

# HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 7

1987



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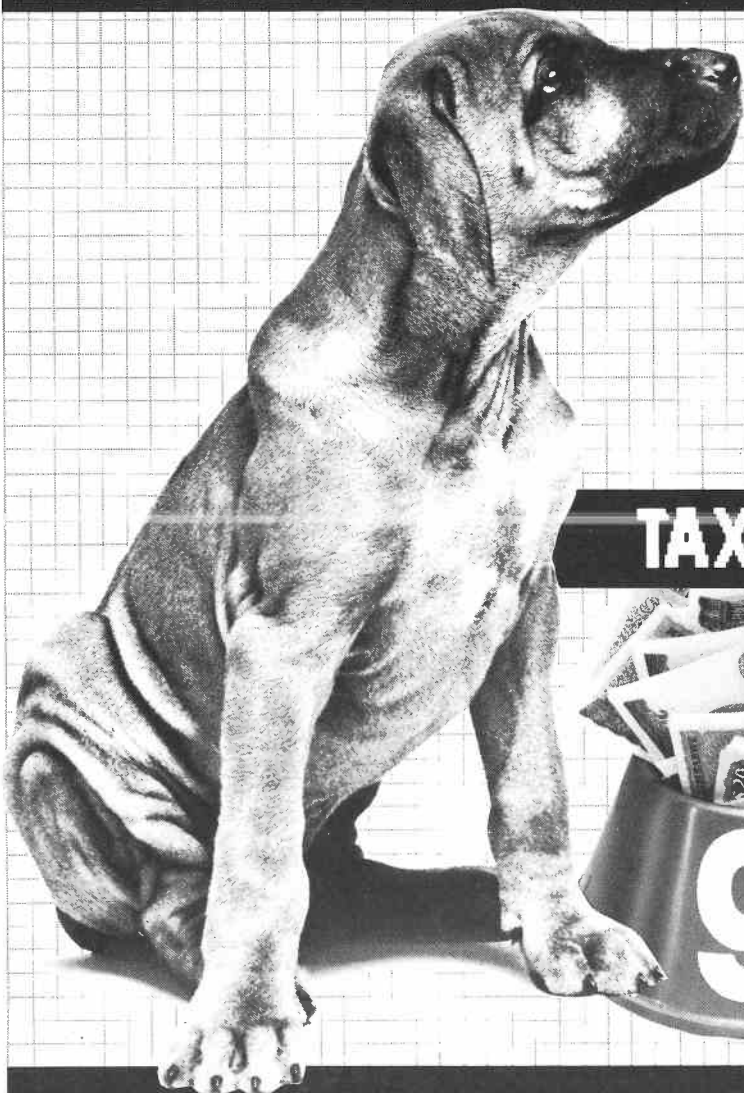
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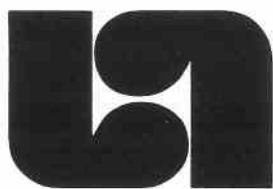
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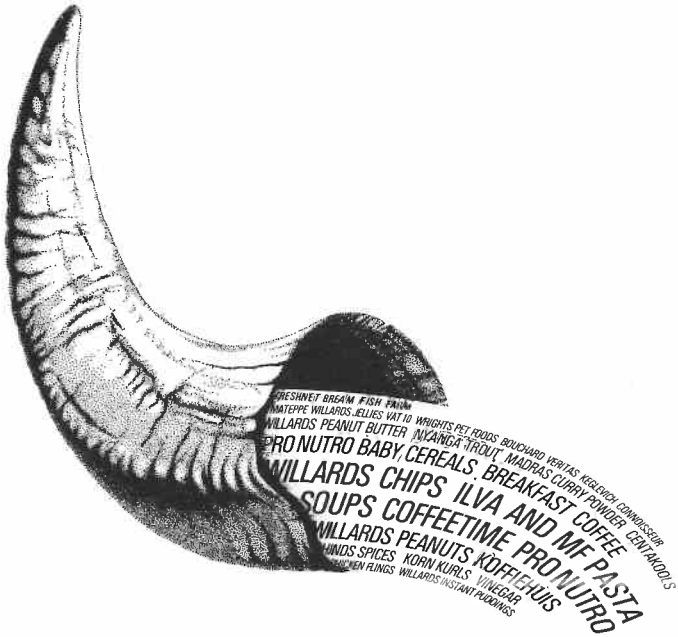
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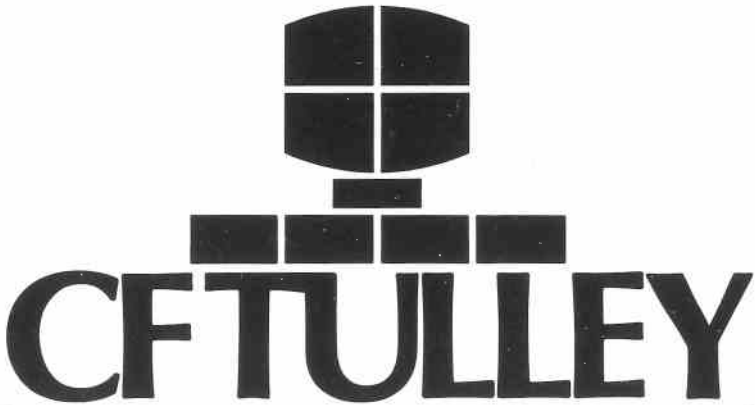
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# **HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE**

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Zimbabwe



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

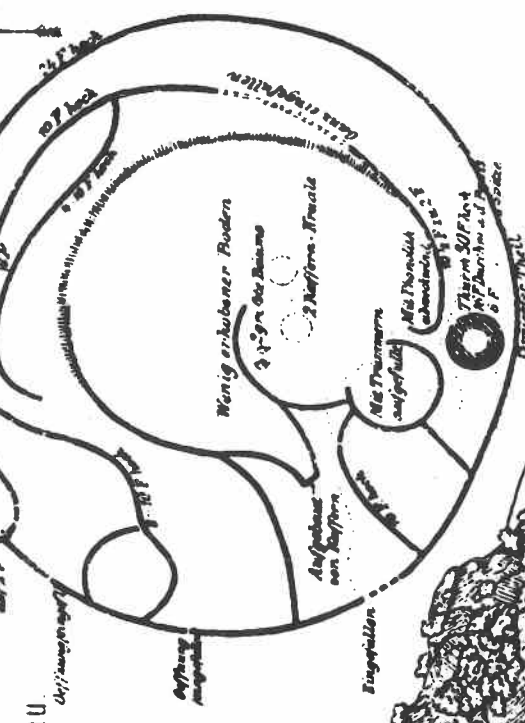
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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
GREAT ZIMBABWE: A HISTORIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY – CARL MAUCH AND AFTER . . . by Dawson Munjeri . . . . .	1
READING THE PREHISTORIC PAINTINGS OF ZIMBABWE by Peter S. Garlake . . . . .	11
THE BOW McLACHLAN TRACTION ENGINE – A UNIQUE SURVIVOR OF THE STEAM AGE? by P.G. Locke . . . . .	28
A TALK ON NYANGA DISTRICT TO THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE by J. Thokozane . . . . .	36
NYANGA HISTORY: A MISCELLANY by R.W. Petheram . . . . .	40
BOMBER HARRIS by F.H. Shepherd . . . . .	56
THE INYANGA DOWNS FLY-FISHERS CLUB. THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS by Alistair Cowan . . . . .	59
TOBACCO IN ZIMBABWE by Turville Kille . . . . .	64
ESSAY REVIEW: THE ARMED FORCES AND CHIMURENGA: IDEOLOGY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY by R.S. Roberts . . . . .	74
ERIC EDWARD BURKE: AN OBITUARY . . . . .	91
THE MANICALAND AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY: NOTES ON SOME OF THE SOCIETY'S PAST PRESIDENTS by Escourt Palmer O.B.E. . . . .	93
NYANGA OUTING, SEPTEMBER 1986 by R.A. Zeederberg . . . . .	95
MASHONALAND BRANCH ACTIVITIES DURING 1987 by R.A. Zeederberg . . . . .	97
MOUNT HAMPDEN OUTING by R.D. Franks . . . . .	99
A TALK ON SHENSTONE FARM ON 26 JULY 1987 by Mrs Margaret Markou . . . . .	103
DANBURY PARK by Tom Bayley . . . . .	106
THE MUTARE VISIT: 11TH TO 13TH SEPTEMBER 1987 OF THE HISTORY SOCIETY'S MASHONALAND BRANCH by Viola Thwaites . . . . .	108
ANNUAL REPORT 1986–87 AND NEWS NOTES . . . . .	112

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# Great Zimbabwe: A Historiography and History

## Carl Mauch and After

### Paper Presented to Mark the 150th Birthday of Carl Mauch

by Dawson Munjeri\*

On the eve of 5 September 1871, the day that Carl Mauch first set his eyes on Great Zimbabwe all that the outside world knew of this Monument was the little that the Portuguese had reported in the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1522, Joao de Barros reported the existence of a fortress of masonry 'built of stones of marvellous size and there appears to be no mortar joining them'. In one was a tall tower 'the natives call the edifices Symbaoses'<sup>1</sup>. Although Barros admitted that no Portuguese had seen the edifices but relied on information supplied by the Moors, he nevertheless concluded that this was Axuma, one of the cities of the Queen of Sheba. Expanding on this theme, latter-day Portuguese writers linked Great Zimbabwe to the plentiful gold in the region and were convinced that this was the biblical Ophir from which the Queen of Sheba had obtained gold for the temple of Solomon.<sup>2</sup>

It was these reports that reached Germany in the 19th century. As one German missionary, the Rev. A Merensky put it, "I had already heard in Germany that large ruins were to be found in the parts between the Limpopo and the Zambesi." Merensky was equally convinced that this was 'the Ancient Ophir of Solomon'.<sup>3</sup> It was Merensky whom Carl Mauch met on arrival in South Africa in 1865 and the influence of the former's ideas on the latter will be dealt with later.

After an unsuccessful attempt to reach Great Zimbabwe in 1868/69, Carl Mauch finally made it on 5 September 1871 and immediately he began collecting data to prove the various hypotheses about this edifice. Quick to catch his eye was a timber beam at the entrance of the Great Enclosure and so, six months later, he undertook a 'wood stealing expedition' and extracted splinters from the beams. The reddish, fire-borer-resistant wood had a weak odour but when burnt it released a strong one. Alas, this, 'strengthened my hypothesis that it must be cedar wood and so it (cedar wood) cannot come from anywhere else but from Lebanon. Furthermore, only the Phoenicians could have brought it here, further Salomo (Salomon) used a lot of cedarwood for the building of the temple . . . including here the visit of the Queen of Seba . . . one gets as a result that the great woman who built the rondeau (Great Enclosure) could have been none other than the Queen of Seba.' Excited by this, he burst into verse:

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\* The author is the Deputy Executive Director of the National Museum of Zimbabwe.

'Today I dare close this account with:

The Queen of Seba is the Queen of Simbase Psalm 72 v 10 – The Seba mentioned there is Simbase . . .

The reported pot is possibly an Ark of the Covenant.<sup>4</sup>

All that was needed to neatly wrap it all up was supportive oral evidence. This was reluctantly supplied by a Bebereke and a spirit medium who was Carl Mauch's host. In their narrations, the informants dealt with cattle sacrifice to a High God and that there was someone appointed to lead these ceremonies. Alas! The missing link was now found. The locals had a 'High Priest' and imitated the festival of the Jews of Solomon.

'Judging by the answers to my questions it is now beyond doubt that in fact the Jewish religion as it existed in Solomon's time has been transplanted here in all its essentials by the Queen of Seba,' he concluded.

Thus the early Portuguese hypotheses were now calcified to the satisfaction of Mauch, Merensky and others. These conclusions were taken up by later romantists and, above all, it was the Ophir theory which drove the Pioneer Column to colonise Zimbabwe.<sup>6</sup> After colonization the theory was used to justify African oppression. Unknown to Mauch, the theory was based on the belief in the mental inferiority of the African. One writer summed it, 'No Bantu people ever possessed the continuity of effort necessary to achieve such masterpieces of architecture. . . No Bantu ever possessed the creative force necessary to design such wonderful structures'.<sup>7</sup>

As Great Zimbabwe increasingly became a powerful symbol of the African Nationalist movement, the settler governments, especially between 1965 and 1979, sought to suppress all prehistorians' work concerning Great Zimbabwe. One such archaeologist, Peter Garlake, was forced to leave the country after publishing a book that ascribed Great Zimbabwe to the African peoples.

Because of the impact of Mauch's findings it is pertinent to briefly analyse the data upon which he based his conclusions.

(a) Ark of the Covenant

It was reported to Mauch that there was a four-legged pot with a 'yellow substance' in it. On its legs it walked on a mountain. Mauch's attempt to locate it were in vain. Needless to say, the pot known as *pfuko yekuvanje* is now housed at the Great Zimbabwe site museum and is neither a relation of the Ark of the Covenant nor has it attempted to walk.

(b) The High Priest and Judaism

The so-called 'High Priest' was none other than Tenga of the Nemanwa clan. The Manwa group migrated from the present Mutoko area, in the north-east of Zimbabwe to settle at Great Zimbabwe as recently as the 17th Century. The account narrated to Mauch clearly indicates the informants were referring to a traditional *bira* ceremony for rain and not to a Jewish one. The Shona who constituted 80 per cent of the Zimbabwe population have always believed in a supreme deity whose nature and approach is, however, different from the God of the Jews. The Shona God was not approached directly but through ancestors and in the reported case the Nemanwa people were doing this through Chirichoga, the first Nemanwa.<sup>8</sup>

(c) Cedarwood

Mauch's description aptly matches that of an indigenous tree, the Tambotis or African Sandalwood (*Spirostachys africana*),<sup>9</sup> later found in other parts of the Great Enclosure. I have also established that *Spirostachys africana* is traditionally used as *ruvanda* or *mbanda* to drive away, garlic-style, evil spirits and witches' familiars, *zvidhoma*. Its employment at the principal entrance is therefore understandable.

In point of fact therefore, as in the case of religion, the tree was indigenous and its usage was in a local context. The conclusions to be drawn from this are obvious.

### The Significance of Carl Mauch's Data

*Spirostachys africana* lintels, from the Great Enclosure released the first carbon dates on Great Zimbabwe. These dates 1305 AD  $\pm$  40 and 1348 AD  $\pm$  40 demolished the pre-Christian Ophir Theory. The stone buildings at Great Zimbabwe were now finally placed in the period contemporary with the Medieval in Europe.

To posterity, Mauch provided a comprehensive and, in cases, a unique record. Between 1890 and 1910, Great Zimbabwe was plundered by treasure-hunters, some of whom formed the Ancient Ruins Exploration Company which, in search of treasures, turned the place inside out. Mauch's record enables us to reconstruct the picture before this damage. If anything can be said of Carl Mauch, it is that he lived true to his word, 'I have at heart the Ruins which lie on this land':<sup>10</sup> he was never a treasure-seeker.

Most puzzling are the final views of Carl Mauch. In 1873 he says, 'Since my last news from Zimbabwe at the beginning of September 1871, my views on the Ruins have had to be changed considerably. This followed discussions with more senior and, therefore, more detached and more understanding people. An explanation forced itself on me which, however, I DARE NOT MAKE PUBLIC ALTHOUGH I AM CONVINCED OF ITS CORRECTNESS.'<sup>10b</sup>

### Post-Mauch Scientific Research

By 1903 the learned world was expressing concern at developments at Great Zimbabwe where Richard Hall, the curator, was ravaging the Monument. Of equal concern was the absence of an authentic archaeological record to counter the romantic theories of earlier writers. In 1905, the British Association for the Advancement of Science dispatched an archaeologist, Randal MacIver, who, after excavating the Great Enclosure, the Valley and Hill Complex, declared, 'The dwellings and articles found in them resemble those of modern natives. . . These dwellings found everywhere within the stone enclosures and inseparable from them are unquestionably African in every detail and belong to a period which is fixed by foreign imports as in general, medieval.'<sup>11</sup> This was followed up by the world-renowned archaeologist Gertrude Caton-Thompson, whose more thorough work at the monument led her to conclude, 'Examinations of the existing evidence gathered from every quarter, still can produce not one single item that is not in accordance with the claim of Bantu origin and a medieval date.' Therefore, ' . . . the ruins are, in my opinion, indigenous in a full sense of the term.'<sup>12</sup> Her conclusions provided the final word and later day excavations and researchers no longer addressed themselves to the identity of the builders but to the development and demise of Great Zimbabwe, and so we should focus our attention on this. 'No competent professional archaeologist or

historian has ever doubted the local African origins of Great Zimbabwe. Research over eighty years has confirmed this conclusively time and again,' wrote a leading authority, Peter Garlake.<sup>13</sup>

### History of Great Zimbabwe

Prior to the stone building era, Great Zimbabwe was populated by Stone Age peoples whose existence is evidence by rock art paintings near the monument and Stone Age stone flakes exposed in the excavations of 1929 (Caton-Thompson) and 1958 (Robinson, Summers and Whitty).

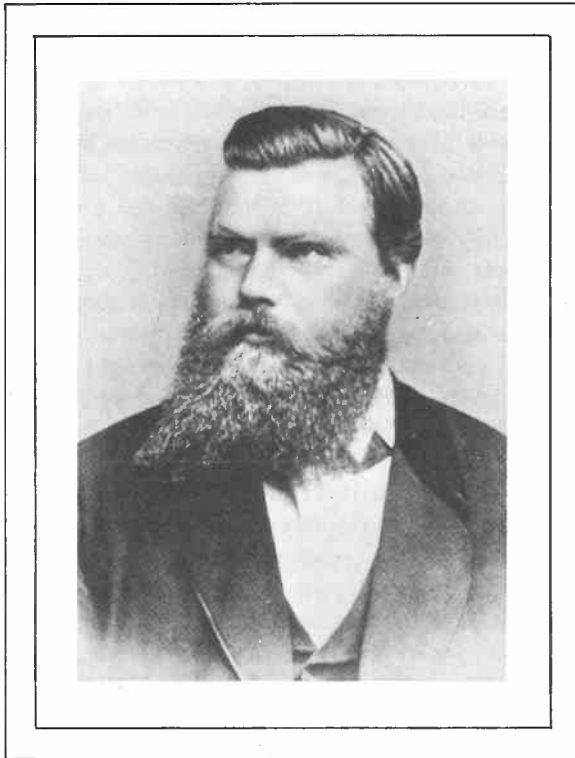
By the 3rd century there is evidence of use of iron, albeit in small quantities, and a pottery characterised by fineness and even firing, plus a predominant decor of oblique lines of rectangular stamps — combing.<sup>14</sup> Excavations in the Western Enclosures of the Hill complex revealed these finds at levels immediately above bed rock, thus indicating the first occupation by early metal workers who were also expert potters.<sup>15</sup> Carbon dates from these levels indicate that this occupation took place as early as 320 AD ± 150. The origin of these peoples is debatable. Some see them as Bantu-speaking Negroid people who immigrated from the north into Zimbabwe to replace or fuse with Stone Age nomadic hunter-gatherers.<sup>16</sup> This 'waves advance theory' is challenged by those who see the Early Iron Age as a culmination of changes that had taken place in Zimbabwe and thus was a continuity with the Stone Age people.<sup>17</sup>

Whichever way one looks at it, the two schools of thought converge on the fact that the Early Iron Age peoples were ancestors of the present Shona inhabitants of Zimbabwe. Interesting technological, economic and cultural developments took place between the 3rd century and the 1st Millenium (1000 AD). Excavations at Great Zimbabwe indicate that the range and styles of pottery were modified; for example, there was a marked increase in use of bowls. The period saw the introduction of cattle as evidenced by clay figurines, while the presence of charred seeds of *Sorghum bicolor(caffrorum)*<sup>18</sup> indicates that agriculture was taking place as well. These people who lived in pole and daga (mixture of clay and gravel) huts appear to have begun trading with the East Coast, though on a small scale; the presence of glass beads is proof of this.

On the Hill a radio carbon date 1075 AD ± 150 is associated with the period of these developments.

Opinions on the origins and nature of these peoples again differ along the same lines as previously outlined. While the 'continuity school' sees these changes as representing internal evolutionary processes with no outside influence, the 'wave school' sees in the advent of the Late Iron Age, the arrival of a new group.<sup>19</sup> Robinson *et al* concluded that the new group was Karanga (an indigenous Shona sub-group). The migratory theory is supported by oral traditions that place the area of origin in East Africa.<sup>20</sup> Again all said, the people were ancestors of the present Shona.

During the 12th and 13th centuries changes took place at an accelerated pace. In place of the pole and daga huts came substantial daga ones with thicker walls and floors, some having courtyards. The Caton-Thompson excavation revealed some floors so firm that she, like the Ophir Theorists, concluded they were cement floors. A pit dug in 1915 in the Western Enclosure (it is still open) shows a stratigraphy (5–6 metres thick) of fourteen hut floors, an indication of prolonged settlement in the area. The stratigraphy also repeated in the Great Enclosure, shows that, as the huts aged, they were destroyed and the remains



Carl Mauch  
1835-75

*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*

levelled off to provide new foundations. Initially, the South wall on the Hill was meant to retain the daga mass that had accumulated behind it. With this, were developments on the economic, cultural and social fronts. There was a dramatic rise in cattle herds, a fact borne out by a 1971 excavation on the Southern slope of the Hill where a midden contained faunal remains of more than one thousand three hundred cattle.<sup>21</sup>

In a Shona society, these herds constituted considerable real wealth and that the fact that these cattle had been consumed by people on the Hill, where available evidence proves the rulers dwelt, is a pointer to the fact that they had control over this wealth. This form of wealth must have been translated into other forms, a fact borne out by the increase in external trade between Great Zimbabwe and the Eastern Coast between 1300 and 1400 AD. Excavations have revealed large quantities of gold and ivory — Richard Hall describes the gold he found on the various hut floors as ‘thickly strewn about the cement floors as nails in a carpenter’s shop.’<sup>22</sup>

In exchange came, from the Middle and Far East, via the Mozambique port of Sofala, vast quantities of beads, cloth and porcelain. In one such treasure trove in the Valley, Hall found so much of this wealth that he concluded it was a Medieval Arab Trading Station, while Garlake has described it as the ‘Royal Treasury.’



This period of massive wealth is also reflected in the architecture of Great Zimbabwe. The earlier 'P' style of irregular blocks laid in wavy courses running on unprepared foundations was replaced by a flamboyant style, the 'Q', features of which are: use of uniform-sized face blocks and regular courses with bottom ones on prepared surfaces. Other accessories include steps, towers, platforms and buttresses. The massive outer wall of the Great Enclosure, and Conical Tower were built at this time.<sup>23</sup> The size of outer wall (255 metres circumference, 10 metres high and 5 metres thick in parts; approximate weight 15 000 tons) is an indication that, by now, Great Zimbabwe had abundant human resources. Archaeological evidence points to a population of 12 000 to 20 000 which was available for public works programmes. It is also evidence of a united people with a sense of purpose and who were guided by a powerful leadership. These stone buildings are therefore 'a political statement' and 'a symbol of centralised authority'.<sup>24</sup> Similar smaller 'Zimbabwes' spread in the country and extending westwards into Botswana, southwards into South Africa and eastwards into Mozambique, are lasting proof of the influence of Great Zimbabwe.

Somewhat by the middle of the 15th century, Great Zimbabwe was no more. The majesty of 'Q' walls had been replaced by a rough, uncoursed, poorly-built 'R' style walling — evidence of disunity and failure of political control.

Absence of post 15th century imports and the fact that, in the 16th century, the Portuguese did not bother to visit the reported fortress, is indicative of the probability that economically Great Zimbabwe was no longer a force. The balance of power had shifted to the Northern plateau where a successor state, the Mwene Mutapa had been established and the Portuguese traded with this. In the west, another successor state, the Torwa, had been established<sup>25</sup> and its stone wall buildings, notably at Khami, points to a Great Zimbabwe origin. One tradition explains how the move from Great Zimbabwe to Chirwa, south of the Zambezi was initiated by the ruler Mutota.<sup>26</sup> Why and how did Great Zimbabwe fall? The factors are possibly connected with the rise of Great Zimbabwe.

### **Factors in the Rise of Great Zimbabwe**

Opinions vary but they fall into three categories:

(a) **External Trade cum Religion Theory**

While the theory sees the gold trade as important in the ascendancy of the rulers, it stresses the fact that the power so amassed was reinforced by control over religious groups leading to the establishment of a central cult at Great Zimbabwe.<sup>27</sup>

(b) **Religious Theory *per se***

To an old sacred site gravitated local rulers and ultimately Great Zimbabwe became Capital of a large confederacy.<sup>28</sup> This theory is much in keeping with the Carl Mauch's theocratic state. One tradition, in fact, attributes Great Zimbabwe to Murozvi Muvambapasi, who is said to have built Great Zimbabwe as a shrine.<sup>29</sup>

(c) **Trade Theory *per se***

This boldly asserts that Great Zimbabwe could not have developed without the stimulus from the Arab gold trade. The new-found wealth reinforced the political authority of the rulers and attracted people to the royal settlement. This population in turn was utilized in the public works which are, in point of fact, a step in State

formation.<sup>30</sup> Prof. Huffman, a leading proponent of this school, later modified the theory to include the importance of cattle in such formation.<sup>31</sup>

(d) The Cattle Theory

The rise of Great Zimbabwe was 'largely because it lay at the centre of a complex transhumant cattle economy.' Because such an economy demanded control of distant pastures and protection of the large herds, this led to a central control of society and from this rose the state of Great Zimbabwe.<sup>32</sup>

Protagonists of the various theories emphasise their difference but in fact, evidence shows that the various factors complement each other. A great state with a distinct leadership grew around Great Zimbabwe utilizing the natural, human and other resources to establish a strong mixed economy whose external links are too obvious to be underestimated. Among the advantages of the site was its placing in an ecological zone with good precipitation levels, — viz-a-viz, the surrounding country. 'The general impression one gets is that it is a well-watered island surrounded by a comparatively drier country.'<sup>33</sup> My own observation during the period 1984 to 1987 bears this out. Regular mists locally known as *rupfunhambuya* also stretch the wet season from March to May. It has also been noted that the Great Zimbabwe area had a unique mixture of sweet and sour grasses that ensured palatable grazing all year round.<sup>34</sup> This, therefore would explain the growth in cattle herds. The Shona were a polygamous society and, since cattle were an important form of bride wealth, an easy exchange of cattle for wives occurred and these wives generated a large manpower for defence, public works, etc. Apart from "Wife wealth", cattle were also translated into other forms (already mentioned) including prestige goods arising from external trade.

Being situated at the headwaters of the Mtilikwe-Runde-Save river valley system that linked up with the port of Sofala on the Mozambique coast, Great Zimbabwe was well positioned for this external trade. There are other elements of course that account for the rise (and fall): for example, the systems of production, division of labour, etc.<sup>35</sup> But this is neither the time nor place to deal with such details. All that needs saying is that the factors were delicately interlinked and were mobilised to create one whole.

### Factors in the Fall of Great Zimbabwe

The delicate links only worked all things being equal. Unfortunately, by the middle of the 15th century, such a balance did not pertain. The Bannermann study highlights the extent of the ecological collapse in the environs of Great Zimbabwe. Certain trees, particularly species of *Brachystegia* and *Julbernardia globiflora* disappeared — evidence of pressures on those resources.

It is notable that the cited species, in particular *Julbernardia globiflora* (*Munhondo*) and *Brachystegia spiciformis* (*Musasa*) were high demand commodities in Shona economy. They provided bark fibre for blankets (*magudza*), carriage bags and clothing and so the demands of this huge population explains their extinction.

Oral sources also cite dwindling resources as reason for the migration. One such source attributes the emigration to a chronic shortage of salt.<sup>36</sup> This commodity is said to have been abundant on the Northern Plateau.

It is also logical to see the large concentration of cattle herds around Great Zimbabwe as leading to an overtaxing of the resources. Grazing areas were exhausted, granted the

transhumance system absorbed some of the pressures, a fact disputed by Bannermann. The fact remains that, beyond certain distances, cattle could not be herded without the Great Zimbabwe centre losing control over them.

The same applied to other resources like water and firewood. One writer has put it, 'In a sense the seeds of Zimbabwe's ultimate decline may have lain in the reluctance of its women to walk increasingly long distances to tend to the fields and cut firewood.'<sup>37</sup>

Logistically, given the limitations of a transport system that lacked the wheel, Great Zimbabwe had reached a point where it could not be kept regularly and efficiently supplied with its requirements.

Once the internal economic system was undermined, external trade could not be sustained. The large population battled to obtain the necessities of life and so less effort was paid to acquisition of prestige external goods. The search for salt and firewood took precedence over the hunting of elephants and the processing of gold ore. Because of these developments, Great Zimbabwe became an unreliable source of supply of gold and ivory and so traders on the coast looked for alternative sources. As it turned out, such an alternative lay on the banks of the middle Zambezi where a people of the Ingombe Ilede culture had established a trading centre. The centre of these renowned elephant hunters and sophisticated metal workers<sup>38</sup> was a better proposition than Great Zimbabwe.

The possibility of Sofala at the mouth of the Save River losing trade to a rival port has been postulated<sup>39</sup>. Sofala had provided a more direct route from the coast to Great Zimbabwe and the establishment of another port to the north would have robbed Great Zimbabwe of a significant proportion of its trade.

One of the consolidating elements, external trade, had thus collapsed.

The sum total of all these factors undermined the political and social fabric of the State. One tradition speaks of numerous civil wars<sup>40</sup> and, although this is not substantiated by the written or archaeological records, it is clear that something had gone wrong in the State of Great Zimbabwe for indeed by the end of the 15th Century Great Zimbabwe was no more.

However like other great civilizations elsewhere, Great Zimbabwe left in its wake a lasting testimony enshrined in the monumental buildings for all to see.

Allow me to end in the words of a certain Dumat:

'The study of Zimbabwe is like the study of Anatomy. Book knowledge and descriptive lectures cannot give you a true sense of reality. If you wish to come to some satisfactory conclusion, it is necessary to go and dissect the remains which lie bleeding in the wilds.'<sup>40</sup>

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# Reading the Prehistoric Paintings of Zimbabwe

by Peter S. Garlake

Many people experience great aesthetic pleasure in looking at the rock paintings of Zimbabwe, a pleasure that derives from the variety of the images, the sureness and vivacity of their outlines, the precision and delicacy of their details and the penetrating observation of the character and movement of the animals depicted. As a consequence, many feel that such expressive and competent paintings must be the product of an assured and fully developed artistic tradition. This makes them eager to know more about the tradition and especially about what the paintings meant to the artists.

Others assume that the paintings are no more than simple illustrations of everyday happenings and that they have little or no symbolic, spiritual, social or cultural content or significance. Others hold that even if the paintings had content or significance beyond the obvious, these are now irretrievably lost, because the artists and their society disappeared centuries ago.

A basic division has now developed between those who claim that the content and meanings of the paintings are simple and obvious and those who hold that they are part of a complex artistic tradition that is concerned with the fundamental perceptions, values and beliefs of a society, and that the art was developed to express these, in large part through a complex system of signs, metaphors and symbols.

The former stance derives from a set of basic assumptions: that the artists were Bushmen (or, as most now prefer to call them, San); that they were a primitive people; that their systems of thought and belief were as simple as their technology; that their painters, like all artists, were lonely geniuses, little influenced by their societies; and that therefore little knowledge of their society is necessary in order to understand their art. The English art critic, Roger Fry, lent his authority to this view when, in 1910, he wrote of the 'perfection of vision' of the 'lowest of savages', whose 'retinal image passed into a picture with scarcely any intervening mental process'.<sup>1</sup> His description has been coarsened and popularised in the many coffee-table books on South African Bushmen paintings that 'explain' the art in the crassest terms, as 'doodles' and 'caricatures'<sup>2</sup>; as 'a kind of menu card'<sup>3</sup> or as 'a superior form of home decorating'.<sup>4</sup> These authors all assume that the art aimed at a realistic, literal reproduction of a simple, obvious and universal actuality. The paintings may be beautiful but they are also so trivial, banal and anecdotal in content that they are capable of complete immediate comprehension by anyone of any culture or period.

1. Reprinted in Roger Fry, *Vision and design* (Oxford, University Press, 1981), 66-8.
2. Cooke C.K., *Rock art of southern Africa* (Cape Town, Books of Africa, 1969), 25.
3. Pager H., *Stone age myth and magic* (Graz, Akademische, 1975), 34.
4. Lee D.N. and Woodhouse H.C., *Art on the rocks of southern Africa* (Cape Town, Purnell, 1970), 28.

The contrasting view was expressed by the German ethnographer, Leo Frobenius, when he interpreted the large number of copies of the painting of Zimbabwe made by his team of artists in 1929 as 'a symbolic art' concerned with 'concepts of the mind' and an 'invented world', expressed through 'a prescribed vocabulary of forms', arranged according to the 'rules' of a 'rigid', 'canonically strict code'.<sup>5</sup> If the paintings do indeed form a rational system, articulated with other systems of the artists culture, and if the artists' perceptions, vision and creativity were moulded by their society, then the art is capable of analysis and the rules and principles that determine the system and the resultant structure, can be identified and defined. Any survey rapidly shows that determining principles existed.

A comprehensive set of conventions, a canon, laid down how every object should be represented. They regulated what aspect of an object was shown, the nature of its outline, modelling, perspective, setting, background; the detail within the outline; postures, gestures and proportions; composition, juxtapositions and superpositions and how all these could be manipulated to express things like emotions, physical states and status.<sup>6</sup> The rules were so simple, pervasive and all-embracing that anyone could paint competently within the tradition. The rules were still sufficiently flexible to allow the exceptionally talented artist to extend and modify and innovate within them to create new varied images.

A similar canon determined subject matter, what objects and actions could be represented. This is obvious in the limited range of animal species represented and, within this, the preponderance of certain animals. The actions of people and animals that were painted were even more limited. There are extraordinarily few paintings of people or animals eating, drinking, mating, pregnant, fighting, giving birth, sick or dying or of people working, building, making or repairing equipment, tracking, snaring, hunting or killing an animal, butchering it, transporting the meat, digging, collecting or preparing food. Even where some of these seem to be painted, I think it can be shown that they are unlikely to represent what they seem but are rather metaphors for other things.<sup>7</sup>

The results of these sorts of studies lead to the conclusion that the art is not concerned with individuals or their activities but with expressing a limited range of broad generalisations about the fundamental roles of people in society and the basic principles on which the artists' society was based, on a set of social archetypes, showing men as hunters, women as gatherers and both as procreators and parents. The paintings are about what people are, not about what they do. They are also about unity and cooperation within the group. This means that, *of its very nature*, the art cannot be concerned with particular individuals or particular idiosyncracies of physical appearance nor can it be a narrative art, concerned with illustrations of particular events, legends or myths. Only incidentally can it yield the ethnographic information that has so often been sought from it.<sup>8</sup>

Analysis of this sort yields important results. It provides a basic framework into which individual paintings can be set. Analysis enables us to recognise recurrent patterns

5. Frobenius L., *Madzimu Dzangara* (Berlin, Atlantis, 1931).

6. Garlake P.S., *The painted caves: an introduction to the prehistoric art of Zimbabwe* (Harare, Modus, 1987).

7. Garlake P.S., Themes in the prehistoric art of Zimbabwe, *World Archaeology*, 19,2,1987.

8. Garlake P.S., *Structure and meaning in the prehistoric art of Zimbabwe* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1987).

and progressively to refine and extend identifications of basic motifs, images and themes and place them in their contexts and associations. It alerts us to apparent anomalies which will enable us to refine our definitions of the archetypes and to identify others. It still does not enable us to attach meaning to any of the motifs, especially those that seem to have no resemblance to anything that occurs in reality: unnatural additions, embellishments, distortions and omissions to the bodies of both humans and animals that can create entirely fantastic, unreal or supernatural creatures. The principles that will enable symbolic images to be interpreted can only come from outside the art, from analyses of the processes of thought and belief; the perceptions, categories and classifications of the society to which the artists belonged.

In South Africa over the last ten years, Professor J.D. Lewis-Williams of the University of the Witwatersrand has integrated studies of the art of the Drakensberg with 19th-century records of the beliefs of the southern Xam San and anthropological studies of the northern Kung San of Botswana with impressive and convincing effect.<sup>9</sup>

The San had no full-time specialists, hence there were no specialists in painting or religion. They did not believe that the gods, ancestors, spirits or prayer, although they exist, played a significant, beneficial or efficacious part in their lives. Discord and disease in society, relations with other San groups, animals and the weather could instead be influenced by people who had learnt to master the innate, individual, spiritual energy that is potentially present in everyone and that can, with help, be nurtured and developed. The entire community participates in frequent and prolonged dances during which those who wish to activate their potency pass into trance and are able to act as curers and rainmakers.<sup>10</sup>

Lewis-Williams has shown how many enigmatic motifs and images in the paintings of the Drakensberg illustrate the symptoms, sensations and hallucinations associated with trance. Increasingly, he has become convinced that the paintings of the Drakensberg are all concerned with dance, trance, curing, making rain and spirit travel. He has also shown that these basic San beliefs were extremely widespread and long-lived, for the characteristic images associated with trance occur on painted stones found in 2000 year old graves in South Africa and in the rock paintings of central Tanzania.<sup>11</sup>

These ideas are important to the interpretation of Zimbabwe's art. It clearly belongs within the same tradition as the art of the rest of southern Africa and hence was the work of San artists. There are however many differences in the way the tradition is expressed. The art of Zimbabwe is probably a great deal older than the art of the Drakensberg and has none of the historical references found there. It differs in many aspects of style, technique, subject matter and emphasis. There are very few of the direct illustrations of trance like those that have been identified to the south. Nevertheless, it does seem possible to associate many of the major themes in the art with trance, with the potency that generates it and with the San metaphors used to describe them both.

In other studies of the art I have tried to show that a class of large recumbent male

9. Lewis-Williams J.D., *Believing and seeing* (London, Academic Press, 1981). and *Rock art of southern Africa* (Cambridge, University Press, 1983).
10. Katz R., *Boiling energy* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1982).
11. Lewis-Williams J.D., 'Ideological continuities in prehistoric southern Africa: the evidence of rock art' in C. Shrire, ed., *Past and present in hunter-gatherer studies* (London, Academic Press, 1984) and 'Beyond style and portrait: a study of Tanzanian and southern African rock art', *Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung*, 5, 2, 1987.



figures pierced with arrows represents trancers; the killing of large beasts is a symbol of the same thing; figures with distended stomachs represent people with powerful potency; emissions from their stomachs represent the release of potency; people on these lines or enmeshed in them are under the influence of the released potency; animal-headed snakes are symbols of the same class of people; the recurrent large, abstract oval motifs that dominate the art of Zimbabwe are powerful and multivalent symbols of this potency, activated and controlled within society and for its benefit; in contrast, areas of dots and stippling symbolise uncontrolled, dangerous potency.<sup>12</sup>

The validity of interpretations like these, generated by defining the principles and structure of the art, comparing paintings to isolate recurrent themes and relating these themes to the fundamentals of San belief is demonstrated by the effectiveness with which the interpretations are able to explain disparate motifs and images within a single coherent symbolic system which is based on San beliefs and by the extent to which these interpretations are able to generate further new explanations.

It is nevertheless difficult to interpret all the paintings in Zimbabwe in terms of trance or potency. At present I still prefer to see the art as generalising and the basic concern of the art as defining, establishing, reinforcing and celebrating the important roles, as perceived and categorised by the San, that men and women play within their society. Amongst these the role of the trancer, curer or shaman or 'master of powerful potency' is obviously extremely important and it is therefore represented in the art in a variety of ways.

In this paper I want to describe, compare and establish the contexts of some of the commonest symbolic additions to the human body, some of the most complex distortions of the body and scenes of large groups of people acting together in a single role, in order to explore their possible meanings within the San cognitive system.

There is a stereotyped range of possible additions to the human body. Straight lines, sometimes divided into two, may rise from the head. Lines may be attached to the back of the head or curve under it to form a 'bobbed' or 'page-boy' 'hairstyle'. A single inverted cone or triangle may be attached to the top of the head. Two or more smaller semi-triangular tufts may be painted across the head. More than one of these motifs can be combined on a figure. Round discs or spheres or a cluster of short horizontal lines on a short stem or a leaf shape can be attached to the upper arm, shoulder or neck or held in the hand. Pairs of leaf shapes are attached to the chest or back. A single short straight line or bar is often painted across the male penis. A long, thin, meandering line ending in a tufted, tulip or crescentic shape may emerge from the penis, or be attached to the end of the bar. More rarely the same shape emerges from the navel or armpits. Thin or thick, straight, curved or zigzag lines can emerge from almost any part of the body or be held in the hands. Additions to the head and lines from the body can be associated with men or women. The additions to the penis are obviously only found on men and the twin-leaf shapes are also exclusively male. Most of these motifs are often associated with the characteristic large and elaborate, predominantly female, figures with grossly distended stomachs that are interpreted as people filled with active potency and releasing it.

It is of course important and difficult to decide how many of these motifs were intended to be accurate and realistic representations of actual embellishments and

12. Garlake, *idem*.

decorations of the body. Earlier literal interpretations of the head decorations saw the tufts and cones as elaborate forms of hair dressing, the straight upright lines across the head as arrows in a head-band ready for immediate use, the lines across the penis as surgical infibulation and the tufted lines as the decoration of penis sheaths. Most of these ideas can be discarded. The lines across the head cannot be arrows for they are found on men in camp and on women. There is no record of the San dressing their hair so elaborately or of them practising infibulation or using sheaths. The disc, linear and leaf shapes on the shoulder are more ambiguous: they are also held in the hand and the discs look like gourd rattles used in dancing. It is tempting to see the barred penis in our own ethnocentric terms as representing some sort of negation: of impotence or of a prohibition on sexual activity or urination: ideas reinforced by the San having precisely such prohibitions, especially on hunters in the often prolonged interval between his shooting an animal and its death. The long tendril-like lines with tufted ends cannot be interpreted as urine or semen for the same motifs can emerge from stomach or armpit. Very few of the lines suggest the profuse sweating or nose bleeding that are common experiences associated by the San with the entry into trance and illustrated in many Drakensberg paintings.

If we turn from the motifs themselves to basic San beliefs, we get some useful insights. The southern San paid great attention and attached great importance to the potency of all body fluids, especially sweat, blood and saliva. They were used in curing and rubbed on the patient by the trancer. They were also seen as agents of transformation, transporting men or women who were exuding fluids from the realm of human culture towards the natural world, turning them into ambiguous, marginal, uncontrolled and threatening creatures outside society. The San also believed that there are a great many different sorts of potency associated with different songs and dances and named after different animals, plants or natural objects.<sup>13</sup>

The dominant archetype of the art is shown in Fig.1: the male hunter carrying his bows and arrows. This hunter has a quiver containing more arrows. More often, hunters have small tasselled bags slung high under their shoulders, holding arrows and a fly-whisk. The tuft in the small of his back may indicate that he is also a dancer, because tufts or tails, the only clothing ever shown on men, appear to be associated with dance scenes. Three



Fig. 1 A hunter: Stratford Farm, Lomagundi District. The circular scale is 2 cm in diameter.

13. Hewitt R.L., 'An examination of the Bleek and Lloyd collection of Xam Bushman narratives with special reference to the trickster, Kaggen (London, School of Oriental and African Studies, unpublished Doctoral Thesis, 1976), ch. 6.



Fig. 2 above A scene of families encamped: Gambarimwe Cave,  
Mutoko District

Fig. 3a below The left side of a second scene of families encamped: Gambarimwe Cave,  
Mutoko District

Fig. 3b below right The right side of the  
same scene as Fig. 3a



lines apparently attached to the quiver may be, as literalists would assume, decorative tassels. Like the tufts however, they may be signs of some sort of potency. The hoops on his neck defy any literal explanation. They have only been recognised on a few other paintings, all in the same area as this example. In these other cases, their contexts suggest that they may represent the dilated arteries and veins of the neck that the San experience as a characteristic symptom of trance. So this figure combines the major characteristics of the archetypal hunter with attributes associated with dancing, trancing and potency.

Another extremely important archetype is the family group. Paintings usually show a mother, father and one or two children, encamped. The mother is usually sitting surrounded by a variety of bags while the father reclines, with his bow and arrows and perhaps his small shoulder bag beside him. Children, whose bodies always have the proportions of an adult, stand between the parents: static, ethereal archetypes rather than lifelike people like their parents. The contrast between the anonymity of the figures and the concentration on the comprehensive and detailed catalogue of the family's possessions, the variety of shapes, sizes and decoration of the bags, suggests that the objects may have served to establish the identity of the family in some way.

Fig. 2 is part of one of two large family domestic scenes painted high on the wall of a major painted cave. Its details are difficult to distinguish or copy. Two sets of parents have a child between them while two children at the base also seem to have a parent on each side, leaving two childless couples and a single hunter at the lower edge. The men all have their weapons beside them. Digging sticks and two-handed bags, enormously exaggerated in size, are placed beside the women. As usual, the women have no bodily additions but three of the men have bars across their penises and three have either a cone or two tufts on their heads.

The second large domestic scene in this cave, of which all but one family is shown in Fig. 3, offers several contrasts to the first. Five families have a child each, two mothers also have a child each and there are three couples and three single people. The equipment is more detailed and various, with single-handed shoulder bags filled with arrows beside the men. Large, though not exaggerated, two-handed bags, a variety of very small bags, probable gourds and possible containers made of the intact hides of small animals are placed near each woman. Of the men, only one has a barred penis. Five have cones or lines from their heads and, the most striking motif of all, five have twin leaves attached to chest or stomach.



This motif is used repeatedly in exclusively male contexts in many paintings, of which two are reproduced here. In Fig. 4, the large standing figure with lines down the back of his head probably had these shapes attached to his stomach. The second largest figure, recumbent and holding his head in a common and characteristic posture that seems to signify a man in trance, has the leaf shapes attached to the small of his back. His posture and body additions have been repeated several times in smaller figures that have been painted later to echo and emphasise the basic theme of the panel: repetition like this is a characteristic feature of the art. There are ten such figures: two lie on their backs with their legs bent like the main figure; one has a cone and the other has twin leaves. Seven seem to be crawling: people in trance can seldom stand unaided. Of these, four have twin leaves on their chests or abdomens, two have cones on their heads and one is incomplete. The attributes of the final figure are also uncertain.

The seven figures in Fig. 5 may also have been painted at intervals rather than composed as a single scene. They are on an overhang and so no direction or verticality can be attributed to them. All are almost certainly men: four have a man's shoulder bag although three carry sticks, an unusual but not unknown implement for a man. All but one have their legs bent and apart in a posture associated with figures releasing energy from stomachs distended by active potency. Five of the figures have the twin leaf motif attached to their bodies and in every figure where the head is preserved, tufts or cones attached to it. The seated figure, lower right, has not only a tuft to his head and twin leaves to his back but a round shape and a rough leaf shape on his shoulders and a bar, to which a tufted motif is attached, across his penis. Almost the complete range of possible motifs are here associated with a single figure that is otherwise not particularly distinguished.

Fig. 4 Recumbent male figures, probably in trance: Ruchera Cave, Mutoko District

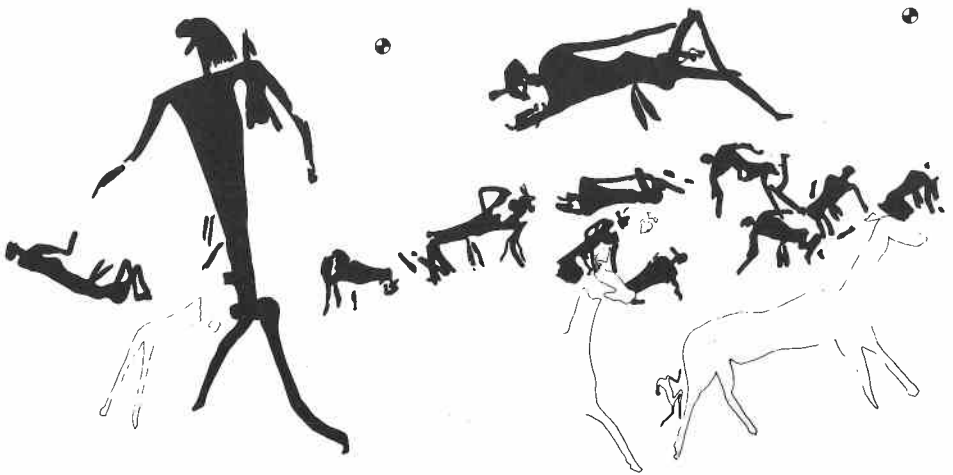


Fig. 5 Male figures: Beta,  
Mangwende Communal  
Land



Closely similar symbolic bodily additions can be used in different scenes and different contexts, as more paintings are added to a panel. They thus provide a unifying theme or commentary on apparently disparate subjects and the subjects all come to share in the same attribute. Three groups of paintings from the two faces of a rather sparsely painted rock illustrate this. In Fig. 6, two hunters have large discs attached to their penises. Nearby, the same extremely unusual motif is used in a unique way to decorate the shoulder bag of a gatherer and the head of a hunter. The hunter also has two tails hanging from his waist: an embellishment that is probably a realistic representation of a known San dance apparel, making him both hunter and dancer. Also painted nearby are a man and a woman with their possessions beside them. He has a tuft added to the bar across his penis. At the top is a woman with both her tasselled aprons flying.

Not far away is Fig. 7, a line of four hunters by a different artist who have the same pairs of tails and discs on their heads and shoulder bags. One seems to have a leaf shape attached to his shoulder, amongst his arrows.

Around the corner of the rock is Fig. 8. A line of five women sketched by yet another artist have additions to their heads in the shape of bifurcated tufts. They raise their hands and spread their fingers, apparently clapping, an action very strongly associated with San dancing, where clapping women always form the chorus of communal dances. Above them is an unusual group of what seem to be sprouting bulbs or plants attached to a short straight stem. Their shape is a strong echo of the shape that has been attached to the genitals, heads and bags of the range of hunters, gatherers and dancers. This prompts the suggestion that all these figures have been made to share in a specific attribute, possibly a specific form of potency associated with a specific species of plant.

Fig. 6 Hunters and gatherers: Rambakurimwa, Mangwende  
Communal Land

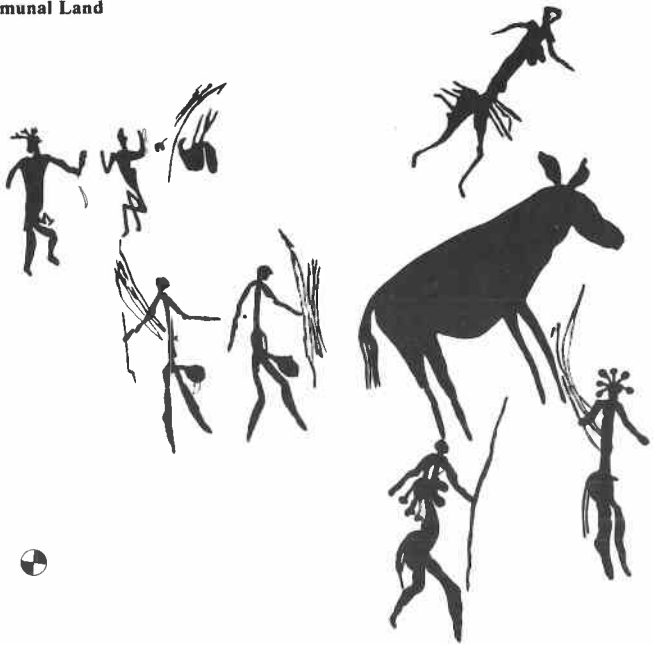
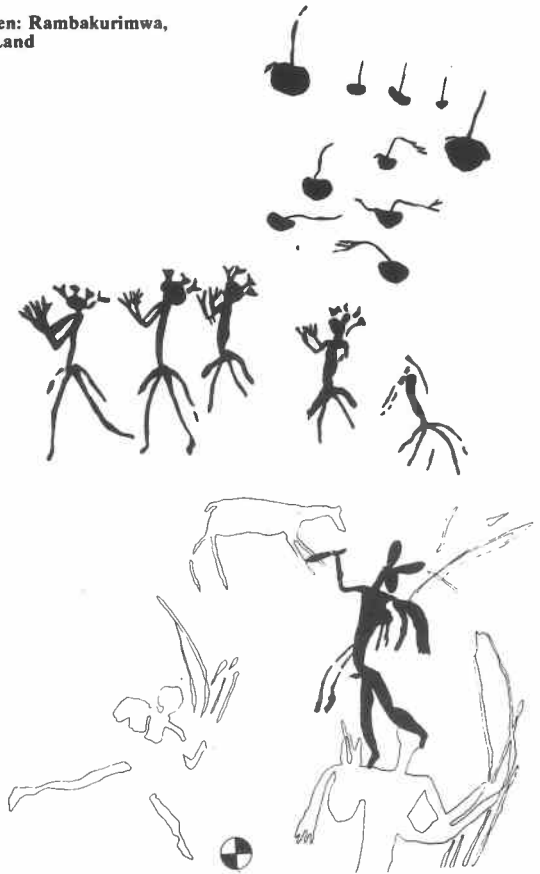




Fig. 7 above Four hunters: Rambakurimwa,  
Mangwende Communal Land

Fig. 8 below Plants and clapping women: Rambakurimwa,  
Mangwende Communal Land



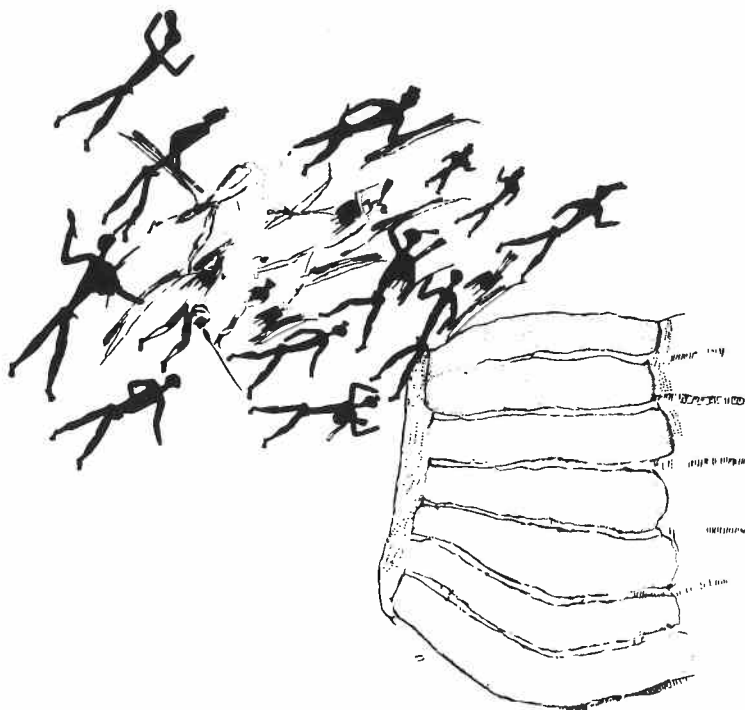


In the attempt to understand how symbolic additions to the body should be interpreted, I want now to consider four large groups of people, each painted as a single coherent scene. Fig. 9 shows a group of 13 men and two smaller figures. At the core of the group are eight hunters holding bows and arrows or at least an arrow. Three sets of hunting equipment lie amongst them. The fact that some of their weapons have been laid aside and the lack of unified, purposeful or directional movement in the group indicates that they are more than an ordinary frieze of hunters. The dominant unifying feature is the inverted cone that crowns the heads of at least five of them; one or two also hold leaf-shaped objects. Four of the five peripheral figures (none of them holding anything, although one has a shoulder bag) also have cones on their heads. The two small stocky figures at the top, also with cones on their heads and without weapons, have sets of small discs around the biceps of both arms, a literal representation and the only one I know of the typical San dance rattle of seed pods sewn to a band tied around the arm. They may well have been added to the composition to emphasise and convert the group of hunters into dancers.

The other later addition to the scene is a fine, multi-coloured oval design, complete with stippling, around seven solid core elements. This is the great symbol of controlled group potency or, put another way, the symbol of the power and efficacy of energy activated by communal dancing.

The other later addition to the scene is a fine, multi-coloured oval design, complete with stippling, around seven solid core elements. This is the great symbol of controlled group potency or, put another way, the symbol of the power and efficacy of energy activated by communal dancing.

Fig. 9 A group of hunters and an ovoid design: Lion's Head, Msana Communal Land



On an adjacent rock face is a second compact composition, Fig. 10. At its core are 15 men without clothes, possessions or bodily additions, (except for two who have a bar across the penis and one who holds a small disc). Their raised legs, waving arms and crouched, swaying or falling postures are strongly suggestive of dancing.

Around them, on the periphery of the composition are, on the lower right, three figures with shoulder bags and their weapons beside them. Beside them is a later figure without arms and contorted with the energy of dancing. A hunter with full equipment approaches the main group, lower left. He has a bar with tuft across his penis. At the top four figures have been added, all with lines from their heads, straight, bifurcated or conical. Three have barred penises, one with a tuft added to the bar. Two have the twin-leaf motif added to their abdomens. All four carry short sticks, a device used by southern San dancers to support themselves while dancing in a crouching position.

This composition of dancers surrounded first by hunters and later by men with various signs added to their heads, bodies or genitals, suggests that dancing by men with nothing suggestive of the extraordinary generates or attracts figures whose signs suggest various forms of potency. Most of these figures are later additions and thus commentaries on the efficacy of the dancing.

Fig. 10 A group of dancers: Lion's Head, Msana Communal Land







Fig. 11 left A large assemblage of men and women: Stratford Farm, Lomagundi District

Fig. 12 above A group of dancers: Stratford Farm, Lomagundi District

From a site far from the previous one, there is another compact group of men without clothing, equipment, weapons or symbolic additions, Fig. 12. (The exceptions are one who retains his shoulder bag, two with short sticks and one holding a disc at the end of a short handle, probably a rattle). Their crouched, swaying bodies and the unified rhythmic movements of some indicate that they are dancing but there is no indication that potency in any form is being activated.

On an overhang nearby there is the largest group of people in a single contemporaneous painting that I know of, Fig. 11. At least 75 belong to the original composition and several more have probably been destroyed in the weathered area, centre right. They are by an artist or school whose personal stylistic idiosyncracies include heavily modelled arms joined to the body in such a way that they give extended shoulders that are almost a third element of the arm; small neatly rounded buttocks, clearly defined and elongated scrota and elongated torsoes on the men. In this great crowd, there is again a remarkable but not complete lack of any symbolic bodily additions, clothing, weapons or equipment or any spatial arrangement that would define separate family groups.

At the visual centre of the composition there is an amorphous, roughly circular shape with three smaller shapes above it that might be bags. Below these shapes is the only reclining figure, a man with his knees bent and his hand raised towards his head. On the left of the shapes are 20 figures, facing right. Most of them are sitting. Seven have their arms raised and fingers extended as if they were clapping. Although there is no indication of breasts or aprons, the compact, rounded forms suggest that these are women and clearly contrast with the upright, elongated bodies of the men. Above them, four men dance, crouching and falling with violent movements. All hold lines or have lines attached to their arms or chests. These are the only indication of bodily emanations in the painting.

On the other side of the circular shape, right, are four seated figure facing left towards the circle. Six men facing the same way stand behind them. Right of them is another group

of six seated figures and ten standing men almost all facing right. On the extreme right are seven tall men and two seated figures holding linear objects.

Above all these groups are 11 women. Their gestures show clearly that they are dancing. Most wear large, tasselled aprons both front and back; the strings that tie these around their waists are also shown. Some also have tassels round their calves: a characteristic decoration of women. One woman waves one of her aprons. Four others have discarded their back aprons and these lie beside other members of the group (as well as two digging sticks). The back apron is the only essential body covering demanded by San society, which considers the buttocks particularly erotic. This would suggest that this is a private erotic and exclusively female dance. Two small sexless figures, possibly children, have been inserted in the centre of the group.

Minor groups by later artists have been added to the composition: two lines of four figures on either side of the large male dancers; three crouched figures, lower left, holding pairs of short sticks: one of the few illustrations of what seem to be San dancing sticks in Zimbabwe. (The only others are on the same farm). There is a small distorted outline figure to their right.

This complex composition seems to include three distinct subgroups of people and two groups of dancers. The most satisfying interpretation of the composition is that it illustrates one of the most important episodes in San social life: the periodic coming together of several bands or communities, each of 20 to 30 individuals, who live far apart for most of the year. Such gatherings are the opportunity for people to change their group allegiances in order to resolve and eliminate internal group discords; for alliances and marriages to be arranged and ratified; and for information about grazing, herds and water supplies to be shared. The gatherings are celebrated in dancing. The central circular shape in this scene may represent a communal fire beside which there is a chorus of seated, clapping women and round which dances are taking place. The situation is a temporary one: group and family loyalties and structures and even sexual mores are abandoned; the weapons, bags and other possessions that are usually delineated so carefully to establish identities are discarded, irrelevant distractions to a wider solidarity. The situation is too diffuse and not intense enough for the dancing to result in the generation or release of any but the slightest spiritual energy. The signs or identifying features of the nature or degree of different persons' potency need not be established.

The extraordinary nature of this scene is emphasised by the artists' portrayals of a typical small group of hunters and a small domestic scene with a family surrounded by its belongings on the same rock, sharply distinct but only a short distance away from the main composition.

In this paper, I have examined the associations of a defined range of symbolic additions to the human body, in as many different situations as possible: amongst individual hunters and small and large groups of hunters, amongst female gatherers, in exclusively male groups, in family groups, in a large gathering and amongst dancers and trancers. It is clear that all the signs can be found in all these contexts but they all tend to be more numerous in situations where the intensity of spiritual or emotional energy likely to be generated was greater. No specific additions can be related to specific roles, groups or situations. No additions are mutually exclusive: a figure may have only one or almost the whole range of symbols attached to his body. Proportionately many more men than women have symbolic motifs on their bodies and some motifs are exclusively male. The signs do

not define roles such as 'hunting', 'dancing', 'trancing', 'parenthood', 'community' or 'family'. They define qualities that cut across the limited range of social roles with which the art is primarily concerned. In other words, their wide associations strongly support the initial suggestion that particular signs identify and define the nature or quality of particular forms of potential potency present in people, even though they may not be active. The two signs, the bar and the line with a tufted end, that may be attached to the male penis, seem to symbolise degrees of a single specific potency, the bar symbolising the latent state and the tufted line the active state. The latter is a frequent addition to recumbent figures in full trance, on figures entirely distorted, changed or 'trance-formed' by their specific form of potency or of figures engaged in the hunting of large animals that are recurrent metaphors for trance.

These enquiries will be pursued by the collection of a great deal more data on the associations of the various types of additions to the human body. All one can hope for at present is to establish a set of guidelines for later enquiry and to construct hypotheses: the essential preliminaries for any useful compilation of data and subsequent systematic testing.

The other essential basis for any investigation of meaning in the prehistoric art of Zimbabwe is to recognise that it is worthy of more than just a passing appreciation of its beauty. Investigation demands an intellectual respect for an artistic tradition that was developed to communicate the fundamental truths of a society on many levels and through diverse means — illustration, sign, metaphor and symbol — to all members of that society. The best work is, in almost every detail, intentional and purposeful, the work of articulate, intelligent and talented artists with a clear message to pass on. It did this with such consistency, precision and detail that we can at least hope to begin the task of interpreting parts of its meaning to our own very different societies. The prehistoric art deserves this treatment. It is not incoherent, fragmented or personal. It contains, within its aesthetic beauty, a coherent, articulate social message so rich and powerful that if we give it the intelligent and knowledgeable attention that it deserves, we will begin to see and hear its message.<sup>14</sup>

14. I would welcome information on rock paintings from readers of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (Box BW 238, Borrowdale, Harare). I would also like to thank George Brooks, Ray Brown, Anthony Chennells, Margaret Garlake, Ann and Roger Martin, Barbara Murray, Elaine Rivron, Charlotte Tagart, Rob Thompson and Sasha Wales-Smith for helping me copy the paintings illustrated here. I am particularly grateful to the many farmers who have been generous with their time and hospitality in showing us their paintings. My wife, Margaret, read, commented on and typed the manuscript.



Fig. 13 A most emphatic example of symbolic signs on the human body: Cairnsmore Farm, Mazowe District

# The Bow McLachlan Traction Engine — A Unique Survivor of the Steam Age?

by P.G. Locke

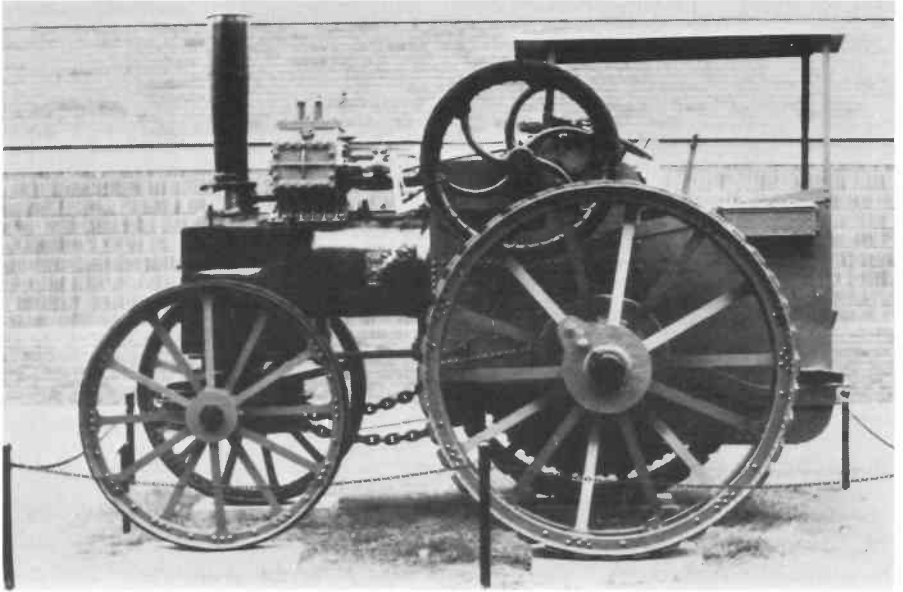
Dominating the entrance to Mutare Museum, and symbolising the fact that road-transport is one of the major themes covered by the Museum, is a massive steam traction engine or road-locomotive. Of unusually large proportions due to its broad gauge and high clearance, the traction engine measures 3,75m to the top of its chimney and tips scales at a weighty 15,3 tonnes. Standing on huge iron wheels, 1,82m and 2,45m in diameter, front and rear respectively, the machine is powered by a two cylinder compound steam engine and steered by worm gear and chain. Apparently the only existing traction engine of its make, the machine has aroused considerable interest amongst “steam enthusiasts” both locally and overseas (McTaggart, 1977; Commercial Motor, 1983), although for many years its history was obscure. More recently, however, information from various sources has been gathered which permits the engine’s past to be at least partially unravelled.

Formerly on display (until 1985) with the Mining Antiquaria Collection at the Natural History Museum, Bulawayo, the traction engine was transferred to Mutare Museum in terms of an exercise to centralize road transport-related items at this Museum. It had been acquired previously (in 1967) for Mining Antiquaria from Farvic Mine, West Nicholson, and was formerly the property of H.S. Henderson V.C. who had extensive ranching and mining interests in southern Matebeleland.

## Of enigmatic origins

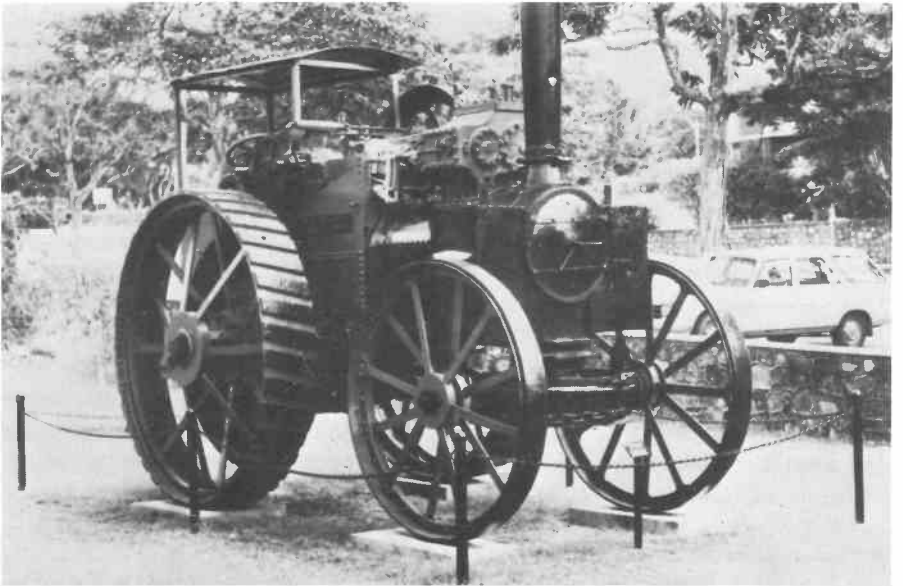
After being placed on display in Bulawayo, investigations into the background of the traction engine were undertaken by G.L. Guy, former Curator of the National Museum, Bulawayo, and by B.M. Randles, an historian resident in South Africa. Although many leads were pursued, however, the origin and date of manufacture of the machine remained the subject of conjecture and even the maker of the engine proved impossible to verify.

A cast plate (see photograph) affixed to the nearside of the firebox obviously suggested that the machine had been manufactured by Bow McLachlan and Co. of Paisley, N.B. (North Britain or Scotland!) but various overseas authorities indicated that this firm, which closed in the early 1930’s, was a ship-building company which had no connection with traction engines (McTaggart, 1977; Wood, pers. comm.). This assumption was reinforced by the fact that no traction engines by this company (other than this example) were definitely known to exist. In correspondence, a British authority on traction engines, Mr R.H. Clark, declared the Bow McLachlan to be a “mystery” (as did McTaggart, 1977) and suggested that although it was unlikely that this firm was responsible for its manufacture, they may have assembled it from brought-in, possibly German, parts. In fact Mr Clark’s firm conviction that the engine design is unlike any other of British manufacture remains unresolved. It was claimed that “The cylinder with its six webs is uncommon and it may be of German origin. . . The flywheel must be a later addition, as curved spokes in engines after 1885 were a rarity, (and it must have come) off



**The massive Bow McLachlan traction engine on exhibition outside Mutare Museum. Its rear wheels are two and a half metres in diameter**

*Photo: G. Stewart*



**Additional water tanks mounted on either side of the smoke box permitted a 12 hours' supply of water to be carried**

*Photo: G. Stewart*



some other engine and (had) a false rim fixed to take a wider belt. The crosshead guides are certainly not English unless they were a "one-off" set. Also the valve gear is on the r.h.s. and no English maker who did this had a cylinder like this one" (Clark, pers. comm.).

Apart from the doubts surrounding the manufacture of the traction engine, the lack of information on its original ownership and importation into the then Rhodesia gave rise to speculation that it could have first come to South Africa for use during the Boer War and, after being disposed of as "war surplus", brought to this country. (A good number of traction engines, mostly Fowlers and Burrells, were imported for military use into South Africa by Lord Roberts during the Anglo-Boer War.) However there was never any evidence to support this connection. It was also supposed, and no doubt correctly so in this instance, that the traction engine was imported to substitute for oxen in the period after the cattle population in the country had been decimated by rinderpest in 1896. Certainly it is known that alternative draught power was required for both this reason and for use in (tsetse) "fly country".

### **A major breakthrough**

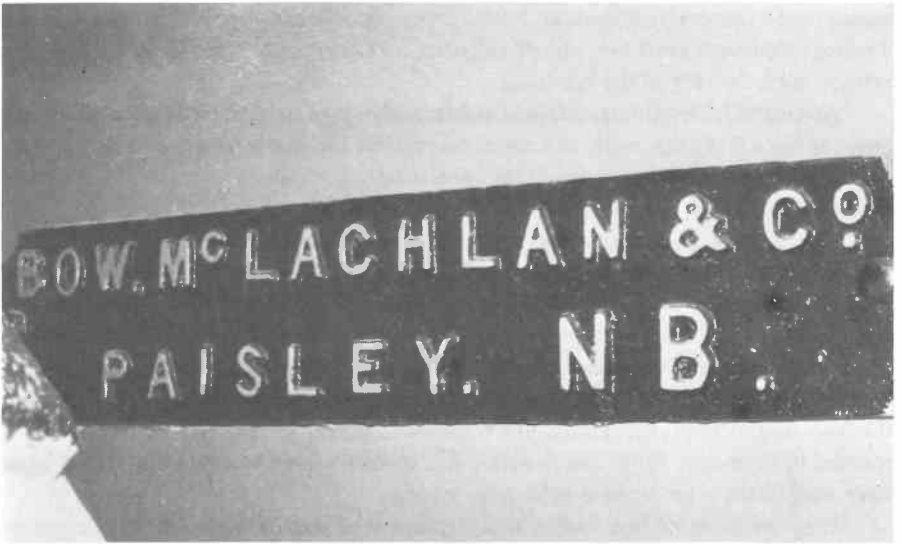
In the absence of any positive confirmation, for the best part of a decade the history of the traction engine continued, of necessity, to be speculative. However a major breakthrough was the receipt in 1977 from the Business Archives Council of Scotland of an extract from *Engineering* dated January 29th, 1897 :-

*"Traction Engines for Rhodesia — Messrs. Bow and McLachlan, engineers, Paisley, have just completed two traction engines to the order of the Manica Trading Company for service in Rhodesia. The Company have found great difficulty in the transport of goods throughout the district in which their operations are conducted. The mortality among horses is very high, nor do mules, which have been imported from South America, withstand the climate. The engines built by Messrs. Bow and McLachlan are each of 10 horse-power, and have been specially designed for the country to be traversed. They are of exceptionally broad gauge, and the firebox stands so high that streams of 4 ft. in depth may be crossed without extinguishing the fires. The fuel to be used is wood, which will be stored at stations along the route, and the engines are provided with tanks sufficiently large to carry a 12 hours' supply of water. The engines are to be placed on the route between the present terminus of the Beira Railway and Fort Charter and Salisbury; and should they prove the success anticipated, this experiment may lead to the difficulties of transport throughout Rhodesia being greatly mitigated."*

There seems little doubt, therefore, that Bow McLachlan were the manufacturers — in spite of long held doubts. Indeed, information has since been obtained that, prior to 1900, Bow McLachlan were general engineers who produced engines and steam rollers and also undertook boiler-making (Reilly, pers. comm.). There seems no reason, therefore, why they should not have built traction engines to special order.

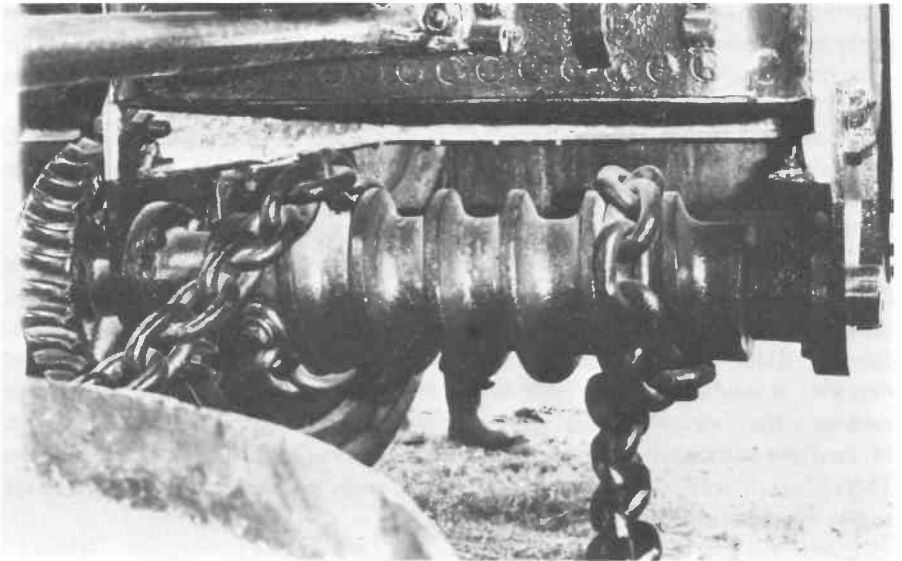
### **An incomplete history**

However, although the article from *Engineering* shed considerable light on the matter by confirming Bow McLachlan as the maker, reporting the date of manufacture and revealing Manica Trading Company as having placed the order, the early history of the



A cast plate identifies the manufacturers of the machine

*Photo: G. Stewart*



A worm gear and chain of substantial proportions comprises the traction engine's steering mechanism

*Photo: G. Stewart*

engine (and its sister) is still unclear. Investigations into the early operations of the Manica Trading Company have drawn a blank and it has not been possible to confirm whether they actually took delivery of the machines.

As clearing, forwarding, shipping and insurance agents, Manica Trading Company (now Manica Freight), were concerned more with the documentation than physical transport of goods and this venture into actual transportation represented an apparent departure from their normal business.

The route by which the traction engines arrived in Zimbabwe also remains a mystery. However the landing in 1894 of at least one traction engine at Beira to haul goods from the railway terminus to Mutare (Matabele News and Mining Record, 1894) indicates that this port was an established means of entry.\* Being destined to perform similar work on the unfinished sections of the same line, it would seem logical to suppose, therefore, that the Bow McLachlans arrived by the same route. (By the likely time of arrival of the engines in the latter half of 1897, the railway line would have almost advanced to Mutare, where it reached in February, 1898, and therefore it is probable that the Bow McLachlans must have worked the route beyond the border town.)

It is not known when 'our' traction engine was acquired by H.S. Henderson or whether it was obtained by him directly from the Manica Trading Company. However, it must have come into Henderson's ownership shortly after the turn of the Century, perhaps having become redundant on completion in May 1899 of the railway line to Harare.

This assumption is based on information that H.S. Henderson had a contract in the early years of the Century to supply wood fuel to steam driven machinery on the Globe and Phoenix Mine, Kwe Kwe, a train of several ox wagons being adapted to be drawn behind the engine for this purpose (Henderson, pers. comm.; Shinn, 1974). Globe and Phoenix have confirmed that a traction engine was used from 1902 to 1906 to haul firewood but their records do not show whether a contractor was engaged to haul the wood, nor the name of the person concerned (Tighe, pers. comm.). (Apparently wood fuel was used on the mine boilers until 1905, when coal was tried, but the coal was of such poor quality that wood had to be used to supplement the coal.)

At the end 1906, however, after installation on an induced draft plant, coal only was used in boilers. It is interesting to note that another traction engine, but not the Bow McLachlan, is depicted in *Rhodesian Epic* (Baxter & Turner, 1966) in a similar role, i.e., hauling firewood (in 1903), but no further information is given.

It is also believed that the Bow McLachlan was used to cart gold ore and other goods to the Theta Mine near Kwe Kwe (which was the central property) from surrounding small mines, the Antelope, Kaka, Abercombie, Parkgate and Bowbell (van Ryneveld, pers. comm.). All these mines being situated within 50 km of Kwe Kwe (and the Globe and Phoenix), it would seem very feasible that the engine, having completed the haulage contract at the Globe & Phoenix, was again employed in the district. However, although Mr van Ryneveld suggested that the traction engine was engaged in the cartage of ore to the Theta Mine circa 1914 to 1920 it must have been some years earlier, for at that time the engine was reportedly elsewhere.

#### Footnote

\* This report, also published in the *Umtali Advertiser* in July 1894, conflicts with the description of a traction engine illustrated in *Rhodesian Epic* (Baxter & Turner, 1960) as being the first used between Umtali and Macequene in 1897.

Certainly it is known that, after working for a number of years in the Kwe Kwe area, the Bow McLachlan was taken to the Farvic Mine, near Colleen Bawn where the engine, in a more sedentary role, was used to drive the mill (Henderson, pers. comm.; Shinn, 1974). The Farvic Mine was owned by Henderson and worked by him from about 1910 until after the First World War and, naturally, it is reasonable to assume that the Bow McLachlan was employed there during this particular period. On closure of the Farvic Mine at the end of the 1914-18 War, the Bow McLachlan, apparently still serviceable, was moved from the mine to near Colleen Bawn railway station — probably with a view to its being railed elsewhere. The journey was never undertaken, however, for the machine remained there until being acquired in 1967 for the Mining Antiquaria Collection at the National Museum, Bulawayo.

Prior to being placed on display in Bulawayo, the Bow McLachlan underwent cosmetic restoration at the Bulawayo Technical College. It was again refurbished on arrival in Mutare but no attempt has been made as yet to overhaul the vehicle mechanically. Perhaps someday that will be achieved and, after lying dormant for so many years, it may be possible to fire up the boilers and set the massive vehicle in motion again under her own steam!

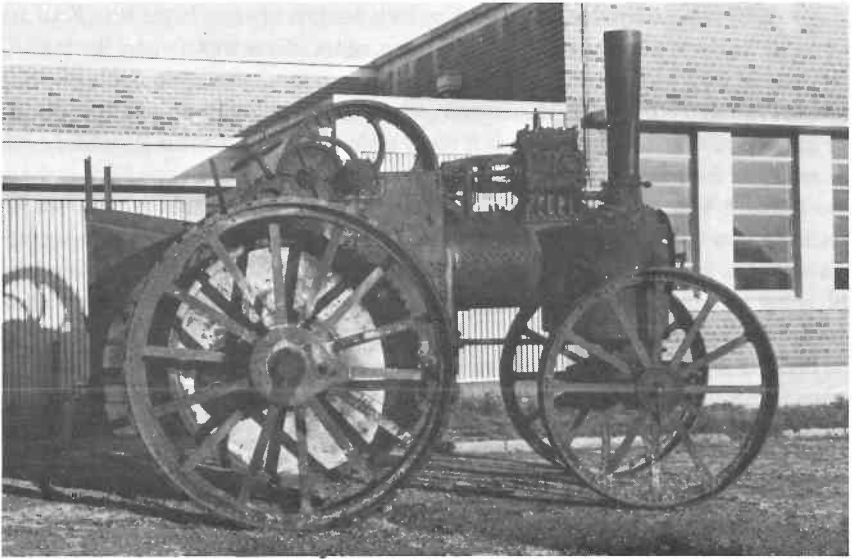
#### **Addendum:**

The fate of the second Bow McLachlan traction engine is unknown. It seems likely that it was scrapped as it would be difficult to hide the whereabouts of such a massive machine! For many years a second traction engine known to have been owned by Henderson and which is still located at Doddieburn Ranch, West Nicholson, was presumed to be the other Bow McLachlan but, in fact, it is a Fowler (see photograph). This engine is reported to be the first self-powered vehicle to arrive in the then Rhodesia under its own power (Henderson, pers. comm.). It was also used for carting wood to the Globe and Phoenix Mine and later for haulage on the Farvic Mine. Apparently it proved unsatisfactory for the latter purpose because with a heavy load the front wheels lifted off the ground (Shinn, 1974). Consequently it was transferred to Doddieburn where it was employed on the lands and later used to generate electricity for the pumping plant until 1947 (Henderson, pers. comm.).

Although still at Doddieburn the Fowler has recently been donated to the Natural History Museum, Bulawayo, and it will be transferred there when transport is available.

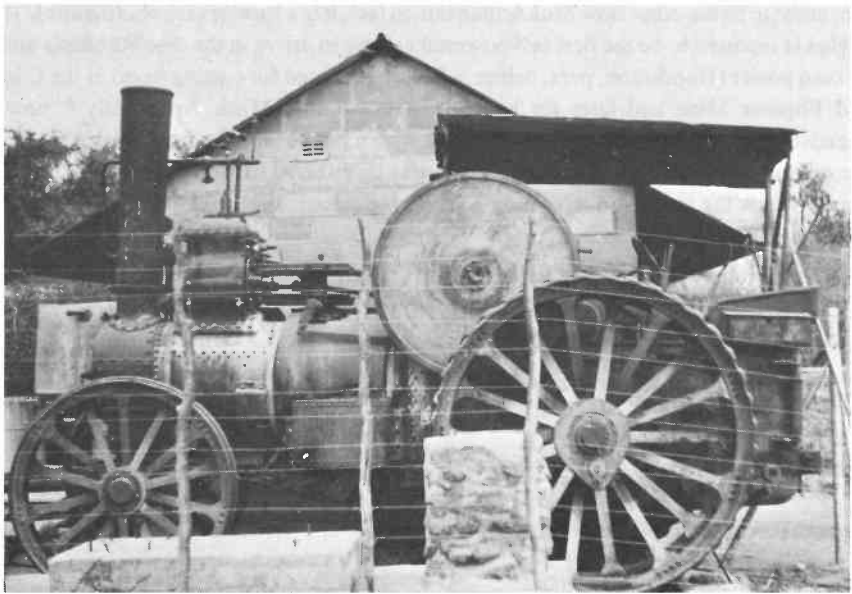
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**The Bow McLachlan at the Bulawayo Technical College prior to cosmetic restoration**

*Photo: Mutare Museum*



**The Fowler traction engine at Doddieburn Ranch, West Nicholson. For many years this machine was believed erroneously to be the second Bow McLachlan**

*Photo: Mutare Museum*

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# A Talk on Nyanga District to the History Society of Zimbabwe, September 1986

by J. Thokozone\*

## Introduction

Nyanga, as you all know, is the name given by local tribesmen to the mountain. It is also known to the locals as Nzwimbo Yeutsi Uchena (the place of white mist). It is the highest mountain in Zimbabwe, dominating the landscape of the Eastern Highlands — clouds of mist perching on its peak. It exudes an aura of the occult — a mystique that poses a challenge to conquer its lofty heights and unveil its magic. Little wonder then, that it attracts hundreds of climbers.

Through history it has been a meeting ground for the ruling chiefs at times of debates. Today, Nyanga mountain remains a revered place to the local people. Like everywhere in Zimbabwe, the Nyanga district contains relics of man, dating from the very remote past. The Stone Age relics however are far less plentiful than they are in other main areas, and their sparseness shows that Nyanga has scarcely ever been favoured by such intensive occupation as the watershed areas. The Stone Age implements were found in torrent gravel deposits in the spruits and at the foot of the Nyamaropa escarpments.

Elsewhere in Zimbabwe, where there is broken kopje country, like the foothills of Nyanga mountains, one finds plentiful remains of later Stone Age artefacts. There are very few rock paintings in the area, possibly owing to a local shortage of game. The only well-known rock paintings are near Rusape.

## Iron Age

From our knowledge of archeology, in other parts of Zimbabwe, we already know that the end of the Later Stone Age did not come until after the introduction of iron, and finds of Iron Age pottery are often mistaken for Later Stone Age tools. Iron was introduced to Nyanga by migrant people whose real name is forgotten. There is evidence of early occupation in the form of ruined stone buildings and many other conspicuous relics of the Zimbabwean Iron Age. These are the Dziwa Ruins (Van Niekerk) which measure about two hundred to three hundred square miles, second in size to Great Zimbabwe.

The Dziwa people were the first farmers and the first Iron Age workers at Nyanga. They had no domestic animals. They arrived from the north in about 300 A D and stayed until the Shona group arrived in Zimbabwe at the end of the 11th Century. The well-made pottery found there at the ruins was used by the Dziwa people and not the Shona.

As you all know, the earliest stone structures appear to have been built at Great Zimbabwe Hill Complex 1250 A D according to Radio-carbon dating. Although at Nyanga, Dziwa culture was fairly shortlived, some aspects of the culture lingered on well

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\* At the time the author gave this talk he was Deputy Director and Inspector of Monuments at the National Museum, Mutare.

into the 19th Century. Even today, the craft of stone building is not completely forgotten although the structures are now culverts, drifts, and, in one place, a fine bridge instead of forts, cattle kraals, and hut platform floors. In the lowlands of Nyanga district, the commonest structures are stone wall enclosures on the hillsides. The walls are 3 – 4 metres high by 1 metre thick and were constructed to stop soil erosion.

### **Pit Structures**

The pit structures were constructed for keeping livestock at night — e.g. goats, pigs and other animals. Entrance to a pit structure was through a tunnel. A loophole outlet was used for drainage. The shaft into the passage was closed with poles during the night.

The ruined stone buildings are in three different architectural types: they are:

- (1) Great Zimbabwe Type, which was built with dry stones and it is found in watershed areas (free standing);
- (2) Khami type, which was built by filling debris in between the two walls and it is found in the West of Matabeleland (also free standing);
- (3) Nyanga Terraces, which had stones piled in lines for the purpose of agriculture, and it is found in the Eastern Highlands.

Intertribal wars in the lowlands led to the occupation of Nyanga highlands. The settlement groups built pit structures with forts built in commanding positions, water furrows were built to divert water for irrigation of hillside terraces.

Within the Dziwa Ruins there are three mountains which were occupied for a very long time by the Dziwa tribe. They are:

- (1) Dziwa mountain, the name given to a towering great granite peak rising a thousand metres above surrounding country. This hill was very important to the local people, who made their sacrifices at the cave of offerings. The hill is terraced and there is a shelter on the southern slope and a number of buildings show signs of long occupation by the tribe.
- (2) Hamba, a companion of Dziwa;
- (3) Nyahokwe — very close to Dziwa on the eastern side — both hills are granite masses.

### **The Tribes**

The Nyanga district had many other tribes, and had their chiefs right from the beginning. The ones we know at present are:

- Chief Mutasa of the Manyika — in the south;
- Chief Katerere — north of Nyanga;
- Chief Saunyama — north of Nyanga.

There were also intertribal groups like Rozwi, Tonga, Barwe and Sena on the east Nyanga near Kairesi Tangwena Nyamaropa area. All these tribes formed the Manyika Kingdom of the present Shonas. They traded with the Portuguese who came into the country, and the Portuguese were mainly interested in gold trading, bringing with them guns, clothes and beads which they gave to friendly chiefs in Manyika.

When Rozwi Chief Changamire Dombo came into power, he was a vain and cruel ruler. He ruled as far as Tete and Sena in Mozambique. He controlled all the ancient mines in the country. Anyone found disobeying his orders was put to death. They all served him very loyally. He also controlled the Great Zimbabwe area.



War was always imminent during those days. Many Portuguese were executed at Changamire Dombo's orders because they entered his Kingdom without his knowledge. He died in 1684 at Dambarare where the Portuguese defeated him. Then came Chief Chikanga of the VaManyika, and Chief Zimba from the Zambezi valley, under Chief Dendera. They were great friends and they went round the country fighting the local Chief Sakarombe.

When the major tribes established their power of rule, they divided the land with natural boundaries, e.g. big rivers, big hills, big trees and so on. The present Chief Mutasa uses Bingaguru Hill as the headquarters of all the Mutasa Mhondoros in the Manyika area. All the chiefs are buried within the vicinity of Bingaguru. The main centres occupied by the Shona Kings were:

- Torwa Kingdom, occupied Great Zimbabwe (southern);
- Butwa — Khami and other centres (western);
- Barwe — Sena and Tete (east);
- Utewe — lowveld — Save valley up to Sofala;
- Mutoko — Budyā as a centre of Munumutape (Zambezi);
- Mzila — King of Shangani;
- Sakarombe — at Nyanga.

All these chiefs I have mentioned played a very important role in the Shona Kingdom.

### **Gold Trading**

The Centre at Masekesa is where the Rozwi lived from 1600 to 1800 AD until the Nguni invasion in the 1830's. The centre was a place for trading as well as a route to the sea. Every trader who came to Uteve came through Masekesa. The gold was kept at the centre by Chief Chikanga's wives, who kept it in vessels like horns of cattle, and clay pots.

The Rozwi practised medicine. They brought dust quills, they even put few seeds of certain herbs in the quills. However, the practice was passed from family to family. The tribes which were known for their gold mining ideas were:

- Vambire in Wedza area;
- Vatavara, Vatonga and Vakorekore — in the Zambezi Valley (Dande);
- Vabarwe at Nyanga, Tete and Sena areas;
- Vangowa — Sanyati and Rimuka areas;
- Vadombe — Vananzwa near Hwange;

and Mpanda Nyakatsanga clan were very good at making hoes similar to those made by the Rozwi,

In addition to what I said, it must be realised that oral traditions are not history and are not intended to be history as we conceptualize it today. The concept of history that we teach and learn in schools is an alien concept from that held by the repositories of oral traditions. It is one of linear progression where, as in Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole, history is seen in cyclical form. The functions and purposes of traditional history was concerned with, for example, establishing the seniority of a particular group (like Rozwi), the right to take positions in the different areas of society, right over land, right to intercede in religion. Its purpose was social or religious, not historical. To look at oral traditions, it is therefore important first to look at the values and views of the past of that society. Traditions serve as a charter or constitution.

How far back should we accept traditions as recordable? The limit should be about 300 to 400 years ago, about 10 to 15 generations. This takes us just a little further than the Portuguese documents although, of course, the concern of the two are different. Zimbabwean traditions that go further than this must be subjected to anthropological analysis, e.g. a recent analysis of the Mutota migration to Guruuswa in search of salt. This was brought up by an anthropologist studying the role of spirit mediums in the Struggle. He has established a credible interpretation that the Mutota story is not historical, but an archetypal creation myth and that Guruuswa was not a physical location but a spiritual place of man's origin. The Mutota story is symbolic, not factual. The feedback in oral tradition must be carefully watched. It must be realised that what we are teaching in schools and what is written in books is now being absorbed back into oral tradition.

# Nyanga History : A Miscellany

by R.W. Petheram

*This edition of Heritage of Zimbabwe includes transcriptions of two of the addresses given to the History Society of Zimbabwe in the course of a three-day visit to Nyanga, arranged by the Mashonaland Branch in September 1986. Mr. J. Thokozane, Deputy Director and Inspector of Monuments, Mutare Museum, touched on the archaeology of the area, the geographical distribution of the African tribes, gold mining, and traditional history. His paper is reproduced on p.36.*

*Mr. R. W. Petheram spoke on a miscellany of aspects of Nyanga settlement and development during, and since, the 1890's. His address appears below.*

*In view of the on-going process of change in place names in Zimbabwe, it is thought worth mentioning that the district name "Nyanga" has been updated from "Inyanga" in most instances in Mr Petheram's text, but terms such as "Inyanga Farm", "Inyanga Block", and "Inyangani Estate" have been used where factors such as title deeds dictate their retention. Other place names are those in use at the time of the events described.*

*The venue of Mr Petheram's talk was "Bilstone", the Nyanga property of Mr. T.F.M. Tanser, National Chairman (at the time) of the History Society.*

If you look at a map of the Nyanga district, and follow the eastern boundary of Holdenby northwards from the source of the Rwere River, you come to a hill called "Nyanga", right on the international boundary. It is called Nyanga because it has two little peaks on its summit which, from a certain angle, look like the horns of a small buck. ("runyanga" . . . a horn; plural . . . "nyanga"). This, according to that highly respected linguist, student of folk lore, and former Provincial Commissioner, Ronnie Reid, partly explains how the area of Nyanga got its name. But, as he points out, there is more to it than that. "In the Chimanyika dialect there is a prefix "sa" which is commonly used to mean 'the guardian of' or 'the keeper of' or 'someone particularly associated with' a certain thing. For instance, there is a granite mountain in Nyanga North called 'Nani' and the Headman living near it is called 'Sanani'."

"Long ago", wrote Mr. Reid (whose exceptionally informative letter I am taking the liberty of abbreviating for the purpose of this talk), "a famous herbalist of the Barwe tribe lived at the foot of Mt Nyanga and his name, for the reasons given, was Sanyanga. He was a famous doctor, and people came from far and wide to consult him.

"One day Chief Mutasa, who lived some distance away, fell ill and summoned Sanyanga to attend upon him. Sanyanga cured Mutasa, who was so pleased with him that he made him his court physician with the rank of Headman and gave him a 'dunhu' (district) in the area near the farm now called 'Sanyangas Garden'. "When the first Native Commissioner was sent to Nyanga, he established his camp and office in the vicinity of Headman Sanyanga's Kraal, which was referred to by the early European settlers as "Sanyanga's", and finally abbreviated to 'Inyanga'. The N.C.'s office was moved several times before it came to rest at its present site and the name followed it and was eventually applied to the whole district." The farm "Sanyanga's Garden" is within a few kilometres

south-west of the Pungwe Falls, which we viewed a little while ago. This lovely little property, "Bilstone", is, in fact, a subdivision of it, and the hill you are facing is regarded as a sacred hill. It seems possible that Sanyanga is buried there. At first sight, this account of the origin of the name of the district would appear to be at variance with the theory postulated by John Thokozane. (See p.36 Ed.) In discussion, however, John has expressed the opinion that the name "Inyangani" was simply the white man's choice of a means of differentiating between the well-known mountain and the small hill with the twin peaks.

The Portuguese must have come very close to Nyanga in their African travels. Between 1511 and 1514, Antonio Fernandes, a Portuguese "degredado" undertook a series of journeys from the East coast, which took him far into the interior. In 1560, the Jesuit missionary Gonzalo Silveira, came right through to the Mt Darwin area, where he was martyred. Carl Mauch, the industrious German explorer, travelled over what is now the northern part of Nyanga, in 1872.

In the early 1890's this rather inaccessible area began to attract the attention of the pioneers. F.C. Selous wrote of the "magnificently watered . . . little known . . . very fine tract of country" to the east and north-east of the road between Salisbury and Umtali. He gave a glowing account of the extensive views from the summit of Dombo which he climbed in 1891. (That mountain was pointed out from World's View yesterday).

No one who traversed the area on foot then or later could fail to be fascinated by the mile upon mile of terraces and furrows, and rock structures both above ground and below.

Douglas McAdam, an Umtali resident, was foremost in arousing initial interest in the prospect of modern-day settlement in the area. After a journey of exploration in 1892, McAdam spread the news of its attractions and in 1893 guided to it a party of men who thereupon pegged farms. By the end of the century, the acquisition of 58 farms had been registered. (Ten of these were in an area which became known as the Dutch Settlement, several hundred feet below the Nyanga Mountain Range. None of the ten became part of Rhodes's Estate. Rhodes bought out none of them.)

McAdam's farm was appropriately named 'Inyanga Farm'. It was eventually bought by Rhodes. There were no less than six members of the 1890 Column amongst the early landowners — B. Bradley, C. Bradley, A. Tulloch, J. Corderoy, W. Auret and L. Cripps (to whom title was issued as Manager of the Manhattan Syndicate of Mashonaland). From all of them, except Auret, Rhodes bought land which ultimately formed part of the Estate he left to the Nation.

Other early landowners associated with pioneering exploits of note up to the time of McAdam's journey were J.W. Nesbitt and J.B Moodie, members of the Moodie Trek as far as Fort Victoria, whence the remaining members of the Trek pressed on eastward to the Chipinga-Melsetter area. Nesbitt, who pegged the farm Warrendale, became Native Commissioner for the Umtali district including Nyanga. Moodie named his farm Claremont after Mrs. Moodie's birthplace in the Cape. He is credited with the distinction of having grown the first apples in the district. (Come to think of it, there's another Nesbitt in the district now. A grand old lady, Mrs. Jack, who lives in Goromonzi, was a Miss Nesbitt. One of her daughters married a Southey, and a Southey daughter by the name of Lyn married Mike Wicksteed. Mike and Lyn have been our caring hosts throughout the weekend at Rhodes Nyanga Hotel.)

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British South Africa Company,  
MASHONA LAND.

No. 1006

Folio.....

Stamp £ 7/6

Rent £ 6/0/0

18<sup>th</sup> February 1895

QUITRENT RECEIPT.

Received from J. B. Moodie  
the sum of Six pounds 5s  
being in payment of one years Rent on 1 Farm  
Claremont from 1<sup>st</sup> January 1895  
to 31<sup>st</sup> December 1895.

Civil Commissioner's Office,

Mutali

[Signature]  
for Civil Commissioner.

Claremont quit-rent receipt  
Reproduced by kind permission of Mr J. Crosthwaite-Eyre

Another early landowner who distinguished himself in the sphere of fruit growing was W. Leckie Ewing of Rugarara. He put not only Rugarara under fruit, but also Juliasdale.

Juliasdale had previously been acquired by John G. Brown, who named the farm after his wife, Julia. There is, I think, a belief that Juliasdale was named after one of the Moodie daughters, but in fact, Mrs. Brown, who inspired the name, was Mrs. Moodie's mother. She, Mrs. Margaret Moodie, wife of John Moodie, bore five children before her first husband died and another three when she married Major P. H. Van Niekerk. She lived on Claremont for 63 years, and died there at the age of 91 in 1957. She was widely known, latterly, as Grannie Van Niekerk — not only as a tribute to her age; she had eleven grandchildren and six great grandchildren! Her eldest daughter, Manica Moodie, (later Mrs. A.M. Harmer) was the first girl of European parentage to be born in Manicaland.

Major Van Niekerk had settled at Nyanga following service in the Matabele Rebellion and the Boer War. His interest in the archaeology of the district had prompted D. Randall-MacIver to name the "Van Niekerk Ruins" after him. The ruins are those that are scattered over many square miles, both close to Nyahokwe (one of the hills pointed out to us from World's View yesterday) and much further afield. They are the ruins that John Thokozane has told us, are now regarded as part of the Ziwa complex. They are no longer known as "Van Niekerk's".

Fruit growing was by no means the sole activity of the landowners of the '90s. They grew grain crops and practised stock ranching, but with locust scares and threats of rinderpest current at the time, life must have been full of incident. Sheep also brought their problems. It took years before the most suitable breeds were proved. The late Mrs Harmer recorded that some types of sheep imported at the time were unsuited to the indigenous grasses and to the climate. She was not alone in that exasperating discovery. Faced with incessant farming problems of that sort, Nyanga landowners doubtless gave their Bank Managers a testing time. Some of the bankers became a little edgy. It is not every day that a millionaire receives a letter couched in the following terms :

Form No. 10.

The Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd.

Kusoli 4 April 1898

ALL LETTERS TO BE  
ADDRESSED  
"TO THE MANAGER."

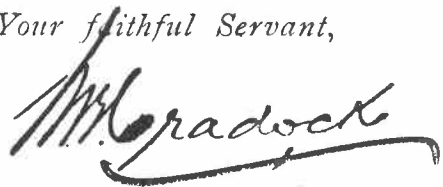
Mr. Hon. G. Rhodes  
of No. 10, Bloemfontein, S. W. A.  
Kusoli  
Dear Sir

Your account appears to be overdrawn  
in our Books in the sum of £ 10 - 9 - 3  
to which I request the favor of your attention.

Should there be any error on our  
part, I shall be obliged by an immediate  
intimation.

I am,

Your faithful Servant,

  
W. Moradock  
at Manager.

Rhodes's overdraft

National Archives of Zimbabwe

Several of the early landowners were resident in Umtali — absentee landlords up to a point — and played a useful part in the commercial, mining, and social life of that community. Some were also prominent in the Volunteer forces of that period of rebellion. The Moodie family had to go into laager at Old Umtali in 1896. A party including four women and twelve children reached Umtali from Nyanga for refuge on 25 June 1896, after a hair-raising journey with two spans of oxen. At no time did they outspan, other than to change the spans.

The Nyanga homestead of one of the Umtali residents, G.D. Fotheringham, the owner of Pungwe Source and Fruitfield, was mentioned in the press in 1895 as a “commodious” residence. Rhodes bought both farms and it is Fotheringham’s homestead on Fruitfield which is thought to have been occupied by him later, and around which the Rhodes Nyanga Hotel was built.

The first road from Umtali was an example of self-help. It was built, in the main, in 1895, under an arrangement whereby “Government”, through the agency of G. Pauling, the Commissioner of Works, supplied labour and materials such as tools and explosives, and a committee of landowners raised the funds for the road work. The work was supervised by Fotheringham.

In addition, the re-alignment of the transcontinental telegraph took place in those early days. The old line, spanning the country between Salisbury and Mount Darwin crossed some unhealthy territory. The timber poles had not proved durable, nor had they been treated with marked respect by tribesmen during the days of the rebellion. The new line was routed from Umtali via Nyanga to the Zambesi at Tete, and thence to Nyasaland, with the ultimate object of connecting up with Uganda and Egypt. Arrangements for this project were entrusted by Rhodes to Jameson in 1897, the latter having just returned to this country, depressed both in spirit and in health, after a spell of imprisonment in England for his part in the Jameson Raid. The resilient and adventurous Jameson, after negotiating with the Portuguese for the telegraph route, embarked on an arduous journey by dugout down the Zambesi from Tete to the sea. This was a journey later to be emulated by Charles G. Hanmer in his own inimitable style. Of that, more anon. . .

Nyanga’s Van Niekerk is reported to have played a part in the installation of the telegraph offices at Nyanga and at Tete, thereafter going on to Blantyre. By April 1898, communication with Blantyre was established.

Government officials of the period must also have undertaken some challenging trips, and one imagines that the most knowledgeable of all as regards both the glory of the views and the difficulties of the terrain must have been H.J. Pickett, who surveyed the great majority of the farms and ultimately became a Nyanga landowner himself, when he took over the farm Albany. In his surveys he had to contend not only with mountains and gorges and rain and mist; there was also the sensitive question of the border with Portuguese East Africa to be taken carefully into account. Some 3500 morgen (3100 ha.) of the Inyanga Block were found to intrude into Mozambique.

The first Native Commissioner with responsibility for Nyanga from Umtali headquarters was, nominally at least, E.H. Compton Thomson. However, after a spell of duty of less than three months in 1894, Compton Thomson was transferred, and it is his successor J.W. Nesbitt (owner of the farm Warrendale) who is generally acknowledged as the first Native Commissioner for Nyanga, although stationed at Umtali. After an early visit in his official capacity he sent to Nyanga, as resident Assistant Native Commissioner,

J.W. Gray, who was there until 1899. The first *substantive* Native Commissioner *resident* in the area was T.B. Hulley, who was transferred there temporarily from Umtali in 1902 and returned to his former station in 1903. By this time the Native Dept. had moved from the vicinity of Sanyanga's Garden. Hulley had built a new hutted camp and his office was a small cottage lent by Weinholt and Mitchell, managers of Rhodes Estate.

Rhodes's interest in Nyanga was inspired by J.G. McDonald (later to become Sir James) who became one of his Trustees, and wrote one of the best known of Rhodes's many biographies. In 1896, fresh from his historic "indaba" in the Motopos with the rebellious Ndebele but still beset by problems arising from the Jameson Raid and by anxieties from the Mashona Rebellion, Rhodes visited Nyanga for the first time. He gloried in the change of scene, was deeply impressed with the grandeur and promise of the area, and instructed the purchase of up to 100 000 acres (about 40 000 hectares). He visited Nyanga again in 1897, and because of illness stayed for some time. Jameson, returning from his journey down the Zambesi following the telegraph negotiations, immediately took over attendance on him and during the long weeks of recuperation the two men became fully reconciled; a blessing to both after the strain to which their friendship had been subjected by the Raid and its consequences. Full of schemes for the running of livestock and experiments with a variety of crops — ideas which found expression in the subsequent activities of his managers and in the terms of his Will some five years later — Rhodes was able, during his recovery, to spend some time in developing his ideas further, and in getting to know the area more intimately by riding over it. Colvin writes of him that he and Jameson explored the country with schoolboy zest, and McDonald records that he spent many hours with the local farmers, never grudging the time given to finding a solution to their difficulties.

Rhodes's final visit to Nyanga was in 1900 after the siege of Kimberley. For the last time, in July and August of that year, he immersed himself in the tranquility of the area he had grown to love.

His early managers at Nyanga were J. Grimmer and J. Norris. For a considerable period they were together on the Estate — an arrangement not entirely to the liking of either of them. Like many farmers before and since, they went through some torrid times. A doleful report by Norris in May 1899 refers to deaths among the livestock, failure of the wheat and oats crops due to bad seed; barley and vegetables swamped by heavy rains; potatoes diseased; fig and pear trees disappointing. Six months before, the locusts "had eaten everything off." Rhodes's impatience at this time engendered a certain amount of bitterness. Nevertheless they persevered, with livestock, fruit and afforestation.

It was during Norris's period as manager that J.C. Johnson, his brother-in-law, (subsequent owner of Glen Spey and Oakvale) is reputed to have brought up from the Cape at Rhodes's instigation, the acorns from which were planted, in 1893, the oak trees which grace the entrance to Rhodes Nyanga Hotel. Previous consignments of acorns had failed. His widow wrote that he brought them up, via Beira, in damp sacking. (The date of planting has however been challenged.) Norris later farmed on his own account in the Nyanga area for a few years.

Grimmer, whose management of Rhodes's farms at Nyanga formed only a minor part of a wide range of stewardship services to his chief, was left a large legacy when Rhodes died, together with the use of the Nyanga farms for life. Unfortunately he died within weeks thereafter. Twenty five years later, when E.B. Allen became manager of Rhodes's Estate,





Old farm house which now forms part of the Rhodes Inyanga Hotel, 1910

Photographer C.D. Wise

*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*

the older Africans still called the estate “Grimmer”. Mr Bud Payne has told us that this old association of Grimmer’s name with some of the land which he and his successors developed, has persisted to this day.

The land bought by Rhodes totalled 38743 ha. in extent — almost 96000 acres. It cost him £15263.11/- — an average of 7/10½d. per ha. or about 3/2d. an acre. Some of the farms that interested him did not come his way. For example, J.B. Moodie of Claremont declined to sell, and so also at the time, did Nesbitt on Warrendale. Both considered that they had been let down in the matter of land grants at the time of the Moodie Trek. (There was, nevertheless, warm friendship between Rhodes and the Moodie family in later days).

Rhodes also toyed with the idea of buying the huge Inyanga Block (73 600 morgen) to which I shall refer in a few minutes. One of Rhodes’s wishes was to include within his land acquisitions the magnificent Pungwe Falls, but later it was found that they were just outside the southern boundary of his Estate. This was eventually remedied when, in 1938, a small area surrounding the Falls was purchased and was incorporated in the Estate. In the meantime the Trustees had added to the Estate, Nesbitt’s farm Warrendale, and Timaru, a farm in the Rusape district, and all these acquisitions completed the complex of holdings which became known as Rhodes’s Inyanga Estate.

On Rhodes’s death in 1902, his Nyanga estate was bequeathed to the nation. . . “upon trust that my trustees shall in such manner as . . . they shall think fit, cultivate the same respectively for the instruction of the people of Rhodesia . . . For the guidance of my Trustees I wish to record that in the cultivation of my said landed properties, I include such

things as experimental farming, forestry, market and other gardening and fruit farming, irrigation and the teaching of any of those things. . .”

There was much soul searching about all this in later years. Farming operations were continued until 1933, but for some time there had been doubts about the justification for Rhodes's belief that Nyanga was ideally suited, geographically or climatically, to all the objects he had in mind.

The transfer of the Trust from a Board of Trustees to Government Administration (even before Responsible Government in 1923) meant that, however unimpeachable the integrity of the Government Trustees, it was inevitable that the management of the Estate, and the pace and nature of development, would have to be considered together with every other project or service dependent on the national exchequer. Be that as it may, there was in the 1930's, a change of policy designed to develop the area thereafter, principally as a tourist resort — except to the extent that land was leased out to the Ministry of Agriculture for an Agricultural and Horticultural Experiment Station, and to the Forestry Commission and the Wattle Co. for commercial timber operations. Additional lease arrangements ensured that Rhodes Hotel could be privately run. To Rhodes's bequest, a lot of State land has been, and is being, added to make the tourist potential more viable. For example, the Mtarazi National Park has been incorporated into the Nyanga National Park, and more land is being added now, in a bold and exciting bid to conserve a large area of magnificent forest, and the headwaters of the Gaerezi River.

This brings us to the subject of the great Inyanga Block, a vast tract of land originally granted by the B.S.A.C. to the Anglo French Exploration Co. It is part of that block around which these plans revolve, and inseparable from the history of the block is the history of the Hanmer family of Nyanga.

Charles G. Hanmer was born in 1899 and attended Gresham School at Holt in Norfolk. I mention this and other seemingly irrelevant aspects of the Hanmer saga because, through many of his meetings and associations beyond our borders, there ran threads linked to his later life in this country. For example, a new boy at Greshams at the same time as Hanmer was R.A. Wyrley Birch. Theirs became a friendship of many years standing.

After service in a cavalry regiment in the Indian Army, Charles Hanmer was offered a job as an assistant on a tobacco farm called “Munga”, in the Marandellas area. He came out in 1922 to Beira, thence by train to Marandellas which he described as being, at the time, a tiny place with a pub and one or two stores. He later learnt that there were three cars in the district. The farm, “Munga”, 42 miles away, was reached two days later by crossing the Ruzawi R. by ox wagon. While there, he came to know several interesting characters whose names would be familiar to members of this Society, but we cannot dwell on them. Suffice to say that John Hopley of athletic and boxing fame was one, and among others who were battling against the vicissitudes of fluctuating tobacco prices and farming “shupas” in general, was one couple whose only mode of transport, in visits to neighbours, was by mule for the lady and by ox for her husband.

A frequent visitor at “Munga”, with cart and two ponies, was Dave Morris, the Cattle Inspector. In the course of their chats, Hanmer recounted how his great grandfather, William Busby, had gone to Australia in 1820, had become a prosperous sheep farmer in N.S.W., and was thought to have been responsible, with his brother (who subsequently became Governor of New Zealand), for the introduction of Merino sheep into Australia

from Spain. The only way they could make themselves understood when buying the Merinos, was by talking Latin to a priest, who interpreted between them and the Spanish owner of the sheep. Dave Morris's interest was aroused. He told Charles Hanmer that if he were interested in running sheep, he should try Melsetter.

After managing "Munga", Hanmer took over the farm "Laughing Waters", and while there, he set off to explore Melsetter — with Cattle Inspector Morris's advice in mind. This he did twice; once via Umtali and Cashel with his farm assistant Harry Matthews, on a hair-raising journey in a Model T Ford, and later across country on horseback, with an elder brother Harry, from England. Four carriers accompanied them on foot on the second occasion. It was a slow journey of several days. On arrival at the Melsetter Inn in the evening, they naturally looked for adequate stabling for their horses first of all. The only litter available comprised masses of straw sockets from whisky bottles, and the old whisky boxes served as mangers. However, they found a great deal more than whisky in Melsetter to attract them, and subsequently they bought farms there, and imported sheep.

In 1927, Charles's younger brother William came out to join him, first near Ruzawi, then in Melsetter and finally at Nyanga. Again, this seeming diversion — the story of exploring Melsetter and the sheep potential there — is not as irrelevant to Nyanga history as it might appear. Charles Hanmer went to the Transvaal to buy sheep for Melsetter, and it was while he was there for that purpose that he saw an advertisement in a *Farmers' Weekly* for a big property for sale at Nyanga. There was a most alluring description, and when he went, as the advertisement directed him to do, to the offices of the Anglo French Exploration Co. he was thrilled to be shown a map of a property, liberally sprinkled with captions such as "Good for sheep", "Good cattle country", and so on. It was a mere 162000 acres — about 250 square miles — for £9000 (that is to say, less than one shilling and two pence an acre.)

Farming operations in the Marandellas area were closed down in 1928. Bill Hanmer and his wife Peggy moved to Melsetter and Charles became involved in other pursuits such as chrome mining, for a while. Prior to that, the two brothers had jointly explored the Nyanga area on foot for a week. They loved what they saw, and decided on another look after the rains. Again in 1928 or 1929, they tramped the area thoroughly for a week or more. They were enthralled by its beauty and its bountiful promise, and they were so anxious to hide their feelings from others to whom the raising of £9000 might be no obstacle, that they pretended to Allen, then Manager of Rhodes Hotel, that they were prospecting, unsuccessfully, for chrome and asbestos.

Allen conversationally mentioned to them that someone in S. Africa was said to be interested in the land. To sit around and wait would have been utterly out of character. Charles Hanmer was on the next ship to leave Cape Town harbour. He travelled third class only because, as he explained, there *was* no fourth class. Frantic activity followed in England, with visits to friends and relations likely to have a few pounds to lend or invest. Amongst them, fortunately, were Peggy Hanmer's parents, Bill Hanmer's in-laws, the Normans, and it was their promised support that acted as balm to his fevered brow.

Still not trusting himself to hide his eagerness to acquire the land, he persuaded his elder brother to keep the appointment with the selling agent. Anti-climax followed . . . it turned out that someone else already had an option on the property for another four weeks.

Four weeks later, the brothers were notified that the opposition option had lapsed and

that the land could be theirs — but on condition that they could find £16000. The £9000 offer was no longer applicable, and no subdivision could be contemplated. A very despondent Charles Hanmer returned to this country.

It was in October 1929 that the Company suddenly agreed to release 94027 acres (a trifle of 147 sq. miles) at 1/10½d. an acre; so, at last, the brothers got their £9000 worth, in modified form. In general — and perhaps oversimplified — terms, they had it in mind to make a road on to the property, sell off about half, and thus pay back the borrowed funds. The world slump at that time did not ease their path, and, to quote Charles Hanmer, “for the next 15 years, until the tide began to turn, (they) scraped along, never hungry but always pretty broke.”

I rather think that, initially at least, Bill had to return to Melsetter to oversee affairs at that end, and it was Charles who, at the outset, carved the road through and over broken country onto the Downs — without machinery. In time for the rains, he had the ubiquitous pole-and-dagga shelter up. It wasn't palatial; he was single at the time; an edifice about 9ft. square had to suffice initially, and when, among his first visitors, Wyrley Birch and a friend arrived, it was a bit of a squeeze when the camp beds were made up, and the inmates had to enter and depart through the window.

Earlier in this account, I mentioned the formidable amount of country H.J. Pickett must have covered on his boundary surveys, of earlier days. It is claimed that when Charles Piers undertook the survey of the Hanmer purchase, his findings and Pickett's tallied to within ten feet.

More permanent accommodation of Kimberley brick was erected by the end of 1930; more roads were built, pine and wattle plantations begun, and a prospectus prepared, for distribution to all and sundry, with a view to attracting additional new, vigorous, dynamic, settlement. But Charles Hanmer's mind was already crowding over with other visions. He was convinced that pines would quickly become a payable proposition if the bugbear of transport costs could be overcome by floating the logs down the Pungwe River to the sawmills near Beira. In pursuit of this dream, he travelled to Beira to gain audience with the Governor of Mozambique, Admiral Pery, and, with his blessing, embarked on two remarkable journeys; one on foot to explore the upper reaches of the river and the second, with black companions, partly by raft, partly by bark canoe, and finally by dug out, to reconnoitre the river across the Pungwe Flats — where it widens, and where floods and tidal currents could cause problems of various sorts. He satisfied himself about the feasibility of getting the logs down there, but there were technicalities concerning the type and bouyancy of the timber, which put paid to the scheme.

He then proceeded to investigate, with his usual vigour, both here and overseas, the ins and outs of producing wood pulp. His comments on the dithering of politicians on this subject are almost on a par with the forceful opinions he was wont express about Civil Servants in general — whom (I am sorry to say in view of my past career) he regarded with infinite disdain!

Hanmer's subsequent road building activities radiated out towards Penhalonga in one direction and towards Baddeley in another. He was never still. Over the years, the huge estate, the 94000 acres of Inyanga Block, was divided and subdivided in numerous ways and on numerous occasions. Most of the subdivisions were on C. Hanmer's half, which was registered in the name of the Pulpwood Company of Rhodesia, while Bill Hanmer's portion became Gaerezi Ranch. As far as topographical features would allow,



Officers' Mess Police Camp Nyanga 1905. Capt Jack Nesbitt  
and his wife seated

*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*

the 94000 acre holding was more or less split down the middle. Bill Hanmer had a common boundary, on the north, with Nyamoropa Communal Land. In the N.E., the Gaerezi separated him from Mozambique, and, in the S.E., the Jora River was his boundary for most of the way.

Immediately north of Charles Hanmer's holding, ran a relatively small part of Nyamaropa Communal Land and then, moving west on the northern boundary, Nyagui Forest Land. To his west was Inyanga Communal Land, down the escarpment from Inyanga Mountains. To the south-west— Rhodes Estate. Along the south of both holdings ran the Remaining Extent of Inyanga Block which the brothers had hoped, but had failed, to acquire. It is this Remaining Extent that features most prominently in the National Park's expansion plans. Bill became a well-known and popular figure in the community, although he spent a lot of his time in Melsetter. He ran cattle and developed timber plantations on his ranch and became associated with other ventures such as Major MacIlwaine's Troutbeck Inn, on land later acquired by the Troutbeck connections, from his brother. It hardly needs saying that in his rivers, he introduced trout, as did his brother in *his* waters. I doubt whether Bill's right hand man for many years, Fergus Gilmore, would have found Nyanga so much to his liking, had he not been very much involved in that particular aspect of his multitudinous duties. He missed the trout and salmon of his native Ireland.

I am jumping a few years here, shamelessly resorting to what might apologetically be

called "poetic licence". Fergus Gilmour came out from Ireland after the Second World War, encouraged to do so by Col. Blakiston-Houston, well known, I think, to some of our ex-Servicemen. In the remote fastnesses of mountain, valley and stream, he, with Bill Hanmer, contrived wonders of road-making, bridge-building, house-construction, cattle-management, plantation-development and fire control. Notwithstanding the latter, in later years the operations of the estate were gravely affected by two devastating fires.

I propose to leave Fergus Gilmour in mid-air for the moment. Its a good time to do so because he was feeling air-borne, having met and married Troutbeck's delightful first receptionist, Barbara Maurice.

Bill Hanmer's Gaerezi Ranch was composed of broken country to an appreciably greater extent than that of Charles, and consequently lent itself far less easily to road access, and subdivision into viable plots. Moreover Bill Hanmer inherited formidable sociological problems along the eastern section of his holding, in the sense that the Tangwena people of the area considered that they had a traditional right to free range and occupation. This was hardly in keeping with the Government policy of the day. I think it can be said that Bill Hanmer and the "Tangwenas" co-existed on the land for a long time without undue strife. It was unfortunate that as their demands appeared to become more militant, and Government's response inevitably less tolerant, the situation became unpleasant. Bill Hanmer remained on his beloved Ranch until he died.

As far as I can gather, it was in 1934 or thereabout, that Herbert and Joan MacIlwaine visited Charles Hanmer's property for the first time. Major Mac. had been invited to advise on the introduction of trout. Characteristically, he went in at the deep end. He was thrilled beyond measure with the ideal combination of mountain and stream and rolling downs, and from his irresistible enthusiasm and shared knowledge, the introduction of trout into streams outside the boundaries of the National Park took on immediate urgency. This, together with dynamic hotel and road building schemes, golf course construction and the designing of lakes, opened up Nyanga to a wider range of visitor than had ever been catered for previously.

On land purchased from the Pulpwood Co. (ex C. Hanmer) there arose the nationally and internationally admired Troutbeck Inn and, a little further up towards the Nyanga Mt. Range, the Connemara Lake project. The creation and administration of these very considerable enterprises, particularly in the formative years, was no mean undertaking. Without underestimating the vital support of investors and co-directors, the continued eminence of these projects — and particularly that of Troutbeck — is a tribute to the vision and tenacity of Major Mac. and family.

Soon after the end of the Second World War, Col. Wyrley Birch, having become famous for his ability to find his way anywhere in the Western Desert, put his inborn navigational gift to more peaceful use by heading back to Nyanga. Prior to the war, he and his wife, Hilary, had rented a farm at Odzani, and during the war, while Charles Hanmer was stationed in what was then Salisbury, Mrs. Wyrley Birch helped to hold the fort for him at Nyanga. A generous, fearless, resourceful woman, and wonderful with horses, Mrs. Wyrley Birch has never been found wanting in helping people or, according to repute, in disposing of dangerously imprudent leopards with a "four ten".

The Wyrley Birch's acquired the farm Kwaraguza from C. Hanmer. On this they ran cattle. Good natured reports hinted at an inability on the part of their "mombi's" to recognise boundary lines when ranging.

Among the extraneous exploits noted during these years, were visits on horseback to the Portuguese Commandant at Vila Gouveia — one by Col. Wyrley Birch, and George Cross of the Police, and Charles Hanmer's wife Valerie (on which occasion the donkey carrying the blankets got lost and a miserably uncomfortable night was spent by all), and another by Herbert MacIlwaine and Charles Hanmer. Hanmer claimed that when he and Major Mac. arrived at the border on the Gaerezi, the river was up, so they undressed and waded across, to be met on the far bank by a Guard of Honour with fixed bayonets, and a band playing either "God save the King" or "That's Peggy O'Neill".

The MacIlwaine visit to Mozambique was not, in fact, purely a social call. He was interested in the possibilities of improving access to Troutbeck from all points of the compass. It is, I think, of considerable interest to note that in March 1949, at the time the Dannakay was opened, W.D. Gale wrote to Major MacIlwaine from the Public Relations Dept., saying how glad he was that he had had the opportunity of visiting Troutbeck while at Nyanga for the opening of the Dannakay. He added that he thought the Major had nothing at all to fear in the way of competition from the Dannakay which, good though it was, would in his opinion attract a different type of clientele. He went to say that he was pleased at both the opening of the Dannakay and the progress of Troutbeck, partly because (I quote) "when the new road across the Downs to the Gaerezi goes through and links up with the Tete — Vandusi road. . . Troutbeck will form a vital link in our plans to develop a Central African circular tourist route — Beitbride — (Great) Zimbabwe — Umtali — Troutbeck — Tete — Lake Nyasa — Fort Jameson — Lusaka — Victoria Falls — Bulawayo — Beitbridge." Perhaps our modern SADCC members would be intrigued by Billy Gale's forward planning of about 40 years ago.

Troutbeck opened on 1 March 1951, just two years after the Dannakay which, I am given to understand, was named after the proprietor's two daughters, Dana and Kay. It changed its name later to the Inyanga Mountains Hotel, and ultimately became the well-known "Montclair", with its casino. At one or other of the opening or transformation ceremonies, there was a party at which, at the end of the formal proceedings, a well greased pig was let loose among the celebrating guests. A bottle of Scotch might have been the prize for catching it, but recollections on the subject are hazy.

You will realize, I am sure, that in seeming to ignore the attractive amenities that are offered, or have in the past been offered, by Rhodes Hotel, Brondesbury Park, charmingly sited the Punch Rock Chalets, Pine Tree Inn which was Coven Tree Inn, which was Pine Tree Lodge, which used to be Kia Ora, I mean no disrespect at all. Nor is there time to enlarge on the invaluable service rendered to the public for very many years by the Anglers Rest and the Holiday Association Hotel in the village. Indeed, all kinds of establishments and services are being passed by or skimmed over — the R.M.S. and Green Motor Services amongst them. Without them, the Nyanga populace would have been very much out on a limb, particularly in days gone by. On the spiritual and aesthetic side, the lovely little Church of St. Catherines in the Downs near Troutbeck is one of Nyanga's gems, and the Bonda Mission has tended the spiritual and medical needs of thousands of people over the years. Loving hands have carved the font and other features of the little Church in Juliasdale, in praise and gratitude.

Each of the managers of Rhodes's Estate over the years could have a book written on him. The tough life of the landowners on the Dutch Settlement below the escarpment, has reached no history book that I know of. I have been told that at one stage, the only money

spinner there, was seed wheat and (questionably) seed barley, taken by ox wagon all the way to Baddeley Siding. For the rest, there were reports of bad seasons and hints of illegal gold-buying and, in one or two cases, ivory poaching in Mozambique. There is a tale of the Chef de Poste in Vila Gouveia having sent a cordial invitation to one of the men involved, treating him well on arrival, but extending his stay for a while in free accommodation in Tete — to the consternation of his friends back home.

The history of places like Claremont alone would doubtless take a day to relate. It is time that Claremont's history in particular was recorded. It is a success story which (as Bud Payne has pointed out to us) has had an incalculable effect on commercial enterprise in Nyanga, in contrast to the courageous but financially disastrous farming endeavours of many individual landowners; and it has led to a number of smaller, thriving enterprises. (There is, I may say, still bitterness in the minds of some, at the general assumption that all Rhodes Estate farming activities failed. This is positively not the case). Other success stories such as that of Mr. P. Storrer should be written up to counterbalance those of less successful ventures.

There is time, perhaps, to touch upon only two more snippets — one of the past; one of the present. Typical of the adventurous spirits ready to answer the challenge of creating a home for themselves in other lovely but untamed corners of Nyanga in the 1930s, was the Filmer family. They, Gerald and Madge Filmer, came up from a dry Queenstown area in South Africa to look around, and were struck by the wonderful contrast of Nyanga. Their nearest white neighbour was Don Purdon, then managing Rhodes Estate 20 miles away, and to get to him, they travelled over the steep Sheepscrew Hill road, in the vicinity of the Pungwe Falls. There were nine in the family convoy which camped all the way from the south. Eldest son Dick had already had a fairly epic train journey with the livestock and belongings — 500 sheep, 35 horses, furniture and food. A large crowd waved him goodbye at the station, and presented him with a bouquet of vegetables, beautifully arranged. This delighted the animals, as he had no cooking facilities. He was not allowed in the guard's van during the ten day journey to Umtali, so he travelled in one of the horse trucks; his bed, bags of lucerne which, occasionally at night, the piebald stallion would pull from under him. He worked feverishly at every stop to water the stock before the train pulled out. His arrival at Umtali created some interest as, herding his charges through town, he looked more like a circus than an immigrant. The furniture was dumped under tarpaulins at the station for two or three weeks while everything mobile or immobile was shepherded or carted in instalments the 50 miles to Chipunga Falls.

The Filmers' first six months were spent in huts. These were unwittingly built over an underground stream, so the floors and walls never dried and it wasn't long before the bracken sprouted through — quite unique and decorative. The huts were sparsely thatched, and at times one's breakfast egg would land on one's bed or on the floor, from an industrious hen on the roof.

As in so many cases throughout the country, the family came to be trusted by the black people of the area as their means of communication with the authorities and the outside world, and as arbiters and physicians in many of their troubles. There was a river without a bridge between them and Bonda Mission. The Filmers blazed a trail to the Mtarazi Falls and could justly claim to have taken the first car there.

They, like others, suffered the vicissitudes of stock losses from leopards and from the vagaries of climate. Their rainfall was high; so much so that the wool turned green, then



black, on their long-wooled sheep, when 90 incessant inches of rain descended on them. Many of the animals caught pneumonia and died. A canvas coat was made for each animal, but pride in this adornment must have been shortlived, because if the sheep survived, the perpetually wet canvas rotted. They ran cattle successfully, but horses lost their foals, straw crops suffered from die-back, and facilities for drying and marketing pyrethrum proved inadequate. Troubles there certainly were — but there were compensations. Most produce was home-grown; vegetables, fruit, bread, butter and cream, and a gooseberry jam which was so popular and readily available any day of the year that it became known as “365”. So frequently did people stop over at this lovely farm, that the Filmers opened the Chipunga Falls Guest House, and spent ten very happy years there, before moving to Cashel.

In closing, I must revert to the Remaining Extent of the huge Inyanga Block, which eluded the Hanmer brothers in the 1930's. It was bought in 1942 by Inyangombe Estate which changed its name to Inyangani Estate and was, I think, in effect the property of the Igoe family. Block A of it was bought by Government in 1946, presumably to protect the Pungwe/Nyazengu confluence and the lower Pungwe Gorge. I believe Government would have liked — and would still like — to acquire the property Nyazengu, including the Nyazengu Gorge, but there are private holdings on it at present. Two of the owners have sold to Government. Aberfoyle Tea Plantations were established in 1958 in the south of the block, W.A.K. Igoe being a Director of the Company concerned. It is still shown on the map as Aberfoyle Plantations, but it is in fact owned and run by Eastern Highlands Ltd. which took it over in 1958.

A long way back in our story we left Fergus Gilmore, when he was working with Bill Hanmer. For a time he operated also for Mr. Igoe, and we bring him into the picture again at this stage, surmounting the challenge of the terrain by transporting tea seed by donkey pack down the escarpment of the Little Nyangani to the new lands below. I gather that Mr. Brian Curtis, now of Ruzawi, would remember that notable consignment of seed, as would Mr. Peter Ring who is still very much involved in the tea industry.

Eastern Highlands Ltd. also own 2360 morgen to the east of the tea estate that is shown on the map as Aberfoyle Plantations. The “new” Aberfoyle Plantations Tea Estate is on the extreme eastern section of the Block.

There remain extensive tracts and valleys within the borders of the Block which are of tremendous ecological importance to the well-being of the whole Gaerezi system, and perhaps the most exciting news recently published on Nyanga, has been that of the acquisition by Government, of much of that vitally important area, for inclusion and protection in the National Park. This includes Gleneagles Estate. This will mean, among other things, that the bulk of Zimbabwe's highest mountain, Inyangani, instead of only a segment of it, will be in National Park land, that the headwaters of the Gaerezi can be protected, that forest and valley trees and other vegetation that is becoming rare — and even endangered to a point — can be preserved, that some truly exquisite country can be included in carefully planned walking trails and pony trails, and that the finest trout waters in the country, capable of achieving international status, can be added to our national resources. This is the sort of inspired thinking that underlies the recent land acquisitions of National Parks, aided by the Conservation Trust. With dedicated handling and support, it can only enhance the unique beauty of Nyanga.

There will inevitably be some sensitive issues to be sorted out by the branches of Government responsible for National Parks on the one hand and State farming and resettlement schemes on the other. The pressures on both branches is severe, and some of the problems not easily reconcilable. A considerable area of old Hanmer land is being used for farming and resettlement, and the handling of it can be vital to the well-being of the Gaerezi. Government has a great deal at stake here. I believe it is fully alive to the delicacy of the ecological balance of the area concerned.

Note: The bulk of the information on which this talk was based was gleaned from the records of the National Archives of Zimbabwe — to which due acknowledgement is tendered.

# Bomber Harris

by F.H. Shepherd

When Sir Arthur Travers Harris died at his home in Goring, England, on 5 April 1984 aged 92, his passing largely escaped the attention of the media in Zimbabwe, however *The Herald* of 10 April 1984 does contain one notice of condolence to Sir Arthur (Bomber) Harris, Marshall of the Royal Air Force, and one-time bugler in 1st Rhodesia Regiment.

The following is not a review of the notable part Sir Arthur played in World War II, but an outline of his early days in this country.

Harris was born on 13 April 1892 at Cheltenham, England, the son of George Steel Travers Harris, a civil engineer serving in the Public Works Department of the Indian Civil Service, and his wife Caroline Maria Harris. Young Harris returned with his parents to India where he remained until the age of five, when he was sent back to England to start his education at the Cheltenham Kindergarten and Preparatory School for Eton, in 1904 he was transferred to Allhallows School, at Honiton in Devon, where he remained till 1909.

In his authorised biography *Bomber Harris* by Dudley Seward, Harris related that while at Allhallows he was given a ticket to a play that made a lasting impression on his mind. The plot of the play was “about a Rhodesian planter who came back to marry his society fiancée, but fell out with her because she was so dammed snooty. He finished up by marrying the housemaid, a Scottish yeoman’s daughter, and taking her out to Rhodesia instead”. What intrigued Harris was that there was a country where snobbery, the curse of Edwardian England, was unknown, and he therefore decided that it was the ideal country for him.

He managed to persuade his father to pay his passage out, and on 24 February 1910, two months before his eighteenth birthday he left England on the *S.S. Inanda*, which took him to Beira, the voyage lasted five weeks. Harris took the train to Umtali, and then spent the next three months at the British South Africa Company’s Premier Estate, where for a fee of £10 per month six young men at a time were accommodated, trained in farming methods, and African languages. During the next few years Harris took various jobs, brick making, building, transport riding, and assistant manager on a few farms.

In 1913 he became manager of the Crofton Townsend farm, not far from Salisbury. Harris admitted that the period he was manager of this estate was to prove very important to his future life. It was a very well equipped estate, with steam and traction engines and other mechanical marvels of that age. But above all was the fact that this employer left the running of that big enterprise, and its labour force to Harris, and thus Harris had a chance to use his initiative, powers of improvisation, and leadership to the full.

Though happy with his job, when World War I started Harris volunteered to join the 1st Rhodesia Regiment, his Regimental number was 75, and his rank bugler. On his attestation form dated 20 October 1914, Harris listed his previous military service as five years in his school’s Officer Training Corps and service in the Surrey Yeomanry.

Harris saw active service in German South West Africa, his main comment on the



Arthur Travers Harris 1912. Shelling mealies on Gibson's Farm near Salisbury

Source: Mrs A.E. Cooksey

*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*

campaign was on the long hot gruelling marches carried out day after day, after day. It is sometimes forgotten how much marching the infantry of this period had to do, carrying quite a burden of equipment. The campaign ended in victory, and the regiment was disbanded and Harris returned to Salisbury, very clear on two points, he wanted to fight in Europe, and he did not want ever to be a foot soldier again.

About 350 ex-members of the 1st Rhodesian Regiment also wanted to join up in Britain, so the BSA Company Administration paid their fare (£10 per head) on the *S.S. Cluny Castle*. During the voyage back to England Harris found the main reading matter available was old newspapers, these gave accounts of the war, and of the deadlock on the Western Front. Clearly the cavalry would be able to play little part in the war until there was a major break-through. However there were glowing accounts of the gallant deeds of the Royal Flying Corps, and Harris decided this was the unit he would like to join. On 6 November 1915 he was commissioned a Second Lieutenant, Special Reserve, R.F.C. and joined No 39 Squadron. Harris served with distinction and finished with the rank of major.

When the 1914 — 1918 War ended, Harris was awarded a permanent commission in the Royal Air Force, and his rank was changed to that of Squadron leader. During 1919 — 1920 his job was that of the demobilisation and closing down of squadrons, but in 1921 he was posted to No 31 Squadron, based at Cawnpore, India.

In May 1922 completely disillusioned by the way the R.A.F. was being changed from the Worlds largest air force to a mere skeleton, he sent in his resignation stating he wished to return to farming in Rhodesia. Fortunately for the RAF, Air Vice Marshall Sir John Salmond persuaded him to withdraw his resignation, and in October 1922 Harris was posted to Mesopotamia, where during the years 1922 — 1924 he was able to develop many of his long range bombing tactics, such as night bombing, pathfinding, and target marking.

After two years at the Staff College at Camberley, Harris became a Senior Staff Officer, and during the years 1929 — 1932 was active in the Middle East, and East Africa.

In 1935 the Southern Rhodesia Government made the offer that they would contribute an annual sum towards British Imperial Defence. The Committee of Imperial Defence decided that this money would be used to establish a Rhodesian Air Unit, and a scheme for training pilots. Harris, a member of the Joint Planning Sub-Committee of the Chiefs of Staff, was selected to study air problems in Southern Rhodesia. He left for Salisbury in mid February 1936, and in a series of meetings with the Prime Minister, G.M. Huggins, and the Minister of Justice and Defence V.A. Lewis, he developed the idea that the Rhodesian Air Unit should be able to grow into an Air Force. Harris's report and recommendations were completed and signed 13 March 1936.

Ex-members of Bomber Command always noted that Harris was quick to spot the Rhodesia flash on a man's uniform, and his wife, Lady Therese whom he married in June 1938, has also confirmed he had the fondest memories of the days he spent in this country.

Dudley Saward relates that "perhaps of all the messages Harris received, following the success of his first thousand bomber raid on Cologne in May 1942, the one that gave him the most pleasure was from Colonel Sir Ernest Lucas Guest, (who had served in IRR as a subaltern), the then Minister of Air for Southern Rhodesia, it read:- "Your old comrades of the First Rhodesia Regiment send you congratulations. Well done".

# **The Inyanga Downs Fly-Fishers Club The First Twenty-Five Years – 1959 to 1984**

**by Alistair Cowan**

Today's ready access to the beauty and charm of much of the Nyanga area can be traced back to the foresight and dedication of a small handful of people and exactly the same can be said for the outstanding trout-fishing on the Gaeresi River enjoyed by the members of this club for the past twenty-five years. The story goes as far back as the early 1930's when trout ova from King William's Town were successfully incubated in the headwaters of the Odzani River and cared for by A J Drysdale of the Stapleford Forest Reserve. Some of the fry were released into Rhodes Estate waters by Don A Purdon, the Estate Manager. The distribution of fry was expanded by the three stalwart Inyanga families, the MacIlwaines, the Hammers and the Wyrley-Birches and it was their efforts, together with co-operation from Bill Igoe at Gleneagles, which transformed the Gaeresi into a great trout river.

Ova were brought north by train in small wooden boxes fitted with trays for the ova and a compartment for ice, the latter being replenished at various stations en route. On arrival, the eggs were transferred to hatching boxes which were floated in running water and required inspection two or three times daily for dead ova which, when they became opaque, were removed by suction with a glass tube. Hatching took three to four weeks and as no trout pellets were available in those early days the fry were fed on crumbled hard-boiled eggs. They seemed to thrive on this rather strange diet and when they grew to a suitable size the young fish were given access to an enclosed pool or weir so that they could adapt to natural food before being transported in milk-cans to the selected river.

In 1933 or 1934 the history of our club and indeed the development of the Troutbeck area began. Herbert MacIlwaine visited Charles A Hanmer and took with him five little trout which he had been given by Purdon and they put them into the pool on the Tsanga River over which the Herbert MacIlwaine bridge now stands. On his return the next day "Major Mac" found the five little fish busily rising and feeding, and he promptly bought land for a cottage. From these five young trout were born his inspired ideas of Troutbeck Lake, the Hotel, the golf course, Little Connemara and the Club.

Charles Hanmer continued the hatching experiments with the assistance of an English employee called Tesh, and for three successive years he imported ova from King William's Town. The first two years were unsuccessful, owing to the transportation hazards, but his perseverance paid dividends and in the third year Hanmer was able to stock the Tsanga River at several points and in the momentous years just before the second World War the first stocking of the Gaeresi took place just above the cattle-crossing.

This was the only stocking of the main river which took place before the war, but during the following years trout were plentiful in the Tsanga River from the present site of Troutbeck all the way to the falls, and there were visitors a-plenty at the MacIlwaine

cottage! In 1943 Col. R A Wyrley-Birch had a reasonably successful experiment at Kwaraguza with ova which this time came from Stellenbosch, but after that no more hatching was done until the war was over.

In the late 1940's a syndicate led by H W Jeffreys (Chairman of the Standard Bank in Salisbury) bought the land now known as Gleneagles and Aberfoyle. There was considerable interest shown in the stocking of the Gaeresi, especially since two large trout had been caught in the pool above the Gaeresi cattle-crossing, but by whom and in which year is unfortunately not recorded. Valerie Hanmer had also seen large fish in the Black Pool. The stage was almost set.

The Jeffrey's syndicate members caught about 20 of Purdon's fish in the Nyamazwiwa River, put them in milk-cans and met the Wyrley-Birchs and Charles Hanmer and were led on foot along the track to "Gaeresi Farm", Rhodes Estate and from there to the confluence of the Nyama and Gaeresi Rivers (a drop of some 3 000 feet) with frequent stops to replenish water in the cans from the colder streams. Another attempt was made with Don Purdon and African helpers. This was not so successful, as they had difficulty in getting the larger cauldron into a quiet stream and a flash flood brought the river up twenty-five feet at their camp.

In the early 1950's Bill Igoe bought the land from the Jeffrey's syndicate and roads were made to the upper Gaeresi for the development of the tea estate. Peter St J Turnbull-Kemp from Nyanga National Park advised Bill Igoe on the making of a hatchery on the Sumba headwaters and again ova from Stellenbosch were used. These pioneers certainly had their priorities right, as the hatchery was completed before the roads were through!

While all this was going on, Herbert MacIlwaine had hatched ova successfully preparatory to the opening of Troutbeck Lake in 1949, and the Wyrley-Birchs and their African staff had continued with ova hatching to the extent that the Gaeresi was well stocked from these various sources by the time the fishing hut on the Kwaraguza was built in 1958.

It is astonishing to look back now at the efforts of these good people, the majority of whom, incredibly, were not trout-fishermen themselves. They saw the potential of this great river and persevered against remarkable odds without the modern aids of plastic bags and oxygen and at last in 1958, the stage was truly and finally set.

It is not difficult to imagine the excitement generated in the hearts of the first Gaeresi fishermen as they headed for the river and assembled their rods. Would the efforts of those who had stocked the Gaeresi do justice to the magnificence of the river, would the altitude be wrong — would the ova have survived their remarkable journeys?

They were not left long in doubt. The earliest records available start on 1st October 1958 and are from the Kwaraguza waters. From the word 'go', fish upwards of 5 lbs were caught. In November weekend, David and Pat Hamilton caught 6 fish weighing 17 lb 9 oz, the largest 5 lb 3 oz. In early January 1959, Norman Travers landed 3 fish, weighing 11 lbs 10 oz and John N MacIlwaine adds rather sadly "lost 5". Perhaps Norman had persuaded John that the water was so clear that the fish could only be landed on a 5x cast.

In 1959 the Inyanga Downs Fly-Fishers Club was formed, and the fishing there, too, started with screaming reels. The names of the fishermen for November 1959 are not entered in the fishing book (unless they were all either Mr or Mrs Rainbow) but the first four fish landed, on 1, 3 and 4 November, weighed 5 lbs 4 oz, 5 lbs 10 oz, 5 lbs and 3 lbs 4 oz. What a disappointment it must have been to land a tiddler of only 3 lb 4 oz! The total for

November 1959 was 23 fish weighing 93 lbs 6 oz, an average of 3 lb 10 oz and one can only believe this accounts for the waiting list for membership still existing in 1984.

The euphoria of the marvellous November did not last long, however, and the Club's first season ended with substantially fewer fish being caught from December to April, but they were still of remarkable size and no less than ten fish over 4½ lbs were caught. These outstanding weights continued for four years during which time the average fish taken was over 3 lbs. Since those days the fish have dropped to an average size of 1½ to 2 lbs. The best season of all must surely have been 1965/66, when 105 rods landed 335 trout averaging 1½ lbs — great river-fishing by any standards. Sadly the worst season (other than the years when the independence war was at its height) was our 25th year — only 27 fish taken, although the average size of 1 lb 14 oz was good by present-day standards.

Perhaps the halcyon days of the river were from 1963 to 1970 when we averaged 165 fish per season at just over 1½ lbs per fish. Small wonder our older members talk of "the good old days"! Let us hope these days will return once again as a 1½ lb fish on the Gaeresi is a fighting fish to be remembered.

During these tremendous fishing years members started to express concern at the reduction in the average size of the fish — ironic indeed today to imagine concern over the marvellous results which were achieved at that time!

For the statistically minded the first 25 years of the Club's fishing history yielded 2 294 trout averaging 1 lb 15½ oz, a total weight of just over 2 tons! This does not include trout caught in the Tsanga and Madzoro Rivers on which the Club had fishing rights until the 1970's at which time these rights were passed to the riparian owners. Some good fishing was to be had on these smaller streams, and in the mid-1960's 50 to 60 trout per season were taken by Club members.

The first secretary of the Club was Peter Shaw and the early names of the Club fishing records include "Major Mac", Hugh V. Wheeler, Hume Stewart-Moore, Campbell Copen, Bill Gulliver, Norman Travers, David Hamilton, John MacIlwaine, Anthony Wyrley-Birch and many others.

Those early members gave names to the pools in the tradition of the great British salmon rivers, the pools mostly being named after "senior citizens" — which is only right and proper — and what river in the world can boast such a delightful name for a series of sparkling cascades as "Gulliver's Travels"?

I am sure each club member has happy memories of his favourite pool and it would be a fruitless exercise to try to play with statistical analysis in an attempt to decide which is the best pool or run on the river. Really big fish have been taken all the way from Gleneagles water to well below the bridge, but our results over the years clearly show the migratory tendencies of the rainbow trout. The upper reaches throughout the years have yielded a large number of fish of a similar size; this trend is reversed as fishermen move downstream — after Boulders pool, the fish caught have been relatively few in number but generally move down to lower pools — on Christmas eve in 1970, 13" rain were recorded at Gleneagles in 3½ hours. The pools have been re-named occasionally over the years, the last time by Ivor Ramsay in 1975 and his revision gave the names used in this paper.

The fly which landed the most fish from the very start of fishing on the Gaeresi was undoubtedly that remarkable creation the Walker's Killer, which accounted for the first fish taken by a Club member in 1959, and which has been a fatal temptation to the trout ever since. *Invicta*, *Pheasant* and *Red*, *Coch-y-bondu* (spelt in a variety of ways by the



recorders), Kemp's favourite, Mrs Simpson and various other famous patterns have taken many fish, but a quick glance through the records indicates that Walker's Killer accounts for over 50% of the fish caught.

Relatively few fish have been taken on the dry-fly although Nigel Thorneycroft has had tremendous success over the years, and I am sure has had many heart-stopping moments with the floating line. The exciting "take" to a dry-fly on a gin-clear river is trout fishing par excellence, and many members must envy Nigel's ability. I asked him last year the secret of his success. He thought about it for a moment and then said, "Well, you know, it's easier than wet-fly fishing". I only wish I could agree!

The record fish for the river was caught in April 1970 by D. W. K. Machpherson on a "Silver Guinea", a fly of his own trying. On his fishing return for the day he writes — "length 23" girth 14" no other fish seen". Oh dear. Members clearly have a tendency to play down their achievements and appear to be subject to excessive modesty. Hugh V. Wheeler's magnificent 5 lb 13 oz fish in 1971 is described as "slightly sluggish". Norman Travers' 5 lb 6 oz fish in 1970 is hardly poetically described — "contents of stomach — 1 dragonfly larva". John MacIlwaine (5½ pounder from Junction pool, also in 1970) states: "water at bridge 3 inches". H.F.N. Light landed 5 lb and 6 lb fish on successive days in 1975 and managed "water very clear". Peter Worsley-Worswick in 1976 reached ecstatic literary heights on catching a 4½ pounder and wrote — "good". Hats off to David Hamilton in 1975 when he landed a 6 pounder in the pool subsequently named after him. He at least managed to write "beautiful sunny day". I'll bet it was!

A valuable addition to the enjoyment of this grand river was the Club Hut, where many a pleasant evening has been spent talking over the events of the day. Sited with a magnificent view of the waterfall and a pleasant walk to the toothbrushing area, the hut also served as a haven from the thunderstorms which can hit the valley so unexpectedly. Battered but not destroyed during the independence war, the mansion re-roofed and its splendour increased by the addition of a Jetmaster to replace the old fireplace, which not only supplied smoked trout but smoked whisky and smoked inhabitants as well.

All this fun and excitement would not have been possible for us all without two major factors, one being our working committees over the years, who are normally those members who are resident in Nyanga and who do so much work on our behalf. The other factor is the one which I touched on earlier in this article — the dedication which many people showed towards a river and a fishing club although they themselves were not all enthusiastic fishermen. Without Charles Hanmer's interest and generosity the club would not exist at all. Without the love of the river and its surroundings shown by the late Col Wyrley-Birch and the evergreen Hilary, the club and river would not be what they are today, and without the meticulous records kept by the late "Tommy" Ashworth this little history could not have been written. No doubt I will be told of many others who contributed in many different ways to the Club's past — please forgive such omissions.

It is sad that no fish are recorded as "outstanding fish" since 1976. We must change that trend before the next 25 years have gone by. We have young and vigorous members who will very soon stop "Dad" talking of the "good old days" and make their theme, "Now Dad — what do you think of that?"

As a suitable ending for this brief history of our Club there is a charming little entry dated 9 January 1962 in the Kwaraguza fishing book when "Sue J — had a lovely time playing in the water". Haven't we all?

### **Post Script**

I am most grateful to Mrs Wyrley-Birch and Charles Hanmer for the kind help they have given to me in preparing this article. I am sure other club members have interesting or amusing memories of the river, and I am aware that there are gaps in this history of the Club — a list of the Chairman, the building of the Club Hut, the experiments with eel-catching, and many others. If members can send me any items which they feel will be of interest I will be only too happy to re-write the article and incorporate their ideas.

# Tobacco in Zimbabwe\*

by Turville Kille

The Centennial issue of *Tobacco International* gives the opportunity for an historical review of the Zimbabwean Tobacco Industry. In 1886, the year of the birth of *Tobacco International*, the scramble for Africa was at its height and present-day Zimbabwe had not yet been colonised by the British settlers. It was inhabited by the Mashona and Ndebele peoples who were either pastoral or practised a system of shifting cultivation. In 1884/85, the European powers held a conference in Berlin to decide upon the division of Africa into spheres of interest, and by 1886 Cecil Rhodes, prompted by the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal, realised that he had to make a move in order to achieve his ultimate ambition of bringing that part of south-central Africa which is now Zimbabwe under British influence, and prevent either the Portuguese linking Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) with Portuguese West Africa (Angola), or the Germans linking German East Africa (Tanganyika) with German South West Africa (Namibia) or the Afrikaners from the Transvaal moving northwards.

As a result of careful scheming, Rhodes, in the latter half of 1888, sent Charles Dunell Rudd to negotiate with Lobengula, the King of the Ndebele nation. On 30 October 1888, after protracted discussions, Lobengula signed the Rudd Concession by which he granted to Rudd "the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in my Kingdoms, Principalities and Dominions . . ."

Rhodes acquired the Rudd Concession as well as others and united them in the British South Africa Company (BSAC) which was granted a Royal Charter by Queen Victoria in October 1889. The Company's principal field of operations was present-day Zimbabwe, and no time was wasted in making preparations for the occupation, by the Pioneer Column, of Mashonaland (the north eastern half of Zimbabwe). On 13 September 1890 a formal ceremony to mark the Occupation of Mashonaland was held. The Union Jack was hoisted and the place named in honour of the then Prime Minister of Great Britain — Fort Salisbury (now named Harare).

Subsequently the Pioneers dispersed and settled in various parts of the country, to either farm or mine, and within a few years tobacco was being grown. The first detailed record of a tobacco crop planted by a pioneer in the country concerns one that was grown by Lionel Cripps on the farm "The Park", Umtali (Mutare) in 1894–5. He harvested 57½lb. of tobacco and when matured, the cut tobacco was sold for 54d per lb. (about Z\$1 per kg). However, there is an earlier report of tobacco being grown by Father Boos of the Chishawasha Jesuit Mission Farm near Salisbury in 1892–93, stating that the tobacco was found promising and when manufactured was of an agreeable quality.

Prior to the arrival of the white settlers, various varieties of tobacco were grown by the indigenous population. Lobengula obtained his supplies of tobacco from the Wankie (Hwange) district and in the Sebungwe district the 'Nyoka' tobacco was grown and manufactured for trade and barter. Tobacco was also cultivated in the Eastern districts and was used by the indigenous people in trade with the first settlers in the Chipinga (Chipinge) and Melsetter (Chimanmani) districts.

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\* This article first appeared in the Centennial issue of *Tobacco International*, New York, 1986. Country and town names are the ones in use at the particular time of the occurrence of the event described. The author retired in July 1987 as Senior Air-Cured Tobacco Specialist, Ministry of Agriculture; he is presently a Tobacco Consultant.

Between 1895 and 1900 experimental plantings of various types of tobacco were made in several districts of Rhodesia and growers subsequently received assistance from the B.S.A. Co. through its Department of Agriculture. The year 1903 stands out as one of the most eventful in Rhodesia tobacco history, for in that year E.H. South produced the first flue-cured tobacco and thus founded the industry which has since played an important part in the development of the country.

The importance of flue-cured tobacco to Rhodesia was soon appreciated: one dealer expressed surprise at the quality of the leaf and said that if Rhodesia could produce much tobacco of this colour and texture, the country had something as valuable as gold and diamonds and was sufficient in itself to make the country great.

In 1905 the B.S.A. Co. published a book entitled *The Culture of Tobacco*. This book was written by George Odium after a very extensive tour of the U.S.A.

In the earlier days of tobacco growing in Rhodesia, experimental plantings of various types of tobacco were made, and these included flue-cured, oriental, pipe and cigar tobaccos. In 1903 tobacco on the Umtali Agricultural Show included leaf, cut tobacco, cigarettes and cigars, whilst a year later at the Salisbury Agricultural Show at the Drill Hall similar exhibits plus the first exhibit manufactured from cigar leaf grown at Hartman Hill, Salisbury, were reported to be of excellent quality.

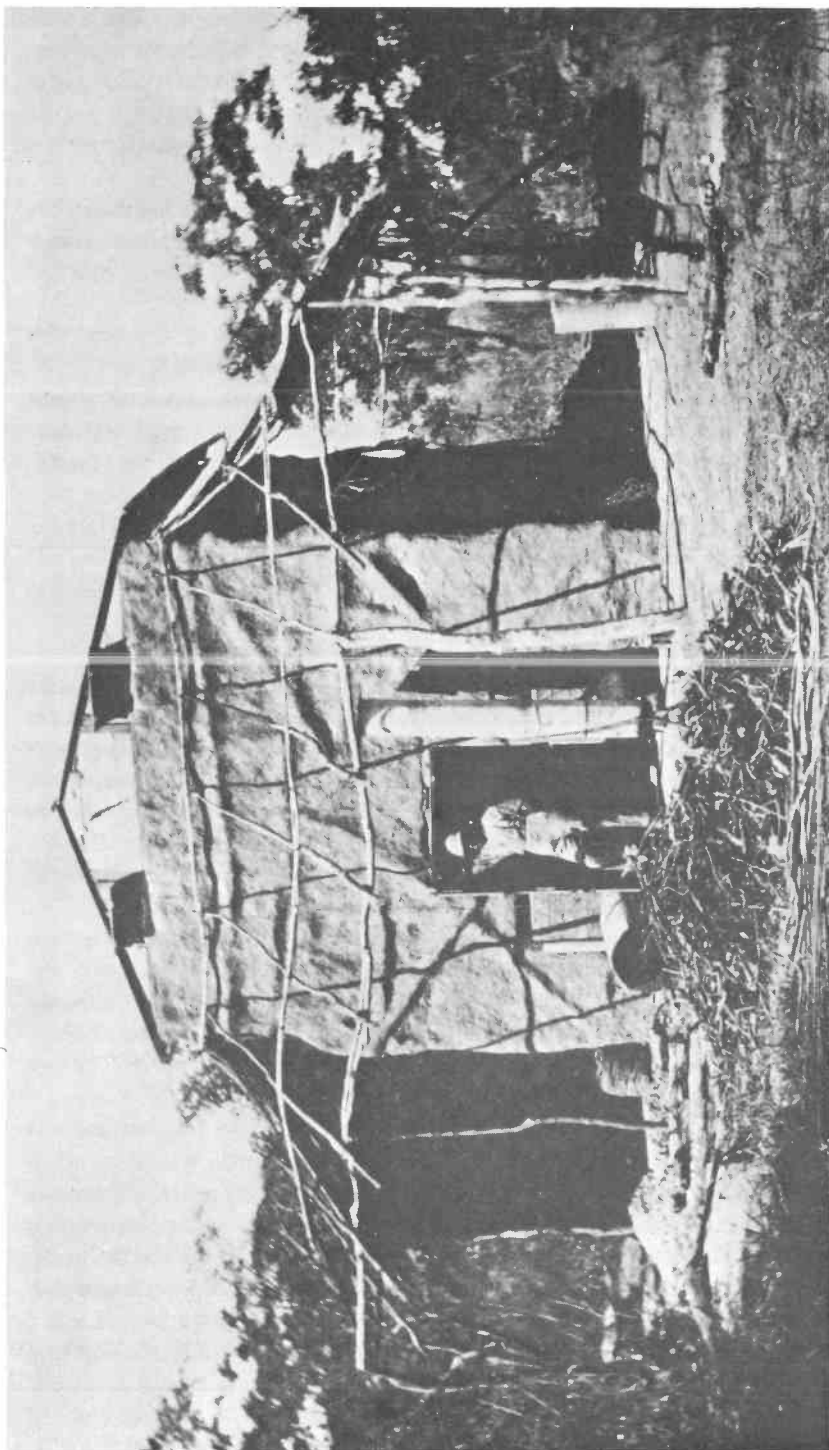
Cigarettes manufactured in Rhodesia from locally grown tobacco were exported to South Africa and the United Kingdom as early as 1905.

Costs of production were just as much under discussion in those days as they are today. The average cost of production from seedbeds to marketing was estimated at under £10 per acre, profit being calculated at £25 per acre, taking the average yield at 700 lb. per acre and the average price 12d per lb. It is interesting to note that the Cape Town price of Rhodesian leaf was about 30d per lb. compared with the Liverpool price of 6d per lb. for similar grades of American tobacco. Tobacco was at first sold by private treaty, but on 19 January 1910 the first auction of Rhodesian tobacco was held in Salisbury when the 1908-09 crop consisting of 100 000 lb. was sold for an average of 14d per lb. A year later 192 000 lb was auctioned at an average of 14.5d per lb.

In 1911 the first tobacco co-operative society, The Tobacco Planters' Co-operative Society, was formed for the purpose of marketing members' tobacco. On 31 January and 1 February, 1912 the 1910-1911 crop was auctioned in Salisbury and this was attended by buyers from eight firms. A record crop was on offer — 407 402 lb. of flue-cured which averaged 14.5d per lb. and 46 093 lb. of oriental which averaged 25.5d per lb. The best bale of oriental tobacco fetched 52d per lb.

A crop of just over three million lb. was reaped in the 1912-13 season and was offered for sale in May 1914, but because of a disagreement between the warehouse which had packed the tobacco and visiting buyers there were no sales. Forty per cent of the crop was exported to the United Kingdom and failed for economic reasons to reach a satisfactory price. The rest of the crop was gradually disposed of during the next two years. As a result many tobacco growers went bankrupt and tobacco production lost favour with the farming community. One grower advertised his farm for a good strong bicycle with a lamp! Production dropped to one-sixth and, with the added destruction of World War I did not again exceed one million pounds until 1918-19.

In 1913 the Department of Agriculture produced a *Handbook for Tobacco Culture for Planters in Southern Rhodesia*, a lineal successor of the work issued by the B.S.A. Co.



**E.H. South, a pioneer tobacco grower, standing at the entrance of his flue-curing barn, 1903, the first such barn to be built in Southern Rhodesia. Source: Clements and Harben *Leaf of Gold***  
*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*

in 1905. At the time no store of local experience was available from which to draw, but great strides had been made by 1913 and a fund of tobacco information was gained from within Rhodesia from the experience of growers and experts working together, and the results of careful experiment. The handbook did not claim to be complete and much was still to be learnt about tobacco in Rhodesia.

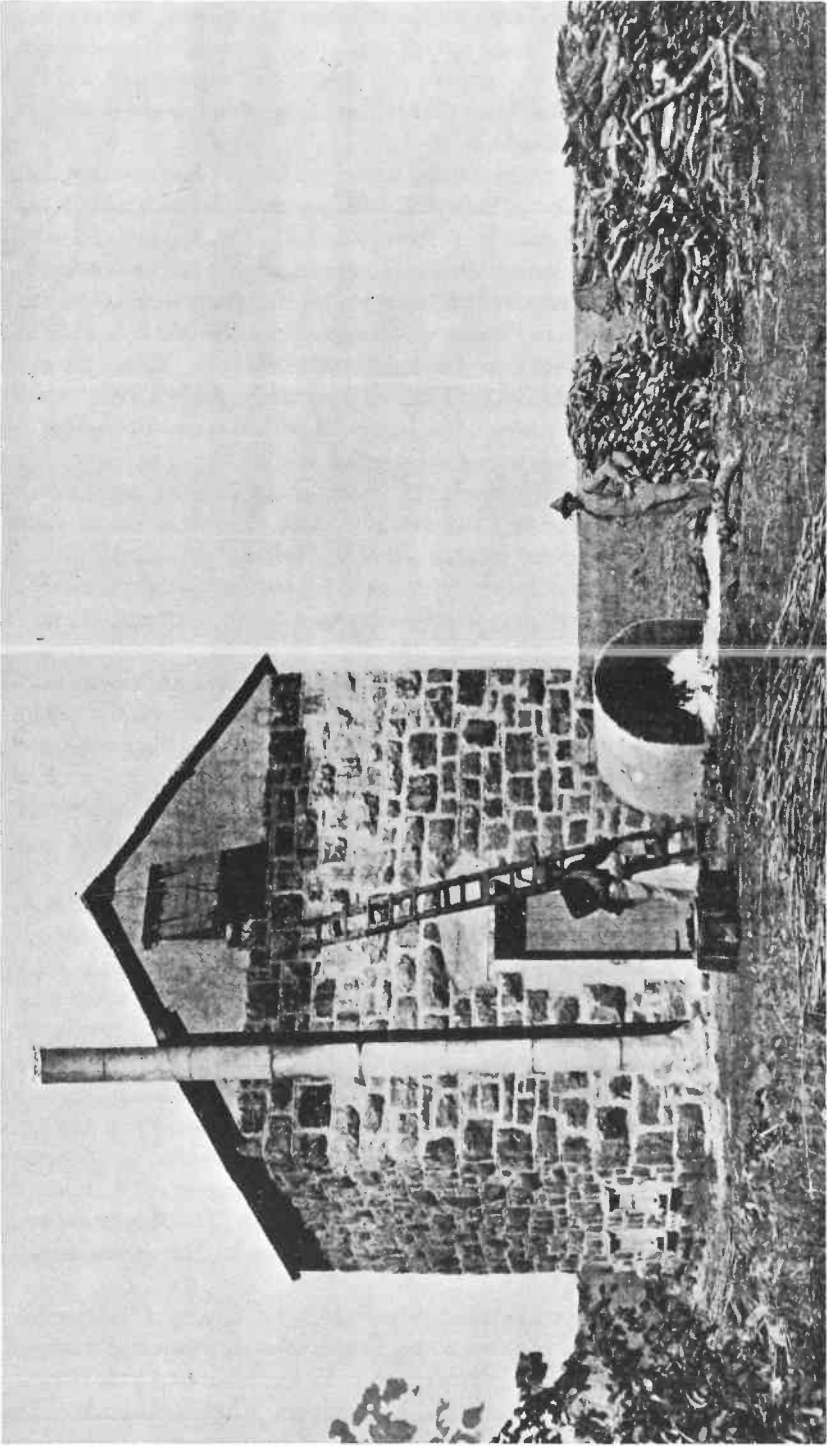
Rhodesian leaf was exhibited at the Empire Exhibition in 1924 and was very well received. This and the raising of Imperial Preference to 25 per cent of the duty in 1925, led British manufacturers to take an interest in Rhodesian leaf. The Imperial Tobacco Company of Great Britain and Ireland established a processing plant in Rhodesia in 1927, and in that year for the first time, exports of leaf to the United Kingdom exceeded those to South Africa. Tobacco production in Rhodesia increased from 2 400 000 lb in 1925 to nearly 25 million lb in 1928, when the flue-cured industry virtually collapsed due to a glut of Empire leaf in the United Kingdom. In 1931 half the flue cured barns in Rhodesia were standing idle and Government advanced credit to growers: much of this credit turned out to be a grant when prices remained low during the depression.

The Rhodesia Tobacco Association (R.T.A.) was formed in 1928, with elected district representatives, but membership was voluntary until 1933 when membership became compulsory for all flue-cured tobacco growers. Also in that year, the United Kingdom agreed to guarantee for ten years the existing 25 per cent Imperial Preference on tobacco import duty, and two years later, South Africa agreed to indicate annually how much Rhodesia leaf would be allowed in duty free.

Compulsory auctions were introduced for Rhodesian flue-cured tobacco in 1936 since when this system continued very successfully until it was modified in 1966 to selling by classification, which continued until 1973 when a return was made to selling flue-cured tobacco by auction. This system continues and 1986 marks the opening of the new modern auction building covering 1.2 ha (3 acres) some 9 kilometres (six miles) from the centre of Harare, which has facilities for selling over one million kilogrammes a day with four sales running concurrently.

From 1934 until the beginning of World War II exports averaged about 20 million lb. annually, while average annual exports amounted to just under 30 million lb during the war years. In 1945 exports were just over 40 million lb. and in 1954, the 100 million lb. mark was reached: a record of over 250 million lb. was exported in 1965, by which time Salisbury had long been acknowledged as the largest flue-cured marketing centre in the world. Exports then declined due to the economic sanctions which were applied to Rhodesia. However, in 1981, the year after Zimbabwe became independent, exports were again equivalent to the 1965 figure at almost 120 million kilogrammes. From 1982 to 1985 exports have ranged from 80 million to 100 million kilogrammes. In 1948 the 'London Agreement' made provision for the purchase by British buyers of two kinds of tobacco up to 70 million lb. provided quality and prices were suitable. This Agreement was modified in 1950 for the United Kingdom to take up to 80 million lb. This agreement fell away in 1965.

Oriental tobacco was first grown in Matabeleland and by 1904 a crop of 50 acres was planted on a farm adjoining Bulawayo Commonage. In later years the tobacco on this farm reached 300 acres per season, the largest production by an individual grower of oriental tobacco anywhere in the world. In 1906 oriental was being grown in Mashonaland and a year later George M. Odum, the Government tobacco expert was sent to Turkey and



**Flue-curing barn on the estate of the Bulawayo Syndicate**

Source: *Rhodesia Agricultural Journal* August 1906

*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*

Greece to study tobacco culture in those countries and select technical advisers to the industry.

A processing plant was erected at Darwendale in 1908 which was known as the Darwendale Turkish Tobacco Factory. By 1918 production had risen to 205 000 lb and reached nearly 420 000 lb. in 1925.

For several years the only market for Rhodesian grown oriental tobacco was South Africa. The 'Union Quota' of 1930 allowed the importation of only 400 000 lb. duty free, which was reduced to 200 000 lb. in 1931 and cancelled in 1938. The Turkish Tobacco Co-operative Company of Rhodesia was formed in 1930 to ensure proper distribution of the Union Quota tobacco amongst growers. By 1935 production had risen to about 750 000 lb. and until 1940-41 between 500 000 lb and 750 000 lb was produced annually by some 50 growers. World War II disrupted the main sources of supply of tobacco from Greece and Turkey and in consequence, an increasing demand for Rhodesian leaf arose, and by 1945-46 over 500 growers were producing about 5 000 000 lb.

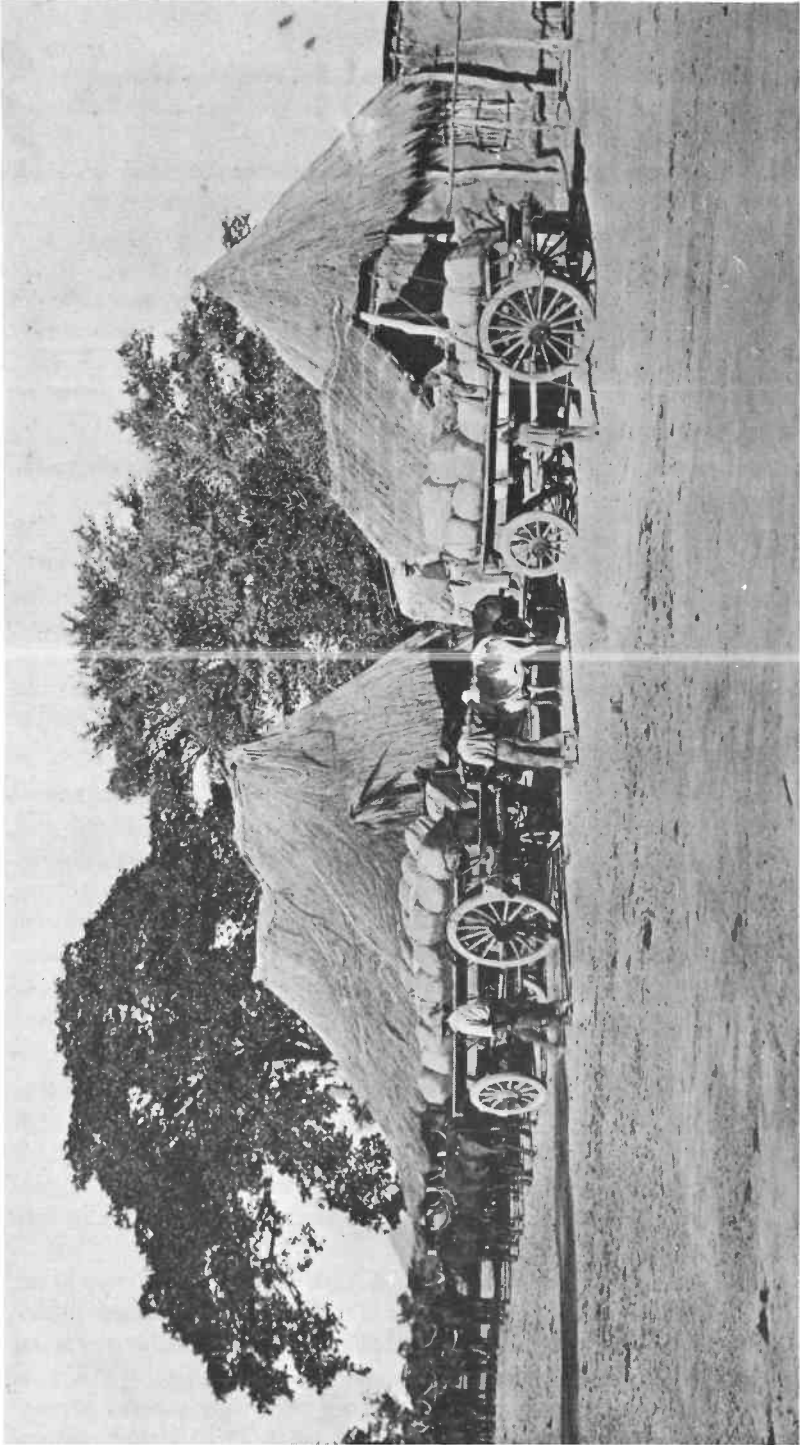
Oriental leaf was handled through the Turkish Tobacco Co-operative Company until 1947 when some growers demanded auctions and dealers sent consignments overseas. Prices collapsed in 1948, production in 1948-49 dropped to 367 000 lb and by the 1950-51 season production fell to less than 100 000 lb. Prior to 1953 the variety Soluk was grown almost exclusively in Rhodesia but with the formation of the Falls City Tobacco Company of Africa, Samsun was introduced. A rapid expansion developed in Matabeleland in the early sixties but later fell away and interest shifted to Mashonaland during the mid-1960's. At present all of the oriental tobacco crop is produced by peasant and small scale commercial growers, who were first encouraged to grow the crop during the 1950's. Current production of oriental is about 20 000 kilogrammes.

The first record of burley tobacco being grown in Rhodesia is 1924-25 when a small experimental crop was grown on the old Government Research Station at Hillside near Salisbury. The following season Harry Newmarch produced a crop on Glenara Estates near Salisbury. Production continued throughout the 1930's but apparently ceased during World War II. Interest was again shown in the crop in the late 1950's and began to expand in the early 1960's. Originally, burley was sold by private treaty but the Burley Tobacco Association which had been formed in 1962 requested the Tobacco Marketing Board to have the crop sold by auction in 1964, when 2 500 000 lb. were sold at an average price of nearly 29d. Soon crops of 5 000 000 lb were being produced.

From 1966 until 1971, burley was sold by classification, and in 1972 reverted to auctions until 1975. In 1973 production reached a peak of just under 13 million lb (6 million kg). Since 1976, burley has been sold by classification to a consortium, firstly of four buyers, and subsequently two, namely Carrington, and Michaux and Tabex. Production declined to 1,7 million kg. in 1977 but by 1984 had risen to 5,2 million kg. only to start declining again in 1985.

After World War II experimental plantings of cigar tobaccos were made in the Melsetter and Chipinga districts but nothing came of them. In 1966-67 season further experimental plantings of cigar filler were made and 16 growers produced this type of leaf in the 1968/69 season. The entire production was used for the manufacture, by B.A.T., of local cigars some of which are exported. Experiments with cigar wrapper tobacco production ultimately resulted in a cigar produced entirely from Rhodesian tobacco.





Two loads of tobacco at Umboe Farm on the way to Salisbury, 1912  
Source: Mrs. M. Wolluter *Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*

Consequently, sufficient cigar tobacco is grown to supply the needs of the local market, plus some for export to neighbouring countries.

Since the industry could not have developed without the assistance of research and extension, mention of these aspects of production would not be out of place. The first field experiments conducted officially were laid down on a section of Nursery Farm, Borrowdale in the 1903–04 season. Experiments were later carried out at the Salisbury Agricultural Station while co-operative trials were conducted on the farms of selected growers under the supervision of newly appointed professional officers of the Department of Agriculture. The B.S.A. Co. took over all technical enquiries in 1909 and provided advisory services to growers, itinerant visits to tobacco farms and undertook the sale of seed to growers.

The first fully equipped and properly organized tobacco experiment station in Rhodesia was established in 1921 at Hillside by H.W. Taylor and D.D. Brown — the latter had 30 years service with Government working with tobacco and retired as chief tobacco officer in 1950. Comprehensive experiments and the practical training of students were undertaken, until the station was closed down in 1933 due to financial stringency.

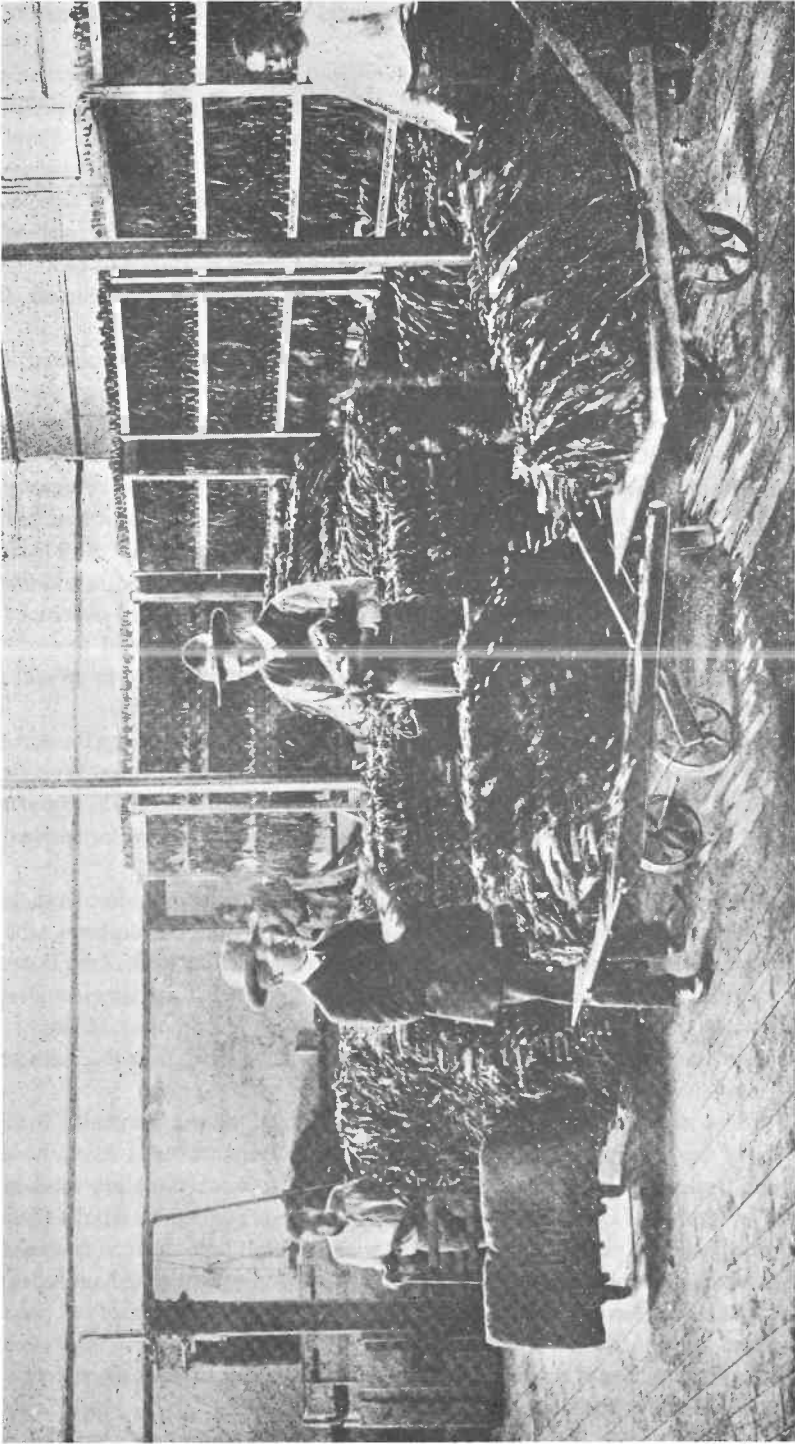
Trelawney Tobacco Research Station was opened in March, 1934, and a year later the Tobacco Research Board was established under the Tobacco Research Act of 1935. In 1950 the Tobacco Research Board was reconstituted as a statutory body and, in addition to the Trelawney Research Station, three further stations have since been developed. These are Kutsaga, headquarters of the Board and centre for flue-cured research, officially opened in 1954. Banket for burley and allied air-cured tobacco was officially opened in 1967 and Victoria for oriental tobacco, officially opened in 1967.

As a result of plans to enlarge Salisbury International Airport, the Kutsaga Research Station had to be moved to a new location a little further from the city centre. With the official opening of the new Kutsaga in 1978, the Trelawney Research Station was closed in the same year. In 1984 it was re-opened as a training centre for emergent farmers and extension workers.

Currently, the majority of the money for flue-cured tobacco research comes from the Zimbabwe Tobacco Association with a substantial contribution from Government, who, as well, also pay all the expenses for burley and oriental research. The work of the Board was financed at first by Government contribution on a £ to £ principle up to a maximum of £5 000 per year. A trust fund to which contributions were made was set up under the Act. The Association's contribution towards tobacco research which derives from the Tobacco Levy Fund, has since reached very high levels.

Whilst research is the responsibility of a statutory body, tobacco extension is the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture, through their Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension (Agritex). During the 1950's the tobacco extension services, through the Department of Conservation and Extension (Conex), expanded rapidly as the industry grew, reaching a peak in the mid 1960's with eight full-time tobacco extension officers. In the principal tobacco growing areas it was Government policy to have locally based officers who had been tobacco-trained. In the 1960's, training of extension workers, who were based in the African Purchase Areas and Tribal Trust Lands, in burley and oriental tobacco production was commenced. This training was undertaken at the respective research stations, Banket and Victoria.

In 1975 the Rhodesia Tobacco Association purchased Blackfordby, a farm on the



Buyers inspecting samples of tobacco, Salisbury, 191—  
*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*

outskirts of Salisbury for the establishment of a Tobacco Training Institute (T.T.I.) initially for training farm supervisors and specialist labourers. Later courses for farmers, their wives and managers were introduced. In 1977 the T.T.I. commenced a one year diploma course in tobacco production, the only course of its kind in the world.

Because labour was the highest item in the cost of tobacco production, the R.T.A. decided in 1958 to carry out a preliminary 'Work Study' exercise on tobacco during the 1958/59 season. This was extended in the following season and, as a result, the R.T.A. Work Study Manual was published in 1961 and sent to all growers. This stimulated interest in work study in tobacco and many labour saving ideas were developed.

Quoting from *Tobacco* by B.C. Akehurst published by Longmans in 1968:

"The Rhodesian economy would not have reached its current level, but for tobacco. Development of Rhodesia was relatively slow until World War II and based on gold with some assistance from tobacco. In 1946 tobacco exports for the first time exceeded those of gold and since continued to forge ahead. The greatly accelerated progress of the economy since that date can be linked with this fact, despite the additional uplift from the benefits of Federation. The dangers of such one-line dependence are obvious and the monies brought in by tobacco have been wisely invested and have also been a basis for credits to diversify the economy. Tobacco remains a most important section of this economy and it is important to realize that it has been able to contribute to the national development as well as to that of the actual areas of production. As the process continues national dependence becomes less complete although the loss of, or a decrease in, the tobacco trade would require a severe local re-organisation of agriculture."

This remark still applies today, as tobacco remains one of the principal mainstays of the Zimbabwe economy with the 1985/86 flue-cured tobacco crop expected to realise in the region of Z\$360 million (US\$215 million). It accounts for at least 20 per cent of Zimbabwe's foreign exchange earnings, and employs over 100 000 people directly (about one eighth of the working population), with one twelfth of the total population being dependent on the tobacco industry for their livelihoods.

Perhaps the most significant point about the Zimbabwean tobacco industry, in view of the country's shortage of foreign currency, is that for every \$8 of foreign exchange that is spent on producing tobacco over \$100 of foreign currency is earned. Thus the industry is possibly the country's greatest commercial asset.

The question can be posed — would this asset have developed to the same extent had Zimbabwe not been part of the British sphere of influence in Africa? Possibly not. The raising of Imperial Preference to 25 per cent of the duty in 1925, and the London Agreement of 1948 were milestones in the industry. Prior to 1965, the United Kingdom market was a high quality one and the mainstay of the Rhodesia tobacco industry, purchasing in both 1964 and 1965, about 40 per cent of the flue-cured crop by weight, amounting to nearly 50 per cent of the value of tobacco exported and accounting for about one third of all tobacco imported in the United Kingdom. Since Independence in 1980, the United Kingdom is still Zimbabwe's biggest customer, taking on average 18% of tobacco exports.

# Essay Review

## The Armed Forces and Chimurenga: Ideology and Historiography

by R.S. Roberts

*Editor's Note: This article was written over eight years ago by Professor Roberts while on a gloomy study leave in London spent reading books and pamphlets on the deteriorating war situation in the then Zimbabwe Rhodesia. The pessimism of his survey was soon overtaken by more hopeful developments — the Lancaster House Agreement, the end of fighting, the election of a strong government, and the policy of reconciliation. Consequently he never published the article, but it was circulated widely in manuscript form and continues to arouse considerable private discussion. That many of his fears have proved unfounded is not as important as the interest of his analysis of the relationships between ideology, military strategy and historiography. Also, even seven years after Independence, much of the literature he surveyed is still relatively unknown and not easily accessible; and, more surprisingly, no history of the war has yet appeared that supersedes what he then wrote.*

*The Editor, therefore, believes that this piece deserves a wider audience, and the author has agreed in the hope that what a historian knew and feared in 1979 may have some historical interest even though he was wrong in some important respects and would write very differently today. R.W.S.T.*

As this essay is being written more than 30 people a day, on average, are dying in the fighting raging in and around this country. Consequently it is easy to understand that the attention which writers and publishers are paying to the armed forces and the war is stronger now than when I first wrote on this theme.<sup>1</sup> Notable has been the surge of novels written by Europeans about the fighting, which provide interesting evidence about Whites' perceptions of their predicament and also show how attitudes are conditioned by earlier historical developments; this ground, however, has been well covered recently by Chennells<sup>2</sup> and will not be covered again here, except in the case of some semi-fictional accounts which Chennells did not consider.

Most of the works on the armed forces and the war that have been published in this country are very much in the old regimental or patriotic tradition that I described five years ago. Typical of the old regimental style are the reprints of MacDonald's *War History of Southern Rhodesia*<sup>3</sup> — a history aimed at participants rather than a general reading

1. 'Towards a history of Rhodesia's armed forces', *Rhodesian History* (1974), V, 103 – 10. See also, R.W. Baldock, 'Towards a history of insurgency in Rhodesia', *ibid.*, 97 – 102. For a more recent survey of the literature, see P. McLaughlin, 'The Thin White Line: Rhodesia's armed forces since the Second World War', *Zambezia* (1978), VI, 175 – 86.
2. A.J. Chennells, 'The treatment of the Rhodesian war in recent Rhodesian novels', *Zambezia* (1977), V, 177 – 202, and book reviews, *ibid.* (1979), VII, 121 – 4.
3. J.F. MacDonald, *The War History of Southern Rhodesia 1939 – 45* (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 2 parts, 1976 [originally published 1947 – 50]), xiv, 673, [12], xxx pp., ZR\$11.40 and \$10.60.

public in which only a certain chronology holds together the mass of facts, events and names that meant a lot to those involved but are difficult to assimilate for the reader of today. Nevertheless this sort of history, as Shepperson emphasized many years ago,<sup>4</sup> has its value for the historian and sociologist — although, admittedly, often as much for what is not said as for what is. Good examples of this are seen in the underlying descriptions and fears that militated against any rapid and massive increase in African troops or the ‘Africanization’ of certain jobs; similar, too, was the use of Coloureds from Southern Rhodesia or Africans from Northern Rhodesia in the Transport Unit.

Into this genre of regimental history, also, comes Bond’s recent book on *The Rhodesian Light Infantry*;<sup>5</sup> but, as its title implies, it is not nearly as weighty or staid as MacDonald’s work. It is rather a story very much built around ‘characters’, anecdotes and escapades, but the basic facts that historians of the future will need are there, and plain to see is the emphasis on internal security, even in the regiment’s founding in 1960 by the Federal Government.

Of a more general nature are the four latest issues of *Fighting Forces of Rhodesia* which like their predecessors are aimed at the patriotic reading public.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless they do provide information not easily available from any other source and by their concentration on the contemporary situation do give some insight into the way the Rhodesian armed forces are changing all the time in response to pressures. Useful information, for example, is given on the Police Anti Terrorist Units, the Support Unit of the British South Africa Police, the Special Air Service, the Police Mounted Unit, the District (Security) Assistants of Internal Affairs, the Guard Force and Auxiliaries.

In all this can be seen the application of lessons of warfare originally learnt by the Long Range Desert Group in North Africa and by the British Special Air Service both there and in Malaya; equally interesting is the way in which the Rhodesian Light Infantry was formed on commando lines in the 1960s and the way in which in the 1970s the mounting of District Assistants around the first Protected Villages has led to the Police Mounted Unit and the Grey Scouts. Also useful in these four publications are the descriptions of the Air Force, the importance of which grows by the day but, so far, without its historian despite the fear in which guerrillas must hold it.<sup>7</sup> Very similar to these publications but consisting more of illustrations than text is *Contact* by John Lovett which has proved something of a best-seller locally; the captions to the photographs are not always accurate, but two photographs are interesting in that they show ‘hardware’ still on the classified list.<sup>8</sup>

4. G. Shepperson, ‘The military history of British Central Africa’, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* (1960), XXVI, 23–4.
5. G. Bond, *The Incredibles: The Story of the Rhodesian Light Infantry* (Salisbury, Sarum Imprint, 1977), 159pp., ZR\$4.80. Similar is the R.L.I. quarterly magazine *Cheeta* which first appeared in spring 1977.
6. *Fighting Forces of Rhodesia: 3 and 4* (Salisbury, H.C.P. Andersen, 1976, 1977), 80 pp., 84 pp., illustr., ZR\$0.75 each; 5 (Salisbury, Cent.African Press, 1978), 80 pp., illustr., ZR\$1.00; *Fighting Forces of Zimbabwe Rhodesia* (Salisbury, Amalgamated Publications, 1979), 76 pp., illustr., ZR\$1.50.
7. ‘From China with love’, *The Guardian*, 8 Apr. 1968; ‘Zimbabwe People’s Army (ZIPA): Interview with Dzinashé Machingura’, *Journal of Southern African Affairs* (1976), I, 12; ‘Zimbabwe — The struggle continues . . . interview with Dzinashé Machingura . . .’, *TCLSAC Reports* (Mar. 1977), I, [1]. For the development of the role of the Air Force, see below, fn. 32, 33.
8. J. Lovett, *Contact* (Salisbury, Galaxie, 1977), 240 pp., illustr., ZR\$12.50.

Covering much the same ground in a more compact and factual manner — but slanted towards a very different audience from that of White Rhodesia — are three recent British publications.<sup>9</sup> This surge of external interest in the Rhodesian armed forces comes, of course, from the realization of their crucial role in any transition — particularly since in 1977 Walls became Commander of Combined Operations of what until then had technically been a police operation — and such a role being highlighted by the British White Paper of September 1977<sup>10</sup> and such a transition made more likely by Ian Smith's acceptance on 24 November 1977 of 'one man, one vote'.<sup>11</sup> This explains the concentration in these works on the details of the size and structure of the Rhodesian armed forces — rather than on strategy or tactics — for it is feared that they would in effect secure a sort of 'non-political' bastion of continued White power. Such fears were justified when the War Council was 'depoliticized' by the withdrawal of the politicians just when Black politicians were brought into government by the Internal Agreement of 3 March 1978;<sup>12</sup> and the Constitution of Zimbabwe Rhodesia which followed further shields the armed forces from political control by the system of Commissions. These facts also explain the efforts in these works to minimize the extent of African participation in the armed forces, mainly by emphasizing the wide extent of White participation in the forces because of their conscription (despite the wider extent of African enrolment which is almost entirely as regulars in the army and police) and by grossly exaggerating the numbers of foreign 'mercenaries'.<sup>13</sup> This sort of argument, however, was rapidly belied by the massive increase in the enrolment of Africans as District Security Assistants, in the Guard Force, or as auxiliaries to the African political parties in the Government. The Internal Agreement had (as many feared it was bound, if not, indeed, intended, to have) the effect of Africanizing the war, into a real civil war.<sup>14</sup>

Work published on the fighting and the causes of the insurgency is, surprisingly, not much more satisfactory than these 'patriotic' and 'political' works. The best of a poor lot are three pieces by Wilkinson. His contribution to *Southern Africa*<sup>15</sup> updates his earlier

9. Anti-Apartheid Movement, *Guardians of White Power: The Rhodesian Security Forces* (London, The Movement, Zimbabwe Briefing 6, [1978]), 17pp., £0.50; and *Fire Force Exposed* (London, The Movement, 1979), 58pp., £1.95; and International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, *Private Armies in Zimbabwe* (London, The Fund, 1979), 4pp., £0.40.
10. Great Britain, *Rhodesia : Proposals for a Settlement . . .* [Cmnd 6919] (London, H.M.S.O. 1977).
11. *The Rhodesia Herald*, 25 Nov. 1977.
12. *Ibid.*, 22 Mar. 1978; see, also, the remarks of M.P. Bwanya, Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly . . . 1978*, XCVIII, 1524.
13. For a more realistic assessment of American numbers, see R. Lobban, 'American mercenaries in Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Affairs* (1978), III, 319 – 25. G. Tippet's novel about the Rhodesian war, *The Mercenaries* (New York, Delacorte Press, 1976) has been praised in some quarters as a realistic description but in fact it is ludicrous in its general inaptness and particular inaccuracies.
14. And not merely between the Internal Agreement Government and the Patriotic Front but also between the various African participants in the Government; see ZAPU, *Private Armies: A Tragedy for Zimbabwe* (Lusaka, ZAPU, [1979]).
15. A.R. Wilkinson, 'From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe', 211 – 352, in B. Davidson, J. Slovo and A.R. Wilkinson, *Southern Africa : The New Politics of Revolution* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1976), 374pp., £1.25.

pieces<sup>16</sup> to late 1975 and his Introduction to *Black Fire* brings the record to mid-1977.<sup>17</sup> Although superficial<sup>18</sup> these accounts are more reliable factually than the exaggerations of Waldman and Ngwenyama in the special issue of *Ufahamu*<sup>19</sup> and will probably remain the best source until research can be done in the war-torn frontier regions of Zimbabwe and among the participants on both sides. The lack of reliable information is highlighted for this reviewer by the weight sometimes put on the rather imaginative article ('La difficile naissance de la guerilla rhodesienne', *Les Temps modernes* (1970 - 1), XXVII, 890 - 915) by the pseudonymous François Chenu who, I guess, is François Proust, a French scientist who visited Salisbury in 1968.

Covering the same ground as Wilkinson's work, and contributing little new by way of analysis of fact, are two articles in an issue of *African Perspectives* devoted to Southern Africa, by Austin and Maxey.<sup>20</sup> Also included in this collection is a curious, so-called bibliography of African resistance<sup>21</sup> which is simply a potted, general reading list on Rhodesian history, beginning with Selous' *Travels and Adventures*, which omits any reference to the more relevant work of R. Gibson, J. Bowyer Bell, M. Morris, J.A. Marcum, B. Turok, W. Roder, S. Ansari and the many publications of the Liberation Support Movement.

Most of these pieces suffer from a failure by their authors to make the distinction between being 'committed' and being, as the French would say, 'engagé'. And the same is true of the little that is being written from an opposing political point of view. Local writing is mainly journalistic and propagandist<sup>22</sup> and the little published in the Rhodesian Army magazine, *Assegai*, is concerned more with morale or discussion of 'moral fibre' rather than fighting itself.<sup>23</sup> Similarly the publications of the Council on American Affairs<sup>24</sup> contain highly polemical pieces by authors such as Moore, the author of *The Green Berets* about Vietnam,<sup>25</sup> who is working on a book about Americans in the Rhodesian Forces, to

16. A.R. Wilkinson *Insurgency in Rhodesia, 1957 - 1973* (London, International Inst. for Strategic Studies, 1973); 'Political violence, counter-insurgency and change in Rhodesia', in Centre for Southern African Studies, *Southern African Research in Progress* (York, Univ. of York, Centre for Southern African Studies Collected Papers 1, [1975]), 118 - 38.
17. A.R. Wilkinson, Introduction and Conclusion, 1 - 52, 233 - 43, in M. Raeburn, *Black Fire* (London, J. Friedmann, 1978), 243pp., £6.95.
18. Wilkinson has rightly been castigated for ignoring ideology; see the review of his 'From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe' by J. Somloholo [N.C.G. Mathema], in *The Zimbabwe Worker* (June 1978), II, 10.
19. S. Waldman, 'Armed struggle in Zimbabwe . . .', 4 - 10, and N.M. Ngwenyama, 'Rhodesia approaches collapse . . .', 11 - 61, in *Ufahamu* (1975), V, iii (entitled 'Southern Africa: Zimbabwe next?'); this has already been reviewed by T.D. Shopo, *Rhodesian History* (1977), VIII, 130 - 1.
20. R.H.F. Austin, 'White response to new pressures', 81 - 90, and K. Maxey, 'The continuing fight for Zimbabwe', 91 - 107, in *White Minorities: Black Majorities* (Leyden, Afrika-Studiecentrum, African Perspectives 1, 1976), 135pp., Dfl.13.00. Maxey has also contributed 'An outline of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe', *Review of African Political Economy* (May - Aug. 1978), IX, 64 - 8.
21. Th. Gerold-Scheepers, 'African resistance in Rhodesia: A concise survey of publications', *ibid.*, 109 - 34.
22. See above, fn. 6, 8.
23. See, for example, S. Monick, 'Mythologies of the terrorist war', *Assegai* (1975 - 6), XV, iv, 23 - 5.
24. J.E. Dornan (ed.), *Rhodesia Alone* (Washington DC, Council on American Affairs, [1977]), 93pp., US\$5.00; R. Pearson (ed.), *Sino-Soviet Intervention in Africa* (Washington DC, Council on American Affairs, 1977), 103pp., US\$5.00.
25. R. Moore, 'Rhodesia's enemies: Robert Mugabe and Co.', in Dornan, *Rhodesia Alone*, 66 - 76.



be entitled 'Crippled Eagles'.<sup>26</sup> Other pieces such as those by Dornan and Tierney,<sup>27</sup> are more restrained, but very limited, and even Gann's contribution adds little to what he has often said before or to our further understanding.<sup>28</sup> The American magazine for mercenaries, *Soldier of Fortune*, occasionally has some information but, as might be expected, its main emphasis is to glamourize the fighting in the context of a very right-wing ideological presentation of the war.

None of these works on the fighting, whether written from the left or the right, really gets down to the detail of the actual tactics of the war or the wider strategy. For this, one has to turn to brief articles by military writers, which are not without their own political emphases.

An unpublished, but conventional, survey of the war by a Rhodesian officer, for example, naturally looks to the Transitional Government's successfully ending the war; its interest lies in its admittance of military complacency in 1969 – 72 and in its claim on the other hand of having virtually defeated the insurgency by 1974 – 5 but for the *détente* exercise.<sup>29</sup>

Less partisan but openly sympathetic to the Internal Settlement is an article by Burke, a defence analyst;<sup>30</sup> it is rather limited by almost total reliance on reports in the *New York Times* but it does have the merit of leading one to the conclusion that the guerrillas

26. *The Sunday Mail*, 4 Sept. 1977; *The Rhodesia Herald*, 9 Sept. 1976; 'Crippled Eagles' is the nickname for Americans serving in the Rhodesian Army and Moore became something of an unofficial ambassador for them, *The Sunday Mail*, 28 Aug. 1977; *The Rhodesia Herald*, 9 Sept. 1976; 9 and 10 Aug. 1977. Interestingly, he (and two other war-novelists, Wilbur Smith and Daniel Carney) covered the April 1979 elections, *The Herald*, 20 Apr. 1979 — expecting, it appears, civil war to be imminent, *The Sunday Mail*, 9 Oct. 1977.
27. Dornan, 'Rhodesia and the Soviet offensive in the Third World', in Dornan, *Rhodesia Alone*, 37 – 65; J.J. Tierney, 'The terrorist war in Rhodesia', in Pearson, *Sino-Soviet Intervention in Africa*, 34 – 43.
28. L.H. Gann, 'The rebel republic', in Dornan, *Rhodesia Alone*, 17 – 36. Gann is one of the few academic observers to have grasped the importance of military affairs in Rhodesian history, but his view that neither right nor even might is on the guerrillas' side and that White Rhodesia may yet triumph looks less and less justified with the passing of time despite the repeated consistency of his enunciation of it; see 'The development of Southern Rhodesia's military system, 1890 – 1953', in National Archives of Rhodesia, *Occasional Paper No. 1* (Salisbury, the National Archives, 1965), 60 – 79; 'Guerrillas and insurgency: An interpretive survey', *Military Review* (1966), XLVI, iii, 44 – 59, esp. 55 – 9; 'From ox wagon to armored car in Rhodesia', *ibid.* (1968), XLVIII, iv, 63 – 72; *Guerrillas in History* (Stanford, Hoover Institute Press, 1971), esp. 93; 'No hope for violent liberation', *Africa Report* (1972), XVII, ii, 15 – 19; 'Rhodesia and the prophets', *African Affairs* (1972), LXXI, 125 – 43; 'The military outlook: Southern Africa', *Military Review* (1972), LII, vii, 59 – 72; 'White regime may be much more resilient . . .', *Los Angeles Times*, 13 July 1976; 'Prospects for White resistance', *Africa Report* (1977), XXII, v, 9 – 14; 'Testimony on U.S. Rhodesia Relations Given to the House Subcommittee on International Organizations . . . May 21, 1979', U.S. Congress, *US Policy towards Rhodesia* (Washington DC, Gov. Printers Office, 1979). For more insightful views of the impact of military affairs, particularly the events of 1896 – 7, on Rhodesian history, the reader is referred to forthcoming work in the Department of History, University of Rhodesia, by A.J. Chennells, M. Evans and P. McLaughlin.
29. R.E.H. Lockley, 'A Brief Operational History of the Campaign in Rhodesia Covering the Period 1964 – 1978' (no details, copy in reviewer's possession). It is to be noted that the Rhodesian military has published hardly anything at all on the war that it is fighting; the Army's magazine has very little and most of what it has published is reprinted from outside sources (notably Burke's article (see below, n. 30) in *Assegai* (1978 – 9), XVIII, xi, 31 – 43).
30. G.K. Burke, 'Insurgency in Rhodesia — The implications', in The Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, *R.U.S.I. and Brassey's Defence Yearbook 1978/79* (London, Brassey's, 1978), 26 – 40.

are fighting a war that they cannot win militarily — any more than the F.L.N. or Fatah could win theirs — and that the Rhodesian armed forces might win only by the desperate gamble of unleashing total war on the tottering economies of Zambia and Moçambique.<sup>31</sup> Equally sympathetic to the Internal Settlement is an article by Bruton, an officer in the American Army Reserves, which describes the 'fire-force' tactics and counter-insurgency training in some detail. Unlike other commentators, Bruton minimizes the manpower problem of the Government's counter-insurgency and sees the main problem as a shortage of finance due to the strain on the economy.<sup>32</sup>

Even more sympathetic to the Government — or, to put it more accurately, more dismissive of the guerrillas — is an article by Downie, a journalist, which gives first-hand descriptions of fire-force tactics. Nevertheless his conclusion is that 'the position of the Rhodesian régime is becoming untenable' because the casualty rate of the Whites is now ten times higher than that suffered by the Americans in Vietnam.<sup>33</sup> Part of the reason for this, of course, is that the Whites are trying to run a whole country — not just a war in a country far from home — and that for every two soldiers killed in action, another two Whites are killed as members of the governmental system (Police, Internal Affairs, etc.), and another five killed are civilians, mainly farmers. But the disparity remains and must be due to the fact that White manpower (Bruton's arguments notwithstanding) is stretched so thinly over the ground that it is being picked off, one by one, by a guerrilla force of some 15,000 (half the size of the Government's forces) spread even more thinly but with the advantages of local mobility; in these circumstances the much-vaunted kill-rate of some seven to ten guerrillas for every government loss does not mean very much and derives from unusual concentrations that are not typical of the war as it develops deeper into the countryside.<sup>34</sup> More important is the fact that the system of Protected and Consolidated Villages has failed as a means of winning over the people and denying the guerrillas support — as indeed it failed in Algeria and Moçambique, which, like this country, have a fairly homogeneous population, unlike Malaya where it succeeded<sup>35</sup> — and consequently is being run down in favour of using auxiliaries attached to the African political parties in the Government to control the Tribal Trust Lands. But such control is obviously not being achieved and so the guerrillas have been able to maintain themselves over increasing areas of the country and by widespread dispersal in small numbers counteract the superior long-

31. For Ian Smith's admission that the Rhodesian forces could not win the war militarily, see *The Rhodesia Herald*, 7 May 1976; 18 Dec. 1978; *The Financial Times*, 12 Jan. 1979. See also General Walls's similar comments, *The Rhodesia Herald*, 3 July 1976 and 4 Oct. 1977.

32. J.K. Bruton, 'Counterinsurgency in Rhodesia', *Military Review* (1979), LIX, iii, 26 – 39.

33. N. Downie, 'Rhodesia — A study in military incompetence', *Defence* (1979), 345. A similarly pessimistic but fairly detached view is given in B. Cohen, 'The war in Rhodesia: A dissenter's view', *African Affairs* (1977), LXXVI, 483 – 94; this article raises the interesting question of whether different tactics are being used by ZANU guerrillas in different operational areas.

34. Chitepo had said in 1973 that 'The strategical aim . . . is to attenuate the enemy forces by causing their deployment over the entire country', quoted in K. Maxey, *The Fight for Zimbabwe* (London, Rex Collings, 1975), 163. Mugabe in 1977 was thus able to say, 'The enemy has, according to plan, by us, been fully stretched and reduced to thin and most vulnerable units. . .', *Zimbabwe News* (1978), X, i, 3.

35. Also, often forgotten is the fact that the Chinese New Villages in Malaya were successful because they provided speedy economic and political development for the inhabitants, a process suggested by the Rhodesian Army but rejected by the Rhodesian Front for fear of dislocating 'tribal' structures! For a careful but brief reference to the success, or lack of it, of 'villagization', see Cohen, 'The war in Rhodesia', 489–90. Also often forgotten is that one of the first things that Templer made clear to the British forces and residents in Malaya was that all racial discrimination had to go.

range mobility and hitting-power of the 'fire forces' of the Government. In this wide dispersal the guerrillas are apparently keeping a lower profile than previously and are presumably strengthening their grip on the local population by politicization of the masses and execution of 'sell outs' (often at night-time *pungwe*)<sup>36</sup> and disruption of the civil infrastructure (clinics, bridges, cattle-dips and schools). In this process, with the Government's manpower stretched more and more, time must be on the side of the guerrillas — unless the Government extends its desperate policies of hitting Zambia and Moçambique (despite the risk of spreading the war to the whole region) and of building up its own Black forces and political auxiliaries (despite the risk of a full-scale civil war throughout Zimbabwe Rhodesia).<sup>37</sup> Against such extensions to the war, the guerrillas have no immediate answer; for, so far are they from being prepared for positional or even Mao's mobile warfare that they have barely reached the stage of guerrilla warfare — indeed have retreated from it since 1975 – 6. So far indeed are they that neither have they created the preliminary rural bases of Maoist doctrine<sup>38</sup> — wisely, perhaps, in view of Italian partisan experience in 1944 — nor have the rural masses yet benefited from their presence, not even to the extent of feeling secure enough to squat on abandoned European farms. That the guerrillas are developing bases outside the country, with East European help, is not disputed but they are hardly among the people and by their vulnerability to air attack, by an illegal regime with none of the inhibitions that held the French back after Sakiet Sidi Yusef, may yet prove their undoing, as the Cubans have always maintained.

Yet having little evidence from the nationalists' side, we cannot be sure whether this step back from guerrilla warfare is the result of an overall military strategy of dispersal, with an inevitable diminution of intensity of fighting, or whether it is a recognition that, with the emergence of the other Black leaders and the 64 per cent turnout in the April 1979 election, the political base can no longer be taken for granted and has to be re-formed before the guerrilla stage of Maoist doctrine is reached. Nevertheless violence and force are used, wherever the situation allows it (against largely unguarded schools, clinics, government offices and officials, dip-tanks, communications etc.), in order to maintain the military situation and prevent a de-escalation into a merely political situation. This is

36. For a participant's description, see E. Vakisai, 'Humanity not politics', *Africa Currents* (1978), XII – XIII, 52 – 6.
37. For fears of such extensions, see International Defence and Aid Fund, *Smith's Settlement* (London, The Fund, Fact Paper on Southern Africa 6, 1978), 2, 10, 19 – 20, 23 – 6; Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, *An Analysis of the Salisbury Agreement* (Salisbury, The Commission, 1978), 11, 14; Burke, 'Insurgency in Rhodesia', 37 – 9; see also below, fn. 92. There is also the consideration that a loose, pluralistic (in both senses) but caste-like society like Rhodesia — unlike a dictatorship such as Argentina or a democracy such as Uruguay — cannot defeat guerrillas because it is inhibited from mobilizing its full resources for the struggle. In the case of Rhodesia a thorough-going mobilization of resources would bring in a socio-political transformation that would end both the 'Rhodesian way of life' and 'tribal' structures for ever; rather than do this, as the Byron Hove affair showed, the regime will prefer to fight only to achieve a negotiated settlement in which, it is fondly hoped, the new rulers (be they Nkomo or Mugabe) will like Bishop Muzorewa simply replace the old without fundamentally changing society — General Walls's 'political solution' or Fanon's 'minimal readaptation'. Conversely if the guerrilla armies do not win an outright military victory, there can be little hope of the bourgeois, elitist leaderships of the nationalist parties introducing much more than token socialism, if and when they obtain power.
38. 'Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA): Interview with Dzinashé Machingura', *Journal of Southern African Affairs* (1976), I, 12; 'Zimbabwe — The struggle continues', *TCLSAC Reports* (Mar. 1977), I, 3.

reminiscent of the urban *situationisme* of Marighella and the Terrorist International;<sup>39</sup> but extended over most of the country and necessitating the deployment, however thinly, of all the Government's forces on active service, the position in Rhodesia is very different from mere terrorist *situationisme* and merits separate designation — for which, I suggest, 'situational warfare' might be employed (at least until evidence from the nationalists' side shows whether it is a useful and accurate description of their military strategy): for, on the one hand, there is no need in a clearly minority-dominated Rhodesia, as there may be in Latin America, to create a 'situation' in which the regime becomes more oppressive to the majority, whilst, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that there is a war raging in Rhodesia, however badly it fits the Maoist paradigm. The one parallel with Marighellan *situationisme* that might be achieved would be the use of violence in the cities and townships but neither party seems to have thought this to be feasible, or, perhaps, suitable.<sup>40</sup> The only real parallel that remains is that ZANLA has by its disruption seen the recent and any further elections, political reform and other political parties seem irrelevant — at least to the Western world, particularly Britain, which in the long run will probably have more to do with a settlement than any Zimbabwean electorate.<sup>41</sup>

In the meantime, for details of what is happening in the war-zone, for the motivation, tactics, and strategies of the insurgents — as it may be better to call them, rather than guerrillas — we are largely in the dark.<sup>42</sup> As FRELIMO and the M.P.L.A. were different, so there appears to be a difference between the armaments, strategy and tactics of ZANLA and those of ZIPRA, although this may be exaggerated because of the differences of terrain and population distribution of their respective areas. But what lies behind these differences and how exactly the different strategies and tactics are implemented are matters far from clear — and indeed confused by what little we know of the events of 1970 and of the March

39. See C. Marighella, *For the Liberation of Brazil* (London, Penguin, 1971); R. Clutterbuck, *Guerrillas and Terrorists* (London, Faber, 1977), 85 – 95.

40. The few urban incidents appear either to have been by ZAPU or by ZANU people coming in from the countryside and then returning there. ZAPU by reason of its closer links with the U.S.S.R. tends to emphasize the potential role of the urban working-class as a revolutionary force; see *The Zimbabwe Review* (1970), II, v – vi, 15; and O.M. Tshabangu, 'Is the proletariat the most revolutionary class in Zimbabwe', *The Zimbabwe Worker* (Feb. 1979), V, 17 – 18; hence also the recurring emphasis on trade unionism in *The Zimbabwe Review* which is notably absent from *Zimbabwe News* where the emphasis has been a Maoist one on the peasantry since 1968. Some commentators, however, have concluded that the nationalists cannot win the war militarily without urban terrorism (see T.S. Mafukudze, 'The case for violence', *Africa Report* (1972), XVII, ii, 13 – 14) and, as I write, the fear is growing that the next rainy season will see the beginning of extensive urban violence.

41. The nearest parallel with this was in Algeria in 1958 when in a one-man-one-vote, common-roll referendum the Muslims turned out in force to vote decisively for continued union with France — but to no point, in view of the deteriorating military situation.

42. The most detailed account of an invading group is Kirk's description of the FROLIZI raid of 1973 which nevertheless is probably typical of the incursions by ZAPU and ZANU before 1972; see A. Kirk, 'Politics and violence in Rhodesia', *African Affairs* (1975), LXXIV, 3 – 38. For a participant's description of an A.N.C. – ZAPU incursion, see 'Southern Africa: A smuggled account from a guerrilla fighter', *Ramparts* (1968), VIII, iv, 10 – 18. For a ZANU account, see H. Chimutengwende, 'My guerrilla fight against Smith', *The Sunday Times* (London), 24 Mar. 1968.

*Zimbabwe News* now carries fairly detailed accounts of individual engagements. The extent of the coverage and the speed with which these accounts get back to Maputo and into print has recently been a matter of surprise to Rhodesian Intelligence; but the successes claimed are greatly exaggerated (for example, a Rhodesian combatant who wishes to remain anonymous would have been dead many times over if the details of engagements in the Melssetter area described in *Zimbabwe News* (1978), X iii, 27–8, and v, 20, even approximated to accuracy).

11 Movement of 1971 in ZAPU-ZIPRA and the Nhari Rebellion and the murder of Chitepo in ZANU-ZANLA in 1974-5. When the inside history comes to be written, it will probably be seen that questions of armaments and overall strategy, and perhaps ideology, were more important than the 'tribalism' or grievances that dominate most contemporary description.<sup>43</sup>

The real problem, in both parties, was probably a growing division between the men in the field, or at least, the military commanders, and the older political leaders; as Mubako says:

On account of their training and experience in the field the army becomes the radicalising influence that sets the ideological standards for the parties and the older generation of politicians will promote or destroy their political career to the extent to which they measure up to or fall short of those standards.<sup>44</sup>

This was probably so from the very beginning. One of the earliest guerrillas to talk anonymously about his training in 1968 said that he no longer had confidence in the political leaders who had warned him against marxist ideas which 'they feared . . . might make us revolt against their leadership'; he then abandoned the struggle because what 'I want [is] a revolution, not just a nationalist armed struggle'.<sup>45</sup> Similarly Chimutengwende, who also opted out, wrote widely about his hopes for a people's guerrilla war which would politicize the masses, an end to disunity and the overthrow of the political leaders if they could not adopt the necessary revolutionary approach.<sup>46</sup>

This certainly seems to be the case with the military criticisms of the ZAPU leadership in 1970-1, as described, somewhat confusedly, by Tshabangu.<sup>47</sup> In the beginning the emphasis was not guerrilla warfare but sabotage, the object of which was to bring the Rhodesians and the British to the negotiating table.<sup>48</sup> Then after U.D.I. came the invading columns of largish numbers of men, sometimes with formal command structures and uniforms.<sup>49</sup> By 1969 - 70 it was claimed by Chikerema in a Granada Television

43. For the conventional 'ethnic' explanation, see M. Sithole, *Zimbabwe: Struggles within the Struggle* (Salisbury, Rujeko, 1979), which, were it not sympathetic to ZANU (Sithole), could hardly have been written without at least some reference to S.V. Mubako, 'Aspects of the Zimbabwe liberation movement 1966-1976: Part I', *Mohlomi* (1976), II, 38-65. For the emphasis on grievances over pay, conditions, promotion and lack of communication, in addition to 'tribalism', see Wilkinson, 'From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe', 248-9, and 'Introduction' in Raeburn, *Black Fire*, 35-9; Maxey, 'The continuing fight for Zimbabwe', 94.
44. Mubako, 'Aspects of the Zimbabwe liberation movement 1966-1976', 51.
45. 'From China with love'; see also the similar story in 'Refusal' in Raeburn, *Black Fire*, 75 - 111.
46. C.H. Chimutengwende, 'My guerrilla fight against Smith'; The formation of a guerrilla fighter . . .', *The Listener* (1968), LXXIX, 491 - 2; 'The Rhodesian crisis and the liberation movement', *Race today* (1969), I, 69 - 71; 'Zimbabwe and White-ruled Africa', in T. Ali (ed.), *The New Revolutionaries* (New York, William Morrow, 1969), 246 - 7.
47. O.M. Tshabangu, *The March 11 Movement in ZAPU: Revolution within the Revolution* (York, Tiger Papers Publications, 1979), 82pp., £1.00.
48. N.M. Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia* (London, A. Deutsch, 1965), 74; J. Chikerema, *Zimbabwe African People's Union: Reply to 'Observations on Our Struggle'* (Lusaka, 17 Mar. 1970) as quoted in C. Nyangoni and G. Nyandoro, *Zimbabwe Independence Movements* (London, Rex Collings, 1979), 150.
49. For a general description of these incursions, see A.R. Wilkinson, *Insurgency in Rhodesia, 1957 - 1973* (London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper 100, 1973), 8 - 13; K. Maxey, *The Fight for Zimbabwe* (London, Rex Collings, 1975), 54 - 98. For detailed descriptions of particular incidents, see above, fn. 42.

interview that real guerrilla warfare and politicization of the masses had begun, but during the leadership crisis in Zambia in 1970 Chikerema was to denounce such a strategy and soon was to make an offer to the British Government of a negotiated settlement.<sup>50</sup> After his departure from ZAPU, the party evolved a more revolutionary approach by 1973, at least in theory.<sup>51</sup> Although in practice the emphasis seems to have been on landmine attacks,<sup>52</sup> rather than politicizing the people, until quite recently. Consequently many ZIPRA militants like Tshabangu seem to have opted out.

The position in ZANU–ZANLA was similar but more complicated. To begin with the leadership seems to have thought in terms of massive violent civil disobedience by the people, armed with whatever they could lay their hands on (stones and bows and arrows, according to Chitepo<sup>53</sup>), which would lead to insurrection triggered off by small groups who had infiltrated.<sup>54</sup> Then came the invading columns, but smaller generally than those of ZAPU, which were denounced later by Western Marxists as evidence of ‘ultra-militarism,’<sup>55</sup> and which, if they had any theoretical military rationale, must have been based on Guevara and Debray’s topical concept of the mobile *foco* point of insurrection by self-reliant guerrillas.<sup>56</sup> But as early as 1966 the guerrillas in the Sinoia engagement carried copies of Lin Piao’s *Long Live the Victory of the People’s War!* and Mao’s *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People;*<sup>57</sup> and as early as 1976 Chitepo admitted the need for politicization of the villagers.<sup>58</sup> References to Mao then became more frequent and preparations for Maoist guerrilla warfare began in earnest in 1969 in the

50. Wilkinson, *Insurgency in Rhodesia*, 13; E.E. Mlambo, ‘Guerrilla warfare in Rhodesia’, *Janata* (1969), XXIV, xxix, 14 – 16; Tshabangu, *The March 11 Movement in ZAPU*, 30; S.G. Ndlovu, *Zimbabwe: Some Facts about Its Liberation Struggle* (No details [ZAPU], 1973), 50; O. Gjerstad, *Interviews in Depth: Zimbabwe ZAPU: George Silundika* (Richmond BC, Liberation Support Movement, 1974), 11.
51. Ndlovu, *Zimbabwe: Some Facts*, 61; Gjerstad, *Interviews in Depth . . . Silundika*, 8, 13 – 14. Indeed between 1971 and 1973, ZAPU and ZANU both began to speak the language of scientific socialism. The occasion for this was probably the challenge of FROLIZI but the underlying reason went back to the late 1960s and the disillusionment of combatants like Chimutengwende whose Africa-Europe Project publications in London (such as *A Revolution That Has never Been* (1969), *Opportunism in Our Ranks* (1970) and *Bourgeois Nationalism in Zimbabwe* (1971) were very influential, especially on Zimbabwean students. The role of students in radicalizing the politicians (and the guerrillas) is a subject that I hope to deal with later; in the meantime, for the Zimbabwe Students Union in Europe, see *Zimbabwe Challenge*, especially (April 1969), 14; ‘The political party petty bourgeois leadership tells the cadres only to learn about use of the gun and have nothing to do with revolutionary ideology and have nothing to do with politics — “leave politics to us”, they assert. One or two have particularly gone down on record for telling students studying in Eastern Europe to leave the ideology and only bring home book knowledge . . . Some are purging the cadres, a process called de-Cubanization . . .’. See also W.W. Nyangoni, *African Nationalism in Zimbabwe* (Washington DC, Univ. Press of America, 1978), 126 – 30, 133, 144.
52. *Zimbabwe Review* (6 Oct. – 29 Dec. 1973, Liberation Support Movement edition), 22.
53. *ZANU News* (Nov. 1973), I, i, 3.
54. Chimutengwende, ‘My guerrilla fight against Smith’; ‘The Crocodile Gang’ in Raeburn, *Black Fire*, 53 – 74.
55. For the denunciation, see *Zimbabwe* (Toronto, Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Fact Sheet, June 1976), 4; for the general description, see above, fn. 42, 49.
56. See E. Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1963); R. Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution?* (London, Penguin, 1967). The abject failure of both ZANU’s and ZAPU’s early attempts is not peculiar to them, for such methods led to disaster throughout Latin America, from Paraguay (Movement of 14 May 1959) to Guevara’s personal failure in Bolivia in 1969.
57. *The Rhodesia Herald*, 6 May 1966.
58. *Zimbabwe today* (28 Oct. 1967), I, xxi, 5 – 7.

north-east of the country.<sup>59</sup> This policy, as is well known, was so successful that the present war can be said to have begun there in 1972–3. But, for all its success, Chitepo's approach was 'limited' or 'defensive' in order to facilitate and extend politicization of the people, to out-administer rather than out-fight — whereas commanders like Nhari by 1974 seemed to want more and better arms in order to fight it out there and then.<sup>60</sup> There was also suspicion of moves by the 'conservative politicians' to re-unite the splintered nationalist movement which annoyed 'the radical guerrilla leaders [and caused]. . . tensions [which] were to erupt in the November 1974 attempted coup in ZANU' and the break with Sithole in 1975.<sup>61</sup> Thus military cadres came to regard themselves as the 'undisputed vanguard [which] cannot let the revolution be hijacked'.<sup>62</sup> Such feelings, it seems, led (or, at least, contributed) to the assassination of Chitepo, but the older military leaders involved, like Tongogara, were soon left behind in the search for 'a new kind of leadership to spring from the revolutionaries in the military camps',<sup>63</sup> and by mid-1976 the ZIPA commanders following Machingura had developed a Castro – Debray line in place of the growing Leninist – Maoist emphasis on the party by the recently released old-guard politicians. Thus ZIPA claimed that, 'Neither faction [ZANU or ZAPU] is in control of the army, and neither faction deserves any kind of credit for the army's work',<sup>64</sup> rather ZIPA itself was the 'revolutionary vanguard' and political organization that would supersede the former 'political leadership [Mugabe included, it seems, which]. . . had divided the people'.<sup>65</sup>

59. See, for one of the earliest references, *Zimbabwe News* (30 Mar. 1968), III, vi, 2. For politicization, see *The Rhodesia Herald*, 18 Aug. 1971; *Zimbabwe News* (1973), VII, ix, 3; *Mwenje : No. 2 : ZANU Political Programme* (1 Aug. 1972), and 'Address by Herbert Chitepo . . . to the Sixth Pan-African Congress . . . 19 – 27 June 1974', as printed in Nyangoni and Nyandoro, *Zimbabwe Independence Movements*, 249 – 65 (esp. 251, 253) and 285 – 92 (esp. 289).
60. This much was admitted by ZANU's political leaders in *The Price of Detente — Kaunda Prepares to Execute More ZANU Freedom Fighters for Smith* (London, ZANU, [1976]), 3; see also Zambia, *Report of the Special International Commission on the Assassination of Herbert Wiltshire Chitepo* (Lusaka, Gov. Printer, 1976), 14–15. There were, of course, many other factors, and non-military considerations and personnel, involved in this episode but the Soviet military connection (former or desired) seems to have been the most important consideration for the combatants.
61. *Chimurenga* (31 May 1976), I, vi, 11 – 12.
62. Quoted in S. Mubako, 'The quest for unity in the Zimbabwe liberation movement', *Issue* (1975), V, i, 15. See also *Zimbabwe* (Toronto, Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Fact Sheet, June 1976), 3 – 4; and Rex Chiwara's comment that the guerrillas 'have discovered their own strength and independence', *Africa* (Aug. 1976), LX, 12.
63. *Zimbabwe News* (London) (Feb. – Mar. 1976), I, i, 2. See also the guerrillas calling themselves 'vashandi' (workers) and their leaders 'zvigananda' ('greedy bourgeois' seems to be the best translation).
64. *Chimurenga Newsletter* (1976), III, 1.
65. 'Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) : Interview with Dzinashe Machingura [22 Sept. 1976]', *Journal of Southern African Affairs* (1976), I, 11 – 18 (quotation at 12, 11) [there are other versions and summaries of this interview first published in *The Daily News* (Dar es Salaam), 26 September 1976: viz. *Zimbabwe News* (1976), X, iii, 82–5; *Zimbabwe People's Army : The First Published Statement by ZIPA . . .* (Richmond BC, Liberation Support Movement, 1976); *Issue* (1977), VII, i, 15–18; *Big Flame* (Dec. 1976), 7]. cf. Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution?*, 104: 'Eventually the future People's Army will get the party'. See also J. Day, 'The divisions of the Rhodesian African nationalist movement', *The World today* (1977), XXXIII, 390 – 1 (where it is claimed that the guerrillas do not want to surrender power to Mugabe because the difference between him and the other political leaders is merely one of rhetoric); W. Minter, *Zimbabwe* ([Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches, late 1976]), 13 (where it is said that the troops were 'disgusted with the failure of the older political leadership, whatever its party labels'); and *The Guardian*, 9 Mar. 1976 (where it is said 'the future political leaders will rise up from the guerrilla ranks, rather than being taken from the old guard').

What exactly this would entail in strictly military terms is not clear but perhaps it means more of a revolutionary people's war inside the country rather than the continued 'adventurism' or 'ultra-militarism' of invading groups directed at a safe distance by old-guard politicians;<sup>66</sup> and hence, perhaps, both the initial support given to ZIPA by Frelimo, but denounced by Sithole while he was still claiming to be in control, and the welcome by some Western Marxists like Saul, denounced by N.M. Shamuyarira trying to live down his FROLIZI deviationism<sup>67</sup> once Mugabe and the present leaders gained control, whereupon supporters of Sithole then lauded ZIPA as the 'military base for political unity' and for the determined prosecution of the war whereas Mugabe and Tongogara wanted it to become the mere tool of their politicking.<sup>68</sup> These shifts of opinion, however, have as much to do with political factionalism as with military strategy, for the Zimbabwean nationalist parties, being bourgeois and elitist unlike Frelimo or the Cubans, have always insisted on the party as the vanguard which should control the guerrillas<sup>69</sup> and there is some evidence that the formation of the Patriotic Front in October 1976 was determined in part by the desire of Mugabe, Nkomo and the Front-Line States to re-assert political authority<sup>70</sup>

66. See K. Tjabavu and K. Chabaru, *Zimbabwe Rhodesia from 'White' Settler Neo-colonialism to 'Black' Nationalist Neo-colonialism??* (London, privately, 1974), 18–19, and *Zimbabwe (Rhodesia): Guidelines to National Liberation* (London, privately, 1976), *passim*; 'Zimbabwe – The struggle continues . . . interview with Dzinashe Machingura . . . [9 Dec. 1976], *TCLSAC Reports* (Mar. 1977), I, [1], for emphasis on 'the dangers of a neo-colonial "solution"' and 'The Ideological Foundations of Revolutionary War' (this interview was carried out by the *Review of African Political Economy* which, however, never published it in the *Review* — perhaps because Machingura had been arrested before the next issue came out?); and *Zimbabwe* (Toronto, Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Fact Sheet, June 1976), 4; see also for more general but similar comments, B. Davidson, *Africa in Modern History* (London, Allen Lane, 1978), 357–61; and C.C. Chimutengwende, 'Neo-colonialist danger in Zimbabwe', *Social Scientist* [India, 1976], LIII, 59–67.
67. FROLIZI had, of course, won recognition from the O.A.U. on the ground that it was a fighting force and not yet another political party, but this was (or soon became after Siwela's departure) mere window-dressing and FROLIZI is not comparable with ZIPA either in military or ideological terms; see Kirk, 'Politics and violence in Rhodesia', 5–12. For Shamuyarira's considered view of FROLIZI, see his 'National Liberation through Self-Reliance in Rhodesia, 1956 – 1972' (Princeton, Princeton Univ., Ph.D. thesis, 1976), 561–3; for his attack on ZIPA see his, 'Sworn enemies of ZANU puzzled and baffled', *Zimbabwe News* (1977), IX, v – vi, 3 – 4.
68. See Sithole's accusation that Machel was trying to 'repeat the Mozambican experience' with ZIPA, *Africa* (Aug. 1976), LX, 12, and his 'Explanation to the O.A.U. Heads of State on the Nature of ZIPA Which Has Been Imposed on the People of Zimbabwe by the Frontline States' (Dar es Salaam, mimeo, Jan. 1977). J.S. Saul, 'Transforming the struggle in Zimbabwe', *Southern Africa* (1977), I, i, 12 – 16 [since republished with a postscript in his *The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa* (London, Monthly Review Press, 1979), 107 – 22]; it was this welcome for ZIPA that Shamuyarira attacked (see fn. 67, above). Tungamirai Sibanda to O.A.U., 29 Jan. 1977, *Zimbabwe Chimurenga* (1977), IV, ii, 1 – 3; and M. Sithole, *Zimbabwe: Struggles within the Struggle*, 126. Tongogara's current co-operation with the political leadership seems to run counter to some of the argument I have advanced but he did, of course, lose ground with the guerrillas while he was detained by the Zambian government; also sources in London who wish to remain anonymous say that the co-operation will not last.
69. For ZAPU see, for example, *Zimbabwe Review* (1965), VIII, ii, 3; (11 – [17] Apr. 1970), 3; (25 Jan. 1975), 2 – 3; (1976), V, iii – iv, 3; (1977), VI [i], 11; [ii], 15; and ix, 4. For ZANU, see, for example, *Zimbabwe News* (1968), III, vi, 6; (1970), V, ix, 9; (1974), VIII, iii, 4; and vi, 6; (1976), X [IX], iii, 15 – 16; (1977), IX, v – vi, 4, 46; (1978), X, i, 4; iii, 3, 9, 32; iv, 6, 61; and vi, 51; (1979), XI, ii, 10; and *Mwenje: No 2: ZANU Political Programme*, as printed in Nyangoni and Nyandoro, *Zimbabwe Independence Movements*, 253. See also Sithole's attack on 'wrong-headed doctrine that the gun leads the Party', *Chimurenga* (30 June 1976), I, vii, 11; K. Kangai: 'The gun cannot lead the party; it is the party that leads the gun', *Revolutionary Zimbabwe* (1977), VI, 47.
70. See *Zimbabwe News* (1977), IX, ii, 10, where it is blandly said that 'The second reason . . . was largely



over the guerrillas in preparation for the Geneva Conference which ZIPA at first denounced but then decided to attend by means of a delegation separate from ZANU.<sup>71</sup> That struggle, as we know, has been won, at least for the time being, with the disciplining of the ZIPA group in 1977–8 by the old political leadership of ZANU,<sup>72</sup> as it has in ZAPU following upon Nkomo's release in 1974 and ZIPRA's breaking away from ZIPA, then upon J.Z. Moyo's assassination<sup>73</sup> and finally upon the shoot-outs and assassination attempts that culminated in Mangena's death in mid-1978.<sup>74</sup> Whether the old political leaders will be able to maintain themselves probably depends on whether the accession to power in Zimbabwe comes soon, through a settlement and an election, or later through an outright military takeover in which troops mindful of imprisoned ZIPA commanders and members of the old War Council might have a greater say.<sup>75</sup> Whatever the outcome, the hope must be that one day the history of these complicated and obscure shifts of military opinion can be written, and not just from the viewpoint of the old political leadership which

to provide a political body for the military wing'. For the accusation that this was a cynical takeover by tired, old politicians, see Press Release by A.C. Chakaodza, ZANU, London, 14 Jan. 1977; and *Free Zimbabwe* (Mar. – Apr. 1977), X, 5–6 (it should be remembered, however, that the former source had by then swung away from Mugabe back to Sithole and that the latter source represents the views of the Zimbabwe Solidarity Committee which still backed the U.A.N.C. in preference to Mugabe surrounded as he was by the alleged murderers of Chitepo, statement at Z.S.C. meeting, 21 Jan. 1977). Nevertheless the Patriotic Front was welcomed, and the Maoism that had preceded it attacked, by Zimbabweans who followed the orthodox Marxist Leninist line – but perhaps also because of a ZAPU background; see *The Zimbabwe Worker* (Apr. 1978), I, 8–9. Hard-line British Marxist-Leninist (Stalinist) opinion, as represented by the Zimbabwe Solidarity Front, however, focused its support more narrowly on the political leadership of ZANU which was by now receiving Russian and East European help and was seen as the only barrier to the spread of what was regarded as the Trotskyite ideas of the ZIPA commanders and later the Hamadziripi group (see below) — and this is presumably why the ZANU political leadership adopted the term 'ultra-leftists' to denigrate them; another consideration was that Trotskyites of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain still supported the Zimbabwe Solidarity Campaign and the U.A.N.C.; see generally *Revolutionary Zimbabwe*, esp. (Oct. 1978), VI, 33–42, but it should be remembered that this use of 'Trotskyite' does not equate with either Trotsky's own views on warfare (which were conventional) or those of contemporary Latin American Trotskyite groups (which stress the spontaneity of peasants as proletarians); ZIPA's views are, of course, those of Debray who rejected as conventional the ideas of Trotsky himself and as metaphysical those of the Latin American Trotskyites. Hamadziripi's group's ideas, however, seem to be more conventional (see below). In a forthcoming article, I will be dealing with the ephemeral literature of the nationalist factions and of their non-Zimbabwean support groups.

71. *Liberation Afrique* (Jan. 1977), XIX, 8.
72. *Zimbabwe Chimurenga* (May – June 1977), IV, ii, 1–3; Saul, 'Transforming the struggle', in *The State and Revolution*, 120–1 (Postscript); M. Sithole, Zimbabwe: *The Struggles within the Struggle*, 125–7; 'Rhodesia: Zimbabwe's factional farrago', *Africa Confidential* (1977), XVIII, xxii, 3, and 'Rhodesia: Fraught with imponderables' (1978), XIX, vi [1]–3, and 'Rhodesia I: More trouble inside ZANU' (1978) XIX, vii, [1]–2. From early on Mugabe and Tekere had tried to make this more palatable by referring to the need of the political leadership's identifying itself with the military struggle, even to the extent of invoking Castro, but also with the firm Leninist insistence on ultimate party control on the ground that the guerrillas were 'people without any ideology at all pretending that they can lead the revolution'; see *Revolutionary Zimbabwe* (1976), III, 6–7, 28; (1976), IV, 1–16. A few weeks before the leadership of ZIPA was detained in January 1977, Mugabe felt able to insist the 'The question of ZIPA being an entity, a military organ which has autonomy, does not come into it at all. ZIPA, which is synonymous now with ZANLA is a ZANU wing and so it must be under ZANU leadership,' *Revolutionary Zimbabwe* (Jan. 1977), VI, 11; later in explaining the background to the formation of the Patriotic Front, Mugabe made the remarkable claim that ZIPA followed Muzorewa and failed because of 'lack of leadership guidance', *Zimbabwe News* (1978), X, v, 9. See also Kumbirai Kangai, *Revolutionary Zimbabwe* (Jan. 1977), VI, 44, and (Oct. [?] 1977), VII, 28.
73. N. Nikita [Mangena], 'Message to Zimbabwe,' *The Zimbabwe Review* (1977), VI, [ii] (February), 15.

will probably take power, just as it has appropriated in rhetoric the radicals' ideas.<sup>76</sup>

In the meantime we must rely on works that are quite unsatisfactory from the academic point of view. Already mentioned in passing is Raeburn's *Black Fire*, which, apart from Wilkinson's factual Introduction and Conclusion, is what the author calls a 'dramatized documentary' pieced together from interviews with insurgents which have been synthesized with press and other reports. Raeburn justifies his 'dramatized documentary' as a means of bringing alive the motivations and aspirations of the insurgents. Such a 'faction', to use Alex Haley's description of *Roots*, can be successful; but in this case, the stories are flat, unconvincing and almost pointless in that what little they convey points largely to disillusionment on the part of those involved, which, indeed, may be because the sources available to Raeburn, in Britain presumably, appear to be no longer insurgents at all — hence the dismissal of the book by young nationalists as a 'back fire'. For the 'African Voice' and the 'inside experience' claimed for the work simply do not come through the stilted prose of a White Rhodesian who, not untypically, despite the radical posture, appears satisfied to know little of the country, the people or the history of Zimbabwe; admittedly in a text that disclaims factuality, it is difficult to know what are presented as facts and what as fictions, but there can be little confidence in an author who refers to African women carrying a *situpa* (which is also confused with a pass to visit a prison), to Monomotapa's ruined empire around Khami and Dhlodhlo, and to the Land Husbandry Act being passed in 1957.

Equally unsatisfactory is Ndabaningi Sithole's political novel *Roots of a Revolution* written in 1973 and recently published.<sup>77</sup> This is a didactic story to explain why Africans turned to armed struggle; but it is written, apparently, for a European audience rather than an African one, and, like Raeburn's work written in a stilted style in which, for example, an African bus driver speaks of 'The impregnable wall of White supremacy' (p.84). The characters and events are utterly unreal and turn on such factually incorrect notions that it was illegal in Rhodesia for Whites and Blacks to intermarry (p.62). Even if this ever had been so, it shows a somewhat limited view of the African masses' predicament in Rhodesia. The only contact with reality in this strange story is the conclusion that Africans could obtain the vote only by resort to war, although what exactly motivated which Africans

74. 'Rhodesia: Zimbabwe's factional farrago', *Africa Confidential* (1977), XVIII, xxii, 2; *The Times*, 11 Jan. 1978; *The Financial Times*, 3 May 1978; *New African* (May 1978), 31; *The Observer*, 11 June 1978. These problems, too, can be interpreted as 'tribal' (Ndebele versus Kalanga) but more important was the more radical ideology and militancy of the soldiers compared with that of the more flexible political leadership. It is possible, of course, that the actual deaths of Moyo and Mangena were the work of the Rhodesians but, even if so proved, the general point is not invalidated; see, for example, *The Financial Times*, 13 Nov. 1978.
75. It remains to be seen whether the detention of Hamadziripi, Gumbo, Mudzi, Taderera and Mandizvidza (see the brief reports in *The Financial Times*, 3 May 1978; *The Observer*, 11 June 1978; *The Times*, 23 July 1978; *New African* (May 1978), 31; and 'Rhodesia I: More trouble inside ZANU', *Africa Confidential* (1978), XIX, vii, [1]–2) is in response to a continuation of ZIPA ideas (and perhaps in the case of Hamadziripi, even of Nhari's) or whether it is rather the final removal of rivals by the old Central Committee. In the context of increasing Russian (East European and Cuban) aid displacing Chinese influence, a revival of ZIPA ideas, as originally formulated, would imply ZANLA's rapprochement with ZIPRA and indeed with ZAPU thereby threatening the recently imposed rule of the old Central Committee of ZANU; see *The Guardian*, 11 Sept. 1979.
76. See generally, the change of tone in the revived *Zimbabwe News* (June–Sept. 1976), X [IX], ii, and (Jan.–Feb. 1977), IX, ii [sic], *et seq.*
77. N. Sithole, *Roots of Revolution: Scenes from Zimbabwe's Struggle* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1977), 142pp., £3.50.

actually to do so is left unexplained, as is the author's change of view which leads him to believe, in a more recent pamphlet, that those fighting are about to lay down their arms simply because it was ZANU that began the war (the Sinoia engagement of 1966) and will now end it on Sithole's orders.<sup>78</sup> Be that as it may, in both of his books there is the underlying but realistic assumption that the war is now about power rather than discrimination, franchise arrangements or even democracy — hence, presumably, his joining the Transitional Government.

On what the war actually means to the mass of the African people, we have publications by the Rhodesian Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace. In August 1974 leaders of major Churches circulated 'An Appeal to Conscience by Christian Leaders' in an attempt to force an enquiry into ill-treatment of civilians by the Rhodesian Security Forces.<sup>79</sup> As this achieved little more than obloquy,<sup>80</sup> the Commission for Justice and Peace published a pamphlet in 1975, describing cases in detail and giving a general picture of the hardships of the African civilian population in the countryside.<sup>81</sup> In the following year, more examples were provided and details given of the operation of the Emergency Regulations and the Special Courts under the Emergency Powers Act and the Indemnity and Compensation Act of 1975.<sup>82</sup> This was followed a year later by a similar study which concentrated on the propoganda being used by the Rhodesian Security Forces.<sup>83</sup> About the same time Bishop Lamont published his account of his conviction for not reporting the presence of insurgents; this showed how the Church, too, was 'the man in the middle' in an escalating war,<sup>84</sup> which has been further described by Justice and Peace in two recent pamphlets.<sup>85</sup>

78. N. Sithole, **In Defence of the Rhodesian Constitutional Agreement** (Salisbury, Graham, 1978), 71pp., ZR\$1.60; see especially 7, 34 – 5, 48 – 9, 52, 60.
79. Privately circulated. It is reproduced in Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, *The Man in the Middle* (see below, fn. 81), 16 – 20.
80. *The Rhodesia Herald*, 17 and 23 Aug., and 3, 4, 5 and 7 Sept. 1974; Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly . . . 1974*, LXXXVIII, 28 Aug., 36 – 7 (A. Moseley), 76 – 7 (P.F. Shields), 110 (J.C. Andersen); 29 Aug., 120 – 1 (R.G.S. Simmonds); 5 Sept., 481 – 7, and 17 Sept., 914 – 16 (D.W. Lardner-Burke); *Parliamentary Debates, The Senate . . . 1974 to . . . 1975*, VI 28 Aug., 36 (C.A. Heurtley), 40 – 1 (N.J. Brendon), and 45 – 7 (O.H. Robertson); 29 Aug., 71 (W. Alves); 3 Sept., 131 – 40 (D.W. Lardner-Burke).
81. Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, **The Man in the Middle** (Salisbury, The Commission, mimeo, 1975), 27pp., no price indicated (an edition with appendices was published in London, Catholic Institute for International Relations, 22pp.); this publication was equally attacked by the Government, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly . . . 1975*, XCI, 28 Aug., 1502 – 3 (D.W. Lardner-Burke).
82. Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, **A Second Look at the Man in the Middle** (Salisbury, The Commission, mimeo, 1976), 6, [7], 9pp., no price indicated, and **Civil War in Rhodesia** (London, The Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1976), 103pp., £1.00 (which was banned in Rhodesia). See also the numerous Fact Papers put out by the Commission.
83. Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, **Rhodesia: The Propaganda War** (London, The Catholic Institute for International Relations, [1977]), 22pp., £1.00; this book also has been banned in Rhodesia.
84. D. Lamont, **Speech from the Dock** (Leigh-on-Sea, K. Mayhew in association with the Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1977), 143pp., £0.90. This book, too, has been banned.
85. Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, **Rhodesia after the Internal Settlement** (London, Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1978), 25pp. no price indicated; **Rhodesia at War: A Story of Mounting Suffering** ([Salisbury], The Commission, mimeo, 1979), 11pp., no price indicated. These Catholic publications deal with the harsh realities of the war in a manner which is factual

Presenting a very different Christian view of the war is *Christian Terror* by Fr Arthur Lewis of the Rhodesian Christian Group.<sup>86</sup> His main object is to attack the World Council of Churches and other Christian groups who, from whatever their motives, 'promote Marxism and terror'. The tone is polemical but facts (such as the statistics on the number of missionaries and African civilians killed by insurgents) and the photographs of these victims (of a grisly character not usually published in the Rhodesian media) shows the other side of the war which the Rhodesian Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace prefers not to dwell.<sup>87</sup>

Similar in some assumptions, but not in tone, is a description of life in the north-eastern war zone by a Government inspector of African schools.<sup>88</sup> The author is a New Zealander and what he has written is probably aimed more at an audience back home; but again, one is here presented with facts, and perhaps more grisly detail than has appeared elsewhere, which give a rather different picture, on Protected Villages for example, from that presented by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace and others.<sup>89</sup>

What makes all of these works even more unsatisfactory is that they fail to address the rapidly changing nature of the war. Encounters between the Rhodesian Security Forces and the insurgents are declining rather than increasing. On the insurgent side, it seems more attention is being paid to the civilian population and a campaign to disrupt the administration and, in some areas, Christian religious observance by Bible burnings and the like — so much so that the guerrillas, the *mauta eKudga* (eating army), may be losing their original popularity.<sup>90</sup> On the government's side, the armed forces are increasingly African, with African officers being commissioned for the last two years;<sup>91</sup> recruits are more numerous than can be accommodated and both they and the 'auxiliaries' seem increasingly to be motivated by a desire for revenge or by active political commitment to

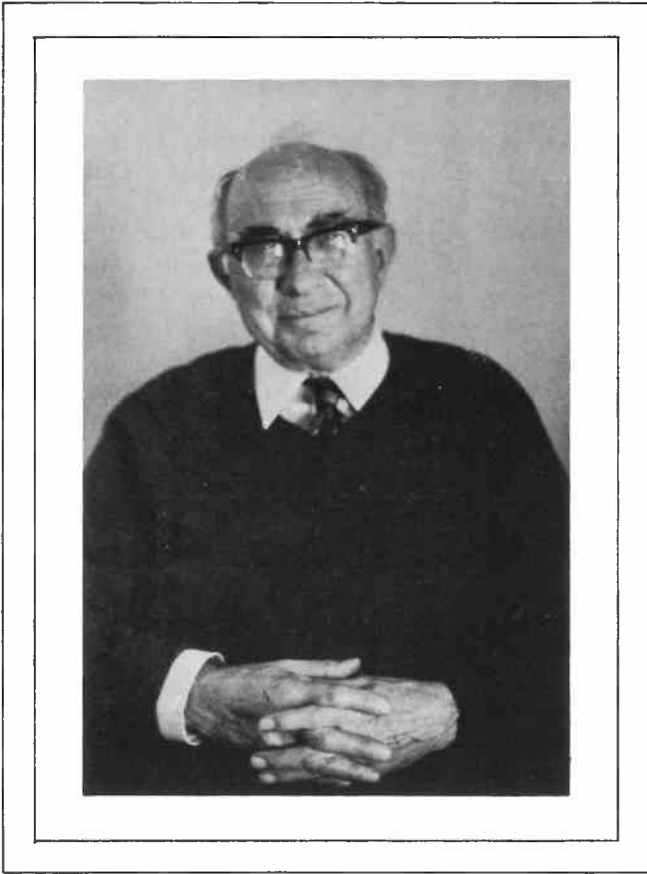
and restrained, whatever Rhodesian Whites may think of it. The same cannot be said for the British Council of Churches. One pronouncement, by J. Wilkie, *The Times*, 24 July 1978, dressed out to look like genuine reporting, heralded the military collapse of Bulawayo before ZIPRA columns (as if the Rhodesian Army and Air Force miraculously no longer existed) but found no need to refer to the difficulties, or the deaths, of African Christians in the countryside. Another of its pharisaical pronouncements on the war accepts with equanimity the killing of 100 people a week, as long as it is done with compassion and in a responsible manner (*Rhodesia Now: The Liberation of Zimbabwe* (London, the Council 1977), 20pp., £0.40).

86. A Lewis, *Christian Terror* (Salisbury, Rhodesia Christian Group, 1978), 80pp., ZR\$1.50. A tantalizingly brief but interesting glimpse is given incidentally (pp. 17 – 18) of the author's side of the story of St Faith's Mission at the time of Clutton-Brock's co-operative. See also his *Rhodesia Undefeated* (Salisbury, Rhodesia Christian Group, 1976), 15pp., ZR\$0.25, and *Liberation in Africa* (Sunnyside (Tv), The Christian League of Southern Africa, 1979), 13pp., ZR\$0.65.
87. Very similar is B. Smith, *The Fraudulent Gospel: Politics and the World Council of Churches* (London, Foreign Affairs Publishing, 1977), 99pp., £1.00 (see, especially, 10 – 13), and, less unexpectedly, Rhodesia, *Massacre of the Innocents* (Salisbury, Ministry of Information, Immigration and Tourism, 1978), 39pp., on request.
88. D. Berry-Cooke, *Blood on the Blackboards* (Salisbury [privately, 1977]), 99pp., ZR\$2.95.
89. See for example, A.K. Weinrich, 'Strategic resettlement in Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies* (1977 – 8), III, 207 – 29; C. Brand, 'From Compound to Keep: On the Nature of Settler Control in Southern Rhodesia' (Upsala, Ninth World Congress of Sociology, 1978).
90. Personal communication from Revd M.L. Daneel; see also 'Zimbabwe Rhodesia: Chicken and egg', *Africa Confidential* (1979), XX, xv, [1] – 3; P. Walshe, 'Christ of the peasant and working classes', *Zimbabwe News* (1976), X, iii, 12: 'bitter anti-Christian sentiments as ZANU focuses more clearly on Marxist analysis'.
91. *The Rhodesia Herald*, 11 June 1977.

particular Nationalist groups now in the Transitional Government<sup>92</sup> — a tendency exacerbated by external backing and training of different groups by different African countries (Malawi, Zaire, Uganda, Sudan and Libya<sup>93</sup>) and internally by the Army's preference for Sithole's auxiliaries', the Police's for those of Muzorewa, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the building up of the Guard Force with a ZUPO military organization.<sup>94</sup> Thus as the Chimurenga of 1896–7 was not simply the first rising against the European colonizers but also the last of the pre-colonial inter-clan wars, so it seems the second Chimurenga may degenerate into a real civil war.

But in the end there will be a victor and as happens in all human affairs, and especially in war, history will be written by the victors. This may be particularly true of this war; reports indicate that official documents are being destroyed more systematically than the Portuguese did before they left Mozambique; shifting allegiances and alliances among the nationalists will almost certainly obscure the record on their side as it already has in the case of Chitepo's assassination. What we will be left with will be so enmeshed in the accumulation of public 'disinformation' that a true history of the war will be exceedingly difficult to write. In its place myth will abound — whether that of the Europeans as epitomized by the rather nasty novels of Wilbur Smith and others described by Chennells<sup>95</sup> which regress to early settler themes, like the exotic origin of Great Zimbabwe, or, on the other hand, that of the Nationalists as indicated increasingly frequently in *Zimbabwe News* and *Zimbabwe Review*, which regress to an equally romantic view, made popular if not respectable by Ranger, of a people united in, and ever since, the first Chimurenga.<sup>96</sup> As this essay has sought to show that only an understanding of marxist positions helps understand the complicated shifts, and inter-relationships, of recent political attitudes and military responses, so historiography will stand in greater need of what it has never had in this country — a thorough-going marxist analysis in order to understand what became of the war and the peace that follows.

92. For the 'black civil war', see Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, *Rhodesia after the Internal Settlement*, 24–5; *Rhodesia at War: A Story of Mounting Suffering*; and *An Analysis of the Salisbury Agreement*, 11. See also L.L. Mathews, 'Rhodesia', in J. Keegan (ed.), *World Armies* (London, Macmillan, 1979), 590–1; International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, *Private Armies in Zimbabwe*. For the reality of the fear, see the repeated comments by African M.P.s in August 1978, *Parliamentary Debates . . . 1978*, XCVIII, 1357–8 (M.M. Bhebe), 1381 (T.T. Zawaira), and 1576–7 (W.B. Chimpaka); XCIX, 117 (L.E. Dewa) and 149–50 (T.T. Zawaira).
93. *New African* (May 1978), 31; ZAPU, *Private Armies: A Tragedy for Zimbabwe*, 5.
94. The lack of co-operation, if not competition, between the different arms of the Rhodesian Government, in this and other respects, will probably never be written.
95. Chennells, 'The treatment of the Rhodesian war in recent Rhodesian novels'.
96. This trend has been particularly noticeable, especially in ZANU, since university-trained leaders became more prominent; see *Zimbabwe News* (1976), X [IX?], iii, 64–6; (1977) IX, iii, 9–11, 14–15; (1978), X, ii, 12, 14, 16, 53, and especially X, ii [iii], 5–10, 18, 41–2, 65; (1979), XI, ii, 8–10; *Zimbabwe Review* (1977), VI, vii, 4, and ix, 35–6; (1978), VII, i, 14; (1979), VIII, Jan.-Mar., 13. T.O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896–7* (London, Heinemann, 1967). Why marxisant parties, especially ZANU, recently follow Ranger's elevation of religious leaders is a subject I hope to return to.



Eric Edward Burke  
1916-86

## **Eric Edward Burke An Obituary**

The History Society of Zimbabwe suffered a great loss when Eric Edward (Ted) Burke died at his home in Harare on 21 December 1986.

Ted Burke was born on 16 June 1916 at Ilford, Essex. He was a Chartered Librarian and was elected Fellow of the Library Association in 1939.

He served in the British Army and the King's African Rifles during the whole of World War II, seeing service in the United Kingdom, East Africa, Ceylon, India, Burma and Germany.

He came out to Zimbabwe in 1946 on being appointed Librarian in the Central African Archives (now the National Archives of Zimbabwe). He later served in the

Department as Chief Records Management Officer, Principal Archives Officer and Deputy Director, becoming Director at National Archives in 1970, a post he held until his retirement in 1977. He was appointed Member of the Legion of Merit for his services to the National Archives.

After retiring from the National Archives he served as Librarian to Parliament from 1978 to 1981 for which service he was awarded the Independence Medal. He then served as Director of the Queen Victoria Museum from 1982 to 1983.

Ted Burke was on the Committee of the Queen Victoria Memorial Library from 1967 to his death; President of the Zimbabwe Library Association from 1977 to his death; Member of the Historical Monuments Commission from 1970 to 1972; Trustee of the National Museums and Monuments from 1972 to 1982 and Honorary Life Member of the Zimbabwe Library Association.

He was Editor of *The Journals of Carl Mauch 1869 to 1872* (1969) and *Guide to the Historical Manuscripts in the National Archives of Rhodesia* (1970).

Members of the History Society of Zimbabwe will best remember Ted Burke for the splendid field work he did in locating the area of William Hartley's grave and for discovering the site of Fort Mazoe. It was Ted Burke who put the Society's Journal, then known as *Rhodesiana*, on a sound footing by editing Nos 9 to 17 and by assisting the Society in many other ways.

Members of the Society offer their sincere condolences to Ted's widow, Isabel, and to his two children and their families.

# **The Manicaland Agricultural Society**

## **Notes on some of the Society's Past Presidents**

**by Escourt Palmer O.B.E.**

The first Show was held in 1901, on land which is now the Umtali Sports Club. In 1903 the late Hon. Lionel Cripps, an 1890 Pioneer, was President. He farmed on the Vumba and was a member of the Legislative Assembly, and later became Speaker of the House.

The Hon. Lionel Cripps was followed by the late John Meikle as President. He also was a member of Parliament, (then Legislative Assembly) and Mayor of Umtali. John Meikle was a pioneer of forestry in Rhodesia, and due to his efforts, forestry has grown to be one of the largest industries in the Eastern Districts, with an investment of over \$24,000,000. This includes investment in the lumber industries. His name was honoured by the naming of the John Meikle Research Station at Stapleford after him, and it is interesting to note that his sons and grandsons are also interested in forestry. His son, E.C. Meikle has been President for many years.

Other past Presidents were:-

The late E.W. Webber of Quagga's Hoek, Umtali. He will always be remembered as the man who trained zebra to pull in his mule team.

The late Major E.M. Jarvis of Telf Estate, Umtali. He was Chief Veterinary Surgeon, Eastern Districts, and had the job of clearing up East Coast fever in this area.

The late Arthur Strickland, President for many years, he was a good Zulu linguist. He took great pride in his matched spans of oxen, and there is a cup dated 1902 which he won for his maize exhibits. His beautiful farm Inodzi was depicted on the Rhodesian £1 notes.

The late D'Urban Barry came to Rhodesia soon after the occupation, and farmed at "En Avant", Old Umtali. He had an outstanding herd of Lincoln Red Shorthorns; he made a great contribution to farming, and his sons Ben and Fred have always given tremendous support to the Show Society.

The late Col. A. Valentine of Battery Spruit started farming with his three sons after the First World War. He took a great interest in gymkhanas, and was a keen golfer.

The late Fred Taylor. He was also a Mayor of Umtali. He and Mrs. Taylor created the lovely garden known as Manchester Park, which is now called the Vumba National Park.

The late Andrew Soffe, O.B.E. was another past President who was keen on forestry, and started forestry on Sheba and Tilbury Estates. Andrew Soffe went to America to study the Tennessee Valley Irrigation Scheme and was responsible for persuading the Government to employ Alexander Gibbs & Co., to make a report on the Sabi Limpopo Scheme, which many years later has resulted in the present Sabi Limpopo Authority developing the Lowveld, which has proved a great success.

Here we come to 1939 when the Army took over the then showground, which became



Park River Training Camp, and there was no further show until 1949, under the Presidency of Sir Ian Wilson.

Sir Ian Wilson, K.B.E. C.M.G., was a member of Parliament and Speaker of the House in the Federal Parliament and was President of the Show Society for 15 years. The decision was made to move to the present Show Ground site, which is one of the loveliest in the country, and this was a period of real hard work for all concerned.

Captain Alec Hampshire M.V.O. was President for five years, and set a high standard. He did much to build up relations with other Show Societies, including the Portuguese. His generous contributions to the Show Society were a great help towards the improvement of the grounds. He is a keen exhibitor of the Shorthorn breed, and has shown with distinction at all the Royal Shows in Rhodesia.

Mr. J.S. Holland, "Binks", our present President, has always been a keen supporter and hard worker, and through his personality and great efforts, has done much to bring town and country together. This year Umtali will see many new exhibitors at our Diamond Jubilee Show.

It is pleasing to note that the sons and grandsons of most of our past Presidents will be playing their part in our Diamond Jubilee Show.

# Nyanga Outing, September 1986

by R.A. Zeederberg

Over recent years the committee of the Mashonaland Branch of the Society has sought to arrange an annual week-end trip for its members to more distant places of historical interest. Having enjoyed visits to the Lowveld and Bulawayo/Matopos in successive years, September 1986 saw members of the Branch in the Nyanga area.

On Friday 19 September an early start from Harare in two luxury coaches ensured time for the seventy-seven participants to enjoy a leg stretch and light refreshments at the Crocodile Motel, Rusape, and still be in good time to settle themselves into their accommodation before a welcome buffet luncheon at the Rhodes Hotel, Nyanga. The party being too numerous for all to be accommodated at the Hotel, those travelling in the second bus by agreement stayed in the luxury of the adjacent National Parks Lodges, although all had their meals at the Hotel.

These meals were excellent indeed. The small staff of the Hotel worked wonders in meeting our needs efficiently and cheerfully, ably led as they were by the proprietor, Mr Mike Wicksteed, and his charming wife, Lyn.

After luncheon the party, which had been augmented by some local members and others who had travelled from Harare privately, headed for the Rhodes Inyanga Experimental Station to hear the Director, Mr Bud Payne, in a wide-ranging address on the agricultural background of the area and on his work and interests in particular, amongst which he numbered a trial planting of hops on behalf of the brewing industry.

The party then moved on to examine some ancient pit structures, so common in the Nyanga area. These had been authentically reconstructed, so while members crept into their dark passages Mr Payne outlined the various theories that had been expounded over the years to explain their use by the Ancients — the prosaic conclusion reached being that they were a combined kraal for the early pastoralists and their livestock.

An informal dinner at the Hotel and a sociable evening brought the first day to a sleepy end.

The dawn chorus welcomed a bright and clear Saturday which saw the party through two sittings of breakfast by 8am. With charged thermos flasks and packed lunches from the Hotel we set off for Fort Nyangwe to admire the view and hear Mr John Thokosani, assistant director of the Mutare Museum, expound on the siting and purpose of the structure in so high and wind-swept a position, his view being that the so-called fort had in fact been accommodation for indigenous traders on a trade route, defence being a secondary consideration.

Then down into the valley and the sound of running water to hear Miss Heather Forbes, of the Trout Research Centre of the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management, outline the introduction of trout to the area, their breeding and their commercial value to the country. Clearly the trout hatchery at Nyanga is not only pivotal

to the trout industry but is very efficiently run despite the triple limitations of finance, experienced staff and, currently, water due to the drought.

Miss Forbes' deep and intimate knowledge of her subject was readily apparent to her appreciative audience who plied her with questions prior to returning to the buses for a belated picnic at the Mare Dam.

The rest of the afternoon was taken up with a drive to World's View and back via Troutbeck Hotel for a welcome cup of tea and a stroll around the hotel grounds.

The Rhodes Hotel staff surpassed themselves that evening in dining the whole party, including the Society's guests, at one sitting not only in comfort and with commendable speed but to an excellently prepared and tasty meal. The venue was most appropriate for a gathering of a society such as ours in that it incorporated a living room and fireplace once used by Cecil Rhodes during his ownership of the property. This was mentioned during the dinner when our guest speakers were thanked and presented with gifts in appreciation of their valued contributions to the success of the week-end.

There was little chance to enjoy the songs of the birds early on Sunday for the party was asked to have the luggage loaded before breakfast, which was followed by an hour's visit to the National Trust Museum adjacent to the Hotel. By 10am the buses were on their way by the Scenic Route to Pungwe View and thence to Mr Tim Tanser's cottage and orchards. The Society is greatly indebted to Mr & Mrs Traser for the immense amount of trouble they took in making our visit a great success. There in the shady and colourful garden Mr Dick Petheram, an authority on the Nyanga area, gave a well-researched address (as published elsewhere in this issue) on the history of the district.

Mr Petheram's talk, being the last of the series of excellent addresses enjoyed during the weekend, was an appropriate finale to a memorable outing much enjoyed by all fortunate enough to have participated.

# Mashonaland Branch Activities During 1987

by R.A. Zeederberg

The five events arranged by the Mashonaland Branch Committee during 1987 comprised two early evening meetings and three trips into the country by coach, one of these a long weekend to the Mutare area. Additionally, of course, there was the annual general meeting held during March.

The year was opened with an address on military medals given by Mr A A Uphill-Brown, an excellent speaker well known for his many and varied interests. This took place at the Royal Harare Golf Club on the evening of the 27th April and was well attended. Mr Uphill-Brown gave a fascinating account of the origin and history of military medals, capping this with some of the methods, not always worthy, adopted by collectors to enhance their collections. Interesting as this talk undoubtedly was, the many and varied questions posed to Mr Uphill-Brown by his audience and his answers during an extended question time added to the worth of the evening and proved their fascination with his subject.

The most interesting valley in this country historically is probably that of the Mazowe. Certainly our outings to that area — there have been two this year — have drawn great support from members and have been memorable events thanks in no small measure to the committee members who reconnoitred and organised the trips, more particularly Mr John Ford the Mazowe outing and Mr Bert Rosettenstein the visit to Mt Hampden.

The first Mazowe trip took in the area made famous by the events in 1896 which led up to and followed on from the Mazowe Patrol, as well as more modern developments like the Mazoe Dam and Citrus Estate (note the retention of the old spelling).

Three coach loads of enthusiastic members enjoyed a pleasant May Sunday climbing historic kopjes and listening to a succession of well-prepared addresses on their historical connections.

In due time luncheon was taken on the shores of the Mazoe Dam where Mr Des Archer spoke on the Dam and the Mazoe Citrus Estate, from the administration of which he had recently retired. The Citrus Estate was toured on the way to the final addresses of the day on the site of Fort Alderson.

The Society returned to the valley in force on Sunday the 26th July, again in luxury coaches with the Mt Hampden area as the focus of attention. This outing is reported on elsewhere in this issue.

The main event of the year was the visit to the Mutare area over Friday to Sunday, the 11th to 13th September. This outing is the subject of a full report in this Journal so suffice it to say that two luxury coaches of members decended on the Wise Owl Motel for a most enlightening weekend of historical nostalgia and good fellowship. Visits were made to the Mutare Museum and the Penhalonga area where talks were heard on the Premier Estate, the Pioneer Cemetary, Old Mutare Mission, Penhalonga and la Rochelle. Among the many subjects was early mining in the area and the first nursing sisters in the country, but possibly the highlights was an interview with an ancient African tribesman in which he

recalled those early days through the services of an interpreter. Mr John Ford, who is formerly from Mutare, drew on his knowledge of the area in arranging this much enjoyed and appreciated outing.

The final event of the year is to be a showing of a video film made from cine films taken from 1930 onwards by an early cine camera enthusiast, the late Mr Peter Rooney, while in the service of the BSA Company. The original material, which was made available by his son Mr M Rooney, has been edited by Mr Bert Rosettenstein to depict the major social and historical events of the period 1935 to 1952.

# Mount Hampden Outing

by R.D. Franks

On Sunday 26 July 1987, the Mashonaland Branch had a most successful outing to the Mount Hampden area, undertaken by 142 persons in four buses with others travelling in their own cars. What was pleasing was to be joined at Mount Hampden by local farmers and residents, members and others. The tour was under the able charge of Bert Rosettenstein.

The first visit was to Shenstone Farm with its homestead and St Francis Chapel on the eastern slope of Mount Hampden. We were addressed by Mrs Mary Markou, the owner of the property for many years, who spoke with great interest and affection of previous owners of the land, Mr Duncan Black senior and Mr and Mrs Freddie Brooks, and of the chapel of St Francis of Assisi. The chapel had been erected by Mr and Mrs Brooks after the 1939–1945 war in memory of their son and two nephews who had lost their lives in the Royal Air Force. Mrs Markou's address is published elsewhere in this issue.

On the west side of Mount Hampden, we were shown buildings which 90 years ago had formed part of Mount Hampden Hotel and which now were included in the farm buildings of Mr Eric Turner on Mount Hampden Farm. We were later in the day to hear that the hotel had been owned at one time (though not operated) by Colonel Raleigh Grey and had been sited at what was then the junction of the roads to Mazoe and Lomagundi, obviously considered as a desirable hotel location.

A short distance further the party debussed and members made their way on foot or in vehicles provided by Mr Eric Turner and Mr Tom Bayley to the top of one of the hills which make up Mount Hampden. Here Tim Tanser gave an address in which he described the impact which the hills and the nearby Gwebi river area had had on Frederick Courteney Selous, with the herds of wild animals, apparent abundance of water and suitable climate. Selous had visited the area on numerous occasions from 1878 and had named the hill after John Hampden, a member of the English parliament from 1621, an opponent of the policies of King Charles 1 and a supporter of Oliver Cromwell, eventually losing his life as a leader in the Parliamentary army in the Civil War in 1643.

Mount Hampden had been selected as the destination of the Pioneer Column and a number of opinions had been expressed as to why the Column had in fact made its final camp near the Makabusi river. It has been suggested that the Pioneer Column selected the wrong hill — as the result of Selous, together with A.R. Colquhoun, the Administrator, and Dr Jameson, undertaking an expedition to Chief Mutasa and leaving the Column at Fort Charter. Major Frank Johnson in his book "Great Days" claims to have chosen the site of Fort Salisbury, but the speaker outlined reports by Lieut Colonel E.G. Pennefather to the Secretary of the British South Africa Company in Kimberley and to the Administrator, on his inspection of the area surrounding Mount Hampden and his selection of the site six miles away. Col Pennefather, who was in charge of the police component of the Column and in overall command of the expedition, left the Column at the "Hanyane" river and "rode forward with Capt. Burnett of the Pioneer Corps to select the most suitable site for a fort and township near Mount Hampden". He reported that they had reached the head of

the Gwebi River and after riding down the Gwebi Valley for about five miles in the direction of Mount Hampden, he had decided that "the water supply in the Gwebi Valley and at the edge of the plateau was not sufficient for what might eventually be the seat of government, with a considerable population."

Col Pennefather also reported and was obviously influenced by the fact that there was hardly any timber within several miles. Accordingly, his report continued, "I returned to the valley of the Makobisi and selected the site where the camp now is: there is a large supply of good water in the Makobisi, with facilities for the construction of waterworks on a large scale at about two miles above the fort".

It is interesting to note that Frank Johnson's book was written in 1940 (in which year he was knighted and is more correctly referred to as Sir William Frederick Johnson) while Pennefather's reports were written contemporaneously; the latter's explanation on the siting of Fort Salisbury has been fully accepted historically.

North of Mount Hampden is Pearson Farm. In November 1891 a group of six Salvation Army officers, led by Captain Pascoe with his wife and two daughters, arrived in Salisbury having spent six months travelling from Kimberley by ox wagon. The Salvation Army was granted the farm which came to be named after one of the Army's oldest officers and greatest song writer.

Closely associated with Mount Hampden were the camels which were introduced into Mashonaland by the BSA Company at the instigation of Colonel Jack Flint. In 1903, the first 34 camels which he had acquired in India caused immediate concern on their arrival by train at Salisbury station where, because they were said to smell much like lions, horses and mules took fright and scattered, drawing their carts or buggies and followed by irate owners. Colonel Flint established a camp or station for his increased number of camels just off the old road to Mazoe, north of Mount Hampden, at a spot which Mr Tom Bayley later in the day pointed out on his farm. Although imported as an alternative form of transport to ox wagons, which had been severely affected by loss of oxen through rinderpest, camels were not a success and in 1904 Colonel Flint decided to move his force of about 70 camels to provide transport in the drier Fort Victoria and Limpopo areas. The police also sent their camels to drier areas like Tuli.

Coming closer to modern times, Tim Tanser told of the growth of Mount Hampden airfield from 1942 when during the Second World War it was included in the Empire Air Training Scheme where pilots commenced their training on Tiger Moths before proceeding to more advanced training on Harvards at Cranborne and Thornhill. During the late 1940's and early 1950's, when Southern Rhodesia enjoyed a post-war immigration boom, the former airforce accommodation was used to provide a temporary hostel for newly arrived civil servants. More recently the old airfield had expanded considerably and in 1977, as Charles Prince Airport, became the busiest small airport in Africa.

Also on this hilltop Bert Rosettenstein read the brief memoir of Mr L. Newman, the son of Mr William Newman who had become the owner of Mount Hampden Farm in about 1926. Mr William Newman had come to the country in 1901 to manage the Mount Hampden Hotel and had arranged for a Mr Pocket to come out from England as chef to the Kopje Club. Mr Pocket was to be known for many years as the owner of a bakery and tearoom in Salisbury.

After a walk on a second and higher hilltop with superb all-round view which must have attracted Selous, the party moved by bus to Pattison Farm, owned by Mr Tom

Bayley where a talk was given by Mr Bayley, who had been on the farm for 52 years.

Mr Bayley told how Pattison Farm had been granted in 1890 to Trooper A.J.T. Pattison, a member of the Pioneer Corps who had died of fever the following year and whose grave is near Mr Bayley's homestead. The farm remained unoccupied for many years until taken over by Mr and Mrs John Dunlop perhaps during the first World War. Mr Dunlop, who came from Scotland, arrived in Salisbury in May 1891, prospected in the Mazoe Valley where he pegged the Yellow Jacket Mine, and worked as a carpenter on the Beira railway line before it reached Salisbury. From this wide ranging background, which included two years running the Mount Hampden Hotel, Mr Dunlop decided to become a farmer and bought Trooper Pattison's farm.

Mr and Mrs Dunlop had five children, May who married Mr Bill Moubray, a rancher in the Lowveld, where Chiredzi now is, Edith who married Mr William Senior, a miner who became Minister of Mines and Public Works in the Southern Rhodesia Government and was largely responsible for the establishment of the Electricity Supply Commission, John Dunlop, who farmed at Norton before his death, Campbell Dunlop, who flew with the RFC in World War I, farmed at Mount Hampden and was killed in an air crash in 1940 after joining up as an Air Force recruiting officer, and Renton Dunlop, who worked on Mr Senior's mine before dying there.

Mr Bayley made his first contact with the Mount Hampden area in 1936. He lived his early years in Chelmsford, Essex in England, near a village named Danbury. After serving an apprenticeship, working in a factory at a princely wage of 10/- a week and then for four years on a farm, Mr Bayley received a message from a friend of his sister who had come out to Africa on holiday and who had met the Dunlops. This contained an invitation to come out to work for Mr Dunlop which Mr Bayley was happy to accept.

After six days travelling from Cape Town by train, Mr Bayley arrived on the Dunlop's farm where his first task was to build a rondavel to accommodate himself. Mr Dunlop drew a circle on the ground, allocated a young picannin to dig anthrills and left Mr Bayley to build a round hut — which still stands near his homestead, with petrol box furniture, original hurricane lamps and charcoal burning iron, and original iron bedstead.

Mr Bayley worked for Mr Campbell Dunlop who leased the farm from his mother. After the death of the latter in 1940, Mr Bayley started to farm for his own account, renting the original Pattison Farm from Mrs Dunlop. He subsequently purchased this farm, and some years later bought a subdivisinal of Mount Hampden. The farms were renamed Danbury Park.

After Mr Bayley's talk, and lunch taken under the trees, the group moved over the Old Mazoe Road to his homestead where we met his wife, Mrs Edith or "Bobs" Bayley. Mrs Bayley is well known for her interest and skill in growing ferns and orchids and gave a most interesting address on the germination and growing of ferns from spores collected world wide. She is also a painter who pays particular attention to indigenous orchids.

Even before the days when it was difficult for farmers to buy new equipment and spares, Mr Bayley started to collect and maintain his tractors, vehicles and equipment and he has a remarkable collection of what in many cases must be regarded as museum pieces. For our benefit he had moved these vehicles and tractors into his farmyard in a manner which brought to mind a display of equipment on the Agricultural Show, and after Mrs Bayley's talk we were able to spend an hour or so, wandering amongst and looking at these pieces of history — which included an ox wagon, a two wheel horse-drawn carriage, a



scotchcart, a 1923 Farmall tractor, two old Case and John Deere tractors from days when tractors were built with steel wheels, a number of Ferguson tractors which some of us younger members remember coming on to the market in about 1950, and a 1914 Chev truck. Mr Bayley displayed an attachment to D2 Catapillar tractors of which he has ten in working order and used regularly on the farm, this being achieved by taking parts off the remains of a number of D2 Captapillars. What was quite amazing was that these vehicles and tractors were all running, for which great credit must go to Mr Bayley's son, Tommy.

For every member of the Society, the opportunity to walk in the farm yard and garden of Mr and Mrs Bayley looking at farm equipment and vehicles, in her fern sheds or houses and at all sorts of other items of historical interest, was an intriguing and thoroughly enjoyable culmination of the day's outing, and few must have been the persons ready to embark on the buses when our time ran out. It was a day well organised by Tour Planner Bert Rosettenstein, assisted by Tim Transer and Sheridan Lynch, on which all of us were very grateful for the contributions and tremendous assistance given by Mrs Markou, Mr and Mrs Eric Turner and Mr and Mrs Tom Bayley and their respective families.

# A talk on Shenstone Farm on 26 July 1987

by Mrs Margaret Markou

Good morning — Welcome to Shenstone Farm.

I would like to tell you a little about the land on which I now live. Mr and Mrs Hartley senior came to this country in 1922. They bought about 650 acres from Mr D. Black senior of Selby Farm. Whilst their home (the one you probably saw on the right as you came up the hill) was being built, they lived in Salisbury at Meikles Hotel. Unfortunately they did not make a success of farming and decided in 1931 to leave Rhodesia to return to England. Their son Steve Hartley, in 1940, divided some land into plots. He wanted all buyers to name their plots "Observatory", but the Government Survey Department stepped in and insisted that each portion of land was to be named by the new owner, for the convenience of everyone. In September, 1941, Mr and Mrs Freddie Brooks bought 25 acres, together with the original homestead, for £500. I came out with Mr and Mrs Brooks when the deal was clinched. We all fell in love with the house and the land around it, even though it was badly in need of repair and the garden was completely overgrown. In 1942 Mr and Mrs Brooks moved in and they called their new home "Shenstone". They were very happy here until Freddie Brooks died in 1948. His widow was unable to live here alone and went to Sinoia to live on the farm of her son-in-law and daughter, Sandy and Ally Singleton.

We bought Shenstone in 1952 from Mrs Gladys Brooks. I was very touched when a few hours before her death she said "I die happy my child knowing that you and George will take loving care of Shenstone and the little Chapel". Now I feel I must fill in the gap of years between 1941 to 1952 before we came here — so forgive me if I digress a bit. My brave Athenian husband was a career officer in the Royal Hellenic Air Force. He was a pilot and fought in Greece, Albania, Egypt and also with the RAF in Iraq. In 1942 he came to Rhodesia to become chief flying instructor at Cranborne Advanced Training School in Salisbury. He not only trained Greek boys who had escaped from German occupied Greece, but he also trained British, Canadian, Yugoslavian, Australian and French young men. We were married in December 1942. In 1943 my husband was appointed head of the Royal Hellenic Air Force with Headquarters in Johannesburg and later Cairo. At the end of the war, instead of going to London as Greek Air Attache, he made the big decision to give up his so-loved career and go back to the Rhodesia he had learned to love. And that is how we decided to buy Shenstone and turn it into what became a very profitable and most admired poultry farm — quite amazing when I look back. My darling husband died 3 years ago.

Our children and grandchildren all live here. We enjoy a wonderful life in this beautiful area, surrounded by some of the best farms in the country and with the help and friendship of the finest and kindest people one could ever wish for.

Now the story of the little Chapel of St Francis of Assisi. It stands on the ground from whence F.C. Selous and other hunters used to gaze at all the many varieties of game

on the Gwebi Flats. The building of the Chapel commenced on 17 January 1945 and was completed on 4 October 1948 — it was obviously done in slow stages. Mr Brooks laid the foundation stone which can with difficulty be seen on the far side of the Church — the words are “Gloria in Excelsius”. Canon Gibbon blessed the Chapel. The ground had been consecrated some months before by the Anglican Bishop. It was erected in memory of three brave young airmen who gave their lives for the sake of ideals — such as the defence of England.

The first boy to die was :

**FRANCIS GILBERT BROOKS** — younger son of Mr and Mrs Freddie Brooks. His home was at 87 North Avenue, Salisbury. He was educated at Prince Edward School and the Imperial Service’s College, England. He returned to Salisbury in 1939 to become a learner farmer on his brother Sonny Brook’s farm — Springs — now owned and farmed by Eric Turner’s brother. Francis joined the R.A.F. and left for the United Kingdom in 1940. He became a Flight Engineer and flew in many raids. On 19 February, 1944, his bomber was shot down over Leipzig, Germany. He was 22 years old. “Nibs”, as everyone called him, was a very special friend to me and my late brother. He became a part of our family and we, in turn, became loved members of the wonderful Brooks family. Such happy and carefree days, never to be forgotten.

The second boy was:

**JOHN ROWEBOTHEM** — a nephew of Mrs Brooks. He was born in Blantyre and educated in North Devon, U.K. He came to Salisbury in 1941 to be trained as a pilot. I knew him well — a fine brave person. He was killed whilst on a recce in a Spitfire — he was shot down over the English Channel on his way home.

The third boy was:

**ROBIN WILLIAMS** — also a nephew. He was killed just before armistice in Palestine. He was a Pathfinder. From 1948 there have been services once a month in the Chapel. Numerous babies have been baptised and three weddings have taken place. Winnie, second daughter of Tom and Bobs Bayley was the first child to be baptised. Tom and Bobs donated the front porch.

These are some notes about the contents of the Chapel.

The Ceremonial Cross on the alter was presented by Captain Standing. He found the cross in an abandoned Church and, shall I say, appropriated it and on his return from World War II, he gave it to St Francis Chapel.

The Bell was given by Miss Gosford, who lived in Malvern, U.K. She wished it to go to one of the Colonial Churches. It came out of a Priory in Worcester, which had been destroyed by fire.

The Teak Pews were made by African carpenters trained at Epworth Mission by Canon Patterson.

The Altar was given by Mr and Mrs W.P. Singleton, parents-in-law of Polly (Brooks) Singleton, as were the silver communion vessels; the small statue of St Francis of Assisi came out of a monastery in Athens. A devoted Monk gave it to Wing Commander and Mrs G. Marcou, who, on their return to Rhodesia, gave it to Mrs Brooks for St Francis Chapel. Over the door of the Chapel is a lovely stained glass window. Take note of the eagle on a gloved hand at the top of it. This was especially worked into the design because Francis Brooks, whilst on Springs Farm, had a fully trained eagle which he loved. When he went to England to join the R.A.F. he had to leave the bird of course. Now a little about the

designer of the window — he was Mr E.M. Dinkel of the Stowbridge Glass Engraving School. He became so interested when he was asked to design a window for St Francis with Rhodesian birds and animals, that he did the work free of charge. So that is how the window was made and painted by the same man who painted the R.A.F. window in Westminster Abbey. Truly a very special window.

Now about the hut you see down on my right. Few people know that it was built by Duncan Black senior in 1900. He farmed at Selby and was one of the pioneer farmers in this area. He owned vast acres of land. His name over the years became legendary for his prize animals and for his judging at shows in Rhodesia, South African and England. Mr Black kept a large number of animals on this side of the hill. The hut was built so that he could spend 2 or 3 days here and have somewhere dry and warm to sleep in at night. Except for the windows, and door it is exactly as it was all these years ago.

Since we came to Shenstone, the hut has been used by the visiting Padre as a room to change into his clerical robes. Visitors from Scotland and England have been housed in it and were thrilled to live in a hut in Africa and to go to bed by candlelight. The spiders on the walls and mice in the thatched roof didn't bother them at all. Our grandchildren have used it as a playroom and a bedroom. Now I use it as a storeroom and for temporary accommodation for the rural guard. I wonder what Mr Duncan Black senior would have thought about that. The fact that we all need guards now is an indication that we certainly do live in very changed times; but I wouldn't like to live anywhere else.

Thank you for listening.

# Danbury Park

by Tom Bayley

I have been asked to tell you something about this place. Well, in 1890 it belonged to a Trooper J.T. Patterson who came up here with the Pioneer Corp. and Police of the British South Africa Co., and he died of malaria fever on 19th April, 1891, on a rise across the road here, overlooking the main route to Mazoe. He was buried in a shallow grave which is now marked by a steel cross erected by the Pioneer and Early Settlers' Society. The story of his life and death at the age of 27 years is recorded in the Archives. He came from Essex in England.

Later along came the Dunlops who had been running the hotel at Mount Hampden for two years. Newmans, you have already heard about. Mr Dunlop took this farm because there were large reed beds in the vleis and in those days with water and deep black soil it was possible to grow crops and make a living, there being no fertiliser or any machinery whatsoever.

They lived in pole and dagga huts until such time as they could afford to make bricks and build a small house to live in. The remains of which you see here today. When they came to build the house they discovered they were short of bricks so had to put the roof on at about 7 ft. from the ground with the ceiling going up into the roof. The house was always full of bees with hives between the ceiling and roof and under the wooden floors. Whenever honey was needed Mr. Dunlop thrust his bare arm into the cavity and pulled out the honey. Their motor car seemed always to have a swarm of bees under the back seat which didn't seem to mind long dusty journeys. The house had a beautiful garden to it and a tennis court. One of the earliest jacaranda trees grew there too. The dipping tank was erected in 1913 together with a borehole with very little water and plenty of lime.

Mr and Mrs Dunlop were both from Scotland.

Mr Dunlop and a pal set out from Newcastle, Natal, then the end of the railway, early in March, 1891, with a scotch cart and oxen transporting goods for sale up here. Their most useful package being a big bag of salt which they found invaluable along the route for bating with the natives for food. On arrival at the Lundi crossing they found hundreds of wagons held up due to the swollen river, where they had been for three months. It was a tragic spot and he counted some 42 graves. The Charter Co., put a wire rope over the river for transporting of goods and Mr. Dunlop managed to get his scotch-cart and goods across, the oxen having to swim. They finished up by being the first of the civilian column to arrive in Salisbury and he the only man with a decent pair of boots because he walked up barefoot. They arrived in Salisbury on 24th May 1891 and that night there were great celebrations around a bonfire. Their goods were sold by auction and they went to Mazoe prospecting and pegged the Yellow Jacket Mine, so named after the only book they had with them.

It was the richest property found up till then. They sold their claim for £2,500 and returned to Scotland via Newcastle where they met the Meikle brothers who had ten wagons doing transport work. They asked Mr. Dunlop what were the prospects of transporting goods to Rhodesia like and I am sure most of you know what the outcome of that conversation was. Mr and Mrs Dunlop were married in Scotland and returned to

Newcastle, Natal, where she remained and he went on to work on the laying of the Beira railway. He worked as a carpenter. He told me that many, many died and he made out many a will for a dead man and signed it for him with the pen in the man's cold hand so that the dependants would be able to claim the dead man's wages from the company constructing the railway. He celebrated his 21st birthday on the completion of the railway from Beira to Salisbury. He had five children, May, Edith, Campbell, John and Renton. May married a low-veld rancher, Bill Moubray. Their ranch is where Chiredzi now stands. They have recently celebrated their diamond wedding anniversary. Edith married Mr Senior a miner who became Minister of Mines and Public Works. The formation of the E.S.C to take electricity to the rural areas of this country before the second World War was his brainchild, they are both deceased now. Renton worked on Mr Senior's mine at Gatooma and died there. The tree you see here with the railing around was planted by him as a youth. John farmed at Norton and died some years ago. Campbell went to U.K. and joined the Royal Flying Corp in the first world war. He came out with the D.S.C. and rank of Squadron Leader. He went back to the British Empire Exhibition in 1924 to assist with the Rhodesian exhibit. In 1926 he helped out in the general strike and then returned to take over the lease of this, his father's farm. During the second World War he went straight into the air force here and was recruiting officer for the whole country. He was killed in an air accident in 1940.

Across this field there is a clump of trees known as the *Camel Tree*. This is where the camels were hitched overnight on their journey transporting post and goods to Mazoe during the time of the rinderpest when most other animals died.

Next to the gate you came in by is the spot where Blakiston, during the Rebellion, dropped his rifle which discharged and miraculously missed his head. Also near the same gate is the original Old Mazoe road of the coach days. The original drive to this homestead was planted with lemon and cedrella-tuna trees. Some of which are still surviving and the lemons still bear fruit.

The drift at the Gwebi river was built up by Mr. Dunlop on contract with wagon and donkeys.

This homestead it appears had visitors daily and eventually Mrs Dunlop acquired a liquor licence for £1. The Zeederberg coach to Mazoe used to halt here. The mules were changed and the others kraaled and fed and were ready for the return journey of the coach next day.

Mr and Mrs Dunlop lived to be over 90 years of age and in spite of all their hardships enjoyed reasonable good health till the end of their days.

# The Mutare Visit : 11th to 13th September, 1987 of the History Society's Mashonaland Branch

by Viola Thwaites

The choice of Mutare for the History Society's September weekend was most appropriate, for in this area of Manicaland the early pioneers saw, not only the prospect of an easier eastern access from the Coast, but also the attractions of mountains and grasslands, which led to civilian settlement as early as 1891. This was when Fort Mutare was moved from Penhalonga, and Old Mutare was established on its present site. The third Mutare came into existence in 1897 when the new site proved more practical for the railway connection — all a tempting prospect for those interested in our past.

So off we went in two luxury buses, arriving at our Mutare base, the Wise Owl Hotel, in time for lunch. The comfort of our accommodation and transport throughout the weekend bore little relation to the rigorous life of our hardier forebears! It was to be a weekend brimful of variety and interest, of learning through seeing old buildings and memorials, of listening to informed talks, several in oral tradition style from local speakers, and of steeping ourselves in historical atmosphere.

On Friday afternoon we visited two historic buildings. The first was "Utopia" the house of Rhys and Rosalie Fairbridge, the parents of Kingsley Fairbridge, the poet, Rhodes Scholar and philanthropist. Built in 1897 of local materials — stone from ancient building, mud and wooden poles — and open on both sides, it was typical of many early homes. The house is now a small museum, skilfully restored and furnished in the style of the Fairbridge period, many of the items belonging to the family. Catching the eye among much of interest were an old sewing machine, a Mazawattee tea tin and part of the original trek-wagon supporting the mantlepiece.

Harry Went, a Fairbridge grandson, told us the story of the Fairbridge family with enlivening glimpses of Grandpa Rhys, pioneer surveyor and mapmaker — his astute acquisition of personal properties, later formally granted him by Rhodes, and, in lighter vein, his dramatic midnight summoning of his sleeping family by rifle shot when, in his declining years, he fell out of bed.

We next went to *Kopje House* the fourth Mutare hospital, with its adjacent mortuary (now demolished), built in 1897, its deep verandahs being typical of the time. Since 1930 it has been put to various other uses, including that of a school hostel and latterly as a cultural centre. Seated on the steps of the old hospital we heard Sister Johnson's detailed and engrossing account of the medical scene in early Mutare with thumbnail sketches of the chief personalities — doctors and nurses — and the problems they faced.

After dinner we spent the evening in Mutare's excellent museum, hosted by its director, Peter Locke, who introduced us to his domain, giving us a run-down of its history

and pointing us in direction of special interest — old wagons, veteran cars, including a Baby Austin, costumes and uniforms of pioneer times, the wild life exhibit, including two live and watchful gaboon vipers — and much else.

On Saturday morning, after a 6:30 a.m. breakfast, we started our day at the *Kingsley Fairbridge Memorial* — the beautiful bronze statue of young Kingsley with his boyhood companion, Jack, and his terrier Vic — overlooking the panoramic view of Mutare from Christmas Pass. Here Harry Went told us the story of his famous uncle, the founder of the Fairbridge Farm Scheme for under-privileged children.

While still gazing across the valley we listed to John Ford as he pointed out in the scene before us *Murahwa's Hill* and the *Vumba Altar*, telling us what is known of their historical significance, and the fact that artefacts from both are lodged in the Mutare museum.

Our buses then took us to the *Old Mutare Cemetery* on Premier Estate, where, in 67 well-tended graves lie many who died in the 1890s, many of malaria and blackwater fever. Among these was the popular "little doctor", Dr Rundle, who played a valuable part in the early mission life. Twelve of these graves are unnamed, and the History Society would welcome information as to who might be buried there as well as any details about the named persons. John Ford, whose boyhood days were spent on Premier Estate, spoke not only about the Old Cemetery, but also about the origin, development and growth of Premier Estate from a squatter start of B.S.A. Co. land by two South African farmers, through various stages of ownership, the problems of mining claims and lack of conservation, and through the period of extensive citrus production up to the 1960s and thence to the present time. Now the main crops are burley tobacco and wheat, still watered from the Mutare River by the original irrigation canals laid down in the 1890s by Mr Weissenborn.

Our next stop was in *Old Mutare* itself at the *Mission*, built in 1896 in the shadow of Chiremba Hill. The mission grew from the remains of the 1891 township in which Miss Zillah Miles started the first little school in the area, and even after Mutare's move over the Christmas Pass it continued to provide educational, medical, agricultural and mission facilities, the chief of which is the industrial training centre run by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Seated in the church we heard from Fred Barry, a local farmer, about agriculture, in the fertile, productive Old Mutare area, where many of these farming families have been on the land for generations. Our next scheduled speaker was to have been Mrs Shirley de Wolf, unfortunately claimed by her duties at the Mutare Show. However, she made it possible for us to meet and learn the story of 92 year old Timothy Chieza, son of one of Mr Rhodes' messengers. Through our interpreter some of us asked him questions about the past, and we were all greatly impressed by the bearing, appearance and strong faith in God of this dignified old man.

It was lunch time now, and we made our way to Penhalonga to the beautiful site of the Nurses' Memorial, erected in the shade of the *Indaba Tree*. These gallant nurses — Rose Blennerhassett, Lucy Sleeman and Beryl Welby — in 1893 sailed up the Pungwe to Mpanda's from where they walked to Penhalonga through fever swamps and lion infested country to establish their little mud hut "hopsital" on Sabi-Ophir hill. Here, while we were occupied with our packed lunches, Peter Locke gave us the background of the Memorial and the Tree, and then Dr Tony Roberts spoke about *Mining and the Valley history*. Of



particular interest were his comments on the richness and extent of Penhalonga and the gold belt which stretched for 70 miles, and which, in the early days, produced open nuggets. This probably gave rise to legends of Ophir and to the name of the hill on which we sat. Dr Roberts pointed out that the early Bantu must have been good prospectors, because nearly all our present mines have developed on ancient workings.

Our first afternoon stop was at the little *Anglican Church of St Michael and All Angels* at Penhalonga. Built on stilts in 1906, it is said to be the oldest church building in Mashonaland and the second oldest in Zimbabwe. We were welcomed by the African congregation with song and by the Vicar General of Manicaland Rev. M Zambezi.

He spoke briefly about the church's history and asked us to join in prayer and a hymn. Our rendering of "O God, our help in ages past" was a credit to the Society! We were privileged to be able to contribute towards the preservation of this neat old corrugated iron building.

A visit to Penhalonga *must* include a visit to *La Rochelle*, the beautiful home of the late Sir Stephen and Lady Courtauld, now held in trust for the nation by the National Trust. It was built in 1951 in the calm, quiet beauty of the Imbeza Valley, and is surrounded by thirty-eight acres of landscaped gardens. Bob Drummond, a former curator of La Rochelle, told us the story of this gracious house, and spoke of the current financial difficulties of its maintenance. Some of us took advantage of the sale of plants from the estate nurseries, which is a source of La Rochelle's income.

That evening we dined formally at the comparatively new Manica Hotel, which in 1974 replaced the "Cecil" known and remembered with affection by many. The evening, at which were included as guests all our speakers as well as Manicaland members of the Society, was full of good humour and fun. Most amusing talks were given by Tim Tanser and by National Chairman, Richard Wood. Richard Wood spoke of the toilet specifically built at the side of the road on the Mutare/Birchenough Bridge Road for any need which might have arisen for the Queen Mother on her visit to our country in 1953 when she had unveiled the Kingsley Fairbridge Memorial and opened the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition. Tim Tanser, nicknamed "Toilet" Tanser for his concern on all outings that calls of nature by members do not fall on deaf ears but on dry ground, suggested that if the Queen Mother's toilet was still available, the Society might acquire it both as an historic relic and for the use of members!

On Sunday morning, before our departure for home we paid two final visits. *The Mutare Club* was built in 1897, but was established as the Club in 1900. Its handsome facade has been a feature of Main Street for ninety years. Here "Binks" Holland, a senior member of the Club, spoke of the Club's history and kept us vastly entertained with hilarious stories from Club reminiscences. We were then invited to look round, but the numbers going upstairs at one time had to be limited to prevent stress on the structure. An added touch of historical interest was "Binks" Holland's veteran Chevrolet parked outside. Its mint condition, its three hooters and the rear dickey seat fascinated one of our bus drivers, who on enquiring the price was mystified by Mr Holland's reply "Two new Mercedes in part payment. . . . ."

Our final port of call was to the Meikle home, built at the base of Cecil Kop. After the arrival in the country of three Meikle brothers, Tom, Jack and Stewart, they went their various ways, and this was the home of Jack, who did great public service in municipal and national government. His son Jack was our final speaker, outlining for us the Meikle story.

It seems fitting that the property now belongs to Jeremy Lewis, a Mutare lawyer, whose father and late grandfather both served with distinction in the law courts of this country.

So ended a memorable weekend, organised with the usual stream-lined efficiency and attention to detail for which the History Society Committee is well known. This reputation was ably upheld by John Ford assisted by Tim Tanser, Sheridan Lynch and Betty Passow who researched, planned and organised this trip and shepherded their flock with cheerful good humour.

# Annual Report 1986 — 87 and News Notes

## Annual Report

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to present my report for the year 1986 to 1987.

A great measure of time during the last year was taken up by the National Committee in discussing the publication of *Heritage 6*. This publication should have been available to members towards the middle of 1986 and although its arrival has now been "imminent" for several months, it is not yet to hand. Whilst the delay in the arrival of the Journal is most sincerely regretted, it is of value for members to understand the main causes for such delay.

As referred to in my report last year, the Society suffered the loss of Mr Robert Smith who was at the time of his death the Editor of the Journal. When Mr Robert Turner took over the task of editing *Heritage 6* with assistance from Mr Colin Loades, it was necessary for those two gentlemen to acquaint themselves with what material was then available and to collect additional material. Thereafter, we faced the difficulties of shortages of high quality paper, and glue, and to add to our woes, the type setter at the printing firm was in the throes of emigrating, all of which factors contributed to the considerable delay.

I should like formally to apologise for this delay and state that it continues to be the hope and intention of the National Committee that we shall continue to produce one Journal each year and *Heritage 6* will still be regarded as the 1986 edition. However, looking to future journals, the most serious problem facing the editor is the lack of material. The Editor advises that in most organisations there is a stock of material available from which editors can draw in order to expand any publication. In our case however, "the cupboard is bare"!

I should like to appeal to members therefore to give deep consideration to the difficulties we face and either to prepare papers themselves on aspects of history which interest them or which are known to them, or alternatively, make available to the Society writings by others which will be of interest to us.

Although sadly most people who were in this country around the turn of the century are no longer with us, there must still be a vast amount of material retained by the families of the early residents. Diaries, jottings, reminiscences and formal writing from that era must still be available and would be of particular interest to the editor.

Before leaving the matter of our journal, I should like to pay tribute to Mr Turner and Mr Loades for stepping into the breach at such short notice and for their work in preparing *Heritage 6* for imminent publication.

The other significant occurrence during the past year has been the publication of the book *Historic Buildings of Harare* by Peter Jackson. As I mentioned last year, the National Committee agreed to donate the sum of \$4 000,00 from funds held from the "Heritage of the Nation" to assist in the publication of the book and to reduce the retail price. Many of you will have acquired the book and we believe that the investment made was a good one as the book contains a great deal of information which is of interest both to us as amateur historians and to the many visitors to our city.

A draft Trust Deed has now been prepared in terms of which the royalties from the first edition of the book will be ceded by the author, Mr Peter Jackson to the Trust. These funds will then be made available at the discretion of the Trustees who will initially be Mr Jackson, Mr Spencer Cook and myself, to further interest in and knowledge of Historic Buildings throughout Zimbabwe.

As a matter of information I would advise that considerable steps have been taken during the year towards the promulgation of legislation which will have the effect of preserving most of the historic buildings in the country. That such steps have been made is attributable in large measure of the efforts by Peter Jackson in his capacity as a member of the Historic Buildings Advisory Committee to National Museums and Monuments, and also in his capacity as Honorary Historic Buildings Advisor to the City of Harare. In essence, the proposed legislation will establish a Historic Buildings Advisory Fund which will select buildings for registration based on historical associations and architectural interest. Such registration will be endorsed against the title deeds of the property. A plaque will be placed upon each such registered building, signifying it to be a Historic Building. The owner of such property then is given certain advantages in applying for a development order and may be granted extra benefits on rates etc. Any demolition or development of the property will then require a special application.

During the year the decision was taken by your Committee to increase subscriptions from \$7,00 and \$8,00 for individual and family members respectively to \$10,000 and \$12,00. The subscriptions had been maintained at their previous level for some five years and we considered that the value of the Journal to members, together with the facilities for attending lectures and participating in tours and field trips, made such subscription increase acceptable.

As in the past, Mashonaland members have benefited greatly from the initiative, careful planning and exuberant energy of the Mashonaland Branch Committee. The Society's outings continue to be very well supported and have again resulted in an increase of membership. Membership now stands at 650.

Our extreme gratitude is due to Mr Went for maintaining the level of interest that he does in respect of historical matters in the Manicaland area. Indeed, it is largely in recognition of this that the Mashonaland Branch is planning an outing to Mutare and surrounding areas in September of this year.

Regrettably, we have still not been able to resuscitate the Matabeleland Branch of the Society. It is an unmitigated tragedy that all that is of historical interest in that area should not continue to be recorded and made known to the people who live there. I understand the difficulties that are to be encountered in setting up a branch from the administrative point of view, but such difficulties can always be overcome if the determination and spirit are there.

This evening the one function undertaken by the National Committee, that of the annual dinner, is to be held at the Royal Harare Golf Club. Once again, the arrangements for this event have been dealt with by Mr Roel Zeederberg to whom my gratitude is extended. As with last year, we have had a substantial number of acceptances. I am sure that this event will be as pleasurable as it has always been in the past.

I should like to give my most grateful thanks to the Committee for its support during the year. In particular I should like to thank Mr John Ford for his enthusiastic services as

Secretary and to Mr Lex Ogilvie for his continued attendance to our finances as Treasurer of the National Committee.

My two years as Chairman now come to an end. I am grateful to members for having accorded me the honour of holding this position. As I have said before, my admiration for our members knows no bounds. Your enthusiastic support and genuine enjoyment of all we have undertaken on your behalf makes the holding of the position of National Chairman not only one of pride, but also one of great enjoyment.

I conclude by wishing my successor well and offering any support or assistance I can give to him in the coming years.

T F M Transer National Chairman 1985–87.

## News Notes

The National Executive Committee of the History Society of Zimbabwe has received a cheque from the Matebeleland Branch of the Society in the sum of \$978–56 being the accumulated funds of the Branch which has been dormant for some years. The Society has acknowledged this payment with thanks and continues to hope that the Matebeleland Branch will be resurrected. Under the guidance of Mr Harold Vickery and others the Matebeleland Branch in its organisation of activities served as an example to the other branches in the country as to what can be done under enthusiastic and efficient leadership. It is sincerely hoped that our Matebeleland members will again find it possible to arrange local events and meetings.

The Mashonaland Branch has again had an active and successful year including a weekend trip to the Mutare area. This outing was well attended and very efficiently organised. This year the Mashonaland Branch is arranging a visit to Masvingo and Great Zimbabwe.

The increased cost of publishing *Heritage of Zimbabwe* is creating a strain on our financial resources and for the year ended 31 December 1987 the Society ran at a loss. This situation can be overcome by raising the subscriptions and increasing our membership and members are asked to persuade their friends to join the Society.

I take this opportunity of thanking Mr Robert Turner for his effort and expertise in editing *Heritage*. He has been responsible for this issue and the previous issue and is now stepping down from the post. Mr Michael Kimberley has agreed to become the editor and it is noteworthy that both Mr Turner and Mr Kimberley have each served on the National Committee for a quarter of a century. They deserve our thanks for this achievement.

R H Wood National Chairman, 1987–

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Contributors are requested to please type their  
work in double spacing, with wide margins on  
one side of the paper only.

Please send your contributions to:

The Editor  
History Society of Zimbabwe  
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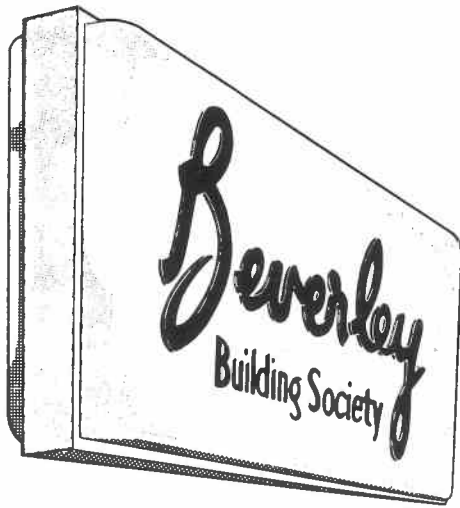
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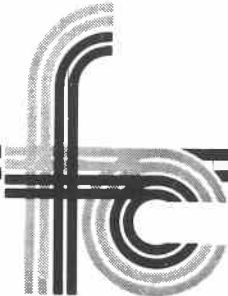


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