied by an askari, Booth successfully reached 'Murray's column' at Itaka, which went to the relief of Tomlinson's forces on 27 March. His DCM recommendation was gazetted on 26 May:

> His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the award of the Distinguished Conduct Medal to the under mentioned non-commissioned officer for acts of gallantry and devotion to duty in the field, viz. No. 1630, Sgt. F.C. Booth, B.S.A. Police, attached Rhodesia Native Regiment for conspicuous gallantry on many occasions. He showed a splendid example of courage and good leadership, inspiring confidence in his men. He twice carried despatches through the enemy lines. (*The London Gazette* 26 May 1917)

Promoted to Lieutenant, Booth himself had to be rescued when he was wounded in action at Lakasa in August 1917. His saviour, Corporal N'suga, had been wounded himself before rescuing Booth and was awarded the Military Medal for his gallantry (*Rockingham-Gill* 19), which was presented to him by the Administrator of Rhodesia in 1919 at Plumtree

where he had been employed as a worker in the Plumtree School laundry. (*Challiss* 71). Invalided back to Salisbury Booth received "the sort of tumultuous welcome normally reserved for royalty". (*McLaughlin* 141). Booth left Rhodesia for England in November 1917 and was decorated with the VC by His Majesty King George V at Buckingham Palace on 16 January 1918. (*Uys* 228). In the following month he was formally discharged from the Rhodesia Native Regiment in order to join the Middlesex Regiment. Promoted to Captain, he served as an infantry commander for the remainder of the war. (*Hutchison* 237–8).

R. C. Booth, V.C.
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Married in 1921 Booth went into commercial life until the Second World War when, once more he donned a uniform. (*Outpost* October 1960 39). In 1937 Major J.S. Bridger informed the editor of *Outpost* of a debt that the Rhodesia contingent owed to Booth when they attended His Majesty King George VI's coronation:

> We of the Contingent whether of the BSAP, PSC or The Rhodesia Regiment, one and all realized how much of the entertainment that we enjoyed was due to the enterprise and opportunistic tactics employed by that officer. (*Outpost* August 1937 11).

Booth's eventual estrangement from his wealthy wife was to become the subject of public notoriety. After his wife's petition for divorce on the grounds of cruelty was dismissed, she received a restraining order against his visitations. When Booth tried to enforce his company on her a policeman was summoned and, with the assistance of more than half a dozen employees of his wife, he was ejected from her home. In a court case, when the Inspector and others were sued for assault by Booth, the servants "were nominally fined one shilling each and Mrs Booth was placed under the protection of the court." (*Uys* 226–8). As a widower Booth attended the VC celebrations in 1956, when he and the late Captain Gerard Ross 'Toys' Norton ,VC , MM, marched together as official representatives of the former Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the parade of 300 Holders reviewed by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth in Hyde Park on Tuesday 26 June. Booth died in Brighton Sussex on 14 September 1960, where he is buried in The Bear Road Cemetery. The last living Holder in Central Africa, 'Toys' Norton died in Harare on 29 October 2004, aged eighty-nine.

JOHN SHERWOOD-KELLY

The third VC winner during the First World War of local significance, was Lieutenant Colonel John Sherwood-Kelly, VC ,CMG, DSO. His grandfather, Edward Kelly took part in the Charge of the Light Brigade and received the Crimean Medal with the maximum permissible four clasps (Alma, Balaclava, Inkerman and Sebastapol) and his father, J.J. Kelly was awarded the Royal Humane Society Bronze Medal for his

bravery on 8 and 9 December 1874, when he and two other soldiers took a rope to the stranded barque "Nova Bella", near the mouth of the St John's River, thereby saving twenty-five lives. (*Uys* 261).

Born at Lady Frere on 13 January 1880 one of a pair of twins, Jack, as he liked to be called, was educated at The Queenstown Grammar School, Dale College, King Williamstown, St Andrew's College Grahamstown and the South African College, Cape Town. An accomplished horseman, boxer and athlete, he enlisted when he was sixteen in the Cape Mounted Police, then served as a trooper in the B.S.A.P. during the Ndebele rising of 1896 and under Colonel Plumer during the relief of Mafeking. After a short period of attachment to the Imperial Light Horse, he joined Kitchener's Fighting Scouts and before the Boer War had ended, was mentioned in despatches several times and received his commission in the field. After the war, he resigned his commission to serve as a private in the Somaliland Burgher Corps in the third expedition against the Mad Mullah, from November 1902 to 1903. He returned to the Transkei to work as a trader and recruiter of native labour. In 1906 he took part in the suppression of the Zululand Rebellion.

He joined the Sherwood Foresters in Belfast, Ireland, before joining the second King Edward's Horse in 1914 under an assumed name "as a private in order to avoid being kept from the front line for the purpose of training men". (*Uys* 262). Transferred to the Norfolk Regiment by 10 November 1914 he was gazetted a major. In April 1916 he married Nellie Elizabeth Crawford Greene, the eldest daughter of the Hon. G.H. Greene, M.L.C., of New South Wales. As commanding officer of the 1st King's Own Scottish Borders, he was awarded the D.S.O. in the Dardenelles. The financier, Bernard Oppenheimer, had offered $100 each to the first five South Africans to win a V.C. and $50 to the first ten winners of the D.S.O. In 1916 Kelly was the first to win a D.S.O. and handed his reward over to the Frontier Hospital in Queenstown. (*Uys* 262).

After ten months in the Dardenelles, when he was frequently wounded, he joined The First Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. As their commanding officer he was created a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George on New Year's Day, 1917: the official citation of his subsequent V.C. award reads:

> Major (Acting Lieutenant-Colonel) John Sherwood Kelly, C.M.G., D.S.O., Norfolk Regiment, Commanding 1st Battalion Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. At Marcoing, France, on 20th November, 1917. For most conspicuous bravery and fearless leading, when a party of men of another unit detailed to cover the passage of the canal by his battalion were held up on the near side of the canal by heavy rifle fire directed on the bridge. Lieut. Colonel Sherwood Kelly at once ordered covering fire, personally led the leading company of battalion across the canal, and, after crossing, reconnoitred under heavy rifle and machine-gun fire the high ground held by the enemy.
>
> The left flank of his battalion, advancing to the assault of this objective, was held up by a thick belt of wire, whereupon he crossed to that flank and with a Lewis gun team forced his way under heavy fire through obstacles, got the gun into position on the far side, and covered the advance of his battalion through the wire, thereby enabling them to capture the position.
>
> Later, he personally led a charge against some pits fro which heavy fire was being directed on his men, captured the pits, together with five machine guns and forty-six prisoners, and killed a large number of the enemy.

> The great gallantry displayed by this officer throughout the day inspired the greatest confidence in his men, and it was mainly due to his example and devotion to duty that his battalion was enabled to capture and hold their objective. (*The London Gazette* 11 January 1918)

After his recuperation in hospital and taking sick leave in South Africa, Kelly was decorated with the VC by His Majesty King George V at Buckingham Palace on 23 January 1918. He commanded the Norfolk Yeomanry for the remainder of the war and then took command of the Second Battalion, Hampshire Regiment, based in Archangel. (*Uys* 265) For his refusal to send his men into action against the Bolsheviks and for writing to the press on military matters, he was relieved of his command. He clashed openly in the press with Churchill over the conduct of the war against the Bolsheviks and in October 1919 was court-martialled at the Middlesex Guild Hall. (*Peacock* 63–70) Although he was severely reprimanded and had to relinquish his commission, upon his retirement he was granted the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. His wife worked in a canteen in Paris whilst he was on active service. However, infidelity on his part soon persuaded her to seek a divorce. Late in November 1919 she was granted "a decree of restitution of conjugal rights against her husband." (*Peacock* 65). After unsuccessfully contesting a parliamentary seat for the Conservatives in 1920, he engaged in business ventures in South America. (*Uys* 265). He subsequently became a game ranger of the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika where he befriended the famous hunter, former poacher and later Deputy Game Warden of Tanganyika, George Rushby. Given the task of controlling elephants that were raiding peasant crops in the Lupembe area, Sherwood Kelly asked Rushby to accompany him for a week and teach him some of the skills of the task. Sherwood Kelly grew to admire Rushby who accomplished the task with great proficiency:

> George had done the shooting using his point 577 with its usual devastating effect. The rogues were dispatched with minimum trouble or pain and the whole police action successfully concluded in time for the hunters to be at home for a community Christmas dinner.
>
> "Your George should have been made a Game Ranger of this area," the Colonel told Eleanor [Rushby's wife]. "With his background he would make a far better job of it than a run down army man like myself. Why don't you try for a post in the game department George?"
>
> "With my past!" exclaimed George. (*Bulpin* 165–6)

Unfortunately, as a result of the great depression the Tanganyika Game Department was "forced to retrench good men like Sherwood-Kelly" who was eventually found alone and unconscious in a London Park. Only after he had died in a hospital in Kensington of cerebral malaria on 18 August 1931 "did anybody discover who he was and remember his record of service and adventure." (*Bulpin* 186).

MONTAGUE SHADWORTH SEYMOUR MOORE

More fortunate than Sherwood Kelly was Montague Shadworth Seymour Moore, a fellow game ranger and Holder who had won his VC when serving with The Hampshire (later Royal Hampshire) Regiment near Ypres in Belgium in 1917. (*The London Gazette* 8 November 1917). Born in Bournemouth , Hampshire, on 9 October 1896 , Moore emigrated to Africa after the war , when he joined The King's African Rifles. Retiring

as a temporary captain in 1926, to became a Game Ranger, he and his wife Audrey became particularly well known for their work with Serengeti lions. (*Varian* 233–5). Appointed Game Warden of Tanganyika in 1944, he had befriended Rushby who served as his Deputy. 'Monty' Moore died in 1966 when his ashes were scattered in the Serengeti game reserve. (*Buzzell* 229).

R. V. Gorle, V.C.
(*Cape Town Military Museum*)

ROBERT VAUGHAN GORLE

A fifth VC winner during the First World War of local significance was Robert Vaughan Gorle, who was born in Southsea, Hampshire on 6 May 1896 and eventually settled in Central Africa. His father, Major Harry Vaughan Gorle served in the Anglo-Boer War, when he was awarded the DSO and twice mentioned in despatches and in The Great War, when he was again mentioned in despatches. Unfortunately his wife Ethel Catherine Gorle, the oldest daughter of the Reverend Cannon Archdale, Rector of Glanmire died when their son Robert was an eight year old pupil at the Wells House, Malvern Wells. Major Gorle married again in 1914 and his second wife, Edith Mary was also the daughter of a clergyman, the Reverend J. Lovebond Francis, the Rector of Bridston. (*Who's Who 1931* 1244). After completing his formal education at Rugby, Robert Gorle emigrated to South Africa where he farmed in the Transvaal. When the Great War began, he served in 'A' Battery., 50th Brigade, The Royal Field Artillery as a "non-contingent" volunteer. (*Uys* 281) Gorle's VC citation was gazetted on 14 December 1918:

> For most conspicuous bravery, initiative and devotion to duty during the attack on Ledeghem on 1 Oct., 1918, when in command of an 18-pounder gun working in close conjunction with infantry. He brought his gun into action in the most exposed positions on four separate occasions, and disposed of enemy machine-guns by firing over open sights under direct machine-gun-fire at 500 to 600 yards range. Later, seeing that the infantry were being driven back by intense hostile fire, he, without hesitation, galloped his gun in front of the leading infantry and, on two occasions, knocked out enemy machine-guns which were causing the trouble. His disregard of personal safety and dash were a magnificent example to the wavering line, which rallied and retook the northern end of the village.

Gorle attended an investiture by His Majesty King George V at Buckingham Palace on 14 June 1919. (*Uys* 282) By now he was resident again in southern Africa on a farm near Fort Jameson. In 1924 he married Ruth, the daughter of W.E. Thomas of Plumtree in Southern Rhodesia. (*Who's Who 1931* 1244). In 1929 Gorle gave up farming and became Sergeant-at-Arms in the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly and Parliamentary Librarian. He died of emphysema and pneumonia in Durban on 10 January 1937. His widow taught at the Heldeberg College at Somerset West for the

next thirty years. Ruth Gorle later taught at Solusi College, near Bulawayo, where her son Timothy became Principal. Ruth Gorle died of cancer in 1971. Drucilla Gorle practised as a doctor in East Africa. (*Uys* 282).

HAROLD JOHN COLLEY

Special mention must be made of a Great War VC winner whose medals were kept in Central Africa by a nephew for fifty years, and are now exhibited on loan at the Lancashire Fusiliers museum in Bury, England. Born in Smethwick , Staffordshire, on 26 May 1894, Harold John Colley won a Military Medal on 4 June and a VC on the 25 August 1918, awards which were gazetted posthumously on the 7 and 22 October that year. For a third act of gallantry, performed shortly before the deed that won him the VC, Colley was posthumously awarded a Certificate of Meritorious Service. *The Smethwick Telephone* explained why this happened as follows:

> Twice he was recommended for the greatest honour a British soldier can gain. But it was impossible for this award to be made twice and so Colley was awarded the Certificate of Meritorious Service – a distinction which no other of the five million men who took part in the war gained.

A bar can be won only after a medal has been awarded, something that has happened three times since the VC was instituted in 1856. (*Buzzell* 351).

Harold Colley's VC, MM, 1914–15 Star, General Service Medal and Allied Victory Medal were bequeathed by his parents to his younger brother, Albert Henry Colley (who had been gassed and permanently disabled in 1917) and then by him to his son, Doctor Anthony Harold John Colley, who emigrated to Southern Rhodesia in 1949. After spending two years in Southern Rhodesia, Doctor Colley served as the Chief Veterinary Officer in Northern Rhodesia until 1968. Doctor Colley married Jean Estelle Watson from the Eastern Cape in 1956 and for many years Harold Colley's medals adorned walls in their homes north and south of the Zambezi. In 1989 Doctor Colley met Lieutenant Colonel P.G. Bibby, MBE, of the British Army Advisory Training Team in Zimbabwe, and it was agreed that there was "little point in keeping [the medals] locked up in a safe if they could be on public display". (Colley to Hallam 24 August 1989). Under a loan agreement made between Doctor Colley and the Lancashire Fusiliers Regimental Museum, Colonel Bibby took the medals to England where they are now on permanent public display. Dr Colley died in 2001, when his son Martin Paul Colley of Botswana inherited the title deeds to the medals. (Colley to Lancashire Fusiliers Museum 3 December 2001).

DONALD JOHN DEAN

Finally, brief mention should be made too of Colonel Donald John Dean, VC, OBE, TD, DL (County of Kent), JP, who commanded a detachment of the Bechuanaland Pioneer Corps in France during the Second World War. (*Bent* 114). Colonel Dean was awarded the VC when he was a Temporary Lieutenant serving in the 8th Battalion, The Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment in France during the period 24–26 September 1918. (*Buzzell* 87). Mentioned in Despatches during the First and Second World Wars, the Colonel was also appointed Commander, The Royal Danish Order of

the Dannebrog. He was Officer Commanding No. 5 Group of the Auxiliary Pioneer Corps in France in 1940 and was Honorary Colonel of the 4th Battalion of the Buffs. Colonel Dean and his wife Marjorie had a son and a daughter. (*Who's Who 1958* 776). Born in London on 19 April 1897, the Colonel died in Sittingbourne, Kent, on 9 December 1985.

Major E.B. Hartley VC CMG and Captain W.A. Bloomfield VC, who both participated in the Langeberg Campaign in Botswana in 1897, will be considered in part two of this article.

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'Great Characters of the Lowveld' Ian de la Rue of Ruware

by Colin Saunders

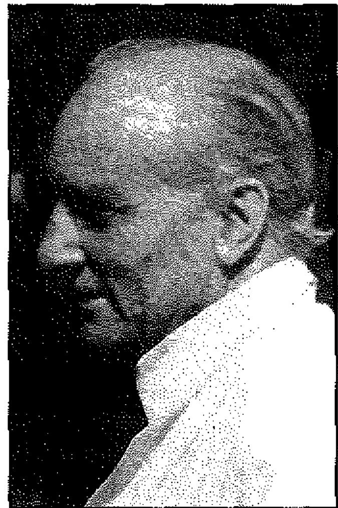
This will be a brief glimpse of an extraordinary larger-than-life personality who really did deserve the over-worked accolade of "a legend in his own life-time". A man with prodigious physical strength; a refined Englishman who ventured into the furthest wilderness alone; one who ate and enjoyed the flesh of every imaginable wild animal; a pilot who taught himself to fly in the wilderness with never a lesson; a successful cattleman in spite of almost insuperable odds; a wonderful mimic of the calls of Africa's wild animals; an exuberant and joyful character, with an impish sense of humour, who enjoyed life to the full; a man described by no less than the Prime Minister as the country's most colourful character.

Ian Hector de la Rue was born in England in 1911, the son of a successful entrepreneur. His father was related to the renowned family of Sir Thomas de la Rue, Chairman of the prestigious security printers of that name, the firm which produced bank-notes for the Bank Of England, and stamps for almost the entire world for nearly a century.

From his earliest youth Ian wanted to be a farmer. A family friend and wise counsellor told him to get a job on a farm for a year as far as possible from home; then, if he still wanted to farm, to enrol at an agricultural college.

As a small boy he had been fascinated by the tales of their homelands related to him by wounded service-men from the Empire, who were taken in by his family to recuperate from injuries sustained in the Great War. These tales ignited in Ian a desire to travel to foreign climes.

On leaving school he found employment as a "mud" (a general hand) on a sheep farm in Scotland, and he subsequently went to Canada to work on a wheat farm on the prairies. Returning home, he studied successfully for a diploma at Wye College of Agriculture, and then went out to New Zealand to work on a sheep farm. He spent another year as a farm assistant in Australia before commencing his journey home. On the way home on board ship he met Duncan Sandys (later to be a very senior Minister in the British Government), who suggested he travel to the then Rhodesia to look at ranching. Sandys gave him a letter of introduction to John MacIntyre, a prominent Rhodesian farmer.



Ian de la Rue in later life

Ian stopped off in Cape Town and caught the train to the north. MacIntyre suggested he go to the remote southeast lowveld, and gave him an introduction to

the Bridges family on Devuli Ranch. The Bridges dynasty was fascinating – they owned and farmed large tracts of the wildest parts of South America, in the Argentine, Chile, and – most impressively – the extremely inhospitable terrain of Tierra del Fuego. For those who may be interested, that story of great endeavour and hardship is told in riveting style in "Uttermost Part Of The Earth" by E Lucas Bridges (Hodder and Stoughton 1948). Lucas Bridges even ventured as far as South West Africa where he bought a Karakul sheep ranch in the Namibian desert.

Ian was offered a job as a rancher's assistant on Devuli. From the moment of his arrival in 1933, he fell in love with the lowveld wilderness and the sturdy independent way of life of the ranching folk. Africa captured his soul, and from that day forth there was never any doubt where he wanted to be.

On Devuli he learnt much about ranching cattle. Equally importantly, he learnt how to repair wagons and other agricultural equipment, to burn bricks and limestone for building, to cut and comb grass for thatching, to instal and repair pumps and piping for water supplies, and how to handle a rifle with which to hunt for rations and for control of the many predators which threatened the cattle.

From his father Ian had inherited a love of carpentry and joinery. He was amazed at the abundant hardwood trees to be found in the lowveld. He rapidly became proficient in operating a pit-saw, and soon turned his hand to the use of the fine indigenous timbers to repair wagons and buggies, and for making door and window frames, rafters and purlins, and household furniture.

He was intrigued by the yarns told by a veteran ranch hand named Ali Hamman, who was a famous hunter who accounted for more than three hundred marauding lions. Hamman and his colleague Ben Bezuidenhout also regaled the young de la Rue with vivid accounts of even wilder uninhabited country further south, to which Devuli cattle had been moved in a desperate search for grazing in years of extreme drought.

He satisfied his curiosity by travelling down on horse-back to this wild isolated country on the Chiredzi River. There was no road to the area – not even a wagon track. He was smitten by the untamed beauty and agricultural potential of the place. He decided at once that this was where he wanted to establish a homestead, and to carve out a life for himself as a lowveld rancher.

He returned home to England for six months in 1935. He came back to Africa later that year, and purchased an un-surveyed tract of land in the remote area on the Chiredzi River with which he had fallen in love. He named the property Ruware Ranch (*ruware* is the Shona name for a flat rocky outcrop), and for his future home he chose an attractive site on such a feature overlooking the Chiredzi River.

He had fallen in love with Violet Bridges, the daughter of Despard Bridges (Lucas' brother and a shareholder in Devuli Ranch) and his wife Tina. Vi was a beautiful ballet dancer, a refined and sophisticated lady, who had studied in England. She was a vivacious person, and an interesting conversationist. She had chosen a life on the stages of London, and with professional companies touring the counties. She was a talented artist, and enjoyed capturing lowveld scenes with her brushes.

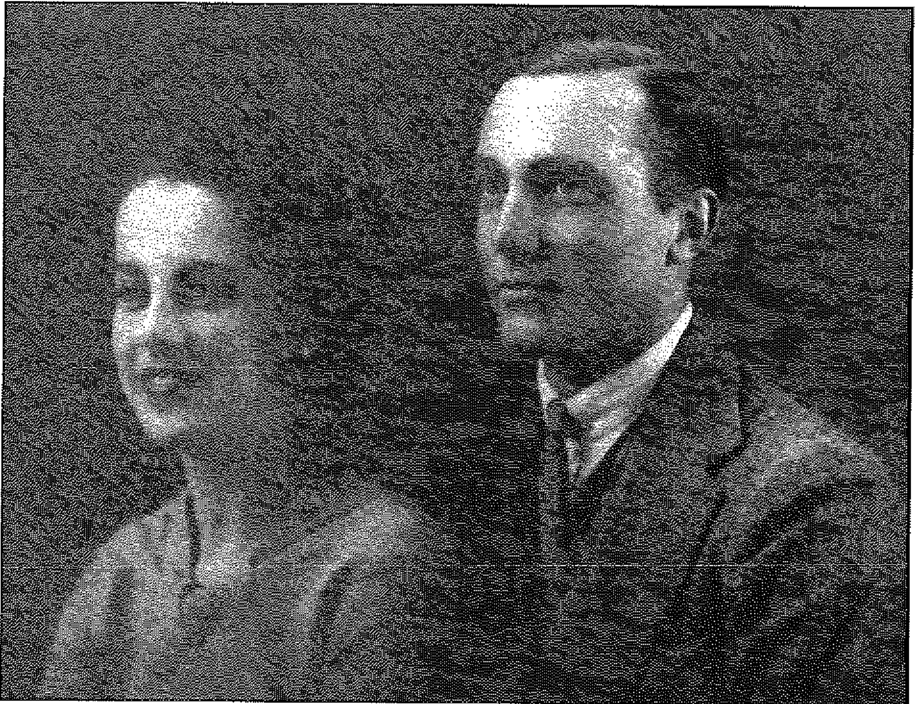
There ensued an extended courtship over more than a year, and over a distance of almost 2000 miles from Devuli to Cape Town, where Vi was teaching ballet. During this time Vi's parents, who were kept in the dark initially, became suspicious when

Ian, who had hitherto barely moved from Devuli, suddenly announced with some frequency that he needed to be refreshed by sea breezes and disappeared for weeks on end in his Model T Ford. The letters of that period of their lives have been preserved and are as clear today as they were 75 years ago. They show the extraordinary love and devotion which lasted all their lives, as well as the travails of trying to communicate over such distances so long ago. (One letter was never opened, and the family say they will open it in 2038 when it is 100 years old).

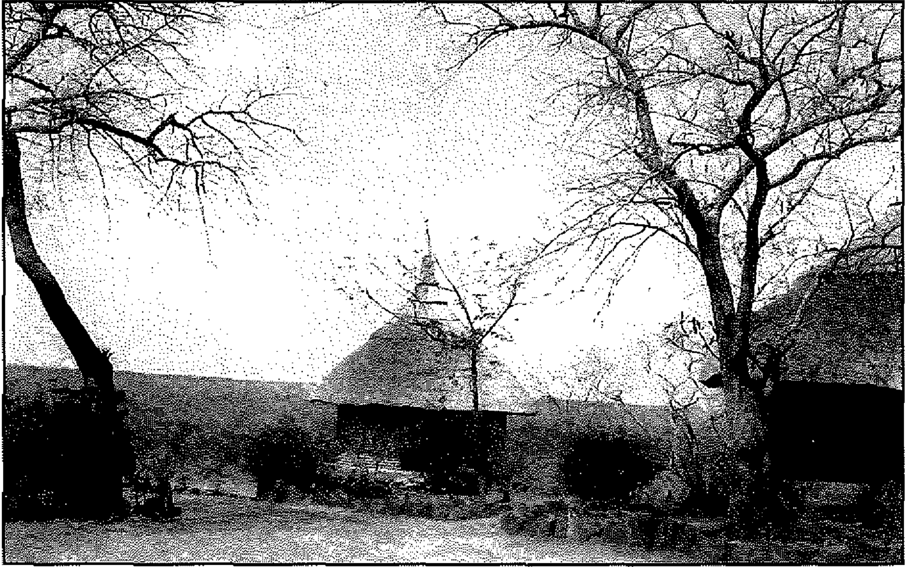
They were married in 1937, and he set about building his dream home. Throughout his life Ian marvelled at the fact that although they appeared at first to have so little in common, she consented to be his bride, and to set up home with him in a wild corner of Africa, with none of the trappings of civilisation.

Times were very tough at that time, as the country's economy had scarcely recovered from the Great Depression, and there were threats of another world war. To make matters worse for the young couple seeking to establish a cattle ranch, an outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease had led to restrictions being placed upon all movements of cattle. They had to fetch all their supplies from Fort Victoria. They were not permitted to use an ox-wagon for transport, and instead had to inspan donkeys, which were far less efficient. They had to make their own road from Devuli to Ruware.

They became independent of all but the barest necessities – flour, sugar, tea, and salt, of which they had to keep a supply for four months at a time in case prolonged heavy rains led to them being isolated. As Ian later said: "Everything else we required to keep body and soul together we grew, or shot, or did without!"



Ian and Vi when first married



Bedroom huts, Ruware homestead

In that first year, they were only able to acquire two cows, with calves at foot. Undismayed, they started an idyllic life together. They were inseparable, and every day Ian took his young wife on a walk, or a ride on horse-back, to show her around the ranch, to discuss his plans, and to show her what progress had been made. In later years they went for a daily drive in a Chevrolet "Coupe-Imp" pick-up, of which he had become the very proud owner.

The young couple were very isolated. Apart from Devuli, the only other ranchers in the vast district were Jimmy Whittall at Humani, Bill Moubray on Glendevon on the opposite side of the Chiredzi, and far away to the west Murray MacDougall on Triangle, Basil Beverley on Faversham, and Rudd Henning on Bangala. Mail had to be fetched fortnightly from the nearest government outpost at Zaka, 45 miles away, by a runner who made the journey there and back in two days. The road was a rudimentary track, which became a quagmire after any but the lightest rain, and there were no bridges over the numerous rivers and streams between Ruware and Zaka.

After a brief honeymoon, and before the house was completed, the young married couple moved down to Ruware, and took up residence in the partly thatched shell of a house. No window or door frames had yet been installed. The rainy season had just commenced, and there was scarcely a dry corner of the house.

During a particularly violent storm, when rain was whistling through the house, they had thrown a "bucksale" (tarpaulin) over their double bed. Then, to escape the rain, they moved under the bed, armed with a bottle of sherry and two glasses. While snuggled up, drinking a toast to their new home, they heard a man shouting at the open doorway. They called to him to come in and join them. It turned out to be a young policeman on extended rural patrol from Zaka. He was soaked to the skin, and they invited him to join them under the bed for sherry until the storm subsided. The policeman was none other than the colourful and nationally renowned character Henry Roper

Cook; on leaving the BSA Police, he became the proprietor of the hotel at Chivhu, and self-proclaimed President of the Republic of Enkledoorn in later years.

With Vi's family living on Devuli, Ian and Vi travelled between Ruware and Devuli in all kinds of weather and over a dreadful road, slithering through the mud. On one memorable occasion they were bringing Vi's mother to Ruware and it was pouring with rain. With the ladies getting wet because of a leaking windscreen, Ian solved the problem by getting a bucksale and putting it over his mother in-law's and Vi's legs. Suddenly Tina said, "My dear Ian, while I am perfectly happy for you to go on stroking my leg, I am sure it is Vi's you really want and you will find it a little further over!"

OF FLOOD AND MUD

The annual rainy seasons were times of great trial and tribulation for ranching folks in those early days. They were often marooned between rivers for extended periods, plagued by punctures and breakdowns, and facing all manner of other ills, including hostile wild animals. The following extracts from Ian de la Rue's memoirs illustrate what severe hazards confronted those who chose to attempt to travel during the rains.

On the first occasion Ian wanted to show his brother the land that he had acquired, where he planned to establish a home:

> The wet season 1935–36 produced good rains. . . . My brother St George had recently left school in England and came out from England to visit me. After an appalling journey in mid-February 1936 we arrived late one evening at the Moubray's, and early next day drove to the banks of the Chiredzi River. The river was in part flood, but we managed to wade through the swift current. We walked due East about 12 miles to see a good cross-section of the country, and swung around in a circle having covered some 30 miles back to our starting point. By then evening was falling and light drizzle set in.
>
> We were alarmed at the considerable rise in the level of the flooded river, and I was nearly washed off my feet before I had started properly to try the depth and speed of the water. There was only one hope – to walk upstream 4 miles to where there was a wider crossing. The drizzle worsened and total darkness had taken over. We could hardly follow the tracks in the road by the feel of our feet. In what seemed an eternity of time, we at last came to the crossing. There was a section of crossing that I knew would be sluggish for about 30 yards, at which point there was a flat outcrop. The river was roaring ominously ahead, so we let off two shots with our rifles to scare off any crocs, and I told my brother to stay on the rock while I attempted the raging waters. Somehow I traversed the 30 yards to the other bank safely, though on a number of occasions I was nearly washed down.
>
> The awful thought was that I now must repeat the performance to return to collect my brother, who I thought must be all right. But it was worse for him waiting and not knowing what had happened than for me, who was in the thick of it. The river was roaring so much that shouting would have been useless. We did in fact make it safely, and were never more glad to be under a roof when after one mile we arrived at the manager's house, and were greeted by

Mr Buchanan. As we ate an enormous meal and recounted our story, he told us our enemy was not the crocs, but the hippos. There was a big school in an enormous pool nearby, with several very crusty males who exercised their way at night.

And again:

In 1938 my father came out for a second visit, to continue with his help in the carpentering operation.

The immediate task was to try to get to Fort Victoria to meet him. The Chiredzi was hopelessly full, but we decided to try. We drove our Chevrolet Coupe Imp the four miles up the river to Moubray's drift, and there drained all the oil from the engine and the petrol from the tank, and bunged up every breather hole we could find. The water was nearly waist deep and running hard, but we thought we could make it. The sixteen oxen we had ready we hitched to the car, and with my wife inside, off we started. The oxen were so used to following the young leader ("kokere") that we never gave it a second thought.

We got through the first half of the crossing in fine style, as the water though deep was sluggish, but the second fifty yards carried the fast body of the mainstream. The drift was badly washed out, with big holes eaten into it by the floods.

The kokere was approaching the main current, when he slipped on a rock and started to be washed hopelessly downwards. The leading oxen started to follow him as was their custom. He in the meantime was clinging on to the buffalo hide riem that roped their horns, by which he led them. Suddenly all the oxen seemed to be heading off the drift and making tracks downstream, urged on by the force of the waters. The car was in immediate peril of being hauled helplessly into the enormous pool with 25 hippos and many crocodiles. If anyone was to be washed down into that they had not the slightest chance of coming out alive.

Then a miracle happened. The dozen or so African men following behind the car saw the disaster right on top of us. By calling the name of Bushman and Jungleman, the leading oxen, and giving an intermittent whistle which is the signal to stand still, the two leaders halted with the kokere still hanging on to the riem, and still trying to get his balance. The 14 following oxen took the message and also stopped.

Then the men, still giving the intermittent whistle, and speaking to each ox by name to avoid any possible panic, came up on the lower side of them and formed a line. Getting a foothold was very difficult, but each helped the other. Finally one chap actually managed to get to the lead, and rescued both the kokere and the lead rope.

A big cheer went up from the Africans who were now on the lower side of the oxen and all the oxen started moving forward together and gradually got back onto the drift and safely to the other side. Everyone was hilarious with excitement at the success of the operation, not least my wife and myself, and

> each ox was praised by name for his prowess.
>
> Having drained the car of water, and refilled with petrol and oil, the picks, shovels, axes and jacks, we were now ready for the 100 mile journey which lay ahead. Through the rough mud, and bog, and washout, often driving blind through almost impenetrable grass, we arrived late that evening in Fort Victoria and were half blinded by the power of its electric lights and stunned at the lines of houses and people wandering about.
>
> Except for the policeman, we had not seen a European for five months and the sight of Fort Victoria was like fairyland in one of those travelling shows. Everything seemed so unreal.

Ian de la Rue's adventures with flooded lowveld rivers were not confined to his youth.

In 1968 the Style family of Buffalo Range arranged a splendid celebratory lunch party at their safari camp on the Chiredzi River for George Style's 65th birthday. His friend and neighbour Ian from across the river was to be one of George's special guests. Unfortunately the Chiredzi was in full flood, and the old low level bridge a mile or two downstream was many feet under water. The party sat down to lunch, sadly without Ian. However, halfway through the meal a sodden apparition appeared from the river bank. It was Ian de la Rue.

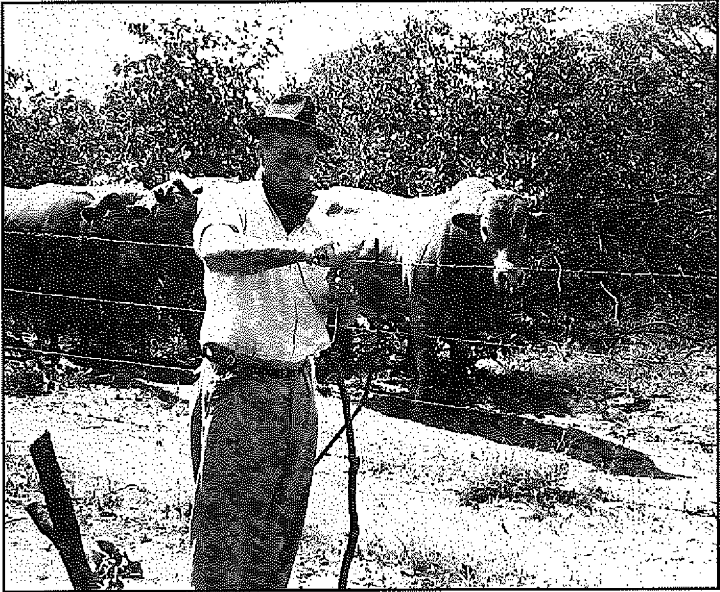
He had driven in his Land Rover as far as the Chongwe, a small tributary of the Chiredzi which formed the southern boundary of Ruware, and entered the major river almost opposite Buffalo Range Safari Camp. Finding the Chongwe drift impassable, he had turned upstream and battled his way through the bush and mud, travelling parallel to the Chiredzi until he judged himself to be far enough upstream of the camp for his purpose.

He had then plunged into the raging torrent, swimming across the current as he was swept swiftly down stream, and eventually reaching the far bank close to where the party was in progress. Grabbing onto a bunch of reeds swaying in the current, he had managed to claw his way up onto the bank, where he greeted everybody heartily and apologised for being so rude as to arrive late!

His fellow guests were stunned by his determination. Asked whether he was not frightened of being taken by a crocodile, he stated that the crocs knew that he ate them, and they were consequently scared of him. He also dismissed the possibility of being drowned, saying that he and the Chiredzi were old friends who knew each other well!

CATTLEMAN EXTRAORDINARY

Ian de la Rue took to ranching like the proverbial duck to water. He was in his element. With customary resilience he managed to survive the ravages of recurrent drought, aggravated by repeated outbreaks of foot and mouth disease and the consequent restrictions on movement of cattle. He gradually built up his herd, favouring a mixture of Shorthorn, Hereford, and indigenous Shona breeds. He later purchased several Afrikander bulls from his friend and fellow rancher Bill Moubray across the river. Like several other pioneer lowveld ranchers at the time, Moubray had given up and



Ian with cattle, mending fence

sold up his herd, defeated in the end by the multiple problems and disasters faced by lowveld cattle ranchers in those difficult days.

Apart from the distance from markets, and the twin curses of drought and disease, the lowveld stockmen faced another serious threat: lions!

The big cats were particularly plentiful in the lowveld in those days, and represented an extreme hazard to livestock. The rancher was forced to herd his cattle closely by day, and to *kraal* them (enclose them in a stockade) every night, or else they would have been decimated.

An article written by Ian in the 1950s portrays a vivid scene of how marauding lions could hold the rancher hostage.

> Every few years we are accustomed to a plague of lions of varying intensity . . . usually when drought conditions start game on a general movement for grazing and water. The real trouble only started in April.
>
> Grazing was getting short at one of our dams, and we wanted to move the 8 herds and their kraals, about 1 000 head, onto our main river. We built the kraals, and were about to shift, when a pride of (supposedly) 6 lions took charge of the river area. Unfortunately there were two lionesses and four half grown lions, which meant that they would be keen and energetic hunters, and difficult to master. For three weeks we did what we could by watching their movements and habits, setting bait and hunting them, but it was to no avail. The three weeks were a serious matter for the cattle, for by then they were on very short grazing.
>
> The lions finally moved off, and we shifted the cattle, but that very night they returned, scattered six kraals, and killed eight head. It took us all day to collect the cattle, and to send them back whence they had come . . . a trek of ten miles. It was a pathetic lorry load of 7 carcasses we took home that day, leaving

the eighth as bait, which we poisoned (with strychnine). Our only hope of getting young lions like that was if they failed to kill during the early part of the night. Mature lions, as we have noted before, are lazy by nature, and prefer to return to their kill of the previous night unless they have good reason for not doing so. Not so the young ones.

I went to the kill at 3 a.m., as is my custom, to finish off anything that might have taken poison and still be alive, and never has such a sight befallen my eyes. Two big lionesses and three young ones, still blood warm, lying dead all round the kill. I searched for the other one, but could not find it. At daybreak I returned to the kill with the men, and took the five lions home for skinning. On my return to the scene later, three more had been found nearby! The pride had consisted of eight, not six as we had supposed.

With much rejoicing, the cattle returned to their grazing next day. But the following day I was informed that they had all been scattered again, and two more were dead.

I could no longer take the usual measure of sending the cattle out of the area . . . they could not stand being jostled about indefinitely, so we made a circle of bush kraals near one another, and I slept in amongst them. If the lions should start killing, I would be there, and if they should return to the kill, I would meet them there instead.

That night the cattle slept peacefully, and at 3 a m the impossible happened again. I found two more lionesses dead at the kill. We rejoiced in our fortune . . . ten lions dead in three days . . . and not one left to menace us.

But the rejoicing was short-lived. The next morning the report came in that a lioness and young one had scattered the cattle once more, and killed two of their number. The cattle were very nervous by now . . . the snap of a twig at night would send them stampeding . . . they were losing condition, from the close herding by day, and mass kraaling at night. For a week I slept among them, and nightly returned to the kill, but the lions had moved off, and I ordered things to return to normal.

It was a Sunday morning at home and I found awaiting me a report that several herds of cattle had been scattered in another area that night by a lion and lioness, two cows dead and one dying. I had little assistance to cope with this problem on a Sunday, but in the end we got two carcasses cleared and poisoned the third. Early next morning we found the lion dead alongside the kill, but could not locate the lioness. We found her a few days later, . . . not fifty yards away.

I had scarcely arrived back home when another report came in that a lion and two lionesses were working in another area of the ranch. So we shot a zebra as bait, and dragged its guts in a wide circle of two miles and back to the carcass across what we believed would be their route. They are curious animals and will usually follow such a drag. But they missed the drag and killed a blind cow in the river bed, not 100 yards from our house.

Meantime in another part of the ranch the working oxen had been scattered and one had been killed. The lion was also dead – a big male.

Near where we had initially destroyed the first pride, the largest pride of lions ever to visit the ranch had installed themselves. Examination showed that there were at least twelve of all sizes. We shot a hartebeest as bait and left it nearby. About an hour after sun-up I got a report that four lions were fighting it out round the bait, and to come at once. Three were dead by the time I arrived, but no sign of the fourth. The others were blood warm, and it was likely he was still alive.

The undergrowth in the riverbed at this spot is dense reeds and river scrub. We edged our way inch by inch, waiting for the lion to give himself away. There not five feet away from us but concealed by reeds and a sapling he lay crouching facing us . . . waiting. But he was dead.

This high pressure visitation by lions made it impossible to control the ranch. The weaners were the first to suffer, and started dying of lack of sleep, lack of feeding, and fear. Close herding would kill the lot if it continued . . . so we let 500 loose into a paddock to try their luck . . . it could not be worse than at present. In the first night the lions got in amongst them, and killed 18. It took us a week to collect the rest.

The months passed and never for a moment, day or night, were we free of them. Sometimes a single lion would give us as much trouble as a big pride. Sometimes luck was on our side, sometimes it was against us. It was not until December that we laid low the last two, both magnificent males.

The final result of this little story is that we started with 3 thousand head of cattle and ended up with 2 thousand head; many had been slain, but even more had perished. The chief sufferers were our young weaners, and our calving cows. The strain was too much for them.

The lions, likewise, paid the penalty. Out of approximately 60 that passed through the ranch that year, we collected 28, with several others that we believed subsequently died.

In spite of all the difficulties and hardships of his early days in the lowveld, Ian de la Rue never wavered from his conviction that he could ranch cattle successfully, and eventually profitably, in the southeast lowveld. But his predominantly Shorthorn-Hereford cattle herd seemed to lack the vigour and resilience to cope with the difficult climatic conditions. In later years he became very impressed by the hardiness of the indigenous Tuli breed, and he introduced several Tuli bulls to his herd.

When the hardy Brahman breed demonstrated superb resilience and productivity under lowveld conditions, Ian de la Rue, like many other lowveld stockmen, concentrated on improving his herds by the introduction of Brahman bulls.

He had an unorthodox and innovative approach to many aspects of life. In the business of commercial ranching of cattle he was often unconvinced by existing dogma. He did not understand why it should be necessary to withhold the services of a bull for his heifers until they were considered mature enough to breed. Quoting to anybody who would listen his theory that "boys and girls naturally know when they are old enough, and must play together", he allowed his herd bulls access to his young female stock without any restrictions. Consequently his herd produced fine young calves a year earlier than those of most of his colleagues in the industry.

He became renowned as a very successful and practical cattleman. He was an expert judge of cattle at many annual Agricultural Shows. He was often in demand to speak at seminars and congresses, and was the first foreign cattle-man to be invited to speak on Beef Production at the prestigious Cattleman's Annual Congress in the USA. He wrote a large number of articles on his experiences as a rancher for *Vuka,* and its successors *The Rhodesian Farmer* and *The Farmer..*

IAN DE LA RUE – THE MAN

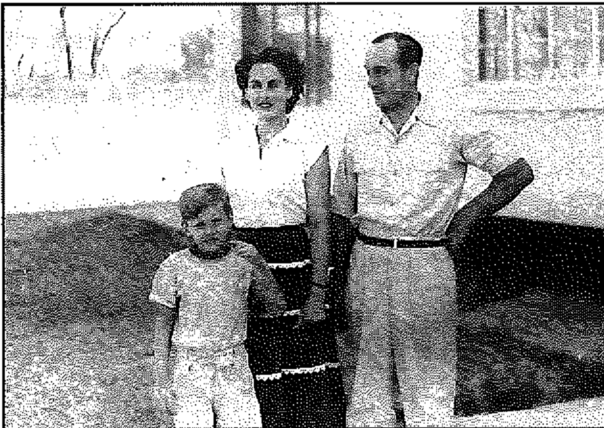
Ian was such an interesting character, in so many ways.

He was possessed of uncommon physical strength. Friends and admirers regarded with awe the ease with which he could lift a 200 lb bag of maize onto a high truck single-handed. He also was able to lift and load a full 44 gallon (200 litre) drum of fuel by wedging it onto a motor car tyre and then levering it up on his back.

Perhaps untypical of such a strong man, Ian was also very gentle in many ways. He knitted his own socks, and was fond of embroidery. As a wedding gift to our eldest daughter, he personally embroidered the initials of the bride and her groom on his gift of a pair of blankets.

He was always healthy, though in the early days on Ruware he was often stricken by severe bouts of malaria. These were extremely trying times for Vi, who, alone and afraid, would gently nurse him through the scary crises typical of Africa's most formidable illness. On one occasion, when the rivers were in flood and the roads impassable, Vi had almost given up her man for lost, when a patrolling policeman managed to reach the ranch to provide physical and moral support. Mercifully Ian rallied.

In 1947, ten years after he and Vi were married, she gave birth to a son, Anthony Vincent de la Rue. They doted on the boy. Anthony had great fun on the ranch with his father while he was growing up. He loved the fresh air and the wildlife. Ian always hoped that his son would return to Ruware to take over the ranching enterprise, but it was not to be. After leaving school, Anthony proceeded overseas to study accountancy. He was very successful, and achieved high office in his chosen profession, eventually



Ian, Vi and Anthony

being appointed national Chairman of the auditing firm of Coopers and Lybrand, and later of Ernst and Young. Ian and Vi were very proud of him,.

THE WILDLIFE MIMIC

Ian was very fond of children. Our daughters have memories of him at the time of the first major wildlife translocation in the lowveld, when he gambolled about on all fours on our living room carpet, giving vent to wild animal calls and exhorting them to dart him with a ball-point pen.

This expertise in mimicking the calls of animals earned Ian a certain amount of national fame. Once when he was in Harare on cattle business, he wanted to discuss a policy issue with his friend and neighbour George Style, who also happened to be in the capital. The trouble was that when Ian wanted to consult him, ex-policeman George was at the top table as a guest of the BSAP Annual Regimental Dinner at Old Meikles Hotel.

Deterred by the doorman from entering the dining hall to talk to his ranching colleague, Ian went around to a window which opened onto the verandah. Guests at the dinner were startled to hear a bull elephant trumpeting loudly at the window. George said to his hosts "That sounds like Ian de la Rue", excused himself, went over to the window, and chatted briefly to his flamboyant friend.

On another occasion later in his life, Ian was guest of honour at the opening of Colcom's new pig industry works in Masvingo. He amazed the guests and enlivened his opening speech by giving out a very loud, piercing, and realistic rendition of a pig squealing in distress; he made the occasion even more memorable by explaining to the gathering that his mimicry was of a large boar being castrated!

THAT BELT!

Even on such a comparatively formal occasion, Ian de la Rue would wear his famous leather belt. It was his constant companion, and from it hung an assortment of tools and materials which never left his side. Among these were the following:

a carpenter's brass-bound foot-rule;
a large chamois leather cloth;
a hank of lengths of twine, all 18 inches long;
a Boy Scout's knife, with various tools attached;
a large bunch of keys;
an "emergency screw-driver" fashioned from a sardine can opener.

I was privileged to have Ian as a patient. He was once found by a friend, collapsed and ill in his car at the side of the road. Before consenting to being taken in to the hospital to see me, he insisted on being taken home to change his clothing and collect his shaving tackle. He arrived at the hospital very weak, wearing long flannel pyjamas and a towelling dressing gown, and was immediately admitted to the ward. I went to the ward to examine him, and found him already under the blankets. On uncovering him and opening his dressing gown I was amazed to find his precious belt around his waist, complete with all the usual accoutrements!

FOOD FROM THE VELD

Another characteristic for which he was famous was his professed liking for eating the meat of a startling variety of wild animals of the lowveld. Not for Ian just beef or pork or fish or lamb, or venison from the wide variety of antelope to be found on Ruware.

He declared a haunch of young lion to be the tastiest meat he ever ate. He ate choice cuts of leopard, hyena, and python; before making a meal of crocodile meat, the reptile's stomach contents had to be checked – it was declared inedible if human parts or objects such as bangles were found; zebra were a little strong in flavour, and wild dog not his favourite; mopani caterpillars and termite alates were delectable snacks; elephant's heart was delicious, and a grilled slice of elephant's trunk a real delicacy (a thirsty house guest once went to the refrigerator late at night for a glass of water; on opening the fridge door he leapt backwards when an elephant's trunk fell out onto his feet!).

Ian told me that the only animal whose flesh he was unable to stomach was the honey badger.

One day Ian was at a farmers meeting in Fort Victoria. Humphrey Gibbs, later Governor of Rhodesia, family doctor Minto Strover, George Rudland (a later Minister of Agriculture), and an assembly of others were quietly sitting on the hotel verandah before lunch, when Ian suddenly disappeared to the car. He came back with his picnic basket and proceeded to produce a nice looking cold leg of roast something. He opened his razor sharp pen knife, and he carved some slices which he ate with relish. Humphrey Gibbs and the others eyeing the proceedings asked if they could have some. They all began to tuck in until Humphrey Gibbs said "Ian, what is this we are eating, looks rather like pork but doesn't taste like it More like chicken." " Oh," said Ian, "it's a

Ian with leopard (contemplating Sunday roast!)

lioness". There was a stunned silence and then Minto asked in horror "Ian, how did you kill it?" "Ah" said Ian "I poisoned it with strychnine, but don't worry Minto, it wasn't quite dead when I found it. I had to shoot it to finish it off – so it did not die from poisoning! "

When I was doing a series of recordings at Triangle with Peter Rollason for his very popular Sunday evening half-hour radio programme *Wildlife Forum*, I was able to persuade Ian to do two programmes on the subject "Things I have Eaten". Apart from being fascinating, they were hilarious. Peter, with tears of laughter in his eyes, several times had to stop the programme and start recording anew as Ian irreverently reduced us to hysterics.

Ian and his family loved wildlife – not just as meat, but as God's creatures with which we were privileged to share wild Africa. He mounted campaigns against poaching, and especially snaring. He was anxious to see the Gonarezhou declared a National Park. A friend and neighbour called Paul Davis of the property "Hippo Halt" had been instrumental in forming "The Friends Of Kruger National Park", and Ian was interested in forming a similar support group to foster and promote the future of the Gonarezhou. He accompanied me when I went to give evidence to the Wildlife Commission of Enquiry in 1969. He was thrilled when the Commission's Report resulted in the declaration of the Gonarezhou as "our" National Park. In later years he developed a thriving safari-hunting enterprise on Ruware in association with his friends Ian and April Piercy of Zambezi Hunters.

He also loved the splendid trees of the lowveld, and he was fascinated by the uses to which their products were put by the local Shangaans. He was particularly interested in the indigenous hardwoods, such as *Afzelia quanzensis* ("pod mahogany", *shene), Combretum imberbe* ("leadwood", *monzo*), Kirkia accuminata* ("white syringa", *mvumaila) Spirostachys africana* ("tambuti", *tsomvori*) and *Albizzia versicolor* ("poison pod", *umkauzaan).*

He felled many mature giants of these and other species, carefully sawing them up, and curing and storing the wood for numerous purposes for the ranch. Ian was a skilled carpenter and cabinet maker, and he made much of the furniture for the very interesting home which he and Vi created at Ruware. He was a compulsive buyer of tools. In his later years, even when no longer doing much practical wood-working, he would buy new tools and store them unopened under his bed.

He accumulated a collection of 80 different types of chisels which the family still have today.

A MAN OF THE COMMUNITY

Although he and Vi chose to live in far-flung isolation, independent of most other people, Ian was essentially a convivial soul. With the local rural Shangaan and Shona folks he shared an innate respect for the dignity of individuals. Known as *Maware*, he was very widely liked and respected. He was hospitable to travellers, and was a very considerate and helpful neighbour. He was quick to help people in distress, and he

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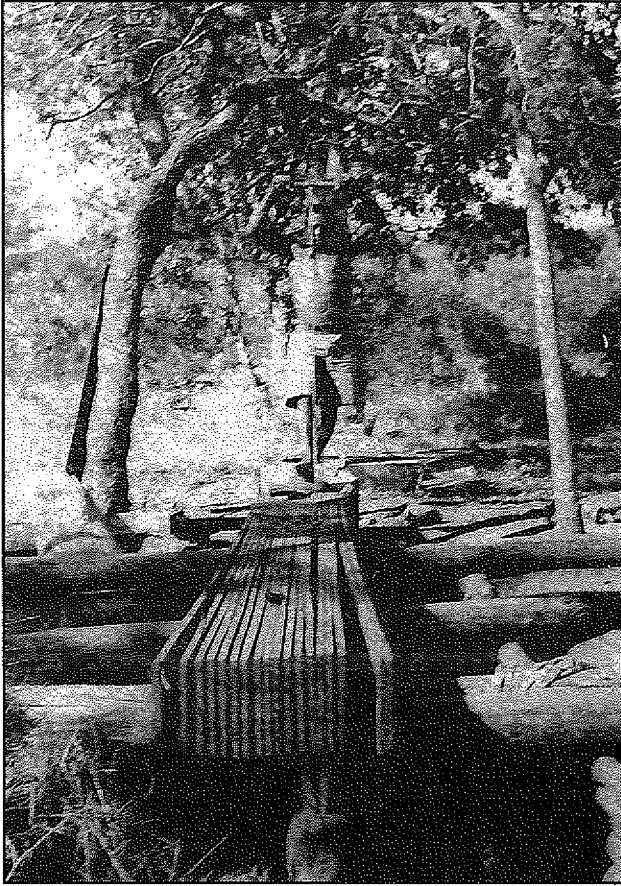
*Fascinated by the Afrikaans name for leadwood mentioned to him by Ali Hamman – Hardekool, a reference to its iron-hard heartwood – Ian forever after called it "Hardy Cool"!



Pit saw at Ruware, sawing mahogany planks

made friends easily. He was revered by many of the employees whom he gathered around him on the ranch over the years.

As the ranching community in the district of Chiredzi developed from the 1950s, he played a prominent role in local ranching and farming affairs. He spoke immaculate English, in a loud and penetrating voice, and he held strong views. Though by nature polite and respectful, he enjoyed standing up and debating matters in which he was interested, with uninhibited gusto. Debates between Ian and Ray Sparrow of Lone Star were a feature of meetings of the local Intensive Conservation Area committee, the Chiredzi Farmers' Association, and the lowveld branch of the Cattle Producers' Association in the early days.

In his enthusiastic desire to get his point across, he was apt to stray over the time allotted by the Chairman, and it was sometimes difficult to get him to resume his seat. His great friend and admirer Keith Harvey, a kindred spirit who was a very able Chairman of The Natural Resources Board, was once to take the Chair at a Congress where Ian was to deliver the regional report. Keith purchased a penny whistle, and

told Ian that he would blow a loud blast when Ian had exhausted his allotted time slot. "Fifteen minutes, Ian, that's all you are allowed before I blow the whistle" he said. Ian rapidly used up the time allotted to him, and when the inevitable whistle sounded, he said "Somebody's blowing the whistle for half time – thank you!", and on he rambled, to the mirth of the delegates.

He had a mischievous sense of humour, and he laughed uproariously when something tickled his fancy, guffawing and thumping his knee, with tears of delight streaming down his face. One of his favourite tricks after guests staying the night had enjoyed a delicious roast or stew at the dinner table, was to take them to the kitchen and show them a hyena skin, a piece of sliced up python, or some other fresh relic of a lowveld animal, and to say "Don't you think that was the tastiest meal you have ever eaten?!"

Ian was a very well read man, interested in a large variety of topics and international affairs. He was an inveterate listener to the overseas service of the BBC. He wrote interestingly and well, staying up until all hours of the night by candle light, bashing out letters to friends and officials, or articles for "The Farmer" or "The Hartebeest", on a battered old type-writer which appeared to be as indestructible as its owner. It had survived being dropped on the concrete floor, swamped in a storm, and run over by a tractor, but still delivered the goods, and Ian treasured it.

IAN THE TRAVELLER

With the passing of most of the members of a second generation of Vi's family, the Bridges dynasty of Devuli, the responsibility for the family's affairs, particularly their vast ranching holdings, inevitably fell more and more on Ian de la Rue's broad shoulders on behalf of Vi. Apart from the giant Devuli Ranch, the family ranching interests included Angus, Bedford, and Masapas ranches close by (now all properties in the Save Valley Conservancy), and Makosi River Ranch far to the west on the Tokwe River, where the Tokwe-Mukosi Dam is to be constructed. In addition, Ian had to run his own affairs on Ruware.

He possessed a battered little grey Datsun 130Y station wagon, and in this he seemed to travel unendingly. During the liberation war he continued to travel as before to visit the vast and remote properties and to check on their management. He had often perforce to be on the roads at all hours of the night, apparently oblivious of the dangers of meeting ZANLA guerillas on their nightly forays. He led a charmed life.

THE WATER DIVINER

One of the most fundamental tasks of a lowveld rancher was to establish a water supply to satisfy the daily domestic and livestock needs.

Ian de la Rue was said by those who knew him to possess an uncanny ability as a diviner of underground water. This is a subject in which I am totally lost. He used two lengths of 8-gauge wire, bent in an L-shape, and held one in each hand, close to each other and pointing ahead as he walked over the ground. Sometimes he used a forked stick cut from the bush if he didn't have his wires with him, and this worked just as well. He carried with him an assortment of small mineral and ore samples, a number of brass curtain rings, and several items from Vi's jewellery case – including her best

pearls, to her enduring consternation. These were all part of his paraphernalia for working his divining magic.

Apparently when he passed over an underground stream or collection of water of significant size deep beneath him, the ends of the wires would signal the presence of water by moving irresistibly together and pointing to the ground. He then walked up and down along the line of tactile signals until he found the strongest signal. He would then hold the mineral samples and items of jewellery one by one between his fingers; the presence or absence of additional movements of the wires provided him with information concerning the geological strata in which the subterranean water was lying (or flowing).

Next item on the agenda was to place the curtain rings on his fingers, while again testing the strength of the signal. This enabled him to estimate the potential yield of water from a borehole drilled down into the water body. Each ring apparently represented to him so many hundred or thousand gallons per hour of pumping.

Fanciful? I am mystified by this whole subject of water divining, preferring to believe in geophysical surveys and vegetation analysis as the method of choice for locating underground water, so I am unable to comment. However, many old-timers believed implicitly in this ability to locate water by those who possessed the necessary talent (inborn or acquired?) for the job. It is said that on Devuli Ranch and several other lowveld properties are generous boreholes sited in arid areas by Ian de la Rue's uncanny ability to find life-giving water.

(Ian's son Anthony still has his father's water-divining kit in a small box)

Ian also built a number of dams and weirs on watercourses and seasonal streams flowing into the Chiredzi River. His pride and joy was Chehondo Dam, a beautiful stretch of water. It became one of many victims of Cyclone Eline in February 2000, and was never re-built.

In addition to his expertise as a stockman, Ian was also a successful grower of irrigated crops, principally winter wheat and summer cotton. For his irrigation requirements he initially drew water from the Chiredzi River, and in 1966 he obtained a water right from the Manjerenji Dam higher up the river. This dam was constructed to supply water to Mkwasine Estate, and the delivery canal passed through Ruware.

THE INTREPID AVIATOR

Ian de la Rue's experiences as a pilot of his own light aircraft make for sensational reading.

In addition to his own ranching activities on Ruware Ranch, he had to travel considerable distances, often on shocking roads, in order to oversee the other large lowveld ranches for which he held responsibility. In the mid-1960s he decided that it would save considerable time and trouble if he were to procure and fly his own private aircraft.

He let it be known that he was in the market for a small single-engined aeroplane, Before long he was contacted by Peter Scales, an enthusiastic pilot and enterprising businessman from Bulawayo, who informed Ian that he had an Auster light aircraft for sale. Ian readily agreed to his suggestion that he should fly to the lowveld to demonstrate his aircraft to the prospective new pilot.

Scales flew to the lowveld and landed on Ruware's 900 yard bush airstrip which Ian had cleared. Ian was immediately impressed and agreed to buy the 'plane. He instructed Thys Smit, his ranch mechanic, to fly back to Bulawayo with Scales, there to learn to fly, and then to bring the aircraft back to Ruware.

He contacted his mechanic in Bulawayo three weeks later, and learnt that although Thys had undergone extensive training, and had indeed flown solo, he had made no progress in obtaining his Private Pilot's Licence. Ian informed him that he had been away from the ranch too long, and his services were urgently required back in the workshops on Ruware. He instructed Smit to return at once, and, qualified or not, to fly the Auster back to the ranch.

The unhappy mechanic was unable to convince his boss that this was not the best course of action. The somewhat apprehensive young Thys duly succeeded in flying the aircraft to Ruware, managing to find his way by following the roads down to the lowveld and up to the ranch, eventually landing safely on the little bush airstrip.

Next day Ian de la Rue asked Thys Smit to teach him to fly. Thys refused point blank. He pointed out that far from being an instructor, he had not passed a single examination. This Ian accepted reluctantly, but he then asked Smit instead to teach him all about the controls and instruments – what they meant, how they worked, and how the aircraft was made to take off and land.

Thys absolutely refused to take his employer up in the aeroplane, but he grudgingly agreed to give him a lesson in the cockpit on the ground, passing on all he had learnt about how to operate the machine.

Having acquired basic information on how the aircraft operated, Ian commenced a long period of starting up and taxiing backwards and forwards along the airstrip, accumulating some 40 hours of taxiing time in the process. He was satisfied that he knew sufficient about how to start up, proceed on *terra firma,* bring the 'plane to a halt, and switch off. He then decided that it was time to get airborne, with the instruction manual on his lap, and then to return safely to earth further down the airstrip after a short hop – but the strip was a trifle short for his plans. He lengthened the runway by another 300yards.

He became airborne for the first time by accident. One October day Anthony came back late to the house for breakfast. He heard the plane take off and fly overhead but thought nothing of it, as he assumed that Thys had taken it for a spin. Suddenly Thys came through the dining room door, looking on in horror when he realised that Anthony was eating breakfast, when he had similarly assumed that Anthony had taken the plane for a flip. They both looked at each other, pointed skywards, and dashed for the door.

They arrived at the strip to find that the plane had disappeared from sight, and it was some time before the drone of the engine announced Ian's return. He circled the airstrip for a while and then the engine began to splutter. With that the plane came in fast over the trees and set itself down after a number of hair-raising bumps and skids. Ian got out looking a bit shaken, and announced that the hot air had gusted under the wings as he taxied at speed, and it had lifted him off the ground. He had then decided that the only thing to do was to climb, but when he got to 5000 feet he felt dizzy with vertigo (he had a terrible head for heights), so he came back down to 1000 feet where

he felt more comfortable. He then didn't have the courage to land, so he circled until his fuel ran out, when the decision was made for him.

He seemed more concerned about hitting "bloody vultures" which he said had come to see what was going to happen, and were following him with ulterior motives.

For Ruware it was an occasion as momentous as the Wright brothers' triumph. Like the Wrights, once airborne he couldn't be kept out of the air. His enthusiasm however was not matched by his ability as a pilot. His worst trait was an unerring inability to judge where he was going to put the aircraft down.

He then invited Thys Smit to come up into the air with him, and to share the flying, but his nervous mechanic and erstwhile unlicensed pupil pilot firmly declined. Ian then took off and circled the ranch, before making yet another bumpy but otherwise safe landing. He continued with these "circuits and bumps" manoeuvres for a further two weeks, gaining in confidence all the time.

At 1200 yards, the strip was still too short, despite the fact the plane could land on the proverbial dime, and he had a series of near misses of the trees at the end on landing. So he used his D4 Caterpillar bulldozer to extend the strip to 1500, then to 1800, then eventually to 2400 yards. At that stage it was the longest private airfield in the country. It was the only private strip in the country officially called an aerodrome!

He then thought that his new pride and joy required a service, and he arranged for a licensed aircraft mechanic from Air Rhodesia to fly down to the lowveld for this purpose. The mechanic was unable to travel out to the ranch, so Ian flew across to the Hippo Valley airstrip, forty miles away. During the service, it was found that a wasp's nest in a fuel pipe had almost choked off the fuel supply. Ian was fortunate that he had not experienced fuel failure and crashed!

On the way back to Ruware, it being a beautiful clear afternoon, he decided to climb to 5 000 feet to enjoy the panoramic view, even though it was a comparatively short flight. This was a most fortunate decision, because halfway home the engine started to cough and splutter alarmingly, with the little Auster losing height by the minute. Had he been flying at low level, he would have crashed. By furiously pumping the throttle when the engine spluttered, he managed to get back to the ranch. Thys Smit then cleared yet another wasp nest from another aperture in the engine.

Next step in Ian's aeronautical progress was to fly solo to Devuli Ranch, eighty miles to the north, on official ranch business. Fearful of never seeing their employer again, most of the work-force turned out to see him take off and disappear into the hazy distance. They were all mightily relieved to hear the drone of an aircraft approaching before sunset, and even more relieved when Ian made a safe but spectacularly bumpy landing.

He was now confident that he could fly safely. However, on his second trip to Devuli soon after, he landed very heavily, bringing the little Auster down hard onto the baked lowveld earth. The aircraft's undercarriage was damaged, with one wheel leg cracked and splayed out. Ian was unhurt and unworried. As the machine seemed to be otherwise in one piece, he bound the leg back more or less into position with 8-gauge wire. He telephoned home and spoke to his new manager, Derek Henning, to report what had happened. Asking Derek to meet him at Ruware's airstrip, he flew back to the ranch.

A short while later Derek was relieved to hear the small aircraft approaching. He watched apprehensively as Ian came in too steeply. The Auster bounced spectacularly, and then careered down the long runway in a frightening succession of bumps, travelling too fast. Just as it seemed inevitable that the aircraft would run off the end of the runway and crash into the mopani trees, Ian managed to yank the aircraft around. He lost control, and the Auster flipped over onto its back in a huge mud pan on the side of the strip.

Racing down the strip in his Land Rover, Derek was relieved to see Ian scrambling out of the pilot's seat of the upside-down aircraft, apparently unhurt, but severely shaken. The aircraft was extensively damaged, and Ian was never to fly again.

Thys Smit had rushed down to the landing strip on hearing the noise of the crash. Ian instructed his mechanic to remove the aircraft's wings, and to load the fuselage and wings on to a truck. He later sold the wreck for spares to a private pilot in Mutare who also owned an Auster.

Ian de la Rue's flying career had come to a sudden end. However, for years afterwards he enjoyed talking to the Style brothers of Buffalo Range, swapping with fellow aviators fond reminiscences of the joys of taking to the skies in one's own light aircraft.

THE END OF AN ERA

In her late 50s vivacious Vi began to experience a tragic decline in her mental state. At first she appeared to be slightly distant and withdrawn, almost ethereal. Depression followed, and Ian was distraught as he watched his life's partner slipping away. He phoned me very early one morning to tell me that she had passed away in the night, and I told him at once that I would travel out to Ruware. However, he had already loaded her into his little Datsun station wagon, and an hour later I met him at the hospital mortuary.

Vi's funeral in the late afternoon of a beautiful day, when she was laid to rest in a favourite spot in the garden at their homestead, was a memorable occasion. Friends came from far and wide to pay tribute to the lovely lady who had spent her life on Ruware, and to support Ian in his desperately lonely hour.

After he lost Vi, Ian left her personal effects neatly laid out in the bedroom for several years. It seemed that the presence of her things reminded him constantly of the wonderfully full life they had shared on Ruware, and he did not want that memory to be disturbed. Ian continued with his activities as busily as ever, continuing to bring joy and a certain sense of awe to those around him, until his death in 1992 resulted in the intrepid lowvelder being laid to rest in Ruware's garden alongside his beloved Vi.

The ranch had survived the liberation war relatively intact, apart from theft of considerable numbers of cattle. It was whispered that it was through their respect for Ian that the guerillas did not attack Ruware. After Independence in 1980, the ranching and irrigation enterprises prospered, and Ruware also became a desirable destination for safari hunters from many lands. The ranch was well endowed with wildlife, which Ian and his managers had protected and nurtured over the years. It had by that time become one of the key properties in the Chiredzi River Conservancy.

All that changed with the advent of the land reform exercise. Several high-ranking political "chefs" were attracted by the beauty and productivity of Ruware. The declared intention of government to divide up the property equitably, to provide land for landless peasant farmers, to preserve the environment and the infrastructure, and to sustain and augment the productive systems of the ranch which had been the life's work of Ian Hector de la Rue, came to naught.

Greed, confused thinking, and incompetence had a devastating effect, and the formerly orderly and flourishing enterprise was gradually overwhelmed. We were all so pleased that *Maware* was spared from witnessing the tragedy.

Ian de la Rue died in 1992, and lies at Ruware next to Vi in her homestead garden on the hill overlooking the Chiredzi.

It was a privilege to have known this extraordinary man, an indomitable frontiersman if ever there was one. Robust, resourceful, resilient; exuberant, entertaining, eccentric – and lovable. Truly, Ian de la Rue of Ruware was one of the great characters of the lowveld.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The South-East Connection

by R. D. Taylor

At the end of the Second World War the then Rhodesia Railways faced the major task of refurbishing its locomotives, coaches and wagons all of which had been used to the maximum with limited maintenance during the years of conflict. In addition to meet the anticipated demands of the rapidly growing economies of the then Northern and Southern Rhodesia large orders were placed for new locomotives and rolling stock. The two territories were important sources of copper and chrome, minerals which were much sought after as the major world powers involved in the recent war strove to rebuild there own economies and to meet the pent-up demand for consumer goods.

MAKING A CHOICE

The Railway planners realized that once they had sufficient motive power and rolling stock the limiting factor in moving all the traffic to and from the coast would be the capacity of the line between the then Salisbury and Beira in Portuguese East Africa. The only other outlet to the sea was the line via Mafeking either directly to South African ports or through South Africa to Lourenço Marques. It was expected that the Beira line would be overloaded in a few years. To cater for the anticipated traffic would mean the expenditure of considerable sums of money on both sides of the border on a line that was notoriously difficult having steep gradients and heavy curvature in both directions. The Mafeking line would not open up another direct outlet to the coast and its ultimate capacity was limited. The distance to ports by this route put exports at a disadvantage due to higher inland transport costs. Another option was to extend the West Nicholson branch line to Beit Bridge. The branch line from Heany Junction to West Nicholson would have had to be realigned to bring it up to main line standards and of course the effect of the fairly short haul to Beit Bridge on Rhodesia Railways rates income was an important consideration. Discussions with South African authorities could not resolve the rating issue.

In April, 1949 the General Manager of Rhodesia Railways, Sir Arthur Griffin, sent Mr. J. Hossack Deputy Chief Engineer (Projects) and another railway engineer to make a quick check up on the feasibility of linking Bannockburn on the Shabani branch line with Pafuri situated almost exactly on the borders of Rhodesia, South Africa and Portuguese East Africa. The line to Shabani was built in 1926/28 and had been laid to main line standards as far as Bannockburn. The engineers responsible for its construction envisaged that sometime in the future the line would be extended southwards and had built accordingly. The party set off in a new vanette and started the survey at Bannockburn. The Belingwe escarpment forced them south for some 58 miles to Masase Mission were they found the end of the barrier cutting them off from the east. However the little vanette was not capable of pushing very much further towards the Fort Victoria/Beit Bridge main road. They therefore drove round via Beit Bridge to the ridge between the Bubye and Nuanetsi Rivers. At this point members of the B.S.A. Police and Mr. Tom McDougal took one look at the vehicle and told them

to go home and return with at least a three ton truck and 20 workers. The engineers were also told the Mateke Hills would be a considerable obstacle in maintaining an easy grade on this route. They took this advice and returned to Bulawayo to map an approximate course.

Matters rested for two years until May 1951 when a second survey was ordered. This time it was decided to work on a flat ridge between the Lundi and Nuanetsi Rivers. This ridge it was found crossed the border some 50 miles north of Pafuri approximately on the 22nd Parallel. Following this report a detailed survey was approved and a much larger party with more suitable vehicles set out. They had to chop their way through the bush to the border and resorted to the services of a bulldozer in places.

The Portuguese were also surveying a route from the railhead at Guija and reached the border, a distance of 200 miles at Boundary post 13 some nine miles south of the Rhodesian team who had arrived at the border at Boundary post 16. A satisfactory solution was soon reached with the crossing point being fixed at Post 14. The survey party then turned its attention to the western or Bannockburn section of the route. The gradient from the frontier was 1 in 125 but as the country became more broken this changed to a still satisfactory 1 in 80. The Buchwa crest could not be attained at 1 in 80 and so a route through Belingwe was tried but here a long narrow gorge with almost vertical sides barred the way. Over 20 miles of survey was scrapped as a route had to be found east instead of west of Buchwa. Failure to find a route to the west of Buchwa increased the length of the line and led into heavier and harder country than expected. The party finally reached its objective on 7 November exactly six months after its start on the Nuanetsi on 7 May 1951.

The Southern Rhodesia Government was concerned about railway development and on 29 March 1951 it was reported to Cabinet that the Economic Co-ordination Administration (E.C.A.) of the United States Mutual Security Administration was very interested in the early construction of the Pafuri–Lourenço Marques railway link. The E.C.A. was willing to regard the line as a project qualifying for assistance from the American Overseas Development Pool by outright grant of up to half the total cost. This cost was estimated to be 6 million pounds. The Governor, Sir John Kennedy in his speech at the Opening of Parliament on 10 April 1951 stated that negotiations were nearing completion with the Economic Co-ordination Administration in London for the raising of a 5 million pound loan for railway development. Efforts continued to be made jointly with the Government of Portugal to obtain the services of a neutral firm of consultants to undertake a survey of railway routes to the East Coast.

Cabinet on 24 May 1951 approved a suggested economic survey by a U.S. firm for a fee of U.S. $56000. It was agreed an economic survey would probably facilitate the approach to E.C.A. for funds to construct the proposed railway line to Guija on the Limpopo River in Portuguese East Africa. Cabinet would only agree to this suggestion on the understanding that the economic survey required should be received within six months and in the meantime the route survey of the direct link should proceed without delay.

At this time the construction of the long talked about rail link across the Zambezi River from Kafue in Northern Rhodesia to Sinoia in Southern Rhodesia and the Kariba Gorge Dam project were very live topics. Cabinet on 6 June 1951 agreed to

recommendations from the Railway Planning Committees of Northern and Southern Rhodesia that the three projects, i.e. Kariba Gorge, Kafue–Sinoia rail link and the Pafuri rail link were interlocked projects but that the Pafuri rail link was the obvious priority. They set up a coordinating committee comprising the members of the two Railway Planning Committees, the Chairman Electricity Supply Commission and the General Manager of the Railways. It is of interest to record that two of the recommendations of the Railway Planning Committees were:

1. There was need for a decision to be made at an early date in order that relief can be given to the Salisbury Umtali railway and the port of Beira by 1955 thus relieving the Railways of expenditure on major improvements and the Portuguese of the need for expenditure on two deep water berths which if constructed would have to be augmented before 1960 by additional major construction.
2. That construction work should commence on the South East connection not later than the end of the present year (i.e. 1951), and that after completion work should commence on the Sinoia Kafue cut off which will be completed in 1959/60 and available as a rail connection for the Kariba Gorge project in 1957/58.

On 6 November 1951 the Southern Rhodesian Cabinet considered the recommendations contained in the report of the consultants appointed in May 1951. In summary the report by Knappen Tippetts Abbett Engineering Company of New York recommended:

1) That because of the 5525 foot summit elevation over which all Beira/Salisbury traffic must pass and the high costs of operation of such a heavy gradient line plus the inherent natural disadvantage of Beira harbour no substantial expenditure should be made for double track on an easier grade location because the Rhodesias would still be dependent largely on the one port whereas a new low gradient southeast connection would cost less and provide another outlet to the sea through the excellent port facilities at Lourenço Marques which are now working at less than present capacity and also capable of indefinite future development.
2) That Rhodesia Railways and Moçambique Railways take early and active steps to proceed with the construction of a new direct southeast connection following the presently surveyed routes between Bannockburn and Guija thus giving the two railroads complete control of their through traffic to and from Lourenço Marques without use of other carriers lines.

The report also contained recommendations on the need to speed up orders for locomotives and tank cars, the type of rail, no further improvements at Beira port for the time being and the viability of the West Nicholson–Beit Bridge link.

Cabinet agreed to accept the recommendations of the consultants and to ask the Railways Higher Authority to consider the report and give its decision as soon as possible. It was also noted that no Act of Parliament was necessary under existing legislation for new railway development.

On 5 July 1951 the head of the E.C.A. Mission in London announced approval of a loan of five million pounds to the Southern and Northern Rhodesia Governments for the improvement of Rhodesia Railways. The agreement laid down that repayment of

the loan would be made to the fullest extent possible in raw materials from Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia in which the United States of America is deficient e.g. cobalt, copper, zinc, tungsten and chrome and that Southern Rhodesia would guarantee fixed quantities of monthly coal deliveries from Wankie Colliery to the Northern Rhodesia copper region to facilitate mining operations.

However on 3 June 1952 the Rhodesian Cabinet was informed that M.S.A. having expressed approval to lend 5 million pounds for the cost of the southeast connection had found it impossible to implement owing to new commitments entered into by the United States Government. These were in Eastern Europe.

The Railways Higher Authority announced on 7 December 1951 that it had decided to construct a new rail link to give Southern Rhodesia access to the sea at Lourenço Marques and that the new line would run approximately along the watershed from Bannockburn to a point where the border was intersected by latitude 22 degrees south. The Minister of Transport, Hon. G. A. Davenport, stated on the same day that the route had been pegged and that tenders for its construction would be invited shortly. A number of messages were exchanged between the Southern Rhodesian and Portuguese Governments and on 24 January, 1952 the President of Portugal, Dr. A. Salazar sent a message to Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia saying that the Portuguese Government was determined to construct the railway link with Southern Rhodesia through Pafuri. Tenders for the first stretch from Guija to Limpopo have already been invited and must be in by 15 March. The Portuguese Government also intended as soon as possible to invite the support of the Mutual Security Act. The message concluded by repeating the assurance of the Portuguese Government to construct this rail link in collaboration with Rhodesia within a time limit to be agreed.

The South African authorities strongly favoured the West Nicholson – Beit Bridge link. South African ports, in particular Port Elizabeth, were heavily congested at the time with goods for the two Rhodesias. In September, 1952 South African railways distributed a special 20 page issue of South African Railways News in what it claimed was an attempt to make authoritative information available on the general subject of railway links between the Union of South Africa and its northern neighbours. Statements made in Parliament by the Rhodesian Minister of Transport and Mines, Mr. G. A. Davenport, were replied to in detail. The main point being that the line from Vryburg through Mafeking to Bulawayo belonged to Rhodesia Railways but was operated by South African Railways under agreement. This provided that Rhodesia Railways must supply locomotive power necessary for the clearance of traffic. According to the South African publication sufficient locomotive power had at no time been provided by Rhodesia Railways. However by using S.A.R. equipment and operating techniques it had been possible to transport successive increases in traffic as shown by tonnages for years ending 31 March:

1948	200 946
1949	390 787
1950	491 022
1951	643 141
1952	704 275

The article denied that traffic had been restricted by a deficiency of suitable water and gave details of new boreholes provided. The question of the potential loss of rates revenue by Rhodesia Railways was also dealt with in detail. The article included a quotation from an article in Optima by Mr. Marshall Clark former General Manager of South African Railways in which he commented that when the line from the Cape to Bulawayo was built in the 1890s the route was designed to avoid the Transvaal and now another link southwards was under consideration it was also planned to bypass the Transvaal. The National Party had come to power in South Africa in 1948 and in the writers opinion this political factor added to the economic arguments in favour of the direct route through Mocambique to Lourenço Marques.

CONSTRUCTION

The railways staking out party started work from Bannockburn in January 1952 but due to heavy rains which continued into March and the difficult nature of the country the first 30 miles were only staked out by the end of May. In August the party reached the Ngesi River at 53 miles and had marked out as far as 87 miles by the end of October. In August 1952 it was reported that construction was well under way and bulldozers, concrete mixers, tip trucks, lorries, graders and a small army of workers were pushing southeast from Bannockburn. Earthworks to the Ngesi River were very heavy with the majority of cuttings being in serpentine or granite. The first 50 miles of the 199 miles to the border accounted for some 60% of the earthworks required on the whole line. The only major bridge was the four 95 feet span bridge over the Ngesi River.

In mid 1953 a report indicated work was forging ahead rapidly with over 160 000 cubic yards of earth and rock a month being moved. Plate laying was expected to start soon with a track pre-assembly depot having been established at Bannockburn. This centre had quite a large temporary population with a cottage hospital and resident railway Medical Officer to look after the health of the workers. A library for the supply of books was also in place as was a tennis court.

By October 1953 fifteen miles of new formation through some of the toughest country had been completed with another 35 miles well under way. Most of the work on the new line was done by railway staff with only some 700 000 of the 3 000 000 cubic yards of earthwork involved being carried out by contractors.

The staking out party finally reached the border in November 1953 after nearly two years in the field living under canvas the whole time. At times the Lundi and Nuanetsi rivers rose in flood and cut them off for up to ten days. Fresh water was always a serious problem having to be moved by truck for up to 25 miles. Game of every kind was plentiful and the Road Motor Service of the Railways kept their vehicles moving and supplies coming in. The party was led throughout by Mr. P. H. Davies, Assistant Engineer (Surveys) of Rhodesia Railways and it was a great adventure for all concerned.

The Portuguese had to build a 321 km line from Guija the then railhead situated 212 km from Lourenço Marques. Work on the Portuguese side of the border was also progressing well. A temporary 2012 feet long bridge was built over the Limpopo River. The bridge plus 70 km of new line north of the river was opened by the Governor

General of Mocambique in February 1954. Trains were now able to run as far as Mabalane. On the Rhodesian side the first twenty-two miles of track was laid and ballasted by early June 1954. A feature of the construction was two purpose built plate laying trains each consisting of 11 bogie flat wagons. Each train carried sixty-six 40 ft, pre assembled panels of track complete with sleepers. The track was assembled at the depot at Bannockburn and while one rake of wagons was being loaded the other was at the railhead being unloaded. By this system it was possible for one platelayer, one operator and eighteen workers to lay half a mile of track in four hours.

In August, 1954 all stores and spares required for the earthworks were moved forward to Rutenga leaving Bannockburn devoid of activity apart from the pre assembly of track for the plate laying trains. A couple of months later the pre assembly plant also moved to Ngesi as some 65 miles of track had been laid and ballasted.

The Portuguese section of the new line reached the border on 12 November 1954 and while not fully complete engines were able to run over it with light loads. On the Rhodesian side earth works had almost reached the border and at year-end, despite heavy rains, track laying was complete to 87 miles.

At ten o'clock on 2 March 1955 the last load of earth was laid in position to complete the main line earthworks. A fair amount however remained to be done at crossing loops and in the yard at Bannockburn. The plate laying team had completed 126 miles of track and its task was finally finished in July 1955.

FIRST TRAIN

The first official goods train left Mpopoma at 6 p.m. on the 1 August 1955. The crew consisted of Drivers K. Johanson and S. Nel, Fireman G. Wright and R. Humans; Guards E. le Roux and J. J. de Lange plus Inspector G. A. R. Brown who was joined at Somabula by Inspector L. J. Phillips.

Mr. Johanson (37) said in an interview that it was a fine piece of railway line which passed through some of the most beautiful scenery in Rhodesia. It is very easy to drive along the line because the gradient is good but of course we shall have to stick to a speed limit of about 30 miles an hour until the track has had a chance to settle.

The Portuguese railways established a station half a mile from the border and named it Malvernia in honour of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Lord Malvern. To return the compliment Rhodesia Railways named its border siding Vila Salazar in honour of the Portuguese President Antonio Salazar. Malvernia became the interchange station between the two railway administrations and locomotives turned around and refuelled here. It was considered a hardship posting for railway men who were given a special allowance of 25 pounds per month due to the high cost of living. The climate was also difficult and until a 25 miles long pipeline was completed from the Nuanetsi River water was delivered in 44 gallon drums, two per household per day. The township grew with its population soon reaching 150.

The Lourenço Marques line demonstrated the faith of its early backers as by 1965 it was carrying thirty six per cent of the two Rhodesias import and export traffic. Of the balance forty four per cent moved through Umtali and twenty per cent over the Mafeking line.

MAPUTO PASSENGER TRAINS

In May 1956 it was announced that passenger services between Lourenco Marques and Bulawayo would commence in July on a frequency of one train per week in each direction. The introduction of a passenger service had been delayed to allow the track to settle and because much of the Portuguese section was still sand ballasted due to the difficulty in obtaining suitable stone. Sand ballast created a dust problem and made normal main line speeds inadvisable.

The first train left Bulawayo on Friday 20 July 1956 and the return from Lourenço Marques on Sunday 22 July. Trains left at 11.00 a.m. on Fridays and reached the coast at 1.30 p.m. on Saturday. The return left Lourenço Marques on Sunday at 1.30 p.m. and was due to arrive in Bulawayo at 5.30 p.m. on Mondays. The first class full return fare was twelve pounds five shillings and three pence and the second class return eight pounds one shilling and six pence. Rhodesian residents could claim a concession. Accommodation in the 1st Class C.F.M. (Portuguese) air-conditioned saloon attracted a surcharge of one pound nine shillings in each direction.

The first train had fewer than expected paying passengers, 14 on the way down and 21 on the return. The Acting General Manager of the Railways Mr. J. W. S. Pegrum carried a message from the Mayor of Bulawayo to the Mayor of Lourenço Marques and the opportunity was taken to invite a party of press and radio officials. The train was half an hour early into Malvernia but because of watering delays at Makambe reached its destination 23 minutes late. On the return trip everything went according to schedule and arrival was five minutes early in Bulawayo. The drivers were Messrs Laurens and Paul down to Malvernia and Lewis and Blignaught on the return with firemen Dunbar, Ludeke and Jones and Whitelaw. The Guards were Van Niekerk, Cunnoma down and Stopforth and Hooper on the return run. The train's inspector was Mr. G. O'Flynn-Madden. The locomotive between Bulawayo and Malvernia was 15th class Garratt number 422 with the Rhodesia Railways crest and Rhodesian and Mocambique flaglets on the front tank. Locomotive 416 hauled the return train. A comment from a guest on the trip: "Liquor, apart from whisky, at three shillings and three pence per tot is reasonably priced in Lourenço Marques and the beer is really nice a little bitter but always nicely chilled. The bars open at 6 a.m. even on a Sunday!" The introduction of the new service led to a number of names being suggested e.g. The Limpopo Special, The Limpopo Limited, South East Express, The Malvernia Limited, Polana Beach Express, Lourenço Marques Express. However no name was ever officially adopted for the service.

The frequency of passenger services was increased to twice weekly from 21 May 1957. Trains left Bulawayo at 5 p.m. on Tuesdays and Fridays arriving in Lourenço Marques at 8.30 p.m. on Wednesdays and Saturdays. In the opposite direction trains left Lourenço Marques at 7 a.m. on Thursdays and Sundays reaching Bulawayo at 10.45 a.m. on Fridays and Mondays. The initial weekly service was not well patronized and representations were made that this was due to the infrequency of the service which did not allow passengers a two or three day stay at Lourenço Marques. Moreover the initial schedule was inconvenient for shipping connections. At this time the surcharge on the fare for the use of the CFM air conditioned coach was withdrawn.

On 1 December 1958 a new timetable was introduced providing for departures

from Bulawayo on Tuesdays and Fridays at 11.00 a.m. and arrival back in Bulawayo on Thursday and Sundays at 7.00 p.m. This revision allowed more convenient connections with trains to and from Salisbury and Victoria Falls. Two years later from 2 November 1960 the service was speeded up with trains scheduled to leave Bulawayo at 09.45 arriving in Lourenço Marques just 24 hours later. In the return direction trains left Lourenço Marques at 18.30 reaching Bulawayo at 19.00 hrs on Thursdays and Sundays.

With minor changes this pattern of services was continued until 27 February 1976 when all train services were discontinued after the new Frelimo Government detained sixteen Rhodesia Railways employees. Two of these were train crew and the remainder staff based at Malvernia. The border was closed on 3 March 1976 and passenger train services have never been resumed. Goods services started again on 2 October 1980.

The timetable in the final months of the passenger service was as follows:

Tuesday and Friday		
Depart	Bulawayo	09.30
	Somabula	12.27
	Bannockburn	14.03
	Rutenga	17.44
Arrive	Malvernia	20.45
Depart	Malvernia	22.00
Arrive	Lourenço Marques	08.30

Wednesday and Saturday		
Depart	Lourenço Marques	19.00
Arrive	Malvernia	06.00
Depart	Malvernia	07.00
	Rutenga	09.48
	Bannockburn	13.43
	Somabula	15.15
Arrive	Bulawayo	18.00

LOWVELD BRANCH

In the late 1950s and early 1960s substantial development was taking place in the Lowveld with the opening up and expansion of the Hippo Valley and Triangle Sugar estates. Sugar was set to become a major crop and it was anticipated that large volumes of raw sugar would need to be moved for export through the port of Lourenço Marques and to the refineries in Bulawayo and Salisbury. In the early stages of the development the Railways in the form of its Road Motor Service (R.M.S.) provided the bulk of the vast areas transport needs with a road haul to and from the nearest point on the railway, Mbezi, at the time just a crossing point on the main line.

Mbezi was opened as a commercial station in July 1958 after the completion of a 46 mile road link to Triangle. In its first six months the station handled 7500 tons of traffic. As the Triangle and Hippo Valley estates expanded traffic handled increased as follows:

1959	27 000 tons
1960	62 000 tons
1961	66 000 tons
1962	112 000 tons
1963	238 000 tons

In June 1962 when he opened the Hippo Valley sugar mill the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia Sir Edgar Whitehead announced that a rail link between Mbezi and Chiredzi would probably be constructed in the near future. The following month it was reported that four business concerns had submitted tenders to build a line from Mbezi to Chiredzi on a contractor finance basis. On Friday 18 August 1963 Parliament passed the Mbezi–Chiredzi Rail Project Bill. In supporting the Bill members said that

the contractor finance that had been offered should be used and reasonable protection be given to the railway against competition from road transport. While the financial aspects were being resolved construction was under way on the two major bridges so as to complete the riverbed work before the onset of the rains. The first was the nineteen span 1389 feet steel plate girder decked bridge over the Lundi River. When completed it became the longest rail bridge in the country. The second bridge was the fifteen span, 1097 foot long bridge over the Mtilikwe river.

On 16 December 1963 a ceremony of striking the first spike of the Mbizi Triangle Chiredzi line was held. This was performed by Mr. F. S. Owen, Federal Minister of Transport, who hammered in a chromium bolt. The branch was the first to be built in the country primarily to serve the agricultural industry. All previous railways had been constructed to serve mining or manufacturing. The railways undertook the construction work themselves and the project cost over one million pounds. It was intended to complete the line within eighteen months. Construction involved moving half a million cubic yards of earth and rock and gave employment to more than 400 people.

The first booked train arrived in Triangle on 7 September 1964 hauled by a class DE 2 diesel electric locomotive. The 41-mile section to Triangle was formally opened on 28 September 1964 by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Gibbs. The ceremony held at Mbezi, was attended by 200 people the majority of them making the trip as guests of the Rhodesia Railways in a special, twenty saloon train hauled by two DE 2 diesel electric locomotives. After the speeches Sir Humphrey boarded the leading locomotive to be the first man to drive a passenger train along the new line. Explosions from detonators placed on the line and the wail of the engines siren echoed through the bush as the train moved forward towards an archway of bunting, breaking a tri-coloured ribbon as it passed. Lunch was taken at a specially prepared picnic site at the Lundi Bridge and was followed by a tour of Triangle Station and the Triangle Sugar Mill. In the evening a cocktail party for the guests and those employees who had helped build the line was held at the Lundi Bridge. Steamers of coloured lights and the illuminated train straddling the bridge as a backdrop provided a memorable climax to an historic occasion.

The line was completed as far as Chiredzi in mid December 1964 and was formally opened on 1 March 1965 when the station and various other facilities were ready. In the first month one thousand tons of equipment and fertilizer were moved into the Lowveld and eight hundred tons of raw sugar were moved out daily. It was decided to take advantage of the presence of the construction teams to extend the line another nine miles to Nandi. This extension involved building an eight span 584 feet bridge across the Chiredzi River. The bridge cost sixty five thousand pounds and the bridge and extension were completed by the end of September 1965.

After a break of some fifteen years another major extension was undertaken in 1980/81 with the opening on 23 April 1981 of a 34 km line from Nandi to the Mkwasine Sugar Estate. This extension is unique in that its purpose is to move sugar cane from three loading points in the fields to the mills at Triangle and Hippo Valley. During the cane cutting season from April to December N.R.Z. run three cane trains daily to both the Triangle and Hippo Valley mills using dedicated locomotives and wagons.

BULAWAYO–LOWVELD PASSENGER SERVICES

Accommodation for fourth class passengers was provided on goods trains between Bulawayo and the Lowveld as soon as the branch opened. The Working Time Table introduced on 7 June 1966 shows fourth class passenger accommodation being provided on the daily goods train departing from Bulawayo at 19.45. This train reached Mbezi at 07.11, Triangle 10.15 and Chiredzi at 13.00. The train then returned to Triangle at 16.20. For the return journey the coaches were attached to train 526 Up which left Triangle at 11.34, Mbezi at 15.10 but then went down to Malvernia arriving at 18.17. At Malvernia the coaches were attached to train 514 Up which left at 19.09 reaching Mpopoma the next morning at 10.34. A longer return journey but at least Malvernia had a daily service to Bulawayo.

After the Mocambique border closure in February 1976 the Lowveld continued to have a daily service for fourth class passengers. Coaches were attached to train 525 Down which left Bulawayo at 21.25 reaching Triangle at 15.40 the following afternoon. On the return coaches left on train 526 Up departing Triangle at 06.00 arriving at Mpopoma at 22.55 the same day.

By January 1992 the Lowveld service had been upgraded slightly to the status of a mixed train with accommodation for all classes of passengers. It left Bulawayo daily at 23.35 as train 555 Down reaching Triangle at 13.20 and Chiredzi at 14.20. The return service left Chiredzi as train 656 Up at 15.40, Triangle at 16.32 with arrival in Bulawayo at 07.25 the next morning.

RUTENGA – BEITBRIDGE LINK

Investigations to find a suitable bridge site over the Limpopo River started in 1910 but it was only in 1926 that a site was finally selected. In 1928 the Beit Trustees provided funds to construct a road and rail bridge across the Limpopo River to provide uninterrupted communications between South Africa and Rhodesia. The South African Railways extended its line from Messina by ten miles to the new bridge and for another mile into Rhodesia. South African Railways owned, staffed and operated the line from August 1929 until 1961 when the one mile was transferred to Rhodesia Railways ownership but continued to be operated by S.A. Railways.

Over the years numerous proposals have been made for the joining up of the railway systems of the two countries via Beit Bridge. The route to be used has been the subject of much controversy. In the early 1960s traffic over the route through Mafeking and Bechuanaland was growing to such an extent that a second link with South Africa would become necessary within a few years. In early 1966 the Railways appointed an appraisal team to examine the issue headed by the Regional Manager Southern Region and two land surveyors were tasked to survey a possible route between Beit Bridge and Rutenga.

The Rhodesian Government decided in the same year to appoint a Commission of Enquiry which was charged to:

a) Carry out a through economic comparative appraisal of the alternative rail links to the Republic of South Africa bearing in mind particularly the effects of the alternative links on the economic life of the Bulawayo area.
b) Take evidence and call for memoranda as required.

c) Make recommendations in regard to the route which offers the best prospects in the national interest of Rhodesia.

The Commission was sworn in on 13 June 1966. The Chairman was Advocate W. G. Muller and members Mr. J. G. Ashworth and Dr. M. D. Marais. All were South Africans. The Commission submitted a sixty-five page report on 30 January 1967 having taken evidence from 27 persons and organizations. The report contained eight conclusions but basically stated that Rhodesian exports to South Africa and imports from that country would come from and go to the region east of Somabula. South Africa's potential food requirements also came from regions east of Somabula. The Commission therefore was in no doubt that all economic considerations led to the conclusion that Rhodesia would be best served by the construction of a direct link between Rutenga and Beit Bridge.

The Rhodesian Cabinet considered the report on 11 April 1967 and agreed that the Beit Bridge Rutenga line offered the best prospects in the national interest of Rhodesia. However a decision on the date of construction was deferred pending consideration of the proposed rail links to Karoi and on the east bank of the Sabi river. These two lines have never been built.

The security situation in Rhodesia during the early 1970s steadily deteriorated and the country came under even greater pressure with the closure of the border with Zambia in February 1973.

A direct link with South Africa became an urgent necessity and a decision was taken early in 1973 to build the link from Rutenga to Beit Bridge. Work actually commenced on 2 June 1974 and circumstances dictated that the project be completed by 30 September 1974. Men worked up to twenty hours a day and construction progressed at an amazing pace. In fact the final link up was made on 10 September and the line formally opened on 1 October 1974. Construction included two major bridges over the Bubi and Nuanetsi Rivers plus eight other smaller bridges. The eighty-three mile line became fully operational in April 1975 when a new station and marshalling yard were opened at Beit Bridge. There are nine sidings between Rutenga and Beit Bridge and trains take some three hours for the journey. The railway provided a benefit for the area when 91 railway men were posted to Beit Bridge and 73 to Rutenga.

The line had an eventful early life. In March 1977 a major wash away at the Bubi Bridge caused a considerable suspension of train services. This incident plus sabotage and ambushes made life difficult for the staff responsible for railway operations on this vital link.

BEIT BRIDGE PASSENGER TRAINS

Rhodesia Railways/National Railways of Zimbabwe have not provided passenger train services to or from Beit Bridge. However in November 1991 South African Transport Services introduced the Limpopo Service between Johannesburg and Harare. These trains left Johannesburg at 08.30 hrs on Fridays, reached Beit Bridge at 20.48 left again at 21.10 reaching Harare at 09.25 on Saturday mornings. The return service left Harare at 07.00 on Sunday mornings arriving at Beit Bridge at 18.45 and after a one hour stop reached Johannesburg at 07.45 on Monday mornings. This popular service lasted until 1 April 1998 when it was discontinued. A similar service, appropriately

named the Bulawayo, was operated between Johannesburg and Bulawayo before it was re routed via Botswana also from 1 April 1998 before it too was withdrawn. The trains left Johannesburg at 15.25 hours on Tuesdays and were due into Bulawayo at 17.00 hrs on Wednesdays. Departure from Bulawayo was at 09.00 hrs on Thursday and the train was scheduled to arrive in Johannesburg at 09.00 hrs on Fridays. Due mainly to delays caused by border formalities these trains developed a reputation for late running.

South African Railways prior to the introduction of the Limpopo service did run a daily train except on Sunday from Messina to Beit Bridge and return. The 16 km journey took some forty minutes and ran in the middle of the day timed to connect with services between Messina and Johannesburg.

LOCOMOTIVES

When the line was opened in August 1955, trains were hauled by 15th class Beyer Garratt locomotives working from Bulawayo to Malvernia and back. The provision of adequate supplies of water in the Lowveld led to considerable difficulties in maintaining the train service. Diesel locomotives had recently been introduced on the line from Salisbury to Umtali and after some teething problems the class DE 2 engines proved to be a great success. It was therefore decided to order a second batch of twelve DE 2 locomotives from English Electric. On delivery eight of these were sent to Bulawayo and took over the Malvernia run from September 1958 after fuelling and maintenance facilities had been provided in Bulawayo. Arrangements also had to be made with Mocambique Railways to enable the engines to refuel from a specially built plant at Malvernia. The DE 2s again proved to be very successful and in the first year each unit averaged 84 438 miles on the route. In the month of January 1961 locomotive number 1208 ran 14 062 miles.

The DE 2s remained the mainstay of locomotive power in the South East until 1976 when their close sisters, the Class DE 3s appeared. The DE 3s were supplemented by the locally assembled sanctions busting Class DE 5 locomotives. These were much more powerful engines but suffered from a complex control system. Despite much time and effort this problem was never really solved. With the arrival of the new Class DE 10 locomotives in 1982 the DE 5s were soon withdrawn from main line work. The DE 10s and the newer DE 11s introduced in 1992 remain the motive power on the line at the present time.

IRON ORE LINER TRAINS

In the early 1970s the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company (R.I.S.C.O.) undertook a major expansion at its Redcliff works. A large and regular supply of iron ore was required and R.I.S.C.O. set up the Buchwa Iron Mining Company to mine the Buchwa deposits situated close to the Rutenga–Somabula line near Mukwakwe siding a distance of 152 km from Somabula. To move the ore the concept of regular liner trains was developed and specialized wagons each capable of carrying 58,5 tonnes of ore were supplied by R.I.S.C.O., who also provided terminals for loading and tipplers for rapid off loading at Redcliff. Liner trains started running in March 1975.

The September 1988 timetable provided for a daily liner train running to the following schedule:

	Train 86 Up
Depart Dabuka	05.00
	Train 87 Down
Depart Somabula	05.25
Depart Bannockburn	06.38
Arrive Mukwakwe	07.50
	Train 88 Down
Depart Mukwakwe	11.40
Depart Bannockburn	13.16
	Train 89 Down
Depart Somabula	14.57
Depart Gweru	18.20
Arrive Gado	19.29
	Train 90Up
Depart Gado	00.45
Depart Gweru	02.09
Arrive Dabuka	02.24

In the first ten years ending 1985 a total of 8 561 151 tonnes of iron ore was delivered. Individual wagons averaged 119 600 km each year. Initial motive power was DE 8A/B units working in tandem. Hired South African railways class 34 diesels were also used from time to time. From March 1982 the newly introduced class DE 10s took over this impressive operation.

CONCLUSION

The drive of those men of vision who pressed so hard for the construction of the railway to Maputo during the late 1940s and early 1950s resulted in the opening up of not only another route to the coast but also enabled vast areas of the country to be developed. They left a legacy of great value to the nation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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MESSAGE FROM YOUR HONORARY EDITOR

Peter Garlake kindly prepared for the Society a subject and author Index to Volumes 1 to 12, inclusive of *Heritage of Zimbabwe*.
This volume is *Heritage of Zimbabwe* No. 24, 2005.
We need a volunteer to prepare an Index to Volumes 13 to 24, or better still, that Index consolidated with the existing Index to Volumes 1–12.
Volunteers, please contact your Honorary Editor –
Harare tel. 339175 after hours.

Introduction to Lord Hoffman's Jameson Trial Lecture

by Jeremy Lewis

"Any relation to Leander Starr?" was the query by the porter of the Durban Club when I presented my letter 'of good standing' from the Harare Club in order to enjoy full reciprocity during my business trip to Natal in 1996.

When I replied he was my grandmother's uncle, he picked a key from the board and gestured "I will show you to his room, Sir."

As I stared out from the balcony at the ships entering the harbour close by, I realised it was exactly 100 years ago that Kruger's prisoner stood waiting for a British ship to take the Raider and his fellow officers for trial – in lieu of being shot by firing squad.

It was not until the christening last September of my own grandson, Max Jameson Lewis, in London that I promised to dig up some history of our namesake at the National Archives in Kew Gardens.

So, having registered at the foyer of this massive building on 26 acres by the Thames, I keyed in "Dr. Jameson" on the first search screen, to find 42 pages of links.

I selected:

- Correspondence between Chamberlain and Rhodes;
- The Advice on Evidence by the Solicitor General;
- The transcript of the Trial in the Old Bailey;
- The claim for compensation against the Crown by the Transvaal Republic.

The next screen told me to have some tea, and collect the above from cubicle L 14 in 30 minutes.

There the originals were. Surveillance cameras watched as, astounded, I paged through the telegrams (what remained after evidence went "missing"), including the one from Rhodes saying to Chamberlain "Sorry I was not in when you called" – in response to a request the day after the raid, demanding an explanation !

The advice by Victoria's Q.C. on the "evidence" required, is of interest to lawyers – particularly Lord Hoffman (as his book "the South African Law of Evidence" is still cited in our courts today), as to what Rhodes should or should not say.

C.J.R's statements revealed a thread so common in our country today – '*I am not the one*'.

How could the Crown prove that the Transvaal was "a friendly State", in order for the charge under the *Foreign Enlistment Act* (unlawfully raising an army against a friendly State) to stick?

But Victoria's relative, the Kaiser, had sent a telegram to Kruger congratulating him on his victory, so a way was "found".

The Compensation claims against the British show inflated amounts, in £.s.d. for example farriers having to shoe extra horses to defend their Republic and school fees for the children of the 4 Boers killed.

Time was up before I could order copies of documents – so, keeping the references,

I prepared to fly home when, by not-so-strange coincidence, I noticed a small advertisement in the Law Times announcing under "***REGIME CHANGE***", the Lecture published below!

I phoned the Chambers in the Temple to get Hoffman's address, and rushed into a tube to Hampstead, to find him putting the finishing touches on his laptop.

He is a Rhodes Scholar, and had some interesting comments about the way Rhodes behaved during his friend's trial.

He will be interested to receive any comments from the History and Law Societies of Zimbabwe, as he remarked he had always intended to publish his findings on this Trial ever since he was at UCT.

I wish I could have stayed in London to hear him deliver this Lecture in the Temple on the 6th October last year.

I asked another Jameson relative to attend instead.

If you are a member of the History Society of Zimbabwe, please ensure that the Society headquarters – <ianco@zol.co.zw> – has your email address, as communications by post are no longer affordable.

The Trial of Dr Jameson: Regime Change and Cover-up in 1896

by Lord Hoffman

In 1895 the British government authorised some wealthy entrepreneurs in South Africa to overthrow the government of the independent republic of the Transvaal by force and bring it under British rule. The justification given for this privatised aggression was that the Transvaal government was oppressive and undemocratic. In fact the transparent purpose was to gain control of the gold fields which had been discovered nine years earlier. In the event, the plot failed. Its two elements, an uprising of British inhabitants on the gold fields and an armed intervention by a military force under private control from British territory over the border, did not synchronise with each other. The military invaded but the inhabitants failed to rise. The invaders were defeated and the Transvaal government handed them over to the Imperial authorities for trial under English law.

The British government immediately repudiated the invaders and said that they had acted entirely on their own. Their leaders were sent to London and given a spectacular state trial in the Royal Courts of Justice. But the judges who heard the case, the jury who reluctantly convicted the prisoners and the general public were duped, because neither the government nor the accused allowed the truth to emerge. Both sides pretended that the accused had acted without British government authority. My main purpose is to inquire into how this judicial charade, reminiscent of a Soviet show trial, came to be played out before crowded audiences. I shall necessarily have to give an account of the political background and I shall add an epilogue about the aftermath and what happened to the cast of colourful characters who took part. But the centrepiece of the story will be the trial, which took place in the Lord Chief Justice's court in the second half of July 1896.

Until late in the nineteenth century, South Africa was a miserably poor country. The coastline was of strategic importance to the British, who seized it from the Dutch East India Company during the Napoleonic wars. But they had little interest in the interior, populated by black tribes and a few Boer colonists of Dutch or French Huguenot descent whose cattle grazed on the sparse vegetation. When some groups of these colonists, resentful of British rule, drove their ox-wagons over the mountains onto the high inland plateau and declared themselves independent, the colonial government in Cape Town made no attempt to follow them.

In 1869 diamonds were discovered at Kimberley on the border of the Cape Colony. Suddenly it appeared that there was money to be made on the South African veld. In the following decade, the European powers started to take an interest in Africa. Some gold was discovered in the eastern Transvaal and in 1877 the British High Commissioner declared the impoverished Republic annexed to the Crown. It turned out to be a mistake. The mines were unprofitable and the Boers rebellious. In 1884 Gladstone signed a treaty with the Boers by which Britain again recognised the independence of the Transvaal.

Two years later, in 1886, gold in huge quantities was discovered on the Witwatersrand, the "white water ridge" which runs east-west across the southern Transvaal. This time it was no flash in the pan. The ore was relatively poor in quality – no nuggets like Australia or California – but almost inexhaustible in quantity. What was needed was labour and capital. The labour came from the million or so black Africans who lived in the Transvaal and others who came from further afield. The capital came mainly from England. Foreigners poured into the Transvaal, to the alarm of the 60,000 or so Boers who lived what they regarded as a free and idyllic farming life, free from the interference of any government including their own.[1]

At the centre of the new gold fields there grew up a camp of tents and corrugated iron called Johannesburg. Arrangements were so casual that although the settlement was obviously named after someone called Johan, to this day no one is sure who he was. In 1892 Miss Flora Shaw, the colonial correspondent of *The Times*, visited South Africa. She plays an important part in the story, but she was then a single woman aged 40 who had already made a remarkable career for herself as a journalist.[2] By the time she saw Johannesburg, substantial buildings had been erected and the new wealth was on display. She described the town as: "Hideous and detestable, luxury without order, sensual enjoyment without art, riches without refinement, display without dignity."[3]

Fifty miles to the north but culturally on a different planet was the modest but gracious Boer capital of Pretoria, which Miss Shaw found more congenial. She called on President Kruger and Vice-President Leyds, both of whom lived very simply and she was impressed by the Vice-President's skill as a violinist: "I doubt whether in Johannesburg you would find a dozen men who, if they know, care for the difference between a violin and a vegetable".[4] Not many of the foreigners were interested in government any more than in culture. Miss Shaw said that Johannesburg had no politics; it was "much too busy with material problems." But they resented paying the duties which the Boers imposed on imports for the mines, like dynamite. They felt they were being exploited and complained of taxation without representation. The Boers, on the other hand, felt threatened by the flood of immigration and insisted on a lengthy period of residence before conceding citizenship.

The immigrants who were interested in civic rights formed an association to negotiate with President Kruger. In 1895, however, the organisation was hijacked by a conspiracy to overthrow the government. The chief conspirator was Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister of the self-governing Cape Colony. This remarkable man, who suffered from what would now be called a hole in the heart, had gone out to South Africa on doctors' advice at the age of 17. Over the next ten years he commuted between the Kimberley diamond fields and Oriel College, Oxford, as a result of which he acquired enormous wealth and a pass degree. He had grand romantic designs to bring the interior of Africa, not to speak of most of the world, under British rule. In 1889 he persuaded Lord Salisbury's government to outsource imperialism by granting a charter

[1] See Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The Randlords* (1985) for an excellent account of the discoveries of gold and diamonds.

[2] She was from Ireland and, as a girl, had been a protégée of John Ruskin, who had a taste for teenage girls and introduced her to Carlyle, who did not.

[3] E. Moberley Bell, *Flora Shaw* (1947), p. 107.

[4] Loc. cit., p. 108.

to the British South Africa Company, of which he was managing director, with power to govern on behalf of the Crown the country north of the Transvaal. Rhodes thought, wrongly as it turned out, that this territory might contain goldfields as rich as those of the Transvaal.

A pioneer column of the Company's forces entered the territory in 1890 and built a fort which they gratefully named Salisbury. Today it is called Harare. The man whom Rhodes appointed as the company's administrator was Dr Leander Starr Jameson, a Scotsman who had qualified as a doctor at University College Hospital in London and gone out in 1878 to establish a general practice at Kimberley.[5] There he met Rhodes. They were exactly the same age, both were lifelong bachelors and they became close friends.[6] Jameson was a man of considerable charm and boundless self-confidence who transferred easily from medical practice to proconsular duties. In 1893 he fought a successful war against the local black inhabitants in which his Maxim guns made up for the disparity in numbers. The new province was named Rhodesia.

The Transvaal and its goldfields lay between the Cape Colony and Rhodesia. Rhodes's scheme was to create a huge South African federation which he would rule on behalf of the Crown. In 1890, when he became Prime Minister of the Cape Colony at the age of 37, he was a young man in a hurry. He may have realised that his heart condition would shorten his life. He tried negotiation with Kruger, the President of the Transvaal, but the old man, who had as a child trekked into the interior in the family ox-wagon more than half a century earlier, refused to budge. So Rhodes decided to force the issue. The plan was that an insurrection would be organised in Johannesburg. Arms would be smuggled into the country in the guise of mining machinery and the local civic organisation, whose leaders called themselves the Reform Committee, would train people to use them. A detachment of the company's armed forces would be stationed on the border and when the uprising began, they would head for Johannesburg to secure the city. At this point, the Colonial governor in Cape Town would go to the Transvaal and offer the use of British forces to restore order and act as mediator in producing a settlement.

Such a plan clearly required the support of the British government. In particular, Rhodes wanted to station his invasion force on the western border of the Transvaal, in what is now Botswana. The territory formed part of the Crown protectorate of British Bechuanaland established some years earlier and Rhodes wanted it transferred to his Chartered Company. Another reason for wanting the border strip was to build a railway from the south past the Transvaal border to Rhodesia. It was this reason which was put out for public consumption.

In December 1894 Rhodes and Jameson went to London. The Liberal government was in disarray; as sometimes happens, the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were not on speaking terms. Gladstone had retired earlier in the year after the defeat of his Irish Home Rule Bill. His successor was Rosebery, a Liberal Unionist and imperialist. Imperialism was in the ascendancy and Rhodes was rapturously received. He went to see the Colonial Secretary, the Marquess of Ripon, about the

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[5] Ian Colvin, *The Life of Jameson* (1923) Vol. I, pp. 9–12.

[6] Basil Williams, *Cecil Rhodes* (1938 edition) pp. 54–55.

transfer of the border strip. It is unclear how much Rhodes told him about his exact reasons for wanting it. But Ripon was a cautious man. The European powers were jockeying for colonial possessions in Africa and Germany had colonies in what are now Namibia and Tanzania. Ripon was anxious not to involve the British government in anything which might provoke German intervention in support of Kruger. He refused to give Rhodes the border strip. But he did give him some degree of encouragement by agreeing that if there should be an insurrection in Johannesburg, the High Commissioner in Cape Town would be ready to intervene.

In June 1895 the Liberal Government collapsed and the Conservatives took office. Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister – the last Prime Minister to sit in the House of Lords. But the most powerful Conservative politician was Joseph Chamberlain, the member for Birmingham. He could have chosen any office he wanted and it is some indication of his imperialist fervour that he chose the Colonial Office.

At the beginning of August Lord Grey, a director of the Chartered Company who was a friend of Chamberlain, went to see him to ask for the immediate transfer of the border strip. Grey explained the scheme to Chamberlain and told him that the reason the strip was urgently needed was to enable the Company to station an armed force on the border. Chamberlain agreed to transfer the territory in the middle of October and by the beginning of November Jameson had established a camp and assembled a military force by what was in effect the privatisation of the British army units which had been stationed in Bechuanaland.

With the border force assembled, Rhodes's supporters in Johannesburg scheduled the insurrection for Saturday 28 December. Jameson asked the Reform Committee for an official letter of invitation and one was drafted at the end of November and given to Jameson with the date left blank. It became known as the "women and children" letter because it contained the sentence: "Thousands of unarmed men, women and children of our race will be at the mercy of well-armed Boers". Who the actual author was is unclear: J B Robinson, a mine owner unsympathetic to Rhodes, told Margot Asquith at a dinner party that it had been drafted in London.[7] If so, the author would have been Flora Shaw who was back in London as colonial correspondent of *TheTimes.* She was a passionate imperialist who succumbed entirely to Rhodes's magnetism when she met him on her visit to South Africa in 1892. She was deeply involved in the conspiracy, acting with the full support of her newspaper as intermediary between Rhodes and Chamberlain, keeping the Colonial Office up to date with progress on the ground in South Africa. *The Times* also had its own interests in mind and sent the Johannesburg Reform Committee a telegram asking for the revolution to be postponed for a day because there was no edition of *The Times* on a Sunday.

In Johannesburg, however the Committee was having some difficulty in keeping its supporters up to the mark. Many thought that they could achieve their objectives by peaceful means. Others thought they would rather have Kruger than the British. In any case, between Christmas and New Year was race week and not a suitable time for armed insurrection. From London, however, Chamberlain sent a message through Flora Shaw saying that there should be no postponement. He had already diverted two

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[7] Margot Asquith, *Autobiography* (1962 edition) pp. 223–224.

troopships on their way to India to be available at South African ports. Jameson, sitting with 700 men on the border, was also fretting and worried that his plans might be discovered.

It turned out, however, that the plans for rebellion in Johannesburg were no more than fantasy and play-acting. When it became clear to Rhodes that there was going to be no insurrection, he sent Jameson a telegram telling him not to move until he heard further. In London, Chamberlain also became alarmed. Without a rising in Johannesburg, there would not be any plausible excuse for British intervention. But Jameson, the man on the spot, decided to use his own initiative. It was now or never. On the evening of Sunday 29 December he crossed the border. When he was well into the Transvaal, Rhodes and Chamberlain sent messages telling him to stop. But Jameson decided that he had already gone too far.

In London, *The Times* had a scoop and greeted the news of the invasion with enthusiasm. The women and children letter, which Jameson had dated 28 December, was duly published. Alfred Austen, a Tory journalist with a taste for doggerel verse whom Lord Salisbury had appointed Poet Laureate in succession to Tennyson (Margot Asquith said that it was one of Lord Salisbury's "rather cynical appointments"[8]) published eight stanzas on the subject in *The Times* of 11 January, including these immortal lines:

> There are girls in the gold-reef city,
> There are mothers and children too!
> And they cry, 'Hurry up! For pity!'
> So what can a brave man do?

The raid was a disaster. Jameson was cut off by a Boer force and after some desultory fighting he surrendered on 2 January. In many countries he and his officers might have been summarily shot. One only has to think of what happened in Dublin twenty years later. But the Transvaal government handed them over to the British for trial under English law. They were put on a troopship and sent to England, where they arrived on 26 February 1896.

Public opinion in England had been muted and embarrassed when the initial enthusiasm was followed by surrender. Chamberlain firmly denied any knowledge of the preparations for the raid. But British patriotic feelings were aroused when the German Kaiser sent President Kruger a telegram congratulating him on maintaining his country's independence. Not for the last time, shops in English cities owned by Germans, or people thought to be Germans, were attacked. Queen Victoria wrote a reproving letter to "my dear William", saying that the telegram had caused her "much pain and astonishment". Despite the Emperor's answer to "Most Beloved Grand-mamma" that he intended no offence to England and the government, the South African question became caught up in the hostility between Britain and Germany.

The difficult question for the government was to decide what offence Dr Jameson had committed. The Law Officers advised that the only possible charge was a breach of section 11 of the Foreign Enlistment Act 1870:

[8] *Autobiography*, p. 220.

> If any person within the limits of Her Majesty's dominions, and without the licence of Her Majesty, prepares or fits out any naval or military expedition to proceed against the dominions of any friendly State . . . every person engaged in such preparation or fitting out, or assisting therein, or employed in any capacity in such expedition, shall be guilty of an offence.

There was a technical question about whether the preparation had taken place within Her Majesty's dominions or within the territory of the Chartered Company, but the Law Officers advised that the prosecution should succeed.[9] The one question which the Law Officers did not address was the possibility Jameson had acted with "the licence of Her Majesty". They were almost certainly unaware of Chamberlain's complicity in the conspiracy and in any case, the onus would have been on Jameson to prove that he came within the exception.

Jameson and five of his officers were landed at the police pier near Waterloo Bridge, arrested and taken to Bow Street to be charged. The five officers were no ordinary colonial roughnecks. Military commanding officer of the force had been Sir John Willoughby, fourth baronet and a major in the Blues, who had at the age of 25 owned a horse which came joint first in the only dead heat in the history of the Derby. Captain the Hon. Charles Coventry was a son of the ninth Earl of Coventry; Captain the Hon. Robert White of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and Captain the Hon. Henry White of the Grenadier Guards were brothers of Lord Annaly; and Lieutenant-Colonel Raleigh Grey of the Inniskilling Dragoons was a cousin of Lord Grey, Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland and a director of the British South Africa Company.

The accused were released on bail and put up at the Burlington Hotel in Cork Street, where Rhodes maintained a permanent suite. Rhodes himself had resigned as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony and gone to London, where he arrived some three weeks before Jameson.

There followed secret negotiations between Rhodes and Jameson on the one hand and Chamberlain on the other about how the trial of Jameson and any further inquiry would be conducted. Rhodes was anxious to protect the charter of the British South Africa Company which Chamberlain threatened to revoke. On the other hand, Chamberlain knew that Rhodes and Jameson could ruin his career by revealing the extent of his involvement and the falsity of his denials. We have no documents which tell what passed between them. But subsequent events strongly suggest a bargain by which Chamberlain agreed to protect Rhodes and the Company if Rhodes, Jameson and the other accused did not reveal Chamberlain's knowledge of the plot. On 4 March 1896 Queen Victoria noted innocently in her diary that Chamberlain had come to tea and talked very interestingly about the Transvaal. "He had seen Dr Jameson, but without anyone knowing."[10]

By the time Jameson saw counsel instructed on his behalf, Sir Edward Clarke QC, the deal had been done. Edward Clarke was a Conservative, who had been Solicitor-General in Lord Salisbury's government between 1886 and 1892. When the

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[9] The opinion is in the file of the Director of Public Prosectutions in the National Archive.

[10] The entry was found by Elizabeth Longford while researching her biography of Queen Victoria: see E. Longford, *Jameson's Raid* (1982 revision) p. 98.

Conservatives came back to office in 1895, Clarke refused reappointment because he wanted to remain in private practice. Sir Richard Webster, who had been Clarke's colleague as Attorney-General for six years and with whom he had formed a close friendship, became Attorney-General again. Now the two friends were to oppose each other: Webster was to conduct the prosecution and Clarke to lead for the defence.

Clarke saw all the telegrams and other messages which had passed between Rhodes, Flora Shaw and the Colonial Office. He realised that they were dynamite. When he published his memoirs more than 20 years later he said that Jameson had "quite honestly and truthfully told his officers and troopers that the advance they were making was in the service of the Queen."[11] But Jameson and his co-defendants gave him firm instructions that on no account was he to ask any questions or take any point which might embarrass the government.

The Director of Public Prosecutions sent a member of the Bar, Mr John Rawlinson,[12] out to the Cape to gather evidence for the trial. He did not find it easy to get anyone to talk to him. At the end of February he wrote to the Treasury Solicitor from the Queen's Hotel in Cape Town:[13]

> The difficulties we have encountered here have been very great . . . the extreme disinclination of everybody in any position to send home any information which may in any way implicate anybody except Dr Jameson (whom the officials here seem to expect to plead guilty so as to 'save Rhodes and the Charter') is extremely marked.

After a number of adjournments, attributable either to the difficulties of obtaining evidence or to ongoing negotiations between Chamberlain and the defendants, the trial was fixed for 20 July. The defendants were indicted by a grand jury at the Central Criminal Court and the Attorney-General then applied to the Divisional Court for a trial at bar, which had before the Judicature Acts been a trial before the Court of Queen's Bench en banc and was now before a court of three judges, with the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Russell of Killowen, presiding. A special jury of men satisfying higher property qualifications than an ordinary jury was to be empanelled. A trial at bar was an unusual procedure, which had last been used for the Tichborne case twenty years earlier and was to be used again for the trial of Sir Roger Casement in 1916.

The convention was that the Attorney-General was entitled to demand a trial at bar and the application was granted. But it led to a question in the House of Lords addressed by Lord Herschell to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury. Lord Herschell thought that a trial at bar was a bad idea because if the trial was before a judge alone, he could reserve any question of law for decision by the Court for Crown Cases Reserved, which consisted of all the common law judges. On the other hand, there was no appeal from a decision by the three judges who in theory constituted the court en banc. Halsbury replied that the question of a trial at bar was entirely a matter for the decision of the Attorney-General. The sub-text to this exchange was that Russell, according to his

[11] Edward Clarke, *The Story of my Life* (1918) p. 325.

[12] He afterwards sat for many years as member of Parliament for Cambridge University.

[13] The letter is in the files of the Director of Public Prosections in the National Archive.

obituarist in *The Times*, had little sympathy with Herschell, who was "as masterful as himself"[14] and was responsible, as Lord Chancellor, for Russell having an unhappy couple of months as a Law Lord in 1894 before being appointed Lord Chief Justice on the death of Lord Coleridge in July. No doubt the feelings were mutual. Russell, although the greatest cross-examiner of his time, had no particular reputation as a lawyer. Herschell did not trust him to get the law right in an important state trial. Whether Herschell was worried that Jameson might be convicted or that he might be acquitted is unclear.

Russell's own position was not in doubt. He was an Irish Catholic and a Liberal who had been Gladstone's Attorney-General and strongly supported him over Irish Home Rule. When Gladstone resigned in March 1894 and was replaced as Liberal leader by the imperialist Rosebery, Russell left politics and accepted a judicial appointment. He plainly had no sympathy whatever with Jameson and his companions. He probably regarded them as wanting to provoke war for financial gain. He would have had no knowledge of the Liberal flirtation with Rhodes's plot in the year after he had left office, still less of Chamberlain's subsequent involvement.

The trial was one of the social events of the London season. While Jameson was on bail awaiting trial, he and his officers were dining out in society and well-wishers came to pay their respects at the Burlington Hotel. The Countess of Warwick, mistress of the Prince of Wales and later blackmailer of George V, wrote to *The Times* pointing out that the accused were brave men and "English gentlemen – personally known to many of us."[15] Lord Coleridge, the previous Lord Chief Justice, had been in the habit of asking women friends and society ladies to sit with him on the bench when he was trying some *cause celèbre* but Russell put an announcement in the press that he would not be following this practice.[16]

Although Jameson did not plead guilty, his refusal to plead that he had the licence of Her Majesty meant that he had no defence. All the other facts were uncontested. Clarke could only take technical points on the indictment and the evidence. His unsuccessful motion to quash the indictment is reported in the Law Reports.[17] He was leading a team which included Edward Carson QC, his successful opponent when Clarke had appeared for Oscar Wilde in the libel action he brought against the Marquis of Queensberry in the previous year.

In the event, the trial was a disappointment to the well-dressed ladies and gentlemen who crowded into the public gallery of the Lord Chief Justice's court in the Royal Courts of Justice. A procession of dull witnesses gave evidence of the preparation of the expedition on the Transvaal border and of the involvement of Jameson and the others. To the irritation of Carson, sitting next to Edward Clarke, they were scarcely cross-examined. Carson was of course a strong imperialist and he had his own views on how the defence should be run. According to Carson's biographer, Edward Marjoribanks, he wanted to show by cross-examination of the Transvaal witnesses that the invasion was justified on account of the outrageous behaviour of the Boers to

[14] *The Times* 11 August 1900, p. 8.

[15] Margot Asquith, *Autobiography*, p. 220.

[16] *The Times*, 15 July 1896, p. 15.

[17] [1896] 2 QB 425.

the disenfranchised mine owners.[18] Clarke would not take this line, either because he thought it would not be very productive or, more likely, because he did not think it intellectually honest.

As the trial took place before the Criminal Evidence Act 1898, the defendants could not give evidence, although it is highly unlikely that they would have done so even if they could. The case against them was overwhelming.

Russell was nevertheless anxious that the jury should not acquit out of political sympathy with the accused. He therefore took an unusual course by inviting them to answer certain questions of fact and directing them that if they found those facts, they were bound as a matter of law to convict. Sir Edward Clarke stood up to protest but Russell would not allow any discussion. He told the jury that they did not have to answer the questions if they did not want to. However, as soon became apparent, it would have taken a courageous foreman to refuse such a request from a man like Russell. The foreman diffidently asked what they should do if they did not want to answer the questions: would it then just be "guilty" or "not guilty"? Russell replied menacingly that the jury "will be incurring some responsibility if, without adequate reasons, you refuse to answer these questions." The jury were out for just over an hour. When they came back, the foreman said that they answered yes to all three questions. Russell said "Then I direct you that in accordance with these answers you ought to find a verdict of guilty against the defendants." Edward Clarke rose again to object but Russell shouted him down: "I cannot allow any intervention . . . I cannot allow it." There was an awkward pause and the foreman said that one member was unwilling to convict. The Lord Chief Justice again showed his annoyance. He repeated – "and I direct my remarks particularly to the gentleman to whom you refer" – that it was the duty of the jury to convict. They whispered among themselves in the jury box and the dissentient gave in. Russell sentenced Jameson and Willoughby to fifteen months imprisonment without hard labour and the others to lesser terms. They were carried off to Wormwood Scrubs amid the shouts of their supporters who had gathered in the Strand outside the gates to the courtyard of the Royal Courts of Justice.[19]

There is no reason to believe that Russell's bullying of the jury was due to anything other than a naturally bullying manner and a strong conviction that the accused had behaved badly and ought to be punished. He certainly was not trying to do the government a favour. When Salisbury met Carson at a party after the trial, the Prime Minister said to him "I wish you could have brought Dr Jim with you." Nor could Russell have known of the deal between the government and the accused. Although I have described the proceedings as a show trial in the sense that the accused allowed themselves for political and financial reasons to be convicted of offences which they, their counsel and the government knew they had not committed, the bench was not party to the pretence.[20] Russell's friend Barry O'Brien, a staunch Irish nationalist who wrote an authorised biography within a year of Russell's death in 1900, was probably describing Russell's feelings accurately when he wrote:

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[18] Marjoribanks compared them to the helots of Sparta.

[19] *The Times*, 26 July 1896, p. 13.

[20] There is no documentary evidence of Russell's motives because, as a reviewer of his biography remarked, "he disliked writing more than the briefest of notes": *The Times*, 18 November 1901.

> Fashionable London had mustered in force to sympathise with the raiders and to hail their deliverance with joy. That Englishmen – that English officers – should even be tried for invading the territory of the objectionable Boer seemed preposterous to these proud Imperialists. . . . But Russell resolved that justice should be done and stood between the jury and public opinion. From the beginning to the end of the trial he never allowed the former to escape his iron grip.

Flora Shaw, on the other hand, found it a painful experience to sit in the press box. She said she disliked Russell, "not because he convicted them but because he enjoyed convicting them".

Edward Clarke thought that Russell's overbearing of the jury gave grounds for a motion for a new trial. But Jameson would not allow it. He said that he had come prepared to go to prison and did not want anything more to be done.[21]

The trial was a hairbreadth escape for Chamberlain, who could not have been certain until it was over that none of the accused would break ranks. How close it must have been appears from what happened afterwards, when the imprisoned officers learned that they would also be deprived of their commissions. At that point the policy of stoical silence about the background to the Raid cracked. Willoughby wrote to the War Office saying that he had gone into the Transvaal "in the honest and bona fide belief that the steps were taken with the knowledge and assent of the Imperial authorities." Jameson wrote to Willoughby's colonel backing him up. The letters were passed to the Adjutant-General, Sir Redvers Buller, an incompetent general whom the press later made into the hero of the relief of Ladysmith. Buller proposed to send an officer to Holloway Prison to conduct an inquiry. But the possibility of any cats being let out of the bag was firmly squashed by the politicians. The War Office wrote Willoughby a frigid letter saying that he had acted upon "most erroneous information as to the attitude of the Imperial authorities".

Finally I come to the epilogue. Chamberlain was unable to prevent a public inquiry into the Raid. But it took place on his own terms. It was conducted by a select Committee of the House of Commons whom he selected.[22] He was himself a member. Some of the Colonial Office files were removed to his house and the documents were never seen again. The Liberal members were reluctant to probe too deeply, partly because the tide of imperialism was running against them and partly for fear of disclosing the Liberal involvement in the first half of 1895. The deal with Rhodes held: he gave evidence but refused to produce the telegrams which Clarke had seen and no one pressed him to do so. Willoughby was coached by Jameson to explain away his letter to the War Office. Jameson told Rhodes's solicitor that "Johnny will be all right" and so he was: he simply refused to answer. Flora Shaw valiantly denied any involvement on

[21] The irrepressible Margot Asquith says that Jameson, whom she found attractive ("he could do what he liked with my sex") dined alone with her and Henry the night before he went to prison: *Autobiography*, p. 224. But this seems improbable; Asquith was not very sympathetic to Jameson and he is likely to have found more congenial company for his last night of liberty: Roy Jenkins, *Asquith* (1964), p. 102.

[22] Chamberlain asked Asquith to sit on the Committee and when his wife asked him whether he had accepted, he said "Do you take me for a fool?": Margot Asquith, *Autobiography*, pp. 225–226.

the part of Rhodes or *The Times*. In the report, everyone was exonerated, including Rhodes, with the exception of two colonial office civil servants who lost their jobs for carrying out government policy.[23] Arnold Morley, a former Liberal cabinet minister, aptly described the hearings before the Committee as "the lying in state at Westminster".

In October 1899, three years after the trial, Chamberlain succeeded in provoking the war with the Transvaal which, after initial setbacks, enabled British forces to occupy Pretoria in June 1900. Among the few Conservatives who opposed the war was Edward Clarke QC. His experience as Jameson's counsel left him with a deep distrust of Chamberlain. But his position was very unpopular with his constituents in Plymouth and he felt that he had to resign his seat. That was the end of his political career. When Lord Esher had retired as Master of the Rolls in 1897, Salisbury offered the job to Clarke. He refused, saying that it would be too restrictive of his public life but that he would be willing to be appointed a Law Lord if a vacancy arose. Lindley was appointed instead. But when a vacancy did arise in the House of Lords in 1900, Salisbury appointed Lindley and Webster became Master of the Rolls. Clarke recorded his disappointment in his autobiography.[24]

All the officers convicted with Jameson had their commissions restored and resumed their army careers when the Boer War broke out in 1899. Willoughby took part in the relief of Mafeking and after the war settled in Rhodesia. In the first World War he fought against the Germans in East Africa under General Smuts. The Hon. Henry White also settled in Rhodesia but died in 1903. His brother Bobby became a City stockbroker and commanded a unit called the Stockbrokers' Battalion on the Western Front. Charles Coventry took part in the Dardanelles campaign. Raleigh Grey became Administrator of Rhodesia and was knighted. It is a curious feature of Rhodes and the six defendants that Coventry was the only one of them who married. But Miss Flora Shaw married Sir Henry Lugard, afterwards Lord Lugard, the great African proconsul. This was a marriage made in an Imperialist heaven. Rhodes died of his congenital heart disease in 1902, at the age of 49. But perhaps the most remarkable outcome was for Dr Jameson himself. After his release from prison he went back to South Africa and local politics. In 1905 he became Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, the office which Rhodes had to resign as a result of the Raid. He was knighted by the Liberal government and represented the Cape in the negotiations for the union of the four South African colonies which realised Rhodes's federal scheme in 1910, eight years after his death. When Edward Clarke went on a cruise to South Africa in 1907, he was entertained by his former client in what had been Rhodes's house in Cape Town and was now the Prime Minister's official residence.

What was the long term political effect of the Raid? It is hard to say. The pretext was the franchise. The Raiders said that they wanted to bring democracy to the Transvaal. But the British occupation after the fall of Pretoria was difficult and unpopular. For two years there was guerrilla resistance by the Boers. The British

[23] One of them was Sir Graham Bower, the Imperial Secretary in Cape Town. He had kept copies of his contemporary memoranda and some of the incriminating documents and left them to the South African Public Library with instructions that they were not to be opened until 1946. They were used in the leading history of the Jameson Raid published in 1951 by Jean van der Poel, who taught me history at the University of Cape Town in that year.

[24] *The Story of My Life*, pp. 336–337.

responded by burning the homesteads which sheltered the guerrillas and herding the displaced women and children into what were officially called concentration camps. Sanitary conditions were poor. Government policy became more unpopular at home and contributed to the overwhelming Conservative defeat in 1906. The new Liberal Government wanted to shed responsibility as soon as possible. They decided that power should immediately be returned to the white inhabitants of the former Republic. In 1906 the Boers regained at the ballot box what they had lost four years earlier in the war. And they continued to control not only the Transvaal but the whole of South Africa until the end of apartheid 11 years ago. Could that outcome have been avoided? Perhaps if the British had held on to power, as they did in their other African colonies, there may have been a handover to black rule much earlier, in the 50s and 60s. And then what would have happened to South Africa? Would it have gone the way of Nigeria and Kenya? There is no answer to these questions. I doubt whether the Raid and what happened in the Strand in July 1896 changed the course of history. But it remains a fascinating episode in British social, political and legal life.

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The Cattle Industry and the Cold Storage Commission to the Early 1980s

by R. S. Roberts

This paper was written in 1984–5 for the Commission and in anticipation of a symposium at the International Livestock Centre for Africa in Addis Ababa which never took place. Such is the only reason for the terminal date of the coverage of this survey; and the only changes made for this published version have been of tense and terminology. No citations are given as the Commission's records are closed, but a few relevant articles, published before and since 1984–5, are listed under Further Reading.

INTRODUCTION

Most of the land of Zimbabwe is suited to livestock production – more suitable in fact than for arable farming. Therefore, historically, in both the European and the African areas cattle production has been a very important part of agricultural enterprise. The effects of the war in the late 1970s and the droughts after Independence in 1980 temporarily diminished the role of cattle, but generally speaking beef slaughterings would constitute about 20 per cent of the total value of primary agricultural production – thus ranking with tobacco and maize – and about 3 per cent of Gross Domestic Product. As the Cold Storage Commission of Zimbabwe has usually accounted for about 80 per cent of all slaughterings of cattle, it is obvious that this statutory body played a very important role in the economy of the country.

Technically, the Commission was one of four marketing boards of the parastatal Agricultural Marketing Authority and in matters of policy these were controlled by the government on the recommendations of the A.M.A. The A.M.A.'s Beef and Livestock Committee consisted of representatives of the Authority itself, of the Ministry of Agriculture and of the Commercial Farmers' Union and the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union. The General Manager of the Commission was also a member of the Committee and it was upon him that implementation of policy and day-to-day operations devolved. Because of the nature of the historical development of the cattle industry, as will be seen, the operational headquarters of the Commission (now Company) are in Bulawayo.

The Cold Storage Commission, with fixed assets that cost some Z$47 million (as at 1985), was the largest of the four marketing boards but unlike the next two largest boards did not enjoy the benefit of a legal monopoly of the local market and undertook much more processing of the product it handles. In fact the Cold Storage Commission operated an extensive industrial process in its five abattoirs or works, which like any other form of factory production depended for its efficiency upon high and regular through-put. But unlike most factory operations, an abattoir has to adapt to wide variations in the supply of its in-put. There naturally tends to be a seasonal fall-off in cattle supplies towards the end of the year just when demand for beef is at its peak. Again in contrast to most other factory processes, the raw material, cattle, cannot be

stored, except at the expense of feeding them, nor can the beef product be stored, except at great expense in freezing chambers. In addition to this, the incidence of natural disasters periodically causes longer-term fluctuations in supply – embarrassingly large product surplus when drought threatens death to the animals, disappointingly low if disease decimates, or veterinary controls lock up, the herds. These fluctuations in addition to commercial uncertainties have even longer-term effects in an industry which requires confidence and the ability to see through the natural three–four-year cycle of the cattle breeding, weaning, maturing and fattening.

Many of these problems of supply were overcome by the Cold Storage Commission by the introduction, often experimental at first, of varied schemes of support for the industry; and the nature and extent of the Commission's functions were the outcome of its ability to improvise and react to problems as they arose – the most recent example, being its special drought-relief residual buying and feeding exercise in 1984.

Yet, this is not all that needs to be appreciated of the particular nature of the Cold Storage Commission's operations. Unlike other factory operations, the output of an abattoir is not a product made by assembling different ingredients, for each of which there are usually several sources of supply; its output is of several products – cuts of beef of different characteristics, offal, hide and numerous other by-products – all of which have their own price structures and specialized markets and have been broken down from a single in-put, cattle, the price of which was fixed in advance by the government on the basis of a guaranteed price and classification schedule. Some 76 per cent of the total cost of meat in Zimbabwe represented the price paid to the cattle producer, while 24 per cent of the cost was attributable to the Commission's own operations. That this latter percentage is so low indicates not only the Commission's efficiency but also how small an impact it itself can have on the overall price of meat. The selling price of meat in Southern Rhodesia was also controlled by the government and these prices sometimes constituted a subsidy to the consumer which appeared in the Commission's trading account as a deficit but cannot, in these circumstances, be used as evidence of inefficiency. The complexities of such accounting obscure rather than illuminate the basic functions of the Commission, which the following account will try to make clearer.

BACKGROUND

For nearly a thousand years, cattle have been an important part of the agricultural economy of the people of Zimbabwe. The Shona word for wealth is *pfuma* which also means cattle; and cattle down to modern times have been important for the mass of the people as one of the few dependable forms of storable and exchangeable wealth. For this reason – and because of a certain ritual significance which Europeans have tended to exaggerate – the offtake from African herds has always been less than that of the modern commercial herds owned mainly by Europeans. It is unusual considerations such as this that have made the task of the Cold Storage Commission of Zimbabwe much more complicated and socially important that the mere processing of meat as in the other great beef-producing countries of the world. And it is in recognition of these complications and wider responsibilities in the context of a dualistic economy that the Commission asked me to prepare this summary of its activities.

How large the herds of the original Shona inhabitants of this country were is not known but the impression gained from Portuguese records is that the area was rich in cattle and that those of the south-west (modern Matabeleland) were particularly fine – so large that the milker had to stand up! There is also evidence that young prime beef seems to have been eaten, at least by the ruling groups at Great Zimbabwe, for example, and that there was no irrational barrier to trade in cattle provided that fair prices were offered – a point that the Cold Storage Commission has long proved by its organized sales in African farming areas.

In the nineteenth century the Ndebele occupied what is now Matabeleland and were famous for their large herds of cattle some of which were taken from the Shona. But more important than cattle-raiding was the fact that total numbers of cattle were declining as time passed because of the advance of tsetse fly from both the north and the south-east. This slow constriction of cattle-raising was probably due to long-term ecological change, but it had immediate effects on political stability in the form of increased cattle-raiding and tensions in the Ndebele state; and all this was dramatically aggravated by the rapid incorporation of the trans-Limpopo area into the world system by expanding trade and colonial contacts which brought bovine pleuro-pneumonia in 1861, rinderpest in 1896 and East Coast Fever in 1901. Against this background of devastating epidemics, the occupation of Mashonaland and then Matabeleland and the seizure of many cattle by the Europeans in the 1890s was the final blow which confirmed in the African majority a determination to rebuild their lost wealth in cattle matched only by a suspicion of any governmental policies that impinged on their herds.

How many cattle, whether of European of African origin survived the rinderpest and the first onset of East Coast Fever is not known certainly but the total may have been as small as 150 000 head. However, the commercial farmers with considerable government help quickly built up their herds by buying cattle from peasant farmers both within Southern Rhodesia and from north of the Zambezi, and by importing pedigree bulls from South Africa and Europe. The beginnings of veterinary controls and dipping also gradually allowed an accelerated rate of increase for both European and African cattle herds; and by 1911 the cattle herd in African areas totalled some 300 000 and in European areas some 164 000. Numbers continued to grow; and both the European and African herds each passed the one million mark in the1920s. This rapid growth had been greatly stimulated by the demand for meat in the First World War which led to the beginnings of an export trade in cattle (live) and a meat-packing operation at Odzi near Umtali.

However, just as the Southern Rhodesian cattle industry reached the point of needing an export outlet the world market collapsed. The meat-packing factory closed, a desperate co-operative venture to sell cattle on the Rand collapsed, and a government export bounty came to naught. Even worse, Southern Rhodesia's neighbours in order to protect their own markets used tariffs, embargoes and exaggerated veterinary controls against East Coast Fever to keep Southern Rhodesia' s cattle out. Cattle were becoming virtually unsaleable and various government bodies between 1921 and 1923 made urgent efforts to induce a major meat-processor like Vesteys or Liebigs to erect packing and/or cold storage facilities so that tinned, frozen or chilled beef could open up new and more distant markets for the rapidly accumulating surplus product.

In the end the only body that could be persuaded was the Imperial Cold Storage and Supply Company of South Africa which was set on extending its dominance in the South African market to the whole region, particularly Katanga which was one of the few areas of growth at that time. With little alternative, the government in 1924 had to agree to the Imperial Cold Storage Company's terms: a ten-year monopoly of exporting meat and meat products (except bacon), free grants of land for the works and holding grounds, customs-free import of the machinery, low rates on the railway, and a guarantee to pay up to $30 000 a year if the Company's profits fell below a ten per cent return on capital. Stringent as these conditions were, Southern Rhodesia had little alternative in view of its isolation and almost complete ignorance of world markets and needs. At least the agreement provided the hope of ridding the local market of 20 000 head a year and the government had the protection that, if the scheme did not work, it could after seven years expropriate the Southern Rhodesian subsidiary that the Imperial Cold Storage company was to establish in Bulawayo, and which was at that time called the Rhodesia Export and Cold Storage Company.

To begin with, the arrangement worked well enough because the parent company in South Africa took considerable live exports but as soon as the cold storage works in Bulawayo became operational in 1928 it became obvious that there was no easy solution to the problems of the industry. The Company was able to win a European order, for the Italian army, only because the government in 1929 reluctantly agreed to give a further subsidy in the form of an export bounty – and the Company still lost money on the transaction!

The bitter truth could no longer be avoided. The Southern Rhodesian cattle industry was in relative terms (compared with Argentina and Australia) a poorly endowed, isolated, low-quality, high-cost producer. Management and feeding techniques had not developed to fit in efficiently with breeding up from African stock and the poor quality of the resultant slaughterings was consistently and dismally confirmed by subsidized trial shipments of live cattle to Britain between 1925 and 1931. In any case the world market was tightening up because of the Depression and then in 1931 the eruption of Foot and Mouth disease in Southern Mashonaland brought the cattle industry to near collapse. For some time all its neighbours banned the import or transit of Southern Rhodesia's meat and indeed other export commodities.

This disastrous setback led to redoubled efforts to find outlets. One was that the government made an agreement with Liebigs in 1933 to build a meat extract plant at West Nicholson in order to relieve the market of 20 000 poor quality head of cattle a year that could never be exported. The other was to make a last attempt to make the Rhodesia Export and Cold Storage Company's monopoly of export achieve its purpose. It was suspected that the Company was subordinating the country's immediate need to open up overseas markets for chilled and frozen beef to its South African parent company's long-term strategic plans to dominate the whole cold storage field in pork and dairy products, as well as beef, and crush the live cattle trader, Bongola Smith, and his associates in the Union Cold Storage in South Africa and Elakat in the Belgian Congo. Consequently relations between the Rhodesia Cold Storage and Export Company and the government became very strained particularly when the government tried to insist that the guarantee against losses applied only to exports overseas.

In late 1932 the South African government relented on its ban and allowed transit of chilled and frozen beef; and this was an opportunity which had to be seized even at the cost of further financial concessions to the Company. The chilled beef was well received in Britain but for various reasons this was a declining market at that time with an emphasis on high quality – and Southern Rhodesia had to restrict its exports to try to keep up the quality by encouraging stall-feeding. Even so the prices realized in Britain were below the cost of production and the shortfall had to be financed by a series of unpopular legislative enactments raising levies on all cattle producers.

The effect of all this was totally discouraging for the government. The Rhodesia Export and Cold Storage Company's monopoly of export of frozen and chilled beef was not achieving the objective and was becoming a political liability. As a consequence the government itself was becoming increasingly involved in a day-to-day marketing decisions in the cattle industry, many of which were even more politically sensitive. And despite all this effort and political risk the cattle industry was in decline. The European herd which, it will be remembered, had passed the million mark in the 1920s was down to 730 000 by 1937, and the growth of the African herd similarly peaked in 1932-3 under the impact of drought and foot and mouth disease. In desperation, outside experts were called in and their report coincided with similar criticisms made by Bongola Smith and his associates to the Minister of Agriculture, a former employee of theirs. The decision was thus made to exercise the government's right to expropriate the business and works of the Rhodesia Export and Cold Storage Company. In its place would be a parastatal body to be run for the good of the country, which would relieve the government of day-to-day involvement in the commercial side of the cattle industry; the necessary marketing skills were to be provided by Abe Gelman, the son-in-law of Bongola Smith.

THE COLD STORAGE COMMISSION

Thus in 1937, against the background of more than a decade of governmental failure and obscure commercial rivalries, the Cold Storage Commission was established by Act of Parliament to take over the Rhodesia Export and Cold Storage Company as a going concern once the government had completed its expropriation. The Commission was a statutory body, to be run by a General Manager (Abe Gelman) and five other commissioners all appointed by the Minister of Agriculture. The object was to achieve stable growth for the cattle industry and as this could be done only by exporting the surplus production the Commission was given a monopoly of chilling and freezing all meat products (except bacon) and of the export of these products. Created as it thus was in the national interest the Commission was expected to make neither a profit nor a loss but it was hoped that sufficient reserves could be built up so that the cost of expansion or replacement of assets would not be a direct charge on the Treasury. Because of the needs of the cattle producers the approval of the Minister had to be obtained for the prices offered for cattle and later this provision was to extend to the prices that the Commission wished to charge on the home market for the meat produced. In this way the government was able to dismantle the unpopular export bounty and levy system.

The arbitration over the price to be paid for the expropriation of the Company was

long and bitter. The Company valued its business at £572 000 but the government offered only £100 000 together with further sums which in the end added another £100 000 to the offer. The final award of the umpire in June 1938 was for £342 100 but after certain agreed claims were deducted the government had to pay out only £286 930. By the time that this award was made, the Cold Storage Commission had already come into legal being on 1 December 1937 and had taken possession of the works in Bulawayo and had commenced operations on 1 May 1938. Many improvements had to be made to the works, notably the erection of sufficient freezing and storage capacity so that frozen meat could be held for railing direct to the ships' sides. More important as a matter of national policy, however, was the inauguration of a feeding scheme for cattle of chiller quality. The Commission bought the cattle from producers and placed them for fattening with farmers with feed and near the railway who sent them in when ready and were paid on the basis of the grade and weight achieved (less the original cost to the Commission).

Another change of long-term significance was that the Commission made it clear that its purchase-price structure was based on stall-fed cattle as the necessary basis for improving the quality of beef; and for the same reason the preferred method of purchase from farmers was to be by cold-dressed weight and grade at the abattoir. These innovations, together with trial purchases from the remote parts of the Eastern Districts and from sales of surplus cattle from African areas organized by the Native Department, quickly showed that the new statutory body was taking seriously its national responsibilities. Also the small trading loss in 1938 was replaced by a small trading profit in 1939 which in view of the depressed state of the industry augured well as did the rapid acceptance by farmers of the new weight-and-grade method of purchasing once improvements in handling the cattle were implemented.

At this time twice as much beef was exported from the country as was consumed on the small home market – hence the crucial importance of exports as the only way to provide the farmer with a market and a fair price for his cattle. But because of the Second World War the external market sprang to life and so did the internal market; the result was that by 1943 the main emphasis of the Commission's activities had changed to supplying the local market in a situation of growing shortages and rising prices.

This dramatic reversal coincided with, and further encouraged, a growing interest in cattle owned by African farmers whose numbers were twice that of the European sector. By 1941 the African herd had resumed its growth after the setbacks of the 1930s; but because of drought and veterinary restrictions on movement there was a growing problem of degradation of pasture and poverty of the animals. This had caused the Native Department in 1938 to advise African farmers in Gutu and Fort Victoria to cull their herds and sell to Liebigs under a special arrangement. This led to accusations that the African farmers had been compelled to sell against their will at low prices thus cutting their herds. The officials concerned were exonerated but the Department decided that it needed legal authority to enforce sales in such circumstances which clearly would become more pressing as more Africans and their stock were moved into the African areas in compliance with the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. At the same time a commission appointed to inquire into the preservation of natural resources

reported in 1939 in favour of a general policy of destocking according to scientifically determined stocking rates. As a result the Natural Resources Board was set up in 1941 and was to issue severe destocking regulations in 1943.

In the meantime the Native Department had been trying to encourage voluntary destocking by improving the opportunities and facilities for Africans to sell their cattle at fair prices. From 1940 regular auction sales were organized in the African areas but speculators often formed rings to force prices down with the result that owners were deterred from selling and the Department often had to cancel sales to prevent such exploitation. Yet at this very time the war needs were creating beef shortages for which the lighter African-owned cattle were most suitable to provide tinned meat and supplies for convoys and the Copperbelt. Consequently as early as 1941 the Commission began the practice of buying Africans' cattle and grazing them on its own lands before slaughter; and in co-operation with the Native Department it began to make these live purchases on the basis of estimated weight and grade according to the national, approved scale of prices converted by a formula from cold-dressed weight.

This was popular with the sellers and the Native Department officials but very unpopular with European farmers and speculators who also objected to wartime measures to fix prices. A commission of inquiry chaired by W. E. Thomas reported in 1942 on this complex situation and the main result for our purposes was that the Cold Storage Commission developed its weight-and-grade method of purchase which the Native Department helped perfect by imposing on the buyer a levy of 2 shillings per head to improve sale and weighing facilities. The one defect of this system was its inappropriateness for valuing young stock but this was solved by a special price schedule.

Once young stock then came forward the Commission had to deal with the problem of disposal for it was not in the national interest to slaughter young, particularly the female, stock in a time of growing shortages. Thus was developed another far-reaching and important innovation – the grazier scheme, which still exists in modified form. Under this scheme the Commission retained the ownership of the cattle but paid a fee to farmers who had the grazing to offer but not the capital to purchase. As this scheme proved successful the Commission was then able to act as residual buyer at Native Department sales so that no animal on offer would remain unsold to the detriment of the destocking campaign that was gathering momentum.

At the end of 1944 the government decided that the problem of overstocked African areas could no longer be left to mere encouragement of voluntary sales and so compulsory destocking was enacted for 49 areas. However, from both a moral and a practical point of view such destocking could not be enforced unless the cattle-owner was given a guaranteed market and a fair price for his 'surplus' cattle. Thus in 1945 the government looked to the Cold Storage Commission as the only body capable of providing the outlet; and an agreement was signed by which the Commission became residual buyer at a base price of all African cattle offered at Native Department sales. In return the Commission was guaranteed a minimum quota of all slaughter stock offered (33 per cent in Mashonaland and 50 per cent in Matabeleland) and varying percentages of all selected young stock offered. The price payable for slaughter stock was the national scheduled prices by cold-dressed weight and grade converted at

standard kill-out ratios to live weight. For the selected (young) stock the price was the weight and grade price plus 10 per cent, reviewable annually. The agreement was to run for five years and was implemented with enthusiasm by the Native Department and the stock-owners, and remained the basis of the Commission's buying until the 1980s.

Thus in 1945 – the first but not full year of operation – the number of African farmers' cattle purchased by the Commission more than doubled. Of these only half were slaughtered in the year; of the remainder some were held over till ready but most were sold as breeding stock or placed on grazier agreements with European farmers.

To fulfill this national responsibility the Commission had already in 1943 expanded from its base in Matabeleland, the major cattle area, to Salisbury, the growing centre of demand for meat, where the municipal abattoir was taken over and renovations and extensions begun. A similar expansion led the Commission to take over the Umtali abattoir in 1946 to serve the Eastern Districts for both cattle and meat, to the development of cold stores in Que Que and Gwelo in 1946–7 as supply centres for meat for the Midlands; and in 1947 the momentous decision was taken to build an entirely new, up-to-date works at Fort Victoria in order to open up the whole area – African cattle in Chibi and Gutu, European cattle on the lowveld – which had so often been locked up by Foot and Mouth restrictions. This works was opened in 1951–2 just as full-scale capacity was reached in Harare with the completion of extensions there.

The years 1951–2 in fact mark the successful conclusion of the first period of the development of the Commission, founded in such inauspicious circumstances some fifteen years earlier. Slaughterings were now four times greater than in the beginning and there was a steady profit on the trading account. The Commission had become a national institution supplying meat to an expanding home-market instead of being a mere exporter of the surplus cattle of Matabeleland. This had not come about simply by good fortune. The imperfections of the market had been greatly lessened by the Commission's development of the weight-and-grade method of purchase; and the development of a system of prices published yearly in advance and kept fairly stable restored confidence and encouraged long-term planning. Its feeder scheme and pricing structure had improved the quality of beef. Its grazier scheme and selling of young stock bought from African areas gave an enormous boost to European cattle farming. An outlet at fair, stable prices had been created for the African stock-owner who had hitherto suffered more than the European from the imperfect market, manipulated by speculators.

But for these developments it must be doubted if the cattle industry, declining as it was in the late 1930s, could have met the challenge of the 1940s and early 1950s when domestic demand for beef rose dramatically. In 1939–40 the country consumed about 33 per cent of the Commission's slaughtering; in 1951 it consumed over 99 per cent of a slaughtering that itself had increased four times over! Indeed by the early 1950s there were shortages on the home market and the Commission's main task now was to plan and guide the growth of an industry that had a firm domestic demand rather than desperately seek to relieve a congested market of the embarrassment of surplus cattle. The basis of the Commission's policy was the government's system of guaranteed prices; but this involved problems in a situation where rising demand and shortages attracted to the open market the lower quality cattle for which butchers would

pay prices higher than the guaranteed price. This left the Commission to purchase the better quality cattle, at a guaranteed price, which the local market could not absorb; these, of course, had then to be exported, even at a loss, at a time of meat shortages on the home market.

Consequently the 1950s present a rather chequered period in the Commission's history; and because of criticisms of the Commission a series of committees of inquiry was instituted which inevitably interfered somewhat with the Commission's smooth functioning and consistency of policy. The first inquiry headed by M. Danziger in 1952 focused largely on certain irregularities which had developed in the Commission's operations during its rapid growth; and generally speaking these were put right without trouble. The next inquiry headed by C. M. Newman was largely concerned with the cost of living and the part played by the prices paid for cattle to producers and charged to butchers and consumers for meat. Part of the problem here was that there was some public feeling that the Commission was not holding the balance fairly between producer and consumer. The report made it clear, however, that the Commission could not be blamed for government policy on guaranteed producer prices for cattle or controlled consumer prices for meat; and the only changes for the Commission were to its accounting conventions in order to boost revenue, at the expense of the government, and so make lower meat prices possible.

The third inquiry headed by S. H. E. Turner in 1956 was the most important. Its concern was the policy adopted by the Commission in 1954 to deal with the problems of price and supply caused by shortages which have already been described. Put simply the Commission had tried to extend its control over the supply of cattle and disposal of meat by an 'all or nothing' requirement; that is, that producers sell all their cattle, not just the high grade, to the Commission and that the butchers take all their supplies from the Commission and not compete for slaughter cattle on the open market. When faced with the government inquiry into the fierce objections that this policy had aroused, the Chairman, G. W. Rudland, and most of the other Commissioners (against the advice of their General Manager) agreed to demand what was virtually a complete monopoly of purchase and slaughter of cattle and the wholesaling of meat. This was emphatically rejected by the commission of inquiry and by the government which decided on less rather than greater control of the industry and prices. This change was more dramatic for the African producer whose cattle would henceforth be sold not at the fixed-price weight-and grade-system but by open auction according to weight-and-grade, with the Commission as the residual buyer providing a firm base price to prevent manipulation.

Most of the Commissioners resigned their positions in protest but the new Commissioners quickly implemented the policy of de-control which had none of the adverse effects feared by their predecessors. The slaughter figures for each successive year until 1960/1 were records; exports also rose dramatically and in 1958/9 surpassed for the first time the record of 1940.

The reasons for this upsurge were due not entirely to the policy of de-control but rather to longer-term developments that the free market brought to fruition. Among these were the feeder-weaner scheme begun in 1951; the continuous improvements of the Commission's works, at Harare in 1957, at Mutare in 1958, and at Bulawayo in 1960 after a serious fire in 1958; the extensions and improvement of holding grounds

to even out through-put of cattle; experiments in export such as deboned beef to Britain in 1958/9 and airfreight to Katanga in 1959/60; and last, but not least perhaps, withdrawal from the complications of the pig industry in 1957 which had been a problem for many years. Also, the supply side, the cattle industry, must not be forgotten; for whatever criticisms there might have been of the Commission in these years the Newman Report had reminded everyone that 'the Commission has been the salvation of the cattle and beef industries'. Thus the European herd which had been less than three-quarters of a million at the time of the Commission's establishment had risen above the million mark by the early 1950s and was to reach one and a half million by the early 1960s. The African herd had not shown the same degree of growth but in spite of the destocking measures it was to reach the two million mark in the early 1960s compared to the one and half million in 1938, and was generally in much better condition.

Much of the discussion of the Commission's policies in these years had taken place in the context of the creation of the Federation of Southern Rhodesia with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953. The Commission's responsibilities were extended to the whole federal area in 1954 but the relatively underdeveloped nature of the cattle industries north of the Zambezi precluded any immediate extension of activity other than increased exports from the south. In 1956, however, plans were made for an abattoir in Blantyre which finally began operations in 1960. In that same year also the Commission purchased the cold storage facilities in Kitwe and Lusaka and the abattoir and by-products plant in Livingstone. To these accquisitions the municipal abattoirs in Kitwe and Lusaka were later added to provide the infrastructure for the development of the cattle and beef industries in Northern Rhodesia. These operations were supervised by regional committees and were progressing well until the break-up of Federation in 1963 when the Zambian government took over the whole operation there and a farmers' co-operative bought the Blantyre works in Malawi.

The political problems of the early 1960s which led to the dissolution of the Federation, however, did not affect the prosperity of the cattle and beef industries of Southern Rhodesia. The national herd was growing apace and the Commission was slaughtering almost a quarter of a million head a year – ten times the figure of 1938. There were of course fluctuations and setbacks like the drought of 1960 and the decline in offtake from the African herds once the destocking programme was run down, aggravated as far as the Commission was concerned by the change-over to open auctions at Native Department sales; but as often happens in the history of an institution, an *ad hoc* remedy led to new, successful long-term developments. Just as stock, particularly young stock, from the African herd began to become less available so it became imperative for the Commission to relieve many European farmers of their young stock as a drought relief measure. The success in placing these young stock on agreement gradually changed what since 1940 had been a grazer scheme into a much wider Cattle Finance Scheme that included weaner, feeder and breeding stock. And this was a great boom to the European farmers who could now specialize in different forms of cattle production; a particular example of this was the striking improvment in calving rates in the later 1960s and the general result was the rapid growth of the European herd, from one and a half million to over two million by the end of the 1960s.

The consequence of this success, of course, was that a profitable export outlet for about one quarter of total production became absolutely essential to the continued success and stability of the whole industry. Luckily by now the quality of the higher grades of Southern Rhodesian beef had greatly improved and could successfully compete with the best Argentine chilled beef on the world market. Consequently there were experiments in deboning and cartoning, in exporting hindquarters rather than sides, and the beginning in 1962 of air-freighting these more valuable products to Europe. These developments and the opening up of other markets in Switzerland and Italy owed much to the appointment as General Manager in 1962 of Mr. N. Spoel, who had spent his life in meat marketing; and his international connections were to prove even more necessary when U.D.I. in 1965 soon lost the country its main market in Britain. Sanctions made alternative markets difficult to find and at the very same time made them more necessary than ever before in that diversification away from tobacco, the most hard-hit export, led to further development of the cattle industry. The result was that the Commission was soon to be averaging more than half a million slaughterings a year – double that of the early 1960s – and exports reached an all time record in 1973 when their value constituted some 20 per cent of all agricultural exports and 10 per cent of total exports. By this time the African herd had passed the three million mark and the European herd was set to do so by the late 1970s. Current expenditure (including purchases) also had risen dramatically; from $517 000 in 1939, to $18,6 million in 1965, to about $100 million in 1977, and reached $230 million in 1984. Much of this increase of course was in the tobacco areas of Mashonaland; and whereas 36 per cent of the Commission's offtake from the European herd in 1963 came from the traditional ranching areas of Matabeleland and only 28 per cent came from Mashonaland, by 1967 Matabeleland provided only 21 per cent and 45 per cent came from mixed farming and pen-feeding operations in Mashonaland. This dramatic expansion inevitably required considerable extension of facilities. The present head office building in Bulawayo was opened in 1967; a new works at Gatooma was opened in 1970; the other works were established in Mashonaland – Marandellas in 1975 and Sinoia in 1976; and a new cold store was built at Gwelo in 1976 to act as a holding point for exports as well as local distribution. This rapid expansion meant that the fixed assets of the Commission in 1977 stood at some $27 million ($34 million at cost) and at £29 million (47 million at cost) in 1985, compared to a mere $5 million at the time of U.D.I. and the miniscule $500 000 at foundation in 1938.

EPILOGUE

At the time of writing this paper in 1984–5, the national herd was just beginning to recover its former position but since then the whole agricultural marketing system has changed, as have the economics of the industry and indeed of the whole country. Attempts to put the Commission on to a profit-making basis as the Cold Storage Company Ltd appear not to have succeeded and it is said to be in an even more parlous condition than the rest of the cattle industry – but details of that must await another article. Neither this sad outcome nor the current disdain of parastatals by the I.M.F. and the World Bank, however, should obscure the forty years of success that the Cold Storage Commission did achieve.

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Early Tobacco Cultivation in Rhodesia (1510–1913)

by Doug McClymont

Until the ZANUPF land policies of the new millennium removed nearly 95% of the European commercial tobacco growers from the country, the production and sale of Virginia Flue cured Tobacco was one of the major earners of foreign currency for the country. Right from the entry of the early settlers, tobacco has been part of the fabric of the nation. At first, the production of tobacco was peripheral to those on the land as food crops were the priority. However in its long history in the country, tobacco production has always been seen as necessary. The nascence of the tobacco crop in the region was small and fairly obscure to start with but once the marketing potential had been realised it assumed substantial importance.

Despite Rhodesian claims that a Mr. L. Cripwell grew the first tobacco crop near Mutare as long ago as 1894–5, he was not the first successful cultivator by at least 400 years. The Portuguese occupation of the area from Sofala through to Mt. Darwin saw the first introduction of tobacco to Rhodesia. Akehurst[1] reports that the Portuguese had tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica)* in 1560 along the East African Coast and they carried it with them into the interior. The tobacco was smoked in pipes and used as snuff. It is not known whether Antonio Fernandes took any with him when the made the first incursion into the interior, but certainly it would have been used by Antonia Caiado. It is recorded by Akehurst that both fire cured and air cured treatments to this type of tobacco were in use and that the Portuguese provided the seed. However the production was for domestic use with a little on the side to barter.

Nicotiana rustica is a low leaf number, squat and very hardy plant that will grow in most environments. It has a very high nicotine content in comparison to modern varieties, is a prolific seeder under adverse conditions and can be considered to be an invasive pioneer plant. The leaves are thick and relatively easy to cure whilst being quite oily. This meant that conditioning of the leaves was fairly easy and it could be transported without too much breakage under dry conditions.

VIRGINIA FLUE-CURED TOBACCO

Although tobacco was grown for over 400 years before the European grower started his production, in the region the earliest recorded production was in 1889 when the Buchanan Brothers produced some in Malawi. This tobacco differed from the native crop grown in the region in that it was *Nicotiana tabacum* from the United States as opposed to *N. rustica* brought in by the Portuguese. The brothers were so successful that in 1893 they exported 18 kg to the UK,[2] the first recorded Empire shipment to the UK since the British ran the American Colonies, and it was quite well received. Such was the success of their subsequent crops that in 1899–1900 they 'exported' 1350 kg

[1] Akehurst, B. C. (1968) **Tobacco** Longman pp 12–16.

[2] Akehurst, B. C. (1968) **Tobacco** Longman p 12.

to Southern Rhodesia. In fact Southern Rhodesian production did not exceed that of Malawi until the 1926–27 season.[3] The tobacco crop was so successful in Malawi that the production increased for several years from 1900 at the rate of 75% per annum.[4]

Records are sketchy in Southern Rhodesia during the period. Tanser reports that Jesuit Father Richartz grew some tobacco at Chishawasha by 1899. Mr J. Weinberg had manufactured 'Camp Cigarettes' as early as 1894 so presumably these had been produced in 1893. It is also reported at this time that Norton had produced tobacco that had been made into pipe and cigar tobacco. These had proved to be too strong for European smokers even though some had been presented to Earl Grey. He remarked "it would have been well if the maker never met those who had tried to smoke them".[5] This suggests that the tobacco was *N. rustica* and not *N. tabacum.* Mr. R. J. Evans of Riverview Farm, Filabusi, is reported by the Rhodesian Scientific Association as having exhibited some Virginia type tobacco on the Bulawayo Show in 1901.[6] Reports from the B.S.A. Company show that tobacco was cultivated in northeastern Rhodesia (Zambia) from 1900 but the details were sketchy.

The first "pioneer" of tobacco production in Rhodesia was E. H. South of Warwickshire Farm, Hunyani. He grew his first crop in 1903 and started curing in the first tobacco barn in the country in 1904.[7] He approached the growing of tobacco quite scientifically and his first experiment was to try and find which was the best variety to grow. He had obtained the American varieties Hester, Goldfinder, Honduras, Ragland's Conqueror, Bonanza and Kentucky Yellow. He sowed all of these for his first crop.[8] Following this experiment he crossed Bonanza and Goldfinder for his 1904 planting, and this seed was sold in the country as "South's Seed". It was the most popular choice of seed for most growers up to the 1920s. Bonanza had the distinction of being a variety recommended by the early tobacco growers and the Government and Tobacco Research Board (TRB) for the next 79 years. The Senior Plant Breeder Mr. R. Ternouth only withdrew it from the recommended list in 1982 on the publication of "Bonanza – 75 years of flue cured tobacco advice"[9] on the instructions of Dr. I. McDonald, the Director of the TRB at the time.

Although South's Seed was popular, the major adviser in the country at that stage, G. M. Odlum, preferred Goldfinder and Ragland's Conqueror, as the two best varieties. In 1905 there were a number of varieties on offer in the country such as Ragland's Conqueror, Warne's, White Stem Orinoco, Long Leaf Grock, Hester, Yellow Pryor, Eastern Pride, Bonanza, Goldfinder, Hyco, Granville and County Yellow.[10] The *Planter's Handbook* recommended Hester, Goldfinder, Warne & Hyco, saying that seed could be purchased from the Tobacco Warehouse at 1/6*d* per oz.[11] Hester produced

[3] Akehurst, B. C. (1968) **Tobacco** Longman p 12.

[4] Stinson, F. A. (1957) **Tobacco Farming in Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1889–1956** Tobacco Research Board of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Rhod. Litho. Ltd., Salisbury p 1.

[5] Tanser, G. H. (1965) **A Scantling of Time** Stuart Manning, Salisbury, p 216.

[6] Clemens, F. & Harben, E. (1962) **Leaf of Gold** Methuen & Co p 50.

[7] Anonymous (1904) Bright Tobacco ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 9, 4: 507–519.

[8] Clemens, F. & Harben, E. (1962) **Leaf of Gold** Methuen & Co p 56.

[9] McClymont, D. S. (1981) **Bonanza–75 Years of Flue Cured Tobacco Advice** Books of Zimbabwe.

[10] Odlum, G. M. (1905) **The Culture of Tobacco** B.S.A. Co Dept. of Agric. S. Rhod.

[11] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 8.

a slightly richer leaf with more oil, while Goldfinder gave a larger and thinner leaf more suited to cigarettes. Presumably these all were imported from the USA and were more expensive than South's own cross, the growers going for the less expensive alternative.

Yields at first were low in present day terms where the budgeted yield per ha is 3000 kg/ha. In 1909 from Hester and Goldfinder, J. Cameron of Sublime Farm, Hunyani, reported a yield of 672 kg/ha.[12]

Although South was the first grower to put tobacco production on a firm footing, there were other growers in the country between 1895 and 1900 and these were advised by the B.S.A. Company through its Department of Agriculture.[13] The first adviser was G. M. Odlum and a number of his recommendations survive and are still relevant today. To start with his task included crops other than tobacco as well, and with travelling conditions being what they were, his time was severely stretched. However as the importance of tobacco increased this ex-American Missionary was sent in 1904 back to America. He spent a year there studying the US crop and returned in 1905. His published report to the B.S.A. Company formed the basis of the first *Planter's Handbook*.[14]

The first records of production were noted from 1910 when the first Planter's Association was formed. It is only from then that the size of crop could be estimated as well as the number of growers. Export figures were known and the tobacco exported from Southern Rhodesia in the period 1908–1910 was 91000 kg.[15] Production rose from 45000 kg in 1909 to 1.4 million kg in 1913.

OTHER TOBACCOS

The *N. rustica* type of tobacco was still in production while the Virginia flue-cured tobacco started. As mentioned, being a thicker style of leaf, it took well to fire curing. Fire curing involved reaping the leaves onto strings and then allowing them to mature over low but smoky fires of usually mealie cobs. However any combustible material could be used. This tobacco has a heavy oily texture and was favoured for pipe 'navy cut' products. The indigenous population had the seed for this crop for several hundred years and with the start of a tobacco market they started to produce more than just for internal consumption. First sales were recorded in 1902 but the early expansion was slow, with only 10 000 kg being reported in 1912–1913.[16] It was from 1902 that the indigenous *N. rustica* types were replaced by *N. tabacum* varieties.

Turkish tobacco was introduced to the country in 1906. It was targeted for the dryer areas as it was cured in the sun. Areas of very high rainfall were not suitable as the tobacco rotted on the string. The main areas were Essexvale, Nyamadhlovu and Ft. Victoria. In the main, the indigenous population produced the crop but there were a few European commercial growers to start with. Turkish tobacco was first auctioned

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[12] Cameron, J. (1909) Tobacco Plantation Co.'s Estates ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 6, 4: 422.

[13] Brown, D.D. (1950) History of the Southern Rhodesia Tobacco Industry ***Rhod. Tob. J.*** 2, 2: 33.

[14] Odlum, G. M. (1905) **The Culture of Tobacco** B.S.A. Co. Dept. Agric. S. Rhod.

[15] Haviland, W. E. (1952) The Tobacco Industry of Southern Rhodesia. An economic analysis Part 1. Economic History and its lessons. ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 49: 365–381.

[16] Stinson, F. A. (1957) **Tobacco Farming in Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1889–1956** Tobacco Research Board of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Rhod. Litho. Ltd., Salisbury p 18.

at the Bulawayo Police Camp in 1911. In this year 21000 kg were sold at *2/6d* to *4s* per lb. This compared very well with Virginia with a top price of *3/7d* per lb.[17]

In the drier Virginia areas some of the growers were trying Turkish because of the price differential. Volumes had reached such a level that a processing plant was erected in Darwendale in 1908 and this was called the Darwendale Turkish Tobacco Factory. The Zimbabwe National Army has used the basic buildings of this factory for uniform manufacture since 1980. Most of the Turkish tobacco was exported to South Africa where there was a significant market and where growers were given a "Union Quota".

Burley tobacco or straight air cured tobacco receives no mention at all before the First World War. It was grown in Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and Indiana during the period when it was known as White Burley to differentiate it from the dark air cured tobaccos being produced. Although well known in the USA and a main constituent of "chewing tobacco" for centuries it did not travel to Africa until the demand grew for a highly absorbent filler leaf. It was only in the early 1930s that cigarette production started to assume the importance it has today. New techniques of cigarette production, especially cork or filter tipped cigarettes, require a neutral absorbent constituent to which could be added caramel and other additives to give a "toasted" or "Texan" taste to the smoke. The smoke from the tobacco in the cigarette could also be of a lower quality with a higher "filling value". This was assessed as the total number of cigarettes that could be produced from a kg of tobacco. The greater the filling value, the more cigarettes could be produced from 1 kg of tobacco and therefore the higher the profit. The filter would give a constant taste if the blend was correct and economies could be introduced as the filter masked the pure taste of the tobacco. A blend was cheaper to produce that a "straight" fill. Strong nicotine flavour could be added to cheap filler to give the same smoke that an unfiltered tobacco required from a relatively pure charge. The production of burley then escalated and 1935 is usually noted as the year in which Burley production started to move around the world as the "American" cigarettes with their built in filters started to prove popular.[18]

TOBACCO CULTURE

Early results had shown that "bright" tobacco grew better on the lighter soils and the first recommendations were concerned with this. In 1905 G. M. Odlum wrote:

> The deeper the sand – over the red or yellow clay subsoil – the brighter the tobacco produced, and the nearer the surface that the subsoil comes, the more the tobacco is inclined to darken. However, where the sand is very deep, there is not the same surety of moisture during the growing season, and for this reason it is preferred that the subsoil be within 18 inches of the surface.[19]

This advice for dryland production is as true in 2005 as it was 100 years ago. It is only since the use of irrigation and the very early planting of tobacco with new varieties

[17] Stinson, F. A. (1957) **Tobacco Farming in Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1889–1956** Tobacco Research Board of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Rhod. Litho. Ltd., Salisbury p 16.

[18] Akehurst, B. C. (1968) **Tobacco** Longman p 206.

[19] Odlum, G. M. (1905) **The Culture of Tobacco** B.S.A. Co. Dept. Agric. S. Rhod.

produced in the 1980s, that the heavy soils can be induced to produce "bright" tobacco economically.

Because it was very difficult for tobacco seed to be grown in the land, it had been recognised in the 1600s that transplanted seedlings did better. This gave the rise to the need for nurseries or "seed beds". Because the early crop depended on rainfall, the date the seedbeds were sown became critical. Seedlings had to be ready to plant when conditions were right. If sowing were too late, then the seedlings would not be ready, and if too early, then the seedlings would be too big and may already have produced flowers in the beds before planting. Different areas of the country received their first significant rains at different times and these times were often confounded if the season was a "dry" or "wet" one. Generally tobacco was planted out in late November or early December. The first advice from Odlum was to sow suitable beds about 60 days before planting out.[20] His first instructions for beds remained in operation for nearly 50 years and bear listing in their entirety.

1. 1 oz of seed should be sowed per 50 sq. yd of bed (10g/14.7m^2).
2. To prepare the bed, brushwood and mealie cobs should be piled on the surface and burnt, or else the beds should be steamed. (These operations were a sterilizing process, both for weeds and nematodes, although at that stage nematodes had not been positively identified as such.[21] In the fields nematodes were described as 'gall worms'.[22])
3. The seed should be mixed with finely sifted meal or ash. (This was necessary; firstly as a medium to apply the seed evenly, and secondly as the sprinkling of the medium on the surface left a trace that the grower could use to see where he had sown the seed.)
4. The delicate nature of the germinated seedlings demands careful handling and cloth or muslin covers are required over each bed.
5. The seedlings are to be fertilized using either commercially available fertilizers at 3 lb any fertilizer per 10 sq. yd (1kg/6.15 m^2) or liberal applications of well rotted down stable manure. (It was admitted that the use of the latter could lead to an increase in weeds. The use of the word "stable" is significant as it related to horse manure rather than cattle manure, where the word "kraal" would have been used. Horse manure will grow much better seedlings than cattle manure.)
6. When watering, the surface of the bed must be moist but not wet.

The beds were made by hand and watered with watering cans as hoses were not in common usage at that stage. The site of the seedbeds usually was either close to a well or to the side of a pool in a nearby river.

Because the tobacco in the lands was rain fed, the lands were usually ploughed in the period July to August. As the soil was usually dry and the tractor power limited, ploughing was not that efficient. The depth of ploughing was stated to be at least 6 inches (15 cm). Today that would be considered to be really awful. An interesting aside in the

[20] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 15.

[21] McClymont, D. S. (1981) **Bonanza – 75 Years of Flue Cured Tobacco Advice** Books of Zimbabwe p 1.

[22] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 80.

Planter's Handbook was where it was suggested that "when ploughing, have a flock of turkeys or fowls to follow, eating the grubs as they are turned up."[23]

Early photos of tobacco crops show that the seedlings were planted on the flat or on hillocks, unlike the ridges used today. This was initially done to facilitate the cultivation in two directions at right angles using horse or mule drawn implements. In April 1912 the first recommendation for ridges was given in an editorial comment on tobacco in the *Rhodesian Agricultural Journal*[24] and this was later reiterated in the *Planter's Handbook*.[25] Early growers often started to ridge for tobacco because on many newly opened soils, the depth of topsoil was so shallow that ridging provided the grower with an increased volume of topsoil into which he could plant his tobacco.

Fertilizer was usually applied with a suitable container or "cup" as the first ridger and band fertilizer did not come until 1929 when the Bickle Brothers described a double row ridger that could be made up on the farm and do 2.4–2.8 ha a day with four oxen and four labourers.[26] G. M. Odlum made the first fertilizer recommendation in 1905.[27] He recommended:

> Where commercial fertilizers have to be purchased, the best results for the money may be made by placing them where the plant can utilize them as far as possible during the growing season. This may be done by distributing them in the furrow when the ridge is being thrown up in the ridge system of planting, or by distributing them along the marked row with a fertilizer drill, or by hand, where the level system of planting is used.

An interesting anomaly to this was the introduction in 1913 by Mr. O. Zimmerman of the first mechanical planter, which also applied the fertilizer in a band on the planting row. This was a Bemis Planter from Messrs. Wm. Phillips and Co. USA. It could plant about 2 ha per day using 4 oxen, applying the fertilizer in a single band and carrying a drum of water that was sufficient to give each of 2000 plants 0.071 litres of water.[28] The fertilizer applied seemed to be whatever was available. The first recommendations came from J. W. Lewis in 1912 where he recommended 224kg/ha. What was surprising was that G. M. Odlum gave no specific recommendations in either his report or in the *Planter's Handbook*.

The precise amounts of nitrogen, phosphate and potash did not really seem to matter. The main kinds of fertilizer available included "Safco double complete" an 8-20-10 mixture at £50/tonne and "Lochrin special water soluble complete fertilizer No 2" a 2.3-12-2.7 mix at £16/tonne. Where available kraal and stable manure were also used if available.[29]

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[23] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 17.

[24] Anonymous (1912) Editorial – Tobacco Sale ***Rhod Agric. J.*** 9, 4: 507–519.

[25] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co.; Salisbury p 16–17.

[26] Anonymous (1929) Ridger & Fertilizer ***Rhod Agric. J.*** 29, 3: 165.

[27] Odlum, G. M. (1905) **The Culture of Tobacco** B.S.A. Co. Dept. Agric. S. Rhod.

[28] Zimmermann, O. (1913) Culture of Tobacco ***Rhod Agric. J.*** 10, 6: 846–848.

[29] Blackshaw, G. N. Fertilizers for Maize and Tobacco ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 16, 5: 452–459.

The transplanting technique was fairly rudimentary. One labourer walked along the ridge dropping a seedling on the planting mark. The planting mark had been previously made using a planting chain or string along the ridge. The spaces between the ridges were usually 0.9–1.07 m and between plants 0.91m. The 2005 recommendations are a row width of an average of 1.2–1.5 m, with the plants being from 0.52–0.55 m apart in the row giving 15–16000 plants/ha. The *Planter's Handbook* laid down a square pattern between rows and plants. The planter then came along, and in the wet soil (as this was done only after rain) made a hole with a stick. He pushed the seedling into the hole and then firmed the soil around the base. This was known as "sima dinda" (sow/press) planting and is synonymous today with rain planted tobacco. The output was necessarily slow. In 1905 G. M. Odlum stated: "A man and a boy can plant about 5000 plants a day and one extra person can do the watering for that number of plants, while a fourth person with a wagon can haul the water for a large number of planters."[30]

In the 1912/13 season Mr. W. A. Brown on Arlington Farm (now a part of the suburb of Hatfield) successfully transplanted his tobacco before the rain, giving each plant 0.28 l (½ pint) of water using buckets and cups.[31] Today all plantings that are not fully irrigated are planted "dry" and water at the rate of 5 litres per planting station is applied. This enables crops planted at the end of October to survive until rain does fall.

Weed control was important and emphasized from the start. Odlum in 1903[32] and the *Planter's Handbook* recommended that weeding should take place as soon as the plant had taken root.[33] The main methods of cultivation were the use of horse or ox drawn cultivators or by hand using a traditional field hoe or adze (badza).

Pests and diseases were noted very early on. The presence of gall worms has already been mentioned, but there were a number of pests that attacked the early tobacco. The first recommendations were for the control of grasshoppers and for this Odlum advised the use of 'Paris Green', which was basically sodium arsenite ($NaAsO_2$), which was very poisonous.[34] This was used with molasses as bait and was also recommended for cutworm attack. Paris Green was also recommended with slaked lime as a control for leaf eaters.[35]

The first recognised diseases were tobacco mosaic virus (TMV), frogeye (*Cercospora nicotianae*) and white mould (*Erysiphe cichoracearum*). There were no controls recommended except that 'priming' off the bottom leaves was seen as an aid to control and this was described in the *Planters Handbook* and in Odlum's various notes.[36] Generally these diseases become more prevalent and virulent where the leaves have a high nitrogen content. With the low levels of fertilization of these early crops,

[30] Odlum, G.M. (1905) **The Culture of Tobacco** B.S.A. Co. Dept. Agric. S. Rhod.

[31] McClymont, D. S. (1981) **Bonanza – 75 Years of Flue Cured Tobacco Advice** Books of Zimbabwe p 30.

[32] Odlum, G. M. (1903) Tobacco Notes ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 1, 6: 187–195.

[33] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 4.

[34] Odlum, G. M. (1906) Tobacco Notes ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 4, 1: 23.

[35] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 71–84.

[36] Odlum, G. M. (1905) **The Culture of Tobacco** B.S.A. Co. Dept. Agric. S. Rhod.

one would not have expected, particularly the bacterial diseases, to have had much impact. The diseases mentioned did produce significant losses, but there was little the early grower could do.

Rotation was something that an early grower could use to try and reduce pest and disease incidence. As early as 1912 growers were advised not to try and grow tobacco for two successive years in the same land.[37] As tobacco was also used to open up new land, rotations were not that important and the early crops tended to be always grown on virgin land.

In modern tobacco culture, topping the plant to induce extra leaf weight and removing the suckers (suckering) to make sure the nutrients applied only go into the leaves are a standard practice all over the world. The first recommendation to top, i.e. remove the floral inflorescence, was made by a Mr. J. W. Lewis who suggested topping the crop when the "seed head button appears". He also recommended that all the suckers be removed after this. [38] The following year the *Planter's Handbook* recommended topping and suckering, but advised against topping too early or too low so that the "bright" tobacco required by the merchants could be produced.[39]

CURING AND HANDLING THE CROP

Tobacco differs from many field crops in that the product has to be treated after handling to render it ready for sale. After reaping off the leaves, these have to be "cured" or prepared for their final marketing appearance. These leaves are then presented for sale in a graded form so that the best quality is available for the merchant. However the leaf has to be 'ripe' before this can be done. This usually means that the leaf has finished expanding and the development is such that upon being removed from the plant, the internal enzymes in the plant start breaking down the green chlorophylls leaving the yellow and reddish carotenes. If the leaf is left until this stage, another set of enzymes breaks down the starches further and the sugars that are left are turned into carbon dioxide and water. This leaves a totally brown leaf as one gets with air-cured burley. In the "flue-curing" process this enzyme process is stopped through the raising of the temperature to denature the enzymes and dehydrate the leaf. This leaves the traditional yellow colour behind. It also leaves considerable nicotine and several types of sugar behind. The burning of these gives the expected and distinctive "flavour" of the 'Virginia' tobacco. There is an apocryphal story that while metal flues were used in America from the Civil War, the first production of 'bright yellow' tobacco was as a result of the love life of a certain Negro called "Jack". Instead of allowing the gentle fire to slowly dry his tobacco barn for his master, he decided to pleasure a young maiden on an adjacent section. To make sure the fire did not go out, he stoked the furnace to breaking point and then left. After his dalliance he returned and fell asleep next to the barn having made sure the fire was still going well. When his master arrived

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[37] Anonymous (1912) Editorial – Tobacco Sale ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 9, 4: 507–519

[38] Lewis, J. W. (1912) Tobacco Culture ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 10, 12: 175–178.

[39] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 21.

the next day to inspect the barn he found the tobacco to be bright yellow, the furnace to be still roaring and Jack fast asleep. Jack was flogged, but when the master sold this tobacco it got such a high price, he had to reinstate Jack and find out the technique for producing such desirable leaf! No mention is made of any product from the young lady!

The *Planter's Handbook* recommended taking off the leaves that were ripe, and described what was meant by "ripeness". These were then transported to the barn in baskets and tied with string looped onto sticks (mtepis) and hung in the barn for curing.[40]

E. H. South built the first Virginia flue-cured barn of pole and dagga when he cured his first crop in 1903–04.[41] It was a 4.27m × 4.27m × 4.27m structure with a U-shaped flue design. The furnace, chimney and door were all on the same side of the building. It had a lean-to shed around it and was wood fired with the brick furnace being outside the barn. In 1906 Odlum improved on this and recommended the following: flues 30–36 cm, bottom vents 76–91 cm^2, top vents fitted with gable ends, the wall dimensions 4.8m × 4.8m × 5.2m with a similar U-shaped flue configuration as South's.[42]

The first builder's plans were produced by Odlum the following year and show the furnace half in and half out of the barn.[43] The *Planter's Handbook* had a photograph[44] showing the whole furnace inside the barn and it suggested that a 4.8m × 4.8m six-tier barn could contain 1000 sticks and produce 450 kg of tobacco.[45]

Unlike "Jack", G. M. Odlum had a very scientific approach to tobacco curing from the start. From 1907 he regularly issued updates on curing technique.[46] He advised growers to start to have their sticks 1.37m long and to follow the following curing procedure:

> Start colouring at 32°C and keep there until yellow (12–24 hours). Vents are then 'cracked' and the temperature raised to 49°C. Once the lamina starts drying, the temperature is raised to 60°C by 2–3°C increments per hour. When the whole leaf is dry, close vents and raise to 71°–79°C until the midrib is dry. This should take about 6 days.

From the time Odlum had issued his recommendations every adviser or expert has had his own idea. Odlum combined all that he had learnt and in 1913 issued the following very detailed plan. The idea was to get the process on a fairly programmed basis so the grower had as few management decisions to make as possible.[47]

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[40] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 22–23.

[41] Clemens, F. & Harben, E. (1962) **Leaf of Gold** Methuen & Co p 48.

[42] Odlum, G. M. (1906) Tobacco Notes ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 3, 6: 613–619.

[43] Odlum, G. M. (1907) Flue Curing Barns and Packing Houses ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 4, 4: 352–367.

[44] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 45.

[45] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 98.

[46] Odlum, G. M. (1907) Flue Curing Barns and Packing Houses ***Rhod. Agric. J.*** 4, 4: 352–367.

[47] Odlum, G. M. (1913) Tobacco Culture ***Rhod. Agric. J*** 10, 3: 343–350.

Temperature	Hours	Vents
35°C	7	Closed
38°C	8	Closed
41°C	12	Closed
43°C	6	Closed
46°C	6	Closed
49°C	5	'cracked' open
52°C	4	wider open
54°C	8	wider open
57°C	6	full open
60°C	1.5	full open
63°C	1.5	full open
66°C	1.5	full open
68°C	1.5	full open
71°C	3	closed
74–82°C	until dry	closed

Once the tobacco had been cured it was removed from the barn after it had taken up a little moisture (conditioned) and was then graded and baled before being hawked around the various warehouses. The *Planter's Handbook* gave advice on handling and suggested a baling box of 86cm × 86 cm × 51cm and this was not changed until well into the 1920s.[48]

The first impressions of this early period of commercial culture are strong. The influence of G. M. Odlum was overwhelming. With the wisdom of hindsight, his recommendations have basically stood the test of time and have gone into tobacco culture in the region as "common sense". To the layman the intricacies of tobacco are far from 'common', but to the expert they make up the fabric of growing this crop. The use by many of the *Planter's Handbook* shows how important a practical guide can be if composed by someone who knew what he was doing. The use and importance of the early *Rhodesian Agricultural Journal* for the dissemination of much knowledge is also often under estimated. Without the facility of a research station this was the only standard and reproducible body of scientific knowledge available for local conditions. The fact that tobacco articles appeared more and more often also shows how the importance of the crop grew. The lack of knowledge and any comment on other tobaccos such as fire-cured also indicates their relative importance in the tobacco market of that time.

The First World War interrupted the progress in tobacco culture. The completely changed conditions the returning serviceman grower found on his return in 1919 opened a whole new era for tobacco. However the foundation had been laid and the crop could only go forward in the new Peace.

[48] Southern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture (1913) **Handbook of Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia** Argus Printing and Publishing Co., Salisbury p 52.

The Story of Beira

by Jack Bennett

This is the text of an illustrated talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe on 9 March 2005.

Beira began its history as a seaport as recently as 1891. It seems the Portuguese navigators of the fifteenth century, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama, in opening sea routes for Portugal to India, used the east coast of Africa mainly as a staging post to bring trade from India and the east to Europe through Portugal. They set up not only ship supply depots, but also trading posts for the purchase of gold and ivory on the African coast. One such was Lourenco Marques, founded in 1544. They thus established a Portuguese presence, but not colonization, which came very much later. Arabs meanwhile traded up and down the coast as far as Sofala, just south of what was to become Beira. But Beira's potential as a seaport was only discovered five hundred years after the age of the Portuguese navigators.

Portugal thus found itself the owner of the vast tract of Moçambique as the scramble for Africa started towards the end of the nineteenth century. It was in no financial position to concentrate on colonial development in a country so unpromising, so the system of development by chartered companies was instituted towards the end of the century. The district of Beira was handed over to the Companhia de Moçambique in 1892.

Beira began as a few grass huts built on mangrove swampland in the Pungue river estuary. Malaria and tsetse fly were large deterrents to development by white Portuguese, but Beira's importance as a seaport capable of serving the hinterland was now recognized.

It was soon realized that what was required was not only the development of a port, but also the building of a railway line to connect with Umtali in the east of Rhodesia.

THE BEIRA RAILWAY

According to an Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891, a concession was given to Rhodes and his associates to build a railway from the port of Beira to Umtali, a distance of some 220 miles. The concession included the right to use the Port of Beira. The task was eventually given to the engineer and contractor, George Pauling, who used A. L Lawley as manager. Lawley also developed other interests in Beira, including the building of the Savoy Hotel, a well known rendezvous for residents and visitors, and he became known as the King of Beira.

The building of the line was a gruelling and dangerous task. In one fortnight six white employees died of fever. Malaria was rife, but lions took their toll too. They got in the way of locomotives and they picked off construction workers. They ate two white employees in a single month. Pauling speaks of a European fitter who was sleeping one night in a grass shelter, or pondok He was a very tall man, so much so that his feet protruded from the end of the pondok.

A Beira Railway Group in 1894. Centre Row, L–R: Mr A. L. Lawley, Mr Thom, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bart., and Mr George Pauling

During the night he was awakened by something tugging at his foot. He had not taken his boots off, but, luckily had unlaced them. He let off such a yell that the Africans were roused and they saw that a lion had got hold of him and was trying to pull him out of the pondok. The Africans, however, pluckily seized hold of a lot of firebrands and attacked the lion, which made off, taking with it the fitter's boot and part of his heel, which the animal had lacerated with its claws. If his boots had been done up the probability is that he would have lost his life.

Lions continued to be a danger on the railway line. Black officials at lonely railway stations were often singled out by lions for attention. During a tragic period in the early thirties one native woman and two men were killed and three more attacked and mauled, all within five days at one station, Vila Machado. The lions prowled on the line not only at night, but also by day. So the crack shot of Moçambique was hastily summoned – "One-Shot" Araujo, traffic superintendent of the Trans-Zambezi Railway. He killed three in one night, and true to his reputation, used only three shots.

Many of the employees building the railway line were from Great Britain and of the roughest type, but their experience as platelayers served to train the local labour. For the white employees it must have been largely a matter of luck that some survived, as Pauling states that in 1892 and 1893 they lost 60 per cent of their white staff by death, including all the teetotallers. In Pauling's experience teetotallers did not withstand a fever country as well as excessive drinkers. It is said that every white man taken into the work had to supply particulars for a gravestone. If he lived out his contract he ceremoniously smashed the stone with a hammer before sailing.

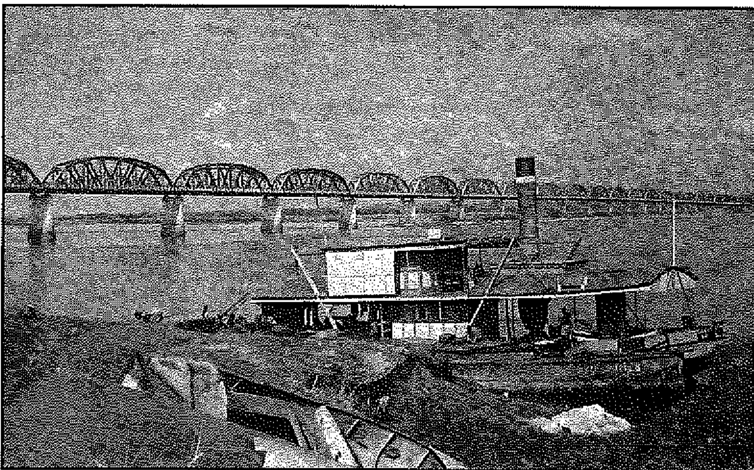
In November 1900 The Umtali Advertiser contained a notice giving rates and fares for the railway. Passengers were charged *6d* a mile for first class and *3d* a mile for third class, while Africans paid *1d* a mile. If you were dead it was more expensive, as adult corpses cost *1s* a mile. Goods were generally charged at *1s* per ton a mile. For the 222-mile journey from Beira to Umtali the fares were £6 for European passengers and *30s* for Africans. Early passengers had to ride on an open wagon sitting on a deck chair. This gave passengers a much better view of the wild animals and scenery than those cooped up in the small carriages which were later introduced, although they stood the risk of being set on fire by the sparks from the wood-burning engine.

The line from Beira to Umtali, which had opened in 1898, was extended to reach Salisbury, 170 miles into the interior of Mashonaland. This meant that the port for Salisbury and Mashonaland was Beira on the east coast of Africa, but Bulawayo and Matabeleland depended, via the new link south, on the ports of South Africa. The original gauge of the Beira line was 2', but it was later widened to the standard 3'6 .

During, and even after construction, the contractors were plagued by frequent flooding, and they were forced to raise the level of the rail, at least over the Pungwe river flats.

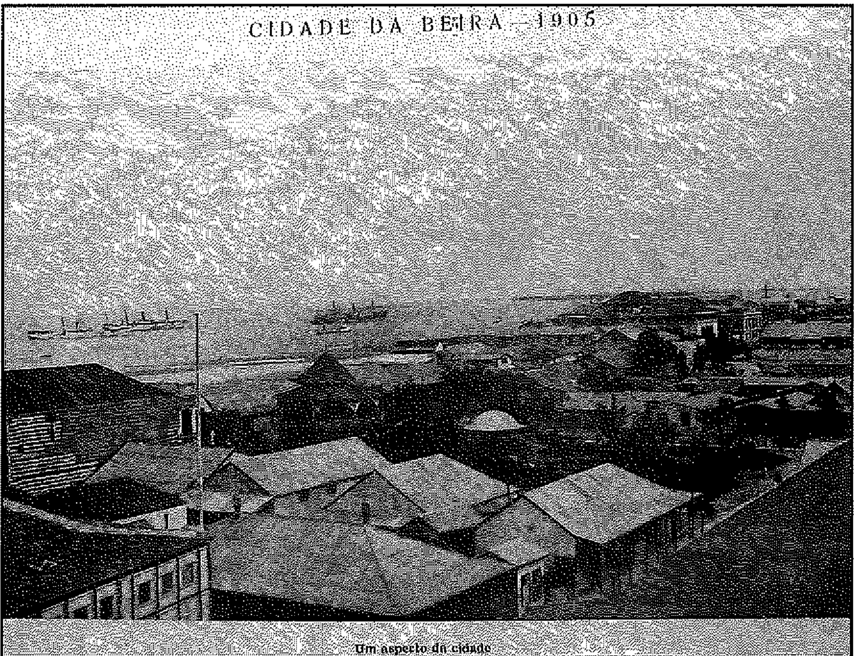
I must tell you a story about the Beira line. When I was a boy I used to travel from Beira to Salisbury and back on what was known as the school train. Many boys and girls from Beira went on it to boarding schools in Rhodesia. We were joined by those travelling from Nyasaland, as the line from Beira to Blantyre was functioning then. One of these was a lad called Ian Watson. He was travelling with me to St Georges and we shared a second class compartment with others. A favourite choice was a middle bunk to sleep on at night, so that one could lie in bed in the early morning enjoying the wonderful view of the Vumba on the way up and that of the Pungwe Flats on the way down. Watson was on one of these middle bunks.

In the morning, however, there was an empty bunk and no Watson. We learnt later that what happened was that he went shooting out of the window when the train went



Railway Bridge over Zambezi River at Mutarara

Beira 1899



Beira 1905

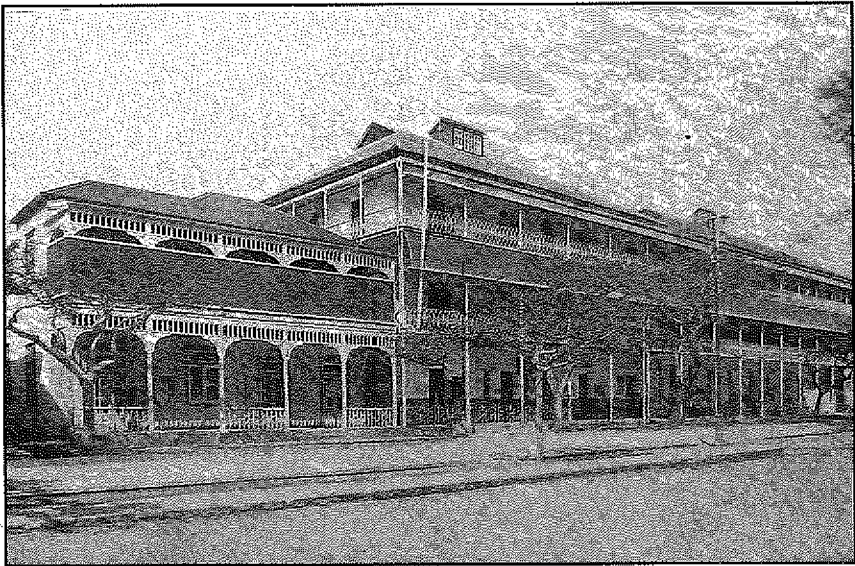
round a bend in the middle of the night and no one heard his cries for help. Watson had to walk in his pyjamas along the track until a ganger's trolley picked him up near Vila Machado. He had managed to survive the Amatongas forest which was stiff with lions. At that time the forest came all the way up to the railway line, as a corridor was only cut away later when the guerilla war began. A sheepish Watson arrived at school on the next train to tell us his tale. After that incident the Railways fitted boards to the ends of their middle bunks.

BEIRA TOWN

After the building of the railway line Beira town grew apace. More foreigners came as shipping lines and agencies and the port and railways got established. My father worked for a British company called Beira Works Ltd, which built and administered the port.

There were colonies of Britons, Germans, French, Italians, Greeks and Chinese, and Asians from Goa, besides the Portuguese and the Africans. But the District of Manica and Sofala, and its capital, Beira, was all but a British colony until Portugal nationalized all important enterprises in 1948. It was through Beira that Cecil Rhodes first arrived in Rhodesia, in 1891, and he was said to be furious that he failed to annex it to give his colony a link to the sea. The Mozambican newspapers and currency were English. Cars drove on the left. Hundreds of Britons ran the docks and railways.

The second world war found Portugal as a neutral state and its colony of Moçambique was affected likewise. Britain and Germany maintained their consulates and shipping agencies in Beira and their nationals kept a hostile distance from one another. British merchant vessels continued to call at Beira port, but did so at their



Beira 1933: The Savoy Hotel

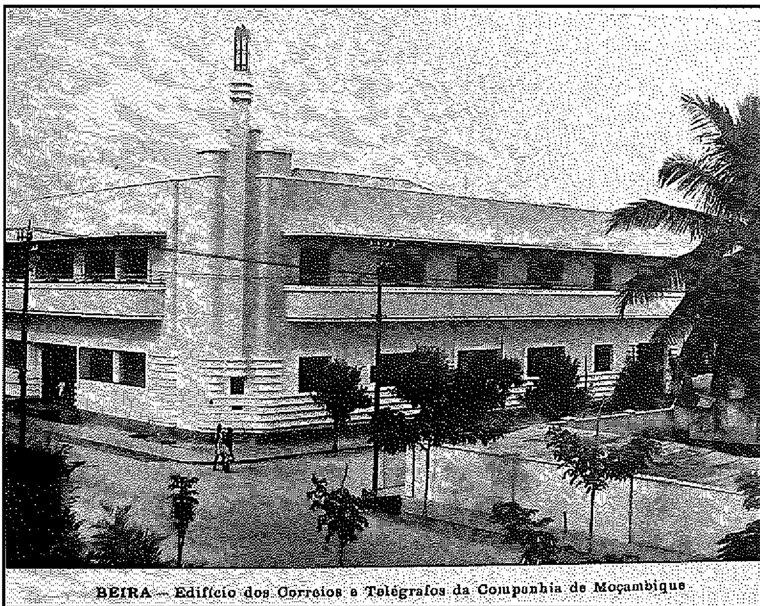
peril, because German U-Boats and warships kept a constant vigil for them in the Moçambique channel, tipped off as to their movements by German consulate staff and spies.

Social life was active in Beira, in the form of club attendances, sundowner parties and sports. Cricket was introduced at the Beira Sports Club and Fred Green sent a side down regularly from Salisbury to play the locals. Soccer was of course popular among the Portuguese and Africans and was played in the schools from early on. A fine 18-hole golf course was built along the line of the Chiveve Creek, and it became famous for golf balls being stolen by crows and crabs.

Buildings were going up and streets being built as the population grew. Some fine homes were constructed in suburbs like Ponta Gea and even as far out as Estoril. A number of homes, as well as public buildings were designed in the distinctive art deco style of the twenties and thirties. Examples were the Municipal Town House and the Post Office in the central square. Gardens flourished and trees were planted to line all avenues.

Malaria and tsetse fly were brought under control in Beira, but there was still the intense, damp heat to contend with. The South African writer, Lawrence Green, describes its effect on dress ware. He said the men solved the sweltering summer problem by wearing pith helmets and making frequent changes of clothing. The whites worn before breakfast were discarded before the toil of the day. In the middle of the morning African servants arrived at the offices with fresh white suits. At lunch time, and again in the afternoon, master called for clean raiment. It was part of his personal servant's duties to wash and iron the discarded clothing of the day.

The standard complement of black staff for a white household was four, comprising


BEIRA — Edifício dos Correios e Telégrafos da Companhia de Moçambique

Beira: Post Office

a cook, a houseboy, a washboy and a picannin. The picannin's duties included pushing his employer and family to and from house to town, on their personal trolley where they had one. Lawrence Green said the great wonder of old Beira as he first saw it was the transport system granted by a benevolent authority. He said it was impossible to move forever in streets of loose sand. No motor car had yet penetrated the Beira wilderness. So a tramway system of 18-inch gauge was laid down, trolleys dumped on the rails, and Shangaans found to propel these garden seats on wheels. There were points and side-tracks, busy junctions, smart trolleys with awnings and crazy trolleys that reflected the shiftlessness of their owners.

THE ECONOMY

Meanwhile Moçambique's economy was growing. Ports other than Beira were developing, such as Lourenço Marques, Quelimane, Nacala and Port Amelia. Railway lines were built from these ports to serve the interior and neighbouring countries like South Africa and Nyasaland. Beira port and the Railway line was now serving, not only Moçambique and Rhodesia, but Nyasaland and the Belgian Congo too.

The Beira oil pipeline was built to pump oil from the new wharf in Beira to Rhodesia. The giant Caborra Bassa hydro-electric project was constructed on the Zambezi river, to provide power to Moçambique and neighbouring countries like Rhodesia and South Africa.

The tourism industry was growing. Fishing and holidaying became popular at coastal resorts such as Lourenço Marques, Inhaca, Xai-Xai, Inhassoro, Vilanculos, Beira and Moçambique Island. Moçambique has a coastline over 1500 miles long, with white, sandy, palm-fringed beaches and warm water for swimming. Over 4000 species of fish have been identified in its coastal waters, giving it more varieties of sea life than almost anywhere in the world. Most of these inhabit the lonely islands and extensive coral reefs that line the coast, particularly around Inhaca Island and the area off Inhambane, in the southern part of the coast.. Beira became an attractive resort for holidaying Rhodesians. It was an easy eight hour drive from Salisbury and provided relaxed and inexpensive living at places like Brito's Motel and chalets on Estoril beach. En route, one could visit the Gorongoza Game Reserve, famous for its huge herds of game and variety of terrain and vegetation.

Agriculture was developing, notably coconuts, cashew nuts, cotton, tea and sugar growing and processing. Fruit and vegetables were grown extensively, particularly around Vila Perry upline from Beira, mainly by Greeks. Coal and iron were mined and exported. The sugar industry was concentrated on the banks of the Zambezi with its headquarters in Sena.

I made a personal visit to the Sena Sugar Estates in 1968. I wanted to see the places my mother had stayed in as a child when her father, a Hollander called H. Schippers, worked on the Estates. I boarded a bus early one morning in Highfield Township. Loaded with chickens, goats, bicycles and passengers, it took me to spend the first night in Tete on the Zambezi. Next day we travelled to Blantyre in Nyasaland, from where I took a train to visit Mopeia, Marrameu and Luabo, all Mocambican towns on the river. Sena Sugar Estates staff who had known my mother, hosted me in those places and in Chinde, the small port at the mouth of the river, where it meets the sea.

Schippers was reported as having discovered Chinde bar in 1889 as a suitable outlet for ships from river to ocean.

I had an unforgettable trip downstream on the last of the paddle-steamers still in commission. . It was captained by a grizzled, barefooted old African sailor, who knew every inch of the river as he navigated between the sandbanks, crocodiles and hippos. At Chinde I boarded a Portuguese coaster, which took me up the coast to Quelimane and then down to Beira, where I met my family who had motored down to meet me for our holiday. On the way to Beira, our coaster was intercepted by heliograph signals from a British frigate, which was patrolling the coastline on the lookout for any breaches of the oil blockade against UDI Rhodesia.

REGIME CHANGES

After the second world war, two developments took place, with crucial consequences. In 1949 the Portuguese took the huge step of nationalizing the Ports and Railways of Moçambique. At the same time they decreed limits of numbers of non-nationals employed in foreign enterprises, such as shipping lines and agencies. This led to an immediate diminution of the foreign communities in Beira.

The second important development was the beginning of the black guerilla insurgency by Frelimo throughout the country in the late sixties. More and more troops from Portugal were committed to combat in a desperate bid to retain the colony and there were many casualties in dead and wounded on both sides. Eventually the Portuguese will and resources were exhausted and a change in the dictatorial regime of Salazar resulted in independence being granted to the colony in 1975. I was in Beira at the time, on holiday at the Estoril with my family. A Marxist Frelimo government was soon set up, with Samora Machel at its head.

This produced an almost immediate and total evacuation of the white population, who fled to Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal with little more than a suitcase each. Their houses, businesses and other possessions were taken over by the Government. The same happened in the other Portuguese colonies in Africa, such as Angola, Guinea and San Tome. Portugal, with a population of its own of nine million had to absorb another one million refugees.

The Mocambican collapse spelt the beginning of the end for white control in Rhodesia. With its neighbour and ally defeated, the Rhodesians were eventually forced to follow suit, but it took until 1980 for independence and black government control to come.

The evacuation of whites from Moçambique in 1976 caused the near total collapse of the economy. There were hardly any well educated blacks and not nearly enough with sufficient know-how to keep things going. The situation was made worse by a long drawn out civil war between the Frelimo government and the Renamo rebels, who were backed first by Rhodesia and then South Africa. Then there was the scourge of Aids, which is still a huge problem.

I visited Beira in 1978, on a day trip by plane on business. I was shocked by what I saw. No restaurants or public transport were functioning. The town looked dilapidated. The streets were full of potholes. Many houses had been either deserted or taken over by squatters. Most were in dire need of painting and repairs to broken windows.

IMPROVEMENTS

I next visited Beira by car in August 2002. I stayed for two weeks at Biques Campsite and Restaurant, situated on the beach, between the Yacht Club and the Macuti Lighthouse. I found Beira a mixture of good and bad, but very interesting. There were definite signs of improvement since my last visit. Some good restaurants and night clubs were functioning again, like Johnnie's Place and the Pique-Nique; also the Miramar Pension, the Oceana and the Moulin Rouge. There were also some well-stocked supermarkets, including the old City Stores and that of the SA chain, Shoprite.

Unfortunately I found the Estoril tourist complex at Macuti beach, including the Don Carlos Hotel, to be deserted, as was the Santa Lucia motel. I found that all the Estoril beach chalets had vanished. The former Rex Pension, in the Ponta Gea area, was now just a shell.

There were still a lot of dilapidated and deserted residences, and the potholes were rife in the roads. On the other hand there were some which had been given face-lifts and were looking really good, painted and neat, with well-tended gardens. The double-storey house I was born in and situated in the main road in Ponta Gea was looking neat. It had been given a new facade by the medical clinic which now occupies it.

The city was relatively clean, certainly no dirtier than Harare. By and large, things were working, like electricity and water, and there was plenty of fuel.

I drove round the port area, which was like a ghost quarter, such had been the fall-off in traffic due to Zimbabwe's chaos. The railway station building still looked magnificent, but there was very little movement there too. There is no passenger service from Mutare to Beira, and most people travel by the dreaded commuter omnibus. I had to pass quite a number of them on the way down. I found the road from Mutare to Beira in good shape, except for about 12 km starting on the Beira side of the Pungwe River.

All the signs were that tourism is right down, with Zimbabweans lacking the necessary forex to holiday in Mozambique, or busy leaving Zim. Whites were few and far between in the city. The beaches were pretty well deserted, attracting only some blacks at the weekends. I was glad to see, though, that the golf course is still functioning, if only as a shadow of its former self. The course is cut down to six holes, grouped round the old clubhouse.

The Chiveve Creek, with its mangrove trees which used to meander through the old eighteen hole course, has dried up and just borders one of the holes. Sadly this creek, which used to be a feature of the city at its mouth into the harbour, where it was crossed by the steel road bridge, has been blocked off and the bridge has been replaced by a bumpy dirt road.

I visited the city cemetery to check on my grandfather Schippers' grave. I found the establishment nicely walled, well looked after and in good condition.

I saw quite a lot of my old friend, Lionel Silva, known to many Rhodesian visitors. He's managing a pharmacy on behalf of his brother, who is based in Harare. Lionel still has flying in his veins, and would like to start his well-known aviation and holidaying services along the coast again. He owned Seta's camp at Inhassoro, just opposite Paradise Island. He's 84 now, but in good trim. He told me all about his horrific experiences when he was jailed for eighteen months some years ago by the

Frelimo, along with one or two other of my friends, as a suspected saboteur, when the fuel dumps were set on fire in the port.

The weather, being early spring, was superb. As I drove back to Zim I thought how nice it would be if Beira could become the wonderful old holiday resort it used to be.

CURRENT PROSPECTS

Moçambique has been enjoying a high growth rate, a stable currency and low inflation. However, its factories need major new investments to compete on world markets, but its major shareholders, the Portuguese, have been reluctant to invest.

High hopes are set on the tourist industry. Twelve years after the end of the civil war, Moçambique is trying to become one of the most popular resort destinations in Southern Africa. Lately it has been attracting almost exclusively two classes of tourists, the backpacker and the luxury tourists. It wants to broaden this base. South Africa has made significant investments in the economy of Maputo. And for the last few years Moçambique has been a member of the Commonwealth, enjoying considerable support from this status.

Hopes for the future of Beira and Moçambique are founded on two factors, as in so many developing countries. These are: the strengthening of the newly established market economy and the maintenance of the newly found democracy. The country has just held further parliamentary elections, which were won again by the Frelimo party. Despite their crying foul for fraud, it is hoped the opposition Renamo party will co-operate in government, as it has done since the end of the civil war.

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If you are about to make a new will,
or to amend your existing will,
please think of the History Society of Zimbabwe.

The Early Hunters

by Alec Friend

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe on 9 September 2003.

Alan Moorehead in his book 'The Blue Nile' believes that the ingress of westerners into the vastness of Africa can be characterised by phases; first the explorers, second the missionaries, followed by the military and the administrators.

The explorers were people of a different breed. History abounds with the names of persons who, in many cases, left their cocoons of status, position and wealth and wandered off into the wide blue yonder, driven by various motivations. For some it appears to have been pure wanderlust or curiosity, some to seek fame and fortune, for others it was the clarion of patriotism, to seek and claim for whichever colonial power they represented.

Africa, in the early part of the 19th century, was a rich prize and the major European powers all got involved in the 'Scramble for Africa'. It became a sort of continental game of Monopoly with countries trading off 'their' bits of Africa between one another. In no time the map of Africa resembled a multicoloured quilt as it was divided up.

Then there were the missionaries. The missionaries came to Africa to save souls. The Dark Continent represented a vast untapped source of potential converts who were in dire need of large dollops of Christianity – even though the inhabitants of African regions didn't know they needed it. Whether they liked it or not, the heathen had to be saved.

It was difficult to administer salvation in an environment of inter-tribal wars, strange rituals and other such uncivilised activities and, anyway, there were rich pickings at hand in the form of minerals, human and other resources, so it became vital for the colonial powers to bring order to the chaotic state of affairs. Columns of British, French, German and Belgian troops, sepoy and askari, marched hither and thither across the face of Africa, gunboats patrolling the sea, and order was effected.

But order had to be maintained, good works had to be implemented and taxes to help fund these good works had to be collected, hence there had to be administrators to ensure that those, who had now been saved from themselves, toed the line and paid their taxes.

But I believe that Moorhead omitted another category of individual who was around on the savanna, in the scrub and in the jungles of Africa during the 19th century – this category was the hunter.

The hunter did not come to claim land for any flag, he did not come to force the concepts of hell and damnation down the throats of the indigenous peoples, he did not seek to negotiate mining or timber concessions – he came, primarily, after the elephant. The elephant meant ivory and ivory meant wealth.

The story of hunting in Africa is not for the squeamish but, whether or not the conservationists like what happened, it is part of our history.

The early hunter was the epitome of what is now known as the consumptive tourist.

Nowadays the tourist ethos is that of 'take only photographs, leave only your footprints' whereas the philosophy of the early hunters was, seemingly, 'shoot until your muzzle-loader melts and load your wagon to the brim with ivory, ostrich feathers, rhinoceros horn, sundry skins and pelts – and sell them for the best price'.

Sub Saharan Africa was a hunter's paradise. From the rolling hills of Natal, the flatness of the Karoo to the dambos of Mozambique and the plains of East Africa, the land teemed with an immense variety of wildlife. The Dutch settlers in the Cape and the British settlers of the 1820s took a great advantage of this bounty, but it was the advent of the 'sportsman' hunter that really put African hunting on the map.

The British army in India must have offered exceptional conditions of employment as many of their adventurous young officers, fresh from bagging their tigers in the cane brakes of Bengal, stopped off in South Africa, wangled a year's sabbatical and wandered off into the interior.

Amongst those who visited South Africa during the early thirties or forties of the last century in search of sport and adventure was Captain Sir William Cornwallis Harris who arrived at Algoa Bay in May 1836 and hunted north as far as the Witwatersrand.

Cornwallis was at the very forefront of his contemporaries as a sportsman, naturalist, collector and close observer of the country and its inhabitants and is renowned for his paintings of game animals. Cornwallis' book, when published, created a sensation and caused many a young aspiring hunter to dream of the great game lands of Africa.

Reports by the early travellers describe wildlife in such profusion that many of their observations were considered to be exaggerated. Take the 'trekboer' for instance. Once every four or five years the springbok that inhabited the North West Cape banded together and advanced from the borders of the Kalahari into the Cape colony. In 1895 Conwright – Schreiner, husband of the author Olive Schreiner, witnessed one of the last great treks. The herd of springbok was recorded to occupy a space of country 138 miles by 13 miles. At a conservative estimate there must have been at least 50 million animals on the move. An earlier trek of 1888 near Prieska was estimated at about 100 million.

Fired by writings of Cornwallis Harris and by the tales of others coming in from the interior, the famous hunters of that era appeared. Gordon Cummings, the tall Scot who hunted in his kilt, William Cotton Oswell, George Wood, William Charles Baldwin, the outlaw Coenraad du Buys who, it is said stood 6′ 10″ in his socks, Abel Erasmus, James Chapman, Samuel Edwards and many others.

And the slaughter was prodigious, not only by these hunters but also by the Boers who had moved up and away from the Cape, the Griquas and the Hottentots. On his first expedition into the now Botswana, Cotton Oswell and a companion killed eighty nine rhinoceros. By 1883 the quagga was extinct and the game in the southern area had been decimated. But the ivory hunters had already, years before, moved northwards in search of the great elephant herds. Northwards to the lands of the Tswana, Lake Ngami, the Shashi and the banks of the Limpopo.

The early hunters can be placed into two categories – those who wrote about their exploits and adventures, and became household names among the hunting fraternity and those that left no record of their doings. Of the latter we know very little and it is only through the writings of others that they come ever so slightly into focus.

So who were the first to cross the Limpopo?

We will never know, but we do know that among the earliest hunters in this country were the Boer hunters.

The Boers were apt to be somewhat contemptuous of the visiting sportsmen, their odd clothes, their game books and their careful measurements and records of the animals they shot and the truth is that for every Gordon Cummings there were a hundred Strydoms, Krugers and Van der Merwes who were far better hunters. Representative of this breed were men such as Jan Viljoen, Petrus Jacobs and Martinus Swartz.

In 1859 Viljoen, accompanied by Jacobs, hunted the area west of the Gwaai River. On this journey two hunters killed 93 elephant. For the next 5 or 6 years Viljoen continued to visit this part of the country, Western Matabeleland, and parts north of the Ntwetwe pan. In 1865 he went further north when he, together with Jacobs and a number of other hardy souls were the first Boers permitted by Mzilikazi to hunt the Mashona country. On this trip they reached the Mupfure River near the present day town of Chegutu and hunted that region, being the first European hunting party there. They had a most successful trip, securing about 200 elephant

In 1872 the later famous hunter F. C. Selous, made his first trip into the hunting field when Viljoen took him as far as the Sebakwe River, north of Kwekwe. Indeed Selous learned his profession as a hunter under the tuition of this accomplished hunter.

A special place in the annals of the early hunters must be made for Petrus Jacobs. Jacobs was generally known, in the early days, as probably the greatest hunter Africa had produced. Little is known of Jacobs but it is recorded that he was already an experienced hunter when Viljoen's career started. He was with Viljoen at lake Ngami in 1851 and continued to hunt even after Viljoen retired. In 1872, when he was in his late 60s he received a bad mauling from a lion on the Munyati River and whilst his recovery was testament to his tough constitution, he was never the same man again and had to give up his life – long pursuit at last. Selous, who knew him well, says of him that he shot more elephant than any other man he knew of, placing his bag at over 500 elephant bulls and well over 100 lion during his 40 years in the field.

Martinus Swartz, so often mentioned in the accounts of other hunters, is a somewhat shadowy figure in the history of big game hunting. He was the mentor and guide of William Charles Baldwin whom he met on the Marico River in 1857 and it has been suggested that many of the shooting feats which Balwin was afterwards to describe in his book 'South African Hunting' were actually performed by Swartz, who was a better shot. Swartz hunted with Viljoen and Jacobs, eventually settling on the Chobe River – as far from civilization as he could get. And there he died.

The early Boers were not solitary hunters. They took their wives and children on their expeditions into the interior with basic supplies to last up to 18 months. They would establish a base camp on the banks of a river and ride out after elephant. Their basic supplies were meal, for making bread, coffee and sugar. For the rest they lived off the venison and elephant meat. Despite a diet regimen which would make a modern dietician turn somersaults they all seem to have lived to a ripe old age. There used to be a theory among the Boers that a diet of venison staved off rheumatism and made men virile and strong. Almost to a man they lived into their 70s and 80s and were active in the hunting field almost to the end.

(It is only coincidental that both viagra and venison begin with a 'v'. To see if this theory on diet actually works we were hoping to have a taste of elephant meat at the end of today's gathering, but John Ford has let us down badly as he failed to go out and bag an elephant this last week, due, he tells me, to a shortage of fuel.)

But the Boers were not the only hunters north of the Limpopo.

It was not until 1865 that Mzilikazi permitted any white hunters to venture into Mashonaland, the first English hunter given permission to do so was Henry Hartley. In 1865 and the two following years he hunted up to the Mupfure River. In 1868 he went further to the north – east reaching the Munyame, the first of the early hunters to do so. In 1869, accompanied by Thomas Baines he pushed northwards well into Magundi's country. As a hunter Hartley was held by his contemporaries to be equalled by only the foremost hunters of his time and by few, even of those. What made Hartley's prowess as a hunter even more remarkable was the fact that he was able to overcome a severe physical handicap in that both of his feet were damaged, some reference state that he was a club footed, others that his feet were crushed in an accident when he was young. Nevertheless Hartley, an accomplished horseman, was a great slayer of elephant. One of the tusks he obtained on the Limpopo weighed 122 lbs, was 8′ in length and was used to make a holy water font for St. Peters in Rome.

The part played by Hartley in the history of this country is well known, probably more so through the famous painting by Baines that by any other record, but it was Hartley who invited geologist Mauch, the discoverer of gold in the Transvaal, to establish conclusively that the country was gold bearing and had been extensively mined in the past.

Hartley's hunting tactics were for the hunters to move in a group and, once the quarry had been located the hunters kept together and fired at the same animal until it went down. A newcomer to hunting in Mashonaland, William Finaughty, hunted for Hartley on a 'halves' on the ivory basis, disagreed with this method and was a keen proponent of each hunter for himself. Finaughty believed that the Hartley method resulted in smaller bags than would have been obtained had each man worked independently. Hartley lent Finaughty a horse, one so badly trained that it was unmanageable at first, which was the reason for Hartley's gesture. However, Finaughty quickly tamed it, after which it became one of the best shooting horses available at the time, for other horses had been worn out in Mashonaland where the unbroken one had not been used. Using his own independent method Finaughty was immediately successful whereupon Hartley promptly reclaimed his horse. According to Finaughty the 'old gentleman appreciated his half of the ivory; he did not like to see my half leaving him'.

In his book, 'Spoor of Blood' Alan Catrick rates Finaughty as number three in terms of great hunters of that era, behind Petrus Jacobs and Henry Hartley. Facts about Finaughty's life are scarce save for those set forth in his book 'Recollections of an Elephant Hunter' which was collated from his memoirs long after he had stopped hunting. Finaughty was undoubtedly one of the best early elephant hunters in this country. The reasons for his success may be found in his fearlessness, his energy and good health and his excellent horsemanship and shooting. Finaughty's favourite hunting ground was the country east of the Shoshong – Matabeleland road and north of the

Shashi River. Elephants were plentiful there and he seems to have had little competition from other hunters who avoided the area owing to real or fancied danger from tsetse fly. Edward Tabler, in his introduction to Finaughty's book writes 'from private sources we learn that the old hunter was not always a respecter of the property of others' and later goes on to comment that 'in view of some of his deeds that cannot be narrated here, his abstention from strong drink and from hunting on Sundays is not an adequate counterbalance. So what did Finaughty get up to? We will never know the full story but we do know about his activities as a gun runner, his adventures outwitting the Boers and his successful efforts to smuggle canon to Lobengula. His son tells of Finaughty's other 'sporting' activities. Having sold the ivory and feathers from one hunt for around 4000 pounds, a huge sum in those days, Finaughty sailed for Australia where he placed a very successful bet on the Melbourne Cup, but soon gambled and raced his money away.

Whilst many of the old hunters retired comfortably back to their farms to the south, relatively wealthy from their ivory proceeds, some were imbued with more than a fair share if the entrepreneurial spirit and exploited the ivory potential to its maximum. George Westbeech arrived in Matabeleland in 1863 and traded there until 1868 when he went into partnership with George 'Elephant' Phillips. Together they hunted through Mashonaland and were possibly the first of the early hunters to reach the Mazoe River. On their return to Matabeleland they found the country in a state of commotion following the death of Mzilikazi. Phillips exacerbated the already highly charged situation by returning from Natal in 1869 with a letter from Sir Theophilus Shepstone respecting the claim of Nkulumane, the reputed legitimate son of Mzilikazi, to the chieftainship of the Ndebele. The subsequent internecine battles and the eventual crowning of Lobengula as king are part of the history of the Ndebele.

In 1871 Westbeech journeyed towards the Zambezi to open trade and establish his famous store at Pandamatenga. Westbeech became one of the best known of all the hunters and traders of Zambezia offering hospitality to all and sundry and personally conducting many visitors to view the Victoria Falls. In the season of 1875 / 76 he brought down, from the Barotse Valley, over 12000 pounds weight of ivory and between 1871 and 1876 it was estimated that Westbeech sent away from Pandamatenga no less than 30 000 pounds weight. Westbeech and Phillips refined the concept of 'sub – contracting' in the world of ivory hunting and it is stated that they employed over 400 indigenous hunters. Supplied with arms and ammunition these hunters ranged virtually over the length and breadth of the country decimating the elephant and wiping out the white rhinoceros. An eye witness has related that at Pandamatenga there could always be seen an enormous heap of rhinoceros horns in spite of every wagon that left the store being loaded to its full capacity with this article of trade.

The last white rhino in this country are recorded as having been shot in 1893 by the hunters Coryndon and Ayre, somewhere in the vicinity of present day Mvurwi.

That Westbeech and Phillips were successful commercially cannot be questioned, however their effect on the elephant population was such that Selous complained that, by the time he started hunting, the heyday of the elephant hunter were over and he refers to tusks of 25 to 30 pounds as being 'very fine'. Today, 130 years later, an elephant carrying tusks of that weight would not be considered 'shootable'.

During the 1870s Westbeech seemed to pervade the whole Zambezi region and is mentioned by every traveller who wrote about that part of the country. Malaria finally caught up with him in 1889 and he died at a Jesuit mission station on the Zambezi after 26 years in the country.

Whilst this overview of the early hunters must necessarily touch on some of the more well known characters it should be noted that there were many hunters who came to the capital of Mzilikazi seeking permission to ply their trade. Apart from those already mentioned, there were many other hunters – James Gifford, Thomas Leask, Captain Wilkinson, Phillip Smith, Malone van Rooyen, Christian Harmse, Hans Lee, to name but a few.

The hunting of ivory was not an undertaking without its dangers, but more hunters, their families and attendants died from the attention of the mosquito rather than as a result of angry buffalo, elephant or rhinoceros. Finaughty and a hunter named Napier, came across the wagon of Mrs. Harmse, wife of the Boer hunter, who, with her one young son and one servant was desperately trying to move out of the country. The Harmse hunting party had decided to spend the summer of 1867 in the Mashonaland but had made camp in an unhealthy area and had been devastated by malaria. Christian Harmse, three grown daughters, two younger daughters, three servants and a man called Wood had died and had been left in shallow graves. Hartley's party later decided to stay in the country instead of returning to the Transvaal for the rainy season. This was to have serious consequences, as in the summer of 1870–1871, as the result of pitching their camp close to the Mupfure River, William Hartley, Henry's son, and seven other members of the party, died of Malaria.

No discussion on the early European hunters of Zimbabwe would be complete without the name of Selous, however his adventures as a hunter and his role as a scout with the Pioneer column and with subsequent aspects of our history are so well known that there is no need to go into detail. That he was a great naturalist and a great author there can be no doubt, but was he a great hunter – in the class of Viljoen, Hartley and others? His hunting career commenced in 1871 and ended in 1887, 16 years in all but this, less the travels he made to Europe, gives Selous a total of 14 years hunting compared to the 30 and 40 years of the older hunters. Selous rated himself as a 'moderate shot' which appears in keeping with his general modesty regarding all of his achievements but, whilst he may not have gathered the huge bags of the other hunters he was, undoubtedly, the greatest all-round bush man of his time.

As you may hear today, Ballantyne Park, in which we are now gathered, is situated on what was at one time Selous's farm. Whilst these surroundings are very pleasant I must admit that I would have liked to have seen it as Selous saw it.

The coming of the 20th century, the swapping of the 4 bore muzzle-loader for the Nitro Express and, later, the change from the wagon to the internal combustion engine, did not mean the end of those individuals who, for the same reasons as Viljoen, Hartley and Selous, sought adventure, profit and the freedom to meander the game-paths of Africa.

Probably the greatest hunter in east and southern Africa at the turn of the century was Major P. J. Pretorius. Entering this century as a young transport rider, Pretorius was active in the campaigns of the BSA Company, eventually moving off to the Zambezi

to begin his life as a hunter. His exploits are legendary and are far more exciting than could ever be dreamed up in fictional writings. His own memoirs, 'Jungle Man,' contain adventures and hardships which appear to be almost unbelievable. One is always amazed at how tough and resourceful these old – timers had to be, escaping time and again from situations resulting from wild animals, wild tribes and illness. Pretorius returned to Zimbabwe in the latter years and carried out lion control on Nuanetsi Ranch.

During the First World War it was Pretorius who, disguised as a local tribesman, discovered the whereabouts of the German raider 'Konigsberg', hidden deep in the jungle up the Rufiji River. The story of this episode of his life was used as the basis for Wilbur Smith's novel 'Shout at the Devil'.

Having had his farm in German East Africa confiscated by the German authorities, Pretorius vowed to poach elephant in that country until he had recouped the full value of his loss and carried out his threat to the full. He later became the Chief Scout for Smuts during the East African campaign and is has been stated that German snipers were instructed to get Pretorius at all costs. There is a story that on two occasions, where other scouts were substituted for Pretorius at the last minute, both of those, Van der Merwe and Selous, were removed by snipers. One wonders if Selous was possibly 'mistakenly' shot in place of Pretorius.

Then, later, there were men like 'Yank' Allen.

George Allen, who it is rumoured, fled America after killing a man in a bar-room brawl, wandered around the Rhodesias, hunting and making a precarious living from shooting marabou and selling their feathers, had a particular interest in hunting lion. In 1912 he was employed by Leibigs Ranch to exterminate the lion which were doing serious injury to the ranch's cattle population. Initially 'Yank' Allen received 10 pounds for every lion skin and 10 pounds for every lion skull. Not a bad rate of return for his efforts, particularly if you take it at today's ruling parallel forex rate. Allen's writings of his escapades with lion, which can be found in our Archives, are couched in indecipherable Texanese but, fortunately, these have been translated, are contained in a number of 1950s NADA editions and make fascinating reading.

I was fortunate enough to know and elderly gentleman named Cecil Lane whilst living in Kwekwe, Cecil had grown up in the Todds Hotel area of the lowveld and remembered, as a child, that George Allen used to visit his parents on their farm. Cecil was always pestering 'Uncle Yank' to take him lion hunting, however Allen's reply was "Sonny, lions are like women, if you don't understand them, leave them alone." Whether you are a lion hunter or a Chartered Accountant that advice appears to be valid today as it was back then.

Then there was 'Bvekenya' Bernard, the legendary ivory poacher, who made Crooks Corner in the South East his stomping ground – not only because there was good elephant hunting to be had in the three adjoining countries, but there were also the three borders which were very useful for the purpose of evading the long arm of the law. Bernard's story was presented by T. V. Bulpin in his book' The Ivory Trail.'

There were many skilled hunters around. Joni Fulamani, who shot over 120 lion in 32 years of hunting for Nuanetsi. Fletcher Jamieson – a most able elephant hunter regardless of his damaged arm and many others.

On the subject of ivory poachers I hesitate to say too much about Ian Nyschens as

I see that he is present here today. Not that I am particularly sensitive about hurting his feelings but, as I'm sure you have observed, the History Society has possibly a higher proportion of lawyers than any other organization outside the Law Society and I have no doubt that should I put one whisker out of line, Ian will undoubtedly sue me.

I am afraid I dare not expound on Ian's peregrinations up and down the Zambezi and his activities in Mozambique, the Rio Ruvuma, East Africa and all the other parts of Africa where he plied his trade, both legally and otherwise. Much of this is recorded in his amazing book 'Months of the Sun' and I think it suffices to say that he has probably shot more elephant and had more adventures than many of the old-time famous names.

It is a matter of record that the then government of the day eventually made him an offer he couldn't refuse – either take up the position of the country's first game ranger or go to jail. It appears that many administrators later rued having offered the choice and regretted that option two had not been effected.

So what did the hunters leave as a legacy to the history of the country?

They left no edifices, no bridges, no legislation and whilst some wrote their memoirs and give us a glimpse of the country as it was, the majority left little sign of their passing.

They were not ruled by the clock nor by the conventions of the day.

They wandered more or less as they chose and followed only the next horizon and the next elephant spoor.

The rules of their game were pretty simple – you lived by your wits and by your gun, or you died.

They chose to follow the hunter's path.

They chose their own freedoms.

If any member of the History Society of Zimbabwe or any other reader of this journal would like to assist the Society in its efforts to continue to publish this journal despite galloping inflation, please consider sourcing, ideally in South Africa, the paper requirements for one issue of the journal and donating that paper to us.

The requirements are:

a) 8000 sheets 80gsm or 90gsm or 100gsm white bond, size 1024 × 765mm, short grain (for text)

b) 250 sheets 250gsm gloss art board, size 640 × 915, long grain (for cover).

Chisipite Senior School 50th Anniversary

by Anna McCarthy

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe on 5 December 2004.

Just over 50 years ago, on a hot Saturday afternoon in late October, men in suits, ladies in dresses and hats in the height of Fifties fashion, and girls in dark green uniforms gathered together to mark an important occasion – the official opening of Chisipite Senior School by Sir Godfrey Huggins, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The invited guests, including Mrs Maisie Jenkinson, who had started it all 25 years before at Chisipite Farm, members of the Board, and parents, were seated along the verandah up there, and the girls, including the Junior School contingent, were on the grass below.

I haven't been able to get hold of a programme or order of service – perhaps there wasn't one – but my guess is they would have sung God Save the Queen and perhaps another hymn or two. There would certainly have been prayers: the first chairman of the board was Dr J. Kennedy Grant, and he presided over the ceremony. Sir Godfrey, before unveiling the plaque at the top of the steps, addressed the gathering, complimenting Mrs Jenkinson and of course Mr and Mrs Anderson, the founders of the Senior School, on their enterprise. According to a report in the Sunday Mail of 24th October 1954, he remarked on the coincidence of the date with the first anniversary of the inauguration of the Federation – he regarded this as a good omen.

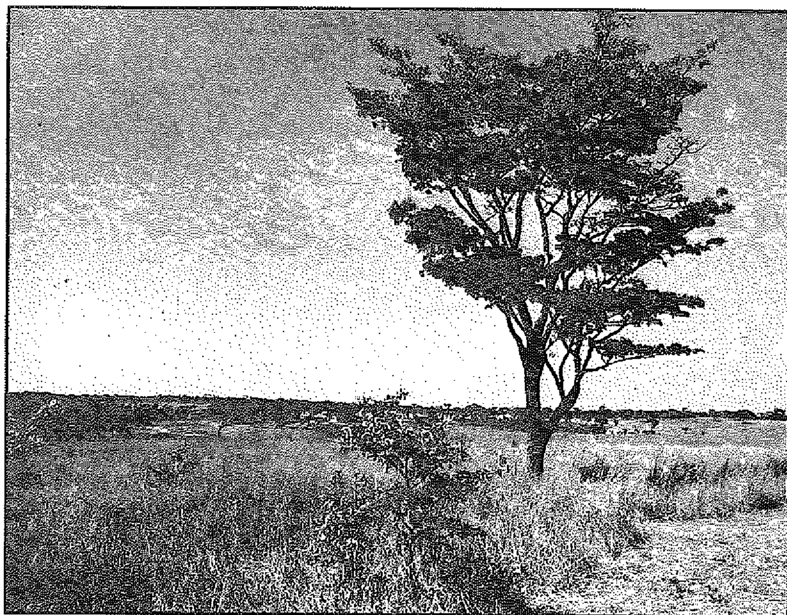
Revd. J. Kennedy Grant, first chairman of the Trust.

Perhaps if Sir Godfrey had foreseen that within 10 years the Federation would have sunk without trace, he might not made this remark – but back then there was plenty of optimism about this experiment in multiracial partnership: in the early years there was considerable progress, with the colour bar being gradually relaxed, social barriers being broken down, the Land Apportionment Act amended to allow black professionals to use premises in European areas, and hotels to open up to all races. The University College was exempt from the Act and was multi-racial from the start. And the economy was booming. In 1954 Federal GDP was £350.6 million; in 1956 it was £448.7 million. Southern Rhodesia's economy was of course by far the strongest and it went on growing. There were new roads,

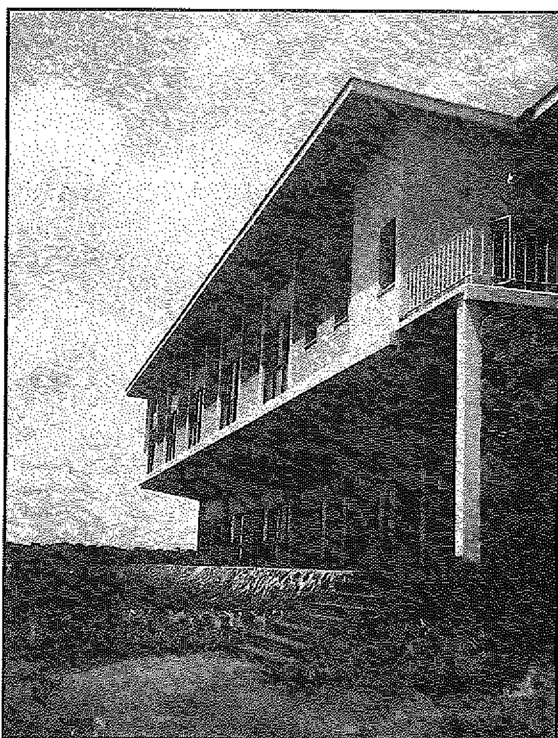
a railway extension to Lourenço Marques, a new airport, there was Kariba. Salisbury, the Federal capital, prospered especially, and it became much more cosmopolitan, with a growing business community and a diplomatic corps which included representatives of all the principal European powers, the USA, Canada, Australia, Turkey and India.

The Rt Hon. Sir Godfrey Huggins unveiling the plaque 23 October 1954

The Guests: front row: Mrs Kennedy Grant, Lady Huggins and Mrs Addison



Site of Senior School looking towards The Grange



First section of the building, January 1954

In making the connection between the opening of Chisipite and the establishment of the Federation, Sir Godfrey was in fact very much to the point. Because in the 1950s Chisipite and other private boarding schools – Arundel and Peterhouse opened the following year – were fulfilling a demand which was created by Federation. As investors came in from overseas – mining companies, construction companies, manufacturers - and the region was opened up, as the ex-pat community grew, as wealth increased, so the private schools flourished.

We can imagine the delight of all these expats, mining engineers and so on, many of them finding themselves in remote rural areas and worrying about their children's education, to discover, here, in the heart of darkest Africa, that there was a corner of a foreign field which looked like being forever England. Chisipite was modelled on English lines, the education was English, leading to the Cambridge School Certificate. The girls studied English Literature and French, Latin and Greek, Maths, Science, History, Geography. . . . And they played tennis and netball and hockey. There was Art and Music and Drama. The headmistress was an Oxford graduate. What more could anyone ask for?

The headmistress, Beryl Anderson, was born Beryl Robinson, in 1898 at Ilkeston in Derbyshire. She was a sickly child and did not go to school until the age of 14, and until this age she was largely self-taught: she spent most of her time in the local library, discovering for herself the wonderful world of books, reading extensively. In 1912 she entered Ilkeston Grammar School and in 1917 she won an exhibition to Somerville College at Oxford, at that time considered to be the hardest of the women's colleges to enter, because of the high standard of the entrance examination. At Oxford she captained the women's hockey team. She graduated in English and was one of the first women to be awarded a degree at Oxford: it was only in 1919 that the Sex Discrimination (Removal) Act was passed by Parliament.

After leaving Oxford, Beryl Robinson taught at Fulham Secondary School in London. Remember, this was in the 1920s, in post war England: she was herself one of the "war generation" who grew up in the security of Edwardian England and saw all their certainties destroyed by the cataclysm of World War I. After six years in London she joined a teaching exchange scheme and set sail for South Africa, only to find on arrival that she could not teach in South Africa because she knew no Afrikaans. Nothing daunted, she taught herself the language, matriculated in 6 months and took up a post at Pretoria High School. Two years later she moved up to Southern Rhodesia, to Prince Edward School. She was the only woman on the staff and there was no accommodation for women at the school, so she moved into rooms at Chisipite Junior School, where, in the course of time, she fell in love with the farm manager, Tom Anderson, and duly married him.

They moved away from Chisipite, to Banket first, and later to The Grange Farm, where they grew vegetables on a smallholding. Twice a week, the produce would be sent into town in the back of a lorry, and Beryl would cycle, all the way along the Enterprise Road into town, to oversee the sales. Quite something for the frail little girl from Derbyshire! The two children, Catherine and Julian, both attended kindergarten at Chisi Junior – the school still took boys in those days – and Beryl herself went back to teaching at the Junior School. When Mrs Jenkinson announced her intention of

retiring, the Andersons made her an offer for the farm and the school and Mrs Anderson became the second headmistress.

There was a growing demand for a senior school: of course there were some excellent government schools but for parents wanting to send their daughters to a private boarding school there was only the Convent which was of course Catholic – nothing wrong with that, but quite a lot of people preferred a non-denominational school. So the Andersons took out a loan, guaranteed by interested parents, and bought 25 acres of adjoining land, and building began.

In 1951 a handful of girls stayed on to become the very first Form I, but they were based and taught at the Junior School. It was only in 1954 that the buildings over here were ready to accommodate girls and staff and it was in that year that the official opening took place. Three girls wrote the Cambridge School Certificate in 1954 – well, according to the Honours Board, three of them passed! Diana Hawley (now Mrs Bartlett) was one of the 1954 intake of Form Is and she remembers only about 10 or so girls being above them. She and her contemporaries regarded themselves as being the torchbearers and they saw it as their prerogative to establish the traditions of the school to be followed by their successors – traditions such as carol singing round the neighbourhood at the end of the Christmas term and of course midnight feasts! The boarders were allowed out only 3 times a term; weekends at school were filled with sport and organised activities such as ballroom dancing with boys from Churchill.

Heather Benoy was in Form II in 1954. She later became head girl and there is a photo of her in our archives presenting a bouquet of flowers to the Queen Mother on the occasion of her Majesty's visit to Salisbury in 1957. Heather recalled that at Chisi each girl was treated as an individual, encouraged to develop her particular talents; the atmosphere was relaxed but the habit of respect for others was deeply ingrained. It was Mrs Anderson who set the tone. The girls were expected to be politically and socially aware, debate was encouraged. We like to think that this tradition of tolerance and freedom of speech in an atmosphere of mutual respect is still very much alive today – and, at this time in our history, it is particularly important.

As the school grew, more teachers were recruited. Betty Jenkinson taught Science here for a while. There were new young staff from England – among them Jill Dickinson, later Jill Wilson, and Sheila Douglas, later Waddell. They came to Chisi in 1955 and were both still here when I arrived in 1982. Both these two answered advertisements in the *Times Educational Supplement*, and both were interviewed by Mrs Anderson, on one of her trips to England, at railway stations! Jill told me her interview was carried out on a luggage barrow as there were no vacant benches. Well, they both signed up, travelled by boat to Cape Town and from there, by train, to Salisbury, eager to start on a new venture in a new country, as Beryl Anderson herself had done 25 years earlier. Nowadays, sadly, the trend has been reversed, and it is we who are sending our talented, highly qualified, enterprising young women, the leavers from Chisipite, to England and elsewhere. However, we live in hope that one day things here will change and they will return!

On arrival at Chisipite, Jill and Sheila met Mrs Robinson, the chief matron, who had moved across from the Junior School, and remained at Chisi Senior until 1968; Mrs Purvis, later head of Chisi Junior; Elske Bater, who taught Afrikaans and coached

Heather Benoy presenting a bouquet to Her Majesty The Queen Mother

The staff of 1956 included
Back row: Mrs Robinson, Mrs Anderson, Miss Gyde, Miss Caulfield, Mrs Haesloop
Middle row: Mrs Adams, Mrs Carter, Mrs Stevens, Miss Zeally
Front row: Mrs Purvis, Mrs Grinley, Mrs Wilson

Chisipite girls, escorted by Miss Gyde, were the first party to visit the University's Careers Advisory Exhibition in 1957

The first dramatic production – "Boy with a Cart"

swimming. In 1959 Chisipite won the Inter Schools A Section Gala, quite a feat for such a small school, and even more of a feat when you consider that at that time they were still training in the "Duck Pond" the original little pool in the Junior School grounds, so Mrs Bater must have been a wonderful coach. The present pool, which was completed in 1960, is named in her honour. Then there was Mrs Slatter, later Dr Slatter, who taught Latin here for nearly 30 years. I am told that it was she who coined the school motto, *fons vitae caritas*, love is the fountain of life, but I have also heard that the motto went back much further and was the inspiration of Maisie Jenkinson, so I can't say for certain. Dr Slatter left in 1983 after her son, Air Vice Marshall Hugh Slatter, one of the six Thornhill men who were accused of plotting to blow up their own aircraft, acquitted and subsequently re-detained, was eventually deported. She followed him into exile.

The "Duck Pond"

Mrs Grinley was the school secretary: her daughter Felicity was in Form I in 1954. She is currently Deputy Head at Arundel where she has been teaching for 40 years.

Miss Gyde moved across from Girls High School to take charge of the Biology Department and later to become Academic Head, as Mrs Anderson was finding the strain of running two schools single-handed too much. She, Mrs Anderson, was still very busy finding sponsors for the school, donations and loans from firms and businesses, locally and overseas, for development, as the building programme was ongoing.

The pupils, as we have seen, came from all over the Federation and I am told there was a particular clique of bright young things from the Copperbelt who were irresistibly drawn to the city lights of Salisbury. Apparently they regularly climbed out of the dormitory windows, shinned down the drainpipes and slipped out of the school grounds to meet their boyfriends for evening excursions to the cinema or some other nightspot. Naomi Buch – a name which will be familiar to many of you – may have been one of them. Certainly she started her acting career treading the boards at Chisipite, taking the lead role in the school's first production, "Boy with a Cart". "A Midsummer Night's Dream" in the Junior School gardens was another early play. There was a Miss Bancroft here in the late 50s – 60s and she produced a number of plays and also introduced the Inter Form Drama Contest. She brought out the first school magazine and was deputy head in the late 60s.

I have mentioned swimming and Elske Bater. I am sure some of you will remember Gifford Pentland Smith, always known as Penty. He trained the girls at Athletics and also swimming after Mrs Bater left. Apart from their triumph at the 1959 Gala Chisi

teams did not fare especially well in interschools events – the school was too small for that – but there were evidently some fine individual sportswomen, in particular Pat Dalton, a sprinter, who represented Southern Rhodesia at the 1962 Empire Games in Perth.

Mrs Anderson retired as head of the Senior School in September 1961 though she stayed on as Junior School head until the end of 1964. Miss Davis became Head of Chisi Senior and was succeeded by Mrs Ridler, but only for a couple of years. Mrs Anderson lived in the house in Dacomb Drive behind the school until she died in 1974, and her husband Tom stayed on there after her death.

There was still quite a lot of building going on in the 60s – the girls and their parents did a great deal of fund-raising. After the break-up of Federation and even after UDI the school continued to prosper. As we know UDI did not at first appear to have any serious consequences – apart of course from the disappearance of Scotch whisky and imported wines! There must have been fewer ex-pats but there was a substantial Zambian contingent until the border closure in 1973. There were always a few Indian pupils but not, as far as I have been able to find out, any black girls, although in 1962 the Education Act had been amended to allow black children to attend private schools in white areas. This was of course before the RF victory in the December election. The fees were quite high and the education of girl children was not a priority with Shona families, so this may explain why the first black students did not arrive at Chisipite until the late 1970s.

The RF later tried to restrict the numbers of non-whites at private schools – they would obviously have liked to exclude them altogether, but the private schools, led notably by the Catholic schools, stood firm. So our history of conflict with the government of the day goes back quite a long way. We believe that Chisipite and all it stands for is very well worth fighting for.

Anna McCarthy's illustrated history of Chisipite Primary and Secondary schools will soon be published by the schools to celebrate their 75th and 50th anniversaries.

MESSAGE FROM YOUR HONORARY EDITOR

Peter Garlake kindly prepared for the Society a subject and author Index to Volumes 1 to 12, inclusive of *Heritage of Zimbabwe*.
This volume is *Heritage of Zimbabwe* No. 24, 2005.
We need a volunteer to prepare an Index to Volumes 13 to 24, or better still, that Index consolidated with the existing Index to Volumes 1–12.
Volunteers, please contact your Honorary Editor –
Harare tel. 339175 after hours.

The Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition Held in Bulawayo in 1953 from May 30–August 29

by Anne Gibson

Text of a talk given to the Pioneer Society to mark the 150th Anniversary of Rhodes' birth, at June Hill, Woodholme Road, Harare, on Saturday 5th June 2003 by Mrs. Anne Gibson, nee Morris, grand-daughter of Corporal C. H. F. Divine, of the D Troop, British South Africa Company's Police Escort to the Pioneer Column.

As a third generation Rhodesian I am greatly honoured to have been asked to speak on the Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition held in Bulawayo over June, July and August 1953.

I worked there full-time for one of those months, preparing a special "Illustrated Souvenir" edition of the magazine *The Rhodesian Recorder*, so I suppose there was one aspect which I knew well, and I started writing this talk by carefully garnering statistics.

Then I thought again, and concluded that what was unique was the attitude, the frame of mind that gave rise to the occasion. Figures come into it too, but what I want to recreate is the absolutely explosive pride, confidence and enthusiasm of those days, pride in the past, confidence in the future and enthusiasm for life generally.

It has been said that one should make no little plans, they have no magic to stir men's hearts. Cecil John Rhodes, in pursuit of his passionately held belief in the virtues of the Pax Britannica – that peculiarly Victorian mixture of missionary fervour and economic shrewdness – planned to annex a continent, and set about implementing his plan with an immense practicality. And stir men's hearts he certainly did. Even those who followed him from a sense of adventure – and don't forget that the average age of the Pioneer Column was something like 25 years – drew from Rhodes' own belief the comfortable feeling that they were doing a Good Thing while ostensibly enjoying themselves.

The Rhodes Centenary Exhibition – the Centenary referred to the anniversary of Rhodes' birth, not to the age of the country – was no mere ritual tribute to a name. It was an open recognition of all that Rhodes had done to make it possible for the Exhibition to be held at all, of the reason why everyone was where they were, a very public reminder of how intimately Rhodes the man had been a part of the past if not of those present at least of their parents or grandparents, like a friend of mine, still young, whose father had been appointed by Rhodes himself to the Agricultural Research Station at the Matopos.

I have nowhere seen this intimate involvement of Rhodes the founder at the personal level better expressed than in the book by Sisters Blennerhasset and Sleeman, pioneer nurses, called *Adventures in Mashonaland*, and I quote:

> Mr. Rhodes arrived (in Umtali). He was besieged with petitions of all sorts. Malcontents and chronic grumblers went to his hut and came away in a few moments cheerful and satisfied. Not that anything was altered in the condition of affairs – the man's mere personal magnetism wrought the change . . . As soon as Mr. Rhodes was seated on a box in our hut he asked for pen and ink saying he would give us a cheque at once for the hospital. . . . His generosity is proverbial, everything about the man is big – faults, virtues, projects. His ambition itself is largely tinctured with altruism. . . . Mr. Rhodes remained, chatting delightfully for a couple of hours, and left promising to see us through all our difficulties. Nor was this a vain promise. Of his many kindnesses, we thought most of his having remembered to replace the small medical library, which had been lost with our luggage. The books not being procurable at the Cape, this busy man took the trouble of having them sent for to England. He left that evening for Salisbury, leaving everyone as hopeful, enterprising and confident in the resources of the country as they had been dispirited and pessimistic before his arrival.

This, incidentally, was in 1891, less than a year after the Occupation of Mashonaland.

And so, in 1953, the Exhibition. The residents of Bulawayo, fewer than 50 000 of them white and only slightly more non-white, joyfully embarked on a dramatic demonstration of how well they, the people of Rhodes' country, had so far fulfilled his plans for them, and an equally enthusiastic demonstration of their faith in the future, for the Federation of Central Africa was just round the corner and to very many of us this was undoubtedly a Very Good Thing.

For the Exhibition site an area of 50 acres was set aside on the spot where only 60 years before – one man's biblical life span – had stood Lobengula's pole and dagga capital. The 100 000 residents planned for 750 000 visitors, so firstly they built a whole village of twin-bedded rooms with private baths, having its own restaurants and beer gardens – just as nations hosting the Olympic Games do today. To stay in Centenary village would have cost you £ 3 12 6*d* for a double room and all meals, 5/- for a child, or 15/- for a single meal.

They built the Theatre Royal, seating 3 200 people, completed in just 13 weeks from drawing board to ready-for-use. They put up the Carrousel Night Club, and an Amusement Park covering 4 of the 50 acres, and of course the Exhibition Halls themselves. Eighteen countries in Africa south of the Sudan had their own pavilions. Comments on these from the Souvenir Edition of the Rhodesian Recorder were that the Angolan pavilion included a future projects hall with developments planned or under way at the ports of Luanda, Lobito and Mossamedes among many others. The Kenya pavilion too offered a story of progress, and the Belgian one a splendid territory. Tanganyika had chosen Arabic style, Mocambique an ultra modern pavilion giving the complete documentary of the Province, South Africa one of the most popular exhibits, the United Kingdom modern in the extreme, Uganda a draw for its leopard, crocodiles and crested cranes, Nyasaland of whom no more could be said than that it was a potential Federal partner.

There was the Hall of Engineering, many of whose exhibits (including a railway engine and wagon) had to be out of doors, the Hall of Rhodesian Industries, the Hall of Industries, the Court of Services including banks, building societies, travel agencies, shipping and airlines, a post office, the Court of Rhodes, the Court of Cities, the Rhodesian Ideal Homes Exhibit, a Conference Hall, and Press and Broadcast facilities. And of course, the Motor Show, where out of many other makes routinely exhibited Cadillac, Buick, Chevrolet and Pontiac featured models specially released by General Motors for the Show!

Brochures in English, French, Portuguese and Afrikaans issued a confident invitation to the public to visit "50 crowded acres of startling contrasts (in which) is centred 10 000 miles of travel (presumably distances covered by participating countries). Eighteen great countries of Africa pause in their progress to sound a welcome: Come and know us – this is your Continent". Is there anywhere today in Africa where could be given such an invitation?

No less a personage than Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother was to be the guest of honour, accompanied by Princess Margaret, and the Exhibition was to be under the patronage of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second. The Royal visit to Rhodesia in 1947, only six years before, was still vivid in people's minds, and the solemn pledge made then by the 21-year old heir to the Throne of a lifetime of service to be devoted to her Empire.

The big draw however, was the entertainment. Only the best that Britain had to offer was good enough, so there was the Hallé Orchestra under Sir John Barbirolli. There was John Gielgud in Shakespeare's Richard II; the Sadler Wells Theatre Ballet (they didn't quite manage the main company which was heavily committed elsewhere, but the Theatre company was no second best). There was the Covent Garden Opera Company, performing La Boheme, Aida, Marriage of Figaro, and Benjamin Britten's new Coronation opera "Gloriana". Last, but not least, "The Pageant of Rhodesia".

But such things did not necessarily appeal to everyone, so the Carrousel Night Club offered – among many treats – Lynda Gloria from the Casino de Paris (an extremely glamourous lady with an outstanding stage presence), the Joan Davis Dancers (billed as London's Loveliest Ladies), George Formby, Harry Gordon Scottish comedian and the Edinburgh Police Pipe Band, or simply a chance to dance the night away. One could, and did, sample the cuisine of several countries at the various restaurants, and the wines of several more, as a change from the village eating-places or simply as an excuse for a night out. The fact that Bulawayo, independent as ever, had produced a bitter black frost just before the Exhibition, to the detriment of the carefully planted gardens and the surrounding bush, was not allowed to damp people's spirits. During the day exhibitors in icy cement-floored halls clustered round their electric heaters (there were no power cuts then) and at night the audiences at the Theatre Royal carried rugs and blankets into the auditorium while the ladies wore long trousers hidden beneath their evening gowns.

At least one Salisbury schoolboy cherished happy memories of the Amusement Park, having discovered that he could exchange his ticket for the school's cultural programme for an unsupervised entry into the Park!

All this, however, though indeed memorable, was in a sense only effervescence,

like the bubbles on the Centenary Ale specially developed for the occasion by Rhodesian Breweries. Underpinning and giving weight to the pride and the enthusiasm were the displays of Industry, Commerce, Mining, Agriculture, Transport and the Utilities, symbols of the incredible expansion of all aspects of development.

Before World War II Rhodesia had had virtually no industry at all – basics like soap and candles were important items of production – and only what commerce was necessary to satisfy a tiny population (at the outbreak of war Bulawayo had only 14 000 whites).

In 1944 tobacco and items classified under metals, machinery and vehicles (what were the latter, I wonder? Scotch carts, maybe? Or ox wagons?) were the only two exports to top the £ 1 million mark. But by 1952 exports had increased five fold and were over £ 61 million while imports were up ten fold at over £ 88 million – and these increases were not due to inflation!

Now the Exhibition Halls were full. There were 53 exhibitors in the Hall of Rhodesian Industries alone, and they were only the ones who were unable to staff their exhibits themselves over the three months. A special edition on "Industrial Rhodesia" published by The New Rhodesia in 1946 – at 6d per copy and £ 1 for a year's subscription – mustered 80 advertisers, and was the only one in the field. The Rhodesian Recorder's special Supplement, one of many had 150, exhibitors all.

Lest we should sink back from this high peak of achievement, there was awaiting us the Central African Federation, half a million square miles of territory rich in raw materials, powered by Southern Rhodesia's development, Northern Rhodesia's copper cash and Nyasaland's labour.

We Rhodesians did then, reluctantly, admit that as far as we were concerned, the sky was the limit to our ambitions, and we weren't too sure that we couldn't reach above it if we really tried. Land in the city of Salisbury had briefly sold for more per square foot than the equivalent in the City of London. Southern Rhodesia's economy was the fastest growing in the world save for Israel.

All this was heady stuff indeed. But the ancient Greeks called our attitude hubris, and they knew that hubris was a deadly sin, and one which the gods do not forgive. Kipling called it one of the Gods of the Copybook, the certainty that pride goes before a fall.

Perhaps that is why we are where we are now, another half century after the Exhibition. But we who were there then had something that is given to few individuals and fewer nations, a triumph that no one can take from us.

Let us remember and be thankful.

**If you are about to make a new will,
or to amend your existing will,
please think of the History Society of Zimbabwe.**