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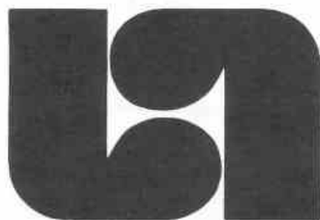

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of
ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 9 — 1990

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe

Edited by
M.J. KIMBERLEY

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

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CONTENTS

Page

FOREWORD, by Michael J. Kimberley 1

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS 2

THE EARLY HISTORY OF HARARE TO 1890, by D.N. Beach 5

THE SCHACHT AUTO-RUNABOUT – ONE OF THE EARLIEST MOTOR CARS IMPORTED INTO ZIMBABWE, By P.G. Locke 28

THE EYRE BROTHERS: ARTHUR AND HERBERT, by Robert Burrett 37

SWYNNERTON OF GUNGUNYANA – A PIONEER ZIMBABWEAN NATURAL HISTORIAN, by Michael J. Kimberley 47

EARLY MATABELE SETTLEMENTS IN ESIGODINI DISTRICT, by C.K. Cooke 62

FABLES OF THE VELDT, by Colin W.H. Loades 66

THE POULTRY INDUSTRY, – 1914-1968, by G.H. Cooper 70

THE MYSTERY GOAT OF CENTENARY, by R.C. Plowden 73

PATRIOTISM AND PIONEERING PROBLEMS, by Roger Howman 75

ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE UNVEILING OF THE LIVINGSTONE MEMORIAL, by the Reverend James Gray 103

KOPJE HOUSE HOSPITAL AND EARLY NURSES IN MUTARE, by Florence Johnson 108

MASHONALAND BRANCH OUTING TO GREAT ZIMBABWE AND LAKE KYLE, by G.A. Granelli 118

ORAL TRADITIONS ASSOCIATION OF ZIMBABWE (OTAZI) 121

MASHONALAND – A POSTAL HISTORY 1890-96 – BOOK REVIEW by Michael J. Kimberley 122

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FOREWORD

This, the ninth volume of our annual journal HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE, is intended to offer at least something of interest to every one of our members and other readers in Zimbabwe and outside our borders though, as always, it is not expected nor intended that every article will captivate every reader.

1990 is a very significant year in the history of our fair land since, in the first place and most importantly from an historical point of view, it commemorates the tenth year of Zimbabwe's sovereign and lawful independence. Secondly, 1990 is also of major historical importance as the centenary of the establishment of Fort Salisbury.

However, this volume of HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE does not purport to deal with these two anniversaries apart from passing references to them. It rather contains a miscellany of articles on a relatively wide range of subjects, leaving it to other journals, magazines, periodicals and books published or to be published during 1990 to deal with the 10th and 100th anniversaries in detail and in a manner which befits their historical significance.

The issue begins with an erudite major contribution from professional historian Dr David Beach on the early history of Harare up to 1890. There is a paper by Rob Burrett on Arthur and Herbert Eyre who were prominent hunters, prospectors, contractors, farmers, traders and explorers in the Lomagundi area for several years from 1890.

Regular contributor Peter Locke writes on the Schacht auto-runabout, manufactured in the United Stated of America from 1907 to 1910, one of the earliest motor cars to be imported into Zimbabwe. Roger Howman offers his first article to this journal basing his text mainly on the experiences of his father as a trader in the Makoni area from 1896 to 1903, gleaned from letters written to his parents in England.

C.K. Cooke writes on early Matabele settlements in Esigodini, and M.J. Kimberley provides a biography of Charles Swynnerton, the outstanding natural historian who lived and worked in south-eastern Zimbabwe from 1898 to 1919. There are short articles by R.C. Plowden, C.W.H. Loades and the Late G.H. Cooper, and a note on the Oral Traditions Association of Zimbabwe.

Because our branch activities are so vital to the continued success of the Society, descriptions of and several talks given on branch outings during the past year or two are published, including the visits to Great Zimbabwe and Lake Kyle (G.A. Granelli), and Mutare and the Kopje Hospital (Florence Johnson).

In conclusion and once again may I appeal to all members and other readers to think about putting pen to paper and writing articles which can be considered for publication in the next or in future annual issues of HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE.

Finally, I express thanks to the Companies and Organisations which have so kindly agreed to advertise in this issue of HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE or which have made cash donations. Without their generous support our journal would struggle to continue in the face of ever escalating printing costs.

MICHAEL J. KIMBERLEY
Editor

Notes on New Contributors

David Beach is an Associate Professor in the Department of History in the University of Zimbabwe. He was born in 1943 in the British midlands, and lived in six towns in three countries before he was seventeen. Having arrived in Salisbury in 1959, he spent most of his time after that trying to stay there. He attended a lot of ordinary state schools. Having failed to qualify for the local University College, he went to the University of Cape Town. Resigning from teaching in Que Que, on the grounds that he was less mature than his pupils, he began studying pre-colonial history at the University College. He was a student, teaching assistant, and research fellow before becoming a lecturer there in 1976.

Robert Stewart Burrett was born in Bulawayo and received his primary and secondary education in Zimbabwe. He attended the University of the Witwatersrand where he graduated with a Bachelor of Science (Honours) Degree, majoring in Archaelogy and Geography. He is a teacher in the latter subject at St. Georges College, Harare. He has a deep interest in the history of Zimbabwe and has carried out field research in several areas of Mashonaland assisted by some of his pupils. Rob is keenly interested in promoting an historical awareness in our younger generations. His article in this issue of our journal is the result of some of his research and follows from a talk given to Members of the Society near Mutorashanga on a Branch outing to that area.

Cranmer Kenrick Cooke is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, a Fellow of the Explorers Club and a Foundation Member of the Southern Africa Association of Archaelogists. He worked for many years for the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe and retired in 1983 having served in various capacities including Director of National Monuments and Director of the Southern Region and the Western Region of the National Museums and Monuments. After retirement he served as Honorary Curator of the National Museum in Bulawayo. He is the author of several books and has had over 300 papers published in scientific and other journals including *Heritage*.

G.H. Cooper was appointed Assistant Poultry Officer in the Ministry of Agriculture in the then Southern Rhodesia Government in 1929. After nineteen years' service he succeeded H.G. Wheeldon as Chief Poultry Officer in the Ministry in 1948 and served in that capacity until his retirement in 1964 following the dissolution of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. He returned to service for a further four years until 1968 when he finally retired after record service of 39 years in the professional field. He was succeeded by Mr Bob Mowbray.

Miss Georgie Granelli was born in Bulawayo and educated at the Dominican Convent in that City. A Beit Bursary award for her Matriculation results enabled her to attend the University of Cape Town where she graduated B.A., B.Sc., majoring in Latin, Mathematics and Physics, and also obtained a Secondary Teaching Diploma.

Her teaching career in this country over a period of 33 years, began in 1936 at Lonely Mine School. She then moved to Eveline School, Bulawayo, then headed by Miss Stella

Blakeway, where she taught Mathematics and Science for a short while. For the next 11 years until 1948 she served at Umtali (now Mutare) High School, becoming Head of the Science Department and Senior Mistress. After a year in England on a teacher exchange scheme she was posted to Girls High School in 1950 and then appointed Deputy Head of Roosevelt Girls High School in 1952, and Headmistress of Queen Elizabeth School in 1956 serving in that position until her retirement in 1969.

Miss Granelli has been a member of the History Society for many years and presently serves on the National Executive Committee of the Society.

The fiftysix years from 1927 to 1983 that **Roger Howman** served the Government of his country, spanning the transition to Independence, must surely constitute a record!! In 1975 this Editor had the pleasure of introducing him as a speaker in the Rhodesiana Society's History Series (Occasional Paper 1) and I recall that he was born in Ndanga in 1909, educated at Plumtree School and while maturing for seven years in the first Department of Native Development graduated as an external student of the University of South Africa in subjects relevant to African affairs and was awarded a Beit Research Fellowship in 1935 to London University for two years. From there he visited the U.S.S.R. to study what Stalin called 'Marxism and the National Question' and the United States of America to study inter-race relations and scientific research methods in social fieldwork.

After service over ten years in various districts it was at Wedza in 1948 that his efforts to introduce practical understanding of The Vote and democratic operations at local government level through a council, attracted the attention of the then Prime Minister (Sir Godfrey Huggins) who authorised a visit of six months in 1951 to five countries in Africa to investigate their Councils and traditional Courts.

He travelled widely on official duties representing his country at many seminars in Africa from 1955 to 1969, and in 1965 led a party of Chiefs and Headmen overseas to observe Community Development in operation.

He retired as a Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in 1969 after 42 years service and accepted a post in the Central Intelligence Organisations (CIO) in February 1970 from where he assumed security duties for all the countries north of Zambia, as he put it, "I exchanged African affairs for affairs of Africa in briefing the Minister." In the transition to and assumption of Independence as Zimbabwe under Prime Minister Mugabe he was invited to remain at his post and continued to serve the new Government until July 1983 when he turned 74 and retired for the second time.

Roger was a member of the first historical society, manely, The Stanley Society of 1939, and its successors, the Rhodesiana Society of 1953, and the History Society of Zimbabwe. He contributed many articles to their publications and to NADA but this is his first contribution to *Heritage of Zimbabwe.*

Florence Johnson has spent her entire working career in the nursing service in this country. She served as theatre sister at the Salisbury Central Hospital, as it was then known, from 1948 to 1955 and then served as Matron initially at Chivu and then Bindura. For ten years until her retirement about nine years ago she was teaching sister at Mutare Hospital. During her twenty years of residence in Mutare she was in close touch with other well known retired nursing sisters such as Josephine Buck and Monica Moody Harmer and Miss Adlam and this association increased her interest in the history of nursing.

Colin Loades, was born in rural Essex during the course of the last air raid on London in World War I, thus establishing his claim to be a veteran of two World Wars. After three years in the English Civil Service (HM Land Registry) he emigrated to Southern Rhodesia in 1938 and joined the Civil Service in the Surveyor General's Department. He was embodied with the Territorials in September 1939 and after six years war service transferred to the Internal Affairs Department. After service in the High Court and Head Office, Ministry of Internal Affairs, he retired in 1978 and then attended the University of Zimbabwe where he obtained degrees in law. He was National Secretary of the Rhodesiana Society and is currently a member of the National Executive Committee of the History Society of Zimbabwe and editorial assistant of Heritage.

Richard Chicheley Plowden was born in April, 1923 in England and educated to sixth form level at Blundells School. He volunteered for military service in 1941 and served for five years in the British and Indian Armies, being demobilised in 1946 with the rank of Major in the Indian army. In 1947 he joined what became the Internal Affairs Department at Wedza and served at many stations in Zimbabwe until being appointed District Commissioner at Gutu and later Bikita. He was promoted to Under Secretary at head office at Harare in 1969 serving there until 1979 when he retired, only to rejoin Government for four years as a part-time research officer and as a Shona/English Interpreter in Parliament. From 1983 to 1988 he served the TA group in the personnel and training field. He has now finally retired and resides in the Isle of Man.

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MUTARE
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The early history of Harare to 1890

by D.N. Beach

Introduction

Perhaps because many of their people come from other places and do not know each other as well as does the population of a country district, perhaps because their foundations are easier to date, cities take pride in celebrating their anniversaries. This pride has little to do with the founders of the cities themselves. Thus New York was founded by the Dutch, Dublin by the Vikings and Moscow by the princes of Muscovy, none of whom control these cities today, yet their citizens are proud to live in a city with a long history.

In North, West and East Africa there are cities of remarkable age, such as Alexandria, Benin and Mogadishu. In the East African interior, some capital sites like Kampala go back into the realm of myth, and are centuries old. In Southern Africa, however, few modern towns appear to predate 1800 — or so it seems at first. Actually, Moçambique Island, Angoche, Sofala (and, very probably,Sena and Tete) all predate the coming of the Portuguese, being Muslim trading foundations. This, however, raises the question of just what we consider to be the point at which a city begins. The novelist Alfred Duggan pointed out that the mythical foundation of Rome in 753 BC was probably a small band of farmers and part-time sheep thieves driving a wooden stockade into a hill-top. How do we know when to start counting years for our anniversaries?

In Moçambique there has recently been a wave of celebrations of city birthdays. Indeed, the journal of the Moçambican archives, which celebrated the centenary of Maputo in 1987 (that is, the promotion of Lourenço Marques from 'town' to 'city'), has had to postpone its centennial number on Beira to 1989, 102 years after the establishment of the Aruangwa garrison that began the history of the modern port. (This was perhaps because two centenary numbers in the same year would have been difficult to produce.)[1] Similarly, the same journal chose to commemorate the promotion of Moçambique Island to the rank of city, in 1818, 170 years later. This was recognising a change in the status of the place in Portuguese law, not its foundation[2]. Inhambane decided to celebrate the 260th anniversary of the establishment of a permanent Portuguese post,[3] but Portuguese and other foreign traders had lived there before, and in a sense its origins lay much farther back, before the sixteenth century. Perhaps the urban origins of Inhambane date from the eighth century and the beginnings of gold exports from the Zimbabwean plateau[4].

Clearly, cities are like people: the older they get, the more their birthdates become a matter of choice and opinion. Here in Zimbabwe, we find that our cities and towns can often choose between dates when they wish to celebrate their foundation. Masvingo, for example, can have its centenary in 1990, after the first Fort Victoria that was built on the borders of Zimuto, Charumbira and Bere, or in 1992, after its successor in the Mucheke-Shagashe angle. Gweru has to make do with 1994, as there is no doubt about its foundation, but Bulawayo can quite legitimately point out that it was already well established when the Rhodesians arrived. This being so, it could reject a centenary as being

fit only for Johnny-come-lateties and celebrate either 2021 (Old Bulawayo) or 2031 (Bulawayo) as the *150th* anniversary of its foundation.

Chitungwiza can argue that if there had not been an Anglican mission at St. Mary's there might not be a Chitungwiza today, and thus claim its centenary in 1991, one hundred years after Anglican teachers began to visit Seke. In Chegutu the councillors could claim that, as the inheritors of Hartley, they also have a right to Hartley Hills as the ancestor of their town. This being so, they could claim a 150th birthday in c.2015-2019. If they chose 2017 they could also upstage almost everybody else in Zimbabwe, because if it had not been for the Shona gold miners of the region the development from a temporary 'Hartley Hills' camp to modern Chegutu might not have started — and it just happens that 2017 is the *350th* anniversary of the first mention of the mines of Rimuka and the Portuguese *feira* only a few kilometres west of the town! This would be a wonderful opportunity for publicity, and Chegutu might well consider allowing its 'child' Kadoma to join in.

However, if Mutare decided to play the same game it could beat everybody else. Mutare already has the choice between centenaries of 1990 ('Umtali camp'), 1991 (Old Umtali) and 1996-1997 (modern Mutare), but if it argued that it is the inheritor of a long succession of Portuguese *feiras* and Muslim *bazars* established to trade with the people of Manyika, then in 2012 it could celebrate the quingentenary or *500th* anniversary of the first mention of Manyika and its gold!

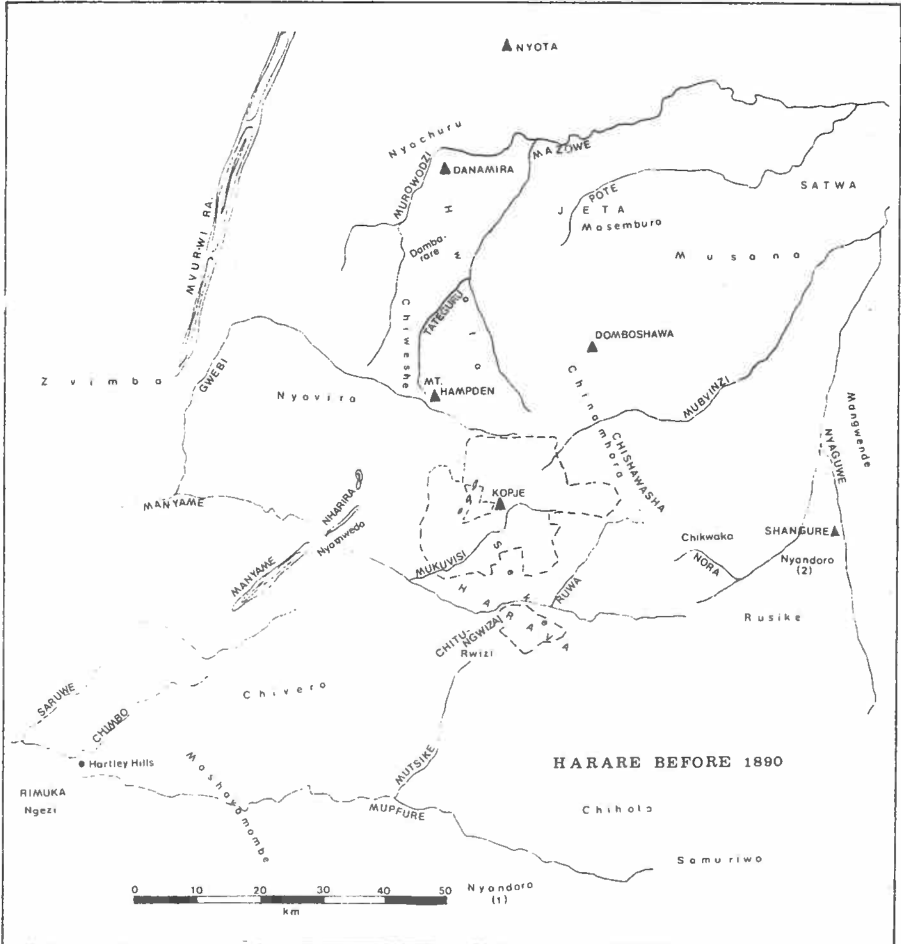
However, in the cases of Bulawayo, Chegutu and Mutare it can be argued that there is a direct connection between the African towns and gold mines of the past and the modern town. It has to be admitted that Harare, like Masvingo, Gweru and Chitungwiza, can make no such claim. The city that began as a wagon camp on the open ground near the Kopje in 1890 could have been founded almost anywhere in the central plateau region of Zimbabwe, and indeed its site was chosen after very little thought.[5]

Yet the Fort Salisbury of 1890 was not founded in a vacuum. In this article I am going to deal with the history of the Harare region up to 1890, for a number of reasons. Firstly, the growth of the town and city of Salisbury has been covered many, many times before in books and articles, and I am no specialist in the subject. Secondly, the Salisbury in which I grew up was fatally inward-looking, ignorant of the existence of the African people among whom the camp of 1890 had been planted — and Harareans of all races show signs of the same kinds of attitude today. Thirdly — and in any list of reasons it is usually the last one that matters — the pre-colonial history of the Harare region is a rich and fascinating one, with drama worthy of the stage.

Environment and settlement

The first reference to Harare appears to be that of 1892, when a future Mayor of Salisbury was asked by Mashayamombe's people what the whites were doing at 'Harali', meaning Salisbury.[6] However, in 1898 a list of Ndebele raids collected at Selukwe referred to those against Hwata 'at the Nalale' (*sic*) and to that against Chaminuka 'near Halale.'[7] As Hwata was well down the Mazowe valley and Chaminuka was south of the Manyame, this reference was to a rather large area, and it is interesting to note that in 1891 a Portuguese Indian trader and official, based at Nyota in the modern Chiweshe communal land, wrote that the Rhodesian camp was near 'Dzivarasekwa.'[8] Later attempts to explain the name suggested that 'Harare' was a corruption of either 'Harava' or 'Mbare', names of people associated with the area.[9] This seems to be a little fanciful, and it seems possible

that originally 'Harare' meant the whole stretch of open country around the modern city and that only later did it come to mean the Kopje and the urban development around it.



Nowadays, oral traditions of people from as far away as Buhera claim that they migrated past Harare, but this probably owes a lot to Harare's position as a modern transport centre rather than to genuine memories of a rather inconspicuous hill.

It is not easy for the observer to understand the environment of the Harare region today. Tree growth and building since 1890 have obscured the ground, many viewpoints are now on private property and murderously bad Hararean driving makes it very dangerous to try to observe the countryside while on the move. In fact, the most significant feature of the landscape is the main watershed, which separates those rivers that ultimately drain into the Mazowe, on the one hand, from those that drain into the Manyame on the other.

The watershed starts, as far as we are concerned, on the main Mutare road at Nora siding, and runs north around the sources of the Ruwa river, west and north-west to Tafara, and then along the Arcturus road, to the ZTV mast, to the Borrowdale road, along that road

to Hogerty Hill and Philadelphia and then west, skirting Wingate, Teviotdale, Thornpark and the Gwebi headwaters to Mount Hampden.

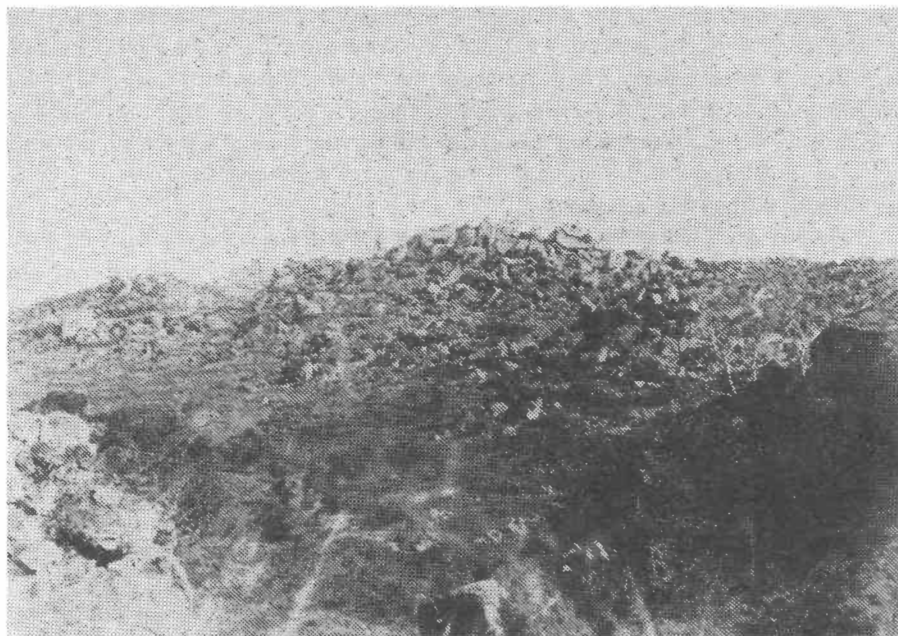
The difference between these river systems is quite dramatic. North of the watershed, steeply falling rivers have cut deep valleys between the hills, simultaneously creating a very varied environment and a considerable number of rugged natural strongholds. To the south, the terrain is much flatter, with great, shallow catchments of streams and marshes very gradually falling away to the south and west, so gently that the casual observer might almost think that the land was absolutely flat. Of course, there are hills standing out of the floor of this huge basin, and some, like those of Narira north of Lake McIlwaine, are of the type that made good strongholds in the past, but others. like the Warren Hills (or, indeed the Kopje itself) are not really steep and did not lend themselves to defence. In parts of the courses of some rivers, like the Ruwa, that cut through ridges of rock, natural defensive sites were created along the river banks. There were also isolated clusters of granite rocks, like those at Epworth or in Glen Norah, that offered some protection to people, herds and grain stores. However, in large parts of the land south of the watershed the land was very exposed indeed.

This Hararean environment repeats locally a much more Zimbabwean phenomenon. Population studies have shown that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the vast majority of the population was living east of the main watershed that runs from the Mvurwi range, past Harare to Gweru, Bulawayo and Plumtree. Here, between the watershed and the lowveld, was the same very favourable environment noted above, economically and militarily well-endowed.[10] Archaeology and oral traditions also make it clear that this was a long-term settlement pattern, not a product of the wars of the 1890s.[11]

West of the watershed — except in the Ndebele country, which was always a special case — population fell off rapidly as one went farther west, presumably because of the much less varied environment and the lack of good stronghold sites. (Of course, this is not to suggest that the watershed marked a sharp cut-off between heavily and lightly-populated areas: to any observer, there would not appear to be much difference in the settlement seen from one spot, but travellers' reports confirm the national pattern as seen on the map.)

The experience of the 1890 Pioneer Column itself illustrates this nicely: coming across the thinly-populated lowveld, it passed through the 'Great Crescent' of population from the south of the Runde river, being followed by great crowds of villagers, with the population gradually declining in density as it approached the main watershed and, after Fort Charter, began to move west of it. Here the land was practically empty, and, although it is true that this was partly the result of the Ndebele raid on Rwizi and Chaminuka in 1883, there is no indication that the region had ever carried a very large population. Finally, as the Column crossed the Manyame, it began to re-enter the Great Crescent, passing more and more of Seke's villages. The culmination of this march across the population arc came in 1894, when the Native Commissioner's office was established for the Salisbury district: as one of the main functions of the NC was to collect tax and labour, he logically had to be placed where the most people lived, and thus his base was first placed at Ivordale farm, on the Mubvinzi fifteen kilometres from Arcturus.[12]

In the nineteenth century, the local settlement pattern was as follows: north of the watershed, there were large numbers of villages in the hills dividing the Tateguru, Mazowe, Pote, Mubvinzi, Nora and Nyaguwe rivers. The documents on the fighting in 1896-7 make this clear. Even so, there were probably some thinly-populated areas in this zone, as the



'About twelve miles beyond Chigodora's and rather to the south-east I came to Chikwaka's villages. He is a petty chief under Mangwende and occupies a very strong position in high rocks at the end of a high plateau.' (Captain Forbes, 1890). Outside the Ndebele state, there was a strong tendency for the population of the Zimbabwean plateau to occupy the 'Great Crescent' in which sites such as Chikwaka's, near Goromonzi, could be found. This tendency had little to do with raiders from afar, but rather was due to local economic and political factors. *Photo: National Archives.*

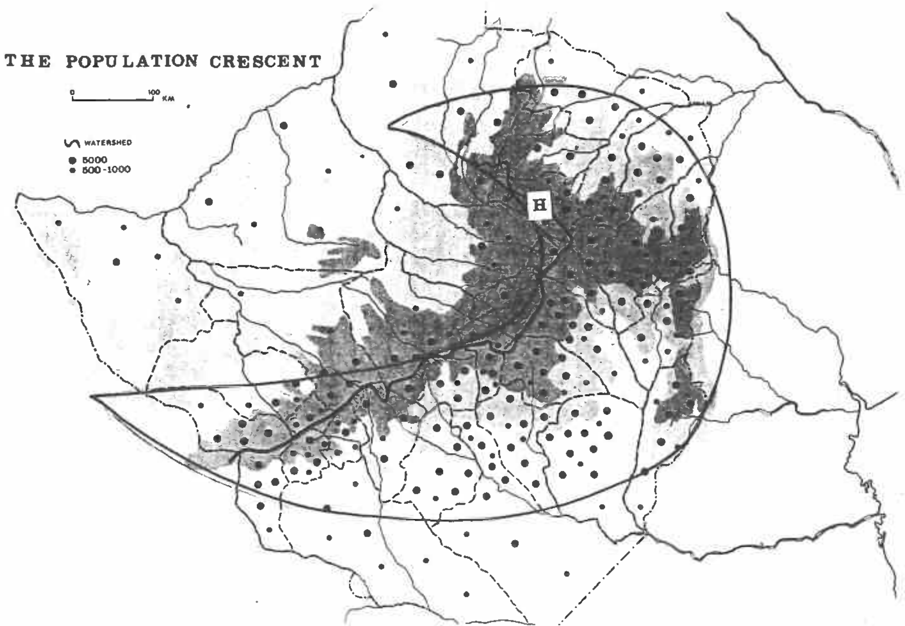
Nyaguwe plain and some of the hills nearby were too open and accessible to be safely occupied. South of the watershed, villages were found in the Ruwa valley, along the Manyame, and at almost every defensible hill and cluster or rocks in a wide arc from modern Borrowdale round by Tafara to Musasa, Epworth, Chadcombe and Glen Norah.

As one went farther west, however, settlements fell off: no-one was occupying the Kopje in 1890, and in the large area bounded by the Gwebi and Manyame there were relatively few villages and before 1890 hunters recorded far more game kills there than in areas to the north, south or east. However, there was a cluster of dense settlement in the Narira hills and the Manyame range in the far west. South of the Manyame, there had been few villages even before the 1883 raid on Chitungwiza, and to the south-west there was almost unbroken woodland until one reached the villages of Chivero and Mashayamombe near the Saruwe and Mupfure. In between these more scattered villages in the west of the district there were large expanses of apparently unsettled open country, just as early photographs of Fort Salisbury show. [13]

We do not yet know how far back this settlement pattern had existed. There are hundreds of recorded archaeological sites and finds in the Harare municipal area alone. Predictably, a lot of them correspond to the recent sites known to us from documents of the 1890s. Some 'Early Iron Age' sites from before c. 1200 were apparently on open ground in Coronation Park, while others were on hills west of the city at Crowborough. 'Later Iron

Age' 'Harare tradition' sites are complicated by the fact that many are burials.[14] A detailed comparison of archaeological sites and historical settlements in the region still has to be carried out. Very tentatively, it looks as though, in the early eighteenth century, people did live more on the open ground and on gradually sloping hills, abandoning such sites for more defensive ones towards the end of the century and into the next. (This refers to the area south of the watershed: to the north, traditions are not clear on whether people lived on or next to hills in the early period.)[15]

The process by which this defensively-oriented settlement pattern came about is not at all clear. It was not simply a result of Ngoni and Ndebele raiders in the *mfecane*: the Ngoni were only around for one or two years,[16] and the Ndebele raids seem only to have emphasised a trend towards defensive sites that was already well established. (In spite of a very bad press, some of it of their own making, the Ndebele hardly ever caused depopulation. In forty years of raiding southern Zimbabwe, they had no noticeable effect on the population,[17] although they did cause three dynasties south and south-west of Harare to abandon their lands, which were short of defensive sites[18]). Even the Shona-speaking Hiya, who apparently *did* cause some people to abandon open ground in the



Harare region, cannot be blamed or credited for what was in fact a general trend right across the Zimbabwean plateau, and a trend that applied in areas that Ngoni, Ndebele, Gaza and Hiya never touched.[19]

The primary reason for the emphasis on defensive sites appears to be the threat of raiding by one's neighbours — and especially one's relatives. The accounts given below of cross-raiding and civil wars among the Harava, Shawasha and northern Hera can be matched by similar evidence from any part of the country.[20] However, this only raises further questions, and in discussing these it is very difficult indeed to sort out cause from

effect. The reader can take the thoughts that follow as those that occur at the beginning of further research rather than as the result of detailed work.

Firstly, given that local raiding was the reason for the inability of the Shona in the Hararean region to make use of open ground before 1890, why had this situation arisen? One factor could be the absence of a great state that could keep order. It was said that originally the Changamire Rozvi had laid down boundaries, marked by cairns, that were not to be disregarded,[21] and certainly, as the eighteenth century wore on, Rozvi effectiveness waned and raiding among the local Shona became more common, though again cause and effect are uncertain.

Another factor might have been the growth in population. In the Salisbury District in the early twentieth century there were between 19 000 and 23 000 local Shona. This is a tiny figure by today's standards, yet it may have represented population pressures that were severe by the standards of the time.[22] Some of the settlement sites found south of the watershed in the Harare region were mere clusters of rocks like those at Epworth, which would have been regarded as totally inadequate for defence by those people who lived in the Great Crescent north of the watershed, yet bloody wars were fought for the possession of these same sites. Wholesale migration of dynasties from the open lands south of the watershed to the Great Crescent was not an easy option. The Shawasha and northern Hera did exactly that, but it involved fighting to dispossess the original inhabitants of their hills. Others, like the Harava, simply had to make the best of the lands they already held — or, as a last resort, to return to their original homes.[23]

We seem to have a strangely ironic situation here: because of the danger of raiding by their neighbours, people had to live in the best defensive sites they could get. Because these were few, large tracts of land had to be left unoccupied (though they were used for hunting and gathering, and boundaries were known) and thus resources around the strongholds were limited. Because resources were limited, there was competition for them, and thus raiding continued.

The ironies continued after 1890. Because colonial rule ended raiding, people could move onto the open country — and after 1896-7 they were ordered to do so for military reasons. Yet colonial rule also brought large-scale land alienation; the people could not live where they liked. Because of raiding and the need to keep to strongholds, it seems a combination of factors ranging from plain infant mortality to late male marriage was limiting the population to what could be fed by hunting and gathering in bad years, so that the overall population of the Zimbabwean plateau was surprisingly low.[24] Yet, when colonial rule ended raiding and a variety of factors led to a tenfold increase in population, that increase led to a situation of scarcity of resources that the continued existence of commercial farms only thinly disguises.

Local heroes: the rise of the Shona dynasties in the Harare region

Defining the Harare region in historical terms is not easy: where one has an apparently endless succession of independent dynasties spread over the Zimbabwean plateau, exactly where does one stop? In the case of Harare, we must include the dynasties that were the immediate neighbours of the camp of 1890, which means Nyamweda, Seke, Chinamhora, Hwata, Chiweshe and Nyavira, and Rwizi, which was just south of the Manyame. Around these, we have an outer ring of neighbours to which we will refer occasionally, but whose histories will not be covered here. In the same order, we have

Chivero, Mashayamombe, Nyandoro, Chihota, Samuriwo, Rusike, Chikwaka, Musana, Masembura, Nyachuru and Zvimba. [25]

Readers who are new to Shona history may well feel intimidated by this list of names, and feel relieved that we are only looking at seven of these dynasties and not the whole eighteen. Unfortunately, nothing much can be done about the masses of names — and some readers might be interested to know that even the Shona get a bit intimidated by them! The fact is that, once Shona history moves away from the great states of Great Zimbabwe, Torwa, Mutapa and Changamire, the next level is a range of territories that might be as large as eighty kilometres by eighty or as small as one or two villages. Generalizing about 'the Shona' or even 'the central Shona' is sometimes useful, but when one gets down to it, we are facing a situation much like Renaissance Italy, when one really has to know the difference between Florence, Siena, Milan and Bologna. Indeed, when one studies Renaissance Italy one also has to learn something about the warring factions within each state, and it is the same with the Shona. To keep things in perspective, when we discuss the dynasties of the Harare region, the big ones like Seke or Chinamora may have had up to 5 000 or 6 000 women, men and children, while the smaller ones like Rwizi probably averaged around 1 000 – 1 200.

Zimbabwean history — the past known to us from documents and oral traditions — begins in c. 1490, but in the Hararean region it only starts some two centuries or more after that. The *feira* of Dambarare in the Mazowe valley was within the political orbit of the Mutapa state, and Portuguese traders going to the *feira* of Maramuca in Ngezi's country must have passed very close by, but they wrote nothing about the Harare plain, and the most we can do is to speculate on the history of this land on the southern borders of the Mutapa state during these two centuries. Mutapa armies may have clashed with raiding parties from the Torwa state in the southwest, Portuguese adventurers in the seventeenth century may have raided the region, and the Changamire army of 1693 that drove the Portuguese out of Dambarare amd Masapa may well have entered the Mazowe valley from this direction, but we do not know this for certain. Pre-colonial Zimbabwean history is very uneven in its coverage of regions and periods.

Round about 1700 oral traditions begin to become useful, but they are very vague for the early period and only increase in clarity as the eighteenth century progresses. Part of the problem is that, of the earliest-established dynasties in the region, very nearly all have been supplanted by others, who rarely remember much more than the names of those they dispossessed. One exception appears to be the Rwizi dynasty. This *shava/mazarura* group[26] lived just south of the Manyame, where the Mtsike stream rises and flows towards the Mupfure. In this flat, exposed area defensive sites were hard to find, and a cluster of rocks on the Chitungwiza stream was the best that was available. To Chitungwiza came the Rwizi group, apparently from the east. (Much later, a version claiming origins either in 'Guruuswa' or the far north was circulating, but this seems to be an invention.) Rwizi was said to have settled in the area at about the same time as the Chivero dynasty farther to the south-west, and both their genealogies suggest that their founders lived at the end of the eighteenth century. However, not a lot is known of Rwizi history, because of the disruption that occurrred in the 1880s, and the dynasty itself, though independent, was probably composed of no more than two villages.[27]

Another early dynasty seems to have been that of Nyamweda *moyo/ziruvi*. Like Rwizi, this group seem to have replaced an original version of its history, in which it came

from the Jeta hills north of the Pote, by an origin in 'Guruuswa'. The dynasty migrated to the Narira hills and the modern Lake McIlwaine area, where it managed to survive until well into this century when its land was taken for farms. We know practically nothing about the internal history of this group, and we cannot even be sure when it arrived in the area as it has two contradictory genealogies. Nevertheless, this little group was quite well known to travellers in the nineteenth century.[28]

Neither Rwizi nor Nyamweda appear to recall anybody living in their areas before they arrived, but most of the other early dynasties in the region have long vanished and are only recalled in the traditions of their conquerors. In the Chishawasha valley lived a group of *soko*-totem Rozvi under a ruler called Ditoti. They were driven out by the Shawasha in the first part of the eighteenth century, and nothing of their history seems to be known.[29] A little earlier, another dynasty on the Manyame had met a similar fate at the hands of Seke's people. Seke traditions simply refer to this group's leader as NeHarava *shava,* which simply means 'ruler of Harava', the land which was taken over by Seke's people, who began to call themselves Harava.[30] Yet another dynasty, that of Mbare *shumba/gurundoro,* lived where the centre of Harare is today, apparently based on the Kopje. As we will see, Mbare was driven out by the northern Hera with the connivance of Seke, perhaps in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Survivors of Mbare's people still live in the Chiweshe communal land, and although nobody seems to have collected a history or genealogy from them — which is not surprising after two centuries of exile — their praise poems have been recorded. These suggest that Mbare was originally Budya, from Mutoko.[31]

Even less is known of another group known as the Zumba *shava/mufakose,* who also lost their lands — the headwaters of the Mazowe and Tateguru — to the northern Hera, perhaps at the end of the eighteenth century.[32] Finally, the little Nyavira *shava/nyakuriruka* dynasty, living in the angle of the Gwebi, managed to survive as a unit right into the 1920s before its reserve was abolished and its people dispersed. They continued to argue for the restoration of their Chieftainship right into the 1960s, but to no avail, and their history seems to have been lost.[33]

We can now turn from the losers to the winners. The first of these was the Seke *shava/mamvuramavi* dynasty that came out of Bocha, in the Save-Odzi angle far to the south-east, some time at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Led by Mutema, the Seke dynasty overthrew the NeHarava ruler, seized the land of Harava and began to call themselves Harava. Seke villages were established on both banks of the Manyame as far north as the Mukuvisi. Indeed, the Mukuvisi itself became the north-western Seke frontier, while the Nyatsime marked the border with Chihota in the south-east. An important site was the grave of Seke Mutema's sister on what is now Harare airport, for at that time the central Shona were still giving women more power than they were to do in later centuries, and Seke Mutema's daughter held special powers that enabled her to put her brother Musonza on the 'throne'.

Internal politics among the Seke people were characterised by the rivalry between the four houses descended from Seke Tsonono, who died around 1815, and that of his brother Motsi. Without going into details, a noticeable feature of Seke politics was the willingness of members of the family to use outsiders to do each other down: thus Seke Chawuruka was allegedly murdered by the Rozvi at the behest of his nephews, while in 1897 the Zhakata house managed to convince both the Kaguvi medium and the BSA Police that it should get

'I arrived at the village of the ruler Seke . . . [who] is the only one of the Zezuru who is in an open village without the least natural strength for defence.' (J.C. Paiva de Andrada, 1889). This Seke village on the Mukuvisi in 1890 confirms Andrada's point. It is something of a local mystery that such sites were preferred to the Kopje, for there is not much doubt about the danger of raids by neighbours and relatives. *Photo: National Archives.*

the Seke title instead of the ruling Njiri house.

In foreign policy, the Seke dynasty used a mixture of force and diplomacy to survive. Perhaps it needed to use every card in its hand, for its strongholds were not very impressive. Thus it fought the Chinamhora dynasty for the Domboramwari rocks at Epworth, and won. The rocks were given to a group of exiles (or criminals, depending on which point of view one prefers) from Zvimba, Rusike and Chihota that became the nucleus of the Chiremba village. (Not surprisingly, Chinamhora traditions do not seem to recall this defeat.) The Seke dynasty also fought the Samuriwo dynasty to the south-east, and three Seke rulers were killed in successive wars. (Not surprisingly, Seke traditions do not seem to recall these defeats.) There was also a war with Nyandoro to the south, in which a Seke house-head was killed.

Diplomacy also helped to keep the dynasty in power. When Seke Mutema arrived and took over Harava from NeHarava, the Changamire Rozvi dynasty was the overlord of most of the Zimbabwean plateau and was at the height of its power. It had laid down boundaries between the different tributary groups, and the payment of tribute was supposed to involve the giving of protection in return. A Rozvi force drove Seke Mutema to the Mazowe and killed him — and yet, somehow, Seke's people retained control of Harava. Somebody on the Seke side must have found some persuasive arguments.

Later, the northern Hera arrived in Seke's land. The story of how Seke introduced

them into Mbare's land and how he encouraged them to take over from Mbare may be a little stylised, but as we know that the northern Hera were in fact quite numerous, his actions simultaneously removed a danger from his own land and weakened his north-western rival. The establishment of the Seke outpost of Mbisa village at Chadcombe by the 1890s was an indication of the way in which Seke had been a gainer by this episode.[34]

Next in the sequence of newcomers was Chinamhora. The dynasty originally lived in the territory of (South) Shawasha just south of Great Zimbabwe. In a migration that was most unusual for the period — the early eighteenth century — in that it went from the south to the north, a section of the Shawasha under Derere moved to Chikwaka's country around modern Goromonzi. From there the Shawasha moved west, along the watershed, past the Ruwa headwaters. There they overcame and drove out the Ditoti Rozvi living in what was afterwards called the Chishawasha valley. (The available versions differ: one talks of straightforward conquest, the other claims that there was a period of peaceful infiltration just before the conquest. However, the latter version is obviously borrowing details from the story of the conquest of Mbare.)[35]

In spite of a recent Shawasha history that tries to glorify the Chinamhora dynasty to a ridiculous extent, this *soko/murehwa* group must have been quite insignificant at first. Its earliest villages were on the eastern side of modern Harare, in the Chishawasha valley, and around Tafara and Mabvuku. Later, Shawasha villages were found as far east as the Nora headwaters, and as far west as Rutombo, the rocks on the north side of the Mukuvisi in the Beverly-Musasa area. However, as we have seen, Chinamhora was unable to take the Epworth area from Seke, and Seke's outpost of Simbanehuta also blocked expansion to the south of Mabvuku. However, there is really not much to suggest that the Shawasha were seriously interested in expansion to the east, west or south. The north offered them a much more fruitful field for conquest.

Moving out of the Chishawasha valley, Shawasha houses began to conquer the valleys towards Domboshawa. Frankly, we need a lot more research to establish just how far the Chinamhora dynasty had expanded in this region by the 1890s. The Shawasha traditions are affected by the fact that the dynasty lost its heartland to the mission and the surrounding farms under colonial rule: the modern Chinamhora communal lands were originally those of Musana and Masembura.[36] However, the Shawasha saga of conquest is partly checkable by a tradition of the losers: Gurumombe's Hera, a branch of the Chiweshe dynasty, lived at the eastern end of Domboshawa rock until they were expelled by the Shawasha who had hired the famous raider Mapondera as a mercenary. This means that by 1894 at the very latest and probably by 1883 the Shawasha had expanded that far.[37] The reason for this career of conquest is not hard to deduce: Chinamhora was carving out a chunk of the Great Crescent, far better land than the shallow Mukuvisi and Manyame valleys.

Internal political history among the Shawasha was complicated even by Shona standards, and the sources are often contradictory. Generation after generation, houses of the sons of Chinamhora rulers struggled for power, some being permanently excluded from the succession and others fighting their way back with the help of external allies. As the Shawasha have frequently 'rewritten history' by altering their genealogies from time to time, it is not easy for the historian to work out what was going on. One episode, however, is vividly recalled even when accounts differ as to its causes. In the time of Chinamhora Nzvere, perhaps in the 1860s, a civil war broke out. The rights and wrongs of the matter are

practically impossible to sort out now, but the result was bloody fighting all the way from the valleys past Tafara and Mabvuku to the Rutombo rocks, and it was said in the 1930s that the top of the Rutombo rocks was still stained with the blood of the house-head who died there.[38]

The last of the victorious newcomers of the eighteenth century were the northern Hera. At that time the large territory of Buhera was beginning to break up, and three brothers — Gutsa, Shayachimwe and Nyakudya — led what must in fact have been quite a large party of Hera to the north. Arriving in Seke's territory, they were introduced by him to his neighbour and rival Mbare, rather as one offers a gift-wrapped time-bomb. Mbare accepted them as subjects, settled at Barapata, that part of Hillside north of the Mukuvisi. The explosion duly occurred, and if we can believe the amazingly detailed traditions collected in the 1930s, the result was war and the dramatic single combat between Mbare and Gutsa on the golf course just to the south-east of the Park Lane Hotel. Mbare's people were driven out, and the Hera took the land around the Kopje.

Like the Shawasha, the northern Hera began to conquer the lands to the north, and by the nineteenth century the Hwata dynasty of Hera had reached a large mountain, Danamira, close to modern Amandas in the Mazowe-Murowodzi valley system. Hwata's lands extended from there right up to the headwaters of the Mazowe, while the allied Chiweshe dynasty held lands at the headwaters of the Murowodzi, towards Mount Hampden. By the later nineteenth century it seems fairly clear that the original Mbare area was more or less deserted, though the claims of the two Hera dynasties to the land were still being made in the 1930s and 1980s.

'The blood of Guwa is still to be seen on the top of *Rutombo* ...' (J.H. Seed, 1936). The suburban development of Harare has obscured a rich and fascinating history, with such episodes as this civil war of the Shawasha that covered many of the eastern suburbs of the city.

If we recall that the Hwata and Chiweshe lands north of the Gwebi formed part of the Great Crescent, like those that Chinamhora was conquering from Gurumombe and others, one can see that the shift of the northern Hera population northwards was partly a matter of attraction towards the superior environment of the Mazowe valley. However, unlike the Chinamhora case, there was a 'push' factor involved. As we have noted, the western part of the Harare region was short of good defensive sites, and according to a report of the 1890s it was the raids of the Hiya that drove Chiweshe out of the Mukuvisi lowlands and into the north. The Hiya were a group of Shona marauders who emerged from the middle Save valley and ranged over a huge area, from Mangwende to the Mazowe, to Makonde, to the Gweru region in the 1760s-1790s. This was another indication of the growth of violence in Shona society before the *mfecane* and the coming of the Nguni-speakers.

The traditions of the 1930s claimed that the Hwata and Chiweshe groups were originally divided by the Avondale stream, and that they went to war over the right to hunt for rats near the Prince Edward school tree plantation of that period. Thus, it was said, the originally *shava/museyamwa* Hera became *shava/mufakose* (Hwata) and *shava/mutenesanwa* (Chiweshe). Other traditions say that they changed their praise-names so that they could intermarry, there being few other people around. This seems on the face of it to be unlikely, as the Zumba group who had the upper Mazowe valley before Hwata took it from them were already *mufakose.*[39] However, whatever the relationship had been between these two groups in the eighteenth century, by the middle of the nineteenth the Hwata dynasty was beginning to pull ahead. By 1857 it was said that Hwata controlled the Shawasha gold belt, around modern Arcturus and Enterprise, and Hwata's people fought the people of Ngezi, far to the south-west, to prevent them from trading outside Hwata control.[40]

A South African historian of the Nguni once commented that, with their adelphic system of political succession from brother to brother, the Shona dynasties were subject to 'chronic instability.'[41] The reader, having seen something of the struggles within just these few dynasties discussed here, might well be tempted to agree. Actually, the Shona do not seem to have had any succession 'system' at all; a dynasty's successions usually resulted from the rivalries of the sons and brothers of a dead ruler, and rivalries between their houses over the generations. We also seem to have endless migrations, break-away movements and conquests of land by one dynasty from another. Yet — 'instability' is not quite the right word.

Whether from documents or from traditions, we know that many Shona dynasties, with histories just as complicated and violent as the Shawasha, lasted for two or even three centuries, quite a respectable period for Nguni or European history, while in spite of all the migrations and conquests many Shona territories lasted just as long. Yet Shona ruling families plotted against each other, murdered each other and cheerfully called in outsiders in order to gain an advantage against their blood relatives. How did Shona society survive? For, quite obviously, it did. By the early nineteenth century, with the exhaustion of the upper gold reefs, the Shona were seriously short of foreign exchange, and imported goods were rare, yet they were more numerous than ever and were not tempted to sell their relatives to the slave traders of the Indian Ocean as the people north of the Zambezi did. (Obviously, this was not because of any very powerful feelings of family affection). Indeed, in the nineteenth century the northern and eastern Shona were actually *buying* small numbers of slaves from the Zambezi and modern Zambia, surely a sign of prosperity?

I do not pretend to know the answer to this problem, but perhaps I can offer a suggestion: we have to be careful to avoid preconceptions. Does political unity and order necessarily make for prosperity? Earlier, I pointed out that the complexity of Shona history resembles that of Renaissance Italy, where increasing economic and cultural wealth was accompanied by remarkable disunity and confusion. English-speakers often look to Britain for standards to be followed, and the British two-party rule is at least easy to understand. In Italy, cabinet crises and new governments seem to come every year or so. Italy is overtaking Britain as an industrial nation. *Ex disunitate vires?*

The nineteenth century

About thirty years ago, it was fashionable to contrast the eighteenth century, 'a time of comfortable and slow peace', with the violence and devastation that was supposed to have taken place in the nineteenth.[42] Readers, having noted that the eighteenth century around Harare saw a rise in violence culminating in the Hiya raids that drove the northern Hera out of the Mukuvisi valley, might suppose that perhaps the nineteenth century is about to be depicted as correspondingly peaceful. In fact, accurate history very rarely lends itself to such neat contrasts. While it is true that there was considerable violence in the eighteenth century, it is also true that most of the communities were either maintaining themselves, like Rwizi, Nyamweda and Nyavira, or expanding their interests at the expense of others, like Seke, Chinamhora and the northern Hera. It may have been a rough, 'frontier' kind of world, but it was certainly not on the verge of collapse even if it was not fabulously wealthy.

The nineteenth century was, in terms of the quality of life, not very different from the eighteenth. In the Harare region, local affairs went on unaffected by outside forces until about 1833, when Zwangendaba's Ngoni settled for a year or two at Satwa, in the Mazowe-Nyaguwe angle near modern Shamva. Thirty years ago, it was supposed that the arrival of the Ngoni had caused unparallelled devastation, bringing to an end the Great Zimbabwe culture and forcing the Shona to take to the hills.[43] Actually, the Great Zimbabwe culture in the Harare area had ended some three centuries earlier, and the Shona were already using hill sites as a result of their own raids. The Zwangendaba Ngoni did carry out raids, but most of their attention seems to have been paid to the south-east of Satwa and to rival Ngoni, and in 1835 they set off for the lands beyond the Zambezi.[44] The traditions of the people of the Harare region barely mention them, and they seem to have had no serious effect.[45]

Over twenty years seem to have passed before invaders came again. By 1857 the Changamire Rozvi had been driven out of their state in the south-west and they had taken refuge in the upper Save valley. From then until 1866, their supplanters the Ndebele raided them and drove past them as far as Mangwende, where they appear to have raided once in the early 1860s. These raids only affected the Harare region indirectly, as two dynasties farther south were driven out of their lands, which were ill-provided with strongholds. Nyandoro *nhari/nendoro* had lived in the open country of Tsunga, between the upper Munyati and the Mwenezi range, near modern Featherstone, as sub-rulers of the Rozvi. After briefly working with the Ndebele, Nyandoro defied them and was gradually pursued all the way to Mangwende. Later on, Nyandoro anticipated the tactics of Rhodes by offering to rent the hill Shangure, just west of the Nyaguwe, from its owner Rusike — and then claimed that he had paid a purchase price, not rent, defying Rusike to turn him

out! Nyandoro's people had very largely accompanied him, and the shadow of this energetic ruler loomed over the eastern Harare area in the 1880s and 1890s.[46] Another casualty of the Ndebele campaigns to the north-east was the little dynasty of Chihota, living in the exposed open country just north of the upper Mupfure: it was driven out, and its people scattered to Nyandoro and Svosve, returning after 1890.[47]

The Harare region itself was attacked by Ndebele raiders in 1860-1868. The main object of Ndebele interest seems to have been Hwata's little trading empire mentioned above, but Ndebele raids, while not as bloody as used to be thought, were messy, unorganised affairs that straggled across kilometres of ground and affected many different groups. For four years the Ndebele battered at Hwata's strongholds, until he surrendered in 1864 — though apparently another raid had to be made in 1868. Hwata's people abandoned Danamira, leaving it to other tenants, and moved farther south, to the hills around the upper Mazowe.[48] Otherwise, nobody in the Harare region had been affected by the raids, to the extent of having to move, but farther to the south-west the Ngezi dynasty of Rimuka had suffered the fate of Nyandoro and Chihota. Lacking enough strongholds, its people split up, some remaining, and others settling in Seke and Chirimuhanzu.[49]

So far, the reader might assume that the old picture of utter depopulation of the Shona country was in fact correct, after all these moves. Actually, the question needs to be looked at in perspective: it just so happens that the Harare region lay just north of the only major area that *did* suffer in this way at the hands of the Ndebele. If we look at the situation around the entire Zimbabwean plateau, the only other area to suffer depopulation at the hands of the Ndebele was in the thinly-peopled area between the Ndebele state and the Victoria Falls. The southern Zimbabwean plateau area — roughly, the Masvingo province — was raided more often than anywhere else from the 1850s to the 1890s and this had no visible effect whatsoever on the population.[50] Even in the Harare region, the basic population pattern of Nyamweda, Seke, Chinamhora and Nyavira remained the same as ever, with Hwata merely moving from one site to another within his territory. It would be surprising if as many as 5 000 Nyandoro people moved from Tsunga to Shangure, while the Chihota and Ngezi communities were very small, and the Ngezi group living with Seke was most inconspicuous.[51] In short, as a result of the Ndebele raids the Harare region's population increased very slightly from the arrival of refugees.

The ambiguous nature of the Ndebele power can be seen in the reaction to it on the part of the Shona in the Harare region. The Ndebele were not far enough away to be totally ignored, nor were they close enough to compel everybody to pay them tribute. Instead, they were just powerful enough to make useful allies for ambitious Shona rulers or religious figures who needed support against their relatives and neighbours, but not powerful enough to force the majority of the people to shift their homes. On the other hand, they were enough of a nuisance to make even their tributaries join with the rest of the people in the region in 1889 in allying with the Portuguese and taking Portuguese guns against them.

After the 1868 subjection of Hwata, the situation in the Harare region became comparatively stable. Whereas there were raids by the Ndebele as far as the Mupfure in 1870 and 1888, the main thrust of Ndebele raiding in the 1880s was to the west of the Mvurwi range, part of a broad sweep towards and over the middle Zambezi. There may have been a raid into the area in 1877, and there were quite definitely raids on the Shawasha in 1880 and 1883, as we will see, with a linked attack on Chitungwiza in the latter year, but visitors in the 1870s and 1880s found it generally peaceful.[52]

Two of the local Shona groups aligned themselves with the Ndebele. Gwindi, the Hwata of the 1860s who was taken to Mzilikazi and allowed to return as a tributary ruler, managed to retain power for his house up to the late 1880s, presumably with Ndebele backing. The Hwata dynasty remained quite wealthy well into the 1890s, and a large proportion of the cattle available in the region belonged to this group. The death of the Gwindi ruler in about 1887 led to a political crisis. Gwindi's son, his brother, and members of other houses vied for political power, and it was not until well into the 1890s that his cousin Chiripanyanga took power. Hwata factions looked for aid wherever they could find it, and the Portuguese, Anglican missionaries, the medium of the Nehanda spirit, Rhodesian traders and the Chiweshe dynasty all played their part.[53]

The other allies of the Ndebele were much more picturesque. At the beginning of the 1880s the little Rwizi dynasty of Chitungwiza was ruled by Madzora, but his brother Pasipamire was much more famous. Pasipamire was the medium of the Chaminuka spirit. Since his death in 1883, the myths and legends about this man have grown to the point where he and his spirit have sometimes become confused. Remarkable and usually conflicting accounts have been given of the origins of the religious cult of Chaminuka,[54] while the claims made about the medium have grown by leaps and bounds. It has been said that he could hammer pegs into rock, that in the end he could only be killed by a child, that he prophesied the fall of the Ndebele and the building of Salisbury — these recorded prophecies became ever more elaborate as this century wore on, and it is a pity that they were all recorded after the events they were supposed to predict — and that the 'tall, bearded prophet' had led the local Shona against the Ndebele.[55]

The truth was rather different, but much more interesting. The medium, actually short and bearded, was an ally of the Ndebele who preyed on his fellow-Shona, dividing the loot with the Ndebele. He was a supplier of rain to Lobengula, sending his son to preside at ceremonies at Bulawayo. He sold magic elephant-finding reeds to commercial ivory hunters from the south, at extortionate prices. Indeed, he claimed to control the hunting to the north of the Munyati, and grew furious if hunting took place without paying him. He was also a market gardener and seller of ivory, ostrich feathers and ironwork.

It is not certain why he and Lobengula fell out. The usual Shona explanation was betrayal by one of his community, but this is not supported by the evidence. Already by 1880, while Lobengula was prepared to send men to help Pasipamire attack the Shawasha, he was ordering commercial hunters not to visit Chitungwiza. At the same time, Pasipamire's son Jugu was claiming that his father was independent of Lobengula north of the Munyati. Pasipamire himself came all the way to Hartley Hills on the Mupfure in 1880, very keen to discuss something. Unfortunately, we do not know what it was. In 1883 he was summoned to Bulawayo and killed on the way, possibly *not* by Lobengula's orders. Ndebele raiders attacked Chitungwiza, finding its people had fled but killing some visitors. Finding that the Shawasha had already recovered the cattle that Pasipamire had taken from them in 1880, the Ndebele raided Chishawasha but did little damage. For some years the Chitungwiza area seemed desolate, but Shona communities were resilient. By 1888, in spite of another raid, cultivation was resuming there, and by 1895 the community had reassembled and owned quite a large herd of cattle.[56]

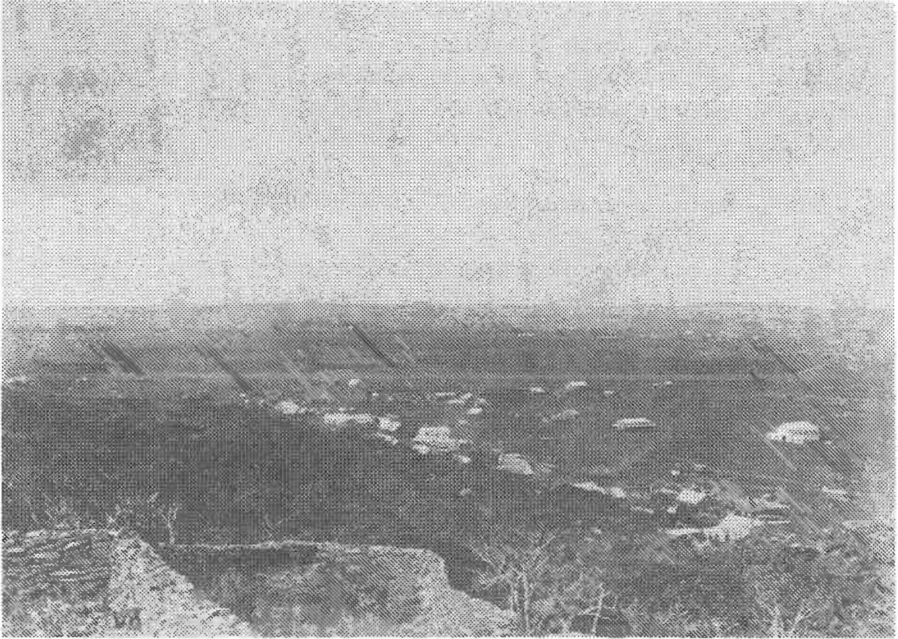
It is, in fact, from the 1880s that we start to know something of the religious history of the Harare region. The Chaminuka medium's career at least added to the beliefs of the central Shona. Charwe, the medium of Nehanda, was beginning to become famous in the

1880s, and as early as 1884 her place of birth at the Chitaura house of Hwata was being pointed out to travellers from afar.[57] Her later career, from her meeting with the Anglican missionaries to her death, falls outside the range of this article. In the Chishawasha-Goromonzi area, too, the medium of the Kaguvi spirit was beginning to become well known. Named Gumboreshumba, he came from the Chivero dynasty, but had grown up near Goromonzi. By the 1890s he was best known for his ability to locate game, but according to his nephew, interviewed in 1969, he was also able to bring rain to break a bad drought in the late 1880s.[58]

The year 1888 brought the Anglican church to the region, when Bishop Knight Bruce passed through. Stopping at the Nyamweda ruler's place, he obtained a promise to build a house for a missionary. Four years later, after some shouting by a missionary, the Nyamweda people built a church, though they failed to see why, after he had been asking for materials for days, he should forbid them to work on a Sunday.[59] Nyamweda was only the first of the local rulers to accept missionaries, Anglican, Catholic, Methodist or Salvation Army, in the next decade. That missionaries were welcome was clear. That they were wanted for anything but diplomatic and economic reasons was not.[60]

The first European visitors to the region since the seventeenth century appear to have been Westbeech and Phillips, accompanying the Ndebele force against Hwata in 1868. The 1880s saw more and more parties of hunters and travellers from the south, coming up from the Ndebele state to Hartley Hills and, in due course, on to Nyamweda's and the crossing of the Manyame. Selous was the best known, but there were many others. By 1887 the gold of the Mazowe valley was beginning to attract the attention of prospectors and speculators. At Bulawayo, concession-seekers were beginning to try to get access to the fabulous wealth of the Mazowe goldfields through negotiation with Lobengula. As in fact the Harare region was on the fringe of Ndebele power, such negotiations were not entirely realistic: the Ndebele might raid the area, but they lacked the power to occupy it permanently, and real control lay with the Shona rulers, whose hold was not in fact broken until the war of 1896-7.[61] A few attempts were made to get concessions based on local power, but these were either based on fraudulent deals like that between Selous and Mapondera, or on wishful thinking like that of Bowler.[62]

The first appearance of a European power on the scene came in 1889. For some time the Portuguese government had been making diplomatic noises about its ancient and modern claims to the Zimbabwean plateau. So far, due to a chronic shortage of capital and continual military distractions in the Zambezi valley, it had failed to make these claims good. Now, in the winter of 1889, the Portuguese arrived at last. They jointly represented the Portuguese government and the Companhia de Moçambique. With a huge force of *cypais* (African soldiers), *carregadores* and *machileiros* (carriers), Joaquim Carlos Paiva de Andrada and Manoel António de Sousa *'Gouveia'* left Mangwende's on 11 September and marched to Nyandoro, Seke and Nyamweda, at which latter point they made camp. Andrada went on to Makonde, and down the Sanyati to the Zambezi in the tracks of Victor Cordon's earlier expedition, while Sousa sent out parties of troops to a wide range of rulers from Hwata to the Mupfure and Save. Other rulers from as far away as Gutu came to the various camps along the Portuguese line of march. These rulers accepted the blue and white Portuguese flag and rejected any suggestion of Ndebele rule. The Nehanda medium apparently recalled that it was good to see the Portuguese again after so many [nearly 200!] years, and that the people would be freed of the whip of Ndebele raids.



'I have never seen lands as favourable for white colonization as these of Seke, Nyamweda and all the region of the Mupfure . . .' (J.C. Paiva de Andrada, 1889). The age-old question of prior ownership is obscured, perhaps accidentally, by this photograph. Like nearly every other of the period, it looks from the Kopje and its BSAC fort towards the Causeway and the almost empty plains of Highlands and Greendale. Had it taken in more of the land to the south-east, outlying villages of Seke such as that of Mbisa in Chadcombe would have been visible. *Photo: National Archives*

Whether this was really what Charwe said or whether Hwata or Sousa's men were putting words in her mouth, this summed up the purpose of the 1889 unwritten treaties with the central Shona: the Shona would fly Portuguese flags — and they would do so with and because of the Enfield rifles Andrada gave them: fifty each for Seke, Nyamweda and Mangwende, a massive three hundred for Nyandoro who assured Andrada that he would use them to reconquer Tsunga: 1 110 in all, with ammunition and powder supplied. On 13 October, Andrada having returned from the Zambezi, the Portuguese force left Nyaweda's for Mangwende and the east, leaving the basis for Portuguese rule over the central Zimbabwean plateau.[63]

This vast enterprise, of which the central plateau expedition of 1889 was only a small part, never came about. The reasons for its failure are complex and will be examined in future publications based on newly-discovered documents. The implications for Zimbabwean history are considerable, for in effect the bulk of the country very nearly became part of Moçambique, and whereas the Moçambicans might well have been celebrating the centenaries of yet more cities in 1990 it is not at all certain that they would have built them on the same sites as those chosen by the British South Africa Company.

Conclusion

We thus leave the Harare region on the eve of colonial rule. From October 1889 to September 1890 there was a lull in the pace of events in the central part of the Zimbabwean plateau. Perhaps we can best end this work by looking back to that period. When I started work on this period in the 1960s, there were still old people alive who recalled the 1880s. Now, the majority of Zimbabweans have been born since 1970 and can only know about the same period at second or third hand. This picture of life in the Harare region draws on all the sources used so far to try to give them an idea of a century's change.

In early 1890 the environment around Harare was still that of almost unspoiled, dramatic beauty described by W.M. Kerr a few years earlier. There was still game in large numbers on the Gwebi flats,and lions were still feared even in the more settled areas.

Merely to survive childhood meant that one had to be tough, as infant mortality was very high. Toughness was necessary, as the only medical facilities were those of the *n'anga,* whose skills were limited. Nevertheless, having passed childhood most people lived to a fair age, for by world standards the country was healthy. Pneumonia, at the end of winter, dysentery and malaria in the summer were the main killers of men, but other diseases were rare.

That pneumonia was the main cause of death is not surprising, as even the rulers had little more to wear in the bitterly cold winters than a small skin loincloth and perhaps a small skin cloak round the shoulders. Local cloth production could not possibly keep up with the demand. The skins of the older men were practically baked from sleeping close to the fire. The houses were round, thatched, often crowded, smoky and sometimes favourite cows were kept inside as well, for safety's sake.

Security was an ever-present problem, though it should not be exaggerated. As we have seen, the main problem was not so much the Ndebele or other raiders from afar, but one's own neighbours and relatives. Yet although everybody lived in the most defensible place available, there was frequent visiting between villages. If the semi-professional *gororo* cattle-thief forced every village to maintain its own neighbourhood watch, travellers often recorded remarkable instances of personal honesty. Predators like lions and leopards were a menace, and if anything can balance the exploitation of women by men, perhaps it was the rôle of the latter in maintaining security.

In most years there was a good supply of a remarkable variety of grain and vegetable foods. Meat was generally scarce, livestock being limited in numbers and owned by the few. It was common for foreign hunters crossing the land to be followed by crowds of people hoping to get meat from the trophy carcasses. Local hunting parties had thinned the game in the Great Crescent, and still the demand could not be met.

There was a practically insatiable demand for imported goods, and a drastic shortage of foreign exchange with which to obtain them. Ivory was scarce, reef gold mining had ended and parties of women washing for gold dust in the Mazowe valley system worked long and hard for very little. Migrant labourers from the Zambezi and farther north had been passing by on their way to and from Kimberley and the Witwatersrand for nearly twenty years, but although we know quite a lot about similar labour migrants from the southern and south-eastern Shona, it is not yet clear how far the people in the Harare region had followed suit.

Assuming that one had something to exchange for imported goods, it was a long way to the shops. The recently-opened Portuguese-Indian store at Nyota in the Mazowe valley,

75 kilometres away, had little to offer and was often closed. The stores of the Companhia de Moçambique in Manyika, some 220 kilometres away, were only just getting going. The nearest shops, otherwise, were at Zumbo (250 kilometres), Tete (330 kilometres) and Bulawayo (380 kilometres), and those at Tete offered better bargains because everything at Bulawayo had had to be hauled for another 1 100 kilometres from the railhead at Kimberley by ox-wagon, while Tete's supplies came by water from Quelimane. (The people in the Harare region were well aware of this, and insisted on trading gold at Tete prices.)

Travel was simple. Nearly everybody walked, and only a few donkeys were available. Comparatively wealthy foreign travellers might have horses or ox wagons, imported at vast expense, but they ran the considerable risk of having their motive power break down and die, or get stolen. Those who wished to use a road had to make one or go without.

In many ways it was the coming of commercial hunters, travellers, miners, missionaries and, eventually, colonial rule, that solved the problem of availability of imported goods — and the latter factor, colonial rule, brought its own problems. The hunters and travellers needed grain for their horses and oxen, and though they often paid for it in fresh meat imported goods were even more welcome. For a while the hunters at Hartley Hills established quite a regular trade with Mutekedza's people at the Save headwaters, and in 1880 when Pasipamire went to Hartley Hills two hundred people went with him, having carried grain, rice, groundnuts, ivory, ostrich feathers, axes, hoes, spears, *mbira* and other goods some seventy kilometres. A pound of beads for a sack of grain, a yard and a half of white calico for an axe or spear, five strings of beads for small items — this was considered worth the effort.

Trade was not always honest. Some of the shirts sold by the foreigners were so thin and badly made that the sellers would personally fit them onto the customer for fear that they would fall apart if not carefully handled, while they were certain to fall to pieces if washed. On the other hand, it was not uncommon for porcupine quills of 'gold dust' to turn out to contain mica or brass filings, to the loss of the foreign trader, while having found that the beautifully-made Shona axes, spears, knives and sheaths were in demand by the travellers from the south, Shona blacksmiths seem to have started to turn out a cheaper 'airport art' variety for tourists.

Perhaps it is best to end on a note that recognises human fallibility. A city's centenary is always a moment for taking stock, and while there are plenty of cities in the Americas, Australasia and other parts of Africa that have seen change as great as that of the Harare region, the change here has been tremendous. Attempts to assess change must in the end depend on the human making that attempt. Where one person sees a century of triumphant progress, another sees one of misery and exploitation. I believe, however, that neither can make an accurate assessment without understanding what went before.

FOOTNOTES

I wish to acknowledge the kindness of the research institutions and archival centres that helped to make this article possible: the National Archives, Harare; the Ministry of Local Government, Harare; the Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Maputo; the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon; the Public Record Office, London; the Research Board of the University of Zimbabwe; the Swedish Agency for Research Co-ordination with Developing Countries.

I would also like to acknowledge the work of those who have researched in this field before me, notably E.E. Burke, C. Chuma, P.S. Garlake, M.R. Izzett, N. Mahohoma and R. Peaden. I would also like to stress that further research into virtually every topic mentioned in this article is badly needed.

1. *Arquivo, Boletim do Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique,* No.2, Especial e Suplemento, Centenário da Cidade de Maputo 1887-1987, outubro de 1987, 174pp + 207pp; *Arquivo,* No. 6, Especial, Cidade da Beira, outubro de 1989, 402pp.

2. *Arquivo,* No.4 Especial, Ilha de Moçambique, nos 170 anos da fundação da primeira cidade de Mocambique, outubro de 1988, 170pp.

3. *Inhambane, alguns aspectos sócio-económicos,* (Assembleia Provincial de Inhambane, Comité Organizador das Comemorações dos 260 anos da Implanação da cidade de Inhambane, 1988), 56pp.

4. P.J.J. Sinclair, *Space, time and social formation,* (Societas Archaelogica Upsaliensis, Uppsala, 1987), 86-91; A. Rita-Ferreira, *Presença Luso-Asiática e Mutações Culturais no Sul de Moçambique (Até c. 1900),* (Instututo de Investigação Cientifica Tropical/Junta de Investigações Cientificas do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1982), 107-8.

5. E.E. Burke, 'Fort Victoria to Fort Salisbury, the latter part of the Journey of the Pioneer Column in 1890,' *Rhodesiana,* 28, 1973, 11-12. That the modern city is badly sited is clear when one considers that its main water supply lies downstream. Had it been possible to use the old route from the Ndebele state, past Hartley Hills on the Mupfure, to Nyamweda's villages on either side of the Manyame where Lake McIlwaine is now, an obvious site would have been just downstream of the modern dam. It is unfortunate that Hunyani Poort dam has been renamed 'Chivero', as Chivero lost that area to Nyamweda a century or two before 1890, and 'Nyamweda' or 'Narira' would be more accurate.

6. W.H. Brown, *On the South African Frontier,* (Sampson Low, Marston, London, 1899), 201.

7. NB 6/1/1, Native Commissioner Selukwe to Chief Native Commissioner, 31 March 1898. Unless otherwise stated, all archival references are to the National Archives, Harare.

8. Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Governo do Distrito de Tete, Caixa 5 M1(4), Capitania-mor das Terras de Macome, 1891, 12 Valligy Mussagy Couto to Governor of Tete, Tete, 2 July 1891.

9. J.E.S. Turton and C. Gwati, 'Native history of Salisbury,' *NADA* 16,1939, 19; G.E.P. Broderick, 'Some notes,' *NADA,* 16,1939,109. With such widely differing meanings being attributed to the site so early, it is probably impossible now to discover the real origin of the name.

10. D.N. Beach, 'First steps in the demographic history of Zimbabwe,' in *Demography from scanty evidence: Central Africa in the colonial era,* ed. B. Fetter, (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, in press); D.N. Beach, 'Zimbabwean demography: early colonial data,' *Zambezia,* in press.

11. Sinclair, *Space, time and social formation,* maps 3-7; D.N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850,* (Mambo, Gweru, 1984), maps.

12. CT 1/13/6, L.S. Jameson to F.R. Harris, 13 August 1890; A 1/2/4, Memorandum by E.G. Pennefather, 11 October 1890; A 1/6/1, Capt. Forbes to OC BSACP, 13 October 1890; N 1/1/9, NC Salisbury to CNC, 7 January 1895.

13. Burke, 'Victoria to Salisbury', 11-12; P.S. Garlake, 'The Mashona Rebellion east of Salisbury,' *Rhodesiana,* 14, 1966, viii-11; C. Chuma, 'The impact and effect of land alienation in the Greater Harare region, 1890-c. 1920', unpubl. BA Honours dissertation, Department of History, University of Zimbabwe, 1983, 4-6; N. Mahohoma, 'The First Chimurenga in the Greater Harare area,' unpbl. BA Honours disssertation, Dept. of History, Univ. Zimbabwe, 1983, 2-3; R. Peaden, 'The contribution of the Epworth Mission settlement to African development,' in *Themes in the Christian history of Central Africa,* eds. T.O. Ranger and J. Weller, (Heinemann, London, 1975), 135-136, 146; N 3/24/28, map copied from sketch by A.D. Campbell, 3 February 1900; L 2/3/43, E.C. Sharp to NC Salisbury, 18 June 1895; W,M, Kerr, *The Far Interior,* (Sampson Low, Marston, London, 1887), 108; Hist. Mss. WH 1/1/2, sketch maps of the Salisbury-Hartley Hills roads and the battle at the Manyame, 1896; Turton and Gwati, 'Native history', 17-19; J. Chidziwa, 'History of the Vashawasha,' *NADA,* ix,1,1964, 18-31; J.H.Seed, 'A glimpse of native history,' *NADA,* 14,1936-7,5-16; it must be stressed that this is only a part of the available evidence, and much more work needs to be done to establish the precise location of villages. For example, N 3/1/18, A.R. Morkel to CNC, 27 November 1898 and following correspondence, refers to Maderu's people on the Borrowdale Estate. 'Borrowdale' covers a multitude of sins, and it is not yet clear just where this settlement was or whether it was old or new.

14. M.R. Izzett, 'Type sites,' *Rhodesian Prehistory,* 10, 1973, 7; M.R. Izzett, 'Preliminary report on excavation on Crowborough Farm, Salisbury District' *Rhod. Prehist.,* 18, 1989, 7-9.

15. See footnotes 13 and 14.

16. G.J. Liesegang, 'Nguni migrations between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi, 1821-1839,' *African Historical Studies,* iii, 2, 1970, 317-337.

17. Beach, 'First steps'; D.N. Beach, *War and politics in Zimbabwe 1840-1900,* (Mambo, Gweru, 1986), 13-44.

18. See below, on Chihota, Nyandoro, Rwizi and Ngezi.

19. e.g. D.N. Beach, *Mapondera 1840-1904,* (Mambo, Gweru, 1989), 8, 30, 38.

20. see D.N. Beach, *A Zimbabwean Past, Shona Dynastic Histories and Oral Traditions,* book in preparation.

21. N 1/1/9, NC Salisbury to CNC, 29 January 1896.

22. Beach, 'Zimbabwean demography'.

23. Thus the Mutsago house returned from Harava to Bocha, from whence the Seke people had originally come: Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 285.

24. J. Iliffe, *Famine in Zimbabwe,* (Mambo, Gweru, 1990), 7-20.

25. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 72, 77-79, 283-289.

26. On totems, see Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 328-329.

27. R.C. Woollacott, 'Pasipamire — spirit medium of Chaminuka, the "wizard" of Chitungwiza,' *NADA,* xi, 2, 1975, 154-167; R.C. Woollacott, 'Chaminuka', *NADA,* xi, 3, 1976, 363-365; Ministry of Local Government, Division of District Administration, Per/5 Ngezi, PNC Mashonaland North to NC Hartley 5 September 1949 (enclosing report of NC Hartley, 1900); MLG, DDA, Delineation Report, Chegutu, Rwizi, 1964.

28. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyamweda, NC Hartley to CNC 20 November 1940, 17 December 1940 and 12 June 1944, DC Hartley to PC Mashonaland South, 3 October 1964; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Nyamweda, 1964.

29. Seed, 'Glimpse', 10; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 18-19.

30. J. Sawanhu, 'The Waharawa history', *NADA,* 3, 1925, 59; University of Zimbabwe History Departments Texts 98-102 Goromonzi.

31. MLG, DDA, HIS/3/1, 'Report on the tribal structure in protected villages in Chiweshe TTL, 31 October 1974; A.C. Hodza and G. Fortune, *Shona Praise Poetry,* (OUP, Oxford, 1979), 284-286.

32. Turton and Gwati, 'Native history', 17; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Hwata, E.P. Meaker, 'Hwata Chieftainship', 1940s; MLG, DDA, HIS/3/1, 'Protected villages', 31 October 1974.

33. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyavira, Under Secretary of Administration to PNC Mashonaland West, 12 October 1959 and Minute of D.P. Abraham, 18 October 1962; R.H. Palmer, *Land and racial domination in Rhodesia,* (Heinemann, London, 1978), 265-266.

34. Sawanhu, 'Waharawa', 59; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Seke, genealogy by NC Goromonzi, 19 January, 1962; Broderick, 'Notes', 110 *Tsamba ye Cina, Rusape Reader No.2. Masoko e VaMambo ve kare ve nyika ino neNgano Shona,* (Lovedale, Lovedale, 1934), 1934), 44-47; UZHD Texts 81 Buhera, 98-102 Goromonzi; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Seke, Genealogy of NC Goromonzi, 18 October 1942, Savanhu supporter to CNC, 10 December 1943; N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC c.1 January 1904 and NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903; LO 5/4/1, OC Ballyhooley to CNC, 19 January 1897 and Lt. C. Harding to Acting CNC, 3 December 1896; N 1/1/9, NC Salisbury to CNC, 22 July and 1 August 1897. For more detailed discussion on this and following histories, see Beach, *Zimbabwean Past,* forthcoming.

35. Seed, 'Glimpse', 10; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 18-19.

36. Seed, 'Glimpse', 12; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 24-33.

37. G.A. Taylor, 'The genealogical method of anthropological enquiry,' *NADA,* 2, 1924, 41; Beach, *Mapondera,* 18, 68.

38. Seed, 'Glimpse', 13-16; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 25-26.

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43. e.g. R. Summers, *Zimbabwe, a Rhodesian mystery,* (Nelson, Johannesburg, 1963), 95.

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45. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903, Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', makes the Zwangendaba Ngoni come twice, as part of his argument that his ancestor was a Chinamhora ruler.

46. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904; N 1/1/9, NC Salisbury to CNC, 29 January 1896; W. Edwards, 'The Wanoe', *NADA*, 2, 1924, 18; C.E. Nowell, *The rose-colored map*, (CEHU, Lisbon, 1982), 164-165.

47. *Gold and the gospel in Mashonaland 1888*, eds. C.E. Fripp and V.W. Hiller, (Chatto and Windus, London, 1949), 69; N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904; Beach, *War and politics*, 26-29.

48. *Ibid*;; Beach, *Mapondera*, 16; 'Mziki' (A.A. Campbell), *'Mlimo'* (Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg, 1926) 139; *Thomas Baines*, ii, 498; PRO, CO, 417, (14) South Africa 1887, ii, Mandy to Jones, 8 February 1887, 46.

49. N 3/33/8 NC Hartley to CNC, c. 1 January 1904; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, NC Hartley to CNC 13 July 1900, L.O.O. Chanakira to Chief Mapanza, 1 May 1940.

50. Beach, 'First steps'; Beach, 'Zimbabwean demography'.

51. See 46 and 49 above. We have already seen how the route of the 1890 column, passing as it did out of the Great Crescent from Fort Charter to the Manyame, helped to create the myth of a depopulated Mashonaland. So did the accounts of the hunters and travellers, who from the 1860s to the 1880s used the 'Hunter's Road' from the Ndebele state to the Manyame. Passing from the Ndebele outliers east of Inyathi, such travellers often went for days without seeing a soul, until they reached the Mupfure. The emigrant Ngezi people had not been very numerous, and what these travellers were seeing was not depopulated land because it had not carried many people in the first place. Part of the reason why such travellers did not enter the Great Crescent to any marked extent was that there were very few elephants left in the heavily-populated areas.

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The Schacht Auto-Runabout — one of the earliest motor cars imported into Zimbabwe

by P.G. Locke

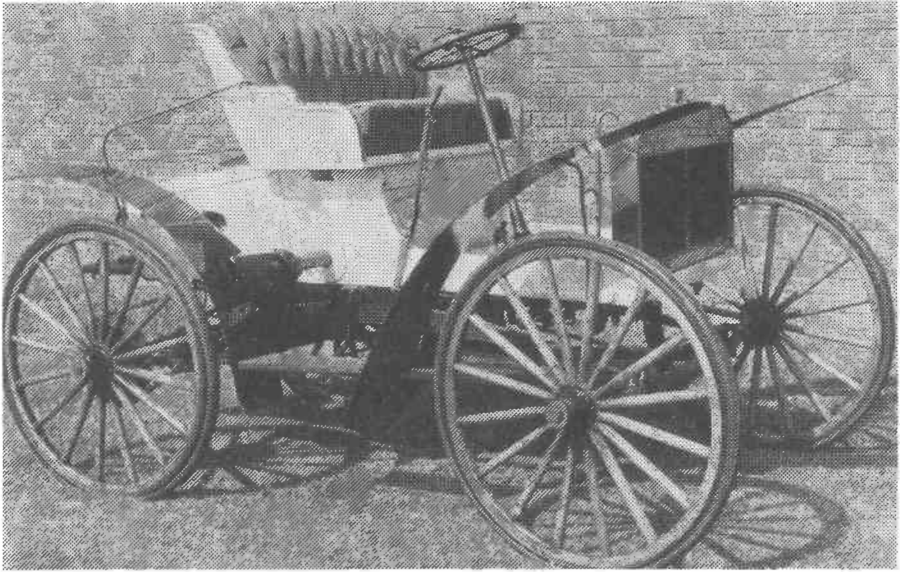
At a time when the railway, ox-wagon and cart reigned supreme as transport in the fledgling colony of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) few would have predicted the consequences heralded by the arrival in the country of the first "horseless carriage". Nevertheless, a shrewd perception of things to come was indeed demonstrated by *The Bulawayo Chronicle,*[1] which commented in its issue of the 1st November 1902, that "the advent of the motor car is an event of great importance to Rhodesia, because, if this mode of locomotion proves suitable to the country, it will effect an enormous saving of time, which is money, besides rendering the mining companies independent of mule flesh."

The vehicle referred to by the newspaper was a 1902 6½ h.p. Gladiator of French manufacture, which was imported by Major Charles Duly who had a bicycle agency in Bulawayo. Evidently this radical new means of transport rapidly won wider acceptance, for thereafter motor vehicles began arriving in the country in increasing numbers so that, by the end of the decade, the motor car was already a familiar sight on the roads.

Almost ninety years on it is not surprising that few of the pioneering motor vehicles have survived, particularly in a part of the world where any "scrap" is a highly sought after commodity put to re-use in many, often inventive, ways. In addition, the historical value of early vehicles was not generally recognised (in common with elsewhere) until much later, when time, the rigours of their working life and the scrap merchant had already taken their toll of most of the veteran cars.

Undoubtedly the oldest complete motor vehicle still remaining in Zimbabwe is a 1903/4 Ivel tractor[2] in the Transport Collection at Mutare Museum. Of comparable age in the same collection is the rolling chassis of a M M C (Motor Manufacturing Company of Coventry) motor car dated 1898-1904 which was converted into a cart at some stage during its life — presumably on terminal failure of the engine. However probably one of the best known examples of early motor transport in Zimbabwe is a Schacht auto-buggy which also dates from the first decade of the century.

The property of Cairns Motors, the Schacht has been known to several generations of motoring enthusiasts as a feature of the company's new-car showroom in Harare where, until recently, the vehicle was displayed for many years. In fact, ownership of the Schacht by Cairns dates back to at least 1933 in which year the vehicle appeared, courtesy of the company, in a carnival procession in Bulawayo — described as "one of the earliest motor cars imported into Rhodesia".[3] Interestingly, it appears that the significance of the vehicle had been realized even earlier by Mr Bunny Cairns, founder of the company which bears his name, who had purchased the Schacht about 1930. Regrettably little is known of the history of the vehicle prior to this time except that it was originally owned (and presumably had been imported) by Mr J Knott who operated the Pomposa Mine on Chevy Chase Farm, Chakari.[4]



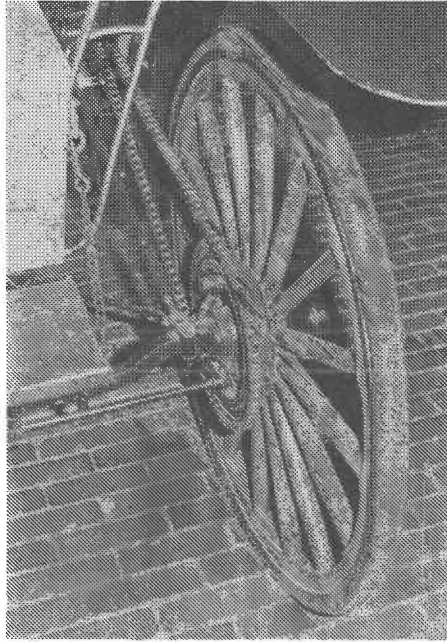
1909 Schacht Model K Auto-Runabout belonging to Cairns Motors.
The ancestry of the Schacht is clearly evident from the body style, cart-type springing and large diameter wooden spoked wheels.

"High-wheelers", as cars of this type are known, were true horseless carriages, combining the characteristics of the horse-drawn buggy with an integral power source. Designed for conditions in Mid-West America their virtues of simplicity, strength, good carrying capacity and high ground clearance were well suited to the arduous workload and rudimentary roads typical of a farming environment.[5] With bodywork and chassis following typical buggy construction, mechanical details drawn from agricultural implement practice and uncomplicated gasoline engines, the auto-buggy also offered many advantages in rural areas lacking the mechanical expertise to maintain more sophisticated machinery.[6]

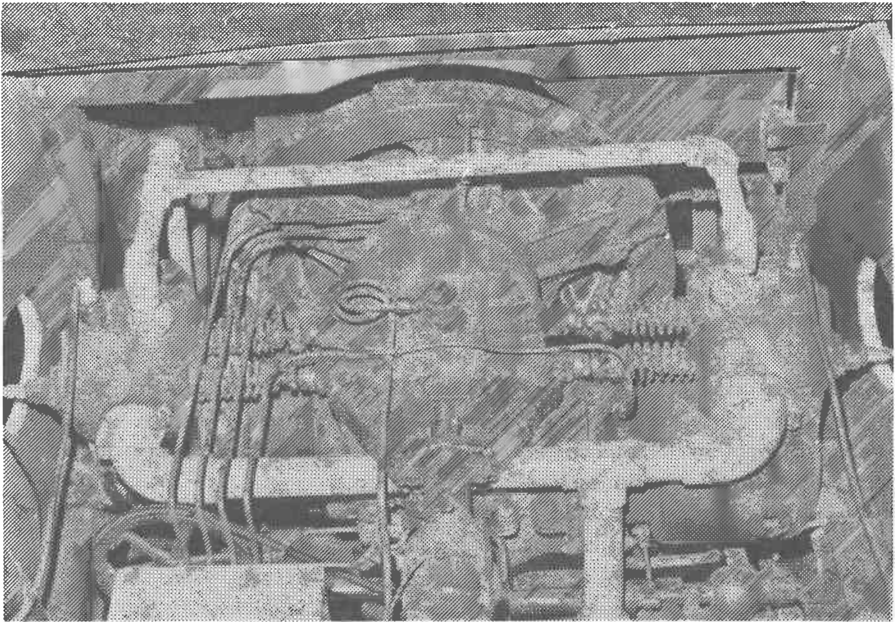
Certainly the auto-buggies were not without their faults. The large diameter wheels induced over-sensitive steering and their narrow solid rubber tyres, while immune to punctures, were prone to slip off the rims and wore rapidly on rough surfaces. In addition the slow revving engines limited performance to modest levels, easily surpassed by more conventional motor cars of the period.[7]

The motorised buggy proliferated briefly in the years from 1905 to 1910. Thereafter it was rapidly displaced by more advanced (but nevertheless equally simple and economical) motor vehicles such as the Ford Model T, which could be used to do the same hard work with greater comfort, speed and reliability.

The Schacht Manufacturing Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, was a former carriage building concern, which progressed to automobile manufacture in 1904. The company was renamed the Schacht Motor Car Company in 1909 and reorganised as the Schacht Motor Truck company in 1913 when passenger vehicles were discontinued after 8000 cars had been built. Best known for its "high-wheelers", this type of vehicle was produced exclusively from 1907 until 1910.[8]



Close-up photograph showing details of the chain drive to the rear wheels and (surprisingly modern) internally expanding brakes.



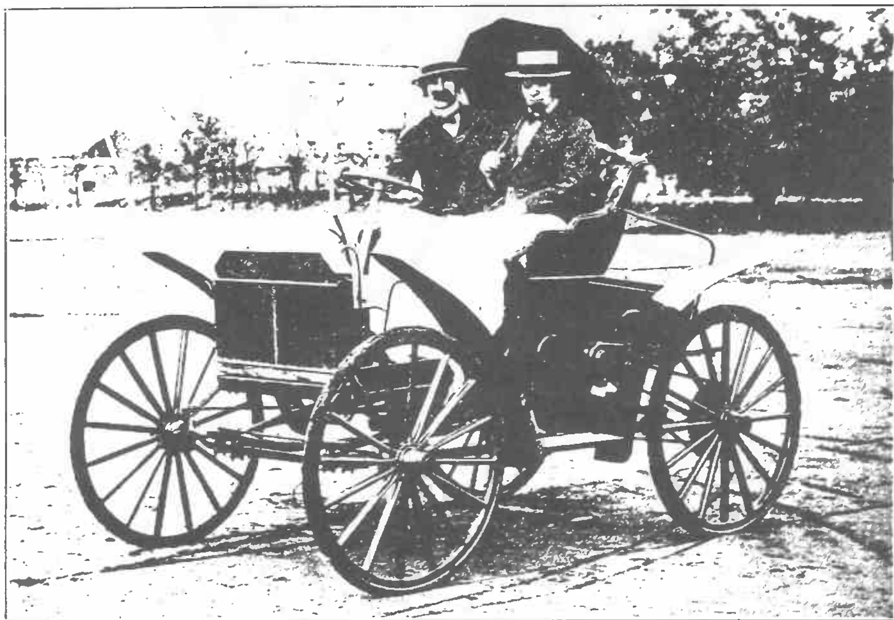
The Schacht's compact power unit is a side valve horizontally-opposed twin-cylinder engine, water cooled, of 1600 c.c.

Until recently the Cairns Schacht was believed to date from circa 1898 but research has shown that it is some ten years younger. Indeed, the somewhat antiquated appearance and crude specification of this type of vehicle is suggestive of motoring in its very infancy and they are often erroneously credited with a year of manufacture that pre-dates their actual build-date by a decade or more.

Careful investigation, aided by the acquisition of contemporary documentation from America, has shown that the Cairns Schacht is undoubtedly a 1909 Model K Auto-Runabout.[9,10] This date of manufacture is deduced, in the first instance, from the vehicle's wheelbase of 74 inches, which was unique to that year's production. Further confirmation is provided by other mechanical details which are consistent with the advertised specifications[11,12] of the Model K and by comparison of the vehicle with illustrations of similarly dated examples.

The vehicle has a track of 5 feet (a narrow 4 feet 8 inch track was also offered) and is fitted with 40 inch wheels and solid rubber tyres, which option priced the vehicle at US$680 when new. (The luxury of 36 inch pneumatic tyres raised the price to a heady US$740!) The body is a Corning type two-seater with large comfortable buttoned seats of a style known as the "King of Belgians". Standard body colour was red but other colours were offered to special order. The present yellow paintwork of the Cairns Schacht is

A VETERAN STILL GOING STRONG.



One of the earliest motor cars imported into Rhodesia took part in the carnival procession and ran under its own power. The driver is Mr. N. Hanson, and the passenger Mr. S. Morgan. Cairns, Ltd., are the owners of the car. [Photograph by E. A. Payne.

The Schacht participated in a festival in Bulawayo in 1933 — by which time the historic significance of the vehicle was already appreciated.

The Invincible Schacht

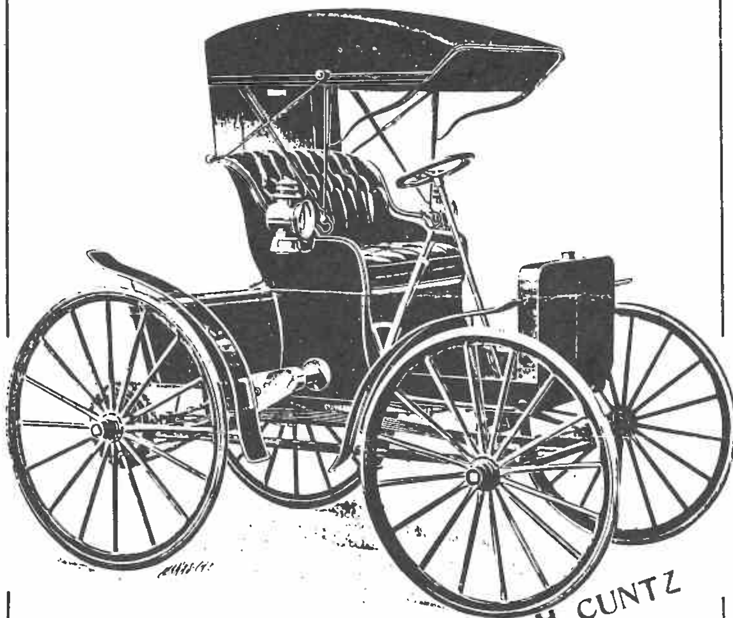
QUALITY-STYLE-DURABILITY-COMFORT

The biggest value in the field for the autoist

A RED HOT PROPOSITION

FOR THE LIVE, WIDE-AWAKE DEALER

The Schacht Auto-Runabout recognizes no hills or bad roads.
Is equally efficient in winter or summer.
Sold at a cost to suit all purses and cheaper than a horse to maintain.
Has all the qualities of the high priced cars at one-tenth the cost.
A WONDER IN A HUNDRED WAYS.



H. CUNTZ
CH'GO 1908

1908 Model K

IT costs you nothing to send for our detailed catalogue. We welcome all inquiries. Demonstration can be had from nearest dealer. Don't lose time, but write at once—it will mean dollars to you. A few choice agencies still open—easily worth writing for.

MANUFACTURED BY

The Schacht Manufacturing Co.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

Contemporary advertisement for the 1908 Schacht. Except for the dimensions of the springs and wheel base, specifications are identical to the 1909 model.
(with acknowledgement to the Antique Automobile Club of America.)

obviously a fairly modern respray, but traces of a dark green paint beneath may indicate an original colour option.

As its appearance suggests, the nature of the Schacht's running gear owes much to buggy practice with concessions only where essential to automobile design. The large wooden spoked wheels are fitted to fixed axles front and rear with two long flexible hickory reach rods maintaining axle parallelism. The body is suspended cart-wise on longitudinal leaf springs which run the length of the wheelbase. There are brakes on the rear wheels only (which were lined originally with camel hair belting!) and final drive is by chain to the same wheels.

The vehicle is powered by a horizontally-opposed twin-cylinder motor located at the rear of the body. Rated at 18-24 h.p. the engine is water cooled with the aid of an attractive front-mounted brass radiator. Transmission is of the friction drive type which, in theory, provides infinitely variable ratios but in this instance is restricted to seven speeds. This novel mechanism is based on a driven friction wheel which slides on a countershaft and bears at right angles against the face of the engine flywheel. Movement of the friction wheel along the radius of the latter alters the speed of countershaft which in turn transmits the drive to the rear wheels by chains.

Clearance of 17 inches, afforded by the large diameter wheels, would have enabled rough terrain to be traversed without difficulty but the modest top speed of 30 mph must have been limited as much by the vehicle's handling characteristics as the engine's low power output.

Standard equipment provided for the Schacht when new included a folding hood, a pair of oil lamps and brass horn. However, none of these accessories is fitted to the Cairns Schacht and there is no trace of their ever having been attached, i.e., the brackets and supports necessary for fitment are absent and there is no evidence of their having been affixed in the past. It seems possible, therefore, that for reasons of economy, this example was supplied without "luxury" equipment. Indeed this suggestion is supported by the fact that the Cairns vehicle is remarkably original in other respects, even retaining the authentic rubber floor matting with the manufacturer's name incorporated into the tread. The vehicle has not run under its own power now for many years but, as far as is known, this could be remedied by minor fettling.

Two other Schacht auto-buggies have been preserved in Southern Africa, one from Middleburg in the Transvaal, and now in private hands in Johannesburg, and another in the C.P. Nel Museum at Oudtshoorn in the Cape, the former a 1908 model and the latter dated circa 1907. With motoring conditions in Southern Africa similar in many ways to those which prevailed in contemporary rural America it is not surprising that a fair number of "high-wheelers" were imported into South Africa and Zimbabwe in the early years of the century. Indeed the total of three Schachts still surviving in this part of the world suggests that this particular make was imported in some quantity, besides being a testimony to the sound construction of the vehicle.

By 1910 most vehicle manufacturers had eschewed the principle of adapting existing animal-drawn transport to self-propulsion by steam or gasoline and were producing motor cars increasingly independent in design. In comparison the Schacht, like other "high-wheelers", was definitely an anachronistic machine which, despite flowering briefly in response to specialized needs, did not survive for long the advent of the purpose-built motor car. In retrospect, earlier compromises like the Schacht, while lacking technological

SPECIFICATIONS

—OF THE—

Schacht Auto-Runabout

NOTE THE

Simplicity-Practicability-Compactness

EVERY PART A WORKING PART AND
EVERY WORKING PART A NECESSITY

Motor	Double opposed 12 H. P. horizontal four cycle type; four inch bore, four inch stroke, all valves are mechanically operated, cylinders water-jacketed and cast in one piece.
Transmission	Friction—No gears to strip or grind.
Drive	Chain on each rear wheel connecting with countershaft.
Differential	Heavy pattern spur gears mounted on countershaft.
Ignition	Jump spark with regular type spark coil with dry or storage batteries.
Carburetor	Float feed.
Radiator	Disc pattern of great cooling surface.
Steering	Large hand wheel operating worm and sector, and steering knuckles on front axle.
Control	Throttle and spark advance on top of steering wheel.
Brakes	Internal expanding on each rear wheel, operated by foot lever. Emergency by reversing across friction disc.
Bearings	Four Timken Roller Bearings on countershaft. Also Timken Roller Bearings in wheels.
Body and Seat	Corning style body and King of Belgian seat.
Springs	Concord, 62 inches long.
Axles	Solid drop forged 1⅛ inches square.
Wheels	Second growth hickory, 36 inch front and 40 inch rear with 1 3-16 inch spokes.
Tires	Best 1¼ inch cushion rubber, puncture proof and reversible. Pneumatic tires furnished at extra cost.
Wheel Base	Sixty-five inches.
Tread	Four feet eight inches or five feet.
Speed	One to thirty miles an hour.
Weight	Nine hundred pounds, with gasoline.
Gasoline Supply	Eight gallons.
Equipment	One pair "Ideal" oil burning lamps, brass horn and all necessary tools, wrenches, etc. and repair kit.
Trimming	Best grade buffed leather and curled hair filling.
Finish	Maroon body, carmine gear. Special colors extra.
Road Clearance	Seventeen inches.

MR. DEALER:

You will be surprised at the results this agency will bring—The asset it will prove to be. Allow us to submit our catalogue and proposition.

YOU WILL BE INTERESTED THE CAR WILL CONVINCE.

MANUFACTURED BY

The Schacht Manufacturing Co.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

sophistication, possessed a charm and simplicity which has since been lost in the cause of progress and for which modern motoring is the poorer.

Postscript

Mr J H Cairns (brother of the late Bunny Cairns) kindly perused the draft of this article and was able to add some personal recollections of the Cairns Schacht, as follows[13]:-

"It must have been about 1930 that a farmer from Chakari contacted my brother Bunny and told him there was an old car that had been in a shed on his farm which he had bought fifteen years earlier (1915). Bunny agreed to buy the vehicle and arranged for it to be railed from Gatooma to Salisbury (the names at the time), and after cleaning it up it did not take our mechanics long to have the engine running. Cairns' business was then at the corner of Second Street/Gordon Avenue, the site of the present Herald office, and our workshops were over the showroom, access being by a concrete ramp from Gordon Avenue. Quite remarkably, I think, the Schacht was able to pull itself up this steep gradient.

In about 1934, I was having a sundowner with one of the old-timers and he told me that the first motor car he had seen in the country was owned by Johnny Knott (a Canadian) who ran the Pomposa Mine and used the vehicle for taking his gold to the Assay Office at Gatooma. A check-up with the Mines Department after the Second World War confirmed that the Pomposa Mine was on Chevy Chase Farm, Chakari. I am told that Chevy Chase is still farmed and that there are several mines in that area.

Shortly after acquiring the vehicle, Bunny and I were at the Palace Theatre in First Street one evening when on the programme there was a short comedy in which the actors drew up in their car outside a garage above which was a sign "Schacht Motor Coy" — complete with address which we mentally noted. Next day, Bunny mailed a letter to them telling them of our vehicle. In due course a reply was received saying how interested they were to hear of our find and I believe the year of manufacture was stated. This letter was framed and hung from the radiator cap on the front of the radiator.

During the Second World War, because there were no new cars available we vacated our premises at the corner of First Street/Union Avenue and the Schacht was moved to our storage facilities in Charter Road at the Kopje. Unfortunately during the War the vehicle was obviously left out in the open in all weathers with the sad result that there was severe deterioration due to this careless neglect. The original red leather seat was ruined and the floor mat was torn, both items having previously been in perfect condition. In the post War period — probably between 1947/1950 — the ignition system was altered from buzzer coils with dry battery to distributor with wet battery, and the mudguards which were then badly cracked were replaced with the present plywood ones.

Apart from the Schacht being in the Bulawayo carnival procession in 1933, it also took part in the 1937 Coronation procession in Salisbury, and also in the air rally on the Belvedere aerodrome about that time."

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THE EYRE BROTHERS: ARTHUR AND HERBERT

By Robert Burrett

The Eyre Brothers were prominent early Settlers in the Lomagundi (now Makonde) Region before the turn of the present century. They were hunters; prospectors; civil contractors; farmers; traders; and explorers. In other words like many of the Pioneers they were "jacks of all trades although masters of none". The Eyres played an important part in opening up the North-western section of the newly occupied territory of Mashonaland, although during their life times the area remained on the fringes of development with only sparse European settlement. It was only after their premature deaths that the Region experienced a massive gold boom and the type of agricultural development which makes it one of the most productive areas in Zimbabwe today.

The Brothers were both born at Eyrecourt, County Galway, Ireland.[1] They were sons of Colonel Thomas Eyre of the Third Bombay Light Cavalry, and Mrs E. Eyre. There were five children of the marriage, three sons and two daughters. The eldest son Thomas Arthur Page Eyre, known as Arthur Eyre, was born in 1859. In his late teens he travelled to the Cape Colony where he joined the Cape Mounted Rifles. He served under Carrington during the Basuto War of 1879/80 and on account of his conduct at Moirosi's Mountain, where he was the first to fight his way to the top and implant the troop Colour, he was recommended for a Victoria Cross. He also served in the Galecka-Gaika War and the first Lanberg Campaign. He was personally involved in "pulling down the Freebooters flag in Stellaland".[2] After this he joined the Bechuanaland Border Police, but only briefly until, like many at that time, he was drawn by the prospect of finding great wealth on the newly opened Johannesburg Gold Fields.

This period on the Johannesburg Fields had a profound effect on Arthur's destiny. He was not successful, but his writing home did prompt his two younger brothers to join him: Dudley who died in October 1898 in Johannesburg; and Herbert who later joined Arthur in Mashonaland. During this time Arthur gained a good knowledge of prospecting and mining, while Goldfever undoubtedly took root. Also of significance was his striking up of a lasting friendship with two other Johannesburg hopefuls: Jack Spreckley and Robert Beal. When preparations were announced for The Occupation of Mashonaland these three friends applied and were all attested to the Pioneer Corps; Arthur being attested Number 147. It is likely that each one hoped to make his fortune on the rumoured "Goldfields of the North", for as soon as the Corps was disbanded at Fort Salisbury (now Harare) on the 30th September 1890, these three joined forces and at once set off to prospect for gold in the Lomagundi Region.

Their expedition chose the Lomagundi area having heard of Thomas Baines' glowing reports of the gold potential of the Region. Spreckley also had first hand knowledge of the area having been along the Hunyani (now Munyame) and Angwa Rivers before Occupation, and been involved in hunting and illegal (from Lobengula's point of view) gold

prospecting.[3] Their Party was however unsuccessful, since they were beaten to the best peggings by others. John P. Walker mentions in his diary his pegging of claims near "Sinoia" just before "Eyre, Spreckley and Beal came mooching along with picks etc and were fearfully put out".[4] Despite this failure Arthur was to adopt the area as his own. He developed an interest in exploring the Region and his later love of hunting was established. Certainly the Region was at the time richly populated with game, and one has only to read contemporary references by "Curio" Brown of Frederick Courteney Selous to appreciate the variety and quantity of wildlife present.

The trio seem to have returned to Fort Salisbury sometime in late 1890 or early 1891. It was probably the onset of the rains and associated fever particularly prevalent in the Lomagundi Region which drove them out. They parted company at this time and each went his own way. In mid 1891 Arthur returned to the Lomagundi area to continue prospecting and hunting. It was during 1891 that he chose the site for his future farm on the Great Dyke. His exploits were, however, cut short that year by the murder of Chief Lomagundi by a Matabele Raiding Party. This incident drove many of the weary prospectors back to Fort Salisbury or other refuge.[5]

The following year — 1892 — was a rather active one for Arthur. He first occupied his farm, and its pegging was infact the first in the Lomagundi Region. The farm was a Pioneer Grant but was only legally recognised on the 15th September 1896. The wheels of bureaucracy must have ground very slowly for by that time it had been occupied for four years. The farm was named Kilmacdaugh (pronounced Kil-mac-dooer) after a ruined tower on the coast near Eyrecourt, Ireland, and which had been the scene of many childhood family picnics. At the time it was 9972 morgen in area, and encompassed a sizable portion of the Great Dyke just north of the modern pass on the Harare-Chinhoyi road. Also in that year Arthur joined Graham and Coryndon (later Governor of Kenya) in exploring possible routes from "Sinoia" to the Portuguese settlement of Zumbo on the Zambezi. Sinoia (now Chinhoyi) was the name used by the Mining Commissioner for the Lomagundi Region (who was none other than Jack Spreckley) for his camp on a small hill next to the Hunyani River near present day Chinhoyi.[6] There are a number of most interesting maps of the various routes taken by this Party to be found in the National Archives of Zimbabwe. The venture was probably for the benefit of the British South Africa Company which would have considered this a potential link to the outside world. They obviously encountered serious difficulties which discouraged the authorities of the day (and subsequent ones) from attempting to develop this route to the Zambezi River and thence to the Indian Ocean. This is borne out by some of the labels on their maps — "mountainous; impassable; very dense scrub; impossible thornscrub; NO WATER;" etc.[7]

Sometime in 1891/92 Arthur was joined by his brother Herbert. Herbert Hedges Eyre was born in 1870. He joined Arthur in Johannesburg, and then followed him to Mashonaland where he became popular in Salisbury as a result of his out going nature and good sporting ability.[8] Herbert pegged his own farm Eyrecourt, which was to the south of Salisbury on the Hunyani River. His neighbour was William Harvey ("Curio") Brown, whom he had probably met while hunting with Arthur in the present day Mhangura area.[9] At some unknown date, Herbert sold Eyrecourt and joined Arthur at Kilmacdaugh.

Kilmacdaugh could never be called prime agricultural land as it consisted largely of rocky hills interspersed with a few small flat patches. A lawyer who later wrote to the Eyres' sisters described it as "a very beautiful part of the Country, but really only suitable

for cattle ranching." There is no reference to any major agricultural activity being carried out during the Eyres' tenure. Infact Colonel Alderson describes it as follows:

> It would be well to explain that the word "farm" does not, in Rhodesia, necessarily mean cultivated or arable land, it is used in talking of any piece of ground that a man possesses. In Eyre's case there was only a acre or so of cultivated ground, a lot of good grazing, and a good deal of wood and mountain."[10]

One may therefore wonder why Arthur should have chosen an apparently unsuitable location to peg his farm. I believe that the answer has to do with the farms potential as a trading site, located as it is at one of the major passes through the Great Dyke. All travellers between Salisbury and Lomagundi were funnelled through this focal point, thus its commercial value. We know that the Brothers ran a successful store at their homestead which is located within this pass, although it was only officially licenced in 1895.[11] Their settlement soon featured in all the comings and goings to and from the Lomagundi Region. It became known as either Eyres or Umvukwe. The source of the latter name has not been established, but Umvukwe later became associated with the entire range of hills constituted by the Great Dyke in its northern section, as well as a town (now Mvurwi) but which has no connection with the Eyres in the 1890s.

Soon after occupying Kilmacdaugh, Arthur built a small pole-and-daga homestead with a thatched roof, typical of early Pioneer architecture. However, by 1896 this had been replaced by a brick house with a broad stoep supported by brick pillars. It had a corrugated iron roof, and steps led up to the front stoep onto which four windows opened. Colonel Alderson described it thus:

> "A comfortable, roomy building it is, in a charming site. Halfway way up with its back to the mountain, it has grand views to west, north and east, so that from it Eyre can see the greater part of his farm."[12]

The remains of this homestead can be seen today in a locality just as described by Alderson, and the History Society of Zimbabwe (Mashonaland Branch) visited it during one of its 1989 excursions. Today all that remains are the foundations with a scattering of bricks, a few stone mounds and various other remnants such as pieces of glass, porcelain, tin and the odd nail. One interesting item which the present owner of the farm, Mr L. Perry, has located, is the remnant of a biscuit tin with the date 1896 embosed upon it.[13] The main rubbish dump has as yet to be located, so who knows what "treasures" may still await.

Although the Eyre Brothers settled at Kilmacdaugh, this does not mean that they had ended their hunting exploits. Brown refers to them as having a seasonal hunting camp near the Wild Lemon Grove on Dichwe Farm near Mhangura.[14] While James J.f. Darling in his letters, reports of the Eyres' hunting successes during 1892 and 1894 when they hunted well down into the Zambezi Valley.[15] They were prolific hunters, and some of their bags were sent to various museums. It is recorded that they shot and sold at least three of the last White Rhino in the Lomagundi Region. One of these trophies was sold to Cecil John Rhodes for the Cape Town Museum, one was sold to the Russian Government, while the third was donated to the Natural History Museum, Dublin. One wonders if these trophies are still there and correctly acknowledged?

Neither did the Eyres neglect their prospecting. Arthur was reported by the Lomagundi Mining Commissioner as continually pegging, repegging and abandoning various claims in the Region. The "most promising" was a silver deposit near Chininga's kraal (Umboe Hill) close to his hunting camp,[16] but nothing ever came of it. Arthur is also said to have found what later became the Eldorado Mine. It is claimed that while tracking a wounded antelope he came across an "Ancient Working" 850 feet long, 10 to 30 feet wide and up to 25 feet deep, complete with wooden buckets and iron adzes.[17] The truth of this story, given its similarity to Hartley's famous discovery of the Northern Goldfields and the lack of primary evidence, can not be established, but he was the first to peg the claim and gave it the name Eldorado. Unfortunately the Eyres never attempted to develop these deposits, and in 1894 sold them to Spreckley and Malcom Frazer. They in turn were not successful, mainly because most of the surface deposit had already been removed and only later technologies made it feasible to extract the deposits below the watertable. When these were worked in 1907 to 1919 Eldorado became, briefly, the richest gold mine in the world and once returned more than 250% dividends to its shareholders.[18] Surely this is a case of a fortune missed!

In 1894 the Eyres became involved in yet another project. At the time there were definite signs of development in the Lomagundi Region. Good deposits of gold had been located at Ayrshire, while there were numerous fairly successful workings in the Dondo-Maneni Rivers area.[19] The result of this improved state of affairs was a decision by the Administrator to construct a proper road through the Great Dyke, and the Eyres were contracted to undertake this work. They were provided with 25 African labourers by the Lomagundi Native Commissioner, and their work was to clear a strip the width of a wagon and to construct crossings over the numerous small streams which flow off the hills.[20] Work was completed on the 8th April 1894.[21] The road was constructed through the very Pass in which they had built their home, and would no doubt have been good for their trading business. This Pass, still known as Airey's (sic) Pass, remained the major road access for the Lomagundi Region right until the strip roads were laid via Darwendale in the 1920s. The road would never have been a grand affair, but it did make traversing the Dyke a *little* easier. Travellers still, however, had to contend with steep gradients, flooded streams and problems of sinking into the mud of a large vlei just to the east of the Pass.[22] Traces of this original road can still be seen at the base of the eastern approach, while the current road through the pass probably follows its 1894 counterpart rather closely.

In 1896 therefore, we see a picture of two rather successful, although not wealthy, Settlers established at Kilmacdaugh, but this was soon to change. With the Outbreak of the Matabeleland Rising, Arthur Eyre volunteered his services and was given command of the Scouts attached to Colonel R. Beal's Relief Column which set out from Salisbury to assist those laagered in Matabeleland. During this period Arthur distinguished himself, and while returning to Mashonaland to assist against the uprising there he contracted a serious dose of fever and was laid up for some time in Enkeldoorn (now Chivu).[23] In the meantime Herbert remained on the Farm. It was not suspected that the Mashona were capable of rebellion, yet their killing of Herbert Eyre on 21st June 1896 was one of the first events of the Mashonaland Rising.

The following sequence of events on that fateful day is reconstructed from the Court Hearings before Justice Watermeyer on 22nd November 1898. His hand written record of the proceedings was recently relocated and placed in the National Archives of

An 1890 Pioneer
(The late Arthur Eyre)

Zimbabwe.[24] The main witness was a "coloured female servant", Cerise, supplemented by a number of local Mashona. The accused were Kazengwendi and Samkanga on the charge of murder. Both were from the nearby village of Msoutsi and were arrested in possession of stolen items belonging to the Eyres. The former was discharged for the lack of evidence, while Samkanga was found guilty together with others not captured. It was held that the killing was preconceived and with the full knowledge and support of Chief Msoutsi.

On the morning of the 21st June 1896 Herbert had been out hunting. On returning he put away his rifles and ordered Cerise to prepare his breakfast while he attended to a number of Mashonas who had arrived in his absence saying they were seeking work. The

following scene was witnessed by Cerise as she was cooking at the back of the house. Through the front door she saw Herbert. He was sitting on the steps of the stoep and was approached by four men. He talked directly to Samkanga whom Arthur had previously employed. Suddenly, someone grabbed Herbert pushing him sideways while Samkanga struck him with a knobkerrie. This blow to the head is thought to have caused Herbert's death. The assailants were then joined by others who dragged the body away while continuing to bludgeon it with knobkerries and rifle butts. They ransacked the house and stole the Eyre's collection of 13 guns, only one of which was ever recovered. They also killed several "Zambezi Boys" and Cerise's husband "Jan Bushman". Cerise fled into the hills and hid before slowly finding her way into Salisbury. In the meantime several other Settlers were killed in the Region, while yet others managed to flee to Salisbury. All reported having been attacked on the way near Eyre's where there was significant Rebel activity.

Herbert was killed in the Rising probably for two reasons. Firstly as one of the Settlers he was considered a threat in their alienation of the "Ancestoral Lands" of the local Mashona people. Thus he had to be eliminated. This view was reinforced by the local "spirit mediums", of whom Goronga was particularly important in the Lomagundi Region.[25] Another reason would have been the system of enforced labour. Arthur Eyre did on occasion demand that people from the local villages work for him both on the farm and on his numerous claims. This built up a sense of resentment which fuelled the Rising. Previously Arthur had been at loggerheads with the Wesleyian Missionaries of the nearby Station of Hartleyton concerning this issue. They had warned him that the local people were resentful of his treatment of them, but to no avail. Thus, although not directly the cause, Herbert became a focus for Mashona disatisfaction towards his brother and was thus eliminated in the initial wave of killings in 1896.

Thereafter, Lomagundi remained abandoned by the Settlers until October 1896 when Colonel Alderson together with 624 men consisting of Imperial Troops, Local Forces and an African Contingent reached Kilmacdaugh on 21st October, four months to the day after Herbert's murder.[26] They arrived from the Hartley Region, and camped at the base of the eastern approach to Eyre's Pass. Colonel Alderson describes the homestead and the scene of the murder as follows:

> "Poor Herbert Eyre had been sitting on the steps of the house when so treacherously attacked, and on them we saw the marks of his blood. Inside the Mashona had slashed and hacked things about . . . The Salisbury-Sinoia and Ayrshire Mine road runs just below the house, and across this the Mashonas had taken the trouble to build a fairly solid stone wall, three feet six inches to four foot high. Upon the hillsides above this were stone schances commanding the road each way. While looking about outside the house I picked up Herbert's Eyre's diary, the last entry being on the 19th of June, two days before he was murdered."[27]

Herbert's remains were found and buried on the 22nd October. They were identified on the basis of his clothing by his brother Arthur.

As a way of reprisal Colonel Alderson ordered his troops to attack and destroy the local Kraals, but most were found deserted their inhabitants having fled into the "Fly Country" to the north and west. Minor resistance was met at some Kraals, whose

inhabitants had taken refuge in the caves of the granite kopjes. These were usually then dynamited. At Zimba's Kraal serious resistance was met, and during this operation Captain Edward Funucane was seriously wounded and later died of shock and loss of blood. Arthur Eyre recognised the bullet as coming from one of this large bore rifles which had been stolen. Finucane was buried with full military honours near the Makwadzi River at the eastern end of the Pass.[28] Alderson then returned to Salisbury, while others proceeded to either Ayrshire Mine/Sinoia or to Mazoe.

Arthur Eyre returned with Alderson to the Salisbury Laager and it is not known if he ever visited Kilmacdaugh again. He was very shaken by the murder of Herbert and for a long time refused to accept it. Darling in a letter writes:

> "Arthur Eyre is getting well slowly, his brothers' murder was a great blow to him and seemed to knock him out altogether, poor chap. He had a great idea that Herbert was still alive with others in the Umvukwe . . . I was getting up a party to go out, tho' I did not believe there was a ghost of a chance. White then took it up and Arthur eventually came to the conclusion that there was no hope."[29]

Arthur is said by his sister, to have been ordered by Rhodes to go back to Kilmacdaugh after the Rebellion, but he refused questioning Rhodes' authority to do so. Thus it would seem that Kilmacdaugh was abandoned following Herbert's death.

Unlike many who suffered losses Arthur did not abandon the Country after the Rebellion, but stayed on in Salisbury where he was to become a prominent citizen. He served in the Chamber of Mines, and became the commander of A Troop, Salisbury Volunteers. He must have travelled widely as a result of his occupation and was well known throughout the Country. Arthur was chosen to ride in the Jubilee Procession in London in 1897 as part of the Rhodesian Contingent to that celebration. Soon after returning from London he became engaged to a Miss Tyler Stewart of Salisbury. She was described by the Eyres' sisters as being young, slender, and pretty. Unfortunately, this match was not to be as Arthur died of blackwater fever at the age of 39 years shortly before they were due to be married. Miss Stewart is reported never to have recovered from the shock of his death, remaining a spinster for the rest of her life.

The Salisbury community was deeply sorrowful at Arthur's death, as may be seen from reports at the time in the Rhodesia Herald. His obituary reads:

> "On Thursday morning, March 9th 1899, at 2 o'clock, Arthur Eyre died at the Salisbury Hospital of blackwater fever, after a few days illness. A prominent figure in the history of Rhodesia since the Occupation, he was almost universally known throughout the two provinces. One of the finest types of British Gentlemen, Eyre was admired, respected and trusted by the most casual aquaintence, and the shock of his death is a stunning one to the whole community. Of magnificant physique, and apparently in the enjoyment of the best of health to within the last few days, it is hard to realise his death, and that the voice which a fortnight ago was so cheerfully giving us details of his last trip to the Ruia, is stilled forever . . . Rhodesia has lost of her best, and all of us a friend.[30]

Also of interest in the same newspaper, is a report of the funeral held the very day Arthur died:

> "On Thursday Afternoon starting at five o'clock, the funeral procession of Arthur Eyre traversed the town on its way to the cemetery. The stores and canteens were closed and all flags at half mast high. At the corner of Manica Road and Pioneer Street the procession was reformed and thence consisted of: the firing party and the band of the BSAP; the gun carriage and Pall Bearers: Col. Beal, CMG; Major Hoste; Messrs Farmaner, Durling, Edmonds, Human and Mr D.A. West as chief mourner; and then A Troop of the Salisbury Volunteers under the command of Captain Newman. The BSA Police followed and a train of friends on foot to the number of several hundreds proceeded a long a string of vehicles full of mourners. The cortege was by far the largest ever seen in Salisbury, and even dwarfed that of the Memorial Occasion. His Honour the Administrator and his Honour the Commissioner were present in common with all the nobilities in the town. The Bishop of Mashonaland, assisted by the Rev. Mr Caufield, officiated at the graveside, and the service was most impressive. The Bishop, in an eloquent address, most feelings referred to the essential true and manly life of the deceased, who had been a friend of his own in common with all present. After the final three volleys, the procession reformed and marched back to the town. A Troop being dismissed at the starting point. Numerous wreaths were sent, amongst which were noted those from the Pioneers, Salisbury Club, A Troop, Mrs Bowen, Mrs Carruthers, Mrs Graven, and Dr Fleming."[31]

It is clear that Arthur must have been a revered member of the early Salisbury Community. He is buried in grave number 187 of the Pioneer Cemetery. There is an additional note in the Cemetery Records along side Arthur's details to the effect of "Special Sanction". This, I have been given to believe, probably refers to the later reburial of Herbert Eyre's remains alongside his brother. This is supported by the fact that it is a double plot with a communal gravestone recording both names:

"IN loving memory
of
Arthur Eyre
of Eyrecourt, Co. Galway
who died at Salisbury
9 March 1899 age 39 years
and of his brother
Herbert Hedges Eyre
who was murdered at the Umvukwe
June 21st 1896 aged 35 years"

The anomally in the age of Herbert, who was infact 26 years old when killed, can not be explained. Also there is another grave marker for Herbert Eyre at plot number 113 of

the same Cemetery. It is one of the memorial crosses erected by the Loyal Women's Guild and is a bit of a mystery. It is uncertain if it marks the original Salisbury grave of Herbert Eyre, now empty, or whether it is simply a mistake as has happened in other cases. This is one question I doubt we will ever be able to answer. I however, choose to believe that the two brothers who were extremely close in life are now together in death.

After Arthur's death Kilmacdaugh was transferred to his Mother, before the family decided on the basis of a Salisbury Lawyer's advice to sell the property. The family, however, retained an interest in the Country, and it is a pity that we have not fulfilled one of their greatest wishes, that we should keep alive the memory of Arthur and Herbert Eyre. Certainly many of the subsequent developments in the Lomagundi Region directly or indirectly resulted from the initiative of these two brothers. They were two of the true Pioneers of that Region,and I hope that this article will go some way towards fulfilling their Family's wishes.

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Swynnerton of Gungunyana A Pioneer Zimbabwean Natural Historian

by Michael J. Kimberley

Charles Francis Massy Swynnerton was born in India on the 3rd December, 1877, the son of the Reverend Charles Swynnerton.

Father

After being ordained, Charles Swynnerton became headmaster of *Ransey* Grammer School, Isle of Man in 1868. From 1873 to 1877 he was a chaplain in Ceylon and then joined the Indian Clerical Establishment where he served until 1901. He was on active service with the Kabul Expeditionary Force (1978 – 1879), the Hazara Field Force (1891) and the Black Mountain Expedition (1894 – 1895). He wrote a book of poems and collected Indian folklore, his publications including Indian Night's Entertainment, Rajah Rasalin, and Romantic Tales from the Punjab. Thereafter he held a number of Chaplaincies in Italy, Egypt and Cyprus and then became Vicar of Leonard Stanley in Gloucestershire. In his later years he traced the history of the Swynnerton family back to the Norman Conquest and published his researches in The Family of Swynnerton. He became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1874, in Ceylon, he married Maud Massy the daughter of Major Henry Massy of Grantstown., Co. Tipperary. He died in 1928 at the age of 85.

Education

C.F.M. Swynnerton was educated at the Abbey, Co. Tipperary and at Lancing College, a public school founded in 1848 near Shoreham in Sussex. At Lancing he became a prefect and was active in the Natural History Society.

Mrs. Esme Napier Bax of Ruwa, near Salisbury, whose husband worked closely with Swynnerton from 1928 to 1938, remembers him as having a boyish figure, small and slight, and reddish hair.

C.J. Gifford of Wolverhampton Farm, Chipinga in a personal communication to the author, recalls "I can remember that he was a very tall, slim, ginger haired, freckled, ruddy faced man. He had a ginger cropped mustache and blue green eyes. He was very nervous and absent minded and lived a very rough life in the early days, eating when he remembered to do so, etc. He was also an amateur artist and I have an oil painting done by him in 1901 of our first stone house. This is a very treasured possession of mine today. He was known to have eaten most of the known birds and wild animals to satisfy himself whether they were fit to eat or not. He sampled monkeys, hornbills, mice, rats, wild cats, caterpillars, etc., and it was said that if you had a meal with him you never knew if you were eating sucking pig or monkey, chicken, or black crow. He was a very dear friend of my late parents who were very sorry to see him leave the district."

C.F.M. Swynnerton, C.M.G., F.L.S.

To Africa

Although he had gained entry to the University of Oxford, Swynnerton did not take up his place there, preferring to emigrate to Africa where he arrived in Natal in 1897, at the age of 19. He soon met Guy Anstruther Knox Marshall, who later became Sir Guy Marshall, K.C.M.G., D.Sc., F.R.S., Director of the Imperial Institute of Entomology in London from 1913 to 1942, who was visiting Natal for the purpose of conducting certain entomological research. Marshall persuaded Swynnerton to come to Salisbury where he gave him a job as a counterhand in a store known as Bates and Marshall which carried on business on the west side of Second Street between Gordon Avenue and Baker Avenue. Swynnerton worked in the store for a short while but it soon became apparent that his future did not lie in employment of this nature.

Gungunyana

In 1898 Swynnerton moved to Melsetter where he managed a farm which was later included in Mozambique by the Border Commission, belonging to J.W. Scott, and in 1900 he became manager of Gungunyana Farm, in the Chipinge district, which included portion of Mount Selinda forest. This farm of 3 003 morgen had been purchased in September, 1902 by Guy Anstruther Knox Marshall for £850 from Johannes Nicolas Roedolph Labuschagne. Swynnerton carried on farming operations at Gungunyana for almost twenty years until his departure for Tanganyika in 1919 and shortly thereafter in March, 1921, he became the registered owner of Subdivision A of the original farm consisting of 2 033 morgen formally purchasing it from Marshall for $1 000. He also became the registered owner of the farm Confidence, in extent 1 514 morgen, situated in the Chipinge district, which he acquired in August, 1913 from J.W. Scott for £359.

The Chipinga district, together with the neighbouring Chimanimani district, is a natural historian's treasurehouse and paradise. Soon after his arrival there Swynnerton began to study and collect the wide range of plants, butterflies, birds and insects which occur in the area, and across the international boarder in Mozambique as far east as Beira.

R.W. Jack, formerly Chief Entomologist writing in the Agricultural Journal (Vol. XXXV, 1938), refers to Swynnerton's tremendous love for natural history which inspired his whole life and continues "In the country around his home at Gungunyana he knew by name every plant, animal, bird and butterfly. A ramble with him through and around the Mount Selinda forest, or, in fact, through any part of the country was pure enjoyment to anyone interested in natural history. He had a most retentive memory for the names of things, especially of trees and shrubs, in species of which Africa is so exceptionally rich. He was always finding objects of interest and recording observations bearing upon particular theories and he infected others with his enthusiasm."

Today, Chirinda Forest is a 949 hectare area of forest land in the Chipinge district which comprises the surveyed properties of subdivision A of Houtberg and subdivision A of Mount Selinda, and approximately 92 hectares situated in the south-western corner of subdivision A of Gungunyana. Gungunyana Forest is a 1 649 hectare area of forest land in the Chipinge district comprising subdivision A of Gungunyana but excluding 92 hectares of the south-western corner being portion of Chirinda Forest land.

Both of these wonderful areas and the vegetation and wildlife in them are a protected forest land and preserved by law in perpetuity for the benefit and enjoyment of all Zimbabweans and the many visitors to our country.

C.F.M. Swynnerton at Gungunyana Farm 1910

Marriage

In 1908 in London he married Norah Aimee Geraldine Smyth, the daughter of John Watt Smyth who was from Larne, Co. Antrim and became a judge of the High Court in India. After the marriage Swynnerton and his wife proceeded to Gungunyana where their three sons Roger, Gerald and Brian were born. He discovered an attractive new sepcies of Gardenia in Chirinda forest which he named *Gardenia norde* after his wife.

Mrs Esme Napier Bax remembers Norah Swynnerton as "an Irish beauty, very sweet, motherly and domesticated." She adds in personal communications to the author —

"Swynnerton used to boast that it was her butter and poultry cheque that kept their farm going . . . They were a devoted couple and it was pretty to see them together. He used to work to all hours and we used to smile when she came along with her pink parasol and would say "now Massy I think it is time we went for a little walk!" He would spring up and say "Certainly, my dear" and off they would go.

Agriculturist and Forester

As a farmer Swynnerton was an enthusiastic experimentalist and carried out research into, and practical experiments with, rubber, coffee, fruits, forest trees, fibre, oil and forage plants.

From about 1900 he experimented with indigenous and exotic rubber plants and by 1904 had a plantation of 4 000 *Ceara* rubber trees and 200 acres of *Landolphia*. By 1907 he was able to report that although *Landolphia* was too slow growing, the cultivation of *Ceara* rubber trees was definitely successful and suited to a number of farms in the district. He added, however, that "unless the Government can guarantee us beforehand that we shall be supplied with the necessary labour for tapping it, it is worth nobody's while to make a plantation, though no doubt a few acres, just what he can tap, will always help a farmer along."

H. Weinman writing about agricultural research and development from 1890 to 1923 states:

"In spite of Swynnerton's enthusiastic efforts, the rubber industry died an early death, one of the main reasons at least being labour difficulties. It appears that Swynnerton discontinued his rubber experiments some time after 1908." Certainly when agricultural assistant J.A.T. Walters visited Swynnerton's farm in 1919 there was no evidence of any rubber plantations.

He also experimented with coffee and in 1904 reported that coffee growing was a success in the Chimanimani district where by 1909 twenty farmers, though hampered by lack of capital, were producing and marketing good coffee from a total of 40 000 trees. Difficulties were experienced with insects and coffee leaf disease and Government provided funds for him to conduct experiments with sprays to combat the leaf disease. He submitted a useful report on his findings but concluded that although Bordeaux mixture was reasonably successful "a resistant type of coffee offered a better solution of this problem in the district." Two wild species of coffee were found in the area.

Swynnerton encouraged the planting of forest trees in the district, particularly eucalyptus and conifers, and studied the effect of grass fires on the local trees and shrubs and on the dense forests of the Mount Selinda area.

Although he found that a number of species were not suitable for afforestation

purposes because of their slow growth, experimental plantings of Red Mahogany, and Chirinda Redwood were promising. He also introduced the Quinine tree into the area.

R.W. Jack recalls that the forest was Swynnerton's great hobby and he treated it like a favoured child. He preferred to call it by its Chindao name Chirinda rather than Selinda. Whilst he lived at Gungunyana the portion of the forest which fell within the farm boundary was kept as a nature sanctuary.

He never attempted to exploit its timber and was even reluctant to allow trees which were past their prime to be felled. His objective at all times was to keep nature unspoiled by the hand of man. He did, however, interfere with natural processes by attempting to check the damage caused by the parasitic fig which strangles and destroys so many of the fine forest trees.

G.M. McGregor, formerly Director of Forestry, recalls that Swynnerton used to say that the finest sight he had ever seen was Chirinda forest in the spring when *Craibia brevicaudata* was in flower.

Tsetse

In 1918 two significant events occurred which set Swynnerton on the path of his life's work. Early in the year the Government commissioned him to investigate the problem of disease caused by tsetse flies, cases of which had been occurring on farms, including Gungunyana, in the Chipinge district near the international border with Mozambique since 1914.

Later in the same year he accepted a commission from the Mozambique Administration to examine the distribution and habits of tsetse fly in the Mosurize district where a herd of cattle belonging to the Administration had suffered heavy losses from nagana, which is the name given to any form of trypanosomiasis of animals, whereas sleeping sickness is the trypanosomiasis of human beings. He was engaged in this study for three months, whereafter he submitted his report to the Administration.

R.W. Jack summarizes the significance of this early tsetse work —

"Swynnerton brought a fresh mind and to a large extent a new method to the study of the tsetse fly problem. His extensive knowledge of the natural history of the country was unique and he had already interested himself greatly in ecology. In his own words he had been preparing unconsciously for fifteen years for this type of investigation. He set to work to study the distribution and density of the various species of tsetse flies in relation to the vegetation which sheltered them, and the paper published in 1921 contained a wealth of interesting and valuable observations."

Meanwhile the scourage of tsetse fly, particularly in most of the countries in tropical Africa, had become a very serious problem and a matter of considerable concern to the Colonial Office.

It was not surprising, therefore, that Swynnerton accepted an appointment in 1919 as first Game Warden of Tanganika Territory with special instructions to make a study of the tsetse problem. For the next ten years he devoted his boundless energy and enthusiasm to this study. He gathered together a team of scientists and other workers to assist him, and in 1928 the Government established a Department of Tsetse Reclamation and Research and appointed Swynnerton as Director. Needless to say, the principal aim of the research was to discover methods of eliminating and controlling tsetse flies, and Swynnerton and his

C.F.M. Swynnerton, 1932

team did tremendous work and achieved considerable success in this regard, although the struggle continued after his death and to some extent the campaign is being fought to this day.

The results of the research by Swynnerton and his team were published in 1936 in the transactions of the Royal Entomological Society under the title The Tsetse Flies of East Africa by C.F.M. Swynnerton. This is an imposing, impressive and comprehensive account in 579 pages of the state of knowledge up to 1936 in regard to the problem of tsetse fly in East Africa. Not suprisingly *Glossina swynnertoni*, an East African species of tsetse fly, was named after him.

In Man Against Tsetse (1973) John J. McKelvey states —

"The story of the struggle in Africa to overcome the tsetse fly and the diseases it transmits is one of the major epics of man's history; the identification and study of the fly, the discovery of its links to disease in men and animals, the unravelling of how it works, its damage and the campaigns against both the fly and the diseases, form major segments of the tale."

He makes numerous references to Swynnerton and his contribution and refers to him as "One of the most remarkable men white or black that Africa has ever known, Swynnerton spent a lifetime waging a war of harrassment against the tsetse."

He sums up by saying of Swynnerton's tsetse work during the period 1920 to 1938, "Swynnerton's methods and his programs — for example discriminative clearing and putting human population pressures against those of the fly — had a wide and lasting impact on tsetse fly control and eradication programs in Africa."

Mr W.H. Potts, who was Senior Entomologist in the Tanganyika Department of Tsetse research when Swynnerton was Director, writes (Excelsa No. 6, 1976) that it was Swynnerton who recognised that, in order to control the tsetse, a comprehensive study of the ecology of the fly was needed, so that attempts at its control could be based not only on

a knowledge of its habits (a good beginning on which had already been made), but also of its relations with its enviroment, both physical and animate. So when he was charged with initiating and organising work to control the tsetse in Tanganyika Territory, his first step was to gather together a body of workers qualified to investigate not only the fly itself, but also its relations with the animals with which it lives and with the environment, particularly the vegetative part, in which it flourishes.

Potts recalls his first meeting with Swynnerton: While I was waiting in London to sail for Africa to join Rupert Jack's Entomological Division of the Agricultural Department in Salisbury I received a telegram from Swynnerton asking me to meet him "by the elephant in the London Natural History Museum." There he asked me if I would like to join him instead in his campaign against the tsetse fly, warning me that this would involve me living for most of the time, at any rate at the start, under canvas and on the move, but promising plenty of big game hunting. As I had just finished assisting Professor Newstead, in company with his senior lecturer Miss Evans, in the producion of his classic work on the tsetse fly, I at once said that I would like nothing more than to accept this, if he could get my release from my commitment to Jack. Knowing as he did, personally, the High Commissioner in London, Swynnerton at once set about trying to arrange this, with the result that in due time I found myself in Tanganyika instead of in Rhodesia, and this was a step I have never regretted.

Swynnerton's qualities as a leader may, Potts continues, be judged by the fact that of the twenty of more people he had selected for his team at various times, not more than three, or four at the most, failed to come back for a second tour, and the majority either continued in his department permanently or departed to organise tsetse work elsewhere in tropical Africa, only a few transferring to other departments, generally to end high in the Colonial Service. It can also be said with some justice that all the work carried out currently against the tsetse fly stems from the ecological basis that Swynnerton established for he insisted that the tsetse problem should not be approached from a narrowly entomological point of view and that it was essential to study the whole environment of the fly and it relations thereto, so that measures against the fly could be based on this knowledge. To this end, his team included individuals with experience of a wide range of biological subjects. Another original aspect of Swynnerton's approach to the problem was that he insisted that these subjects should be carried out *pari passu* with small scale attempts at control of the fly based on existing knowledge of its habits and requirements, by a separate part of his organisation. Thus, current methods of control today comprise attempts to alter the environment of the tsetse so that it can no longer support the existence of the fly, either by alteration of the natural shelters and refuges or by interference with its food supply, as well as, or supplementing, direct attack on the insects with chemicals. Even this second line of attack is almost invariably applied discriminately, the insecticide applications being limited to those parts of the habitat found to be most used by the fly, and particularly to those affording it refuge during the most adverse seasons of the year.

Potts adds that "a further aspect of Swynnerton's personality that deserves mention is his success in choosing suitable assistants, for as has already been said, he seldom selected one that proved inadequate. In fact, almost every one of the colleagues with whom I was associated during my period in his department proved not only a sound and able worker but also a congenial companion, a factor of some importance in life involved in association in a small community."

**C.F.M. Swynnerton, C.M.G., F.L.S.,
at Gungunyana Farm, 1937**

Like most men of his calibre, Swynnerton was essentially a modest man. When Austen, of the Natural History Museum of London, described a tsetse fly, a specimen of which had been sent to him by Swynnerton, he named the fly after Swynnerton, the latter being upset, because he had wanted it to be named after his head African assistant, who had actually drawn his attention to the fact that the fly looked different from the usual ones they had been catching; it is, however, possibly just as well that he had not made this wish clear to Austen, for this would have involved calling the fly "Swedii", a name that would have been a little awkward to pronounce with the doubled "i" at the end.

Potts sums up by stating that Swynnerton is to be remembered not only as an outstanding naturalist, but also a man of wide interests and human sympathy and charm,

as well as being the man who played a major part in laying the foundations on which current methods of control of the tsetse are based to this day.

Plants

Swynnerton's extensive collections were sent to England for study and the results were recorded in a paper which was read to the Linnean Society on 2nd June, 1910 and published, with notes by Swynnerton, in the journal of that Society in 1911 and 1912.

The plant specimens which formed the subject of the paper were presented by Swynnerton to the British Museum and representative sets were also distributed to the herbaria at Kew and Berlin.

The collections were made chiefly in the high country which forms the boundary between Zimbabwe and Mozambique; Swynnerton also collected in the lower lying country within the Mozambique boundaries especially in the Madanda forest and along the Buzi River which enters the Indian Ocean opposite Beira.

Birds

Swynnerton is well known for his outstanding ornithological work conducted between 1898 and 1919. Richard Brooke in the *Honeyguide* (No. 56, 1968) recalls that Swynnerton published various papers on the birds of Gazaland, on eggs and nests in Gazaland; on the significance of the colours of birds' eggs and mouths; on rejection of eggs unlike nest owners; and on mixed bird parties. His papers contain many notes on stomach contents, particularly in insectivorous birds. His Gazaland bird collections were sent to the British Museum (Natual History) and contained many forms new to science, of which a new genus and several species were named after Swynnerton.

In a personal communication to the author, H.E. Hornby of Chegutu who was formerly Director of Veterinary Research in Tanganiyka states —

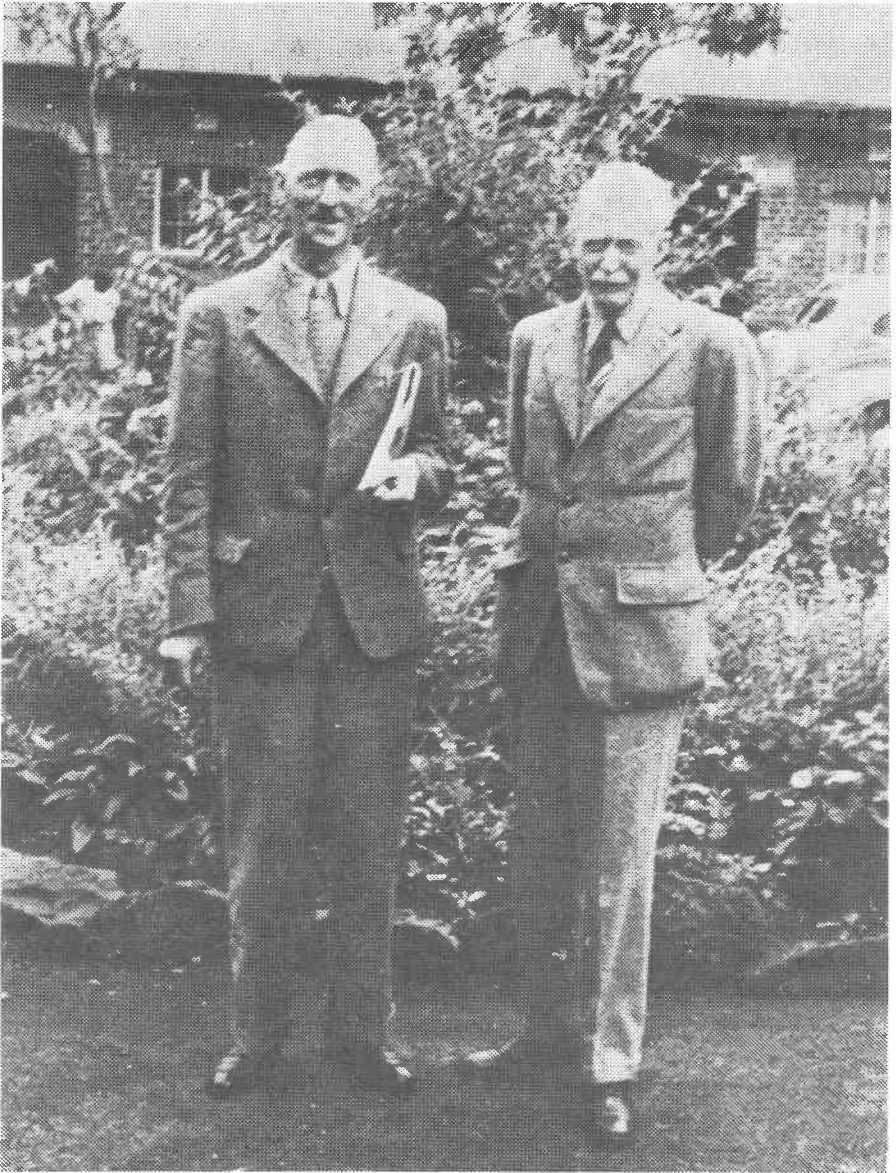
"During my recent years of retirement I have been pursuing bird studies and I am frequently coming across references to Swynnerton's original observations of nature. One of these is in a recent book (Ecological Genetics and Evolution) in which the author writes

"In order to appreciate the role of avian eyesight in determining aposematic form and colouring you have to live, like Swynnerton, with birds as companions rather than experimental animals. This is a slight weakness I shared with this superb naturalist and I can claim, like he did, to have watched our captive birds eat not hundreds but thousands of insects. Swynnerton was the first to record vomiting in birds following ingestion of Danaids and noted the different effect on those with a full stomach. He was also the first to record warning signals by experienced birds when they suddenly caught sight of aposematic butterflies, and the attempt on the part of the parent birds to dissuade their young from eating aposematic prey."

H.E. Hornby adds "I think the term 'superb naturalist' is Swynnerton's most fitting title and one that he would greatly appreciate."

Butterflies

With the Reverend J. O'Neil Swynnerton carried out preliminary studies on the butterfly fauna and two species and one genus of butterfly which he discovered were named after him.



C.F.M. Swynnerton and H. Harrison outside Norfolk Hotel, Nairobi in May 1938

Zoologist

While in Tanganyika Swynnerton prepared and published a most useful checklist of the land mammals of Tanganyika.

As a person

Whether or not a man may be said to have been a good man usually depends on the esteem in which he is held by other people and their recollections of him. The author has received a number of personal communications from those who knew him and the extracts which appear below speak for themselves.

Professor J.F.V. Phillips refers to him as kindly, lovable, keen, energetic, capable, generous, unselfish, and always ready to help men, good causes and those interested in nature. Mrs M.E. Myers whose husband managed Gungunyana farm for several years describes him as a very straight-forward and likeable person — a typical English gentleman.

R.W. Jack referred to his personality in the following terms: "Swynnerton was gifted with a most attractive personality and won the affection of all with whom he came into intimate contact. Many examples of his kindly thought for others could be given. If he loved wild things he also loved his fellow man. His bearing had a touch of old world courtesy which is not universal in modern society."

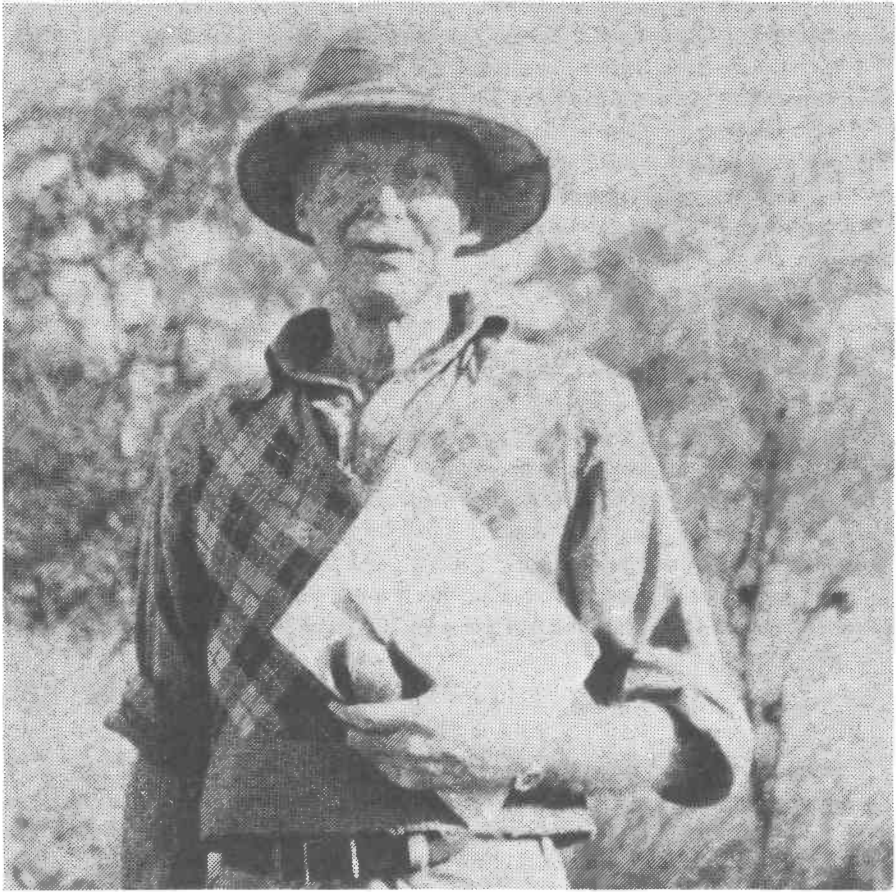
Mrs Esme Napier Bax mentions that he was sensitive and shy but enjoyed a joke and was good company and thrilling to listen to when talking about one of his interests.

H.E. Hornby remembers Swynnerton as a good and gentle man loved by people of all races, utterly dedicated to a goal that could only be achieved if he gave his whole life to the subject. He adds a reference to Swynnerton's great propensity for work and recalls that when they were travelling together on the same ship, Swynnerton seemed to spend nearly all his time at a typewriter reducing voluminous notes to an order suitable for inclusion in his book; he found him similarly occupied sitting up in bed in hospital on one of the rare occasions when he was ill.

With regard to his propensity for hard work and his habit of surfacing from time to time to participate in more mundane pursuits, Mrs Esme Napier Bax tells the story of a voyage to England during which Swynnerton remained at work in his cabin unseen by other passengers until the night of the fancy dress ball when he borrowed a lascar's uniform, coloured himself thoroughly and then appeared carrying an entree dish which he brought up to the captain whose arm he proceeded to joggle. The captain became furious but still Swynnerton continued and only revealed himself as a passenger in fancy dress when the headwaiter was summoned by the angry captain. She also recalls how, when invited to participate in a word game after dinner, he would invariably say "I really must *not* stop, I will just take a hand or two and I know you will excuse me as I have so much work waiting for me." He would then become quite absorbed in the game, enjoying the home-made candy, and drinks, and would stay to the very end, even suggesting another round.

Honours

He was made a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in the Honours List on the occasion of the coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth on the 12th May 1937, in recognition of the tremendous contribution which he made in the field of tsetse reclamation and research.



C.F.M. Swynnerton, C.M.G., F.L.S.

Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe

Death

He died on the 8th June, 1938, when an aeroplane in which he was travelling to Dar es Salaam to receive the C.M.G. award from the Governor of Tanganyika crashed in remote country near Mjari, Mponde Mbuga, in the Singida district of Tanganyika. The other occupants of the aeroplane, the botanist B.D. Burtt, who was found with note book and pencil in hand, and the pilot Mervyn Bawden of Wilson Airways, a subsidiary of Imperial Airways, were also killed. The precise cause of the crash was never ascertained. At the inquest it was found that there was no fault in the aeroplane itself. It was possible that the aircraft was caught by a strong air current as it flew over an escarpment near Singida. On the other hand, Swynnerton had a reputation for low flying to enable observations to be made and recorded of vegetation and game.

Swynnerton was buried alongside a large outcrop in Shinyanga Kopje which overlooks part of the vast area of Tanganyika in which he worked for nearly twenty years. The grave has a great natural headstone and a bronze plaque bears the words *Si Monumentum Requires Circumspice.*

Burtt was also buried on the kopje and specimens of aloes and other succulents were taken from his garden and planted on the kopje.

Swynnerton was survived by his three sons, Roger, Gerald and Brian, and by his wife Norah who lived in England until her death in 1963 at the age of 87.

Memorial

During 1940 the Council of the Scientific Association voted the sum of £25 for the erection of a memorial to the late C.F.M. Swynnerton. Members of the Association were invited to send in sketch designs and suggestions and the design submitted by R.G.B. Wilson was finally accepted as being the most suitable. Wilson prepared the working drawings and construction of the sandstone memorial was completed at the end 1940 by masons from the Mount Selinda Mission. A suitably inscribed bronze plaque appears in a conspicuous position on the memorial.

The memorial still exists today in the heart of the magnificent forest where Swynnerton spent so much of his time between 1900 and 1919 and which he loved so devotedly.

Sons

Roger Swynnerton the eldest son, served in the Colonial Agricultural Service in Tanganyika from 1934 to 1950 with interludes during service with the King's African Rifles from 1939 to 1942, and on special agricultural duty in Malta during 1943. He served in Kenya from 1951 becoming Director of Agriculture in 1956 and Permanent Secretary for Agriculture in 1960. Since 1962 he was Agricultural Adviser to the Commonwealth Development Corporation. In 1953 he prepared a plan to intensify the development of African agriculture, which became known as the Swynnerton Plan, and in 1961 he was a member of Professor J.F.V. Phillips' Advisory Committee on Development of the Economic Resources of Southern Rhodesia. Like his father, he was made a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in recognition of his services.

Gerald Swynnerton also served in the Colonial Service in Tanganyika from 1938 until his death in 1959. He joined the Game Department, which his father had founded in 1919, and subsequently became Chief Game Warden. He served in the East African forces during the Second World War and was the author of a number of papers on game identification and ecology.

Brian Swynnerton the youngest son qualified as a doctor and served as a consultant physician in gastro-enterology at a hospital in England. He served in North Africa and Italy during the Second World War and wrote a key to the birds of East Africa while staying with his father in Tanganyika after leaving school and before entering University.

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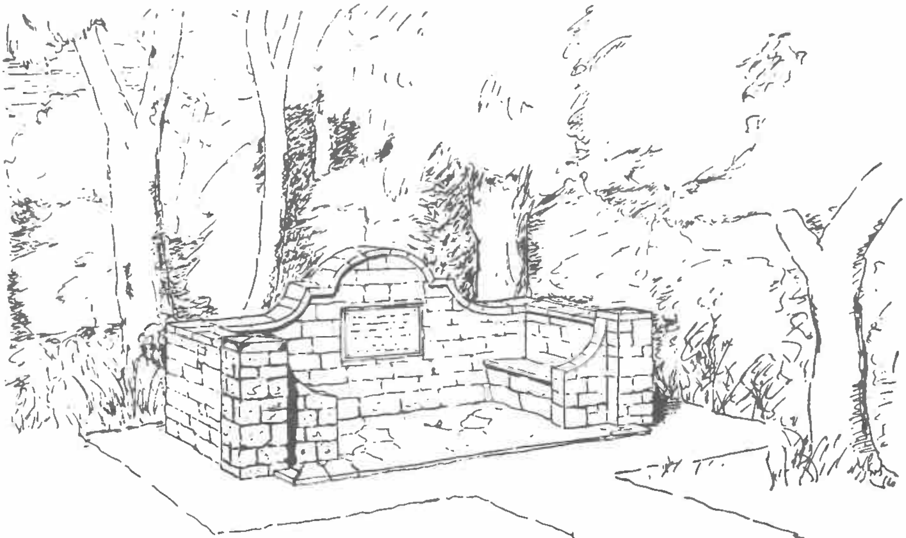

"Swynnerton Memorial Erected in Mount Silinda Forest near the Mission."

Sketch of Swynnerton Memorial

Early Matabele Settlements in Esigodini District

by

C.K. Cooke

Introduction

Gibixegu has appeared on the maps of Bulawayo and surrounding areas for many years, but not always at the same locality.

One day whilst flying between Bulawayo and Harare I read an article in *In Flight* in which it was claimed Gibixegu was the original name of Lobengula's Bulawayo on Sauerdale Farm.

Shortly after reading this article I heard a television interview in which Senator Chief Ndiweni claimed that his forbear Ngundwane Ndiweni established his first town near the Mulungwane Hills in the Esigodini district, naming it Gibixegu. This statement negates the general belief that he settled at Dombo re Mambo (now Nthabayezinduna) the hill to which the divided parties of Matabele were directed by Dr Robert Moffat. Dr Moffat had suggested to Lobengula a movement to north of the Limpopo river during a visit in 1829 to Marico (now Zeerust). The Mulungwane Hills lie approximately sixty kilometres as the crow flies from Dombo re Mambo.

Much of this information was gleaned from the late Mr J.P. Richardson and elderly Africans residing in the district during 1940–42. At that time I was collecting information for a history of the Essexvale (Esigodini) district, the manuscripts were subsequently lost and the names of the informants with them.

Discussion

Tshaka the paramount leader of the Zulu nation in Zululand was concerned by the large number of old men no longer fit for military service, but requiring food and shelter. He invited these "Old Contemptibles" to muster before him at his Bulawayo headquarters, and then conferred the honour of a soldier's grave on them. The young bloods thought this was the most hilarious event they had seen or taken part in. To commemorate the old soldiers Tshaka nicknamed the town Gibixegu (There where the old men were picked out and thrown away). When a new town was built across the valley in 1826 it was known only as Bulawayo. (T. Maggs. pers. comm.).

About 1822 Mziligazi was named head of the Khumalo clan and allowed to build his homestead some distance from Gibixegu. After a number of successful raids on neighbours he refused to hand the booty to Tshaka and therefore had to flee the country (T. Maggs, pers. comm.).

During 1829 after a very hazardous journey he settled for some time at Marico, here he was visited by Dr Robert Moffat who advised him to take his people northwards to the fertile and virtually unoccupied country north of the Limpopo river. After a serious defeat

at Gabeni during 1837 he decided to take Moffat's advice. He therefore divided his people into two groups, one under Ngundwane Ndiweni to go directly to Dombo re Mambo (Nthabayezinduna) a hill a few miles outside the present city of Bulawayo, to be joined later by the party under Mziligazi travelling by a different route. A description of Mziligazi's wanderings are given later.

Ngundwane Ndiweni crossed the Limpopo river and proceeded northwards following the Mzingwane river. However, according to his descendant Chief Ndiweni, he (Ngundwane) did not reach Dombo re Mambo but settled near the Mulungwane hills adjacent to the Mzingwane river naming the settlement Gibixegu. Chief Ndiweni also stated that his ancestor Ngundwane is buried near the site of the old town.

The original wagon track from the south crossed the Mzingwane river not far from its confluence with the Inyankuni river then branched northwards along the southern side of the hills towards the Blue hills (J.P. Richardson per. comm). There is evidence of a large settlement near the Mulungwane hills adjacent to this road. Beads and other artefacts of the correct date were collected from this site by Mrs J.P. Richardson and examined by me. They can no longer be located in the museum's collections. This may well be the site of Gibixegu.

After crossing the Nata river, Mziligazi and his follows rested for about four months, then marched towards Zanke (Hwange) possibly because of misdirection: the stone buildings at Bumbuzi are also associated with Mambo. He returned to the Nata river near the Zibalungwe pan where a semi-permanent base was occupied for a year to enable crops to be planted and reaped. A regiment named Ndutswa was left there. The old cultivated lands were still visible in 1971. The nearby Mbulane store is probably named after Mabulana Ndhlovu who commanded the regiment. The information was obtained from Matonsi Ndhlovu, a grandson of Mabulana who was still alive in 1971. After further wandering Mziligazi founded Sivume village near the present settlement of Nyamandhlovu; here he stayed for four months (Cooke, O.P. pers. comm).

Mziligazi was moving towards the source of the Kame river, when it is said he was informed that Nkulumane had been made King by his (Mziligazi's) maternal uncle Nkionjwana assisted by Ngundwane Ndiweni, and that he should go no further. The coronation never took place, indeed Ngundwane had sent messengers to locate the King as he did not wish to take precipitate action. Mziligazi proceeded to Ngundwane's town Gibixegu.

At this point there are many accounts of what happened and many theories put forward.

It has been stated that Nkulumane had been secretly sent to Zululand, that his mother had had him hidden at a village near Mt. Thabayezinduna but had taken him elsewhere, also that he had been killed at the order of Mziligazi.

Taking these in order, it seems most unlikely he would have been sent through hostile country to Zululand where no Matabele would be a welcome guest. From correspondence quoted later the other two suggestions combined would seem to be the correct answer.

Early accounts state that both Ngundwane and Nkonjwana were taken to Ntabanende about 35 kilometres from the Mulungwane hills and strangled (Richardson, J.P. pers. comm). The present Chief Ndiweni discounts this stating that his ancestor died a natural death and is buried near Gibixegu.

Lobengula and his step-mother were allowed to live (Lobengula's mother died at

Marico). The history of Lobengula's life (Posselt, 1945) and his death (Cooke, C.K. 1970) have been fully dealt with elsewhere.

There is no record as the length of Mziligazi's stay at or near Gibixegu, however, he returned to Sivume, afterwards building a town at Mbuyazwi in the same district (Cooke, O.P. pers. comm). During 1840 he settled on the fringes of the Matopo hills, where he built his town Mhlahlandhlela, the regiment of that name (the Pathfinders) and the Nyathi regiment were based there. He died on the 5th September 1868 at Emanxiweni the home of his favourite wife. His body was removed overnight to Mhlahlandhlela where it lay in state for two months. He was buried at Ntumbane (a name imported from Zululand) on 2nd November 1868.

After the death of Mziligazi the question of succession was of paramount importance. Envoys were sent south in an endeavour to locate Nkulumane, but this was an abortive exercise. Lobengula was elected King but was not accepted readily by some factions.

Lobengula in a letter to the Lieutenant Governor of Natal said "It was however found that Kuruman was not there (Intaba Isinduna, his spelling) but at the kraal of Zwang Endaba and my father sent a Basuto named Gwabaiiyo to call him, he came with his servant Gwalema, Gwalema not suspecting danger, and Umziligaz ordered the Basuto to take him out and kill him . . . . Now when the witnesses Gwabaiiyo and Gwalema were called before the Council of the Nation in August 1869, Gwabaiiyo said the King's orders ot him were 'You must not stab him with an assegai, you must not strangle him with a riem, you must not bruise him with a kerry, but you must take his head in your own hands and kill him by twisting his neck so as to dislocate it' and he said he killed him according to these orders". This letter was written from the Umzingwane river, Matabeleland on 19th August 1871.

An earlier letter written to Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs Pietermaritzburg, Natal on 24th April 1871 was from D.M. Krisch at Kibixegu, Amandebele Country.

A letter from Lobengula — King of the Matabele to Machen — Chief of the Bamangwato dated 2nd May 1870 was also from Kibi Klecklo (Gibixegu) near the King's Kraal (Posselt, F.W.T. 1923).

The object is not to discuss the pros and cons of the succession, but an endeavour to establish the whereabouts of the first settlement in Matabeleland and the whereabouts of Lobengula's town prior to the building of Bulawayo on Sauersdale Farm which was started during 1870 (Finaughty 1916): no date of occupation by Lobengula can be located.

Conclusions

There seems to be no doubt that neither Mziligazi nor Ngundwane Ndiweni ever settled at Nthabayezinduna. It is suggested (J.P. Richardson pers. comm.) that the only visit paid by the King to that hill was to view the lie of the land for the disposition of his army. The Amahlope regiments under Magqekeni were sent to Nyamandhlovu — Bululima area and the Amanyama to the north including the Nyathi area.

It seems certain that Nkulumane was disposed of on the orders of his father.

The fact that letters addressed from the Mzingwane river and Gibixegu near the King's kraal refer to a site adjacent to the Mulungwane hills in the Esigodini district points

to the conclusion that Lobengula lived in this district at the time and shortly after his succession. The site of Bulawayo on Sauerdale Farm is 49 kilometres from the Mulungwane hills. It is very doubtful if this site was ever called Gibixegu.

Exactly where Lobengula lived has not been established. It is known that he and his step-mother lived for some time on Komani Farm approximately 10 km from the site of Gibixegu (J.P. Richardson, pers. comm). Beads and other artefacts of the correct period have been found there.

Because of the distances involved this seems to be the site referred to as King's kraal near to Kibi Klecko (gibixegu).

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Note:

J.P. Richardson was one of the early members of the Internal Affairs Department at the turn of the century. He was born in Natal, a fluent Zulu/Ndebele linguist known to the Matabele as *Mehlogazulu* (the eyes of us all). Much of his information was gleaned from a blind Matabele who was one of the Amandebele tribal historians.

O.P. Cooke, son of the author, was a clerk in the same Department, born in Bulawayo and stationed in the Nyamandlovu/Tjolotjo districts.

F.W.T. Posselt was an early member of the same Department and a fluent speaker of both Ndebele and Shona. Like Richardson he also spoke Zulu first.

Fables of The Veldt

by Colin W.H. Loades

This journal has hitherto confined its activities to recording what were, to the best of our knowledge, facts of historic interest. There does exist, however, a fund of folklore: stories that have circulated in rural areas which may or may not be true, and which I have collected and propose to record for the benefit of posterity. Should any reader know of such legends I would be pleased to be advised and, if considered suitable, they will be submitted for publication.

As the stories **may** be true, and as the participants **may** still be alive, there will be vagueness as to the venue of the events recorded. In fact, I suggest that all the items recorded be taken as preceeded by the words 'Once Upon a Time' in the best tradition of fairytales.

Pot Luck

A dignitary of the Church — it may have been a Bishop — was visiting a remote area as part of his ecclesiastical duties — it may have been to open a new mission station or to administer a first Holy Communion. It was arranged that he would be accommodated for a night by the local District Commissioner. In those days there was no electric light or indoor sanitation and the 'facilities' were situated at the bottom of the garden. The D.C.'s wife, realising that the urban-based dignitary would be unused to such primitive conditions conferred with other families on the station and solved the problem by borrowing a bedroom utensil from a member with a small family and installed it under the bed in the guest room.

All went well until the following morning when the host and hostess were bidding farewell to their guest outside the house. Then the conscientious house servant inspected the bedroom to make sure that nothing had been left behind, noticed the alien chamber pot, and presumed it was part of the holy man's equipment that had been overlooked. He rushed out with the article in his hand, saying words to the effect that 'The inkoss has left this behind'.

Going Through the Motions

It was customary for certain government offices to keep stocks of revenue stamps, many of high denomination, that had to be affixed to certain documents for stamp duty. Junior Clerks were responsible for the custody and sale of these stamps and were required to meet any shortfall in the stamp account from their own resources. One such shortfall occurred in respect of a £25 revenue stamp. The resourceful clerk concerned explained that, as he was licking the stamp prior to sticking it on the document, someone made him laugh and he swallowed the stamp. In his report he stated 'all efforts to recover the stamp have been unsuccessful'. It is believed that the correspondence in this matter was an inch (2,54cm) deep before authority was forthcoming to write off the £25.

A Marriage of Convenience

In the days before World War II wild life abounded in many districts and it was popular for visitors from town to spend the various long weekends as guests of district officials to see what Africa was really like. Lady guests were particularly welcome on these occasions. This was before the days of the permissive society and, on one such occasion, no doubt inflamed by lust and liquor, the Assistant District Commissioner made certain suggestions that may well have been perfectly acceptable today but were summarily rejected in those puritan times. 'No, no' said the fair young maiden, 'Nothing like **that** unless we are married'. 'In that case' said the gallant ADC 'Come across to the office and I will marry us'. And so it came to pass! And the next day, the page was torn out of the marriage register and other documentary evidence destroyed, and honour was satisfied.

Slaves to Fashion

The 'New Look' was one of the ridiculous variations of female fashion that preceded the mini skirt by some 20 odd years. Fashion then dictated that the hem of the skirt be half way between knee and ankle. The Governor and his wife were visiting an out-station to make a presentation to the local branch of the Women's Institute. All the ladies of the district were lined up to be presented. Now the wife of a poor policeman (all policemen were poor in those days) had not been able to acquire a 'New Look' wardrobe. However, she had a two piece suit and concluded that if she buttoned up the jacket and pulled the skirt down over her hips, she would pass muster as being fashionably attired. But, disaster! As H.E.'s lady approached, the skirt fell down around her ankles! The other ladies rallied round and encircled her while the skirt was hastily adjusted with the help of a large safety-pin.

While on the subject of feminine fashion, there is a tale of the housewife who was expecting an important visitor and who instructed her garden worker, who, dresswise, favoured a mealie sack with holes for head and arms, to smarten his appearance during the guest's visit. Soon after she was horrified to see him at work among the roses wearing a pair of camiknickers which she had long ago discarded and he had apparently salvaged.

Note: Our fashion consultant, Ms E V Pirie, advises that cami-knickers are a form of one-piece of female underwear, usually of satin and copiously decorated with lace, long since fallen into disuse.

Extracts from Kariba Cats and Cases

This seems an appropriate place to include two extracts from a privately printed book by Rowan Cashel entitled Kariba Cats and Cases.

Bursting at the Seams and Red Faces at the Treasury

One sparkling morning in the spring of 1931 at Fort Rixon, S. Rhodesia, we had forgathered on the waist-high stoep of our old, shabby brick-under iron offices which served as headquarters for the Native Commissioner of the Insiza district. Below, a bronzed trooper of the British South Africa Police cranked his motor-cycle with a mighty thrust of the boot, engaged gears, and roared off leaving a cloud of swirling, ochrous dust.

As we turned to resume our duties, Mr. G.G.B. Woods, our Chief, ruefully drew our attention to the passing of yet another of our much cherished perquisites.

Earlier that morning, under the vigilant eye of the Police Officer, we had counted the revenue takings and completed the relevant bank deposit forms in the sum of £900 (a small fortune in those far-off days). This amount, comprising gold and silver, was packed into bank linen bags, sealed and stowed into the leather side-bags of the vehicle, and was now in the process of being conveyed by the member of the august Force to the Standard Bank of S.A. Ltd., Bulawayo, some fifty-four miles away.

Before leaving, the young trooper had casually mentioned that he intended making a break for tea en route at the Bembezi Police Camp, just half way to his destination. Barely three-quarters of an hour later the telephone rang shrilly when the Member-in-charge of that station, obviously in a state of near-panic, demanded immediate speech with the Native Commissioner, adding ominously that the matter was one of the utmost urgency.

"What the devil's gone wrong now?" I muttered as I quickly made the connexion.

Seconds later the N.C., grimfaced, bustled into my office with staggering news that on arrival at the Bembezi Police Depôt not a penny-piece remained in the side-bags — their seams, due to the excessive weight of the bullion and execrable road conditions — had parted company, precipitating their precious contents onto the road below. Now, the Native Commissioner with the entire Police Force, and a dozen messengers began a feverish search of the road to Bembezi, but to no avail, for not a sou was recovered. Not unlikely a foot-weary African pedestrian had stumbled on the booty lying willy-nilly along the roadside; how his eyes must have boggled at the sight of his find — enough to provide a life of luxury to the end of his days and, perhaps, the acquisition of yet another wife!

Of course wherever possible Treasury regulations were improvised to cut down expenditure to a minimum as the Nineteen-thirties were bleak days for Southern Rhodesia when the world-wide depression was at its peak, and the local Exchequer in a sorry state (in 1930 the total annual Budget was a mere one and a half million pounds!). Up to now Native Commissioners, often located a hundred miles from their nearest shopping centres, were authorised to use their private cars for the conveyance of Government funds to the banks, receiving a tariff called 'mileage' for their services. Taking advantage of these semi-official trips, they took the opportunity of doing their personal shopping as well. The system had worked without a hitch for years to the mutual benefit of both parties, but now some perspicacious Treasury official had stumbled on the idea that money was to be saved by employing Police motor-cyclists instead at about half the cost.

Afterwards, when the hue and cry had subsided, Jocelyn Cramer, the Senior Clerk, and I spent a few minutes calculating the additional 'mileage' involved. We estimated that the N.C. had motored no less than twice the return journey to Bulawayo — of course, at the current rate of 7d. per mile! In addition, the Police had travelled hundreds of wearisome miles by motorcycle, bicycle and on foot. Fortunately the loss of the money was covered by insurance. I end the account on a happy note to the effect that the Treasury took the matter to heart to the extent that they dropped the new regulations like a hot potato.

Does Crime Pay?

To mention another perplexing character, an old fellow well in his seventies was convicted and gaoled for stock theft. Whilst in tronk he was employed on light duties at The Gwasha where he proved to be both reliable and hardworking. A few weeks before his

release, however, to the utter astonishment of the African warder, he escaped from custody. As soon as practicable Dick Plowden, a member of my staff, who acted as Lock-up Keeper, gave chase by motor-car, making a bee-line for the prisoner's home on the assumption that a homing-pigeon invariably returns to its cote. He spent a wearisome day searching high and low in rough, mountainous country and at long last located the old sinner perched on a crag, overlooking a sheer fall of some hundreds of feet. As he was being approached, he gestured towards the awful abyss below, and bellowed,

"If you come a step nearer, I shall throw myself down there!"

The modus operandi was as sensational as it was unexpected, so for the moment the stock rustler held all four aces firmly in the palm of his hand. Entreaty and parleying was like throwing pearls before swine for the old rogue was in no mood to budge an inch.

As the light was fading, the harassed Dick reluctantly returned to Head-quarters for a well earned drink and meal. At daybreak next morning he was back at the prisoner's kraal, where he found the truant completely placated and apparently at peace with the world. He was, in fact, awaiting arrest, which was effected without fuss or bother.

At the subsequent trial for escaping from custody, the old man refused to give an explanation for his capricious behaviour. In due course he was released from gaol, having served an additional term of imprisonment for his apparent foolishness. Only then was the conundrum solved. It appeared that on the preceding visiting Sunday before his escape a relative had whispered very disturbing news into our worthy's ear — to the effect that an accomplice had not only discovered the probable whereabouts of the cache (proceeds of his many stock-rustling escapades, no doubt), but was now on the point of making an exploratory raid. Not a minute, therefore, must be lost in returning home, retrieving the booty and hiding it anew . . ., and to hell with the consequences!

Quite clearly then, when the Lock-up Keeper had first caught sight of him, he'd neither the time nor opportunity of attending to this pressing business. Doubtless this was duly carried out under cover of darkness that very night. Thus, having set his affairs aright, his return to captivity next morning was a matter of complete indifference to him.

THE POULTRY INDUSTRY – 1914 to 1968

by G.H. Cooper

Prior to 1914 there were apparently only a handful of commercial poultry breeders as such. However, from then on most general farmers kept some poultry as a profitable sideline, though the business was hazardous due to predators, theft, disease and fowl ticks (*Argas perseices*) which were prevalent in indigenous stock.

It is of interest to note here that amongst the indigenous stock there were an appreciable number of "naked-neck" birds particularly in Manicaland. They were more prevalent in Mozambique and it is surmized they had been introduced by Arab traders many years before. The "naked-neck" factor is a dominant gene and hence had survived over the years. It is supposed to have originated in Transylvania.

With the appointment of the first Poultry Officer (he was called Expert) Dr. Arthur Little in 1914 to the department of Agriculture, development took place rapidly in the next few years due to advice on better housing, feeding and management.

Stock was imported mainly from South Africa but also from Britain. White Leghorns were probably the most numerous, but Rhode Island Reds, Anconas, Orpingtons and Plymouth Rocks were introduced. Later when the Black Australorp was introduced from Australia it became very popular as a dual purpose breed here also.

Dr. Little spent a great deal of time on extension work tavelling the country in a mule cart advising farmers and encouraging all aspects of poultry production.

An Egg Laying Compeititon was started soon after his appointment in 1914 and ran annually in one form or another right through to about 1970. It was supported by most breeders who were specialising in poultry from all areas.

A scheme to test production of stock on farms called the Breeders Register was started about 1922/24 in which pullets for production were trapnested on the farm and from which stock for breeding was selected. In 1924 Mr. H.G. Wheeldon was appointed Assistant. Poultry Officer to assist in the development taking place as an Egg Circle had also been started.

Up to this time most farmers bred their own replacement stock but with the introduction of "Mammoth" incubators, the trade in day old chicks was possible. This developed quickly and exports to Northern Rhodesia were regular and increasing. The Egg Circle had also not been idle and had advanced to a stage when eggs were in surplus. Eggs were exported to Northern Rhodesia and Mozambique regularly and also later via the Cape Egg Circle to Britain.

Until the Great War the commercial production and also the Breeders were mainly centered in Bulawayo because it was the centre of rail communications to the South, East and North. With the advent of air transport Salisbury became more central and there was a shift to this area particularly for despatch of day old chicks and eggs to the North.

Show Societies provided sections for pure bred poultry in most centres and Poultry Clubs were very early formed in Bulawayo and Salisbury and these are still flourishing.

The Rhodesian Poultry Magazine started by Dr. Little about 1922 was I understand the first private Agricultural magazine published in Rhodesia. It was later incorporated in *The Countryside* a magazine with a wider scope.

In 1929 the writer and Mr. Frank Roberts were appointed Assistant Poultry Officers when Dr. Little retired and Mr. Wheeldon became Chief Poultry Officer. Mr Roberts was stationed in Matabeleland but only remained for a year or so.

At this time also the Government Poultry Station was established in a section of the Government Experimental Farm and occupied four acres on the site where His Excellency the President's residence is now situated. It was there until 1960 when it was transferred to Gwebi Agricultural College. It was again transferred to Henderson Research Station in 1970 where it is now.

The Poultry Station with a manager ran the Egg Laying Test referred to previously and in the earlier periods bred and sold pure bred pedigreed stock to local breeders. It worked closely with the Veterinary Research Laboratory on poultry diseases and deficiencies. Feed testing and trials were also undertaken. In 1932 it was decided to start an Agricultural College at Matopos on the Rhodes Estate. For two years the course ran well then the depression years affected intake and it was abandoned and transferred to the Education Department to become the Rhodes Estate Preparatory School. A poultry section was developed at Matopos to serve student education and also for service to farmers in Matabeleland. This was run and developed by the writer who had been transferred there.

The industry suffered a rather long period of slow growth during the depression years and also during the Second World War with occasional gluts and shortages of eggs and poultry. The Egg Circle had folded up due to bad management and the depression about 1935. Eggs had to be imported during the period after the Air Training Scheme was launched.

After 1946 there was a quick revival of interest with new people entering the industry. Exports of eggs and chickens to Northern Rhodesia increased and by the time the Federation was established in 1953 it was in a position to take full advantage of the growing market in the north. Several large breeding establishments were started mainly in the Salisbury area. At this time Hybrid Poultry had been successfully bred in the United States of America and to some extent in Britain. Some of the best of these were imported by the larger breeders and have been most successful. Also the poultry stock changed considerably when the dual purpose bird was less profitable than the hybrid strains of either layers, or what is now known as "broilers", the quick maturing table bird. The advent of hybrid poultry has been as important to the poultry industry as hybrid maize to the maize grower.

In 1946 Mr. Athol Reed was appointed Assistant Poultry Officer but left in 1948 when Mr. Wheeldon retired and the writer was appointed Chief Poultry Officer. About 1950 the Rhodesian Chicken Company was formed and a central slaughtering and packaging plant with cold storage facilities was established in Salisbury and is still one of the main distributors of table poultry. It is managed and supported by several large broiler producers.

Another private enterprise company, Country Poultry Products, was one of the largest distributors of eggs, also managed and supported by egg producers from all areas.

The Milling companies made compound feeds for poultry and were given technical

assistance by the Poultry Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture. Today sophisticated balanced rations for all classes of poultry are manufactured by several Millers, almost entirely from locally produced feeds and supplements under control of the Stock Feeds Act.

The National Farmers Union established a Poultry Committee about 1955 which had access to the Ministry. All matters affecting the poultry industry were assisted materially by this committee.

During the Federal days a Poultry Officer, Mr. Peter Frances, was appointed to assist poultry farmers in Nothern Rhodesia and he remained in that position after Zambia became independent in 1964.

Mr. Cooper retired in 1964 but stayed in harness with the Department of Agriculture at their request until 1968 when Mr. Bob Mowbray was appointed Senior Poultry Officer with assistants at Gwebi and Henderson Research Station.

The Mystery Goat of Centenary

by R.C. Plowden

Early one evening during the winter of 1982 I received a telephone call at my home in Borrowdale from a farmer in the Centenary District asking my advice on the mysterious appearance of a goat running with a pack of baboons in the south Centenary farming area.

I was employed as a research officer in the Ministry of Local Government and my principal duties included investigation into the succession problems of the Chiefs of Zimbabwe where opposing claims were lodged with the Ministry by those families who had claims to the vacant or existing positions of their clan Chieftairship.

I approached my seniors in the Ministry who readily granted me permission to visit the area, question the farmers and their employees, and report on this unusual occurrence.

With the assistance of my farmer friend I set up a series of visits to the farms where the goat and baboons had been seen. Accompanied by my African colleague in the research team, visits were made to every farm involved in the south Centenary area. The first farm to be visited was that of the Webbs where the goat had first been seen with its accompanying troop of resident baboons. Interviewing his crop guard, we heard that during the day some two weeks prior to our visit he had shot at a large male baboon sitting on a low branch of a tree near the coffee planted land he was guarding. The baboon fell out of the tree and appeared to have died. As he walked up to the baboon a large reddy brown goat appeared, sniffed the baboon, which came to life, and both animals then moved towards a very frightened crop guard, who ran to report the incident to his employer Mr Webb. On returning to the scene no sign of either the goat or baboon was evident to Webb and he ordered the return to duty of his crop guard. Later within a few days the troop of baboons led by the same goat was again spotted near his young coffee plants, obviously attracted by the red berries. This time his assistant attempted to shoot the goat at long range without success. By then the story had spread and reached the ears of my farmer friend who appreciated the significance of the unusual alliance of goat and baboon and was concerned that some customary tradition may be upset if the goat was killed.

Having heard the facts my companion and I visited neighbouring farms during the rest of the day and we were able, with the help of large scale maps to identify the area in which the troop of baboons led by their goat operated. The area included part of the northern hilly section of Chiweshe Communal Land and we decided to consult the people there as to their connections with the troop.

Reporting back on our visit to the Commercial farmers and their employees, arrangements were made with Comrade Negande, the District Administrator for the Mazoe District, to visit the northern Chiweshe people and seek their views on this phenomenon. The District Administrator readily agreed and we were called by him on a suitable day.

Taking my colleague from the Ministry and a senior official of the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management we spoke at every meeting explaining the purpose of our visit and investigation. At one of the last meetings we attended, a woman joined the meeting whilst it was in progress and asking her neighbour seated at the back of

the audience, what the purpose of the meeting was, stood up and said that the troop led by the goat was that very moment plundering her land of maize. The meeting ran to her land near by and I and the others present saw the goat leading his baboon troop up the nearest rock kopje out of harm's way.

The consensus of opinion at each of the meetings held in Chiweshe was that this unusual alliance between animals of different species should be referred to Gwangwadza, the leading historical ancestral Chief of that part of Chiweshe. His spirit would be contacted through the current medium at the time of year, due in a few months, when he was approached to ensure a good rainy season. In the meanwhile the farmers in the adjoining area would be asked not to harm the goat in preventing it and the baboons from raiding their coffee, a new and vulnerable crop for that area.

Discussing the incident later with officials and my companion from the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management we could only infer that the goat must have been adopted by a female baboon in its infancy and brought up with the other baboons as one of them. I have no evidence for this theory but it must be remembered that during our war Chiweshe was one of the first areas where protected villages were constructed. These villages made provision for the penning at night of large stock but the people's small stock of sheep and goats went unherded during the curfews and some, including our goat leader, may have become separated from human contact. The mother instinct in the female baboon which adopted a baby goat some six years earlier had nurtured a fine adult goat we had seen leading his baboon troop out of that woman's mealie land.

Patriotism and Pioneering Problems

by Roger Howman

PART 1

GROWTH OF NATIONAL SENTIMENT

One wonders how many readers were disillusioned to learn, from "Rhodesiana" of 1978, that only about 10 to 15% of the 1890 Pioneer Corps lived out their lives in Rhodesia and that since those days for every 100 immigrants between 60 and 80 were always leaving!

This was Professor Robert's finding[1], and when he concluded his statistical analysis he found that, "By and large the Whites had not been settlers at all" in what was a situation of a moving population to be expected in a frontier area, not a nation in a new land, nor a separate state so much as a border region of British South Africa. He made the point that by the 1920s there was a "settler" population, no longer a "pioneer", and characterised by being 44% female, a normal marriage and age group structure, a good educational system emerging and by 1930 one third of Rhodesians had been born in the country. From such a statistical standpoint he reasoned that this had undoubtedly led to a feeling of Rhodesian "nationalism" but the "feeling of identity was not so much Rhodesian as British".

When the Professor turned from statistics to the use of words such as "State", "Nation", "Nationalism" and a key phrase, "feeling of identity", he was entering the sociological sphere and, while likely to arouse argument over Rhodesian pride in Sport and World War I, was stimulating fresh thinking about the beginnings of any country . . . raising such difficult questions as to what is a State, a Nation, a Country, and a "feeling of identity" with what?

Rhodesian History — as distinguished from Zimbabwe History — presents a picture of a Pioneer Corps of specially selected men making up a self-contained official and civil community of most requisite skills, a kind of nation in miniature, being settled in a new land. That was the political picture. Of course, pioneers anywhere who leave an established society are forced to adjust if they are to survive, not only adjust but take with them physical and mental constitutions able to meet the challenges of disease and the often intolerable hardships of raw nature, so they can live to make the inexorable adaptations of a physical, customary and emotional nature. Every man has this selective process pressing on him in endless variety and degree of personal experience. So, on reflection, one should not be unduly surprised to discover 8 or 9 out of every 10 Rhodesian pioneers were removed or removed themselves from exposure to the selective conditions and only a fraction endured to earn that esteem which constitutes the social history, pride and ethos of future generations.

The normal question put to pioneers, "Why did you come?", fades when matched against "Why did you stay?"

The problem of National Identity

When someone coined the phrase, "Nationalists without nations", as characteristic of Africa, and an author called his book, "There Are No South Africans", there was being exposed a momentous problem . . . a differentiation between fabrications from on high and growth from below, between a superstructure of Constitutions, legal definitions, boundaries, apparatus of administrative systems and Power on the one side (the State) and, on the other, the attitudes and emotions of ordinary people in their territorial attachments, feelings of identity and inward sense of solidarity (the embryo Nation).

This is the monstrous problem confronting so many States in Africa which sparks the political urgency of a sense of unity, makes Unity the primary goal of Government and encourages recourse to undue central planning, single party structures, "politicisation" and concentrated power to achieve it, whatever the degree of loss of individual freedom. The problem comprises a lack of general consensus as to who has legitimate power (as distinct from legal authority) and credentials to rule and exact obedience; a lack of widespread communal feelings of respect and obligation to obey; a lack of sufficient feelings of responsibility to the State weighty enough to place the interests of a nebulous notion of "Country" first to override personal advantage and local traditional loyalties. There may even be, if not a vacuum of moral obligation, a dismaying diversity of subterfuges adopted when it comes to paying taxes or using Government property[2].

When the nature of the State is really that of a "Plural Society" with its ethnic varieties to which stubborn loyalties and obedience spontaneously gravitate, how are the problems of holding such components together, of governing and organising, to be met? How, in such a social setting, is pursuit of momentary self-advantage, personal and local or clan interest, regardless of abstract "country's interest", to be controlled or curbed before the State flounders in irregularities and incompetencies?

These complexities urge the question, how does that emotional attachment and meaningful commitment to an entity called "The Nation", as defined by the State, emerge, grow and infuse some warmth and life into the cold, remote, impersonal State which, in spite of its Welfare aspects, is apt to be seen as an extortionate, restraining and oppressive entity to be fleeced or evaded at any opportunity? Whatever the definition of a "Nation", it is clearly a tremendous complex of feelings and aspirations arising from and diffused by history, heroes, traditions and culture as the moulding action of one generation passes on the social heritage to the next in a shared home-land.

How does Identity Arise?

If these rather theoretical questions are seen as of serious concern to Africa's "New Nations" (more accurately New States), and are tempered by the reflection that each such State has its own unusual "mix", that Zimbabwe in particular is unique in its experience, its peculiarly diluted ethnic feelings and its potential for mastering these disabilities, can a little light be thrown into this obscure entanglement of social growth by taking a look inside the comparatively simple conditions of a pioneer setting to see how a sentiment of national identity starts psychologically and then spreads out? And if, by its own vital nature, it tends to expand in meaningful progression through widening ranges of feeling, what happens if the planners of "Build a Nation" start at the top and pressure downwards?

To focus on Zimbabwe, or as it started, "Rhodesia", and drawing upon this distinction between State and Nation, between factual state and aspiring nation, we find in

the pioneering stage a superstructure, issued down from the legal heights of the Royal Charter of 1889, being imposed over a piece of undefined and unnamed land. A land first noticed legally in 1888 as "a British sphere of influence", to counter Portuguese and Boer claims and Bismarck's ambitions for Germany, and vaguely described as the area between South Africa and the Congo. After the Charter came the apparatus of a state, including an abnormally high predominance of Government employees (officials and police) sustaining conditions of law and order for a sprinkling of civilians and indigenous people, and the initiation of a health, transport and mining system along with surveying. There was some tearing down of national flags at Mutasa and various disputes over territory, which almost made the Sabi/Mucheke rivers, Beira, Gaza and Massi Kessi each possible national boundaries, until finalised in 1897 when an Italian arbitrator (Senator Vigliani) set the boundary along the peaks of the Chimanimani Mountains (more accurately "Mawenji") and some straight map lines through the bush regardless of local identities to set the political geography of the State [3].

This is the historical context of the 1890s against which is posed the question . . . how did feelings of identity with a piece of Africa to be called "Rhodesia" later emerge and develop? Later still, of course, there was a change of name to "Zimbabwe" with an indigenous appeal of its own, and an indigenous acceptance of the political "Self" contrived some eighty years earlier.

Those pioneers in the superstructure who were under contract of service and entrenched in salaries, equipment and means of living were naturally neither free to choose between returning or remaining, nor exposed to the full rigours of the selective process, unless their particular corps was disbanded and they were, like the 1890 Pioneer Corps, free to disperse on arrival at Salisbury[4] or, as military units, offered facilities to return whence they came like Plumer's Force.

It is among those who elected to stay in the country after disbandment, and those who entered without benefit of organised company, that an answer to the question may emerge . . . what in their new environment kindled a feeling of identity and how did emotions evolve from indifference into sentiments or attitudes of "adopted home" or "nation"? Of course, for such emotions to evolve a man had to manage to stay alive, so his efforts to find a living would be fused into the adjustment of his formless emotions.

The Alien

When Mary Coleridge wrote about a "heart with nameless longing filled" and inspired into verse,

> "On alien ground, breathing an alien air,
> A Roman stood, far from his ancient home,
> And, gazing, murmured, 'Ah, the hills are fair,
> But not the hills of Rome!' ";

she was expressing a sentiment common to all kinds of people all over the world, namely, attachment to a bit of landscape. Can there be a "Nation" without a piece of land being felt about by enough people to unite them over a "home country."?

How does a man, at first a pioneer, a stranger breathing alien air, develop a sense of identity with a new land? How and when does he evolve a sentiment strong enough to quell any impulse to leave, and deep enough to determine the struggle to survive against hardship

and disease? It is an important question to pose because a community or nation comes to depend for its inward, unifying strength, its integrity of action and allegiance, on this feeling as it unfolds in innumerable ways into Scott's Scotland, "This is my own, my native land" or Shakespeare's England, "this blessed plot, this earth, this realm . . .". And even then, for each person, in present times, what is this area he *feels* to be his native land — a village, a dunu, a nyika, a district, a province, a country, a nation in ever expanding abstract notions up to Africa, a whole continent!!!

A Rhodesian Pioneer

This is a tale, distilled from his letters to his home over the period 1896 to 1903, of an Englishman (EGH), aged 23, launched on his own resources in a new land, whose sentiments were recast from nostalgia to the emotions evoked by "alien ground", how he survived and how, as a pioneering stranger breathing alien air, he developed a sense of identity with the country which became "Rhodesia", and where he died in 1959 in his own "dear, dear land . . .".

In April 1897 the remnants of Watt's Column[5], who had agreed to stay on as volunteers in the new B.S.A. Police to keep the lines of communication open until the new recruits from England brought the Force up to strength, paraded in Marandellas (now Marondera) for the first time. There were ten of them to be disbanded, each to find his own way to survival in the raw, wild and unhealthy environment about them. It was a testing time, yet for months they had been looking forward to the day of release from their military duties and to be free on their own in a nameless land[6].

For twelve months, since EGH had joined Plumer's Matabeleland Relief Force in April 1896 at 10/- per day (less 2/6 deducted for rations), he had been clothed, fed and ordered about, a sheltered life with no cares save to vary the "awful rotten rations" and avoid being killed by a spear, bullet, axe or malaria. The land he was free in was in a ravaged, destitute state and while a semblance of order had been restored by military actions, enough to ensure the safety of the road and telegraph between Salisbury (now Harare) and Umtali (now Mutare), the newly appointed Administrator as Head of State (William Milton) considered that, "Everything official here is in an absolutely rotten condition" and that his predecessor "Jameson has given nearly the whole country away to the Willoughbys etc. . . ." Public finances were so near to bankruptcy that a scandalous system of issuing land rights as paper assets to be gifted, bought and sold, and accumulated by well-connected capitalists, had developed[7].

Probably heedless of the ominous future confronting the country in '97, but very aware of "everything being dead, cattle nearly all dead, mules incapacitated by foot-rot (sometimes the hoof drops off) and the new police have been dying like rotten sheep from fever".[8] EGH, with bonus money in his pocket, might have joined the exodus out of the country. Instead he chose to make his foot-way to Umtali where gossip suggested that jobs were to be had on the railway being built from Portuguese territory. There he found "the place is absolutely dead" and he had to live on his army savings, becoming "as thin as a rake from four months of fever" which brought the ironic comment, "This is a splendid country for all kinds of sickness . . . fever does not look like dying out this year and the rinderpest has just broken out again so all roads are stopped to unsalted cattle and there is no transport".

Without transport the country would be derelict. The transport problem was soon

Edward George Howman in 1934

seen as a national priority and Rhodes turned, through his BSA Company, to importing hundreds of mules from the Argentine and South Africa to move food-wagons to Salisbury. EGH watched with admiration the transport riders do "a wonderful bit of work taming the wild and untamed animals. They took eleven hours to get away after harnessing 16/18 mules to a 6 000 lb wagon". Another scheme promoted by Earl Grey, after some fiery public meetings in Salisbury over the city's food plight, was to import rinderpest-free cattle from Madagascar.

These cattle began to arrive by train at Massi Kessi just in time to save EGH from having to leave the country with a ship ticket his mother had posted to him. He found a job with what was officially called the "BSA Co's Transport Service" organised by Wilson Fox to buy and move the pile-up of goods at railhead from Beira but was in practice a man named Lucas Lyle who was the Company's agent at Massi Kessi where the railway had just arrived in June '97. Lyle employed him to drive the cattle, as they arrived, via Penhalonga to Salisbury off the road. He wrote, "I am being paid very well . . . last month I took up some smallish cattle, all colours with humps on their backs, and paid £1 per day".

Unfortunately, he made no mention in his letters of the details of these cattle droves until an outbreak of rinderpest hit what he called his third mob. It seems that having successfully delivered two mobs to Salisbury the disease infested his "old railhead near Massi Kessi and 14 head of the 35 delivered there had promptly died, 2 recovered to become very valuable 'salted animals' " and he was on his way to collect 40 head being offloaded at the Revue River.

He described these incredible operations as "pretty hard work as I have to go across country and find my own way some little distance off the roads . . . I learned how to pick a warm spot at night because otherwise cattle would move away, one by one, with never a sound, and I soon learned to listen all night and lost not one . . . the police at Rusape might requisition a beast if they had no meat." He drove these mobs into the country near Penhalonga, over the Odzani River he described as "a dreadful river to cross", and along the tongue of Odzani flats — "sort of big valley absolutely swarming with big game" — into the kopje country where the climb to Mt. Zonga and the Highvelt was through the Devil's Pass to Rusape. "Devil's Pass", so called by the earliest transport riders because two spans of oxen were required to pull a loaded wagon up, was a notorious abode of lions who created havoc among the oxen. EGH referred to "trouble" there without giving details but later recorded how, on another occasion, Lyle found a lion so entangled in the trek gear by the commotion among the oxen that he was able to shoot it.

Once up the Pass the going became easier and so astonishing past Zonga through the cluster of streams — Nyamapembere, Nyamatwitswi, Rusape and Chimbi — that even Colonel Alderson's account of military matters there could not forbear mentioning "trouty-looking places" and "most beautiful country", while the pioneer Hugh Williams of the van der Byl trek described the Rusape River with Welsh ardour, "Fairies never lodged in a more enchanting spot". The landscape became more familiar to him through the heaped granites of present Mona, the landmark of Lone Kop where he recalled Watts little force made a surprising encounter with Alderson's Mounted Infantry, to the windy grasslands of Headlands as they swept down blue valleys so spacious that the eye could see faraway Mt. Wedza on the one side and the northern mountains of Inyanga on the other.

Geographical Sentiment

It was during the weeks that he rode those leasurely, cattle-speed journeys that the first signs appeared in his letters of a bond emerging between the man and a landscape; the genesis of a root in a rootless situation; the influence of a mysterious geographical feeling. This strange tie, nowadays identified as the "territorial imperative" in ecology, stands out starkly in this case, unentangled with other complicating factors binding people to a country such as commitments to a career, financial interests, political advantage, personal property, or even evangelistic zeal and spreading The Word. Not even the driving hope of "striking it rich". He was insulated from the political rhetoric of those charged with the welfare of the State and their persuasiveness about what "the people" are or ought to be in that most involved and nebulous social invention, the "Nation".

It is worth examining this anonymous landscape around Rusape, unembellished by poetry, painting or song so formative of national sentiments. The cattle drive came at the end of the 1897 winter season when the gleaming Misasa and Mifuti trees — then just trees in a land of trees — splashed the beauty of the velt with all the hues of a campfire, so sparkling and brilliant that a sunset was all around, all day. The lichen-painted granites, like castle walls, buttresses and towers, held up high clusters and sparks of scarlets, reds and yellows from the kopje-loving firebushes, cassias, erythrina and late aloes.

During the day, the big game of Africa watched them tramp past . . . the eland too heavy and torpid to make unnecessary moves . . . the proud sable, confident, alert and arched like a bow for action . . . the roan and the koodoo apt to peer through concealing bushes . . . and at any time the dash of a startled duyker, or the queer bark of a klipspringer so inquisitive — and just the right size — that he virtually invited himself into the evening's cooking pot. As evening moved in, the baboons resounded among the piled boulders until, in the silence which followed their retirement in the security of their "chiro" (baboons sleeping place), the lion, the leopard and the hyaena exploded their sounds into the night air and everything tensed. Camp fires would be urged up in an African night unlike any other night in the world.

This was the matchless setting, of wild life and wild loveliness before the rains, which this tiny patch in the vastness of Africa seeped in to the rider's mind. How deeper to absorb it than from a saddle! This was the patch which was to animate the mind of a man breathing alien air in a strange land . . . a land with a beginning at the Limpopo but no end, a land which the Post Office directed should be addressed "Mashonaland" even though he could find no "Mashonas" and the local people, when asked, called themselves "Mazwina"[9]. It took such a grip of him that there was no further mention in his letters of returning home, indeed in early 1898 he asked his mother if he should post her ship ticket back, and in 1899, having promised her he would take a holiday, he added, "I should have to come back. I think the old proverb of tasting Africa's waters and returning to them again is true, at least that is the feeling I have."

That feeling, that deepening and widening sentiment, had opportunity to grow in the two years since the cattle drives. He spent six years living and trading among the Africans of the Makoni District. It became his "habitat" spread out along the creeping route of the railway, full of game, between the two spectacular solid granite massifs of Dombo[10] and Denzva, and he absorbed "Mashonaland" as something more than an address for the Post Office (Stamps overprinted with the name "Rhodesia" were not issued until 1909).

The Africans

As such a sentiment of identity grows land and people merge together, indeed it seems that a geographical locality is basic and influential enough to incorporate everything on the land in diverse ways and complex degrees. The African people of the District . . . he soon learned to know who they were, really were as WaHungwe and WaRozvi, and even more deeply as people of the Shonga Totem (Buffalo) and Moyo Totem (the heart)[11]. Their stories, legends and traditions he recalled forty years later along with an account of the rites associated with their Chief Makoni (NADA 1926) and the powers of the renowned cattle thieves ("Gororo") of Rusape (NADA 1928).

By September 1898 he wrote, "I can speak to them fairly well" and in another letter of July '99 he called himself, "pretty proficient in this fearful and wonderful language" whose progress, thirty years later, he was to assist when he was appointed to the official committee required in 1930/1 to render Dr. Doke's academic treatise on "The Unification of the Shona Dialects" into more practical form. Political literature assigning "divide and rule" tactics to colonialism appears to have overlooked this unifying feature of national Shona bequeathed to an evolving "nation"[12].

In 1913 when the constitutional future of Rhodesia was a public issue he was invited by "*The Times*" to contribute a description of the indigenous people, possibly the first attempt to portray the history of the Mashona as they related it to him in different places and times, a curious mixture of legend and prideful traditions. For many years he served as examiner in the Civil Service "Shona Language"; and "Native Law and Custom" examinations, and although he was severely critical of official requests in the 1910's for the writing of a book on Customs ("considering we know so little about such matters") his own notes on customs circulated through generations of officials.

Wildlife

Likewise, the strange animals of 1897 became not only his source of meat but familiar components of his daily life, sometimes as an individual "friend" frequenting a particular vlei or kopje as its "territory". By August 1902 he had so appropriated the local game, particularly "a lovely sight, my friends the sable sixty strong", that when the Native Commissioner of the District (Archer Ross) brought a shooting party in his vicinity he exploded territorially in a letter to his father, "Beastly cheek to come into my preserve without leave. I hope they don't find my big herd of sable." However, Ross being a friend of his, he added, "I expect if they come this way and ask where the game is I shall tell them." Ross was holidaying, called "coronating" for the coronation of King Edward VII.

The knowledge he acquired then and in later years about animals enabled him to provide the Appendix of animal names in Beihler's "*Chiswina Dictionary*" of 1913, and even the birds, most of them unknown and unnamed, he got to know by African names and what their calls said (NADA 1952).

Survival and Trading

The question as to how he earned a living during those six years in Makoni District (1897-1903) shifts the theme to the economics of a trader's life, so complex and extensive that it is treated in Part II. What is relevant here is that he had to learn, in order to survive, the specialised demands and consumption patterns of the local Africans, their values and priorities. A people for whom "wealth" connoted livestock (Cattle above all), and money

was of no value, or very little at first; a community linked by kinship whose central purpose was food and reproduction, from whom he might expect a trade in their surplus grain, if he had assessed their grain potential properly and the rains were helpful. To do this he had to probe and learn what external values would breach their mainly subsistence economy by enticing or persuading them to part with some of their grain.

It was a life which meant getting to know, and being known, by the Africans; the beginnings of an interest in and sympathy with an alien culture, or in his words, "studying the African point of view". As a background to his activities there loomed the crucial link-up in the food chain to the Railways. Umtali had initially reported that "maize was almost unprocurable", yet sufficient meal for the 5 000 odd Africans at 2 lbs each a day had to be procured if the rail track being laid from Umtali to Salisbury was not to be brought to a halt.

The Territorial Imperative

This account is devoted to tracing how, in an alien mind, the nucleus of a territorial imperative came into being in the Rusape area and how this little patch played its role in the emergence of a wider entity called "Mashonaland". Intimations of this appeared when he wrote reprimanding his sister for addressing letters wrongly. "Mashonaland is not in South Africa", and by July 1901 "Mashonaland" had earned an identity — no longer merely a Post Office address — he could identify with when he wrote, anticipating as everyone did the end of the Boer War when Mafeking was relieved, "I expect half the population will go down to Joburg then. I don't intend to, Mashonaland suits me very well bar the fever."

To plumb how deeply this territorial sentiment had rooted in his mind let us look at some of the conditions under which he lived, as he experienced them in his letters.

Environment

The awful fever was of course a menace to everyone and "every day I hear of someone dying", but for those whose constitutions enabled them to survive there seemed to be a host of afflictions and calamities conspiring to drive whites out of the country in expectations of prosperity in South Africa once the Boer War was over (actually a guerilla campaign prolonged the war until May 1902).

Health problems were so acute that he lost 40 lbs in weight during the fever season and in 1901 he wrote of "five years of velt life take it out of one". Conditions in one year evoked the comment, "I object to being wet five days in the week and every night sleep in blankets which feel as if they had just been washed and been forgotten when it was drying time."

Occasional snippets in his letters reveal the kind of hardships attending his efforts to live . . . June '98 "enjoyed first bed for ten months" . . . "I have a spleen, making walking difficult" . . . "grass is so high, 6 feet, I can't get out nor get meat and must wait until it is burnt" . . . "I live on rock rabbits and guineafowl" . . . July '99 "plague of fleas here, get up to watch fleas crawling up your pyjamas in regiments and can see patches 2 or 3 feet in diameter quite black with them, also flies. I don't think Egypt was a patch on Rusape for plagues" . . . September '99 "I can live on £2 p.m., only grub to buy, so I don't draw my pay but after two years my firm gone bust so puts me at the bottom again"[13] . . . June 1900 "borers and whiteants force me to move and build a new camp" . . . "am writing in ink cadged from a patrolling policeman, my last ink augmented with local beer was drunk by flies" . . . January '02 "I was swept away trying to cross the swollen Mucheke river and

lost my gun" . . . and there are many references to boils and veltsores from the slightest scratches.

Economy

On the economy of the country generally . . . July '98 "except for Government and Police nothing doing at all" . . . "the Railways only thing which keeps things going" . . . "this end of the country living on the railways, the line is nearing Rusape and expected to reach Salisbury in July '99 so that source of money will be cut off, and what happens then?" . . . October '98 "nobody has any money, stores do no trade, no work. Unless something happens shortly the country will go smash" . . . "Postal services and everything else gone wrong" . . . December '98 "terrific storms, railway in an awful mess and washed away all along the line" . . . August 1900 "Thank goodness the Australians have gone. They went through here (Rusape) worse than a flight of locusts, hardly any food to be got" . . . July '01 "country in a horrible condition because of cattle diseases" . . . February '03 "velt is burning up" and when the rain did fall in January "it stopped and hardly any food to be got this year".

B.S.A. Company Government

Even Government, whose spokesmen and History normally claim to be doing so much for the country, incurred his indignation from occasional encounters with officialdom . . . June '99 "the locals don't mind the Madzwiti (Matabele raiding parties) half as much as they do having to pay 10/- a year as hut-tax" imposed 1895) . . . March 1900 as news of successes in the Boer War comes in, "I hope the United Kingdom Government will take over this Government when they take over the Free State and Transvaal" . . . August 1900 "Talk about the Transvaal, that was a good government compared to this. This is Chartered Company rule. I wish the Imperial authorities would take over. The Company grabs everything they can lay their hands on". He became even more wrathful when the Chartered introduced a trading site lease of not less than two acres at £7 per acre, in addition to the trading licence fee of £10 per annum. This far-distant, impersonal, regulatory and extortionist intrusion from Salisbury was so opposed to his own modus operandi — of moving about locating his trading camps where he deemed surplus grain was likely to be —that he declared in August 1900, "I think I will chuck it". Thus Government might do, in one minor swoop, what adversity had failed to do over three years!

In such a demoralising environment, offering many good reasons for leaving the country called Southern Rhodesia, why did he remain? Not only firmly rooted but able to leave and happily return as if no enducements to stay away existed! A good trading season in 1901, and what he called "a nice little windfall" when his bankrupt firm of Lyle Bros. & Wright paid out a dividend of 5/9 in the £ in October 1901, decided him to visit his family in England where he stayed six months and returned in July '02 to a country "still in a horrible condition". So he resumed trading, and the feeling of identity with the country, certainly Makoni District, reasserted its hold over him.

Transformation of 1903

A combination of natural and governmental circumstances in 1903 brought the sequence of the past six years to an end.

The rainy season of 1902/3 was so scanty — rain ceased in February leaving everything to dry up in the sun — that he could see there would be no crops and within six months serious starvation[14]. A normal scarcity was transformed into a national disaster. Government intervened by deciding to import grain and required the Railways to reduce their rates on imports in such measure that the cost of a bag of grain from Beira to Salisbury was nearly the same as that from his railhead at Nyazura to Salisbury. The end of profitable trading was in sight.

For some time Archer Ross, the Native Commissioner Rusape, must have been urging EGH to join the Native Department for in one letter there is mention of his agreeing to pay a visit to Salisbury after Christmas 1902. In February, Ross told him that there were to be many changes in the Department in April, and that he ought to see the Administrator Sir William Milton and the Chief Native Commissioner W.S. Taberer before then.

This was the time when Alfred Milner (later Lord Milner) as British High Commissioner for Southern Africa, Milton for Southern Rhodesia, and Sir Marshall Clark as Resident Commissioner were specifically attending to the staffing of a Native Department entrenched by the 1898 Order in Council in the BSA Company Government as "a humane and progressive system" of administering and protecting the interests of the indigenous population. This is how Milner defined its purpose and it was installed as an arm of Government, independent and free from political or Company pressures as the normal Judiciary. In an endeavour to rectify the earlier state of affairs instigated by the Company under Jameson prior to the Jameson Raid of December 1895, and to assert British responsibilities, these three top officials were vested with powers to appoint all members of the Native Department, to control even the allocation of Native Commissioners to Districts and to ensure that no member could be removed from office save with the approval of the British Secretary of State in London . . . all this, as Milner insisted in his policy statement, "that where administration is still in the embroyonic stage it is rather a question of men than regulations . . . the great thing was to secure the appointment of honourable and capable men". To achieve such standards Marshall Clark, appointed and paid by the British Government, was resident in Salisbury and was Milner's "watch dog" who must "know the character of the Native Commissioners" and report on them to Milner in Cape Town. Milton, a distinguished administrator who had once pronounced, "Rhodes is a great developer, but he is not a good administrator", had been selected to put the country in order and had assumed charge of the whole territory in December 1901. He was busy laying the foundations of the future Civil Service, with special attention to the Native Department for which he was directly responsible as Secretary for Native Affairs.

EGH visited Salisbury in March 1903 and after seeing the Chief Native Commissioner was passed on to Sir Marshall Clark who informed him that an order from the High Commissioner in Cape Town absolutely prohibited any trader being appointed to the Department. The only grain of hope offered by Clark was that he would see what he could do and EGH returned to Nyazura thinking the matter was over, until one day Archer Ross in a passing train waved a telegram at him. This was from Taberer directing him to send in a formal application for appointment. Ross had been called to Salisbury and informed that an exception had been made in this case by Milner and Clark.

So the trader sold his accumulated stock of grain and the man who had been a free-lance and managed to cut his own way to survival through the dreadful years broke his ties with the Rusape area and entered a new career. A career of service, not of service as laid

down in Civil Service regulations, but of something from within, and beyond the call of duty, which flowered in an attitude of care and sensitivity for all the people of the land.

On the 11th April 1903 he joined the Native Department — that Department which Sir Robert Tredgold sixty years later described as having "in its own time and season played a great part in Rhodesia" — and on the formal appointment papers in the National Archives appears the rather quaint endorsement, "Mashona Scholar strongly recommended by Ross". There unfolded, as he served for over thirty years in many Districts, a complex of feelings far more comprehensive than those born in Rusape, but still rooted in the land and incorporating a national sentiment centered on an entity called 'Rhodesia'.

That entity included all the people of the country, black (who knew him as 'Macharangwanda'[15]) and white, for whom he strove to develop a common future in their cultural diversity. But that he never forgot the birthplace of his driving national sentiment is apparent when, over 33 years later and two years after his retirement, he contradicted those who considered "Rhodesia was a country of little interest as it lacked any history" by writing an account (NADA 1936) to support his contention that "every stream and hill has a story attached to it . . . in our lovely adopted home" and his mind recalled "vast grassy flats . . . spacious views and beautiful . . . the river where the game dances . . . a valley, an amazing and beautiful sight". It was the Rusape area, its people, its legends, that lighted up his mind.

PART II

PROBLEMS OF LIVING

Part I has tried to trace the emotional tracks of a pioneer who as a stranger in a strange land with no prior knowledge of, nor commitment, nor predisposition towards a patch of Africa without even a name, came to develop a pattern of feelings called 'love of country' (patriotism) from a seed-bed known as Rusape or Makoni District. Part II tries to explain the economics of his survival amidst the selective process which removed so many from the country and to account for the pioneer associates who as friends helped to make his life tolerable, and so resist enducements or pressures to emigrate.

From their enterprise in Umtali, and transport problems as the railway from Portuguese territory made its way into the country, the firm of Lyle Bros. & Wright had gained almost a monopoly of the local grinding and supply of grain to feed some 5 000 Africans employed by the Railways in constructing the line from Umtali to Salisbury in May 1899. Charles Lucas Lyle offered EGH a job as a trader on the basis of a salary plus commission and the supply of all trade goods. The firm worked out and contracted for the price to be paid by the Railways per bag and within that price EGH's own profit depended on local competition and how he could pesuade Africans to part with their grain, also how he could prevent pilfering and theft. The firm, he said, owned about twenty wagons and had the necessary oxen to transport grain along the rail-line then creeping towards Rusape.

EGH as a Trader

To the Rusape area he went and after scouting about assessing the density of African life he made camp in May '98 at an abandoned farmhouse near the Chimbi River (probably

present 'Dianas Vow 'farm) and soon found he was only seven miles from Chief Makoni's stronghold in whose destruction he had participated with Watts Column only two years before.

His first lesson in trading taught him that he was a month too early, for the crops were not reaped until the end of June and all that the locals wanted was blankets for the cold weather. There was some demand for salt and he wondered why no one would sell him fowls since their poultry was plentiful and he could shoot no meat because the grass was so long. His second lesson was that the building had so many windows and door openings that he could not prevent "everyone jumping whatever they can lay hands on" and he had to build a special hut for his goods and grain, his "neighbour, Chief Maririwann," sending some labour to help him.

By the end of August he complained about being tired out, hardly time for meals, as the favourite trading time was sun-up and he had to weigh about 60000 lbs. from various small packages and pots. The loads were always carried by women, even if a man was doing the deal on occasions, and having no sacks he had to build granaries for storage until the wagons arrived (five wagons arrived mid-July and removed 200 bags to some Railway camp). In exchange was a demand for beads red or white and cloth blue and white, no other colours and anything gaudy was scorned, such was the current fashion.

Just as the grain trading season was subsiding a new cash trade amounting to about £40 in one month appeared in September when an enormous demand for brass wire presented itself, women wearing rings as thick as stair-rods on ankles and wrists (ten to each limb) and thinner ones up to about six around the neck, "just imagine the weight they carry!!!" This was followed in October, as planting time drew near, by a large trade in hoe blades as they were so much better and lighter than the traditional heart-shaped blades produced by iron-workers. In later years EGH attributed this surprising cash trade to the customary return of men from work to assist in the planting season, bringing cash back for their women.

The rainy season threatened in November and some grain was spoilt as he had to wait for the delayed wagons. Then he packed up and moved into the shelter of Rusape, having described his first six months on the Chimbi River as "enjoyable, uncommonly lonely" and he exulted over being able to live at £2 per month and saving £150, so much so that he suggested he might even try trading on his own account.

Rusape the Railhead

Lyle Bros. & Wright were building a store and what "we call an hotel", actually a bar, dining room, office and six huts as bedrooms, with a kitchen behind, and a base for a granary and stables. The firm had bought Stand No. 3 in the newly laid out township of Rusape as the new railhead since October, and EGH was welcomed into the operations of the hotel as well as running the store for Lucas . . . "from sunrise to 3 or 4 in the morning" to cope with the splendour and business of being the rail terminus. (In 1904 when the firm's insolvent Estate was liquidated this hotel was bought by Jack Meikle, the forerunner of the modern Balfour Hotel.)

The transition from the lonely isolation of trading to the hectic commotion of a railway bar must have been striking, but over the next five months, till the end of the rains, he got to know the "old hands" of the district, Dick Fischer and his brother William, and Hugh Williams. They farmed, or perhaps more accurately, lived on their farms on the

other side of the Rusape River, and their experiences as sole survivors of the little-known van der Byl trek aroused his interest.

The van der Byl Trek

Sponsored and financed by Cecil Rhodes, sixty years old Lourens van der Byl, a well-known ex-MP of Cape Colony, advertised in 1891 for 25 young men to join him in establishing a new colony in "the immense Northern Land vaguely known as Zambesia". They were to join him in a collective farm for two years and obey his orders; they would be paid 2/- per day with free food for the first six months and then fed by Lourens from the settlement farm for another six months; and at the end of their two years each would be granted a free 3 000 acre farm. Lourens himself was to have a 'special grant' of 5 000 morgen and the communal farm — which became Laurencedale Settlement — would be 5600 morgen.

The response was splendid and among the five wagons which took over from railhead to Fort Victoria were the two Fischer brothers and Hugh Williams. Led by Lourens the well-equiped party "providentially" (as Williams put it) encountered Beit in October camped in Providential Pass, whose encouragement directed them in the direction of Manicaland. Later they met up with Rhodes, de Waal and Jameson at Fort Charter who suggested an area on the main Selous road to Umtali, and to that area Lourens went. They reached their destination on 11th November 1891 and camped "on a brook which ran into the Chimbi river". Space does not permit an account of the trek, nor how the collective socialist experiment was established to become known as Lawrencedale; this was eloquently described in 'Hugh William's Letters' in the National Archives (W1 2/1/1) who praised the area as "Fairies never lodged in a more enchanting spot". But it must be noted here that so prompt was the Survey Department of the BSA Company (a Government only established in September 1890) that in December '91 surveryor S. Brook Norris, persuaded by Lourens to cover a whole enormous block of all the promised farms, was able to produce a plan (DG 630) of a belt of farms on either side of Selous' road spanning the distance between the Macheke River and the Chimbi. Presumably Norris called the whole block 'Lawrencedale', and it included the 'special grant' for Lourens (which was named later as 'Helenvale') at the Macheke end, and the 'special grant' for the Settlement (which became 'Mona' in 1894) at the Chimbi end, and in between twenty six farms each numbered but with no names.

Tragically for the Settlement Lourens died 30th March 1892 (a monument to him is on Mona) soon after 33 huts had been built, a Field Cornet appointed, a Post Office set up and 500 blue-gums planted in avenue order during the rains. Bereft of their leader the youngsters elected a committee and in June Rhodes and Jameson, concerned at the cost of the whole enterprise, ordered an enquiry which found, "not more than three men out of the five and twenty do any work at all . . . suggest share and share alike system be done away with and allow every man to profit in proportion to amount of work he choses to perform" (CT 1/23/1). So this first attempt at socialistic farming in Rhodesia came to an end in August 1892 when Jameson authorised those who had not moved away to divide up the wagons and farming equipment among themselves and take up farming on their own account.

Aftermath of the Trek

Among the "hard workers" who were granted farms were the Fischer brothers who

took up 'Fischers Farm' and Hugh Williams who remained on the Settlement. Lourens' 'special grant' was taken up some time later by Helena T. Lambley as "Government unoccupied land" at a quitrent of £3-12-8 and named 'Helenvale', while the enormous block of 26 farms was promptly acquired by Willoughby's Mashonaland Development Company in May 1901 (Permit 5199) and recorded as 'Lawrencedale Estate' on surveyor Pickett's map of 1894 (CG 1366). The acquisition by Sir John Willoughby, Bart. — described as "an arrogant aristocrat" out to make money and a friend of Jameson — of these 25,359 morgen farms is an example of company land grabbing for speculation, which by 1899 had acquired 3929 mining shares, 554,000 acres of land and 206 stands in townships . . . in all the BSA Co. had alienated 9.8 million acres to companies, and land at not more than 1/6 per acre became a paper asset for future gain.

Milton, when he succeded Jameson as Administrator in 1896, was quick to note "the most reckless manner of land alienation" and he remarked that "Jameson has given nearly the whole country away to the Willoughbys, Whites . . . Honourables and military elements . . . so there is absolutely no land left of any value for settlement". In 1898 he tried in G.N. 5/98 to enforce 'bonafide and beneficial' occupation of land and it is ironic to think that he found himself, in the routine of duty, obliged to sign in 1902 Deed No. 5199 which conferred legal title of ownership on Willoughby's Consolidated Ltd. to 'Lawrencedale Estate' for a sum of £496-3-6 representing quitrent 1899-02 and survey fees. These landlords had succeded in frustrating both Milton and Rhodes' efforts to bring about settlement and by 1912 'absentee-ism' had so flourished that "Development was being carried out on one million ouf of eight million acres owned by companies".[16] In this category were Willoughby's farms in Lawrencedale Estate comprising idle land, perhaps some grazing for cattle and so-called squatters from whom the Company collected annual rents if possible as tenants (this type of squatter-farming was later controlled by the Private Locations Ordinance of 1908). Only from 1945 onwards were these farms sold singly or in batches until all twenty-five had gone by 1955. As an example, H.C. Fischer bought farm No. 1 for £1526 odd and No. 2 for £1231 in March 1949, and W.F. Fischer (born 1906) bought No. 5 for £2563 in 1952.

Richard Lesueur (Dick) Fischer and William Fischer

The Fischer brothers first started on 'Fischers Farm' which they renamed 'Fischersville' when Dick was registered at a quitrent of £6-4-0 in 1894. In the 1896 Rebellion Dick barely escaped with his life when, having disregarded Native Commissioner Ross' warning of a rising, he had to abandon his farm and run to the laager at Headlands (not the railway station of Headlands) four miles away (his account of this escape is in the National Archives).

The two Fischers re-established themselves slowly and endurably after the Rebellion and were officially recorded as having grown some good oat hay, but their price was so high it was far more economical to import from Natal. They founded *the* historical families of the District whose descendants still farm there. Dick, having been granted 'Coldstream Ranch' by the BSA Co. in 1913, made it together with his son Ferdi, a notable cattle and sheep farm.

Hugh Lloyd Williams

Williams was born in Wales in 1860 and was working in Cape Town when the adventure of the trek attracted him, and his letters are the only account of it. He undertook

the duties of the Post Office at Lawrencedale and the settlement farm given to him was surveyed by Pickett in 1894 and subdivided into three — 'Mona ', 'Dyffryn' (presumably named by Williams), and an unnamed southern portion which in later days became Crofton Torish and Ripplemead.

Williams must have been a hard working young man because during the four years preceding the Rebellion his farm carried 220 cattle, 50 sheep and an undisclosed number of pigs. When the Rebellion broke out in Matabeleland he, possibly visiting Salisbury at the time, joined Beal's relief column and was sent to Bulawayo in May. He was away, therefore, from Mona when the June rising occurred and was only able to call in there when Beal's column passed through on its way to bring up food supplies from the railhead in Mocambique. Makoni's rampaging gangs had laid the countryside bare and he recorded sadly, "great destruction, no cow, nor calf, sheep, pig, fowl or pigeon left, potatoes dug up and only water runs through the trenches with growing oats still there as the natives had no horses".

After the Rebellion was quelled in September, and possessing nothing, he accepted a Government contract to make a road from New Umtali towards Salisbury. He eventually settled back on his farm in May '98, describing himself as never having been so poor, and managed to make some money by supplying the Railways with woodloads at Rusape. This was when EGH came to know him.

His letters record Australians passing through his farm at night on horses in April 1900, a surveyor "measuring Willoughby's land" in September, lions troublesome with his sheep, and then he moved away about 1905 to engage in mining activities in Lomagundi. In March 1914 he transferred title in Mona farm to J.C, Munch (actually his wife)[17] and entered the Great War by joining the Rhodesian Forces sent to German East Africa in 1916. After the war he was sailing for Wales and home when he stepped off the boat at Dar es Salaam, and his last letter recorded his address at Tabora in 1922, Tanganyika.

Archer Russell Ross, 1862-1908

Archer Ross (first officially listed as 'Archar') became a great friend of EGH and a remarkable influence on his life. Born in Queenstown (S. Africa) in June 1862 and a fluent Zulu linguist, his early life has left no reliable record, but he must have had some special contact with Rhodes, who invited him to become a Native Commissioner (with the promise of a brick house when he married), and he assumed duty in April 1895 at a camp on the Rusape River some 5/6 miles above the present town. He married in October '98 Louisa Jane (Lil) Laxton (born England 1873), the first white woman in the area, and built his new brick house for her in July '97 when he moved his administration camp to 'New Rusape' on O'Reilly's road.

EGH had only just settled down in Rusape when the new rail line, always subject to accidents and washaways, became the scene of a dreadful crash which he described in his letters. On 12th November a construction train from Umtali carrying a few passengers sitting on an open truck in front of the engine on a load of sleepers was derailed and overturned by excessive speed down the decline to the Tsungwisi River. The driver, fireman and 17 Africans were killed, and Ross with his new wife and O'Reilly were cut up or pinned under sleepers, Ross suffering a cracked skull, his wife a fractured spine. O'Reilly and the Guard, comparatively unhurt, walked miles to the nearest telephone,

while two men working at the bridge cared for those hurt in their huts until medical assistance came next day.

Ross earned his reputation for cold blooded bravery and administrative insight in 1896 when not a settler lost his life in Rusape District during the Rebellion. He was aware of the enmity towards whites of Chief Mutota Makoni and of his formidable number of young men, but also of the deep cleavage of jealousy and inter-house rivalry existing between the Chief and the House of Maruka which anticipated succeeding him, and whose members for self-interest refused to become involved in manoeuvres against the few whites scattered about. Hearing that trouble was brewing and armed men congregating, Ross mounted his horse and, accompanied by Dick Fischer, rode off the dozen miles to Chief Makoni s stronghold, which he knew quite well with its great stone wall. Nearing the place he hid Fischer, telling him that if he did not return he was to warn everybody, and proceeded on alone riding through hundreds of armed men, who poured out yelling and shaking their weapons at him. He met the Chief at the entrance and urged him not to attempt to fight the whiteman, but the Chief made no helpful reply and Ross, expecting a musket bullet or stab in the back, calmly remounted and rode off amidst the sullen warriors awaiting their Chief's orders to kill, which never came.

Back in Rusape Ross set in plans for a laager at Headlands Farm and sent out warnings to all settlers. About the 20th June urgent calls were made to everybody to join the laager, and it was there that rampaging gangs from the chiefdoms of Swoswe and Mangwende of Marandellas[18], not Makoni at the time, pursued the Marandellas wagons and attacked the laager on the 22nd June. This was beaten off and next day everyone was evacuated to Umtali laager, before the available food supplies ran out, without any interference by Makoni's people.

For some six weeks Chief Makoni was free to indulge his ambition to restore his pre-colonial situation in Mahungwe and his people were free to let loose pillage and destruction on everything they could find. Only when Alderson's Mounted Infantry guided by Ross restored some basis for control after an attack on Makoni's stronghold, and finally the surrender and death of the Chief on 3rd September '96 after an attack by Watts Column, was Ross able to start administering his District again.

A noteworthy yield of the Rebellion was the British Government's insistence on putting a stop to Jamesonian land operations by the Order in Council of 1898, which required the BSA Co. to set aside land as "Reserves adequate for their pastoral and agricultural requirements" as a protection against the 'squeezing out process'. Now that the administrative history of land Reserves has been revealed[19] it comes as a revelation to find out how many Native Commissioners, in district after district, independently objected or recorded strong protests against the recommendations or decisions of the Government, and the Land Settlement Department in particular, as being based on deplorable criteria and unjust, some even having the temerity, for a Civil Servant, to suggest to the authorities that unoccupied farms be expropriated for communal African occupation. Among these officials, in the earliest phase, was Archer Ross.

After the Rebellion Ross found his principal task to be that of locating and demarcating available areas involving the minimum interference with actual African occupation. He was instructed that no such Reserves were to infringe on the railway belt, and he had to accept that alienated land was not available, so his earliest problem was to distinguish the large tracts and farms never developed, no even occupied, and left idle

since the Rebellion, sometimes a hopeless task when in the spaces of empty land some syndicate's paper-rights were recorded in Salisbury.

By November '99 he was complaining in an official report that, "the best land is occupied by farmers, syndicates and companies so there is very little now vacant" and he demarcated two Reserves — Makoni and Chiduku — mostly areas well populated, amidst kopjes and caves with water, by Africans who had long lived there fore security reasons. Even the ancestral homeland of the Makoni Chiefs had to be left out because it had been alienated as "Mbobo Vale" farm under a Permit of Occupation No. 119 for which no date, nor details recorded, and only the Chief Native Commissioner's Report of 1922 revealed its ancestral nature when it was bought up by people's subscriptions.

In 1900 Ross was seconded for "special service". After the relief of Mafeking in February Rhodes spent some months in Rhodesia simply meeting people, encouraging them in the efforts he wished to see transforming a new country from wild wasteland into production of every kind for future generations. His estate in Inyanga served as an experimental station for all sorts of stock and produce. On his way via Beira he met up with the Australian "Bushmen" contingent destined for the Boer War and maybe those Australians gave him an idea, a surprise for Ross!

Ross was asked by Rhodes to go to Australia, New South Wales, to buy 1000 head selected breeding stock and there he made such a good selection that some Australians offered him a substantially higher price than he had paid for the herd. He cabled Rhodes asking if he could sell and buy more. Rhodes' characteristically curt reply was, "I sent you to buy, not to speculate". The scheme was calamitous because the fly-proof trucks intended for their reception at Beira were not ready, the railway was closed for floods, and disease, identified as tick fever, at first called 'African Coast Fever', and later known as 'East Coast Fever', decimated the cattle, only five animals survived.[20]

In 1903 Ross, having appreciated the young trader s interest in Africans, had for some time been urging EGH to join the Department and when he heard that the new Administrator was committed to a new Native Department he put in a special plea to Headquarters and, as EGH described it, "Ross took me by the ear into the Department". How the British High Commissioner in the Cape, Alfred Milner, derived his weighty objections to the recruitment of 'traders', and so issued an "order absolutely barring them", has never been disclosed but this simply shows up the weight carried by Ross, and the interviews in Salisbury, which induced Milner to make an exception.

Ross was never transferred to another District and he died of appendicitis in September 1908 leaving under the care of his two Executors, Lucas Lyle and W.S. Taberer, his widow and two children, daughter Zillah[21] and son Vyvian who emigrated to Canada and died there in 1974. Mrs. Ross, a famous character, withdrew to her farm Woodlands in the District and lived there in straightened circumstances until she married again, to Charles Lucas Lyle and they lived on Kirkly Vale, one of several farms he had acquired in pre-rebellion days. Presumably farming did not pay and they moved to Bulawayo. Lucas died in 1926 while in Natal and 'Mrs Lil' then worked as a secretary until in 1934 she married Major T. Power and became a well-known character in Salisbury (as well as step-mother to Lord Malvern the Prime Minister) whose dramatic history in Rusape was unknown to most people until she died in 1961 at the age of 87 at Borradaile Trust, Marandellas.

Charles Boyd Clark: 1876-1932

The last of the Rusape pioneers to receive our attention is Charles Boyd Clark from England who landed in Beira in 1896/7 and with many lifts and no money walked up as far as Castle Zonga farm near Rusape. He stayed at Police posts awhile, finding he was very welcome as a bearer of news from 'the old country', and made a friend of EGH in Rusape, joining him in some trading (EGH recollected with some amusement that Boyd weighed 200 lbs and was therefore of help in weighing bags of mealies!) and later was recorded on the Voters Roll of 1902 as running a store on Clare Estate.

Looking around for a farm he expressed disgust at the manner in which all farms near the railway had been taken by Willoughby, indeed residents of those days called Lawrencedale 'Willoughby's farms'. Eventually he persuaded Rhys Fairbridge, the pioneer surveyor who had named and purchased for himself the farm 'Castle Zonga', to sell the farm in October 1905 "for under £500". Boyd married Maude Ingle from England in July 1913 and together they turned Castle Zonga into a famous dairy farm with a well-known pedigree herd of Frieslands . . . and brought up three sons — Cecil, Wallis, John — and a daughter Isobel who married Dr Campbell of Salisbury.

Boyd Clark had sub-divided the originally large Castle Zonga and that portion embracing the "Devils Pass" road he had sold to a George Haywood Everard who named his farm simply "The Pass". When he died in 1932 he nominated Everard as his Executor who, while assisting his neighbour Mrs. Boyd Clark in running her farm, married her in 1935, moved to Castle Zonga and helped bring up the whole family. He died in 1965 and Mrs. Everard carried on the farm with wonderful resolution until her son Cecil was able to assume control about 1968.

> (The writer inserts here that he is especially grateful to Mrs. Everard, who died in 1985 aged 95, for responding so happily to his verbal and written questions and provided most of the detailed family material set down in this account of Rusape's admirable pioneer families. They set the tone and economics of the District and its fine products from the land).

The Independent Trader: 1899-1902

As railhead shifted from Rusape to Marandellas and reached Salisbury in May '99 EGH was able to rely for his living on the demand for grain supplies to the Railways, augmented by grain required for road contractors, otherwise his "end of the country was absolutely dead". Indeed, all development was utterly dependent on the twin needs for grain and labour from an indigenous system not geared to supply either . . . until in 1894 a Hut Tax Ordinance had enduced the first rudimentary impulse to earn money and enter the world money system.[22]

A new road was being constructed from Badderley's farm on the railway to link Salisbury direct to Inyanga (Nyanga) via Mt Dombo[23] and his firm had the grain contract, so in April/June '99 he spent two months moving around the kraals trying to assess their food potential. As far north as Chikoree Kraal he found little but "splendid game country with elephants" and finally decided to settle down in June alongside the great massif of Mt Dombo. The grain was not yet dry and was lying in great heaps on the flat rocks ('ruware') in readiness for the threashing ceremonies ('Jakwara'). Only after these might trading start.

Life at Dombo he noted as pleasant, shooting good, food plentiful, "bread made from my own antheap oven and my hut looks decent by hanging up horns, skins, a fine silver jackal, bushbaby and tigercat". He had two fox-terriers, a hound he described in later years as an indigenous 'Basenji' and a pet baboon youngster who taught him baboon-language!

In July '99 a shadow fell over his brightness at Dombo. He had heard that his firm of Lyle Bros. & Wright was in financial difficulties, and his worry was that being able to be mainly self-supporting in the velt, he had not drawn his salary and commission, allowing them to accumulate. The firm was declared insolvent (Government Gazette 28th July 1899) and after lodging his claim in Umtali he commented, "It is rather a sell to suddenly come smash to the bottom again. I'm afraid these last two years have been completely wasted". He returned to Rusape after noting that "in Umtali everyone seems broke, people pay their debts with goods, wood, vegetables etc . . . everyone was hoping for war as a solution". The newspaper carried an advertisement for army scouts at Pietermaritzburg and Plumer was recruiting men in Bulawayo for the Boer War. The War started in October and Plumer asked for 450 recruits to the Rhodesia Frontier Force.

EGH stayed in Rusape for the wet season, doing odd jobs and even travelled "up country" in January visiting chiefs to see if he could recruit any labour for the mines, a very tedious business of much talking; as to how successful he gave no indication except that he earned 10/- per man delivered. The Boer War was going disastrously for Britain with "a good hammering in Natal" and "here the Postal Services and everything else have gone wrong on account of the war". In the Manicaland end of the country, so isolated from threatened Bulawayo and political Salisbury, some interesting responses appear in his letters as news and rumours trickled in . . .

- volunteer forces are far better for this sort of fighting than the regular infantry, they don't get captured in large bodies or killed, every man would have shifted for himself, the force would cease to exist for a few days but in course of time the majority would have got home again:
- The Dutch up here are getting very cocky since they heard of their victories and if continued we should not be surprised if we had some fun up here. A Boer commando was threatening Tuli: (An official report in March indicated that Boer Agents were endeavouring to produce in the Native mind that the English are being driven out and opportunity for rising in rebellion had arrived.)
- I'm afraid Mafeking will fall unless it is relieved but luckily they have a man in command who uses common sense and does not charge with a bayonet in the day time:
- eveyone cursing his luck in not being able to go down and join the Volunteers. Government won't let any force go for fear of a rising and I wish the Boers would give us a chance up here. If they get the right sort of officers everybody who can would go but we are dead off Imperial men unless they do have South African volunteer experience. What wonderful failures they seen to be, the only thing that recommends them is their pluck and that is spoilt by their pigheadedness, the blunders of their officers:
- the Authorities should have sent Dr. Jim (Jameson) up here when the war started to attack from the north. His name is worth a 1 000 men against the Boers and if he had raised a couple of thousand men in shirt sleeves from

Rhodesia, Mafeking and Kimberley would not be cut off as they are at present and we should have been awfully close to Joburg if not in it:

and in later letters of March 1900 . . .

– what a smashing the Dutch have had by Robert, our only General!:

– I hope the war will soon be over and that the Imperial Government will take Rhodesia over when they take the Transvaal and Free State and make a decent country of it.

Mafeking was relieved in May 1900 but the War did not end as expected. It developed into prolonged guerilla campaigns for another two years with the Imperial Authorities deciding to attack from the north through Rhodesia.

The rainy season of 1899/1900 ended early and EGH was prompt to take up trading again in March, this time on his own, which required attention to credit, the grain market and national financing instead of leaving such problems to 'the Firm'. He reconnoitred a new area south of Rusape and settled on a site near Mt. Tikwiri, where he jubilantly wrote in March, "Thank goodness the grain is coming in early so beginning to make money again which is a comfort", and by the end of April, helped by a cold spell which promoted a big rush for blankets, he had made about £100 and cleared all expenses. He mentioned that his nearest competitors were in Rusape where triple his prices were paid but his locals in Chiduku Reserve were "unaccustomed to carry loads very far, which is good for me". Occasionally, statistics appear "I should have done better if I could get goods, as it is I have only had 12 days trading in this month and in that time did about 200 bags. It beats all records for trading around this district, the best was 300 in a month".

The shortage of goods for trading, the delays in replenishing stocks, the rising prices which made him thankful that he had laid in "good stock of grub" at the beginning, everything was becomming scarce on account of the troops as Carrington's Rhodesia Field Force of 5000 men began to pass through. In April he mentions having met the Australians, "a rough looking crowd but awfully quiet, not like South African volunteers, and they have heard no more about the war than we had". Later, in June, "the Australians were still going through Rusape, a fine lot of men and just the sort they want, used to velt life, and some grand horses with them in comparison with the ones we see up here". By August he could report, "Thank goodness the Australians have finished going through here, they were like a flight of locusts, everything gave way to them, hardly any food left, every wagon bought by Government for the troops". (The Australians, along with other Empire contingents, were all specially selected volunteers and their unique origins and capabilities deserve attention in a separate article.)

Goods begun to return and prices were nearly back to normal, but trading dwindled in September and he moved into Rusape for a fortnight to look after the milling plant of the man to whom he sold his grain . . . and to fume against the BSA Company who had required traders to pay for the land they occupied when "one can buy any quantity of land for 1/6 per acre and volunteers are being offered farms of 3000 acres at 10/- rent per year (not 10/- per acre)." He was so indignant that he considered "chucking the whole business . . . the Company grabs everything they can lay hands on."

After the rains the 1901 trading season found him settle down in an even more remote spot near the confluence of the Macheke and Sabi rivers, some 15 miles from the nearest railway station. Trading was lively and he was pleased to report the peculiar technique he had discovered to protect his grain . . . his "tame cobra" living amongst the sacks which he

encouraged to keep the rat and thief population in check. The outside world was so remote he wondered if the War would ever end and he remarked that the country seemed to be going ahead, that mines looked like business.

More wagons became available and he made plans for a contractor to remove his grain in early October so that he might pay a visit to England in November for Christmas, "I need a trip badly. Five years of velt life take it out of one", and he had "a nice little windfall from the bankrupt Estate of Lyle Bros. & Wright". However, the new East Coast Fever delayed wagon transport, the rains turned tracks into quagmires and only late in December did he catch a boat from Beira and spend six months in England, during which Cecil Rhodes died in March and the Boer War ended in May '02.

A Trading Diary of 1902

On his return to the country in July '02 EGH found it "in a horrible condition on account of cattle sickness, so I was fairly driven into trading and moreover it is apparently going to be a good thing this year as the crops are mostly a failure. They are not where I am though. This makes the price of grain go up in Salisbury" and he hopes for 25/- a bag to bring him in a profit of 10/- per bag. He returned to the same area, Chiduku Reserve, but nearer to the railway at Nyazure siding and at the foot of a mountain called Denzwa, a "huge block of granite towering over my camp", where his local 'good-will' of the previous year would help him along, and the nine miles to the siding would allow him to rely on porterage rather than wagon transport afflicted with the cattle sickness.

While in England his sister abstracted a promise to keep a diary with the result that we are presented with a detailed account of trading practice till the end of September '02.

At Nyazure (modern Nyazura) he had a friend named Grey (K.T. Grey on the 1902 Voters Roll and brother of George Grey who led a prospecting party which found the Katanga copper field of the Congo in 1899) who had set up a full store business with cash transactions there, so EGH could say later that, "When locals want money, which is only occasional, I see them and their grain passing by me to Grey's". Grey looked after his grain-bags and goods from Umtali until he sent for them and often helped him out from his own stocks when trading supplies ran short. Even more important, when early rains came in September Grey allowed him to erect a shelter for grain on his property and the whole season's grain stocks remained there till sold in March '03.

According to the daily notes trading averaged 4/5 bags a day, brought in of course in small quantities, and was described as "brisk" when up to 8/9, as "poor" when none to only half a bag a day. Much depended on the weather, for cold or drizzle promptly cut supplies, making a journey unpleasant, and excessive heat encouraged a stay in the shade. Africans decided their exertions on impulse unimpaired by notions of contract or time, and when two of them, whom he had hired to carry loads of goods from Grey's, offered to return next day to bring in more he commented, "most wonderful that these want to do two consecutive days work, first time in five years I have seen this happen".

By far the most vital inducement to part with grain was salt. As soon as their grain was threshed (rather late in July this season) the demand for salt was such that he was regularly running out and having to borrow from Grey, as well as gaining enough confidence from Africans to allow him to pay in salt later which he described as, "Salt arrived, used half to pay off debts I owe to about a dozen who came waiting around and raised a cheer when it came". He remarked in August, "They are mad on salt, 100 lbs gone in two days" and in

September, "Big trade today, I don't know why they want so much salt this year." Unlike the Makoni people with their fashion for brass wire ornamentation, the Chiduku evoked no mention of wire and seemed to confine themselves to a favourite white limbo and, as soon as a chill in the air appeared, blankets.

Hearing from Grey on the 4th August that the cattle sickness had appeared in the District EGH promptly resorted to head transport at 15/- per month and hired five Africans to carry loads of 70 lbs each to Nyazure. Soon after, he reduced the loads to 50 lbs, having calculated that although the proper load was 75 lbs, 50 would not cost him more than the wagons and "within a month it is expected all cattle will have died"[24]. He had some caustic comments on the fact that having shot two sable there was no complaint about carrying over 100 lbs meat each, "if I gave them that weight they would be ill for a week after and never stop grumbling for ever after, but meat!!!". However, on the 11th August a transport rider named Short rode in on a donkey seeking a deal, and a contract was agreed that his two wagons would move all the grain as from the end of August. EGH remarked that this took a load off his mind and he had to start weighing off his grain on a small scale into 203 lb bags, "rather a big job".

Short's wagons arrived and EGH, noting how old they were, wondered if a load of 25 bags each would reach Grey's. They did, but only one wagon made it back with a load of salt and goods which, on the news being spread among the kraals that the "apana" shortage ('there is none') was over, resulted in a record 10 bags in one day. In trying to cope with this fluctuating and unpredictable demand the proximity of his friend Grey was no doubt a great asset. All traders faced the hazard of losing trade when goods ran out and forfeiting profits if goods remained over when trading ended. In mid-September EGH noted that his goods were coming to an end "which is what one wants" and added, "that is where new chums get left; They find at the end that all their profit is in the goods which, having to be sold on sales, will lose about 80%". Instead of coming to an end his grain trade picked up and continued into October, with resulting calls on Grey for help.

Grain Marketing

There is no indication of how EGH kept in touch with the Salisbury grain market whose prices were always changing, and transport costs could be very excessive. In August '02 he noted that the price was going down, "only natural, so I shall hang on to all I can get till February when I expect it to go up again" and he hoped to have 500 bags. On the 20th September, "if I can only do another 100 bags I shall not grouse, especially if the price keeps going up . . . I have only made about £1 per day since I have been out which is not good enough as trading only lasts six months in the year". In December he was persuaded by Ross to visit Salisbury and interview certain authorities about entering the Native Department and he returned to find "the rains had stopped, everything burning up with the sun so people will have to plant again . . . the Railways have reduced their rates on local produce[25] so I have a distinct present of between £60 and £70 given me, quite a nice Xmas-box".

That rainy season of 1902/3 was an extraordinary season. On 28th December he wrote "I have about 700 bags and holding on in expectation of a rise in price as no rain for six weeks, crops dead, grass fit to burn. Expect price of £1 per bag, and even more with a bit of luck as I am the only one between Salisbury and Umtali who has any quantity at all". So serious was the prospect of famine conditions in the whole country that in March '03 the

Railways announced that after such a drought season railway rates would be reduced to cope with the projected importation of grain and crops through Beira . . . wrote EGH "It comes out at nearly the same price from Beira to Salisbury as from here (Rusape) to Salisbury. A beastly shame I call it, it spoils my little game in grain. I did not count on the Railways doing a silly thing like that. I am a protectionist now, no more free trade for me. It will make a difference of about 15/- per bag to me which I consider the Railways have stolen from me".

The economics of the situation did not turn out as badly for him as he had speculated. In May, from Salisbury where he had become a Civil Servant, he was able to write, "sold my grain to the BSA Company at top market price, also saved commission agents fees of 5%, but all the same the price should have been higher considering the year . . . tons of mealies etc. are being imported now so I think I sold just at the right time, and have mony to spare for once in a way".[26]

The African Economy in Makoni District

From time to time his letters describe the Africans and presage that interest and insight into their way of life, their customs and traditions which earned him the official comment, "A Mashona Scholar" and 'the legend' behind his African name, "Macharangwanda".

In those earliest days his interest tended to focus on their modes of production, their economics, for his own survival among them depended on his success in selecting profitable trading sites. Attempts to guess at future surplus grain by viewing standing crops proved faulty. He soon discovered the significance of the heaps of grain open to public view which the threshing ceremonies ('jakwara') required, and came to rely each season on the 'ma-jakwara' as his chief means of assessing the results of the previous months of productive activity, and the potential grain surplus for trade. Indeed, the 'jakwara' was the only opportunity to do so because the threshed grain is quickly removed from public view into the jealously guarded secrecy of a woman's grain-bin 'dura'. In there it is suitably guaranteed by magical 'divisi' medicine to ensure 'a full feeling from a little meal' and to last the rest of the year, under the exclusive care and distribution of the woman, so much so that if she should die her husband may not even open her 'dura', only her own family may take control, and woe betide anyone who offended her spirit!

The 'jakwara' was a joyous public festival of beer and high spirits, allowing ribaldry and a release of tensions to mark the end of the months of strain and anxiety in hazardous agricultural production amidst wild animals, locusts and erratic rainfall. It was also a kind of climax to the series of beer parties ('nimbi') which brought the local community into work-parties whenever the nature of farming operations necessitated communal action in some individual's gardens.

EGH became quite familiar with these operations but the great mystery for him was how to explain the fact that no provision was made for the building of extra grain-bins when a bumper harvest could be expected and people were exclaiming pridefully about their crops? Yet so much attention was given to mystical 'divisi' in many forms to prevent or mitigate shortages of food, to increase yields and so on! Food was an almost ceaseless topic of interest, but not accompanied by any increase in existing storage facilities, and historical calenders were marked by 'years of famine' and 'hungry months'.

Contrary to pictures presented by some modern writers about a pre-colonial peasant

prosperity, scarcity of food was the normal year in the generally harsh climatic environment of Africa. Experiencing this led to a whole cultural complex evolving — of shrewd production and gathering, food distribution, hospitality, courtesy, reciprocity and food rights of relatives and those in authority ('zunde') — as a butress to strengthen social security against the vagaries and abnormalities of the annual challenge. And with belief in the external aid or benevolence of magical and religious rituals, all recipies for communal welfare, morale and removal of worry . . . in some areas this belief could be reversed and it was reported to be dangerous to be seen as well-off compared to neighbours (having extra grain-bins?) as this signalled sorcery (uroyi).

This appropriately called 'Subsistence Economy' — so effective in its own narrow sphere for survival — allowed no ideas of accumulating grain, of calculation (except by the housewife), of foresight and selfish individual production and hoarding; only the deeply held belief that by super-natural means food shortages could be avoided, or calamities explained.[27] From time to time, of course, there were years of plenty and this fortuitous — or predestined? — surplus could be disposed of in a variety of ways ranging through exchange, barter, political gifts, beer brewing, status symbols such as generosity, cattle and extra wives, and for trading or sale if a money market economy had intruded.

It was not until money, in termite-like manner, began to eat into the structure and motivations of every day life that the beginnings of inexorable change for good or bad — or a mixture of both — could emerge. When it did, that would be a gradual, meaningful, very individual change of attitude and decisionmaking, impossible to ascribe to any particular time or locality, perhaps more dependent on women than men, and surely not such vigorous, wholesale change as implied in "seizing opportunities"! Also, a degree of education or modernisation is a prerequisite for any individual to acquire the capacity to respond to the profit motive. He or she must have embodied an individualistic motive of economic advantage and risk-taking to be willing to break out of communal bonds of obligation and social approval, either for a specific objective (the 'target worker' as the first stage of economic change) or, in course of time, a new deviant way of life to be reconciled somehow with the old traditional values. Indeed individualism, in the sense of personal self-advantage, when it takes charge without the inhibitions of higher sentiments and the restraints of financial disciplines, could turn out to be the flaw in most state and social arrangements.

This was the obscure, intricate, unfolding pattern of life encountered by EGH and he experienced it in the ups and downs of grain production during the decade ended in 1903. The account may serve to redress the half-truths, even quarter-truths in modern assertions made by economic historians and commentators who, ferreting out statistics for interpretation by European calculations, conclude that there was "a flourishing" or "thriving" Shona peasantry; that the peasants of the 1890s "reacted by producing crops for the European economy" rather than having some to spare; and that they, as collectivities rather than as individuals, "seized" the opportunities of the new market and grew crops for sale in 1898/9. It is difficult to understand the academic attraction towards such specious generalisations except as conforming with the fashionable marxist theory of 'exploitation' with its offshoots of deliberate impoverishment of what had once been "the prosperous, self-sufficiency of Africa'.

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From a tiny patch of land called Makoni District, in an even more tiny space of Africa called Rhodesia, and then Zimbabwe, the evolution of a feeling of identity with land has been traced. The unfolding of this feeling into a sentiment of patriotism (love and loyalty), and its significance as the buttress of a Nation (if enough people share the feeling) which gives life and strength to the State in which it is encased, have been mentioned. This single, dominant ingredient of the Nation diffuses in a multitude of mysterious ways and degrees in men's minds, and profoundly influences their actions; it has been made manifest in the energies behind William's and Munch's farm and aloe garden of Mona, the Coldstream sheep farm of the Fischers, the dairy herd of the Boyd Clarks' Mt. Zonga, as well as in EGH's more ranging impulsion to help the whole country.

There is every justification for wonder over the incredible variety and power of sentiments about land; the display of individual resource, ingenuity and resolve in its development; and the glow it arouses in service, drama, song and literature . . . all the things which in time compose a Nation.

Those people who overcame the hard times were indeed pioneering 'Africa Emergent' but there is another kind of 'pioneering' all around . . . those who, amidst the tremendous hazards touched on above, are in the throes of moulding a Zimbabwe Nation.

References & Notes

1. 'Rhodesiana' Nos. 39 and 40, Prof. R.S. Roberts' "The Settlers". See also R. Cary's "The Pioneer Corps". 1975.

2. Of course once its apparatus is established a State can impart and compel a degree of unity and consensus within its international boundaries, operate the modern techniques of influencing mass impulses, popularise some fresh patterns of thinking and behaviour, even rely on a territorial response of fervent 'national unity' if threatened by some enemy from outside or international sport competitions; but in the absense or weakness of the master sentiment bonding land and people together, the concept of 'The Nation' and its resources is likely to remain an abstraction for too many people. Then State monies and property will be exposed, with only meagre defences against corruption and misuse.

3. A Herald news item of 17th January 1988 — "Illegal Chiredzi Border Crossings Keep Police Busy", — revealed that even after 90 years the people of this artificial legal border area were not aware, in crossing the border, that they were breaking the law, and matters were worse during ritual ceremonies.

4. As one member of the Pioneer Police Column, under a two year police contract and stationed at Tuli, wrote, "I saw most of what is known as the Pioneer Corps hurrying down country much quicker than they were able to travel up."

5. Watts' Column comprised a body of 100 volunteers from Plumer's Matabeleland Relief Force sent to relieve Mashonaland in July 1896 and stationed at Marandellas to keep the route to Umtali open.

6. 'Nameless' . . . there was an abundance of indigenous names, of which Marondera was one, but no inclusive name except the European-concocted 'Mashonaland' (even although there were no 'Mashonas'). This was at best not derogatory and had attained popular usage in competition with 'Banyailand' and 'Zambesia'. The label 'Rhodesia', after being adopted by an enterprising newspaper and bandied about from the Congo (see 'Generation of Men', p 37, W.V. Brelsford, 1965) to the Limpopo in top political circles, had only recently appeared as a geographical entity in an official document (Jameson's unauthorised Proclamation in May 1895) and begun to filter into common usage. The British Order in Council of 1894 avoided the name 'Mashona' by using 'Matabeleland' to describe the whole territory as far as Portuguese country and only after the Rebellion in February 1897 did Britain officially authorise the name and an Order in Council of 1898 legalised the designation 'Southern Rhodesia' for the area south of the Zambesi River.

7. See articles in Rhodesian History Journal. 1970 and 1971.

8. New members of the B.S.A. Police, officially founded in October '96, arrived in December after Alderson's troops had left. Alderson had estimated 580 Police were needed and men in the local

forces were invited to re-engage in the BSA Police until the 31st May '97 at 5/- per day (because the Police pay was 5/-) plus a bonus of 5/- per day on discharge. EGH had agreed to stay on after Plumer's MRF had been returned to Mafeking and disbanded in October '96 after Rhodes Indabas in the Matopos.

9. At that time 'Mazwina' or more generally 'Maswina', was not a derogatory term, although some derived it from 'tsvina' meaning 'dirt' and the allegation that the Matabele called them 'the dirty people' is most improbable. It was used by the local people themselves as a useful cover to satisfy ignorant, disconcerting inquiries without further questioning. Years later, when he and the Africans knew each other better, EGH was told that 'Masvina' was used by Selous' hunters to call any locals up when an elephant had been killed so they could 'ku svina' (to wring out) the entrails and share in the meat. Apart from the earliest pamphlets the first dictionary by Fr. Biehler in 1906 and 1913 he called a Chiswina Dictionary as a convenient collective name and in the 1927 edition the editor acknowledged that the Native Department considered that the term 'Chiswina' should be discouraged in favour of 'Chishona'. The name 'Mashona' came from South Africa as a collective name propagated by Zulu-speaking interpreters (also responsible for many place-name distortions) and was not, or hardly known indigenously. It seemed to refer to a land or direction in which to travel long before it was applied to a people.

10. There are many 'Dombos' (large rock) in Zimbabwe but this is THE DOMBO requiring no descriptive addition, the largest and highest solid granite mass in the country. EGH described it, "like a heap of cement piled high up and rained upon so groved down the sides and not a tree or blade or grass on it". It's height 6586 feet.

11. 'Totem' is just a convenient word to use to describe the more than sixty clan names with mystical connotations. The vague term 'tribe' has fallen into disuse as politics tinged it with derogation.

12. See NADA 5 of 1927, p67 and 77, for descriptions of the dialect problems.

13. For the first two years of trading he was paid and equipped with trade goods by the firm of Lyle Bros. & Wright of Umtali; thereafter he operated on his own.

14. Rainfall records show 63% of normal in Salisbury, 67% in Umtali and very little in the month of February 1903.

15, Sixty years later came a tribute in the Herald from Ambrose Goto, "Perhaps the most famous of all nicknames is Macharangwanda. His name has become a legend among the old generation. . ."

16. "Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia", p 104, R. Palmer, 1977.

17. Presumably J.C. Munch had been on Mona for several years before getting title as his son Raymond Charles records their arrival from South Africa in 1909. Mona became celebrated, under Raymond's enthusiasm and botanical skills, as "Undoubtedly one of the finest private gardens in the world" and "one of the world's finest aloe and cycad gardens" (see Excelsa No. 3/1973 and The Herald 19-5-75); with the added distinction of History in the form of a monument to van der Byl and enormous gumtrees, some over 13 feet in diameter, remaining from the avenue planted 1891/2.

18. "The Shona & Zimbabwe", p166, D. Beach, 1980. See also his "Chimurenga", p404, Journal of African History, 1979, for a convincing case for a series of uprisings unplanned and uncordinated, spreading with ripple effect, not a strict 'Rebellion'

19. See Palmer's detailed research under Note 16 above.

20. For another account of this episode see G.H. Tanser's "A Sequence of Time", p42.

21. Daughter Zilla married David Peters with whom she had two children — Audrey who became Mrs. McIntosh of Salisbury and Hamish who became a Native Commissioner following in his grandfather's footsteps.

22. In many African countries such a measure was resorted to, not only by 'exploiting settler government'. No matter how repugnant it was at the time those with a responsibility for development of any kind, then or now, could hardly fault the principle of some contribution to the State for public services. What would have evolved, at what pace, if such a coercive instrument had not been used to prize open a subsistence mentality by creating conditions which would encourage personal enterprise?

23. See "Inyanga" in Rhodesiana No. 31 of 1974, by R.W. Petheram, for an account of development there.

24. This disease was the new East Coast Fever attributed to the arrival of cattle from Australia in Beira nine months earlier.

25. Beit had made his famous business visit to Rhodesia to overhaul the whole machinery of the Company's administration. The Railway rating system whereby the Beira line traffic charges were not to be lower than the much longer line to South Africa had stirred up Salisbury's anger. See G.H. Tanser's 'A Sequence of Time', p73, 1974.

26. Chief Native Commissioner's Annual Report, "exceptionally dry season . . . starvation in some districts . . . grain distributed by N.C.s at cost price . . . special low rail rates for imports via Beira".

27. For interpretations of a 'calamity' see A.S. Chigwedere's "Rinderpest" in Heritage No. 2/82 for a revealing commentary on that affliction.

Address on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the Livingstone Memorial

by The Reverend James Gray, LL.D.

The memorial to Dr. David Livingstone, who was born on 19th March 1813 and died on 1st May 1873, in the form of a statue cast in bronze, was officially unveiled on 5th August 1934 in situ at Victoria Falls by the Honourable H.U. Moffat, the Prime Minister. The memorial was accepted from the Federated Caledonian Societies, who had conceived, planned and financed the memorial, on behalf of the Government by the Acting Governor Sir Fraser Russell. During the ceremony an address, which is reprinted below, was given by the Reverend James Gray. LL.D.

Friends, — We are assembled to-day to make visible to all who pass this way, whether drawn by the beauty and the grandeur of one of Nature's most remarkable wonders, or by any other cause — to make visible the artist's noble embodiment in enduring bronze of the form and features of a personality whose fame and renown accord well with the spacious and impressive stage on which his statue stands.

David Livingstone already has a fitting monument where his mortal remains lie among the notable and illustrious of the British race in Westminster Abbey; but here under the open sky, in the land with whose history his name will be ever associated, and at this spot where the Zambesi overleaps its basaltic bar in "smoke that thunders" as it hurries on to the sea it is meet and proper that there should be a cenotaph to his memory and honour who gave the place its geographical name in graceful tribute to our great and honoured Queen, Victoria.

The act of unveiling the statue has appropriately been committed to one who, beside the high respect he has earned for himself, has the closest family ties with the Moffats and Livingstones, and may be regarded as the rightful representative of all their kinsfolk in this world, and even of those who, for all we know, from the spirit world are interested in this day's ceremony. Here I would like to say that the Federated Caledonian Society of South Africa, which has sponsored and marshalled and brought to fruition all the sentiment and support that lies at the back of this memorable occasion (not forgetting the signal service rendered by our late beloved Chief, William Lowe), did a beautiful and commendable thing when it decided that the act of unveiling should be preceded by an act of worship of God. For who can understand or explain the life and labours, the devotion, the fortitude, the patience and serenity of such a life as Livingstone's apart from the Christian conception of God?

The Apostle Paul on Mars Hill to the cultured, bemused Athenians proclaimed God, Who made the earth and all things in it, as having made of one all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, that He has determined their allotted periods and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord if haply they might feel after Him

and find Him, for He is not far from everyone of us. To me this is the charter of the Missionary cause. In the evolution of the Divine purpose it would appear that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the time had arrived for the opening up of Africa to Christian light and civilization. Africa was the dark continent. Around its coasts a few lights more or less penetrating served to accentuate the darkness within. The position could still be described in Swift's lines:

> Geographers in Africa's maps
> With savage pictures fill their gaps;
> And o'er unhabitable downs
> Place elephants instead of towns.

It was vaguely known that vast masses of human beings were there living in a state of mental and spiritual barbarism. Over the Christian world a wave of deep concern for the heathen was passing. Missionary Societies were being formed to train, equip and support agents who would carry the message of the Gospel to the heathen anywhere. Africa attracted some choice souls for this service before he arrived who is the subject of our thoughts to-day.

David Livingstone was born at Blantyre on the 19th of March, 1813. His parents were of humble status, but their name was a guarantee of honesty and Christian worth. The father was a man of literary tastes, and intelligently sympathetic with the missionary movement. The financial position of the family may be gathered from the fact that David had to go out and earn his share of the family expenses at the age of ten. And his quality may be gathered from the fact that when from his first week's wages he had handed over his contribution to the domestic exchequer he spent the remainder on a copy of "Ruddiman's Rudiments of Latin." Grit and ambition there! The next ten years of his life he was a "hand" in a cotton factory from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m., and from 8 till midnight a home student with a hefty appetite for all kinds of knowledge that might be helpful to his cherished ambition. In his twentieth year, having passed the spiritual crisis of his life by an unreserved surrender to Christ for salvation and service, he resolved to become a medical missionary. After several years of university and cognate academical study in arts, medicine and theology, he took his diploma as Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians at Glasgow in 1840, and was ordained, the same year, as a missionary of the London Missionary Society. His first intention was to go to China, but the opium war intervened, and the door of that land was closed. Eager to be at work, he sought Divine guidance. He heard Robert Moffat, the famous Scotish missionary in Bechuanaland, lecture in London on the clamant needs in his sphere. Livingstone's heart was touched with a great pity for the African people. He asked and was appointed to work in this land. On the voyage out the captain taught him the use of the quadrant and how to take his bearings not only by the sun but by the moon and the stars, and scientists still recognise the accuracy of his records of locality.

The journey of 700 miles from Algoa Bay to Kuruman in ox wagon was soon over, and Livingstone threw himself into the working of the station in the absence of Moffat, who was still in England. But he was temperamentally a pioneer, and before a year was out he was off on a 700 miles trek farther north through Bechunanaland, to gain a knowledge of the tribes and to prospect for a new site for a station. He wrote to the Society that their policy should be expansion with a greater use of native Christians as teachers. He soon displayed a wonderful tact and facility in establishing friendly relations with chiefs and

headmen, partly through his medical knowledge, partly through his skill in handling men, but mostly by his deference to their point of view, while pressing the Christian view frequently with success.

Two years after his arrival he settled at Mabotsa, a lion-infested place, where he had an encounter with one which nearly cost him his life. The arm which the lion gnawed was partially disabled and a handicap for the rest of his life, yet he seldom spoke of it. While at Mobotsa he was married to Mary Moffat, the gentle but courageous daughter of the missionary of Kuruman, and together they lifted, with a loving ministration, first at Mabotsa, then at Chonuane, and lastly at Kolobeng, the simple heathen folk into intelligent acquaintance with the Christian life and civilization. He was always a busy man, doctor, schoolmaster, preacher, builder, farmer, administrator and generally in loco parentis, but always the missionary, caring for their souls, their spiritual needs. Among these Bakatla he lived till 1852 with the friendship and help of Chief Sechele, his first and most faithful convert among them, carrying the people forward to a better conception of life. In his desire to get in touch with other chiefs and tribes, he crossed the Kalahari three times, discovering Lake Ngami, then a great shallow sheet of water and now a reedy swamp. For those journeys his salary of £100 a year was quite inadequate, and they could not have been taken but for the help of Mr. Oswell, grandfather of Principal H.R. Raikes, who, beside accompanying Livingstone and his wife on the trek, shared with them the profits of his elephant hunting. Beyond the Kalahari is Linyanti. From there Livingstone saw two beckoning ways — northward deeper into the heart of the interior and northwestwards to the sea. To take the second of these first, hoping that it might become a trade route and a means of opening up Africa, he thought it expedient to send his wife and children to England. He accompanied them to Capetown, and was surprised at the chilly not to say hositle reception he received. Returning to Linyanti, he got a band of Makololo carriers and made his way up the Zambesi over the watershed and through a difficult and dangerous fever country (27 attacks), where the natives had sunk below the heathen normal, till he reached the sea at St. Paul de Loanda. All through this journey he never forgot that he was the missionary, talking to his carriers and to any heathen he could assemble about Christ and his Gospel. Above all,winning the chiefs to a readiness to accept missionaries when they could be sent. At Loanda he was offered a free passage to England, but declined it because he had promised to see his Makololo boys safely back to their home, and he would never break his pledge to a native. His return journey to Linyanti helped to deepen the impression he had made, and Francois Coillard, French missionary to Barotsi, years after, wrote: "I have found traces and memories of Livingstone here: In Europe people admired the intrepid traveller, but one must come here to admire the man. If some travellers have engraven their names on the rocks and the trees, he has engraved his in the very hearts of the heathen people of Central Africa."

Continuing his journey down the Zambesi, he discovered these Falls. Where we stand to-day he stood early in 1855 and viewed with calm wonder this superb nature poem which in its width, depth, picturesque variety, kaleidoscopic charm and stimulus to reverence is unequalled in any part of the globe. Without delay, he pressed on to Quilimane, where to took ship and started his first furlough after 15 years. He reached England on December 9th, and was presented with the Royal Geographical Society's medal on December 15th. Then began the shower on honours — Royalty, Scientific Societies, Universities, Town Councils and Churches embarrassed him (his wife and

children sharing) with their gifts, degrees and decorations. He spent a year in discovering Scotland and other parts of Britain, and then sat down and wrote his "First Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa." It was a best seller from its publication (November, 1857), and yielded him a handsome return — one of the best travel books ever written.

When he was about to return to Africa he had to face the London Missionary Society's resolution that it could not see its way either to the expense or the policy of supporting him in his prospective programme. Like that other great British-African, Rhodes, who was said to think in continents, Livingstone thought in terms of Africa — Rhodes thought of territory, Livingstone of humanity, but the one had millions of money to materialise his ideas with, the other had at his back a Society dependent for its resources on the voluntary contributions of an uncertain body of sympathisers. They could support a station missionary, but not an explorer. So Livingstone resigned his official connection with the London Missionary Society with regret; but that his missionary devotion was constant, notwithstanding this change, was shown by his paying the salary of the missionary who took his place in the Inyati Mission for five years, and he was particularly gratified that the missionary was John Smith Moffat, his brother-in-law, a man of rare administrative and spiritual power, which he exercised as his father's colleague and successor at Kuruman.

Shortly after, he accepted a Government appointment to explore the Zambesi and its tributaries, not because his missionary ardour had cooled, but because he saw that unless somebody did this work, as far as man could see, missions would hang around the coast, perhaps for centuries, and the heathen abominations and the infamies of the slave traffic would continue. "I view," he said, "the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise." He sailed for Africa in March, 1858, discovered Lake Nyassa and explored the Shire country in 1861. In 1862 his wife followed him to Quilimane, and at Shupanga, to his unutterable grief, there she died — a noble woman who had borne the separations and privations of an explorer's life with fidelity and sweetness till the last. He now extended his journey, trying to make use of a steamer he bought out of the profits of his book, but without success. He was outspoken about the complicity of the Portuguese in the slave traffic, and probably for that and other reasons the home Government recalled him in July, 1863. He returned in the Lady Nyassa to Bombay, and thence to England next year. He found the Government lukewarm to his ideals, and after writing his second book, "The Zambesi and its Tributaries," and having seen his mother pass away at the age of 82, he accepted an appointment under the Royal Geographical Society to open up Africa to civilising influences. He returned to Africa by way of Bombay, where he sold the Lady Nyassa for £3,000, which he deposited in an Indian Bank, which shortly after failed — £6,000, out of the profits of his books, gone at a swoop.

Crossing to Cape Delgado, he explored the Rovuma, making known Christ to the natives and seeking to establish commerce to displace the iniquitous slave trade. He discovered on this journey Lakes Tanganyika, Moero, Bangweolo, and arrived at Ujiji on March 14th, 1869. From there he reconnoitred the Manyuema and, reaching the Lualaba river, he thought he had found the Nile. Here he saw a slave raid of such atrocity that he felt the sensation of being in hell. A lying rumour was circulated by some scoundrel natives, who had robbed him, that he was dead. This moved Gordon Bennett, owner of the "New York Herald," to send out Stanley in search for the truth. That brilliant journalist found the

missionary at Ujiji on October 28th, 1871, a living skeleton, robbed of everything and starving on poor native grains. Four months of human intercourse and generous nourishment revived the energies of the veteran. The effect on his finder was remarkable. "For four months," Stanley writes, "I lived with him in the same tent, hut and boat, and I never found a fault in him. I went to Africa as prejudiced against religion as the worst infidel in London. Away from a wordly world, I saw this solitary old man there, and I asked myself: Why does he stop here? What is it that inspires him? . . . the old man was carrying out the words: 'Leave all and follow Me.' Little by little, seeing his piety, his gentleness, his zeal and how he went quietly about his business, I was converted by him, although he had not tried to do it," Surely a tribute seldom paralleled.

The British Government had sent to him by Stanley £1,000. With a new outfit, Livingstone essayed once more to solve the problem of the Nile's fountain, but tired nature refused to be driven any further. At Chitambo's village, Ilala, on Lake Bangweolo, on the 1st of May, 1873, his faithful servants, Chuma, Susi, and the other four entered his hut toward dawn. They saw him by the light of his candle, still burning, kneeling in the attitude of prayer at his bedside, his body stretched forward, his head in his hands — dead. Tenderly his sad-hearted loyal servants laid him down on the bed and went out to consult. Very reverently they took out the heart and viscera and cremated and buried them. Then they embalmed the remains and, wrapping them in calico and bark with his Last Journals, they bore them through many perils to the coast, whence a British cruiser carried them to England. On the 18th of April, 1874, amid tokens of universal honour and respect, his body was laid to rest in Westminster, where on a black marble slab thousands read the record: "For thirty years his life was spent in an unwearied effort to evangelise the native races, to explore the undiscovered secrets, to abolish the desolating slave trade in Central Africa, where with his last words he wrote: "All I can say in my solitude is, May Heaven's richest blessing come down on everyone — American, English, Turk, who will help to heal this open sore of the world.""

Individual biographies and family, company, Local Authority, Town and Club histories researched and written up for publication. Fees based on time actually spent, plus any necessary travelling costs. Inquiries to The Editor, Heritage of Zimbabwe, PO Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

Kopje House Hospital and Early Nurses in Mutare

by Florence Johnson

This is the text of a talk given to members of the History Society of Zimbabwe during a tour of historical sites in Mutare organized by the Mashonaland Branch of the Society.

Originally this talk was to be on Kopje House, and Miss Hunter, who was Matron of Umtali (as Mutare was then called) Hospital from 1958 to 1978, was approached by Mr. Ford to give the talk. Not being in good health Miss Hunter thought that her good friend Florence Johnson would leap at the opportunity. Unfortunately, I did not leap at the opportunity as, whilst not averse to talking, I knew next to nothing about Kopje House. However, Mr. Ford came down to Mutare to press the point and between them I did not escape. Lest you think that this is an apology for what is to come let me set your minds at rest on that score. Whilst knowing little about Kopje House Hospital, 1897 to 1930, I was not averse to finding out more about the early nurses, post-Pioneer — those who followed Sisters Blennerhassett, Sleeman and Welby, and about whom little was written, and what is known comes from their families and friends and those to whom they ministered. Now few direct descendants remain, and those to whom they ministered are few and far between, and memories grow dim with age and with distancing oneself from the event. So now I must say to you, the History Society of Zimbabwe, that what follows may be less than historically accurate, but it is as humanly accurate as is possible in the short time that I have been able to give to this subject.

What was it that motivated those early nurses to come to a country about which little was known, and that quite fearful, and entailing a journey into the unknown that was hazardous and dangerous?

Easier to understand the Dominicans, intrepid Christian Sisters who ventured — Mothers Patrick, Jacobs and Clare — who came to minister for the long term, not on short term contracts like the Anglican Sisters who were recruited and at first rejected by Bishop Knight Bruce, and those Sisters about whom I shall be speaking now. It was not for financial gain that they came; the health of the people of the country had not then been accepted as an administrative responsibility. According to Dr. Michael Gelfand, when Dr. Jameson visited Umtali in September 1891, he assured the Sisters that the Company would look after their material needs. In October 1891 Mr. Rhodes arrived and gave the Sisters £150 for hospital comforts.

However, before we go to the nurses and nursing side of this story I must comment on the Kopje House Hospital (subsequently known as Umtali Hospital No. 4), so that Mr. Ford's honour is satisfied.

Mr. Cran Cooke's paper on Kopje House gives all the available historical data on the building. I remember Mr. Cooke approaching my old friend Miss Brock who was well advanced in years then, but very mentally alert. I was particularly involved at the Umtali Hospital (No. 5) and could not be present when they did their tour of Kopje House, which

now I regret very much. Miss Brock had worked at the Kopje House Hospital (No. 4) and had done a 6 months' relief as Matron when Miss Newcombe was on leave in 1925, and so she was able to show Mr. Cooke where specific buildings had been (with particular reference to the Mortuary) and the use to which they had been put in her time. One of the things that I do remember from Miss Brock's reminiscences is that it was a most inconvenient place, not the least of the inconveniences being the "trek" to the mortuary. The mortuary was up on the hill behind the Women's Ward and the Dispensary, in 1926 this ceased to be used as a mortuary and this, I think, was the mortuary referred to in the following story from Mrs. Margaret Stewart involving her friend Sister Harrison who was nursing at Kopje House. Sister Harrison accompanied the stretcher bearers on the long trek to the Mortuary, she was carrying a hurricane lamp to light their way. A donkey sleeping in the grass on the outside of the fence awakened and reared up, whereupon the bearers dropped the stretcher bearing the corpse and ran for their lives.

Miss Emily Hewitt was Matron at the Old Umtali Hospital No. 3, at the time that Kopje House was being built, but she did not move with the hospital, and the first mention of a matron at Kopje House was Miss Adlam's comment in 1913 that she visited Miss Backhouse who was Matron of Umtali Hospital. Miss Backhouse later married Mr. Swain who was a manager at Premier Estate. Miss Newcombe who was a well known and well loved resident of Umtali until her death in 1956 was Matron of Kopje House Hospital in the 1920s. Miss Hunt became Matron when Miss Newcombe retired and moved in 1930 to Umtali Hospital No. 5 on Hospital Hill.

A Dr. Wilson may have been the first Medical Superintendent of Kopje House Hospital as Mr. Palmer records that . . . "in 1894 Dr. Wilson was appointed District Surgeon much to the Sister's relief (Hewitt)". In 1904 Hurworth was Chairman of the Umtali Club and he was probably Medica; Superintendent, as Miss Adlam records that in 1914 when the move to the new Salisbury (now Harare) Hospital was completed there was no resident doctor to call upon, and Dr. Hurworth, who lived nearby, would come over to lend a hand and give advice. He must have retired by then.

He was followed by Dr. Craven. Mr. Ernest Norris recalls that his father, Mr. John Norris was carried by four bearers on a machila from Devonshire Farm (Weirmouth) to the Hospital and was attended by Dr. Craven. Mr. John Norris was a friend of Mr. Rhodes and walked from Bulawayo to Inyanga (as Nyanga was then called) Dr. Craven retired and was followed by Dr. Harpur. Then came Dr. Jackson who was Medical Superintendent for many years and was at Kopje House when Miss Brock was relieving Matron. He moved to the Umtali Hospital No. 5 and was followed by Dr. James Montgomery in 1934. Miss Hunter remembers Dr. Jackson coming into her office in 1962 and saying that he had left a book on his desk when he left and could he go in and pick it up! Needless to add that the book could not be found, but Dr. Jackson said that he would just do a quick round while he was there.

Dr. Jackson did visiting on his bicycle or on horseback and another story about him is told by an Odzi farmer. Dr. Jackson had been visiting the farm and the farmer rode back as far as Odzi with him; Dr. Jackson spotted a large mushroom growing and said "Good, I'm starving." Whereupon he lept off his horse and ate the mushroom raw. Mrs. Grace Palmer and Mrs. van Coller say that he was strictly a one-meal-a-day man.

However, enough about the doctors. A book could be written about the medical men who served Umtali and perhaps one day it will.

With the intensification of work on the construction of the railway from Beira many more patients were being brought to the hospital and were carried by the machila bearers. Mrs. Merle Parkin lived in Third Street, nearer to the bottom of the hill, when she was a girl and she remembers the special rhythmic grunt made by the machila bearers which heralded the passing of the convoy. In the 1920s the ambulance was a buckboard pulled by Jennett: All that I can find out about a Jennett is that it is a small Spanish horse. A little later Dr. Eric Woods and Mr. Lex Love joined forces and ran a taxi service, which was in great demand, from the Station to Kopje House Hospital.

Miss Stephanie Maritz recalls queuing up at Kopje House for inoculation against 'flu in 1918 during the great pandemic; she says that her father made his family and domestic workers line up to take a few drops of paraffin on a sugar lump every day to protect them against the 'flu.

That is the extent of my gleaning about Umtali Hospital No. 4, 1897 to 1930, and now back to 1894 and the "replacement Sisters" to whom this town owes an enormous debt of gratitude; and a change of scene to Umtali Hospital No. 2 at Old Umtali, a wattle and daub hut with a ward on either side and an operating room in the centre. Here Sisters Blennerhassett and Sleeman are waiting to be relieved.

Bishop Knight Bruce returned, in advance of the two Sisters from University College Hospital and the two Colonial Sisters, and immediately set about building a brick Mission House "one hundred feet long and conveniently arranged." I mention this because "Bishops Palace" becomes Umtali Hospital No. 3. In May 1893 Sisters Emily Hewitt and Mary Sanders arrived with two Colonial Sisters. About this journey Bishop Knight Bruce in his *Memories of Mashonaland* has this to say (quoting Dr. Rundle) . . .

"The Bishop and myself (Dr. Rundle) accompanied one relay of nurses on the journey and I can honestly say there was no inconvenience which we did not subject ourselves to in taking care of them and that they came up in the greatest possible comfort. We also did the journey of about eight hundred miles with extraordinary rapidity, the nurses having practically no exertion of any kind." . . . However, here are a few extracts from what Sister Emily Hewitt has to say about it. . . "Our next excitement was a most fearsome crossing of the Limpopo River, with wagon and oxen. Both banks were terribly steep, and the oxen just slithered down somehow to the water's edge, where they were outspanned and compelled to swim across. The wagon was taken across on a pont: but some very skilled and dangerous manoeuvring was required to get it safely onto the pont, and up the other precipice. Judge of our delight however when we reached the other side, to find Dr. Rundle and a Mr. Burgin camped nearby. They were on their way to Umtali to join Bishop Knight Bruce's Mission. The road was very bad in this part — hilly and rocky. Mules were once more our mode of conveyance . . . Twice the Shashi River had to be crossed; and the second crossing was considered to be so dangerous — especially as we had reached it at night — that a neighbouring store keeper lent us five helpers to guide us across, and thus avoid the big treacherous holes . . . We nurses had left for Victoria in the first wagon, and about seven o'clock were anxiously looking for the second wagon, as it carried all the food. At 9 p.m. Dr. Rundle and Mr. Burgin turned up on foot. The driver had got drunk and would neither go on with his wagon nor allow any other person to drive it. The Bishop sent Mr. Murgin back, on horseback to fetch the food; but the driver pulled him off the horse and defiantly refused to allow him to take anything from the wagon. Burgin managed to get some bread and the Bishop's party dined on dry bread and water . . . Then,

oh horrors, crossing that awful Lundi River with the water up to the necks of the oxen, the wagon seeming to float, and the men of the party having to wade about in the river and assist the second wagon by hitching on the span of oxen from our wagon . . . Somewhere along the way we had our first experience of washing ourselves in water which was just liquid mud. Strange to say we felt quite refreshed after our mud bath. Its wonderful what one can get accustomed to in a pioneer country. We strained some of this water to make tea and our party declared that it was not too bad.

Though forty years have come and gone, those thrilling happenings have stuck as firmly in Sister Mary's memory and my own as if they had been fixed on with hospital sticking plaster . . . On the 30th May, after seven and half weeks trek we caught our first glimpse of Umtali. Sister Sanders remembers having remarked 'my, what a beautiful place.' We thought the hospital most picturesquely situated on a small plateau surrounded by beautiful mountains."

And so, three days later Sisters Blennerhassett and Sleeman duly departed accompanied by the two Colonial Sisters, who quietly decided that they did not want to stay. Mr. Palmer remarks again "both were very much liked and did good work for some years, eventually marrying. Miss Sanders married Mr. Randolph Nesbit of Mazoe Patrol fame V.C. and Sister Emily married Mr. Blatch, an engineer on Pardy's Mine, the Guy Fawkes." Remember Mrs. Blatch.

In June 1894 Sister Eliza Hewitt, sister of the Matron arrived, and she had special training in midwifery. By now the Umtali Hospital No. 2 was too dilapidated to use and became unsafe so the Hospital was moved to the Bishop's house nearby, and No. 2 was burned down.

Work increased tremendously as the Beira railway construction speeded up and many fever cases were brought in from Portuguese East Africa as Mozambique was then called. More nurses were needed and in June 1896 more arrived.

Dr. Gelfand records in his book *Mother Patrick and her Nursing Sisters* that "in June 1896 a further batch of sisters arrived (!) in Umtali to take charge of the hospital, Sisters Annie Hewitt, Mary Harris and A. Laetitia Foster, as both Sister Emily Hewitt and Sister Mary Sanders were leaving to be married." However, as I understand it, Annie Hewitt was not a nurse but was a good housekeeper and a splendid cook and came out to take charge of the kitchen at Hospital No. 3. The sister who came out with Annie Hewitt was Sister Mary Haines. The three travelled with Archdeacon Upcher via Durban and hearing rumours of the uprisings they remained in Durban for a while until Archdeacon Upcher thought it safe to proceed on to Beira.

By now the railway was running to Chimoio, and there was a coach and donkey wagon transport, belonging to the Comte de la Panouse, to Umtali. According to Sister Haines the noise was indescribable and the way was littered with skeletons of animals (presumably died of the Rindepest), so they left the wagons and the Portuguese helped them to get machilas to travel on to Umtali. They finished the journey walking to Old Umtali with the luggage following in the care of the Comte de la Panouse.

Sister Foster records of that journey "We reached Fontesville about 8.30 and were able to get a room at the hotel. It sounds very grand, till one realises that the hotel is only what one would call a shed at home, divided into spaces of about eight feet square and the three of us had one of these spaces all to ourselves, except that a long black snail, that I at first mistook for a snake, shared my stretcher. At 5.30 in the morning we started in the dark,

amidst heavy mist, for the station. We looked for our luggage by the light of matches, and when we found it sat on it wrapped in all the blankets we could get until the train started. Ah, that railway journey! It was quite one of the most pleasant experiences in my life. There was none of the hurry or bustle that there always is in England (no one is ever in a hurry here). We had a delightful carriage which was most kindly put on for us; the whole country through which we passed was most beautiful . . . our greatest pace was 10 miles an hour and there were frequent stops when we were able to get out and sit under the big trees and make tea. We reached Chimoio at 9.30 and again got rooms at the hotel. There were no seats to be had on the coach . . . The Comte de la Panouse happened to be down with his donkey wagon, so it was arranged for us to go with him . . . The wagon was not intended for passengers so we had to sleep on the luggage. We had no encounters with lions, but several times got stuck in drifts and had to be pulled out by kindly transport drivers who had not then lost all their cattle. We walked the whole way, just sleeping in the wagon at night and bathing in the rivers as we passed. Our progress was so slow, and the nurses were needed so much in Umtali that when we reached MasseKasses we decided that we must try to get on quicker. The Archdeacon overtook us there and got machilas for us and we arrived in Umtali the next day, 2nd June. We were most kindly received and welcomed by Sisters Emily and Lizzie and soon made to feel quite at home. The next day began a series of surprises which have continued until now, and will probably continue the whole time that I am here. The first was the speedy marriages of both Sister Emily and Sister Mary. Selfishly one felt sorry; for the thought would come — who could possibly carry on the magnificent work so nobly done by them all for the past three years. Nurses in well appointed hospitals at home do not realise what it is to have no help . . ."

From Sister Latitia Foster: . . . "A few days afterwards we heard that Makoni was preparing to rise and that we must all go into laager. The hospital is at the foot of the hill and it would be impossible to defend it, so we all moved down to the police station. Hospital quarters were set up in the gaol. The patients were housed in the largest cell; the four nurses slept in another cell: and Sister Lizzie's maternity ward was in a third cell. During laager time two babies were born, one of whom was Elizabeth Markham."

Miss Haines arrived in May and married Mr. Maritz at the end of the year, just about the time that the move to Kopje House Hospital was to be made.

Mr. and Mrs. Blatch left the country and lived in New Zealand where three children were born. Mr. Blatch was drowned and Mrs. Blatch returned to Umtali in the early 1900's.

A word about the third sister, Annie Hewitt, who married Mr. Joe Nesbit. Mrs. van Coller has the impression that he was a gaoler at the prison, but he was interested in the Edmundian Mine over the border, and later moved to the Vumba where he looked after Hoboken Farm belonging to Mr. Dixon. On the wedding invitations was printed "She's my Annie, I'm her Joe". Elsie Blatch and her brother used to cycle to the Vumba to see Aunt Annie and Uncle Joe. After Joe died Annie ran the mess at the Rezende Mine in Penhalonga.

Sister Lizzie Hewitt married Mr. Massie and for some time he worked in Beira so Mrs. Massie ran the hospital in Beira.

Bishop Knight Bruce writes "The second detachment of nurses nursed me through my worst illness in the country so I can speak from experience of the value of their work. It cannot be overestimated. Many a man owes his life to them. The ordinary attacks of fever

caught on the high ground of Mashonaland we did not think very much of; but the coast fever was always more serious, and this was usually brought up by the men from Beira and the coast, or from the low country in any direction; and Umtali was the first resting place that they came to on high ground from the east. There, many of those that had caught the fever were brought to the hospital."

Kopje House Hospital was established as a general hospital but there was no maternity hospital until 1919 when, under the aegis of the Loyal Women's Guild, the small wood and iron building diagonally across the road on the corner of Ninth and Third Streets was used as a Maternity Hospital. In 1922 the building on Twelfth and Main Streets, known later as Lowden Lodge, became the Maternity Hospital still under the aegis of the Loyal Women's Guild. The Government began taking over the responsibility for maternity work in the 1940's and the first Maternity Assistant Training School was opened at Umtali General Hospital in 1942.

Sister Maritz, who was known as Sister Mary, Mrs. Massie and Mrs. Blatch delivered babies and nursed mothers and babies for as long as necessary, and cooked and cleaned as well in their patient's homes, for many years. There were other private midwives like Miss Grace Milne and Miss Schultze but Mrs. Blatch and Mrs. Maritz were the backbone of the service. Miss Stephanie Maritz said that the house at 111 Second Street was built for her mother to use as a Maternity Home but nothing came of it. Mrs. Blatch had a Maternity Home but Mrs. Merle Parkin says that it was closed down because of infection and the service of domiciliary midwifery by these ladies continued. I have sought for information on 'charges' without success, but Mrs. Sutton (who died November 20th) had Miss Schultz for her son's birth in 1924 and then Mrs. Blatch took over because Mrs. Schultz had a tooth abscess and felt wretched. She thinks that she paid one guinea a day for seven days for all care and attention to mother and baby and house. Apparently costs did not start until delivery — when the nurse took up residence. (On going through some old letters 1924 I found the information about charges for domiciliary and midwifery here in Umtali and relating to Miss Schultz and Mrs. Blatch who took over after delivery. They were £7.7s.Od. per week plus 3s. 6d. per week for washing. £3.10s.Od. for waiting for the first week and then full fees thereafter). As the Africans would not go to the hospital to be treated, these ladies also held clinics at the door and Miss Maritz remembers the dreadful burns that her mother treated occasioned by the Africans falling into their fires.

In 1913 Miss Adlam was invited by Miss Ronaldson, who was Matron-in-Chief, to come to Rhodesia so that she could retire and Miss Adlam take over; so the first training of probationer nurses began in this country. In an address delivered at Salisbury Hospital on 4th September, 1961 at a presentation of prizes to nurses, Dr Michael Gelfand said: "The fact has always struck me that in almost no other African territory has there been such a glorious history to relate on the founding of a nursing service as that of Mother Patrick and her devoted Dominican Sisterhood who followed close on the heels of the Pioneer Column to begin the first hospital in Fort Salisbury in 1891 and how from here these nurses rendered outstanding service to almost the close of the century in Bulawayo and Fort Victoria. But they were not alone, for just before Mother Patrick reached Salisbury three Anglican sisters, Blennerhassett, Sleeman and Welby, settled in Old Umtali to be the forerunners of a similar service in the eastern districts. These ladies were our Nursing Pioneers, but it is not about them that I wish to talk tonight but rather about another great nurse who many might even regard as in the category of Mother Patrick.

She certainly was an outstanding figure of whom every Rhodesian can be proud. Louise Adlam, it can be said, was a pioneer in the training of the Rhodesian nurse and on the establishment of a proper nursing school. She was the example of the perfect nurse. Her influence on Southern Rhodesia was immense and lasting. She was a remarkable person. There are alive today many Rhodesians who came under her influence and all refer to her great art of implanting knowledge, her ability, and her high Christian charity and ideals. She was a woman of many parts. Her patients loved her for she had their interests at heart; doctors respected her as a nurse for her knowledge, character and ability and all admitted her many kind and charitable acts — a great humanitarian but a stern, strict disciplinarian and a first class administrator. She was held in awe by all . . . yet, beneath all this severity lay a gentle and lovable soul, absolutely fair. She could claim the loyalty of every probationer and qualified staff, was very approachable, and there was no problem which she was not prepared to listen to, or any just cause to take up with the authorities."

Inspired by her love of nursing, Louise Adlam strove to improve the lot of nurses and in times of sickness she was at their beds and kept a watchful eye over them. She took a personal interest in the menus. The meals, despite a restricted budget, were excellent and there was always a choice of two meat dishes — apropos of which — "From Miss Adlam's dairy . . .:

"On Monday August 4th 1913, Miss Ronaldson went for a short holiday to Durban and I was left in charge. It was good experience for the Senior Matron had many and varied duties. She was Matron of Salisbury Hospital with European and African wards. There were qualified nurses and probationers under her. She was also responsible for feeding the patients and staff. Fortunately, the good old Indian cook was a faithful servant. We were fed very well and the patients were content. I remember saying to one man that it seemed to me unwise to give chops and steak for breakfast. He begged me not to interfere, for, he said 'when we come in with malaria we do need feeding up.' So many in the early days, were living in poor circumstances in the veldt."

Throughout her life she gave. She was generous to a fault and almost all of her few possessions were given to the least fortunate. She was particularly good to Africans. Her courtesy was one of her outstanding virtues . . . One of the fine qualities which stands out in her career is that although she retired on pension in 1928 she carried on actively pursuing the tenets of her profession, and was a pioneer in the training of African women as nurses, probably a little ahead of her time as the African female had not reached that stage when she could derive much benefit from such training as her general educational background was poor. However, Miss Adlam was determined and undaunted, as most of these devoted people are, and soon found a place at Bonda Mission where she planned to set up a training school. Father Christelou, a friend, was the priest in charge of the Mission, and was sympathetic to the idea. He allowed a nurses home to be built of brick, with an iron roof, largely with money provided by Miss Adlam, whom we know gave a gift of £100. When we remember her small pension and few savings, we must admire her great charity.

The hospital block consisted of two small wards, a nurses room and a small dispensary with verandah, all under one roof. However, the experiment fell through. Miss Adlam found herself very short staffed and could rely for little on her African girls. There was no doctor and she had to spend her time in arduous full time nursing with the sole help of Nurse Harris, and was unable to train the nurses. The experiment lasted only one year.

But her heart was still in her profession and ever keen to help the African she went to

Domboshawa School where Canon Broderick was in charge, where she served as Nurse Matron to the pupils for some two years. When Broderick left Demboshawa the clinic closed and Miss Adlam, in her indomitable way, went to the Holy Cross Mission Hospital at Umtata as Sister Tutor. After two happy years there she found her way back to Umtali to live in retirement with her friend, Miss Newcombe, but still gave lectures to the Red Cross Society, and was always delighted to see or hear news of her old pupils, in whom she never lost interest, and with whom she kept up correspondence all over the world. When in 1956, she began to age, she was taken into Umtali Hospital where Dr. Montgomery and the nursing staff cared for her as befits a devoted and distinguished nurse for the few years that remained to her. She died in the nursing atmosphere she loved on 27th of September, 1958.

In a letter to Miss Adlam on the occasion of her birthday in July 1958 Miss Daly wrote: "How the years have flown!! I can recall the early days in 1917 when I was 'Home Pro'! and it struck me that to spring clean the 'chambers' would be a good idea. And as I armed myself with mops and disinfectants who should come along but our Matron-in-Chief, yourself. I was all blushes and embarrassment at being caught at my lowly job, but to my amazement you put down your papers, came over, collected a mop and helped me finish the work. It was very edifying and mystifying. We made friends that day and have continued so ever since. Do you remember?"

In a letter of September 1958 to Miss Brock Miss Daly wrote: "It is a great relief to know that you are with our dear friend, as she makes her journey through the Valley of the Shadows. What a wonderful soul! Only we who have known her through the years can really appreciate all she is and has been. So just and yet so merciful to all. Bless her. And do you remember how we used at times to be amazed at her guilelessness? She was so innocent . . . and her generosity! She literally gave until it should have hurt, but it didn't. Do you remember when Mr. Gray (Sydney) kept back part of her salary and banked it for her, because between St. Michael's African Church and a Padre's family, she left herself practically penniless every month? I happened to be in the Secretary's office when the first deduction took place. To her Mr. Gray!! he merely remarked 'Yes, Matron, somebody will have to look after your interests. I intend to bank for you each month.' She said quite quietly 'I suppose so.' It is very fitting that you, above all, should be with her. She always had a great love for Brockie."

Miss Ronaldson returned from her leave on 10th September, 1913, and Miss Adlam paid her first visit to Umtali.

In Miss Adlam's dairy we read: "It was a joyful time. I thought it all beautiful like Japanese pictures. The houses were raised up from the ground, they had wooded verandahs.The bright colour of the flowers and the blue cotton limbo of the servants with the background of hills and valleys gave me great pleasure. Miss Backhouse, the Matron of Umtali Hospital was an old friend, we had nursed a dear old lady, Mrs. Huth, in the West End of London together, being then London Hospital private staff nurses. Miss Backhouse later married a farmer, Mr. Swain."

Mr. and Mrs. Kynaston lived at the Rectory, just opposite the hospital, one of the first houses built. They were kind to me, later on I was glad to have probationers from Umtali who owed much to their teaching and influence. Connie Miles, Eva Harvey and later 'Kachy' Barrie were some who did good work. I enjoyed meeting Dr. and Mrs. Harper, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Hulley."

"On the 17th I drove over the Christmas Pass in a Post Cart to Bartisal where two Mashona girls met me, they had come down from St. Monica's Mission where Mother Annie and Miss Danders were in charge. They have been my friends all these years."

"There were not many buildings in those days on the Mission, the little building reached by several steps, with a small verandah from which one could look across the valley to the Picture Rock is still there. The ladies did a good work for the Mashona women and young girls, they could speak to them in their own language . . . I had a restful holiday amidst these surroundings and enjoyed the Services on Sundays. Then I returned to Umtali in a *motor car*. It was a fearsome drive for the hills were steep and stoney. Miss Backhouse came out and so on the way back we had tea at the Christmas Pass Hotel kept then by Mr. Burn and his German wife. I always called there when passing."

With reference to Mother Annie at St. Monica's Mission . . . Mrs. Grace Palmer was baptised there and Mother Annie was her godmother. She says that Mother Annie was a great disciplinarian and that she came out from England for health reasons. Names associated with Mother Annie and Miss Emily Sanders at St. Monica's Mission are Catherine Langham, Sarah Honey and Florence Gregory.

Miss Adlam comments that during the First War years "we were glad to have probationers from some of the good families of early settlers." Three of the daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Moody came down from Inyanga . . . and Mrs. Sid Arnott sent two daughters (one of those daughters was lost at sea during the Second World War). Two sisters came in from the Glover family at Rusape, to be followed later by another two. They all did good work for us and got a good training which enabled them to be useful elsewhere."

I remember Manica Moodie Harmer after whom the geriatric wing of the Umtali Hospital was named in the 1970's. She was a great friend of Miss Brock and in case I don't have the opportunity in this talk to comment further on Miss Brock, I must tell you that this extraordinary lady, who had her schooling in an institution for the blind and partially sighted, and who laid seige to the village doctor for two years until he gave her a letter to say that she could see well enough to do nursing training, was Matron of Enkeldoorn (now called Chivu) Hospital for about twenty years and whilst there, walked from Enkeldoorn to Beit Bridge because one of the Sisters bet her that she could not walk to Johannesburg as Brockie had implied.

Brockie walked across country as she did not want to be caught and turned back, accompanied by her African cook and his wife from Enkeldoorn Hospital. They carried mealie meal, water, and a gun which as far as I remember from Miss Brock, did not work when needed. The cook's wife did not want to go so she was rendered "tipsy" to get her started on the journey. The three of them slept in the bush or in the villages that they happened upon and where Miss Brock would sit for hours talking to the Chief and trying not to have to drink the 'beer' with which she was greeted. The District Commissioner at Beit Bridge refused to let her walk further and put her on the train for Johannesburg so she lost the bet. Although retired from the Rhodesian Nursing Service she was nursing in Klerksdorp and returned to Umtali to special her two friends Miss Newcombe and Miss Adlam in their last illnesses. She retired to Umtali and lived at 101 Third Street for many years.

Back to 1918 and the flu pandemic. Dr. Smythe and the Mayor, Mr. Eickoff asked Mrs. Maritz to set up an Influenza Hospital in the Government School behind the O.K. Bazaar. She was helped by Miss Duncan, who was not a nurse, and various volunteers.

These good ladies did the nursing day and night duty and the cooking as well until Dr. Craven realised that this really was an impossible situation and appealed to the Railways who sent a chef, a Mr. Hilstrom, who set up a kitchen under tarpaulin in the school yard.

In 1919 the Maternity Hospital opened under Miss Cato and later Mrs. Room. Later Lowden Lodge Maternity Home was opened and Matrons there were Mrs. Ernest Greenshields, Miss Godderidge for whom Miss Newcombe, now retired from Kopje House, deputised in 1929. She was followed by Miss Ewing. Miss Ida Cooper worked there and Miss Adelaide du Plessis, who is well known to many mothers in Umtali, well loved and respected and of whom it is said that she remembered every baby that she brought into the world. "Dupie" was later Sick Matron at Rusawi School and spent some years at Borradaile Trust before going to South Africa where she died recently.

I have only touched upon a few dedicated nurses in this part of the world. There were many more and I have only come as far as 1930 when Kopje House Hospital closed and Miss Hunt and Dr. Jackson moved the hospital to its present location on Hospital Hill.

Umtali Hospital No. 5 deserves another History Society of Zimbabwe session because there are many more extraordinary doctors and nurses who worked there and in this area with stories of vocation and dedication still to be told.

If you intend to make a new will or to amend an existing will please think about the History Society of Zimbabwe.

Mashonaland Branch Outing to Great Zimbabwe and Lake Kyle

by G.A. Granelli

The major outing of the Mashonaland Branch of the History Society of Zimbabwe in 1988 was a two day bus trip to Great Zimbabwe and Lake Kyle at the end of July. We know only too well how carefully those outings are researched and meticulously organised, so the two buses were filled to capacity, as was the Great Zimbabwe Hotel that accommodated the party of some 95 people.

It was the week-end of the full moon, and this in itself added to the mystery of this part of our country. Though "climbing the Acropolis by moonlight" was not on the cards, nothing could stop the various thoughts racing through our minds. Who built those giant stone structures? Why? How long were they inhabited, and by whom? The Bantu, the Phoenicians or Sabeans — the mind boggles at all the theories put forward by the people who have seen and studied the area since 1867 when Adam Render, reputedly the first European, came across the ruins.* But let's get there first!

We set off from Harare on a cold, clear morning and welcomed the refreshment provided by the Chivu hotel, Vic's Tavern, our first stop. This place, a highlight in the history of the country (known as the Republic of Enkeldoorn at one stage) started as a pioneer town settled by Afrikaners in 1896, and in the vicinity lived the poet, novelist, philanthropist and missionary, Arthur Shearly Cripps, who established the mission church, St Francis of Maronda Mashanu, and who died in 1952. Along the way, the veld still sombre from the winter cold, was brightened by the winter flowering Cassia (Cassia singueana) with its profuse yellow blossoms; the silver leaves of "mangwe" (Terminalia sericea) were plentiful. This tree was likened to the silver tree of the Cape by the Pioneer Column when they crossed through the Providential Pass because of its silver backed leaves; the bright red flowers of lucky bean trees (Erythrina abyssinica) pricked through the bush, and the "mukwa" (Pterocarpus angolensis) with its characteristic pods clinging on could be detected, while the "msasas" (Brachystegia spiciformis) were just beginning to show their spring tints.

The chimney stack of the Falcon Mine, built of brick, is visible for many miles, and a well known landmark in the Midlands. The discovery of gold early in the century led to the floating of the Falcon Development Company and from 1914 to 1925 the mine produced both gold and copper, and was then one of the larger producers of the country. Happily Lonrho took over this mine, and the nearby Attica Mine, in 1973/4 and has revived the extraction of gold and brought new life to the town. Our stop at Mvuma was not on the schedule, but one of the vagaries of travel, for just as our bus was rounding the corner from Heymans Street to Napier Street it came to a halt and was not to move for another hour. This gave us an unexpected opportunity to appreciate the significance of this small, well built and well maintained village town, with its one storey buildings, some with the typical

verandahs of yester year, with street names honouring residents of merit, and joy of joys a thriving supermarket, well known as Walkinshaw's in former days, where "we" shoppers, in feverish haste, combed the shelves for many of the goods in short supply or "non est" in Harare — rice, salt, hair spray etc. but sadly, no whisky! It was a field day for us, while several men were upended over the engine of the bus, which finally "revved" to life just as the shopping spree was over.

We could not linger over the clock tower in the main street of Masvingo nor study the fort dating from 1892 that gave the name to Fort Victoria, and rapidly demolished our picnic lunch in the Great Zimbabwe National Park area prior to the start of trying to unravel the mystery of this hallowed spot. Mr Peter Garlake was our guide and mentor, and what a wonderful setting it was to have the whole company in the Great Enclosure, while Mr Garlake outlined his views on the megalithic structures. It was like sitting on a dollar coin, with the common red milkwood (Mimusops zeyheri) draping its branches (full of fruit) over the Conical Temple and the smaller adjacent one, and the afternoon sun playing on the stone surfaces making mysteries abound. I had read several books with their widely differing theories on Great Zimbabwe, so it was a relief for me to listen to the measured account given by Peter Garlake. Radio carbon dates indicate that Great Zimbabwe has been in occupation since about 300 A.D. by iron-age immigrants and 1200 – 1460 A.D. the probable period of the building of the Elliptical Temple (Great Enclosure), which was a prestige place, the palace of the chiefs or kings, not a fortification, and built in stages. The stone walls inside it joined daga huts, with floors of finely puddled clay that hardened like cement. The whole complex could have had a population of some 15 000 – 20 000 people. But who exactly were these people? What sort of life was lived there? From where did the wealth come? The mystery is not yet really solved. From the remains of animal bones found, it was evident that the people fed on beef, indicating the management of good cattle farming in the area and the movement of large cattle herds.

We were given an opportunity to walk round the Great Enclosure, to examine in some detail points to which Peter Garlake had referred, to admire the workmanship of the Great Outer Wall and the Conical Tower, which apparently was the culmination of the stone building. We met again in the Valley of Ruins, lit by the vivid red stiff spikes of the flowering Aloe excelsa, indigenous to the area, and pondered over all we had heard as we surveyed the tranquil surroundings where many people lived as officials/servants attendant on the important people in the Great Enclosure.

The afternoon was rounded off by a visit to the Museum, where relics recovered from the ruins are displayed, copies of the soapstone Zimbabwe bird, articles of African origin, trade beads from India, glass from Persia and ceramics from China — pointing to a vast international trading centre. Great Zimbabwe Hotel met us with sugar-frosted glasses of ice cold fruit punch — what a treat — and it continued to give us special service in a first class dinner, where we sated our appetites on prime beef — a quality matching that served to our ancestors, I feel sure.

Sunday started early with a walk up the Ancient Way to the Acropolis. Peter Garlake ably shepherded us over the maze of passages and walled enclosures of the Acropolis, and indicated the site in the Eastern Enclosure where four soapstone Zimbabwe birds had been found. Back down the new Watergate route to admire the stone terraces built on the hillside and to continue our speculation and argument. Peter Garlake talked of the Acropolis as the residential area for the ruler with the eastern end of the hill the site of the spirit medium, the

ruler subsequently moving to the Great Enclosure. The Acropolis had been heavily restored in 1922.

And so to Lake Kyle — the largest internal lake in our country, formed by impounding the waters of the Mtilikwe and the Umshagashi rivers — a superb setting with its steep wooded hills, the granite kopjes and grass banks that flank the meandering shore line. And superb, too, was the talk given us on the site by Eng. Mike Lotter who, as a newly qualified engineer from the University of Cape Town, in February 1958 received his first posting in the Irrigation Department to Triangle — which, in his Morris Minor in a season of heavy rains and still the low-level bridges, took him four days to reach from Salisbury. At that time Kyle Dam was still on the drawing boards and Mike Lotter became completely engrossed over the years in the construction of Kyle, the canals, weirs and other dams that supply water to the Lowveld. He skillfully took us step by step through the ramifications of this scheme to irrigate the sugar and citrus estates of Triangle and Hippo Valley, Manjirenji Dam and the development of Mkwasine in wheat and cotton, the supply of water to numerous independent farmers and the newly developing Palm Tree Oil Scheme on the Mwenezi river, which is to provide the country with refined oil. It was enthralling to listen to him.

Many of us who had been on the History Society's trip to the Lowveld in 1984 remembered very clearly having lunch at the Jatala Weir, on which a bronze plaque records thus:

> "From this weir, built in 1923, Thomas Murray MacDougall led water from the Mtilikwe River through two tunnels, hewn by hand over seven years for a distance of 1 400 feet through solid rock, and thence to his lands through a canal eight miles long. This historic enterprise was the first development in the Lowveld's great irrigation project."

It was right that we should start our homeward journey along the 12 mile Murray MacDougall Drive, with its enchanting views of Lake Kyle through the well treed slopes, so to have time to appraise all we had heard, seen and experienced on this memorable week-end. The contrast of the grandeur of the megalithic stone structures and the fantastic scientific achievements of the water reticulation of the Lowveld scheme made one tingle with satisfaction to be a citizen of this young country, but humbled, too, by the sheer magnitude of what has already been accomplished.

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* **Tim Tanser's grandmother, Mrs Cooksley, was possibly the first European woman to see the Ruins. Tim's grandfather, John Skinner Cooksley, was in the Tati area 1862 – 87 and with his wife visited the Ruins in the company of Carl Mauch. Editor.**

Oral Traditions Association of Zimbabwe (OTAZI)

The Oral Traditions Association of Zimbabwe was officially constituted at its inaugural General Meeting in March. OTAZI is thus now able to seek formal membership from those who have already become involved as well as those who were unable to attend the general meeting or who were unaware of the formation of the Association.

The general aims and objectives of the Association are —

a) to establish, maintain and strengthen relationships between all those concerned with the study, practice, preservation, dissemination and promotion of oral traditions throughout the Republic of Zimbabwe;

b) to promote all measures for the preservation, protection and defence against all manner of impendiments towards the practice of oral tradition heritage of Zimbabwe, and to further the progress of all aspects of the administration and preservation of oral traditions;

c) to facilitate the meaningful use of oral traditions in Zimbabwe by making them more widely known and by encouraging greater ease of access to research findings in oral traditions;

d) to promote, organise and co-ordinate activities in the field of oral traditions in Zimbabwe;

e) to act as a link between the Association and the Oral Traditions Association of Southern Africa (OTASA);

f) to co-operate with other associations or organisations internationally concerned with oral traditions.

There are two types of functional membership —

a) Institutional membership which is open to all institutions both public and private which are concerned with oral traditions in Zimbabwe, including university departments, government departments and colleges which are engaged in the practice and/or study of oral traditions in Zimbabwe. Institutional members have the right to speak and vote at General Meetings;

b) Individual membership which is open to individuals within Zimbabwe who are practising, promoting or disseminating oral traditions. Individual members have the right to speak and vote at General Meetings.

The Constitution also allows for "Associate membership" (individuals and organisations outside Zimbabwe) and "Honorary membership". These involve no fees and no voting rights.

The cost of membership is —

a) Institutional membership: $50 on enrolment and $40 annually thereafter;

b) individual membership: $15 on enrolment and $10 annually thereafter.

Members are welcome and interested persons should write to —
The Secretary OTAZI, c/o National Archives, P/Bag 7729, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

BOOK REVIEW

MASHONALAND — A POSTAL HISTORY 1890 - 96

by ALAN DRYSDALL and DAVE COLLINS

Published by Christies Robson Lowe, 1990

Price £35 plus £3 postage

In this volume of some 180 pages, the Authors present the postal history of Mashonaland up to 1896, beginning with the first postal arrangements made to service the Pioneer Column from the time it crossed the Shashi River at Tuli in July 1890.

The principal sources used by the Authors for their research were the British South Africa Company files lodged in the National Archives of Zimbabwe, contemporary newspapers beginning with The Mashonaland Herald and Zambesian Times which first appeared in cyclostyled form on 27th June 1891, and papers previously published in the Journal of the Rhodesian Study Circle, some of whose members specialize in the postal history of Mashonaland.

Finally, the Authors had access to Pioneer correspondence notably the 1225 folios of letters written by Henry John Borrow to his parents in Canterbury, England from 26th July 1890 through to 2nd October 1893. Other letters from Arthur Henry Winder Puzey of B Troop Pioneer Corps and his brother Andrew to their parents in East London from 3rd June 1890 through to 1899 and 1892, respectively, were also examined and used to complete this portion of the history. These and other letters all reveal a clear grouping which corresponds to the 15 actual despatches of mail from the Pioneer Column.

The volume contains 65 black and white illustrations including 3 maps, 6 historical pictures ranging from a portrait of Borrow, two group pictures including the officers of the Pioneer Corps, and a Zeederberg Coach to the Hunyani River Post Station (1890) and the Tuli Post Office (1896), 2 pages of date stamps and seals, and some 54 illustrations of covers and letters of which nearly half are from the Borrow and Puzey material.

The 10 page introduction, sets the scene with an accurate history from the granting of the Charter on 29th October 1889 to the Matabele and Mashona risings of 1896.

There follow chapters on the Pioneer Correspondents, the mail to and from the column and the various mail routes including those via Tuli, the route through Bechuanaland, the Eastern route via Beira, and the Salisbury to Bulawayo and Victoria to Iron Mine Hill routes.

For each route there is detailed information on the several post offices, post stations and agencies on the route with interesting references to the history of those offices and stations, and the authors also link a number of the Borrow, Puzey and other letters to the relevant mail routes applicable to those letters.

The chapter devoted to rural post offices refers to Hartley Hill, Mazoe, Lomogondi and Ayrshire, all of which were established to serve the growing gold mining industry, as well as Popotoque and Fern Spruit to serve the traders there, and on Kenilworth farm near Chipinga following the settlement of the Moodie trekkers in that area in 1893.

Bechuanaland stamps were issued and used in Mashonaland until 1892 and

Mozambique stamps were used on mail sent via Mozambique from Umtali in 1891 and from Salisbury and Umtali in 1892. The first issues of stamps printed for the British South African Company in 1890 by Bradbury, Wilkinson & Co. were received in Salisbury in May 1891 but only available to the public in 1892.

The history of postage rates is examined in some detail as are the various date stamps and obliterations used during the period covered by the book.

There is a short chapter on mail during the Matabeleland Campaigns of 1893 and 1896 and the Mashonaland Campaign of 1896-97. A final chapter on mail volumes reveals inter alia that a weekly average of 950 newspapers were carried over the Tuli-Salisbury route in September 1891 and 1410 and 1442 letters were despatched from Salisbury in August and September 1892. By comparison, 68 and 76 letters were despatched in those months from Hartley Hill.

There are detailed references for each chapter, a list of National Archives of Zimbabwe files with titles and code numbers, a full bibliography, and tables of the Borrow, Puzey and Jack Brown letters indicating dates, the location of the sender at the time and the dates or estimated dates the letters reached various places on the mail route. The final tables deal with postage rates.

There is no Index but for a work of this kind, an index would probably have to be of undue length. However, perhaps an index of place names and people's names would have been useful.

This book represents the results of detailed and painstaking research of quality and the Authors must be highly commended for their achievement. For those interested in postal history in general and Mashonaland postal history in particular, the book is essential. To those interested in Pioneer history in general, the book is strongly recommended. Copies are available direct from the publishers at 8 King Street, St. James's, London SW1Y 6QT.

Michael J. Kimberley

Books on all aspects of the history of Zimbabwe and neighbouring territories would be welcomed for review in future issues of Heritage of Zimbabwe. A review copy of any such book should be sent to the Editor, Heritage of Zimbabwe, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

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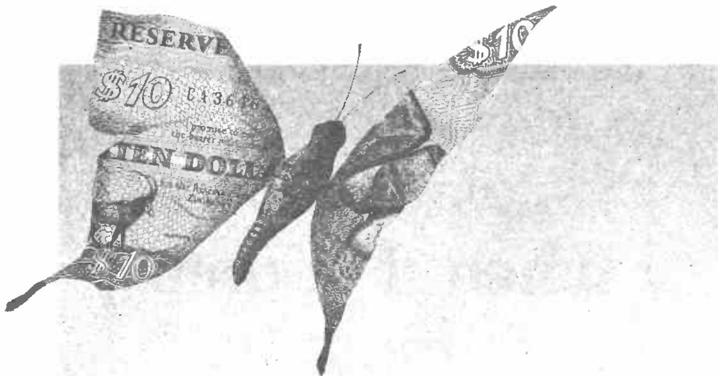

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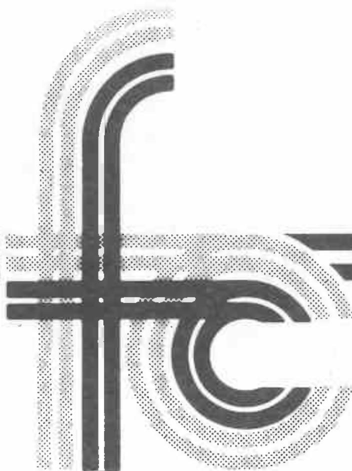

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